**Good Moves for Bad Habits: Interrupting Normative
Practice To Disrupt Racialized Inequity**

by

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DEDICATION

This work for racial justice is dedicated to my family—each and every one and all of us together.

To my children, Esmee and Nami, quite simply, I did this for you and I will continue to endeavor, strive, and struggle—with an undying hope and unyielding spirit—to bring forth the promise of opportunity which represents the best intentions and possibilities of this country, America.

To my sisters, Mia and Zina, for "not letting my head get too big," I've always known that I wasn't the smartest, not even in my own household. To my cousins, Randy and Deidra, for inspiring me to hustle even harder.

To my parents, Roger and Julie, for being the smartest people that I have ever met, still to this day. Fortunately, I am not required to cite each of you for what you've contributed to my thinking, understanding, and caring, since your contributions are truly innumerable. I am so thankful for all that you sacrificed for me to achieve.

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To my ancestors, who crossed oceans, by force and by choice, below and aboard the boats, to persevere and survive and come together in me—your energy propels me forward,

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activists—it is an honor and privilege to use this dissertation research to further the cause of

justice in America.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE

ABSTRACT

Racialized gaps in education are produced by normative teaching, which describes the practices of the majority of teachers, the majority of the time. Yet, teachers claim ignorance and innocence in the production of inequity, leading traditional approaches to focus on racial beliefs. Instead, I suggest that normative teaching practices are the enactment of racism and best understood as habits of whiteness. Whiteness is a system of exclusion designed for the purpose of domination. Habits are actions and behaviors that are enacted without conscious thought. Habits of whiteness are ways of being oriented towards social and economic dominance that are routine, default, and automatic. Fortunately, there is a process for intervening on habits. This research focuses on two steps: raising awareness of the harm done by normative teaching and identifying, naming, and describing alternative teaching moves. Interrupting habits is a step towards disrupting racialized inequity in education.

CHAPTER 1

Racism, Habits, and Relationships

Preface

During a visit to an urban high school, I witnessed an argument between a white female teacher and a non-white male student. I was not privy to the interaction that animated this dispute, but apparently it was extreme enough to spill out into the hallway. The ensuing shouting match was a spectacle. At one point, the student said, "Man, you blowin' me!" In the teacher's dialect, this phrase is a sexual euphemism. She quickly replied, "You just sexually harassed me!" With this charge, she escorted the boy to the principal's office, where he was promptly suspended for disrespecting authority. Sadly, I knew this was a misunderstanding based on a difference in dialect. The student was not being inappropriate, rather he was employing the shortened version of "you're blowing my mind" so common in that city. His words indicate feeling overwhelmed and frustrated within his dialect. The teacher's interpretation is similarly constructed; she was referring to communal slang not academic or Standard English. The core issue was difference. The teacher and student had different identities, different ways of making meaning, and different modes of communication. Neither was better or worse, yet only the student suffered. All too often, neutral differences determine educational outcomes. It made me wonder: if we presume positive intent on the part of teacher and student, if we resist the overly simplified narratives—the student is scary, the teacher is racist—then what can be done to improve this situation? How can people from different demographic backgrounds and different worlds cooperate for mutual benefit in the classroom?

My research is meant to intervene on the practice of teaching that leads to the production of racialized inequity. I describe this type of practice as "normative teaching," that is, the

teaching done by most teachers most of the time. Given the demographics of teaching, normative teaching is effectively the ways that most white women teach. In this study, we are specifically delving into the ways that many white women teach across difference. The goal of this work is twofold. One goal is to advance a valid theory of how normative teaching produces inequity. The second goal is to highlight, name, and describe teaching moves with the potential to interrupt typical patterns of classroom interactions, such as recounted in the preface above, and thereby contribute to disrupting the production of racialized inequity. This first chapter describes how educators create inequity through normative teaching practice. It illuminates critical flaws in the current theory of how gaps are created and how they might be remedied. I employ a host of literatures to unmask the pathways from the larger societal context of white supremacy to racism in the classroom. Here, "racism" refers to individual, structural, political, economic, and social forces that serve to discriminate against and disadvantage people of color on the basis of their race for the purpose of maintaining White dominance and power (Bell, 1992 as cited in Blanchett, 2006). Racism accompanies most white female teachers into the classroom. Then, I present a new conception of how teaching produces inequity and how we might intervene. In direct opposition to the common frameworks that focus on belief, intent, and conscious decision-making, I argue that inequity is produced by habits. The chapter closes by outlining relationships as the desired outcome of employing the teaching moves identified by this research. I also describe how the immediate outcomes, improved teacher student relationships, connect with longer term outcomes including decreased exclusion for non-white male students, increased enjoyment of teaching, and ultimately positive impacts on the culture and climate of 'hard-to-staff' schools, which are frequently schools that require teaching across difference. The findings

of this research can contribute meaningfully to teacher-student relationships by establishing and maintaining trust and mutual respect. Ultimately, difference is an inevitable aspect of American schooling. Teachers will be best able to navigate these circumstances through better relationships, understanding, and communication with students as individuals. Indeed, seeing students as individuals, rather than members of races or racial cultures, is a primary step in moving past a racist frame.

What is the Problem?

It is easy to look at American schooling and conclude that the problem is racism. There are racialized inequities in nearly all outcomes, especially the most basic and important ones. Descriptions of these inequitable outcomes are popular in the national dialogue about education and are commonly referred to as the discipline and achievement gaps. The language of "gap" is critical here, because it reveals two foundational elements of American schooling: 1) the normalcy of whiteness and 2) the negative characterizations of non-white people. Educational outcomes are measured in reference to white students, which metaphorically and practically positions them as the standard. According to Cooks (2003),

> "if race is equated with behavior, then the power of whiteness extends to much more than simply racial characteristics; indeed, White culture has the power to define what is appropriate, normal, and permissible. If identities are multiple and fragmented, and take on particular meanings in specific contexts, then it stands to reason that whiteness is more about dynamics of power—the power to define what is normal and comfortable, to give spaces particular meanings and uses, to define what and who counts in a culture" (p. 249).

White students are literally the reference group for most educational measurements. Their normalcy is one way that schooling enforces white power within American education. The characterization of non-white students as "behind" and "below" highlights both their difference and their degraded status. Non-white students are outside the norm; they are understood by their difference and measured by their distance from white students. The language of gaps alludes to the white power and privilege and the non-white student exclusion that define education in America. In this section, I unpack the gaps in student outcomes, critique the popular interpretation of inequities, and zoom in on the role of teaching in producing and reproducing white supremacy. I conclude by suggesting that teacher-student relationships are an impactful and potentially generative outcome.

Context of Teaching

Although this work focuses on the question, "How does teaching produce inequity?" it is helpful to locate teaching within the context of schooling. Inequity is produced at the classroom, school, and systems' levels. Teachers are instrumental. They initiate the processes of exclusion, for example, by sending students to the disciplinarian for official punishment. But that is not the first or final step in the process of exclusion. On an individual level, suspensions and expulsions require other educators, besides teachers, to agree to enforce bias and produce exclusion. Imagine if the disciplinarian refused to suspend students for subjective infractions. In that case, the actions of an administrator could curtail exclusion. Without widespread consensus about white supremacy and the need for non-white exclusion, many teachers would not be able to produce inequity.

At the building level, some schools enforce a culture of oppression, focusing teacher evaluations on heavy-handed behavioral control. A school climate may reward teachers for punishing every potentially punishable student behavior. One cannot ignore the role of teacher evaluations and expectations set by principals. When I was teaching, the principal told the staff that sending students out of the classroom was a negative reflection on the teacher. She did not support exclusion. This example shows the power of administrators to disrupt the production of inequity by normative teaching. The fetishizing of control over black bodies at the administrative level can direct teachers towards the enforcement of racist exclusion. School level factors define the conditions of teachers' employment, thus, they likely contribute to the production of inequity. The example of no-excuses schools as both producers of rampant inequity and high teacher turnover allude to the tremendous impact of the school on student and teacher outcomes.

At the system's level, white supremacy is a shared understanding. Schools serve society; American schools serve this society by producing and reproducing inequity (Albrecht & Albrecht, 2011; Labaree 2010). This is the essence of social reproduction. Through processes such as credentialing, American schools provide signals to the labor market and larger economy about who deserves access to which jobs. The role of the environment in shaping teacher behaviors is made clear through policies like Response-To-Intervention (RTI) and Positive Behavior Instructional Supports (PBIS). These system level interventions attempt to create processes that disrupt inequity. These programs recognize that factors outside the classroom, including the technical processes for excluding students, contribute to the production of inequity.

The context of teaching is critical to the production of inequity. Teachers are not alone in producing inequity; their actions are supported by other adults in schools, by the context of their

employment, and by the goals of the American educational system. The importance of setting

cannot be overstated. For example, many alternative models have never resorted to exclusion for

disciplinary purposes. Teachers within these schools cannot produce rampant inequity, as the

systems and climate do not perpetuate the goals of non-white exclusion.[1] Exclusion requires

biased school norms and unjust rules. This section acknowledges the importance of the context

of teaching, but the focus of this research is on classroom teaching. Many educators and various

levels of the schooling system may be implicated in the production of racialized inequity. The

focal question of this work is *how does normative teaching produce inequity*?

Racialized Gaps

We now move from the context of teaching into the classroom and normative teaching.

This section describes some of the most well-known and consequential inequitable outcomes and

then shows how teaching produces them. There is a discipline gap in schools that reveals

inequity in punishment, suspensions, and expulsions. Discipline gap literature shows that non-

white and male students are punished at disproportionate rates, in terms of frequency and

severity (Blair & Scott, 2002, Skiba et al., 2002, Skiba et al, 2008). The most inequitable

punishments sit at the intersection of non-white and male student identities. There is also an

achievement gap, as measured in achievement and attainment, between races and economic

classes of students. White and/or affluent students achieve and attain more in school than non-

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[1] Although it seems unfair not to recognize that many alternative models produce exclusion by design. High tuitions and student selection based on ethnocentric conceptions of 'good families' work well to keep out non-white and lower-class students. For instance, Montessori schools in America took a model designed for socially excluded children and created a system for only wealthy, white children and families. Montessori in other countries has remained accessible.

white (Entwisle, Alexander, Olson, 2007) and poor students (Reardon, 2011). Black males achieve and attain the least from schooling (McKinsey Report, 2009, Aud et al., 2010).

Disciplinary consequences and academic achievement comprise the central outcomes of schooling. Student experiences in these areas reflect fundamental and consequential racialized inequities. Inequitable outcomes are perhaps most dramatically captured by the black male student experience. They are the canaries in the coalmines of schooling. This research centers on the non-white male experience as an extreme and argues that improvements for this group are likely to help all students. I focus on the most victimized students in order to avoid student victimization all together. As a teacher, adapting lessons to support my struggling learners ultimately improved learning for all students. Many realize that the future is in the margins (Rose, 2015). Thus, successful innovations for outliers can potentially help everyone.

The Discipline Gap

A common response to the discipline gap is to suggest that non-white students are more badly behaved. Research on the discipline gap undermines the assertion of racial differences in rates of inappropriate behavior. Student behavior does not drive the discipline gap. According to the literature, white students are punished for objective behaviors' and punishments for non-white students are instigated by subjective behaviors (Gregory, Skiba, & Noguera, 2010). Objective behaviors include fighting and swearing—the types of actions that reasonably result in sanction. Subjective behaviors include poor seating posture or glancing out a window. Teachers often interpret non-white students' behaviors as "defiant'" and "disrespectful" (Nasir et al.,

2013) terms that highlight the extremely subjective nature of their judgments.[2] The literature

does not suggest racial differences in frequency of inappropriate behaviors. It clearly shows that

teachers are more likely to interpret subjective behaviors as negative and punishable when the

student is not white.

     Classroom management––at the teacher's discretion. Discipline is not like standardized

testing, where students are evaluated using external measures. Instead, classroom management is

the explicit responsibility of the classroom teacher. Their subjective judgments of non-white

student behaviors initiate the discipline gap (Gregory, Skiba, & Noguera, 2010). The teacher

alone interprets student behavior. If the teacher in the preface had interpreted the student's words

through the norms of his community or even the situational context, she could have arrived at a

less biased and damaging conclusion. Her interpretation reflects an embrace of the sexually

aggressive stereotype about black males; however, it is not the only or most reasonable way to

understand the student. Any student action may depend on innumerable factors making them

open to myriad interpretations. Racialized outcomes suggest that teachers police identities rather

than manage behaviors. We must recognize that teachers have sole discretion about what they

choose to notice, how they make sense of students, and how they respond to a situation. They

choose the consequences and punishments for student behaviors; acting as judge, jury, and

executioner in the classroom.

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[2] There are not universal, acultural, or widely shared definitions of defiance or disrespect. Is it defiant for a student to challenge a biased teacher? Are students bound to respect teachers who disrespect them?

The Achievement Gap

A common understanding of the achievement gap is that it reveals the intellectual inferiority of non-white students. Inequitable outcomes confirm the bias of a white supremacist society. Much like the discipline gap, it is not student attributes but rather teacher moves that create inequity. The fact that non-white students are overrepresented in special education classes and underrepresented in higher-level coursework illuminates the definitive role of teacher discretion in the achievement gap. Teachers recommend non-white males for special education at alarming rates leading to tremendous overrepresentation. That is, their representation in special education classrooms exceeds their proportional enrollment in the general education population (Blanchett, 2006). Donovan & Cross (2002) present the following statistics about overrepresentation:

> "Black children are only 14.8% of the general student population, but 20% of the special education population across all disabilities. They are 2.41 times more likely than whites to be identified as having mental retardation, 1.13 times more likely to be labeled learning disabled, and 1.68 times more likely to be considered emotionally or behaviorally disabled. These statistics have been fairly consistent across multiple studies since the late 1960's" (PAGE)

The disability does not lie within the child; rather it is constructed in the teacher's interpretation of that child, including his behavior and cultural background. Overrepresentation is not due to a biological or genetic propensity for real disabilities, which are defined medically. Teacher labels do not correlate with medical diagnoses of cognitive impairment (Artiles et al., 2010).

Black males are overrepresented, because they appear disproportionately in the "high incidence" and "judgmental" categories that rely on teachers' evaluations (Artiles, et al., 2010).

The use of the terms "high incidence" and "judgmental" synonymously is revealing here, it shows that the most frequently assigned disabilities are rooted in the subjective judgment of teachers. The disability does not lie within non-white males; it is constructed by the way teachers understand them. Perhaps, overrepresentation relies on the ways that white female teachers routinely *misunderstand* non-white students, like the frustrated young man in the preface. The overrepresentation of non-white males in special education reveals the well-established anti-non-white and anti-male biases amongst teachers (Rong, 1996; Hughes, Gleason, Zhang, 2005; Wu, Hughes, & Kwok, 2010) as well as the systematic exclusion of non-white students.

We find similar teacher moves and biases at the other end of the academic spectrum. Obviously, intellectual potential is evenly distributed across humanity. Therefore, we should expect proportionate representation of all races across all academic levels. Yet, teachers are much less likely to recommend non-white students for advanced and/or high-level coursework (Donovan & Cross, 2002). The lack of non-white students in advanced studies is initiated by teaching. No external authority mandates that teachers exclude non-white students from their appropriate learning environments.[3] Non-white boys are removed from appropriate learning environments because their teachers underestimate their ability and aptitude (Skiba et al., 2002). The labeling of students' intellect, either "special needs" or "gifted and talented," is within the classroom teachers' discretion and relies on her ability to make fair interpretations of all students.

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[3] This may not be the case in some no-excuses schools, where administrators actively 'counsel out' students who are considered difficult or 'not a good fit.'

The achievement gap is clear at the margins. Teacher recommendations for special education or higher-level coursework are very real indicators of how they evaluate student intelligence. The overrepresentation of black males in special education, and their underrepresentation in higher-level (e.g., advanced placement) coursework (Donovan & Cross, 2002), shows that teachers view them as less intelligent and less teachable (Skiba et al., 2006). The application of labels provides a concrete record of teachers' opinions, revealing clear and predictable biases against males and non-white students. The placement of non-white students in less demanding, challenging, and stimulating classrooms reveals systematic exclusion. The achievement gap demonstrates how inequitable outcomes are constructed by teacher biases and teaching practices. Course placement and special needs labels are mechanisms that reveal the construction of the achievement gap at the margins. I assert that similar processes happen within "regular" classrooms, but those teaching moves produce more subtle and distal outcomes.

Racialized Outcomes are the Result of Processes

The discipline and achievement gaps are similarly constructed: they are rooted in the subjectivity, judgment, and interpretation of teachers. The patterns of inequity reveal predictable bias. That is, many teachers in many locations working at many different grade levels reach the same interpretations of non-white, male students. Based on shared white supremacy, many teachers conclude that non-white students are not teachable and ought to be punished. There is variance within the ways that white women teach and there is tremendous consistency in the practices of normative teaching. Not every white teacher produces inequity, there are outliers. Yet, the consistency of these outcomes across domains and regions belies individual,

11

idiosyncratic, or esoteric interpretations. A few bad apples cannot produce consistent, unwavering, and unyielding inequity.

There are several reasons to focus on normative teaching. First, teaching is at the center of the Venn diagrams of race-based inequity in school outcomes. At all grade levels, pre-k through college, in all regions of the country, at all socio-economic strata- the unifying factor in racialized inequity is the enactment of teaching. Teachers and teaching are the common denominators in the production of inequity. If we want to address inequity we should start with the source, teaching, and not the result, underserved students. Centering on adults and their behaviors represents a deliberate divergence from the majority of education research. Instead of problematizing non-white children, this work identifies teachers, and thereby white females, as the targets of intervention. Second, teachers are the adults and professionals in classrooms. They are responsible for outcomes, not students (Cohen, 2011). Teachers have a professional obligation to teach all students (Fenstermacher & Richardson, 2005). Indeed, the work of teaching relies on the belief that teaching is impactful- many people still believe that teaching 'causes' learning. Thus, if teachers accept payment under the auspices that their work is impactful, they must also accept responsibility for negative effects. The work of a profession is to meet important social needs (Abbott, 1988) and to continuously improve services to clients. The responsibility for addressing racialized inequities in education falls largely on teaching, and by extension teachers and teacher educators.[4] Lastly, there are moral and ethical responsibilities (Fenstermacher & Richardson, 2005) involved in caring for the other people's children (Delpit,

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[4] As stated in the context section, there is also vast room for improvement in all of the areas that surround and constrain teaching.

2006), which I leave out because they have not proven effective at improving teaching in urban classrooms thus far. The argument that teachers "ought to do the right thing" is simply not persuasive or productive.

Both the discipline and achievement gaps reveal teacher racism and the undeniable role of teaching moves in producing and reproducing schooling outcomes. Racialized inequities in education are not caused by racial differences.[5] Race is a fiction made real by social construction; it is not causal. If the outcome is racialized, the process must be racist, because the explanation cannot be located in race. Citing racial difference as a cause is the definition of a racist argument. Processes and actions produce racialized outcomes, not stereotypical qualities associated with racial groups. Both of these gaps rest on the subjective judgments and actions of normative teaching. The discipline and achievement gaps demonstrate some of the ways that teachers and teaching manufacture racial difference in schooling outcomes.

Common Themes across Racializing Processes

The discipline and achievement gaps share some key variables. One, school inequities result in non-white student exclusion with lasting consequences. Both the achievement and discipline gaps beget lifelong suffering and continued exclusion, e.g. the school-to-prison pipeline. Two, inequity is more likely to occur when there are meaningful differences between students and teachers. In the examples cited above, race is the meaningful difference. This work also considers sex as an important difference between teachers and students. Research has long

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[5] This work utilizes the term "racialized inequity" as a means of highlighting the active production of inequity by oppressors rather than using the more passive 'racial inequity,' which allows for the false conclusion that race is impactful by itself.

shown that teachers have lower quality relationships with male students (Rong, 1996, Hughes, Gleason, Zhang, 2005, Wu, Hughes, & Kwok, 2010). Three, inequity is produced by teaching moves in discretionary spaces (Ball, 2018). The subjective judgments that create non-white overrepresentation in punishment and special education demonstrate the determinant power of normative teaching. This section unpacks this set of commonalities—exclusion, difference, and discretion—amongst the racializing processes of schooling.

Exclusion

Students of color are excluded across multiple domains of education. In terms of academics (Arcia, 2006) and discipline, students of color, specifically non-white male students, are frequently denied the benefits of schooling. Exclusion happens at all levels and starts early. According to Gilliam et al. (2016),

> "Black preschoolers are 3.6 times as likely to receive one or more suspensions relative to White preschoolers. This is particularly concerning as Black children make up only 19% of preschool enrollment, but comprise 47% of preschoolers suspended one or more times. Similarly, boys are three times as likely as girls to be suspended one or more times (p. 2)."

The high school student from the preface was excluded as a result of that story. For non-white males in K-12 education, classroom interactions frequently end with exclusion.

From a social perspective, exclusion is one of the lessons of schooling. Jean Lave (1996) uses the term "racialization" to describe the socializing processes whereby teachers and schools immerse students in the racial hierarchy of America, their status within the hierarchy, and the material and social consequences of that status. According to Lave (1996), "Racialization, gender-, social class-, and sexual orientation-making are aspects of American adulthood that kids

14

are deeply engaged in constituting (p. 159)." This experience of racialization is particularly difficult and consequential for those at the bottom of the racial hierarchy. Learning what it means to be a non-white male in America is coming to understand the limits of one's opportunities and one's adversarial relationship with authority, and thereby the state and the formal economy. In many ways, schools teach non-white males that they are unwelcome. Their culture, specifically dialect and interactional styles, earn scorn and rebuke (Monroe, 2006). Ultimately, they don't forget nor compartmentalize this learning; it becomes part of their identity. Racialization in school sets the model for non-white males' relationships with the larger society. Their interactions with white female teachers shape and mold their interactions with authority.

Bias against one student informs the entire class. Teachers wield varying forms of authority in classrooms (Pace, 2003). They oversee individual students and collectives of students. For our purposes, what is critical to notice is the public nature of teacher-student interactions. Teachers often exercise their authority in front of other students. The public nature of teacher-student interactions is critical for at least two reasons. One, students watch teachers with a keen eye. They watch for patterns in behaviors, seeking out boundary conditions and mapping actions to consequences. This is completely logical, indeed necessary. Given the ultimate power of teachers in classrooms, students are wise to study them carefully. Two, the on-stage and public aspects of teacher-student interactions likely impact disciplinary incidents. In the preface, it is quite likely that the student was behaving in ways that maintained his image amongst his peers. Similarly, the audience in the hallway may have affected the teacher. Both of them may have felt embarrassed, a feeling that quickly turns to anger, and often leads to the rejection of the instigator. Teacher-student interactions are rarely private and never occur in a

vacuum. The public nature of these events sets precedents for the classroom culture (Roeser,

Midglet, Urdan, 1996) and informs students of the teacher's preferences, biases, and reactions to

stress.

Exclusion obviously hurts the individual student being left out. What is less often

captured or acknowledged is that unjustly excluding one student affects all students who share

his identity. Teachers must recognize that students are aware of their bias and racism. Given their

histories of participation, teachers should know that students are expecting racism, it is a defining

characteristic of their own and their community's experience of schooling. Teven & McCoskey,

(1997) suggest that,

> "A teacher's classroom behavior is constantly under scrutiny by students. As a
> result students learn a great deal from a teacher's nonverbal behavior as well as
> their verbal behavior (Galloway, 1976). A teacher's facial expression, gaze,
> posture, and other body movements provide the student with valuable information
> about her or his emotional state, attitude toward the students, and familiarity or
> ease with the lecture format…. In sum, students determine how a teacher feels
> about them by observing the teacher's communication behaviors" (p.1).

More white teachers must recognize that racist actions against any non-white student are

perceived as racism against all students.

Students live with the reality of teacher bias as individuals and as members of stereotyped

groups. The personal and vicarious experiences of injustice inform students' current and future

interactions with school. In many cases, students suffer directly from teacher bias in the form of

unmerited punishments. The unjust experiences of peers are potentially just as impactful. Recall

that adolescence is a critical time of identity development (Lave, 1996) and a significant

proportion of minority childhood development is the understanding of one's membership in an

16

excluded group. Simply put, the treatment of other members of one's group ought to be important to adolescents; it offers vital information for constructing a worldview, social identity, and collective sense of identity (Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004). Therefore, the enactment of bias on the part of teachers informs non-white students' awareness of bias, their anticipation of it, and strategies for maintaining their personhood in the face of it. Unfairness on the part of teachers causes minority students to lose trust in schools. The mistrust engendered by teachers can undermine students' willingness to engage with other educational institutions, including college (Yeager, Purdie, Hopper, Cohen, 2017). From the simplest psychological consideration: why would someone voluntarily continue to engage with a system that demeans and mistreats him?

Extreme exclusion: The school to prison pipeline. Exclusion defines the relationships between black males, American schools and the larger society. In America, poor, black males are at the very bottom of the social ladder, enduring the worst treatment and outcomes (Alexander, 2012). The overlap in treatment and outcomes between schools and the broader society leads many to characterize the non-white male educational track as the "school-to-prison pipeline" (Wald & Losen, 2003). The school-to-prison pipeline is a framework for analyzing the relationship between schooling and incarceration. Some students, non-white males in particular, are overrepresented in the negative aspects of schooling and overrepresented in prison. Consider these facts: in 1997, about 68% of state prison inmates had not completed high school, 75% of minors sentenced to adult prisons had not passed 10th grade, and an estimated 70% of the juvenile justice population suffered from learning disabilities, with many others being functionally illiterate and innumerate (Quinn et al., 2005). Statistics like these have led some to

characterize juvenile justice as the "default system" for young people who can't read or do math well, have mental health issues, and drop out or are kicked out of school.

For many non-white males, the school-to-prison pipeline gains momentum during the special education referral process. Referral is the first step towards placement and is usually initiated by the classroom teacher. The evaluation of a student's teachability is rooted in his teacher's normative, ethnocentric beliefs. That is, teachers have a culturally informed view of students and learning and they judge students against this biased, and often implicit, standard (Codrington & Fairchild, 2012). Employing cultural referents may be appropriate when teachers and students share a similar cultural backgrounds. This is the case of Carol Lee's (2007) work, which is relies heavily on the types of intimate knowledge that one typically gains as an inside member of a cultural group. In contrast to Lee's work in Chicago, where she shared an identity with students, the vast majority of teachers of non-white students, are white women. Non-white males are not likely to share either a racial, cultural, or sex identity with their teachers. Their teachers do not have the intimate, or even respectful, understanding of non-white cultures to utilize them for learning. When white teachers understand and work with non-white male students through white cultural frames the result is inequity and injustice, in this way culturally responsive pedagogy devolves into stereotypes and outright racism (Sleeter, 2012).

In practice, lack of shared cultural frameworks means that white female teachers judge non-white males according to white female norms. Thus, "the interactional and evaluative techniques routinely used by teacher may not be adequate to fully identify the intellectual resources and talents of low-status children, who are subsequently assessed as poor performers" (Stanton-Salazar, R, 1997 as cited by Skiba et al., 2006, p. 1426). Notice that it is not the act,

rather the 'interactional and evaluative techniques' that determine outcomes. These techniques underlie normative teaching. According to the theory of cultural reproduction the teacher need not be consciously aware of her bias in order to enact it effectively. She can create inequity simply by making the interpretations that seem obvious to her. When a non-white male behaves differently than her ethnocentric expectations, it is obviously an indication that there is something wrong, deviant, or deficient about the child. It is not student actions, but rather teacher interpretations that matter for outcomes.

Consider the importance of the phrase "teacher of record" in the context of a dispute between teacher and student. Student records exemplify a practical tool of exclusion that links schooling with incarceration. All accounting of classroom events is entrusted to the teacher, as adult, professional, and caregiver. Teachers alone are allowed to document a version of events. The records are one-sided and yet teachers' accounts of classroom events become the official transcript on student records. Teacher interpretations become indistinguishable from facts, despite the fact that teachers are often incapable of taking the social perspective of students (Gehlbach, 2010). That is, they cannot even imagine the student perspective of a classroom conflict. In the preface story above, imagine if the record were written by the black male student. His version of events might include public humiliation and the mischaracterization of his frustration as sexual aggressiveness. If student behavior records contained both teacher and student accounts, they would be more complicated at the very least. Many of victims of the discipline gap get involved the criminal justice system (Quinn et al., 2005), wherein student records are used as proof of a pattern. The school to prison pipeline is not only metaphorical, but

also procedural.[6] Special education labels and student discipline records epitomize the processes

that produce racialized inequity.

Inequity Happens in The Context of Teaching Across Difference

Racialized inequities are more likely to occur in classrooms where the teacher is a white

female. White females are the overwhelming majority of teachers (National Center for

Educational Statistics [NES], 2001). Indeed, higher education trends and teacher education

enrollments indicate that the majority of the teacher workforce will continue to comprise white

women for the foreseeable future (Feistritzer, 2011; Ludwig et al., 2010). Most white teachers do

not produce rampant inequity when they teach white students. Inequity is most often produced

when teachers and students differ in meaningful ways. Additionally, there is extensive research

suggesting that racially matching teachers and students limits inequitable outcomes (Irvine,

1989, Howard, 2001, Dee, 2004). It must be noted that the importance of specific differences is

contextual as it is created within each classroom community. Therefore, whether a difference is

meaningful will vary significantly along many variables, including region and immigrant

population. The literature confirms that some forms of difference correlate with outcomes. Thus,

difference is meaningful in classrooms and impactful according to the research. I argue that the

core phenomenon producing inequity is shared across many axes of difference. The central issue

is teachers and teaching, not students or specific differences. Student identities, grade levels, and

geographic regions vary; still white, female teachers are a common factor across multiple

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[6] This does not include the placement of police officers inside of schools, which creates a direct connection, express short cut for the school to prison pipeline.

domains of inequity. The root cause of racialized inequity lies within white female teachers and it manifests in normative teaching practices.

Meaningful Differences in Classrooms

Jane Elliott's famous "blue eyes/brown eyes" lesson helps to characterize my conception of meaningful differences in classrooms. Eye color is not usually considered a defining characteristic. However, Elliott imbued it with a strong, deterministic meaning as a class project (Peters, 1987). The activity made eye color into a meaningful difference between students. A nominal physical characteristic was arbitrarily assigned to status or stigma and the accompanying unearned privilege or undeserved scorn. This lesson is an example that illustrates how a difference need not be real in order to be felt. Indeed, race is similarly false form of difference. Unfortunately, those legal (Harris, 1991, Haney-Lopez, 1996) and social processes were implemented so long ago that most cannot imagine their construction and implementation. Today, race has tremendous meaning in the lives of Americans physically, financially, and in terms of educational outcomes (Chetty et al., 2018). In America and in classrooms, difference is what we make of it.

"Meaningful differences" are those that matter for interactions within classrooms. This research focuses on race and sex as important forms of differences. In many urban classrooms, teachers and students differ racially. Race is often used as a proxy for class. Thus, white teachers often differ from non-white students in socioeconomic strata. Similarly, sex is an unavoidable form of difference. Other types of difference may be meaningful in individual classrooms, including nationality, preferred language or dialect, age, etc. For instance, although I was a black male from a low-income community who shared many experiences and identities with students,

there were class differences between us. In the process of becoming a teacher, I had achieved a degree of upward mobility. I was no longer poor. Students confronted me with this meaningful difference on several occasions, including discussions of the form of money (cash versus credit cards) and where to keep it (in a bank versus under the mattress). Difference is inevitable in classrooms, but it does not inevitably produce inequity, negative outcomes depend on how teachers understand and respond to difference.

This work focuses on the meaningful difference at the intersection of race and sex, because this difference causes racialized inequity. It is by no means the only difference of import. One can imagine this framework being applicable to other forms of difference because it addresses the key mechanism in the production of inequity: normative teaching. I take the reader on a deep dive into the intersection of two critically meaningful differences and invite her to think about how these analyses can inform teaching across other types of difference.

Teaching Across Difference

Teaching across difference is often the context for the production of inequity. I define teaching across difference as any instance wherein a) there are meaningful differences between teacher and student and b) research implicates the specific kinds of difference in the production of negative student outcomes. Differences are not necessarily determinant and all forms of difference are not equally impactful. This research considers racial and sex differences, and their intersection, because the literature indicates that this intersection demarks the worst teacher-student relationships. Research shows that sex is a meaningful difference; teachers have better relationships with female students. Male students endure less support and more conflict in teacher-student relationships according to both teachers and students (Wu, Hughes, Kwok,

2010). Research also indicates that white teachers often have the worst relationships with black students (Wu, Hughes, and Kwok, 2010). According to the research, the students with the worst relationships with teachers are black and male.

If we constructed a 2x2 matrix for teacher-student relationships and labeled one axis 'race' and the other 'sex,' the best teacher-student relationships would occupy the same race x same sex square. These relationships contain the least amount of difference. Put another way, these relationships contain important similarities.

Table 1

Teacher-student relationship quality by race and gender

	Teacher same race as student	Teacher different race from student
Teacher same sex as student	Best teacher-student relationships	Better relationships for female students
Teacher different sex from student	Better relationships for race-match student	Worst teacher-student relationships

The worst relationships are at the different race by different sex intersection. In order from best to worst relationship, white female teachers prefer white female students, then white males, then black females, and finally black males. The most inequitable outcomes occur at the intersection of racial and sex differences. Specifically, white female teaching of non-white male students produces the most inequity in American schooling. Hence, the demographic focus in this research.

Why Does Difference Produce Inequity?

The racial differences between teachers and students underlie inequitable outcomes. Inequity is produced within the context of teaching across difference because of whiteness. Whiteness is a social system of exclusion designed for domination by whites and exclusion for non-whites.[7] The enactment of whiteness results in the exclusion of non-white students, examples include both the achievement and discipline gaps. Whiteness is the underlying norm for teachers and consequently bias defines their teaching practice. According to Blanchett (2006), "Educators tend to see Whiteness as the norm and consequently the academic skills, behavior, and social skills of African American and other students of color are constantly compared with those of their White peers" (p. 27). The rules and norms of schools privilege, behaviors and values of the dominant culture —that is, white and middle-class culture. Teachers, who are trusted to be impartial evaluators of students' abilities and behaviors, enforce these preferences in classrooms (Monroe, 2006). According to Albrecht and Albrecht (2011), "schools are not neutral institutions where all students start on equal footing, but… institutions where the preferences, attitudes, and behaviors of the "dominant class" are valued and rewarded" (p. 120). Therefore, I argue that normative teaching is at the root of many forms of racialized inequity.

Inequity is Produced By Moves in "Discretionary Spaces." The current political environment aims to constrain teaching and teachers. It gives a false sense that teachers are powerless. While they may not control curriculum or evaluation, they command the day-to-day and moment-to-moment. They hold dominion over the regular and routine; the discretionary

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[7] This research employs the term "non-white" because the critical issue is not the particular color of the person, but rather that the person is not white. Thereby, many people of color suffer under the same system of racial oppression, white supremacy.

spaces within classrooms (Ball, 2018). Whether a student is labeled as trouble or troubled is primarily the teacher's choice. She controls how she sees students and how she treats them. Inequity in the discipline gap is created by teachers' subjective interpretations of non-white student behaviors. Inequity in the achievement gap is caused by teachers' subjective evaluations of non-white student's intellectual aptitude and potential. In both cases, inequity is created within the discretionary spaces of classroom life, where teachers are all powerful and outcomes are contingent upon the subjective interpretations of teachers and their normative teaching practices (Ball, 2018).

No Racism Without Racists. At this point, characterizing schools as racist seems inescapable. The inequities in the treatment and outcomes of non-white male students are clearly caused by racism. This work aims to intervene and therefore I zoom down from the concept of racism and attend to specific mechanisms. Recall that the goal of this research is to uncover *how* normative teaching produces inequity. Many argue that racism is structural. Indeed, race undergirds many of the social systems of America, including schooling. But structures and systems are large, faceless, and generally unchanging. Structures are not the most apt targets for intervention. At a deeper level, structures are made up of people. For a macro-structure to be effective, it requires the micro-actions of people. Large social impacts are the aggregate of individual actions. Racialized inequities are constructed through interpersonal interactions.

Teachers transform racist belief into racist action through normative teaching practices. They animate and enact bias. Their interpretations consistently pivot on student identity and tend to confirm bias and enforce racism. Goff et al. (2014) shows that whites interpret blacks as older and more responsible for their behaviors. This research reveals racial bias in cross-racial

interpretations. Teachers in classrooms decide which student behaviors are inappropriate and unacceptable. Their evaluations of students are subjective and esoteric. And yet, despite all the possible variations in interpretation, we find consistent patterns along racial lines. Given pervasive trends in discipline gap data, it appears that teachers "judge students by their covers," that is, interpretations rely more on students' identities than their actions.

Race is a social construction that requires construction workers for the daily maintenance that sustains dominance and exclusion. It is a complex system that functions by a set of shared beliefs about white supremacy and a shared set of practices or habits for social interactions. Non-white exclusion is not a self-fulfilling, accidental, or natural outcome. There is no racism without racists (Bonilla-Silva, 2003). If racism is the analytical framework, one must identify the mechanism for producing inequity. This research considers teachers and normative teaching to be the producers of racialized inequities in education.

American Schools and the Social Reproduction of Racial Inequity

By reflecting and recreating the race and class-based inequities of this society, American schools effectively reproduce the gaps in access and opportunity from one generation to the next. Through a process Labaree (2010) describes as "credentialing," schools function as sorting mechanisms signaling to society the bases of economic stratification. Despite neo-liberal rhetoric about individualism, meritocracy, and the potential of schools for upliftment, "we still have an iron law correlation between socioeconomic status and educational achievement and attainment" (Reville, 2010). Our educational system does little to change the life course of Americans (Coleman et al., 1966). In schools and society, poor, black males are at the very bottom of the social ladder, enduring the worst treatment and outcomes (Alexander, 2012).

Inequitable By Design

School rules and routines are well aligned with racism. Inequity is legalized by school institutions and institutionalized in teaching practices. Simply by enacting standard policies and practices, teachers enforce racism and perpetuate inequity. This is critical to note: inequity results from the normal functioning of the majority of white teachers in American schools. To interrupt inequity, schools and teachers will have to do something different. Business as usual only perpetuates inequity. There is no space for neutrality in the classroom: teachers either fight against a tide of white supremacy or they swim along with it. They either resist or enact racial exclusion. As we have seen, normative teaching leads predictably to non-white student exclusion. For teachers to not be tools of racism, they must take active, strategic steps, such as embracing the types of alternative teaching practices that are described in this and other research. If they do what comes naturally, they will continue to produce and reproduce racial inequity.

Teachers and Teaching Produce Racialized Inequity

Teaching and teachers produce racialized inequities in schools, but they do not act in isolation. Schools are not the initiator of racialized inequity (Evans, 2004). Schools do not choose student zip codes, and yet zip codes are destiny for many Americans (Chetty & Hendren, 2018). Inequity begins before birth and hits high gear before students hit school age. Still, the whiteness of the society creeps into classrooms through the conduit of teaching (Vaught & Castagno, 2008). The problematic teaching moves in the discretionary spaces of teaching across difference are manifestations of whiteness (Ball, 2018). In the preface, the student was punished because the teacher relied on her white dialect. She is employing *her* colloquial understanding of *his* words. Whiteness produces racialized inequity through teaching practice. This section frames

teaching as a personal pursuit to highlight the definitive role of the teacher in teaching and then considers cognitive, experiential, psychological, and social factors to describe potential ways that teachers bring bias into classrooms.

Teaching Style?

Teaching is not a profession (Cohen, 2011). It does not meet any of Abbott's (1988) basic tenets of a profession, including a specialized knowledge base in the academy or professional monitoring of access and quality. It is a deeply personal endeavor similar to a craft, as evidenced by the prominence of the concept "teaching style." The teacher's identity and personality are critical to her teaching. Despite cautions against projecting personal life into the classroom, personal matters "inevitably creep in the back door through teaching style, manner of presentation, and classroom organization" (Elbaz, 1983, p. 19). There is a personal character to teacher knowledge. Interactions with teachers, around a common situation, reveal the importance of point of view in affecting perception, evaluation, and interpretation (Elbaz, 1983). This notion of perspective is not strictly intellectual, but also includes "feeling, values, purpose and commitments" (Elbaz, 1983, p. 17). Personal orientation affects what teachers notice and how they understand what they notice. According to Golombek (1998) goes a step further than Elbaz arguing that practical knowledge is explicitly personal. For Golombek (1998) teacher's personal practical knowledge is "personally relevant, situational, oriented toward practice, dialectical, and dynamic as well as moralistic, emotional, and consequential" (p. 452). Thus, "personal practical knowledge informs practice, first, in that it guides teachers' sense-making processes; that is, as part of a teacher's interpretive framework, it filters experiences so that teachers reconstruct it and respond to the exigencies of the situation" (Golombek, 1998, p. 459). Golombek and Elbaz help

us understand how personal attributes-labeled variously orientation, point of view, and perspective- underlie and define an individual teacher's style.

Teaching is Personal, Not Professional

Teaching is only nominally impacted by professional preparation. Unfortunately, teacher education is often described as a weak treatment. It does not move teachers away from their apprenticeship of observation (Lortie, 1975) nor does it move teachers away from bias. Professional training only marginally influences teaching practice. Teaching is defined by the personal characteristics and predilections of individuals. Preparation for teaching across difference is particularly fruitless (Chizhik, 2003, McKinney et al., 2008). The feebleness of teacher education renders most classroom teaching little more than the personal preference and normative teaching little more than the enactment of bias.

The ineffectiveness of teacher education has important consequences. Modeling one's teaching style on the perception of a favorite teacher's practice (Lortie, 1975) leads to conservatism. Teaching is recreated generation after generation by teacher's desire to become a much loved teacher from their past. This back-facing frame all but negates innovation and change. There have been racialized inequities in education from the start, and yet the continuity of inequity is but one example of the historical intransigence of teaching. Despite over a hundred years of science, high schools refuse to adjust to the diurnal rhythms of adolescent students and school lunches still serve salty, sugary, fatty foods that rob children of their capacity to concentrate. The poverty of teacher preparation leads to an overemphasis on the person, personal preferences and biases, in teaching. Teaching practice is overdetermined by the teacher, rather than the practices, norms, and clinical decision-making instantiated during professional training.

This overemphasis on practitioner instead of client[8] is yet another reason that teaching is an occupation, not a profession. Training does not influence teachers.[9] Thusly, training does not influence teaching. Consequently, a teacher's identity determines the teaching that her students experience.

Cognitive Biases

Gehlbach (2010) asserts that cognitive biases are useful for understanding teaching, stating:

> "the fundamental attribution error, naïve realism, and confirmation bias seem particularly germane to classroom settings" According to Ross (1977), the fundamental attribution error consists of people's pervasive tendency to explain the social behavior of others by overweighting the causal role of an individual's personality traits and undervaluing situational causes. Confirmation bias refers to the tendency of people to seek out and value information that corroborates their pet hypothesis, often while ignoring or devaluing contradictory information (Wason 1960). Naïve realism is the belief that we see objective reality; those that agree with our point of view also see objective reality; but those who disagree must be (a) subject to different (presumably lesser) information, (b) too lazy to process the information fully, or (c) biased (Ross and Ward 1996)" (p.352).

In terms of race, we must note that whites see themselves as the only ones capable of objectivity (DiAngelo, 2018), the opinions of non-whites are determined by their racial identity. Thus, whites tend to think they see the real world, while the perspective of people of color is

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[8] The legitimacy of a profession is rooted in providing service to the public (Abbott, 1988). To focus on the practitioner at the expense of the client is morally repugnant and relegates teaching work to the low status of an occupation. Imagine a professional, such as a nurse, focusing on her feelings rather than patient outcomes and you begin to see the ethical failure of teaching.

[9] In her analysis of the financial structure of universities, and the role of teacher education programs within them, Gloria Ladson-Billings concludes that the financial needs of universities to keep the lowest performing students paying tuition, militates against any attempts at raising standards and quality. The university context supports ineffective teacher education programming and hinders improvements.

limited to their being non-white.[10] These cognitive biases are commonplace in the world, but extremely detrimental to teaching across difference.

All three of these biases-attribution error, confirmation bias, and naïve realism-can be seen in the preface. The teacher attributes the student's responses to him personally. She misses the situational context, including the impact of her actions on the student. Her confirmation bias can be seen in transforming the student's frustration into sexual aggression. Clearly, she wanted to punish him and his statement provided the opportunity. The teacher's naïve realism is revealed by her insistence that her colloquial use of the phrase was the same as the students, but clearly it was not. Her interpretation presumes an objective worldview, but in reality, she is superimposing her perspective on top of the student. These cognitive biases interfere with teachers' capacity to make fair interpretations of non-white students. They also support the enactment of normative teaching by leading teachers to view their actions as normal, right, and good while explaining away inequitable outcomes.

Experience Is the Teacher

In terms of experience, most teachers grow up mono-cultural (Zeichner & Hoeft, 1996), due to residential segregation practices such as redlining and white flight. Most teachers come from environments that are not diverse, not urban, and not poor. Since effective social interactions rely on prolonged and extensive experience, one should expect monocultural teachers to struggle with urban and/or poor students. Teacher's experience as students, their

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[10] One of the contributions of critical studies is to attack the assertion of objectivity. Simply put, objectivity is farcical and better understood in terms of power than truth or lived experience. The question is always, objective to whom?

apprenticeship of observation (Lortie, 1975), also normalizes inequity. Most teachers attended

schools with other white, non-poor, and non-urban students. They have little experience learning

with or from diverse groups. Indeed, the experience of gender in schools may reinforce bias. A

female teacher, who benefitted from gender bias as a student in school discipline, is unlikely to

problematize the disproportionate punishment of males. Think for a moment of the archetypal

troublemaker—whether Tom Sawyer, Dennis the Menace, or Bart Simpson—the 'bad kid' is a

male. Teacher's formative experiences, both as Americans and as students, can normalize

inequity and negatively impact the effectiveness and quality of interactions when teaching across

difference.

Gut Feelings

Social psychology uses the term "interracial anxiety," a form of social anxiety, to

describe the experience of some whites in interracial situations, such as teaching across

difference. For instance, Richeson and Shelton (2003) found that interracial interactions, termed

aversive stimuli, lowered the cognitive performance of highly prejudiced whites. This research

gives us insight into some common behavior patterns. First, this research shows that interracial

interactions can cause whites to display anxiety on biological markers (Mendes et al., 2002).

Race is impacting some whites even when they do not recognize or admit it. This helps to

explain why teacher self-reports are so unreliable and why self-reported changes in beliefs do not

correspond with improvements in practice and outcomes for students (Grant and Koskela, 1986).

Self-reports by teachers are useful measures of social desirability; they are not proof of change

and should not be used as such by education researchers. Second, the physiological impact of

social anxiety is similar to a threat response (Schmader et al., 2012). The body does not register

whether the black kindergartener is actually dangerous, it responds to perceived threats in predictable ways. Threat reduces cognitive ability and often limits decision-making to "fight, flight, or fright." If a teacher feels threatened—by the mere presence of non-whites (Bargh & Chartrand, 1991)—she is not able to fully engage her reasoning during discretionary moments. Feelings of inner angst can become an outward rejection of the threat. In the case of teaching across difference, the lashing out and rejection manifest as non-white student exclusion. One reason teachers exclude non-white students is the feeling of relief from interracial anxiety. This view is aligned with other literature (Noguera, 1995) that suggests teachers' insistence upon controlling and punishing non-white males is essential to maintaining the social order of America. The literature from social psychology makes clear the frequently unrecognized effects of interracial interactions on whites and helps expose how interracial situations might impact teachers and their teaching practices.

Consider the concepts of priming and bias within the multiple frames of authority that a teacher wields in the classroom and the public nature of her professional practice (Pace, 2003). A teacher is responsible for each student but also for the classroom of students, the class. When interacting with one student, she is simultaneously setting patterns and expectations for the class as a whole. Each interaction has consequences for future interactions with students, setting precedents, boundaries, and rules of engagement. Therefore, we might expect teachers to be conscientious of their image during these charged, public altercations. "A provocative set of studies by Spencer, Fein, Wolfe, Fong, and Dunn (1998) tested the hypothesis that threats to one's self-image automatically trigger the goal of restoring the threatened self-image. One tactic that people often use to restore self-esteem is to denigrate others, especially groups of low power

and status within society" (Bargh & Chartrand, 1999, p.470). If the teacher needs to save face, she may very well be extra harsh towards a student. "Here is a case in which a situational feature—a failure experience or some other blow to self-esteem—automatically triggers a well-rehearsed goal and plan to restore the sense of self-worth. Unfortunately, it comes at the expense of others" (Bargh & Chartrand, 1999, p. 470). White female teachers feel threatened by interactions with non-white male students and respond by excluding them. They establish their power as authorities by removing the less powerful student from the classroom.

Implicit Bias

Research in psychology indicates that teachers and all Americans are prone to implicit biases. The American Psychological Association's Task Force on Preventing Discrimination and Promoting Diversity found that biases – including implicit biases – are pervasive across people and institutions (Jones et al., 2012). Implicit biases are beliefs that have become so engrained so as to have passed from our awareness and perception (Jost et al., 2009). These are beliefs that hold us as opposed to the beliefs we hold. Some suggest that racial bias is capable of overwhelming other frames for decision-making. Levinson (2011) "argues that an undiscovered piece of human "irrational" behavior is that it systematically yields to racial stereotypes (p.595)." He refers to this racial bias as "SuperBias"—a bias so powerful that it modifies even existing biases" (Levinson, 2011, p. 595). Although the behaviors of children may impact adult decision-making processes, implicit biases about sex and race may influence how those behaviors are perceived and how they are addressed, creating a vicious cycle over time exacerbating inequalities (Gilliam et al., 2016). Actions are open to myriad interpretations, but those interpretations are limited by characteristics of teachers, including the implicit biases of which

they are unaware. Indeed, given racial bias, teacher decision-making, in aggregate, is patterned and highly predictable.

Stereotypes. For our purposes, stereotypes provide a useful characterization of implicit bias. Unfortunately, these biases manifest in teaching behaviors. For instance, Gilliam et al. (2016) showed that when primed for student misbehavior, teachers watch black male students. Without knowing it consciously, without acknowledging or owning it, teachers demonstrate a propensity to think less of non-white children. These views are well established and well aligned with the dominant narrative of whiteness. Implicit bias and stereotypes provide a way to think about how the racism of the wider society comes into the classroom. Racist bias is in many white teachers' heads and they don't even know it and as a result they enforce racism onto non-white children without reference to consciousness.

Stereotypes are a way to describe the mental categories associated with normative teaching. "Mental categories are absolutely essential in simplifying and understanding the information-rich environment (e.g., Bruner, 1957; E. E. Smith & Medin, 1981), but stereotypes are maladaptive forms of categories because their content does not correspond to what is actually present or going on in the environment" (Bargh & Chartrand, 1999, p. 467). Stereotypes overtake facts and overwhelm rational thinking. Nowhere is this more evident than in the fear that teachers demonstrate towards non-white male students, even at the youngest ages.

According to the literature, "stereotypes can lead perceivers to adopt traits of the stereotyped people. The experience of whiteness, now, was physical—located in the body's fears, discomforts, and dislikes as well as its desires and yearnings" (Cooks, 2003, p. 251). If a teacher perceives students through the stereotype of angry and aggressive, she may respond to

them with anger and aggression. Stereotypes are activated automatically, which renders them invisible. According to Bargh & Chartrand (1991), they are triggered

> "by skin color, gender characteristics, and other easily detected features of group members (Brewer, 1988)—in other words, by the actual presence of the person being stereotyped. The effect of stereotypes on behavior could therefore create— entirely non-consciously—a "self-fulfilling prophecy" (e.g., Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1968; Snyder, Tanke, & Berscheid, 1977) by causing the perceiver to behave in line with stereotypic expectations, to which the stereotyped person might well respond in kind" (p. 466-467).

According to this literature, teachers and students are aware of stereotypes and their employment by teachers may impact students' behavior, establishing a pattern that results in racialized inequity.

The use of stereotypes by teachers initiates a negative cycle of interaction between teacher and student in the context of teaching across difference. One potential effect of being primed by the presence of black male students may be the activation of greater hostility. For example, Bargh and Chartrand (1999) found that

> "participants who were subliminally presented with faces of young male African Americans subsequently reacted with greater hostility (a component of the African American stereotype [e.g., Devine, 1989]) to a mild provocation, compared with the control condition. Thus the automatic activation of the African American stereotype caused the participants to behave themselves with greater hostility" (p.467).

Given these findings, stereotypes may operate as a double whammy for non-white male students in classrooms: first they are perceived as hostile and second this perception leads whites to treat them with hostility. They are interpreted as aggressive and treated aggressively. The teacher is primed to fight by the non-white male student's presence and her stereotypes about

him lead her to interpret him as a threat and respond accordingly. Similar to schizophrenia, the problem is perception. The actions that follow are logical, but only according to delusional perceptions. If all non-white males were actually criminals, teachers would be behaving rationally. Of course, this is patently ridiculous.

Stereotypes are a root of bias. They underlie the perception of preferences, likes and dislikes. According to Bargh and Chartrand (1999)

> "Evaluations, such as global judgments as to whether an event or object is good or bad (see Eagly & Chaiken, 1993), are commonly assumed to be made consciously and intentionally… However, prodded by Zajonc's (1980) famous challenge to this position—that "preferences need no inferences"—a substantial body of evidence has now accumulated that one's evaluations often (if not usually) become activated directly, without one needing to think about them, or even be aware that one has just classified the person or event as good or bad. Instead, just the mere presence of the attitude object is sufficient to cause the corresponding evaluation" (p.473-474).

In classrooms, the presence of non-white students automatically leads many teachers to stereotypes. Their decisions about students are made before they consciously process any information or conduct any deliberation. "Immediately and unintentionally, then, a perceived object or event is classified as either good or as bad, and this results, in a matter of milliseconds, in a behavioral predisposition toward that stimulus" (Bargh & Chartrand, 1999, p. 475). Without thinking, teachers see non-white students as bad and enact biases through normative teaching.

Teaching is the Manifestation and Implementation of Inequity

Various literatures identify pathways for bias to enter the classroom. Thus, racism infiltrates schooling in multiple ways. It can come along with teachers' lack of experience with

difference and their definitive experiences with schooling. Given their relatively mono-cultural backgrounds, teachers may very well be ignorant about how to work with non-white students. The experience of schooling, as an American and a student, may reinforce systemic biases and make inequity seem natural. Social anxiety helps us understand the potential influence of an interracial environment on teacher's mental states and cognitive capacities. If the teacher feels threatened by students, she is unlikely to be able to make fair evaluations of their behavior or intellect. Implicit bias is a concept that helps unveil the connection between social conventions, such as stereotypes, and teaching practices. Implicit bias moves away from guilt and blame, because it is not related to consciousness. It states simply that people, like teachers, are products of environments whether they recognize it or not. In America, the environment is defined by whiteness, its attendant needs and consequent structures. From experience, social psychology, and brain science we see the multitude of channels that carry racism and bias from the dominant society into the classroom.

Much Ado About Teaching

Recognition that teachers produce inequity leads many educators to focus their attention and interventions on changing teachers. Specifically, changing teachers' beliefs has been a major thrust of efforts to address racialized inequity in education (Grant & Secada, 1990; Zeichner and Hoeft, 1996). These efforts have not produced significant, meaningful, or lasting change. Thirty years into the work on multicultural education, culturally relevant education, and other work of

this genre,[11] teachers are not creating more equitable outcomes in classrooms. The impotence of belief change rests on a failed theory—one that fits the ideals of teacher educators more so than the lived realities of white females in a white supremacist society. Rather than assert that teachers ought to become the ideal anti-racists, this work attempts to highlight ways to address racism *in practice*.

  It's Not All in Their Heads. While overestimating the role of conscious decision-making (Shavelson, 1973) is understandable for a field like teaching, which is constantly attacked as easy and unintellectual (Weisberg et al., 2009), belief change was never a useful approach for changing racialized inequities. Simply put, the implicit theory that racist actions stem from consciously racist thoughts is not valid or productive. Racist outcomes do not require thought or deliberation. The presence of non-white people activates stereotypes, which initiate automatic responses and exclusionary behaviors. The process of racism moves from observation to action without passing through consciousness. Therefore, the common theories of how race works in schools are invalid; they are simply not true, real, or helpful. Focusing on conscious beliefs is basically wrongheaded.

  There are many other practical limitations to efforts to change teachers' beliefs. Beliefs do not necessarily inform practice. Grant and Koskela (1986) found that self-reports on belief change did not correlate with improved teaching practice or student outcomes. Changing belief, in itself, does not build capacity. People may believe the right principles and still not take the right actions. In this manner, culturally responsive pedagogy often descends into stereotypes and

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[11] Education is a field overburdened by the proliferation of terms. While the individual authors will argue the importance of their specific framework, in practical terms, academic efforts to address racialized inequities in schools fall into a bucket that we may call 'culturally relevant…'

lessons about rapping with little educational value (Sleeter, 2012). People may have the right

beliefs, yet their inherited practices, or folkways (Buchmann, 1987), lead to the perpetuation of

the norm. Correct beliefs do not automatically produce correct actions. Some teachers consider

themselves student allies and misconstrue lowered expectations as compassion, inadvertently

contributing to the learned helplessness phenomenon. They have the right beliefs, but their

execution exacerbates the problem. The connection between beliefs and actions is tenuous at

best. At worst, emphasizing beliefs is yet another way to privilege the feelings of whites over the

lived realities of non-white people.

This research asserts that actions, behaviors, and practices may be a more valid frame for

considering the production of inequity by teachers and normative teaching. In contrast with

beliefs, changing practices is potentially impactful. The experience of success and technical

expertise are invaluable to teachers' sense of their own capacity, and therefore willingness, to

teach across difference. Given the unmitigated failure of efforts to change beliefs in the abstract

(Grant & Secada, 1990; Zeichner and Hoeft, 1996), focusing on actions ought to be pursued as a

concrete alternative. More importantly, changing teacher practice changes student experiences.[12]

I want to improve practice, which may or may not involve changing teachers. Belief change

efforts operate under the specious claim that "you are what you think." In reality, you are what

you do—thinking often has nothing to do with it.

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[12] I wonder if those focusing on beliefs are concerned with outcomes for students, since their focus privileges white teachers at the expense on non-white students. Educators must decide whether the goal of intervention is improved student treatment and outcomes or white teacher's moral and ethical status, as these results are mutually distinct and apparently conflict-ridden.

Proposing an Alternative in Practice

After 30 years of CRP, education is mired by two seemingly incongruous and historically persistent findings regarding racialized inequity. First, we still have tremendous "gaps" in the experiences and outcomes between races and sexes in this country. On nearly all school metrics, whites do better than non-white students. Similarly, female students dominate male students in terms of achievement, attainment, and disciplinary outcomes. At the intersection of race and sex, non-white male students have always endured the worst outcomes. Second, teachers claim to be innocent of their role in producing inequity (Malwhinney, 1998) or ignorant of its existence. King (1991) describes this supposed ignorance as dysconscious racism, arguing that, "Dysconsciousness is an uncritical habit of mind (including perceptions, attitudes, assumptions, and beliefs) that justifies inequity and exploitation by accepting the existing order of things as given" (p.135). Dysconsciousness highlights the self-serving nature of claims to ignorance. White responses to inequity do not exist in abstraction rather they are attached to the material realities of white supremacy.

Teachers frequently deny the products of their labors or refuse to acknowledge them. How could this be? How can teachers create inequity without knowing it? Inequities are not new; they have been a part of American schooling from the onset. Yet, teachers claim to be ignorant of inequity. One reason they do not notice inequity is because it fits the expectations of non-white inferiority in a racially stratified society. Another common response from teachers is to claim innocence (Malwhinney, 1998). For Malwhinney (1998), "Moves to innocence' are characterised by strategies to remove involvement in and culpability for systems of domination" (p.17). It should be ironic for a professional to claim that her work has no effect, or no negative

41

effects, but this is precisely the case in teaching. Here, the concept of white fragility helps explain many white teachers' inability to engage in a sober appraisal of their behaviors (DiAngelo, 2018). Indeed, white comfort and white fragility are the vanguards of white supremacy; by delimiting engagement they effectively curtail racial justice before it can even begin. The question that remains is: how can teachers actively participate in the creation of inequity and claim to be ignorant or innocent of the products of their work?

Thinking about teachers unintentionally producing harm, but producing it nonetheless, lead me to the concept of habits. Habits help us understand a) the things that we do most often and b) the things we do without thinking. This is precisely the case in the production of inequity by teaching. Given the scale of inequitable 'gaps' in education, one ought to presume commonality in the teaching practices that produce them. Gaps are not rare or isolated; therefore there must be shared traits, common features of teaching practices nationally. I describe this predominant mode of teaching as "normative teaching." Inequity is pervasive. Regular teaching done most of the time creates it. Random acts committed by a few bad apples could not produce inequity on the scale of the racialized gaps in education.

Habits are also useful for understanding the ways that normative teaching creates inequity because they are both routine and not conscious. The concept of habit relegates all discussion of teacher intent, consciousness, and belief to irrelevance. This is an affordance because as a not conscious process, teachers are relieved of the blame and guilt that undermined previous efforts at intervening on racial inequity in education. Part of the reason why CRP did not deeply impact teaching is because many whites felt indicted and thereby gave themselves permission to shut down. The blame game did not produce uptake or improvement. Confronting the reality that

42

racism produces inequity sets up a predictable impasse: white guilt, retreat, and avoidance (Tatum, 1992). Habits are removed from such intractable, emotional traps. Habits are an extremely useful tool for describing regular and not conscious actions and therefore they are helpful for understanding the role of normative teaching in the production of racialized inequity.

Racist Teaching is Enacted Through Habits

The concept of habit is the foundation of my theory of how normative teaching produces inequity. Habits describe the actions we take without thought. Habits are effective ways to behave in predictable and mundane situations. Habits are a tool of the mind, they help us to conserve energy by allowing the brain to turn off during the most common activities. That is, we enact habits when the choice is foregone, times that don't require consideration but mere activation for action. In the active teaching of classroom life, most decisions fall into the categories of immediate and routine. As these categories rely on snap judgments and previous experience they are apt for habituation. For instance, the route one takes home from work is not pondered at great lengths. Whether one takes the highway or local roads depends on what one normally does. If every decision required lengthy contemplation, everyday life would grind to a halt, as even the most rudimentary actions would require time-consuming deliberation. Indeed, life without habits would be miserable and probably untenable.

The Root of Habits in the Brain

To understand the role of habits in producing racialized inequity, I turn to literature from neuroscience. This work makes the connection from an internal psychological phenomenon to widespread social outcomes. Nobel-prize winner Daniel Kahneman suggests there are two

43

systems by which the brain operates: system one, thinking fast, and system two, thinking slow. For Kahneman (2011) "System 1 operates automatically and quickly, with little to no effort and no sense of voluntary control. System 2 allocates attention to the effortful mental activities that demand it, including complex computations. The operations of System 2 are often associated with the subjective experience of agency, choice, and concentration" (p. 20-21). It is helpful to think of these systems as first and second since that is their temporal ordering and it describes their relative power over individuals. System 1 is first and more powerful. System 2 is derivative and subservient. System 1 is constantly active. System two is activated only when necessary. System 2 fits the preferred perspective of educational research by privileging teacher thinking and consciousness—the invalid theories that focus on belief change. System 1 is fast, passive and not conscious; characteristics that fit the model asserted by research on implicit bias and stereotypes. The moves from stimulus to default action asserted by the literature on implicit bias are substantiated by the neuroscience of habits. Those focused on the power of beliefs would be well served by recognizing that they are focusing on the second system, which is subjugated by the first.

The fast and slow systems in our brains interact. According to Kahneman (2011):

"Systems 1 and 2 are both active whenever we are awake. System 1 runs automatically and System 2 is normally in a comfortable low-effort mode, in which only a fraction of its capacity is engaged. System 1 continuously generates suggestions for System 2: impressions, intuitions, and feelings. If endorsed by System 2, impressions and intuitions turn into beliefs, and impulses turn into voluntary actions. When all goes smoothly, which is most of the time, System 2 adopts the suggestions of System 1 with little or no modification. You generally believe your first impressions and act on your desires, and that is fine—usually" (Kahneman, 2011, p. 24).

44

System 1 is constantly providing perceptions, feelings and sensory data, while system 2 offers interpretations and connects experience to abstract goals and values. The slow system constructs and holds the mental frames for organizing and understanding sensory data from the fast one. The fast system in turn perceives information in ways that comport with the mental frame. Perception is inherently subjective and best understood as the interplay between the environment and the mental frame of the individual perceiver. As alluded to in the phrase "beauty is in the eye of the beholder," all perception occurs in the mind of the one perceiving and is thereby defined by his perspective, value system, and past experiences amongst other influences. The relationship between a perspective and an interpretation is particularly important for teaching since the field is plagued by subjectivity and intuition. Recall that teacher interpretations of students, not actions of qualities of students, determine inequitable outcomes. Indeed, this research suggests that teacher subjectivity produces inequity.

The literature describes a relationship between the systems where the fast automatic system is really the driver. For Bargh and Chartrand (1999)

> "Given the severe limitations of conscious self-regulation capacity (e.g., Baumeister et al., 1998; Muraven et al., 1998), it makes sense that even complex self-regulatory goals can operate automatically and efficiently, without needing to be instigated and then guided by expensive acts of will and choice. This limited conscious self-regulation is better spared for those occasions when there are real options and choices of which path to take—that is, for situations in which the same conscious choice is not typically made each time" (p. 473).

In contrast with conscious deliberation, "the automatic processes described here are unintended, very fast, and many of them can operate at any given time. Most important, they are effortless, continually in gear guiding the individual safely through the day" (Bargh & Chartrand,

1999, p. 477). Kahneman also suggests that the slow system tends to adopt the fast one. Thus, most of our thinking is effectively under the jurisdiction of the automatic, not conscious, sensory system. Most of our decisions and actions are not conscious. "To consciously and willfully regulate one's own behavior, evaluations, decisions, and emotional states requires considerable effort and is relatively slow. Moreover, it appears to require a limited resource that is quickly used up, so conscious self-regulatory acts can only occur sparingly and for a short time." (Bargh & Chartrand, 1999, p. 476)

Kahneman's reference to the infrequency of problems between thinking fast and slow foreshadows those times when the discrepancy is problematic. There are times when our fast system gets us into trouble with changing environmental realities, abstract goals, and values. This is the case in education, where the automatic and default behaviors of the majority of teachers, namely normative teaching, create racialized inequity. In classrooms, the unchecked employment of system 1 leads teachers to effectively and not-consciously harm non-white students. For educational outcomes to improve, teaching will have to move from a not-conscious focus on white supremacy and exclusion to a conscious, professional focus on the outcomes for students.

The Structure of Habits

Duhigg (2012) provides a composite account of the science on habits, their structure, formation, and how to mitigate them. According to Duhigg (2012) habit formation begins with a "process—in which the brain converts a sequence of actions into an automatic routine—is known as "chunking" (p. 17). For Duhigg (2012) habits "emerge because the brain is constantly looking for ways to save effort. Left to its own devices, the brain will try to make almost any

routine into a habit, because habits allow our minds to ramp down more often." (p.17). Habits are

shortcuts. They are the original "life hacks," providing ease and efficiently producing predictable

outcomes.

Habits are composed of a three-step process:

"First, there is a cue, a trigger that tells your brain to go into automatic mode and
which habit to use. Then there is the routine, which can be physical or mental or
emotional. Finally, there is a reward, which helps your brain figure out if this
particular loop is worth remembering in the future… Over time, this loop—cue,
routine, and reward—becomes more and more automatic. The cue and reward
become intertwined until a powerful sense of anticipation and craving emerges.
Eventually… a habit is born" (Duhigg (2012), p. 19).

Habits are a process that moves from sensory input directly to active response without

pausing for the slow system to deliberate. Ultimately, completing the habitual cycle and

experiencing the reward creates the desire for more of the reward and thereby habits become

imbued with psychological significance. Habits produce results that feel right and the right

feeling serves as the evaluation of a habit.

The results of habits feel like rewards. There are examples of habits producing the right

feeling in education. Racialized gaps in discipline practices and outcomes existed from the start,

and yet there were not problematized by educators. Not until NCLB- an initiative from outside of

education- did the rampant inequity in education rise to the level of public concern. For many

white teachers, racialized inequities are natural, not alarming. This is due, in part, to the fit

between inequitable outcomes and expectations in a racially stratified society. Negative

outcomes for non-white people confirm their innate inferiority in the eyes of the majority.

Teachers do not notice inequity, in part, because it feels right, it fits their expectation of what is

supposed to happen. Making white dominance invisible is critical to its deployment by the well-intentioned. Making inequity natural is crucial to hiding the role of whites in producing it. As Cooks (2003) notes, "White behavior was, is, and remains, unremarkable." The overlap between inequity and white educator's expectations is a critical lens for understanding teachers' claims of innocence in the production on inequity.

Ducking is an example of a habit. William James famously said 'you start running and then you see the bear' successfully predicting what neuroscience now confirms about perception and action. I will use the act of ducking[13] from a collision to describe how habits merge perception with action. The cue is the feeling, sense, or intuition of the fast system 1. In this example, the habit begins when we sense the need to get out of the way of an oncoming object. The routines are the actions that automatically flow from this cue. When we "duck," the routines include crouching, dodging, and getting out of the way. These movements are ultimately defined by their purpose: to avoid a potential collision. Lastly, there is the reward. In the case of evading contact, successfully ducking ostensibly saves one from an undesirable experience. The benefit is in avoiding the pain that would occur if you did not duck. There may also be a sense of pride in this victory. For instance, in sports dodging a defender is often an essential and celebrated event-the genre of street basketball centers on the art of making opponents miss. It is also important to put the reward in the context of confirmation bias. People are predisposed to remember those instances wherein the habit was successful. They are unlikely to recall times when it was ineffective. Thus, they are unlikely to change the habit. Habits create a feedback loop; they become self-fulfilling. Eventually, the habit colors our perceptions to align with it and the

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[13] Ironically the phrase alludes to the random actions of a bird to avoid contact.

fulfillment of the reward overshadows the actual effectiveness of the habit. Thus, habits are often invisible to us. In the case of ducking, one might rightly ask: what else should someone do for impending harm? The question reveals that ducking is obvious and therefore no longer requiring conscious thought or examination.

Mental Butlers. Lest readers consider habits as necessarily negative or find themselves burdened by the lack of agency and the limits of free will that can be inferred from the preceding description, I echo Duhigg's reassurance that "Habits aren't destiny" (p.20). Indeed, one ought to consider the positive impacts of habitual actions. Thinking is expensive in terms of bodily resources. For Duhigg (2012), "This effort-saving instinct (*habit*) is a huge advantage… An efficient brain also allows us to stop thinking constantly about basic behaviors, such as walking and choosing what to eat, so we can devote mental energy to inventing" (p. 17-18). Thinking can be slow and unpredictable. Some circumstances, such as responding to students in a classroom, demand quick actions that are beyond the limitations of careful pondering. Similarly, thinking may produce a poor decision or no decision at all (Willingham, 2009). While habits do not always procure the best result, what matters most is that they secure a predictable result. For humans, predictability is a critical antidote to the insecurity that defines existence (Watts, 2011). Bargh and Chartrand (1999) describe habits as helpmates; stating:

> "the automaticity of being" is far from the negative and maladaptive… rather, these processes are in our service and best interests—and in an intimate, knowing way at that. They are, if anything, "mental butlers" who know our tendencies and preferences so well that they anticipate and take care of them for us, without having to be asked" (p. 476).

Habits Are a Way to Understand How Normative Teaching Produces

Inequity

We have established that most mental activity occurs through not conscious processes and that these processes produce reflexive actions that can be described as habits. Thus, I assert that habits are useful for describing how normative teaching produces inequity. The concept of habit illuminates the ways that white female teachers teach or interact with and relate to non-white, male students. Duhigg (2012) is clear about the impact of habits, stating

> "the reason the discovery of the habit loop is so important is that it reveals a basic truth: When a habit emerges, the brain stops fully participating in decision making. It stops working so hard, or diverts focus to other tasks. So unless you deliberately fight a habit—unless you find new routines—the pattern will unfold automatically" (p. 20).

This research moves forward under the theory that habits, not conscious thinking, lay at the core of inequity in teaching across difference. It embraces the charge that changing habits will require strident effort. This work does not intend to persuade teachers to change their habits. Instead, it presents alternatives for those who recognize the injustice caused by practice and choose to change. Finally, the findings of this research address Duhigg's assertion that the realization of change requires alternative routines. Changing a habit requires adopting a replacement; otherwise the default will recur as systems seek homeostasis. This work aims to identify teaching moves to replace the habits that define normative teaching practice.

There are various types of habits. Some habits are small, such as tying a tie or one's shoes. Others are complicated, as in backing out of one's garage. The impact of a habit varies by context. Whether it is adaptive or maladaptive depends on its effect. This research focuses on the effect in classrooms on teachers and students as the measure of a habit's appropriateness. Data suggests that white female's teaching habits produce inequity; they are out of synch with the

education goal of student learning. Therefore, the habits of normative teaching are maladaptive—indeed they harm students and teachers and yet teachers continue to enact them.

Habits also vary in their development. According to Bargh and Chartrand (1999):

> "Some of the automatic guidance systems we've outlined are "natural" and don't require experience to develop… Other forms of automatic self-regulation develop out of repeated and consistent experience; they map onto the regularities of one's experience and take tasks over from conscious choice and guidance when that choice is not really being exercised. This is how goals and motives can come to operate non-consciously in given situations, how stereotypes can become chronically associated with the perceptual features of social groups, and how evaluations can become integrated with the perceptual representation of the person, object, or event so that they become active immediately and unintentionally in the course of perception" (p. 476).

This framing is helpful for considering the impact of social environments on the development of habits. The social environment of America is defined by race. The existence of racialized gaps in the treatment and outcomes of children is the example under investigation here, but race determines many other outcomes in this country. We have seen how habits are rooted in our brains and detailed the mechanics of habits. We have even considered the affordances of habits for conserving energy and efficient and effective actions. Since habits can be developed by prolonged interactions with the environment, I now turn to considering how the habits of white female teachers are created in interaction with the environment of white supremacy in America. I unpack how teaching is implicated in the creation of inequity. I describe a relationship between habits of whiteness and the normative teaching practices that create the discipline gap. To understand the particular habits of white females in teaching across

difference, I utilize the literature on habits of whiteness from social psychology to unpack the ways that habits of whiteness appear in normative teaching practices.

Habits of Whiteness

I came to the notion of habits of whiteness by combining literature on habits with literature on racial identity development. Specifically, I focused on the group that considers themselves to not 'have' race, whites. Work on white racial identity development describes how the context of white supremacy informs whites' perspectives on themselves and others. A greater treatment of white racial identity development is presented by Helms (1990). Since this work focuses *on how racism is operationalized*, I moved from considering how whites become white to focusing on the lived experience of whiteness. Specifically, I wanted to dive into the ways that whiteness manifests during interactions with non-white people, the ways that whiteness produces and reproduces white supremacy.

The concept of habits of whiteness is particularly useful to understanding teaching across difference, as it considers the actions and behaviors of whites within a white supremacist environment. Habits do not require conscious thought or active decision-making. White female teachers create inequity for non-white male students simply by acting automatically, instinctively, and reflexively. The overwhelming power of habits to influence actions adds weight to the notion that some aspects of teaching require teachers to "act unnaturally" (Ball & Forzani, 2009) and adopt a "role over personal" orientation (Buchmann, 1993) to classroom work. This may be especially true when teaching across difference. Crossing the street or clutching one's purse are examples of habits of whiteness. White female teachers might do these things in the course of their non-working hours, but this type of behavior is not acceptable in

classrooms. While we do not typically consider social and interracial interactions as practices, over time our situational responses harden into habits. In the case of racism, whites become proficient at enforcing dominance and creating exclusion by virtue of their lived experiences as members of the dominant group.

MacMullan's Habits of Whiteness. According to MacMullan (2011), "[h]abits form a connection between our broader biological, cultural, or social environment and us" (p. 96). Habits of whiteness are automated ways of interacting with the people, resources, and structures that comprise American society. These habits are socialized, handed down by prior generations, because of their utility. Habits survive because they work; they reliably secure predictable advantages for whites and exclusion for non-white people. They are routinized, mundane ways of acting and interacting that were developed over 300 years in a white supremacist society, an economy based on slavery, and colonization of Indigenous lands. Habits are internalized ways of interacting with regular, frequent, and common environmental stimuli. Habits of whiteness are regular actions and routines oriented towards oppression, dominance, and exclusion. Habits of whiteness produce and replicate white supremacy.

One habit of whiteness is a double-edged sword. Among the habits of whiteness, MacMullan (2009) lists a habitual antipathy to what is strange[14], habits of entitlement, and habits of guilt (p. 170). This research uses both the white habit of antipathy for difference and its converse, which we may refer to as affinity for whiteness, ethnocentrism, normalizing and/or centering whiteness. In schools, these twin habits of whiteness can be seen in the framing of

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[14] In this paper, I replace the word "strange" with "different." In a sad irony, MacMullan's choice of "strange" as a descriptor reveals his own habitual whiteness. I do not see the value of employing the negative connotations bound up with the adjective 'strange.'

school curricula (lies my teacher told me), including mathematics. Students are taught the Greek origins of mathematical concepts that are in fact Egyptian knowledge. This blatant lie is illuminating: locating math in Europe privileges whites and simultaneously diminishes the intellectual accomplishments of non-white people. Students are taught that only white people create knowledge. Antipathy for difference and affinity for whiteness are complementary, they establish a 'double-edged' framework that privileges whiteness on one side, and denigrates non-white people on the other. Both sides lead to the same outcomes: white dominance and non-white exclusion.

How do habits of whiteness manifest in the classroom? Teaching across difference produces social anxiety, in a stressful situation people shut down and cognitive space is limited. They are more likely to resort to default actions as the mental capacity for deep consideration is simply not available. In truly critical situations, the brain limits decisions to fight, fright, or flight.[15] If a teacher feels stressed, threatened, and/or activated by interracial interactions, she will likely enact habits of whiteness. Her stress level, physiological responses, and social anxiety all militate against the teacher's capacity for thoughtful, professional practice. Given the stress of teaching across difference, we may characterize normative teaching as a fight or flight response to interracial interactions.

White supremacy underlies habits of whiteness. I consider white supremacy the core mental framework underlying habits of whiteness. Mental frameworks are foundational, therefore underneath and unseen, important and consequential. Habits of whiteness

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[15] By the way, our responses to crises are also habituated. We either fight, fly, or freeze; we do not vary our responses, regardless of the situation.

operationalize white supremacy. These frameworks, or lens, help us to make sense of what we see and feel in the environment. When the framework becomes activated, for whatever reason, it initiates a habitual response. According to Bargh and Chartrand (1999),

> "Mental representations designed to perform a certain function will perform that function once activated, regardless of where the activation comes from. The representation does not "care" about the source of the activation; it is blind to it and has no "memory" about it that might cause it to behave differently depending on the particular source. The activated mental representation is like a button being pushed; it can be pushed by one's finger intentionally (e.g., turning on the electric coffeemaker) or accidentally (e.g., by the cat on the countertop) or by a decision made in the past (e.g., by setting the automatic turn-on mechanism the night before). In whatever way the start button is pushed, the mechanism subsequently behaves in the same way" (Bargh & Chartrand, 1999, p. 476).

In a classroom, once teacher bias against non-white and male students is activated—a triggering likely made by their mere presence—it leads to the enactment of habits of whiteness or normative teaching practice.

A classroom example of habits of whiteness. The concept of habits can be overlaid on the classroom events described in the discipline gap. The teacher is cued. Ostensibly she is activated by a student behavior, but due to social anxiety and implicit bias, she may actually be activated by the presence of non-white students. The 'cue' for teachers to intervene on student behaviors must be understood within the subjectivity of the disciplinary gap. The routine enacted by the teacher does not come from her training, instead it is launched from her experience as a white female in America. The routines employed by most teachers are designed for exclusion. Thusly, by enacting the routine the teacher gets her reward: dominance over non-white and male students. The reward may be a return to order and control or the reinforcement of her ultimate

power over the classroom and students (Nogeura, 1995). Over time, the teacher is more likely to utilize the habit as it reliably produces exclusion and exclusion makes the teacher feel in-charge and powerful. All of this happens outside of the teacher's consciousness. Thus, they are unlikely to notice it, ignorance, or to take credit for it, innocence. Indeed, given the high-minded ideals that teachers typically espouse, consciously recognizing their role in producing inequity may be impossible.

Habits are changeable. The fact that habits exist outside of considerations of consciousness points to an intervention with potential to affect teaching moves in what Ball (2018) refers to as the "discretionary spaces" of teaching across difference. That is, I propose a way to intervene on the mechanism driving racialized inequities in education, namely habits of whiteness in teaching. Habits provide a way to think about improving the experience and outcomes of non-white students in schools. First of all, habits focus on actions and thereby outcomes. Habits move the center from teachers' heads to students' experiences. Habits describe the regular actions of teachers, the exact things that students experience most. Changing habits will change the student experience of schooling. Second, habits eschew consciousness and thereby limit discussions of guilt and blame. The research is clear that whites often feel implicated in discussions of inequity and these feelings of indictment lead to mental and psychological disengagement (DiAngelo, 2018).

Habits are instilled in us over time by interactions with the environment. They are not about blame or fault. One reason many white teachers may recoil from the current frames of CRP is that they suggest a level of consciousness that is not valid. The idea that teachers consciously choose to harm non-white students is repugnant and does not speak to their lived

experience. Whites often consider conscious racism as evil, and thinking themselves good, reject

the assertion of racism as an indictment of their moral standing (DiAngelo, 2018). Confronting

the reality that racism produces inequity sets up a predictable impasse: white guilt, retreat, and

avoidance (Tatum, 1992). Choosing to focus on "intent," whites often refuse to engage in direct

discussion of outcomes.[16] They do not accept fault because they did not consciously intend to be

oppressive. Moving away from guilt and blame is a strategy for gaining deeper engagement from

the teachers that we most need to engage, white females. Lastly and crucially, there is already an

established body of literature on habits and how to intervene upon them. Other fields have

explored habit change and teaching can benefit from this body of work.

Cues and rewards are not open to intervention. Research in psychology and

neuroscience reveals the structure of habits and potential routes for intervention. Habits are

composed of a cue, which initiates a routine, which ultimately results in a feeling of reward. As

the habit becomes engrained it is increasingly associated with a craving for the reward. The brain

comes to expect the "high" of a reward and thereby the habit is instilled with a powerful and not

conscious drive to enactment. The deep desire for reward can be seen in addictions, which are a

type of habit defined by negative outcomes. The literature on habits is fairly clear, the cue and

reward are not open to intervention. They are imbued with meaning and importance beyond the

reach of the doer. The literature suggests that the routine, the actions between cue and reward,

are available to change.

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[16] Of course "intent" is a red herring, impossible to ascertain and largely irrelevant to effects or consequences.

Routines can change; teachers need alternatives to normative practice. Research on habits suggests that one cannot influence the cue or the reward; those aspects of perception and fulfillment cannot be altered. Consider the concept of colorblindness. Despite its best intentions, no one can make teachers blind to racial cues. Race is so fundamental to our society that we do not need to see race to notice it. Americans recognize race from subtle cues such as name, tone of voice/ vocal register, and zip code. Similarly, we cannot overcome the reward that teachers feel from having control. What can be changed are the routines that flow from cue to reward. That is, people can employ alternative actions and behaviors when they encounter a cue. Alcoholism is an example of a habit.[17] To intervene on the habit of drinking, the Alcoholics Anonymous program suggests meetings as an alternative routine. The logic is that if one cannot be stopped from having certain feelings, for instance the urge to drink, she can be stopped from enacting the harmful routine of getting intoxicated. The Alcoholics Anonymous program replaces drinking with a positive, alternative social gathering, and people are able to overcome a powerful habit. This researcher hopes that similar improvements are possible for habits of whiteness.

Habits are not conscious, thus awareness is the first step to change. The literature on changing habits suggests a process. First, the doer must be made aware of the harm done. Since habits are not conscious, the results of habits are immune to conscious critique. The results of habits are not considered by the conscious mind. The feeling of a reward validates habits, not careful and thorough analysis. Most people cannot consciously harm others. Most teachers

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[17] Note: the difference between habits and addictions centers on their power over individuals to create harm to self and others. I resist describing habits of whiteness as an addiction in this work in order to encouragement engagement and avoid being sensational or incendiary.

initially enter the classroom hoping to help children. Once the doer is aware of the harm caused by his habits, he has a moral and social imperative to change. In the case of teaching, learning of inequity gives teachers a professional imperative. Teaching ought to serve all children. Teachers have moral, ethical (Fenstermacher & Richardson, 2005), and professional motives not to change their habits of whiteness.

This importance of awareness raises two important components of habit change. It shows how actions feedback on beliefs. Actions can inform and direct beliefs, the counter theory to current models of belief change. Actions can provide experiences that inform individual understanding. In contrast with external sources, which may be manipulative and/or dubious, lived experience is valid. This work suggests that the first step in changing normative teaching is getting teachers to try new practices. These alternative moves will improve the student experience and limit inequity in the short run. In the long term, utilizing more just and conscious practices may feedback into teacher's beliefs. Proselytizing to teachers has not worked; indeed it is unlikely that vague ideals can overcome the benefits of white supremacy. Instead, giving teachers new tools that will produce new outcomes has the potential to impact how they think and what they believe. Change can be intrinsically motivated as opposed to externally demanded. Awareness also highlights an important transition in habit change: from not conscious to fully conscious. Habits work in not conscious ways. Teacher's claims of ignorance and innocence evidence their lack of awareness. Thus, transforming normative teaching, habits of whiteness in the classroom, into conscious professional practice is a major shift and giant step towards disrupting inequity.

The Focus of My Research

This research is meant to intervene on the production of inequity by teachers, within the discretionary spaces of teaching across difference, by a) presenting a valid and generative theory of the production of inequity, b) making teachers aware of the how normative teaching produces inequity, and c) identifying, naming, and describing alternative teaching moves to replace normative teaching practices. The findings of this research, the teaching moves, which include practices for discipline and practices for student names, interrupt habits of whiteness. Specifically, these moves interrupt the white habit of antipathy for difference and its partner, affinity for whiteness. The goal of this research is to interrupt normative teaching in order to disrupt the production on inequity.

Alternative Teaching Moves to Interrupt Habits of Whiteness

This paper presents a new conception of how teaching produces inequity. The findings identify and describe alternatives for normative teaching practices. For an overview, the practices for discipline interrupt the habitual antipathy for difference. The findings provide technical alternatives for normative practice and they help shift teachers from non-conscious habits of whiteness to a professional focus on learning. By moving from implicit preferences and biases to evaluating behaviors in reference to the purpose of teaching and schooling, namely student learning, teaching practice moves from hegemony to legitimate work. Similarly, the identified moves for modifying student behavior, or classroom management, are useful for not excluding non-white male students from learning. The application of technique can affect a different outcome, whereby teaching intervenes on problem behaviors, maintains students' dignity and teachers' legitimate authority, and keeps everyone engaged in learning.

The second finding of this research concerns teaching moves for non-white student names and also aims to interrupt the white habit of antipathy for difference. It provides structures for teachers to utilize to intentionally interrupt a popular social convention: disrespecting non-dominant, non-white names. Similar to white comfort, mispronouncing student names is at the forefront of bias and inequity. To intervene on something so commonplace as names requires physical, technical, and mechanical shifts before it can take hold in beliefs. Indeed, in some cases systems must intervene to prevent harm despite the preferences of the one doing harm. For instance, society installs breathalyzers in the vehicles of people who repeatedly drive while intoxicated. Ideally, the person would choose to stop drinking. In the meantime, we have to protect the rest of us from his bad habits. It would be great if teachers became anti-racists. In the meantime, I want them to stop harming non-white children.

The First Two Steps

There are two immediate aims for the findings in this research. One, to interrupt the habits of whiteness, the normative teaching practice that creates inequity by a) making teachers consciously aware of the ways that normative teaching harms students and b) providing alternative routines to replace normative teaching practices. Two, to change the lived experience of non-white students and white teachers by presenting teaching moves that cultivate and nurture positive teacher-student relationships. The findings of this research will impact teaching across difference first by improving white teacher-non-white student relationships. Relationships are both a mediator between teaching and learning as well as the potential avenue of disrupting inequity. Research linking relationships with engagement (Connel & Wellborn, 1991; Bondy et al., 2007) highlights the role of relationships in mediating learning. The perspective of

relationships in this dissertation fits with research suggesting the teacher-student relationships impact learning (Wentzel, 1998; Hughes, Gleason, Zhang, 2005; Wu, Hughes, & Kwok, 2010). Perhaps this effect is achieved through concepts like belonging (Roeser, Midgley, & Urdan, 1996; Jovonen, 2006) and/or motivation (Deci, 1992; Cholewa et al., 2012). Relational processes and relationship building are also frequently highlighted in research on the practices of minority teachers who are successful with minority students (Kleinfeld, 1975, Irvine, 1989). The teaching moves identified by this research aim to build on the concepts of trust and respect that undergird productive relationships.

Relationships Are the Key

Teacher-student relationships across difference are key in two ways. Relationships are key as in the target of this research and intervention. Improved relationship quality is the proximal, immediate outcome ought by this research. Relationships are also key in the sense that they will allow teachers and students to enter into new spaces and leave old ones behind. The primacy of relationships is due to their impact as well as their potential for animating other positive outcomes. Relationships are at the crux of teaching and learning. According to Davito (1986) "Teaching involves a process of relational development. Its effectiveness depends on application of relevant interpersonal competencies… Relational development refers to the processes involved in creating an interpersonal relationship from first contact through intimacy and possibly to dissolution" (p.51). Better relationships will help teachers and students to navigate a central element of schooling: difference.

Other researchers describe the impact of relationships through the concept of care (Noddings, 1984). The practical emphasis of this research presses for an operationalized view of

care. Specifically, this work focuses on the role of respect and trust in demonstrating care and building and maintaining positive teacher-student relationships across difference. Brown (2004) recognizes the importance of teachers developing a respectful, caring, personal relationship with each student. Irvine (1999) argues for care and shows how the ideal overlaps with trust and respect, stating

> Teaching is about caring relationships. The teachers I work with understand the power of care. As Martin (1995) noted, they turn schoolhouses into school homes where the three Cs-Care, Concern, and Connection-are as important as the three Rs. Researchers, like the ones in an impressive 18-month ethnographic study of four multiethnic schools, concluded that the most consistent and powerful finding related to school achievement for diverse students was this issue of care (Institute for Education in Transformation, 1992). Students said they liked school and performed their best when they thought that teachers cared about them or did special things for them. Students said teachers cared when they laughed with them, trusted and respected them, and recognized them as individuals" (p. 249)

The last sentence alludes to the role of trust and respect in relationship building and also highlights that students want to be treated as individuals. Being seen might be extremely important for non-white students (Townsend, 2000, Perez, 2000) who may have grown accustomed to only being recognized as 'non-white,' a characteristic that may not be most meaningful for their own self-definition. In fact, locating one's identity outside of a negative racial frame is likely essential to establishing positive self-regard and self-concept.

Teachers and Students Must Cooperate

Despite the lack of face validity, empirical proof, or logical argumentation, many believe that learning is an effect of teaching. Linking teaching and learning in a causal way may be another example of a habit; it is baseless and still ubiquitous. The causal belief underlies polices

such as the use of value-added measures for teacher accountability. Given these extremely

negative effects, linking teaching and learning may be an addiction. This research rejects the

claim that teaching causes learning. Teachers teach and students learn; responsibility is delimited

by their respective positions. Students are not responsible for teaching and teachers cannot learn

for students. Learning is difficult work, pretending that teachers are responsible for it

oversimplifies the labor of studenting. According to Burroughs (2007)

> "Doyle (1979) claimed that cooperation, rather than engagement, is the minimum
> requirement for student behavior. In the educational literature, the term
> cooperation was derived from Grice's (1975) analysis of the ''Cooperation
> Principle'' in conversations. This term is useful because it is a construct that
> recognizes that classroom activities are jointly constituted by the participants
> (Erickson & Schultz, 1981). In classrooms as in conversations, order is achieved
> with students and depends on their willingness to comply or follow along with
> classroom events." (p. 454).

Learning requires cooperation and collaboration between teachers and students. Given

the white supremacist goals and orientations of schooling and normative teaching, we should

rejoice in the fact that teachers cannot force students to learn, and internalize racial inferiority.

Currently, the quality of teacher-student relationships varies in accord with the degree of

difference between teacher and student. In the chart above, the worst relationships are those with

the most difference. This work aims to move from defining relationships by difference to the

possibility of interpersonal relationships between teachers and non-white students. This

perspective is shared with Frymier & Houser (2000), who assert,

> "When communication becomes interpersonal (as opposed to cultural or
> sociological as described by Miller & Steinberg, 1975), individuals treat one
> another with greater respect and trust develops. When trust develops it is much
> easier to ask "stupid questions," or ask for feedback and clarification. All teachers

know that such questions can make the difference between confusion and enlightenment in students. When teachers communicate with students as individuals and utilize skills such as ego support, they make it easier for students to ask risky questions. Students avoid asking questions because they fear being seen as stupid or foolish. When a trusting and caring relationship develops between teachers and students, a safe learning environment is created. While the lower levels of learning such as recall and comprehension can occur quite easily without the benefit human interaction (i.e., learning by reading a book or listening to a lecture), achieving higher levels of learning such as analysis, synthesis, and evaluation may require interaction between teacher and student" (p. 217).

Positive teacher-student interpersonal relationships are critical to the mundane, practical, and essential elements of learning.

Teaching and learning are related, but the connection is not causal. Teaching does not cause learning, but teaching ought to make learning more probable and productive. Learning requires, at minimum, student effort and engagement, elements that are open to impact by teaching. That is, teachers can affect whether students *try* to learn. Actual learning depends on many factors outside of a teacher's responsibility or control, including student interest, aptitude, and the method of measurement. Relationships are a teacher's main lever for effecting student's state motivation, effort and engagement in learning. According to Frymier (1994)

"State motivation refers to the motivation a student experiences toward a particular class, task, or content area at a particular time. State motivation is highly influenced by the situation and can vary from time to time. Trait motivation is more enduring and refers to a student's general motivation toward studying or learning. This is an important distinction because it proposes that teachers can have an impact on students' motivation exhibited in their classroom" (p. 135).

65

Teachers can impact learning, via state motivation, through relationships. Thus, I target relationships as a first, proximal, and immediate outcome of the findings of this research.

Relationships are Important for Students and Teachers

Relationships are not the only thing, but they are certainly amongst the first considerations in classrooms. Relationships are a means of building connections and developing better communication, and communication between teacher and student is the main feature of classroom life. Also, relationships can be leveraged, which explains the popularity of social networking sites such as LinkedIn. I agree with Davito (1986), my intent

> "is not to imply that a good teacher-student relationship is the sole goal of teaching. Rather, the development of the interpersonal relationship is viewed as the means by which more effective, efficient, and satisfying teaching and learning may take place. This, it seems, is what Gilbert Highet intended when he observed that one of the essentials of good teaching is "to like the pupils" (1950, p. 25). If a teacher does not like pupils, Highet advises that person to "give up teaching." (p. 53)

Educational outcomes would be much more equitable if racist teachers, those who do not like non-white students, would give up teaching.

Relationships are a Mediator Between Teacher and Student, Teaching and Learning

Relationships are the means by which students are able to trust teachers and attempt learning, that is, to put forth effort and engagement to internalize new content and skills. Learning is a process of grappling with the unknown; this is naturally an uncertain process that might be expected to produce hesitance, reluctance, or even anxiety. Studenting is not an easy

job. Sense-making is not for the faint of heart. Therefore, students make judgments about whom to learn from. "Aristotle and Hovland et al. (1953) agree that a source is judged by an audience in terms of her or his knowledge of the subject, veracity, and attitude toward the well-being of the audience" (Teven & McCroskey, 1997, p. 8). Notice across a diverse literature and thousands of years, a source, in this case a teacher, is judged by an appraisal of her "attitude toward the well-being of the audience." Evaluating a teacher's attitude towards students is another way to describe the consideration of racist bias. Credibility is another frame the way students evaluate teachers, and "research has indicated a substantial correlation between increased ethos/source credibility and learning" (Teven & McCroskey, 1997, p. 3). The real question is why do educators expect children not to make judgments about teachers and then use those judgments to inform their choice of whether, when, and how to engage?

Without Relationship, Students Legitimately Reject Teaching

Some researchers break from the assumption of teacher legitimacy and the presumed rightfulness of schooling. The literature has a few examples that the challenge the bizarre narrative that all teachers are good and all learning is desirable. These researchers honor student resistance to oppression and dehumanization (Tesser & Campbell, 1983, Dweck & Leggett, 1988). The inability to question the mythology of schooling might be another habit. Indeed, work that presumes that teachers and schooling are beyond reproach is not worth engaging. If 'it takes two to tango,' focusing on students and ignoring the role of teachers and teaching is nonsensical. The work of Kohl (1994) on active non-learning helps frame the considerations of non-white students when learning from white teachers. His work recognizes the legitimacy of resisting

deracination, when others would consider it only as self-defeating. In some cases, 'failure' may need to be reframed as refusal to learn from or submit to normative teaching practices.

Relationships with Students Can Provide Teachers with Vital Information

Teaching must become responsive to the unique collection of individuals in each classroom. Understanding students as individuals ought to inform instruction, because instructional approaches must be tailored to each specific student. Knowledge of students is critical to adapting and modifying teaching. It is through relationship that teachers are able to provide the explanation, encouragement, and instructional support required to affect student learning. By positively impacting student engagement and effort teachers increase the likelihood that students will make sense of complex content and learn. It increases the chances that students will profit from teaching. It is also critical to interpreting student behaviors. For instance, knowing that a student is typically tired or hungry on Mondays should move the interpretation of off-task behaviors from punishment to service. The tired and hungry student needs rest and sustenance, not exclusion. Relationships are a critical element of both teaching and learning. Similarly, they are essential to the experience of school for both teachers and students. People tend to feel better in spaces where they know people and are known by them. Educators ignore the importance of positive affect at their own peril. It is my hope that knowledge of individuals could interrupt teachers' tendency to interpret students behaviors on the basis of their race and sex identities.

Relationships are a Means for Intervening on Teacher Bias

Instead of perceiving a non-white student as a member of a stigmatized or low status group, a relationship allows a teacher to interact with each student as an individual. Teachers may not rely so heavily on stereotypes, instead utilizing specific, personal, and contextual knowledge about students as people. Relationships matter for teachers as well. They tend to be more satisfied with teaching when they have better relationships with students and a more positive emotional climate. Similarly, research on teacher turn over often cites classroom management as a cause for leaving the profession (Ingersoll, 1999). Classroom management may be a proxy for the quality of teacher-student relationships. That is, teachers may be leaving the occupation because of negative experiences with students, which are categorized as classroom management. Conflicts in classrooms may be described as classroom management, but they are experienced as interpersonal and relational. This work provides practical support for teachers who are seeking to overcome their habits and establish the trusting and respectful relationships that facilitate learning.

Building and Sustaining Relationships is a Teaching Responsibility

Demonstrating care and building effective working relationships are the teacher's responsibility, not students. Children are obligated to attend school; teachers are obliged to work in them. Children are compelled; attendance is compulsory. Teachers have choice about employment. Teachers are the professionals and are therefore responsible for outcomes, such as the quality of the relationship. Other professions recognize the centrality of the professional-client relationship and actively prepare professionals for this crucial element of the work. Teaching has yet to fully develop this high leverage practice, but this work aims to be a first step

and an activator in identifying and describing alternatives to normative teaching and habits of whiteness.

Relationships in Discretionary Spaces

This work focuses on two discretionary situations that tend to destroy teacher-student relationships. These situations are particularly damaging because they can reveal bias on the part of the teacher. Students are aware of teacher bias. In the short term, it leads to disengagement. In the long term, the experience of teacher bias has been shown to push students away from post-secondary studies (Yeager et al., 2017). I present alternative teaching moves that prevent destruction of relationships and potentially build and maintain connections between teacher and students in the context of teaching across difference.

Conclusion

Relationships are not the only thing in schools, but they are primary. As Marva Collins told us, "No one cares how much you know until they know how much you care." This research focuses on improving teaching practice for teaching across difference. The goal is to interrupt habits of whiteness and normative teaching in order to disrupt the production of racialized inequity. This chapter takes the first step to intervening on the habits of white teacher. It is meant to make visible the patterns, judgments and actions, which produce and reproduce racialized outcomes. According to the literature, both the discipline and achievement gaps are caused by the biased actions of a substantial proportion of white teachers. Teachers cannot legitimately claim to be ignorant or innocent in light of these realities. Awareness of how normative teaching

produces inequity moves the enactment of habits from not conscious harm to mindful oppression.

In the proceeding chapters, this research will identify alternatives for habitual, normative teaching practice. The findings of this research are teaching moves that do not perpetuate racialized inequity. I will describe some discretionary spaces within the classroom setting and detail teacher moves, strategies and practices, which a) do not create exclusion for non-white students and b) contribute to a positive, working teacher-student relationship. The major thrust of this research is identifying alternative teaching moves for the habits of whiteness that define normative teaching in America. This research is meant as an intervention on the production of racialized inequity by teaching.

CHAPTER 2

Methods

This chapter details the processes of my research: the design and method of the study, including the setting, data, and analyses. I begin by describing the EML as a place to investigate the issues of teaching across difference, and the constraints and affordances of studying an environment that is similar to and distinct from a "real" classroom. Next, I describe the data and processes of data collection. As a part of unpacking the data, I will describe the participants, the setting, and mathematical content used in the program. Then, I will share the techniques of analysis, iterative use of the literature, and the axioms that set the foundation of this research. Finally, I discuss my relationships to the EML and the EML teacher, exploring how I came to this setting and the potential impacts of personal relationships on this study.

Study Methodology

This research builds on a preliminary study of teaching conducted as the completion of my doctoral coursework. That study directly informs this work. It was a practice-based teaching study centered on strategies and practices that are a) justifiable, rooted in learning rather than racial, gender, and ethnocentric bias, and b) effective, addressing problem behaviors with minimal interruption to teaching and learning. The prelim provides the definition of "teaching move" used in this study. Teaching moves are defined as those activities that a) occur more than once, b) occur with more than one student, c) are not excessively mundane, d) attend to student's

social and emotional needs while addressing teacher concerns, and e) cause minimal disruption to classroom life. The prior study only looked at the 2013 EML. The definition of a teaching move led me theoretically sample two subsequent EMLs, 2014 and 2015. I attended each EML, 2013-2015, but for the purposes of this research I scanned the video records of the 2014 EML and 2015 EML for teaching moves that fit the prior study, rather than attempting to closely review each minute of tape. The additional years provide more opportunities to identify moves and also more opportunity to decompose and evaluate teaching moves. My preliminary study of the EML 2013 is foundational to this research.

Qualitative Case Study

This qualitative study aims to uncover, identify, analyze, and describe specific teaching moves that can potentially interrupt normative practice and intervene on the discipline gap. Here, "normative practice" is used to characterize the types of normal, regular, and routine teaching that create the discipline gap. The goal of the work is to better understand and thereby improve practice, not to make correlations or causal claims. The research utilizes the case study method, characterized as particularistic, descriptive, and heuristic by Merriam (1998). This is a study of how one professional addresses a problem of practice, not a study of a white female teacher representing all white female teachers. The focus of this case study is teaching, not teacher. Case studies are a way to learn in and from practice. An essential feature of this work is defining the case under examination. For Stake (2000), a case is a bounded system of interest, "one in which there is a need for generalization about a particular case or generalization to a similar case rather than generalization to a population of cases" (p. 23).

Case of Teaching Across Difference

This study investigates a case of "teaching across difference." I define teaching across difference as any instance wherein a) there are meaningful differences between teacher and student and b) research implicates the specific kinds of difference in the production of negative or inequitable student outcomes. I focus on a case of teaching across difference at the intersection of white female teacher and non-white male students. Much prior research documents that the dynamics at this intersection lead to inequitable outcomes. My study is situated in the prevalence of white female teachers teaching non-white male students and investigates what might be involved in interrupting the habits of whiteness within normative teaching and disrupting frequent patterns of conflict, power dynamics, exclusion, and disconnection.

Benefits of a Case Study

Donmoyer (2000) presents several reasons why case studies are a particularly useful form of social science research for applied fields like education. Donmoyer (2000) suggests three specific benefits of the case study method, including a) accessibility, b) the researcher's perspective, and c) decreased defensiveness. This case study offers readers access into a rare instance of public teaching, exposing them to the inner workings of a classroom. The availability of access is particularly relevant to education due to teacher's lack of exposure to one another's practice (Lortie, 1975). Donmoyer (2000) asserts that this access is valuable to practitioners, because "many [practitioners] learn best by modeling, but there are not enough truly exceptional models to go around" (p. 62). Here, Donmoyer builds on Stake's (2000) claim that case studies are most apt to be understood by practitioners because they are in harmony with most

practitioners' epistemology. According to Stake (2000), practitioners arrive "at their understandings mostly through direct and vicarious experience" (p. 19). Lortie (1975) refers to this as the 'apprenticeship of observation,' whereby most teachers come to understand the work from extensive experiences as students. From Stake's perspective, therefore, the most useful means of communicating information to professionals will be to approximate, through rich descriptions, the natural experiences of professionals in the course of doing work. Case studies provide practitioners access into a problem of practice. Case studies can be effective if "they speak the practitioner's language," the "native tongue" of her profession.

A case study utilizes my experiences to inform other professionals. Another strength of the case study is that it provides readers access into a problem of practice from a perspective other than their own. My experiences as a black male, a public school teacher in Chicago, and my training in prevention science bring unique lenses to problems of teaching practice. I do not attempt to hide my role in this research. Instead, I utilize my perspective to provide readers with a non-dominant viewpoint. Given the history of education research, my identity grants readers access into a rarely heard, often ignored, point of view: that of the poor black male, the black male public school teacher, and the black male prevention scientist. According to the African proverb, "the truth will not be known until the Lion (here representing the hunted) tells the tale." Whenever appropriate, I will attempt to make clear the ways that my position and perspective are influential. Yet, I am sure that readers will learn and infer many things about my perspective as they engage in the work. This research is necessarily particular, specific, and unique. The opportunity to "walk in my shoes" is one affordance of employing the case study method to this research.

A case study provides a safe space for uncomfortable issues. Many people do not

respond well to criticism or perceived criticism. Our ego rushes into to protect us from

psychological harm, such as embarrassment or shame. I argue that the inability to engage in

critique is heightened in the context of mission-driven work, such as teaching. When the

practitioners believe their work serves a lofty purpose, answers a higher calling, or consider their

job a matter of moral or ethical responsibility, it is extremely difficult for them to engage the

ways their performance fails to fulfill lofty goals. It is even worse for them, when the discussion

is about the harm caused by their behavior. Kegan & Lahey (2009) describes this defensiveness

as "immunity to change." Case studies offer a way for practitioners to engage while trying to

avoid stimulating psychological defense mechanisms. According to Donmoyer (2000), case

studies offer practitioners a vicarious experience, one in which they can engage without taking

on responsibility. By locating the problem in the case, this research hopes to provide teachers

with a psychologically 'safe space,' where issues of race, gender, power and privilege can be

considered without the direct, personal implication that leads to disengagement. I agree with

Donmoyer, in the case of racism, it will be much more likely for educators to discuss the issue

'out there' than 'in here.' There is much research on the moves employed by whites when

directly confronted with race and class-based school inequities (Malwhinney, 1998, DiAngelo,

2018). Many teacher educators note their students' efforts to resist anti-racist training (Gillespie,

Ashbaugh, & Defiore, 2002). It is my hope that focusing on a case of someone else teaching

across difference will enable teachers to engage in issues caused by whiteness in the classroom.

The generalizability of these findings rests on the interpretation of readers. The study

focuses on a particular case of teaching across difference and thusly honors the importance of

context. Research often aims for universality and thereby arrives at broad, abstract principles that claim to be context-independent. Practitioners must work within specific spaces, places, and environments. No practice in education can be "universal," there are simply too many factors at play in each environment and interaction. Thus, I do not claim generalizability. The generalizability of these findings will be best considered in terms of transferability and fittingness (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). That is, readers will each determine to what extent the description of the case, teaching across difference, fits with their conception of teaching and the context wherein they work. The question of transferring teaching moves from this research context to a particular classroom is best answered by the professional judgment of classroom teachers.

What this Study is Not

This research does not make causal claims about the impact of practices on students beyond what could be ascertained through observation, interviews, and student work. For instance, I limit considerations of impact to immediacy rather than potential long-term consequences. Conclusions about effects of teaching moves on students are informed by interviews with students. The goal of this work is not to make generalizations for all white female teachers, black male students, or urban classrooms. Indeed, efforts to codify a "right way" to teach black males are doomed to fail as they ignore the within-group diversity among black males and the intersectionality of identity within each individual. A common problem with research is the conflation of types with stereotypes (Donmoyer, 2000). Simply put, there is more than one type of black boy (O'Connor, Lewis, & Mueller, 2007) and thusly more than one way to teach this demographic group. This study will describe and analyze teaching moves within the

77

limits of the study's context. That is, I rely on data for proof. These data show that the teaching

moves did not lead to exclusion for non-white male students. The effect on relationships is more

tenuous. Therefore, analyses focus on what teachers demonstrate and convey more so than

claiming effects on the teacher-student relationship. As with other theorization, future research

will evaluate the impact of these teaching moves on students and learning.

Conclusion of this Section

Based on the careful study of one teacher across three different groups of students over

three years, I uncover practical, technical, and skill-based aspects of teaching that might be

shared, analogous, or similar to other urban teaching contexts. This work aims to add to a

"toolkit" available for teaching across difference. This case of teaching across difference aims to

aid the profession by offering access to an important problem of practice, a unique lens for

understanding the problem, and creating a psychologically safe space for considering the role of

teaching in creating racial inequity. The professional judgment of teacher educators and teachers

will determine whether, when, and how to employ these teaching moves. This study builds on

my previous efforts to better understand teaching across difference and uses a multiple year data-

set to find a multitude of practices as well as dig more deeply into a few. In short, I will present a

case with enough description for readers to make their own evaluations of generalizability. The

aim is to support classroom teaching as a means of intervening on inequity.

Axioms of This Research

Similar to other researchers who make their assumptions explicit, I want to make

clear from the onset some of the axioms of this research. In mathematics, an axiom is a

statement that does not require a proof, "a statement that is taken to be true, to serve as a premise or starting point for further reasoning and arguments" (Wikipedia: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Axiom).

The following axioms are supported by a variety of literatures, yet restating the obvious is not the goal of this research. Given the political power of knowledge, its social construction, and reconstruction, the demand that scholars of color prove the validity of their lived experience is but another oppressive tactic of hegemony. I state these tenets to describe my understanding of the problem and the world it inhabits. I start with these axioms to make the perspective taken by this research and researcher explicit. I also employ axioms to delineate and demarcate my study. These bright lines are meant to help readers identify the perspective and boundaries of the work.

- America is an internal colony designed for the purpose of privileging the elite and economic vulnerability and exploitation for everyone else.

- White supremacy is the organizing principle of the American internal colony.

- Whiteness is a form of property, owned, defended, and maintained by white Americans.

- There is no racism without racists; inequity does not happen naturally. White Americans dominate and oppress non-white Americans. Similarly, racially inequitable schooling outcomes do not just happen; they are an outcome of teaching.

- School inequities are not caused by the behaviors or cultural inferiority of non-white children. Efforts to pathologize non-white children with an ever-widening catalogue of deficits, "risks," and problem conditions simply blame the victim.

79

First, they are racist- by definition, as they assert skin color to be a causal factor.

Instead of this dominant norm of attacking the attacked, this research

problematizes whiteness. Second, indicting students presents an unsupportable

relationship between teacher and student, wherein the professional is relieved of

responsibility for the client's outcomes (Cohen, 2011). Teachers not students are

responsible for establishing positive, working relationships in classrooms.

Therefore, this research concentrates on teaching as the target for improvement.

These Data

This section of the chapter describes data used in this research. I try to present all of the

elements of the setting, describe the participants, and even unpack some of the mathematical

content in order to help the reader 'see' the EML. I argue that the context met the goal of

identifying alternative teaching moves to replace normative teaching practices. The teacher and

students were similar enough to 'regular' schools to be appropriate and informative. Indeed, they

are representative in demographic terms. These data are relevant for exploring how teaching

might aim for non-white student learning, instead of fetishizing control and producing exclusion.

Context: The Elementary Math Lab

This section describes the context of this research: The Elementary Math Lab (EML).

This 2-week summer program was created as an intervention[18] for students described as 'having

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[18] An intervention offers a different purpose and orientation than regular schooling. First, the EML sees a 'problem.' Education is not merely a tradition, but there is an issue to be solved: students need positive experiences and content mastery in mathematics. Two, the intervention intends to empower children going forward with knowledge, skills, and orientations for learning. There are many explicit efforts to link the EML to students' future academic pursuits.

a hard time in math in school.' These student difficulties may involve content, academic identity, or a cyclical relationship between learning and identity that can create a downward spiral for students who are rarely successful. For example, there are fundamental concepts, such as fractions and number lines, which are commonly misunderstood by students. This confusion leads to future problems as students' lack the foundation for advanced content (Kilpatrick, Swafford, and Findell, 2001). This lack of success also contributes to students giving up at mathematics. Is it rational to engage in an activity with little to no hope of success? Instead, many students define themselves as "not good at math," internalizing the problem as theirs, rather than a problem of how math is taught and the attendant exclusion of students. This has disastrous career and employment consequences, as these students are not qualified for the much vaunted stem fields.

An Overview of EML logistics

Each year around thirty rising fifth grade students attend the program. This is an average, if slightly large, class size for the local school district. Students sit in same-sex pairs at tables arranged in a U-shape around the room. The program provides supply baskets, including pens, rulers, and markers, which students share with a partner. These baskets sit between each pair of students on the tables. The teacher's desk, a white board, and two movable boards are at the front. The adult participants sit in stadium seating at the back of the room. One white female teaches the class. Each year, two or three near-peer black males and females help out with the

program as teacher assistants. The teacher provides all instruction. The teacher assistants[19] help with logistics, such as passing out and collecting papers and grading the end of class checks. They also help students by working with them individually and in small groups. The teacher assistants are an affordance not utilized by many public schools, though this is more for lack of want than opportunity. While the near-peer work is influential, this research focuses on the actions of the teacher.

Students learn math during class sessions, which typically run from 9:30 a.m. -12:00 p.m. with a ten-minute break around 11:00 a.m. These class sessions are three times longer than a regular class period and the curricular objective is to cover about four times as much content. The entire program lasts two weeks, a total of ten class sessions and around 25 hours of instruction. At the conclusion of the program, the students present their learning to parents and community members at a final celebration.

The EML is an Instance of Public Teaching

The EML is an instance of public teaching that grants educators access into another's practice. Unfortunately, it is uncommon for teachers to allow others to observe their craft. There are many dynamics at play in creating this situation. Most teachers work concurrently throughout the day. They are working when their peers are also working, leaving little opportunity for observation. Teachers also tend to view their practice as private, personal, and thereby not open for prying eyes. "Close the door and do your job," was the advice given to me by the elders in

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[19] The EML also serves as an enrichment activity for the aides, who get experience teaching, mentoring younger students, and the opportunity to be members of a university research team. Both aides are black males and former students of the EML, now in high school, who volunteer their time to the program.

my building. It is unusual for teachers, even experts, to open their practice. Opportunities for the close study of teaching, as offered by the EML, are not frequent.

Important Similarities Between the EML and Regular Schools

The EML is designed to incorporate many elements of a regular schooling experience for students. The program tries to make the environment feel as natural as possible. Students arrive on a school bus in the morning. They are served a snack during break and a lunch. There is recess and extra-curricular activities in the afternoon. The organization of the physical space is fairly familiar, although students sit at tables rather than individual desks. But for the cameras, microphones, and observers, this could be a real classroom. Keeping the setting comparable to regular schools helps make it informative. The teacher uses low-tech, low cost tools and materials- items within the means of average schools. For instance, she uses an overhead projector, instead of a smart board. Students use notebooks instead of laptops. Though it is obviously not 'real,' the EML provides a fair approximation of schooling in many respects.

The EML is a Lab for Learning about Teaching

Over time, the EML came to serve dual purposes. It is a place for students to learn math as well as a setting for educators to explore teaching. Indeed, the EML teacher often expresses a hope that the program will allow teachers to 'see' students. She hopes to highlight what students can do when they are free to learn. That is, when the low expectations, fetishizing of control, and other systemic barriers are removed, children shine. A common phenomenon at the EML is for a participant, who is the former teacher of one of the students to admit with surprise, and also shame and embarrassment: "I never knew he could do that." The program is designed to

empower students to shine intellectually. It has evolved into a laboratory for teaching practice, where teaching is put under the microscope. The EML is a place where educators observe and examine teaching in a manner similar to surgical theaters in medical schools.

The EML is Designed to Open Teaching for Investigation

The EML offers entrée into the complexity of teaching. All materials, including lesson plans, homework assignments, assessments, and student work are made available. Pre- and debrief sessions, before and after each lesson, offer access to teacher thinking as pedagogical and curricular decisions are unpacked/interrogated, instructional moves clarified, and the inner workings of teaching practice surfaced. These sessions are also recorded. The program's goal is to discuss, analyze, and better understand teaching by digging deeply into the practices of one veteran teacher.[20] As a rare setting carefully and deliberately designed for making teaching explicit and visible, the EML provides unique circumstances for the close study of teaching that supported this research.

Math is an Important Content Area, Rarely Considered for SEL or Cultural Work

Math is the focal content area. One might argue that this subject, considered most essential to STEM fields and the modern economy, creates inequity on an international scale. Black males are the lowest performing cohort (Aud et al., 2010) in a consistently underperforming country; leaving them at the bottom of the bottom for tech employment. They

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[20] It is important to note that the EML focuses on teaching, not teacher. It is not a demonstration classroom. The program's emphasis is teaching, actual technique which is malleable and transferable, rather than the teacher's personal characteristics. The slogan of Teaching Works, the organization that sponsors the EML, is "Great teachers aren't born. They're taught."

also endure the lowest quality teaching and educational experiences. Math also provides an opportunity to think about the potential for content to be made novel, interesting, and challenging for urban students. The participants and content area provide a relevant, significant, and generative area for the study of teaching across difference.

Participants: The Teacher

The teacher is white and female. In demographic terms, she is similar to the great majority of current and future teachers (National Center for Educational Statistics [NES], 2001). I use the demographic features of identity race and sex[21] as the research is clear that these factors are at play in the discipline gap. The research is much less clear on the cultural or personal characteristics of teachers involved in this problem. This is a crucial point. The universality of the discipline gap, a phenomenon that occurs throughout the country and at all grade levels, leads me to focus on race and sex as the overarching, shared variables. From the literature, *we know* that white female teacher-non-white male student interactions cause inequitable outcomes. Based on current research, *we do not know* about the causal mechanisms underlying these outcomes. Thus, this research must necessarily theorize about what happens in this teacher-student relationship that is problematic. I consider the dynamics of the interaction, including what is said and done, the goals, assumptions, expectations, and how people are positioned when these

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[21] I use sex to avoid the dominant tendency to enforce gender identity along lines of sex. Some of the teachers, identified as women in the literature, and some of the students, identified as boys by researchers, probably do not appreciate the designation. Since I cannot be sure about the gender identity of the individuals described in statistical research about the discipline gap, I have little choice but to defer to something I can have confidence in, the research identifies sex- even though it often conflates sex and gender.

groups interact for their role in contributing to inequity. This study concentrates on interactions between white female teachers and non-white male students.

Why Study the Particular White Female Teacher

A shared demographic identity may be considered the extent of the EML teacher's 'averageness.' The EML teacher is not representative of all teachers; she is the teacher in this particular case of teaching across difference. The goal is not to see what most teachers do, but rather to investigate the practices of this one teacher in a case of teaching across difference. Therefore, it is important to study an outlier. The EML teacher is distinguished in several ways. She is more experienced than most, having been an elementary teacher for over 30 years. Of the other distinguishing factors about the EML teacher, I share those most impactful for this study. One, she is willing to share her teaching. This is intensely uncommon in the egg crate profession, as dubbed by Lortie (1975). Her practice provides a rare instance of "public teaching." Two, she is a teacher educator, a nationally recognized teacher of teachers. This is an important distinction. It alludes to her capacity for making teaching visible. As Schon (1983) has articulated, many practitioners can perform work that they cannot explain. The EML teacher has extensive experience and expertise in explaining the work. Lastly, she is widely recognized as an excellent upper-elementary mathematics teacher. In a field without clear metrics, proxies such as the testimonials of former students and recognition from peer organizations serve as indicators of quality. This approach is similar to the community nomination model, whereby a researcher studies a teacher who is identified as exemplary by those familiar with her work.

Details about the teacher in this study. The EML teacher, Dr. Ball, is an accomplished white, female classroom teacher, who now works as a faculty member in teacher education. Prior

to entering the academe, she taught diverse elementary school students, including many English language learners and immigrant children, for several years. Seeking to improve her capacity to teach math, Dr. Ball began experimenting with innovative methods and curricula while still in the classroom full-time. Indeed, throughout her graduate studies, she continued teaching math to young children. She has also taught a range of methods courses, which contribute to her capacity for deliberately making teaching visible. All of her extensive experience and scholarship is brought to bear at the EML. For example, lesson plans are highly detailed and elaborate, incorporating both research and the wisdom of practice. Her skills at discussing and unpacking teaching- simultaneously, for educator and non-educator alike- are revealed during pre- and debrief sessions. Dr. Ball's experiences in teaching and teaching about teaching are affordances to this research.

   Personal reason for choosing to study Mrs. Ball: pedagogical alignment. I first encountered Ball's teaching during my doctoral coursework. As a class exercise, we watched an older segment of her teaching, famously known as "Sean Numbers." Immediately, the teaching struck me as similar to my own, but far more advanced.[22] In a field that consistently employs the intuitive, "I know it when I see it," metric of teaching, I'm not ashamed to admit that I found a teaching kinship. In her practice, I saw a similar radical fascination with the thinking of others, a deep respect for student's humanity, and the use of discussion as a pedagogical tool. Her expertise in teaching in these areas gave me room to explore teaching. Our distinct identities gave to space to explore teaching across difference.

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[22] It should be noted that my reaction to the video was not universal. A very common reaction in class was, "she's not doing anything." In a very real way, those comments led me to a heuristic approach to unpack this apparently mundane, though intensely rare, teaching.

Similar pedagogy, differing identities, narrows the focus to teaching. As a former high school teacher, I was drawn to the EML because I found in the teacher a similar pedagogical approach to my own, which I would characterize as "facilitator" or "coach."[23] From this orientation, students are seen as sense-makers capable of co-constructing knowledge (Lampert, 2001). Teachers guide, facilitate, and support student learning. This stance focuses on learning, rather than control. Thus, students are allowed to talk, move around, and engage with peers- generally behave like children- as long as they are engaged in learning. As a teacher, my success creating an equitable classroom climate was attributed to elements of my identity. The EML teacher did not share an identity with students. Indeed, the classroom contained far too much variation for any one teacher to be representative- as is often the case in the truly urban classroom, wherein diversity is multilayered and complex. Her difference from the students and me in every visual and demographic marker offered a chance to focus on shared practices rather than common identities. The emphasis on identity in teaching motivated me to search for practices that could be employed by teachers of every race. The EML provided a site for such an investigation. I seek to better understand how a white woman is capable of teaching across difference, not through cultural attunement and racial pride as I did, but through teaching practices. The mixture of visible contrast and comparable practice created a generative space for me to concentrate on teaching. Ball's teaching and the EML context provide an opportunity to explore and operationalize instruction that aligns with my philosophy of teaching and desire to address the racialized injustice of American classrooms.

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[23] Dr. Ball avoids labeling her teaching as a way to circumvent narrow interpretations and/or political affiliation. She often advocates a "third way" approach to sidestep the constraints of dichotomies.

Participants: The Students

There is great diversity among the students in the EML. Student participation occurs through nomination. Fourth grade teachers nominate students as "potentially benefitting from a summer math intervention." This standard means students represent a range of previous schooling experiences, interests in math, and motivations to participate. Some need remediation and a chance to be successful, while others need extensions and enrichment. The class is diverse demographically as well, with students from a multitude of socioeconomic and racial backgrounds. In general, urban education is defined by diversity, meaning the presence of a significant percentage of non-white students, and high poverty rates, as measured by the percentage of students receiving free or reduced lunch. Despite being located outside of a major city, the EML exemplifies these urban demographic characteristics. The majority of students are not white and many come from low-income backgrounds. There are some white and middle and upper class students, mostly children of faculty, who bring additional range to the class. The student participants in the EML capture much of the overlapping and multilayered diversity in America's urban schools.

Focal Student Participants: Non-White Males

This research attends to the non-white male student participants in the EML[24], many of them are members of the group most underserved and ill-treated by teaching. In particular, they suffer from inequitable practices for discipline. After one debrief, one of the adult participants, a building principal, remarked, "Were those boys in my school, they would've been kicked out of

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[24] Here, I rely on district data for student race.

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class," suggesting that these students fit the profile of excessively punished black males. Similarly, the comments from teachers in the after lesson debrief sessions revealed predictable and negative interpretations. The behavior of non-white boys was frequently the primary concern and, simultaneously, their academic efforts and contributions were routinely ignored. Observers often suggested control and domination as interventions. Many observers are unable to overcome the fetishizing of control, despite the many programmatic efforts to highlight student strengths. This ever-present need to justify dominance is illuminating of the overwhelming, insidious, and not conscious behavioral fetish of teachers. For many educators the need to control black males is obvious and natural, and thereby remains unexamined.

Black male student participants in this study display much within group diversity. Though all identified as black, there was significant diversity in each EML cohort of black male students in this research. O'Connor, Lewis, and Mueller (2007) caution researchers to attend to within group differences among "black" people to avoid essentializing them. The distinct personalities, preferences, and priorities of these black male students were readily apparent during observations. The following vignette from the first day of class in the EML 2013 provides a concrete illustration of this within-group variation. Dr. Ball uses student and teacher contracts as tools for establishing classroom culture. During an instructional segment on the first day of class, students[25] read the contract's conditions, offer interpretations, and make suggestions. The students' different ways of participating in this activity make plain that they vary in significant ways.

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[25] Student names used in this paper are pseudonyms.

"Antwan is eager to volunteer and gets the process started by reading the goals for the day aloud. Dr. Ball calls on Casey to interpret the statement, "I will come to class every day" and he willingly explains, "You can't miss classes because you might get kicked out." Armand suggests getting good grades as a reason for keeping neat records. Imani reads the statement, "I will do my homework," but then waits patiently because there is a discrepancy between his copy and the class chart that preoccupies the attention of his classmates. Kevin says nothing, but stares intently at the teacher throughout. Zenon says homework is important because "you have to do it carefully, because if most of them are wrong that's not a good thing for school and grades and your report card." Martin sits quietly with his arms folded in his sweatshirt. Marcus reads. "I will try my best," which means, he explains, "if you don't try hard you will get all of them wrong." Damarco suggests using strategies from the NWEA test as a way of "doing one's best." In the midst of this whole-group unpacking of the student contract, Dujaun shows up about ten minutes late to class. After the lesson moves to signing the contracts, Kendell returns to the item about homework and states, "It's okay to get answers wrong as long as you try your best." (EML 2013, 1.1, 26.00)

Exploring within group differences amongst the black male student participants. This instructional event provides myriad examples of within-group differences. The boys engage in many different ways. Their comments indicate a range of foci, from grades to learning to testing to effort. Each of these black boys is an individual and the teacher interacted in personalized ways with them. I want teachers to interact with individual black male students, not black males as a type. In truth, the type most commonly associated with black males engenders fear, apprehension, and even rejection from white Americans (Mendes et al., 2002; Schmader et al., 2012). Refusal to individuate is one of the ways that whites stereotype and dominate non-whites. Dr. Ball interacts with each student as an individual. Yet, there were patterns in her teaching with black male students. Uncovering and understanding these patterns, teaching moves for teaching across difference, is the goal of this research.

The Researcher, His Skills and Orientations, are Crucial to this Method of Research

Grounded theory-building relies on the interaction between data and researcher (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Data provide the field of inquiry. The researcher brings resources, knowledge and experiences, to the investigation. As this research presents an alternative and uncommon perspective of classroom teaching, it is necessary that I employed some grounded theory-building methodology. Previous educational and professional experiences prepare me for this deep dive into the technical and theoretical aspects of teacher practice. I utilized specific aspects of my identity and experience as resources for this research. Even without formal recognition, all research starts with the researcher. Rather than a challenge to validity, acknowledging my particular lens on teaching reveals strengths. As research on diversity suggests, it is precisely the influence of different perspectives that build more creative and effective insights and solutions. In the next section, I share some ways that my identity relates to this research.

Identity Impacts the Work

First, I am a black male. I grew up in a low-income community. I am intimately aware of the lived experience of racial oppression. I empathize, rather than sympathize, with urban students. This motivates my passion and commitment to improvement. My motivation to intervene, and to do so immediately, is informed by personal understanding of the needless yet enduring suffering caused by urban education.[26] My schooling included the designation of "bad kid," but there were numerous protective factors that enabled my healthy development in spite of

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[26] It should be noted that I did not attend underserved public schools.

some undue suspensions. This is not a self-study. For the most part, I believe I was well taught by white female teachers. Rather, it is a study of race and inequity.

As a teacher in Chicago Public Schools, I effectively taught urban student populations who differed from me in meaningful ways. Effectiveness was then measured by principal, student, and parent evaluations. In my case, "differences" included class, age, and a host of other personal distinctions between students and I. While others attributed my effectiveness with "the bad kids" to a presumed race-match, I knew that much of it relied on strategy and practice. Identity may have helped, but explicit, skillful teaching practice was required. Students do not behave well simply because a teacher is black. What other educators misinterpreted as innate ability, I knew to be rooted in practice. My understanding of urban teaching is rooted in my experiences within many Chicago Public Schools, where I worked as a teacher, teacher coach, and teacher educator. One impact of these years in the classroom is a deep appreciation for the difficulty of teaching. I must acknowledge that urban teaching is complex and rife with opportunities for conflict. In consideration of teachers, in recognition of the complexity and challenge inherent in the work, I seek to identify practices that can be adapted and employed without becoming the onerous, burdensome, and disconnected mandates typically asserted by research and policy. This is not an effort to 'teacher-proof' or denigrate, but rather to support teaching as it occurs in real American classrooms.

Data Collection

In this section, I detail the sources of data used in this study and how these data were collected. Some of these data were collected directly by the researcher. Other elements were captured by the EML team.

Participant Observation

Participant observer data were kept in an ethnographic field notebook. During data collection, my foci were teaching moves and interactions between the teacher and black male students. These field notes centered on times of particularly important incidents. I recorded the timing of each event, a brief description of what transpired, and my own reactions. These observer comments were used as way to organize events, e.g. disciplinary events. I observed most class sessions, n=30, and collected field notes from each EML, across three years: 2013 - 2015. The notebook captures my personal description of events in the EML as well as my immediate reactions. These data were used to structure my use of video data, by suggesting important events to review, as well as contextualizing my understanding of each observed event by placing it within the full timeframe of the program. That is, the notes help the analysis of a given event by keeping the entire experience in view. The field notebook serves as a referent in an interactive and dynamic relationship with the video records of instruction.

Teacher Interviews

After the EML 2013, I conducted video recall interviews with the teacher. As a part of data analysis for the preliminary study, I presented video records of instruction to the teacher to stimulate her recollections about particular instructional events with particular children. Three interviews occurred within three months of the end of the EML 2013, each lasted approximately 30 minutes, were semi-structured, and notes were captured in the field notebook. Video recall interviews focused on what the teacher thought, why she made certain decisions, and her own evaluations of the teaching. These interviews provide data on the teacher's practical decisions, philosophical commitments, and emotional reactions to students and events.

Other interviews with Dr. Ball were unstructured and occurred before, during, and after the EML. Example questions included, "How can you move Vijay from good to great performance?" and "What are your thoughts about Demarco's behavior on the last day?" We also discussed her broad goals for students in the program. Dr. Ball shared her hopes that, in some small way, the EML might serve to "inoculate" the black boys against future teachers' low expectations and unfair treatment.[27] She actively sought to build up their confidence, ability to communicate, and strategies for perseverance. Though she could not directly influence their future teachers, Dr. Ball sought to empower black boys with tools for presenting themselves, their intelligence and capacities, in ways teachers may not expect. She hoped this would offer something positive for teachers to interpret and act upon; providing a more positive launch for teacher-student relationships. This extended access to Dr. Ball served as an affordance by facilitating multiple rounds of member checking throughout the analyses.

Student Interviews

Student interview data were collected during the 2013 EML. I interviewed several students (four boys and two girls, five of whom were black and one Latino). The interviews with students were short, lasting approximately seven to eight minutes. They were semi-structured and conducted by the author with the support of a veteran researcher during the eighth and ninth days of the EML 2013. The interview protocol asked students about specific events from the EML to get a sense of their experiences and interpretations, and then probed their responses to focus on interactions with Dr. Ball. I asked two boys about their work at the board and

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[27] This fear was warranted and motivated by the comments of several participants, potentially Vijay's future teachers. The fervency with which they suggested punishment and characterized him negatively gave me pause.

relationship with Dr. Ball to investigate instructional events from students' perspectives. Examples of interview questions included, "Have you ever gone up to the board and talked about what you think before?" "What things does Dr. Ball do to help you when you're at the board?" "How did it make you feel when she said that?," "What do other kids learn when you're at the board?" and "What do you learn at the board?" Though, they saw me during class sessions—students commented on noticing me in the observer section—we had very little direct interaction up until the interviews.

Observation and Field Notes

In order to name and describe the specific practices employed by Ball for discipline, I analyzed data from field notes conducted during EMLs 2013-2015, including the pre-brief, lesson, and debrief sessions. As a participant observer, I sat in back of the room during lessons and recorded those instances related to minority children, especially males, and involving classroom management, relationship building, remediation, and metacognition. I did not have an apriori theory of teaching to reference the practices I observed against. I came to see what and how the EML teacher taught across difference. These initial efforts fall within the ethnographic tradition as an attempt to learn from a grounded and exploratory perspective.

Data Collected by the EML

The EML provides tremendous access to teaching. A goal of the program is to make teaching available for investigation; to 'put teaching under a microscope.' They strive to collect and share, whenever possible, all potentially useful or relevant data. All of these data, the video records, student work, and program artifacts are kept on an encrypted flash drive according to a

memo of understanding between TeachingWorks, the organization that runs the EML, and the researcher.

Video Records of Instruction

The EML classroom uses two cameras, one for teacher actions and another for observing the whole class and/or focusing on individual students. Video records include all pre- and debrief and classroom sessions for each EML 2013-2015. The videos used in this study were spliced together. They contain the images from both cameras. The sound is recorded separately during the EML. There is a microphone on the teacher and one between each pair of students. The videos used in this study contain one soundtrack, which is a mastered version of what was recorded. The videos are labeled by day and lesson section. For example, day 1 of the EML 2013 contains two videos, one before and one after the break. The videos are also time coded, which serves for greater accuracy. Times are captured in minutes and seconds from the beginning of the lesson section, rather than the real-time of the lesson (e.g. the 06:55-minute mark, instead of at 10:20 a.m.). Therefore, each event in the video data is coded as day, lesson section, and minute on the time stamp (e.g. Day 1.2, 06.55).

Most of the data in this study is derived from video records of instruction from the EML 2013-2015. Video records provide the opportunity for multiple observations of a single event, which increases the opportunity to collect data on teaching. Video records also provide a format for sharing data and getting additional observers and observations. The video records provided a crucial medium for iterative analyses of the data; they remained unchanged as my understanding of the work developed.

Student Work Artifacts

Student work artifacts are composed of scanned copies of the notebooks used by students as a primary learning and record-keeping tool in the EML. Notebooks contain student work on specific problems as well as responses to metacognitive prompts, dubbed "notes to self." These "notes to self" provide an opportunity to investigate what students think and feel during instruction. For example, a note to self might ask students "what did you learn today that you can use to work on this problem tomorrow?" At the conclusion of the program notebooks are collected, scanned, and then returned to students for their future math learning. Program artifacts were produced and kept in digital copy.

Prebrief

This meeting is frequently used to introduce the observers to the content of the day. Understanding the content of a lesson is crucial to observing teaching. This knowledge contextualizes teacher's decisions. Doing the actual student work helps participants understand the content, common errors, and the challenges of sense-making for students. For example, each year that I attended the EML participants struggled to master the basic orientation of the mini-computer. Each day, they ask for more help, assistance, visual markers and acronyms to make the connection between the four colors and the four numbers used on the tool. In contrast, the students never need reminding after the first lesson. For me, understanding the math has been essential to understanding the teaching. Understanding the content is critical to understanding teaching moves; it is the content that justifies specific teaching moves. For instance, the EML teacher spends what felt like an inordinate amount of time introducing problems to the class, often delaying actual work until the every student in class demonstrated comprehension of the

task. This may seem tedious until one considers that often students first hurdle in math class is understanding the problem. Without knowing the math, this activity seems egregious. Knowing more about teaching math makes this teaching move the precursor to all future student engagement. That is, evaluations of time spent on building a collective understanding of the problem are bound by one's understanding of the content.

The pre-brief session is also used as a time to engage participants' ideas and suggestions about teaching. Often times, the EML teacher appears quite open to making adjustments. Whether or not she actually employs these changes often depends on the class. This is indicative of the program's responsiveness. The pre-brief is held immediately after breakfast is served and usually lasts between 30-40 minutes. The EML teacher reviews the lesson plan and asks for questions and comments. For this research, the pre-brief granted insight into how the EML teacher thought about the students and how her views contrasted with the participants' perspectives.

Data Analysis

I watched each class session from the Elementary Math Labs (EML) 2013-2015. The first step in analyzing these data was tagging every meaningful- as defined by the preliminary study-interaction between the teacher and black males as well as all incidents wherein black males are involved as members of the classroom community. This tagging scheme will be used to capture all relevant events for future analysis and organize them. The tagging scheme will organize events by: a) day and lesson part, e.g. Day 1. Part 1 (or 1.1), b) a time stamp for the time on the video record when the event occurred, c) a short description of the teacher's and student's action, and d) a section to mark those events that merit further investigation.

Once I mapped out each day of an EML, I went back through the tagged events to code for teaching moves. I used the following characteristics/descriptions to identify teaching moves and instructional events. In order to be considered for further analyses, a "teaching move" must be a) frequent, occur more than once, b) generic, happens with more than one student), c) visible and not implied, d) not excessively mundane, and e) effective. These parameters focus attention on teaching, moves and pedagogy, which are more than one-off, random, or isolated events. They also direct attention more towards teaching than the teacher's personal style. In order to impact teaching and teacher education, practices ought to be replicable, learnable, and transferable rather than esoteric and context or person-dependent. For the purposes of this study, "effectiveness" is defined as a) remedying the behavior or situation, b) maintaining or regaining student engagement in instruction, c) preserving students' identities, and d) creating minimal disruption in teaching and learning. Considerations of effectiveness will also incorporate elements of student-level data, as it should be effective for both teacher and student in order to be considered an improvement over normative practice. That is, additional data sources, including the student's work or notebook or interviews, will help triangulate the notion of effectiveness. The preceding definition of teaching moves and characteristics of effectiveness will be used to identify the teaching moves used in the EML for teaching across difference.

Once I identified a list of teaching moves from the EML, I coded these findings at the level of the properties and dimensions identified in the preliminary study. In an effort to make these findings transferable for EML, my analysis will focus on abstract levels of categorization. Based on my preliminary study of the EML 2013, several properties and dimensions rose to be central in describing EML teaching, including a) non-exclusivity, b) efficiently combine multiple

teaching and learning goals, c) teacher decisions rooted in learning, d) respect for students as learners and human beings, and e) attending to a positive, working teacher-student relationship. The non-exclusive condition is meant to address equity concerns. Do the practices make space for many types of learners and many ways of being? There is a difference between trying to make learning available to an imagined everyone, inclusion, and making it accessible to students who are typically excluded. The combination of SEL and academic goals presents an opportunity to leverage teaching moves for multiple purposes without adding an additional burden to the teacher. The goal is to work smarter, not harder. Uptake in teaching and teacher education is more likely if a single practice can provide multiple benefits. The preliminary study identified the teacher's diligent, unwavering focus on learning. The teaching focuses on engaging minds rather than fetishizing the control over bodies. As a study aimed at interrupting normative teaching, both the maintenance of respect for students and a positive teacher-student relationship are critical. That is, respecting students and building relationships with them are essential to disrupting racialized inequities. These characteristics are the beginning of my study. They represent what I have learned thus far, but are in no means definitive. I present them here as the origin of my research into the practical work of teaching across difference.

After analyzing practices at the abstract level of properties and dimensions, I will look to other data sources to more fully comprehend the teaching move. Additional data sources include student interviews, teacher interviews, student work, student notebooks, lesson plans, and statements made by the teacher during prebrief sessions. These additional data sources will allow me to gain a wider, more comprehensive view of instruction. They will also allow me to challenge my interpretations of incidents with those of actual participants, similar to member

checking. Given the structure of the EML and the diverse range of participants, I encountered alternative explanations for teaching moves that help to inform, expand, and broaden my interpretations.

After exploring a given practice, I will write an analytic memo on the incident, code, and properties to document patterns emerging from the data, including what the teacher does (video) and what she says (transcript)? How does this incident inform my conception of teaching across difference? What can we learn about the EML pedagogy from this incident? The major goal here is to begin identifying the variety of conditions, actions/interactions, and outcomes associated with a phenomenon. For instance, recognizing the conditions under which the teacher implements a given practice would be useful for understanding 'why' she makes certain moves, her decision-making process, and stimulating video recall interviews.

Once I have written memos on teaching moves identified in the video records, I will cluster them into categories at the level of properties and dimensions. Comparing and contrasting practices at the level or properties and dimensions, rather than idiosyncratic detail, will allow me to abstract from grounded practice to the principles that are guiding them. One goal is to identify useful teaching moves for urban education; another is to organize them into meaningful frames for dissemination, understanding, and replication. The prospective list of teaching moves for teaching across, itself, is an important contribution to urban education, but presenting them within a theoretical frame is essential to their impact on teaching and teacher education. Describing how the practices work together to build a coherent and non-exclusionary pedagogical approach is necessary to promoting widespread understanding. This methodology

led to the identification of learning as the teacher's primary concern and my description of the pedagogical approach as 'teaching across difference' in the preliminary study.

To expand beyond my own frame for analyzing teaching moves, I plan to review the literature for similar or dissimilar descriptions of teaching practice, urban teaching, students' social and emotional development, theories of learning, and mathematics education. Previous reviews of the literature, particularly in diversity or multicultural education and Culturally Responsive Pedagogy, reveal a dearth of information on teaching practice. The literature is sparse and underdeveloped in terms of the actual teaching moves for urban educators to employ. Instead, there is a glut of writing on how teachers should think and feel and what they should represent and embody. Thus, I will primarily engage in the literature to identify possible academic, social, emotional, and developmental impacts of teaching moves and to check for alternative explanations. I plan to employ the literature as an external reference and a way to gain multiple perspectives on teaching and learning.

Once I have compared the identified teaching moves in these data with the literature, I will work to draw out the underlying, fundamental characteristics of the EML teaching. This is the formalization of my framework for teaching across difference, the combining of diverse teaching moves into a comprehensive, coherent, and consistent framework for urban teaching. This theory will likely pivot on broad principles and commitments, as well as value statements, and beliefs about the purpose of schooling. Ultimately, the guiding principle of all of this work is the disruption of racialized inequity in schooling.

Limitations

The site and participants provide many affordances for this study. These characteristics also provide limitations. Potential constraints to these analyses include a) strong overlap between the philosophical approach of the participating teacher and researcher and b) the artificiality of the context. It was the overlap in teaching and difference in identity that originally drew me to study teaching at the EML. In the EML teacher, I saw a white woman creating the kind of widespread engagement and opportunity that defined my classroom. My hope is to present early findings to small focus groups, 1-2 teacher education students in the hopes of generating alternative interpretations of the teaching. The pre-brief session portion of the data, wherein adult participants often present a plethora of perspectives and varying explanations will be an important source to mine for alternative interpretations.

The EML is not a real school. It is reasonable to argue that the EML is removed from the chaos of a regular school and the particular form of chaos found in urban schools. Many of the normal features of school, other students and teachers, noise and action from the hallways, even regular distractions like alarms marking passing periods, are absent from the EML. The students may treat the program more like a summer camp than regular school with an indeterminate effect. While this does facilitate a less confounded lens for observing teaching practice, it may also affect student behavior and performance. It can be argued that the EML presents a special case of what could be done without the burdens of real schools, including carry over effects from other disruptive classrooms, a full teaching load, and less engaged students.

The context surrounding the EML is not similar to regular public schooling. The EML classroom is not located within a no-excuses environment. The teacher is not evaluated based on

classroom management. There is not an overarching fascination with punishment and exclusion. Nor are there other adults and administrators pressing for oppressive control over non-white students. Indeed, the EML 'principal' is a black man, who concentrates his efforts on community outreach to support students and families. For instance, he regularly calls students homes to connect with parents. On occasion, he even arranges for student transportation personally. The EML is not bounded by exclusion like regular schooling. This particular limitation cuts both ways. The context allows me to explore what 'could' happen, while potentially making it more difficult for teachers to employ in regular settings.

Mrs. Ball is a teacher, but she is not a practicing teacher of record. Her employment is not contingent on appeasing an administrator or standardized test scores. She is more educated, Mrs. Ball has a doctorate, and more experienced, as a teacher for over 30 years, than the average urban schoolteacher. Her practice is reflective and informed by research, qualities not found in normative teaching. The affordances of the EML led some to make the erroneous suggestion that the EML benefits from excessive resources unavailable to public school teachers, of which only the presence of teacher's aides can be validated. Explaining away alternative practices is as common a trope amongst teachers as the moves to innocence. Teachers frequently focus on a trivial particularity as a way to excuse themselves from better teaching practice; focusing on why they can't enact improvements rather than finding the transferable elements of practice and bringing them into their classrooms. Despite these limitations, this study considers the EML a useful site for a deep investigation of teaching.

CHAPTER 3

Behavior Management and Trust

Power in classrooms must be negotiated. Students choose whether, when, and how to learn from teachers. As part of these evaluations, students have rational concerns about submitting to authority similar to the concept of consent of the governed. Among these legitimate concerns, we may consider trust. It is quite reasonable to ask: does the teacher have my best interests in mind? Students need teachers, who respect them. Respect is essential to feelings of safety and belonging. Learning involves the unknown and change and therefore learning is a risky endeavor; one that requires social and psychological safety. Non-white students also need teachers who are not racist. It is completely irrational, self-destructive, and anti-human to learn from someone who you know hates you, even if she does not know that she is hateful. This social contract between teacher and student is similar consent of the governed, because teachers need students to cooperate in order to achieve their mutual goals of student learning. Teachers need students to consent to their power and authority. Never more has the shared outcome of education—namely, student learning—created more of a shared destiny than today, in the era of teacher accountability.

Power, Respect, and Relationships

The teacher-student power relationship makes behavioral interventions both important and precarious. Teachers are expected to maintain the norms that create an environment for

learning. The explicit demonstration of power potentially shines a light on the teacher and students' varying conceptions of the behaviors required for learning, and as such it can violate student expectations. It is critical that teacher power is used to promote learning and not to enforce cultural norms that are not logically, rationally, or scientifically connected to learning. There are many common elements of schooling that do not meet any legitimate standards. For instance, stillness and remaining seated are not remotely necessary for learning. Desks were invented as a means of control and continue to exist for no other purpose. In recognition of the harm done by chairs, indeed sitting is extremely unnatural, adult workplaces are moving to standing desks and shared working spaces with varying seats and desktops. Teacher behavioral demands ought to be rooted in learning, and yet, they are often focused on sitting, even seating posture. Control of the sake of control is not a shared value, nor is it reasonable or moral to expect blind submission from students. The naked expression of power and control by teachers leaves them vulnerable to revealing bias and an opportunity to demonstrate trustworthiness.

This chapter identifies teaching moves for intervening on student behaviors that can add trust to relationships between white female teachers and non-white male students. Teacher-student relationships are the mediator between teaching and learning. Thusly, practices that develop and maintain positive, working teacher-student relationships support student learning. The prominence of relationships makes them a crucial avenue teaching across difference. The teaching moves described herein center on respecting the humanity, dignity, and individuality of students. These moves attend to the social and emotional needs of those students who the research identifies as the most mistreated, non-white males. Yet, the moves must also be effective at modifying behaviors to support an environment of deep and technical, individual and

collective learning. Modifying student behaviors while maintaining their social identities and protecting their emotional states is core to this research. Marva Collins, the godmother of education in Chicago, said, "no one cares how much you know until they know how much you care," establishing the primacy of teacher-student relationships. This work explores this wisdom of practice.

How the Chapter is Organized

The chapter is organized in sections. First, I use one episode from the EML 2013 to unpack some of the teaching moves for behavior management that maintain respect for students. Then I highlight some core tenets of these moves as alternatives to normative teaching. I use data from the EML 2013-2015 to identify patterns in the ways that a white female teacher, Mrs. Ball, teaches non-white male students. This work results in a set of teaching moves for managing behaviors and simultaneously managing teacher-student relationships across difference. The teaching moves in this chapter include the distraction principle, indirect discipline, and reconnecting students to learning. I describe how each of these teaching moves interrupts normative teaching, the enactment of habits of whiteness. For instance, this research focuses on teaching that does not produce exclusion. Next, I explore other instances of the set of teaching moves throughout EML 2013-2015 to explore further how they are enacted, under which circumstances, and with what types of variance. From these analyses, I uncover key elements that undergird the teaching moves. The chapter concludes by considering how these teaching moves might contribute to positive teacher-student relationships through the concept of trust.

A Glimpse in One Episode

On the second day of the program in 2013, the EML teacher, Mrs. Ball, launches one of the foundational lessons in the Elementary Math Lab, the minicomputer. The minicomputer is a tool used in the EML to help students write equations accurately and carry out calculations. It is complex, eventually allowing students to create rules for prime numbers. Mrs. Ball introduces the work with typical novelty, saying "We're ready to start and we're going to start something completely new that you've never done before, so I need everybody to be on their complete attention" (EML 2013, 2.2, 1.39). Then, she directs their attention to a large colored corrugated cardboard square affixed to the whiteboard at the front of the room:
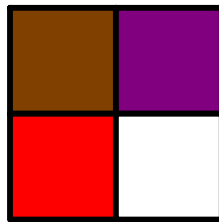
Figure 1. Minicomputer

Her opening signals a challenge, as she emphasizes, "This is the minicomputer right here, it's very hard to learn, it's very hard to learn," as well as encouragement and support, as demonstrated by "but if you are very careful and think hard you'll learn how to use it today" (2:20). "You have to pay hard attention, because it's not simple (2:52).)

She continues by explaining that each of the colored squares is worth a value, i.e.,

Figure 2. Minicomputer with values

and shows the children how to represent specific numbers in this environment:
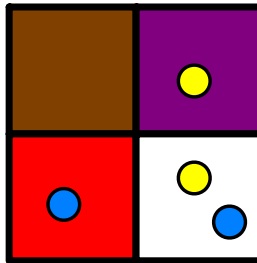
Figure 3. Minicomputer with "checkers"

She explains that each "checker" represents the value of the square on which it is placed and that one "makes" numbers by adding up the separate values, for example, in Fig. X, 2 + 4 + 1 + 1, or 8. As she engages in naming the squares of the minicomputer, she pauses to engage three non-white male students, saying "Damarco and Vijay and Chris, you ready?" (3:05). With this statement, Mrs. Ball is signaling to a group of non-white boys seated together along one side of the room- she is directing their attention to the lesson. Clearly, from multiple statements during the introduction, Mrs. Ball believes that students' "complete" attention is required to learn how to use the mini-computer.

After identifying the value of each square, the class begins making numbers. Mrs. Ball places two "checkers" on the board and asks the students to identify the value. This seems a relatively easy task, basically arithmetic, but Mrs. Ball uses the simplicity of the calculations to

engage students in learning an important aspect of the mini-computer: the importance of properly identifying the representation and using that information to name equations. An instructional goal for this lesson is that students will be able to use proper representations of equations on the mini-computer, that is, when to use multiplication, addition, and how to count the checkers and square values. Marquis, a non-white male student, gets the discussion started by explaining the first three-checker problem. Throughout the discussion, many students are engaging- raising their hands and taking turns explaining. Several non-white male students offer explanations and contribute to the discussion.

Mrs. Ball wants everyone in the class to participate in the discussion. She announces firmly, "I don't see everybody's fingers yet, what's it worth right now, Demarco and Vijay I don't see your fingers. Okay Demarco can you explain why that's 6? "2 plus 3 equals 6, I meant 2 times" he says without much confidence. "Say it again, I just can't hear you, if everyone could be really quiet then we would all be able to hear Demarco's explanation," Mrs. Ball asks to confirm. Demarco tries "2 times 3 equals 6" again. "2 times 3 is 6, but really what I would like you to say is 3 times 2, because you see three of them (checkers), 3 times 2. It's the same answer. You're completely right, but because you see three of them, I'd like you to say the three first times what its on. Okay?" Mrs. Ball presses to meet the instructional goals of accurate representations and equations on the mini-computer.

This interaction reveals Demarco's inattention to the lesson. His answer to misses the fundamental aspect of the representation, counting the number of checkers on a square. Based on this response, one could conclude that Demarco is distracted, or perhaps, not concentrating fully. It should be noted that Vijay is sitting next to Damarco brushing his hair throughout this

interaction and carefully folding a piece of paper into an airplane. Indeed, Vijay continues to

brush his hair for the next three minutes. Together, the two boys both appear to be off task.

Finally, after about 10 minutes of mild, off-task behaviors, an unproductive seating

arrangement, and a demonstrated lack of attention to the lesson, Mrs. Ball intervenes, saying:

"You know what Vijay, I'm gonna need you to come up and sit closer because this isn't

working so well. Could you just bring your chair up and sit up here where I know you can see

and you won't be distracted. And Demarco, you want to lean in a little bit more and make sure

you can see. Is that going to work for you? No big deal Vijay, just come sit where I can make

sure you can follow this, okay."

Vijay walks slowly up to the front of the classroom and drifts around the chair before

sitting down. He pulls the seat back 2-3 feet from the desk. His movements suggest not wanting

to change seats and perhaps a bit of embarrassment at being called out. He sits apparently

disengaged for about a minute- during which a paper airplane materializes in his hands. Mrs.

Ball brings him back into the lesson by having him work at the board, in a format dubbed "You

be the Teacher." After having Vijay move to the very front of the class, she states:

> "Okay, Vijay you get to come up and make a number because you're the closest
> person to the board. You can have two checkers, put them wherever you want and
> make sure you know the answer and then you can call on someone. Make sure
> you know the answer first, think in your own head. (she walks up to him, puts a
> hand on his shoulder, and whispers) tell me… good good… so pick somebody,
> make sure you make them explain. Okay, raise your hand if you can explain his
> number." (16:00)

He calls on his friend, Marquis, who needs a bit of time to answer. Mrs. Ball comments,

"I think he needs a minute to think like your idea of giving people a minute to think. Thank you

for waiting for Marquis to think, you're being a good patient teacher." She offers a prompt, "You can ask him why he thinks that," then directs the class, "Can everyone listen right now, just listen to Marquis and Vijay talk." Finally, she sees the issue with Marquis' answer, "Oh, you don't add the two dots" and shares with Vijay, "You see what he did?" Vijay says, "No." She prompts the discussion saying, "Ask him where he got the 13, 14." Vijay repeats to Marquis, "where'd you get the 13,14 at?" Marquis replies and Mrs. Ball checks in with Vijay by asking, "Can you figure out what he's doing wrong and tell him?" Confident is his understanding, Vijay states, "Yes" and proceeds to explain the problem to the class, all while he's holding the paper airplane he had been folding. At the end of this lesson activity, Mrs. Ball recognizes Vijay's contributions to the class, by declaring publicly, "You did a great job of being the first person to teach."

Critical Elements of this Episode

In this section I unpack key elements of the behavior management techniques described in opening episode. The most crucial outcome is *to not exclude the non-white male students*, but understanding what Mrs. Ball did to avoid producing racialized inequity is the goal of this research. It is critical to focus on her decision-making strategy, paying close attention to the point where she chose to intervene. Mrs. Ball delays judgment, which in itself, interrupts the habits that define normative teaching. Simply hesitating, thinking, and seeking out information breaks the habitual leap from stimulus to action. It recognizes that a teacher's knowledge is incomplete and that her intuitions are not the only relevant information. Mrs. Ball's decision-making is conscious. She chooses how to react based on the legitimate standard of teacher authority: a focus on individual and collective student learning. She acknowledges the feelings of a non-white male student and her moves attend to his likely emotional state. Lastly, her stance

towards behavior management is authoritative, not authoritarian. She explains her decisions to students, rather than expecting slavish obedience. These justifications make her thinking transparent and give the class information to understand the teacher's expectations. This section dives deeper into the teaching moves at the EML to illustrate how they interrupt normative teaching. It also explores some of the potential benefits of these alternative strategies and practices.

Slow Down Decision-Making

In this episode, we also see the EML teacher being patient, asking questions rather than assuming, and attending to students' emotional needs and social identities. The patience indicates an acceptance of difference. It shows that the teacher does not expect all students to behave uniformly. There is space in her classroom for students to be individual, different, and themselves—there is space for a range of humanity. This openness stands in stark contrast to teachers' frequent demands for conformity with white norms. The unwillingness to jump to a conclusion demonstrates a level of self-control that is rare in teachers. Normative teaching is merely the enactment of habits, and habits move from stimulus to action without passing through consciousness. Pausing is effectively the first step to interrupting the habits of whiteness.

Indeed, as I watched this event live, I wondered whether I could be so patient about student behaviors. I wondered whether I would get annoyed and respond based on my feelings of frustration. There is something irksome about students engaging in side talk, especially during the explanation of an activity. Perhaps this patient quality is innate and the EML teacher has a proclivity for calm. In our interviews, she suggested that her response was very conscious, deliberate, and intentional. Not only did she notice behaviors immediately, but her seeming

114

inaction was actually deep consideration and a commitment not to jump to conclusions. Pausing, gathering more information, and resisting one's instinct are ways to break the automaticity of habits.

      EML behavior management is progressive, not permissive. Even within the innovative context of the EML, Mrs. Ball's approach to behavior modification is uncommon and unconventional. There is a tendency amongst adult EML participants to assume that Mrs. Ball is either unaware of inappropriate student behaviors or unwilling to address them. Participants also suggest that Mrs. Ball does not discipline students enough overall.[28] These critiques are useful to this study in two ways. First, the vast majority of EML participants are white, female teachers. They provide a reference for normative teaching and a lens into the ways that dominant teachers understand teaching at the EML. Their focus on discipline and insistence on ever "more" discipline reveals habits of whiteness. They orient towards the classroom in ways that police behaviors and actively seek to control students. They focus on inane behaviors, such as looking away momentarily, wearing a hood, or standing near one's seat, at the expense of seeing students' learning and their contributions to the learning of other students. Ultimately, EML participants want to see exclusion for each of these behaviors. Apparently, removing non-white male students from the classroom would assuage their concerns. Without rampant exclusion of non-white male students, something "just doesn't feel right" to the white women observing Mrs. Ball's teaching.

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[28] A technical issue, wherein participants hear students whisper comments to each other that are unavailable to the teacher in the room, contributes to this perspective. Participants tend to want Mrs. Ball to intervene on every behavior on every occasion. Without this level of control, they are apt to conclude that this teaching would not be allowed in a 'regular school.'

This incident is not permissive, Vijay is very publicly sanctioned. The punishment is very traditional. It should be clear that Mrs. Ball does indeed discipline students in very traditional ways at times. Moving a student to a seat closer the teacher is a generic classroom management technique, one that employs proximity as a means of influence. It brings the student within the teacher's gaze and earshot. Moving Vijay to sit "front and center" is a direct classroom management move, yet her process of making the decision are critical to understanding why her pedagogy interrupts the typical disciplinary pattern in classrooms. For instance, the way she makes sense of student behaviors does not lead to exclusion. In fact, the result of inappropriate behavior is greater inclusion in the lesson. The move to greater inclusion is made most clear in the "You be the Teacher" activity, wherein the object of behavior modification is made into the center of learning. Mrs. Ball's teaching moves for disciplining non-white boys were progressive, not permissive. The EML participants help reveal the stark contrast between progressive and normative teaching.

Refuse to assume. Asking questions indicates openness to alternative explanations and a desire to get more information to make in informed choice. Mrs. Ball does not assume to know the reasons for student actions. More importantly, she does not perceive student actions as personal attacks against her. Often times, racism leads teachers to layer student actions with negative and malicious intent. Presuming negative intent on the part of non-white students activates teachers emotionally, making them aggressively defensive. This is especially true in classrooms where the teacher feels a need to be the Authority. Negative intent is how a teacher moves from a student talking to a peer, to arguing with the student, to excluding the student from learning. The inclusion of intent creates the emotional activation that leads to teachers feeling

"disrespect" and "defiance." Ironically, these terms, which lead to punishments for students, are strictly subjective and allude to the emotional state of the teacher. That is, teachers feel disrespected by students and object to the student defying their authority. This problematic behavior alludes to Buchmann's (198x) injunction to teachers to take the stance of "role over person."

There are many ways to understand a behavior. Teachers would be better served by maintaining a safe psychological distance from student behaviors than by assuming everything a child does is meant as a personal attack or threat to authority. It could help address the cognitive bias of attribution error. Indeed, sometimes a student is talking to a peer because he needs a pencil. Allowing for a broader range of interpretation, indeed a wider range of humanity, would grant teachers freedom from the intellectual constraints of being emotionally activated; allowing them to remain calm, be thoughtful, and intervene on behaviors rationally in relation to teaching and learning. Rather than being incited, defaulting to habits, excluding non-white male students and signaling bias to the classroom community of his peers. Moving away from negative attributions could disrupt the discipline gap.

Simply asking questions, rather than assuming, can interrupt habits of whiteness. In fact, recognizing that one does not have complete information and engaging another as the knower of that information is already a violation of the habit of affinity for whiteness as it holds out space for the possibility and legitimacy of other, non-white, sources of information. The EML teacher's moves suggest a frame akin to 'I think there may be a problem, but let me get more information first.' The recognition that the teacher's knowledge is incomplete and her perspective is limited is another violation of the habit of normalizing whiteness. For according to habits of whiteness

117

all a teacher needs to know is the identity of a perpetrator in order to interpret the action and choose a response.

Focus on Learning

In instructional event above, the teacher demonstrates many key features of teaching moves for addressing behaviors when teaching across difference. The EML teacher focuses on learning. Setting the standard on learning is extremely consequential, because there are a multitude of ways to learn. Sitting in silence, tracking a teachers' every word and move is only one way to learn. Unfortunately, it is the way that is privileged within the context of teaching across difference. White and affluent students regularly learn in alternative environments, such as Waldorf and Montessori, which allow for many ways to learn. These fortunate children are also permitted multiple ways to demonstrate their learning, e.g. certificates as opposed to credits. A foundational representation of racism in American education is the lack of access for non-white and poor students to these humane curricula and innovative measurements. In yet another manifestation of white supremacy, this society has decided that underserved children can only learn by direct instruction. Unless one is white and rich, the only way to demonstrate learning is through standardized test. Consider how rarely alternative models mention behavior and control as opposed to the 'no excuses' charter schools that dominate non-white communities. Similarly, when the purpose of schooling is learning, students are permitted a range of possible behaviors. When the purpose of schooling is control and exclusion, children must learn in the prescribed pace and method of standardized tests. A focus on learning ought to broaden and diversify expectations for the associated behaviors.

What does learning look like? Learning is associated with myriad behaviors. This diversity makes it intensely difficult to observe learning. Most often, the portrait of learning is overly influenced and constrained by cultural biases and preferences. Thus, most teachers think of learning as the behaviors they associate with white students engaged in schools. Yet, these frames are limited and invalid. Consider the range of ways that adults choose to learn as manifestations of the multitude of ways to learn. Adults are free to choose the method and format of learning, and consequently they choose individual and idiosyncratic approaches. Now consider, how few of those ways of learning are honored in classrooms. Mrs. Ball's decision point for behavior modifications pivots on students' level of engagement in and distraction from learning. She also considers how one student's behavior may be distracting to others. Remember a teacher's multiple levels of authority in the classroom. She is responsible for each student and the class of students as a whole. The modification of behaviors in the EML is not the habitual enforcement of ethnocentric norms nor does it center on the teacher's subjective vision for appropriate learning behaviors.

Instincts tend towards bias. A critical element of habits of whiteness is that they are initiated by a feeling. Habitual actions are the result of instincts, not careful contemplation. When the climate in a classroom deviates from the teacher's instinctive sense of appropriateness, she enacts habits of whiteness. These decisions are sensed, not considered. Habits are not conscious; they are best understood as embodied. Making learning the decision point for behavior management interrupts the habit of affinity for whiteness. Learning is explicit, justified, and likely shared by teachers, students, and families. In contrast, the feelings associated with habits of whiteness are implicit, racist, and almost assuredly there is no consensus around

controlling, dominating, and excluding students for not being white. The EML framework for intervening on student behaviors, namely, focusing on learning, moves away from the subjectivity and ethnocentrism that underlies the discipline gap. It locates the enforcement of authority within the social contract of the schooling: teachers ought to exercise power for the purposes of learning. If teaching is to become professionalized, teachers must rely on careful, consideration for making decisions rather than defaulting to biases that produce racialized inequity. Besides teacher racism leads to disengagement through at least two simple pathways. One cannot, indeed should not, learn from a teacher she does not trust (Kohl). Learning is necessarily a process of change, change is necessarily uncertain, and therefore often feared and thusly avoided. It is not rational to learn from someone, without knowing that he has your best interests in mind. The other reasonable pathway from teacher racism to disengagement centers on the loss of legitimacy and therefore authority. Teachers must negotiate power with students in classroom. To a large degree this power rests on the perception that it is only wielded for the benefit of students, their learning in particular. That is, students expect teachers not to display naked power unless it meets the moral purpose of their work. Teacher authority is not based on force; it stems from a deep and shared moral purpose. When teachers behave in racist ways, their authority is undermined.

Authoritative, Rather than Authoritarian

The episode above shows how the EML teacher's actions are authoritative, not authoritarian. The authoritarian orientation of her teaching is manifest in the explanations of behavioral requests. Explanations of why behaviors are not acceptable are critical. Students need to understand the rationale behind a change in order to internalize it. Without a logical rationale,

120

behavioral modifications are rooted in obedience to a teacher. This renders behavioral demands only effective when teachers are present to enforce them. Students learn to comply with teacher demands, but they do not learn to employ behavior changes in other circumstances. Without a clear and face valid justification, students to do not learn from or internalize the behaviors that teachers desire. Justifying behavioral modifications also moves them away from not conscious biases. Explaining how a demand is necessary for learning, moves it away from the murky waters of teacher's subjective preferences and their affinity for whiteness. Ultimately, if a teacher cannot explain her behavioral injunctions, is it reasonable to expect students to obey them?

Explanations are critical. In the case of teaching across difference, students also need to hear explanations to counter the frequently correct assumption that teachers are merely racist enforcers of white dominance. Without a connection to learning, it is reasonable for students to infer that the teacher is blindly aiming to control them, especially since this is often true for non-white students in schools. It is human nature for people to refuse to submit to authority without a purpose. No one wants to be controlled for the sake of being controlled. This is especially true for non-white people who live in a society that is historically and currently organized around controlling them.[29] If students are accustomed to teacher subordination for subordination sake, explaining the rationale behind discipline becomes critical. Otherwise, students' prior experiences frame these teacher behaviors as fitting patterns of racism in schools. Offering an explanation is a way to recognize student's humanity, people deserve justification of demands.

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[29] From slavery to the prison industrial complex, black males have ample experience with systems of control. Given the economic and social context of America, resistance writ large and resisting illegitimate control specifically is a potential habit of blackness.

Reengagement in Learning

In the example, the teacher is more concerned with presenting important concepts than intervening in side talk. Yet, as it becomes apparent that Vijay and Demarco are distracted, as evidenced by Demarco's inattentive response, Mrs. Ball intervenes in a familiar and proactive manner. Moving Vijay to the front of the class was one of the most direct disciplinary interventions during the EML 2013. It is critical to notice that after the disciplinary intervention, Mrs. Ball moved quickly to reconnect the disciplined student with learning. She does not move away from the student. She does not exclude him, or the other boys who were distracted. Instead of reprimanding a student and pushing ahead, Mrs. Ball makes sure to reengage Vijay in learning. Her goal was not to control his behavior. Her intention was to bring him into learning; the behavior modifications are meant to serve the purpose of schooling, which is student learning. Thus, the interaction does not end with punishment. The interaction is not meant as an end, but rather a way to bring the student back into the collective process of learning.

Social and emotional benefits. In this event, You be the Teacher functions as a "two-for" teaching move. It is one action that creates multiple benefits on multiple levels. It works for Vijay emotionally. Socially, it works for the entire classroom community. . Socially, "You be the teacher" brought Vijay back into the class. Thus, the move benefits to the community and individual. Discipline is generally a process of exclusion, wherein one is sanctioned for not conforming to expectations. That is, the student who is disciplined is not part of the classroom community- by virtue of his behaviors and the teacher's responses. The student may other students to reject the 'bad kid,' the one not maintain the community norms. This is even more likely the case, when the inappropriate behaviors distract other students from learning.

122

Positioning Vijay as a leader, a knower, an authority—à la "teacher," is meant to elevate, or at

least redeem, his status amongst his peers. After all, being the teacher is the most prestigious

The EML teacher attends to students' emotional needs. For instance, when she tells Vijay

"it's okay just come up where you can see better," she is responding to his hesitance to move, his

probable feelings of embarrassment for being called out. She acknowledges these feelings by

reframing a bad behavior as a simple need to change the physical environment. She does not

blame, critique, or attack this non-white male student. She focuses on learning, emphasizing that

Vijay 'can see better' from the front. In contrast, many teachers focus on control, as in 'come up

here to stop talking with the other boys.' Focusing on the action allows the perpetrator a safe

distance from which to engage; it lessens the psychological threat to Vijay. Focusing on the

behaviors instead of the person is also a way for the teacher to attend to student's social

identities. This teaching move avoids positioning the perpetrator, the non-white boy, as "bad."

Lastly, addressing the behavior creates an opportunity for all students to learn from an example.

The teacher can employ the authoritative frame and explain expectations and norms for the entire

class.

The effort to reengage Vijay in learning demonstrates recognition of his probable

emotional state after being publicly chastised. One ought to assume that public sanction would

lead to disengagement. In the simplest psychological sense, humans tend to reject things that

make them feel bad. Thus, after being "disciplined," it is human for students to reject the teacher,

the lesson, even the class. Disengagement may manifest through physical behaviors, sitting back

from the desk, arms crossed, eyes averted. Disengagement can also become clear as students

refuse to uptake learning. You be the teacher brought Vijay back, emotionally, into the lesson. His behaviors went from withdrawn to draw into learning.

One might argue that attending to the social-emotional needs of non-white male students, in itself, is an interruption of the habits of whiteness. First, it acknowledges the feelings of non-white people. Second, it honors the importance of those feelings. It is ironic that teachers so casually dismiss students' feelings during disciplinary interventions when their responses to the events reveal such deep emotionality, as suggested by the terms disrespect and defiance. That teachers care about their own feelings, and yet they often refuse to engage with the feelings of students, is a manifestation of white privilege. The tendency to only consider the emotional state of white people fits the habit of affinity for whiteness. White teachers may perceive their feelings as automatically legitimate whilst simultaneously automatically ignoring and negating the feelings of non-white students.[30] In contrast, it is equally as obvious to non-white male students and their peers that students' feelings matter.

By recognizing the emotional state of non-white male students, the EML teacher begins to break down the cold austerity of habitual whiteness and initiates warm relationships with her students. One should recognize the importance of being acknowledged and honored is intensified when it is rare. That is, for students who are accustomed to being "unseen," in the sense of having their individuality and personhood ignored, simply being recognized is a welcome change. Think about normative teaching for a moment. If teachers cannot imagine a student's feelings, how likely are they to honor a student's feelings during the emotional conflict? Many

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[30] In fact, the privileging of white women's feelings over every other consideration is a core tenet of the occupation called teaching.

white teachers assume they are legitimate by virtue of their whiteness. Their social position relegates the feelings of non-white people to irrelevance. Thus, the positive response of Vijay after the "You be the Teacher" activity cannot be overemphasized for its interruption to habits of whiteness. Attending to the social position and emotional state of non-white students disrupts white supremacy.

Managing Behavior and Managing Relationships

This section will describe and detail teaching moves that interrupt normative teaching practice from the EML programs 2013-2015. From the literature on the discipline gap, we see that normative teaching produces racialized inequity in student punishment and exclusion. I argue that normative teaching practices also damage teacher-student relationships by breaking down student trust in teacher authority. Therefore, this research will identify, name, and describe teaching moves that manage student behaviors and demonstrate trustworthiness. Teaching moves are defined as those purposeful activities that a) occur more than once, b) occur with more than one student, c) are not excessively mundane, d) attend to student's social and emotional needs while addressing teacher concerns, and e) cause minimal disruption to classroom life. I focus on these teaching moves because they are a) justifiable, rooted in learning rather than habits of whiteness, and b) effective, addressing problem behaviors with minimal interruption to teaching and learning and without excluding non-white male students. All of the teaching moves described in this chapter meet these criteria. They are not best practices, as such a claim requires validation beyond the scope of this study. They are practical examples meant to inspire practitioners and researchers.

Examples from the EML 2013-2015

I identify and focus on three teaching moves related to discipline and the interactions between the teacher and non-white male students. They may be organized chronologically, occurring before, during, and after disciplinary interventions. The distraction principle may apply before an intervention. Indirect discipline may occur during the actual interaction. Re-engagement strategies may be employed to draw a student back into the lesson. But they may also occur independently as deemed appropriate by the teacher; timing merely serves as one mental framework. These moves interrupt the key mechanisms that cause the discipline gap: teacher bias and normative teaching moves in the discretionary spaces of teaching across difference (Ball, 2018). Ultimately, this research aims to disrupting the production of racialized inequity by normative teaching. I describe each move one at a time, providing examples from the data, and discussing the key elements I saw in each pattern.

Does Student Behavior Distract from Learning or Annoy Teachers?

The first teaching move that I will unpack occurs at the onset of a disciplinary event. The first pattern identified in these data was the teacher's tendency to strategically overlook childish behaviors, such as pretending to shoot imaginary basketballs. Before intervening, Mrs. Ball would routinely ignore small behaviors until they rose to the level of distracting the perpetrator or others from learning. After noting multiple examples of this pattern, I labeled this teaching move, "the Distraction Principle." This move interrupts the white habit of affinity for whiteness and its classroom manifestation, teacher bias. It delays the teacher from automatically responding to a student behavior. It also reveals an alternative for evaluating behaviors other than habitual

bias and a process for avoiding bias. Mrs. Ball focuses on learning, as opposed to control, in her responses to the behaviors of non-white male students.

      The Distraction Principle in practice. As students return from break on day 6 of EML 2014, Leonard and Reggie have problems getting started working on the warm-up activity. It is clear that they are distracting each other, it's a pattern that developed during the first week and continued during the first part of the lesson. Mrs. Ball walks over to the pair and whispers, "This is already not working, okay, if this happens one more time, I'm just going to move one of you away from here. Right now is a quiet time to do your work—it's up there—and not talk to each other, okay. "Okay," says Reggie. Notice, the behavior modification is explained with reference to learning, "time to do your work." This teaching move is focused on student learning, engagement and effort.

      After speaking with the pair, Mrs. Ball tells one of the classroom aides, "I think it might help if you sat behind Leonard and Reggie for a time" (EML 2014, 6.2, 1:00). The warm up concludes with the teacher leading a discussion of students' thinking. Reggie frequently raises his hand. Leonard seems to be trying to catch up as the discussion progresses. Mrs. Ball checks on his level of distraction, asking, "Leonard, it's the second one from the bottom." He tries "um… I made six plus four that equals, wait…," then he admits, "*I wasn't paying attention.*" "I know but that's part of what I told you, you can do it though, its the second from the bottom?" she says. Mrs. Ball's response indicates confirmation of a suspicion that Leonard was distracted. This move is strategic. Here, we see an instance of Mrs., Ball gathering more information.

      After a few awkward moments, fumbling through his notebook and arguing with Reggie, Leonard relents, he cannot answer the question. He admits that he was not engaged in the lesson.

Mrs. Ball recognizes the situation, saying, "So Leonard this is a consequence of what we were talking about. So, do the problem, but I'm going to call on somebody else right now. *I know you can do better* than this" (EML 2014, 6.2, 6:20) and the discussion moves ahead. While engaged in a public behavioral intervention, she does not demean or isolate Leonard from the learning. Instead, she concludes the comment with a statement of confidence, "I know you can do better," to both Leonard and his classmates.

Later, as the lesson moves to better understanding how to use the negative checker on the minicomputer, Mrs. Ball stops and says "Leonard, can you come up here and sit, because *it's interrupting too many people right now* and me too. You're not in trouble; just come up here where you can focus. Bring your notebook (Reggie can be heard on the microphone teasing him (ah-ha) quickly." Leonard strolls up and sits at the teacher's desk, leaned so deeply back that he is literally sitting in the teacher's path at the board. (EML 2014, 6.2, 8:35). Moving seats to the front is a familiar disciplinary intervention. The innovative aspect of this teaching move is revealed in the authoritative explanation of *why* Leonard was being asked to sit in the front of the room. Mrs. Ball explains that Leonard is moving because his behavior is "interrupting too many people."

During the partner work after the discussion, Reggie is sitting by himself. As Mrs. Ball sits down next to him, he confesses, "I ain't got no partner!" She consoles him, stating "I know, but you know what: it's been a harder morning, hasn't it? (Reggie nods) Ok, by now most people have already been answering problems and you haven't even glued the paper in. Do you want to work with someone or do you want to work alone?" Meekly, he replies, "I'll work with

somebody." Mrs. Ball responds, "Ok so get your paper glued in and I'll set you up with somebody."

Key elements of the distraction principle. Many of the key elements of the distraction principle are present in this one instance from the EML 2014. Mrs. Ball is focused on learning as evidenced by her initial contact with the distracted pair and her explanations of the interventions throughout. She gathers more information before deciding to intervene. This is done by asking Leonard to contribute to the class discussion. His confession of 'not paying attention' is a direct condition of the distraction principle. Indeed, Leonard's behavior is distracting to the entire class. Thus, she explicitly references 'interrupting' other people as the reason for the behavior modification. The decision point for intervention hinges on whether a behavior is distracting to the actor or others. Mrs. Ball attends to Leonard's likely emotional state by stating "You're not in trouble; just come up here where you can focus." Mentioning trouble is a way to address Leonard's potential feelings about being called out in front of his peers, and the EML audience. Lastly, Mrs. Ball attends to these students' social needs throughout the event. She starts by having a private conversation while other students engage in the warm-up activity. She states her high expectation for Leonard to the whole class when she says "I know you can do better." At the end of this instructional event, Mrs. Ball takes practical steps to ensure that Reggie is not excluded from the classroom community and sets him up with a partner. The distraction principle includes as a set of moves: focusing on learning, gathering information to evaluate distractedness, and intervening in ways that attend to students' social and emotional needs.

Gather more information. During the fourth day of class in the EML 2013, Mrs. Ball leads students through explanations of a computational problem. This lesson segment moves

slowly and requires great focus. During most of this instructional activity, Demarco stands at a desk located near the front of the room. On the video, we see him standing about ten feet from Mrs. Ball playing with his watch, spinning it around his wrist or perhaps repeatedly setting the time. He is engaging in the exact type of low-level behavior that may be an indication of inattentiveness or a distraction to other students. These types of small behaviors are frequently associated with punishment in the discipline gap.

Mrs. Ball does not attend to Demarco's watch-spinning behavior. Instead, she focuses on several other students as they offer explanations to the whole class discussion. After two minutes, she checks on his level of engagement, or distractedness, by asking, "Demarco, can you read the third one?" He immediately sits down, checks to make sure which problem she is asking about, then offers a complete explanation. Based on this response, she concludes that he is indeed paying attention to the lesson. Seating requirements (i.e., "Sit down" or "We sit in our seats") go unmentioned. One could argue that Mrs. Ball is intentionally rejecting common behavioral norms, which begs the question: to what end? The focus on learning would suggest that students be allowed to behave individually, since there are many different ways that people engage in learning. Not all of them are obvious, nor are they all comfortable to teachers. Within the EML, these allowances led to less exclusion for non-white males. Mrs. Ball was purposeful in choosing not to respond to Demarco's behavior and he proved to be engaged in learning. How often do teachers conclude that a student is not paying attention based on this type of behavior? More to the point, how often do teachers interpret behaviors based on student race and thereby choose to exclude non-white students from learning? By gathering more information about learning from the student, Mrs. Ball avoids misinterpreting Demarco.

Distracting other students. On Day 3 of the EML 2013, Mrs. Ball chooses to overlook Vijay while he plays with his nametag. I describe her actions as "overlooking" based on a video recall interview. For nearly four minutes, he swings the nametag around his neck and places it on his forehead like the light bulb of a spelunker's helmet. Honestly, this behavior was distracting to me as an observer in the audience. Playing with a nametag exemplifies the type of low-level behavior that teachers frequently read as inappropriate and punish. Teachers often take personal offense to students appearing distracted and off-task, even though neuroscience tells us that humans need mental breaks in order to engage for prolonged periods of time. This behavior is similar to Demarco's playing with a watch until it spreads. When another student joins in Vijay's fun, she says to the class,

> "The nametags, I think everybody knows are not headbands. So I don't really
> want to see anybody wearing them as headbands. I don't even think I should be
> seeing that. It's silly. I don't think fifth graders need to be told about nametags not
> being headbands, so don't let me see that again. Thank you."

This intervention shows that the teacher was willing to allow an individual behavior up to the point where that behavior bothered another student. Once it became clear that students were playing and not learning, Mrs. Ball intervened. Notice that the teaching move does not demean either Vijay or his classmates. Mrs. Ball employs an aspirational frame, rather than denigrating student behavior. The reference to students' next grade level—EML students are rising fourth graders—signals the increased expectations that come with maturation.

During the EML 2016, Mrs. Ball asks Jerome and Raymond to flip seats into a new arrangement that maintains their partnership whilst exchanging whom else they sit by. After having both boys stand, she asks Raymond to step aside for a private conversation behind the

board where other students cannot see. She says "Come here Raymond, two things your work in this class has been great, really proud of you, you've been thinking well and writing well. There's one thing I want you to try today a little bit more: could you try not to be like singing and talking under your breath when its quiet time? I know you like to do that but sometimes *its distracting for other people*, could you try to be a little quieter, thank you very much" (EML 2016, 5.1, 3:50). In this instance, the teacher is not necessarily disciplining the student, but she is asking him to modify his behaviors so that they do not distract other students. The focus is to limit distractions from learning. This move need not be confrontational. Indeed, Raymond was a thoughtful, amiable, and engaged student, who did not require a lot of direct discipline; a quick side chat did the trick. Throughout this lesson, he has his hood over his head and Mrs. Ball never comments on it, not even when she calls on him and he answers questions. She intervened on the problematic behavior, the singing that bothered other students. The hood was not problematic.

Review of elements of the distraction principle. Each of these instructional events present examples of the Distraction Principle in action. They each highlight different elements. In the second example, Demarco's behavior is not interfering with his learning, so the teacher ignores it. Asking for a mathematical explanation offered a quick assessment of his level of distractedness. Learning remains the teacher's central focus even as the student's behavior is addressed. In the last example, when Vijay's unacceptable behavior begins to affect other students, it is addressed immediately, albeit without calling him out individually. The Distraction Principle puts the impact on learning at the center of decision-making and behavioral interventions. As a teaching move, it includes: focusing on learning, quickly checking for student engagement and responding based students' level of distraction, and attending to students social

132

and emotional needs. This teaching move interrupted the exclusion of non-white male students in the EML. Frequent punishments and public ridicule were not present either. The Distraction Principle also seemed to maximize instructional time since time spent disciplining students, and then engaging in confrontations when they legitimately push back on hegemonic demands, detracts from time spent teaching content.

Indirect Discipline

The second pattern in these data concerns the teacher's framing and phrasing during disciplinary interventions. In most cases, only a single or small number of students engage in unacceptable behaviors. Most students genuinely attempt to follow instruction. Yet, when Mrs. Ball calls attention to off-task behaviors she routinely makes general comments to the entire class. Comments are often phrased without direct reference to individuals and tend to be framed as inappropriate for learning or students' age group. Indirect discipline was an effective intervention for inappropriate behaviors. At the same time, it preserved students' social position and avoided direct psychological attacks. For adults, who are working in schools, the professional goal is the intellectual development of students. For students, who attend schooling, the experience is social and emotional. Indirect discipline is a teaching move that prioritizes the needs of students to be seen and respected as humans while also meeting the needs of adults to facilitate learning.

Indirect Discipline in practice. Attention often wanes on Fridays. Students are tired from the week or looking forward to the weekend and behaviors reflect the loss of focus. Thus, the second Friday, the last day of the program, provides many opportunities to investigate Mrs. Ball's practices for discipline. Throughout the warm-up activity in the EML 2013, Vijay

struggles to attend to and persist on the math work. About two minutes into the lesson, he stands at his desk and gossips to Alex about another student. Neither student is completing the warm-up task. Mrs. Ball notices Vijay's behavior and walks over to his desk. Standing beside him, she states to the class, "Can I just remind you that the warm up problem is not a time for talking with other people. Get busy please!" Vijay quietly says, "I already explained all this," apparently in response to this declaration.

She remains by Vijay's desk until the class quiets down. A couple of minutes later, she walks over to intervene on a brewing argument between Vijay and Dujuan, who's seated across the room. Mrs. Ball goes back to Vijay's desk, kneels down to his sitting eye level, and tries to engage him in the work. She looks up to see many other students talking and says, "Could everyone stop please? This is a quiet time to try warming up your brain and not a time to be talking. So get into the problem, start working, and see if you can make some solutions." As the room quiets down, Mrs. Ball remains in close physical proximity to Vijay.

In this instance, Mrs. Ball uses proximity as part of the teaching move. Vijay responds in a way that acknowledges he may be at fault, yet he is not overly defensive. Using indirect phrasing allows for the teacher and student to attend to the issue of learning rather than an escalating argument. According to the discipline gap literature, students are frequently punished for the argument that follows a relatively small behavior. Thus, keeping the focus on the warm up problem is actually critical to avoiding exclusion.

Student Contract, a useful referent. During the first week of each EML 2013-2015, Mrs. Ball engages the class in the drafting of two contracts. The student contract enumerates the rights and responsibilities of students. The discussion of how to interact and how to learn is filled with

student requests and recommendations. The class also constructs a teacher contract, which lists student expectations of the teacher. These discussions are fascinating, as they reveal a lot about students' histories of participation in schooling. The consistency of students asking for respect, patience, careful and repeated explanations, and the emphasis on norms of speaking and listening speaks volumes about their experiences with teaching. Both contracts end with the students and teachers signing copies and then students pasting the contract into their notebooks. Large copies of the contracts are also posted around the classroom. The teacher uses these tools to establish norms quickly. Given the short duration of the program, she has to implement norms for learning and a classroom community almost immediately. The student and teacher contracts make the rules for learning and behavior are explicit in the EML classroom. The collaborative way that these contracts are built gives them shared meaning. It is especially important for teachers to be clear about expectations within the context of teaching across difference. In this section, I highlight the ways that the student contract was used to support or enact the indirect discipline teaching move.

On day 5 of the EML 2014, the class is engaged in learning about the concept of number lines. The teacher uses the format of discussion to guide students unpacking of this essential mathematical concept. During the discussion, a student, Lakia asks a question, but due to the volume in room she has to repeat herself, saying "I said is zero a positive or a negative number?" Mrs. Ball highlights the idea, but the room is still talkative. She asks the class, "Did everyone hear her question? It's a very good question. Ben, what do you think?" Ben offers his thoughts, "Its both… it's not really one below and like…" Ben is also interrupted by the noise of his peers. In the midst of his explanation, a female student bursts into laughter. Ben is frustrated and says,

"What is wrong with you guys!" Clearly, it is important to him to be given the space to share his thinking. Norms around listening support the work of leaning. Throughout the EML 2013-2015, students upheld the value of respecting each other's airtime. Students did not object to behavioral interventions that supported the norm of active listening.

The idea of zero on the number line is important and Mrs. Ball was driving the conversation towards understanding the concept. She also recognizes that discussion in not possible in this moment. She validates Ben's feeling by saying, "Yeah, we're having a bit of trouble laughing today which is kind of disappointing to me." She addresses the class as a whole, without referencing any individual,

> "One of my commitments to you is to make sure that the class is respectful and right now—when Ben is trying to explain something hard—I don't consider this respectful right now. This is a hard idea. Lots of kids in high school and college don't even know the answer to this question Lakia asked and Ben is trying to explain it and people are giggling, because you're not even listening. So now, it's Ben's turn to talk again. I don't want to hear anyone laughing or fooling around when he's talking."

The teacher does not call anyone out by name. Her phrasing is indirect and aimed at the entire class, despite the fact that many students are actually behaving appropriately.

Mrs. Ball uses the teacher contract as a reference, allowing her to name behaviors without naming students. The contract serves as a way to discuss behaviors indirectly. The contract also aids her interventions as she routinely references the norms that the class chose for learning in the EML. Mrs. Ball's claims to legitimate authority are enhanced by the establishment of shared and explicit community rules for leaning. If the teacher is upholding a contract, that students were instrumental in creating, her behavioral modifications are less questionable. They are less

136

murky and suspicious. Indeed, the EML context, the classroom norms are posted on the wall for all to see

> "I know that it's Friday, I know that you've worked hard but listen to the room right now. You're talking while I'm talking. Look at the contract, somebody pick one, that's what the contract is for, to help you notice, to help you learn." Here the student contract is the crux of the intervention. The teacher is using it as a reference. Instead of making a personal observation, she is appealing to the class norms. This example shows how behavior modification becomes a group process. Rather than a teacher calling someone out, it is other students addressing the inappropriate behaviors. The contract is drive by learning. It is part of the physical environment, which is indirect but still very much present. The student contract is a reference for behaviors making expectations and rules public, shared, explicit and known as opposed to the subjective, teacher-based, and potentially racist rules of normative teaching.

"I think it's a good time to stop and review the contract because there are some things we are not doing this morning," says Mrs. Ball. In this case, the student who was the intended target of the disciplinary call out, does not respond. He continues his behavior as though the teacher were not talking to him, despite the fact that most students in the class are busy at the work of learning. Thus, she ratchets up the intensity of the behavioral intervention saying, "Donte, look at the contract," twice in rapid succession. He replies, "Not listening to each other's ideas," to which she presses "Anything else we need to do, Donte?" She waits, but Donte can't find any other norms that the class is violating and he shrugs it off. As the indirect approach is not creating the desired behavior change, Mrs. Ball continues, "I'd like to stop for a moment right now. The contract is not helping. Look at the contract in your notebook, read it carefully." Mrs. Ball is looking directly at Donte for the last injunction.

Mrs. Ball orients the class toward a representation of the number line at the board and assigns a student to present an answer. This move gives her time to engage Donte directly about this off-task behaviors. She crouches by his desk and says,

> "I don't want to do this but if you can't actually focus on what we're doing I'm going to have to ask you to sit in another spot, what do you think, you think you can do it, one more chance okay, because you're distracting other people right now and I need you in this discussion, because you bring up good ideas, okay? "Okay," says Donte.

In this example, there is an overt focus on Donte, a jovial kid who often acts silly. Instead of targeting him, Mrs. Ball frames the behaviors in reference to the class norms. The teacher attempts to keep the intervention indirect by referring to the student contract. This event also reveals an upper limit to the practice of indirect discipline. Mrs. Ball starts by being indirect, when that doesn't achieve the desired results she becomes much more direct. The determinant of the intensity of her intervention is still student learning. Thus, she starts off with the least direct move and increases the intensity in order to achieve the result of learning, moving from read the contract, to Donte read the contract, and eventually to a direct and personal conversation with Donte about switching seats. The teacher even references "distraction" as the explanation for her intervention. Mrs. Ball indicates the increase in intensity when she admits to Donte, "I don't want to do this." Her preference is to stay indirect and have Donte remediate his behaviors of his own volition. She will resort to traditional discipline if need be. Thus, Mrs. Ball encourages Donte to engage, saying, "You bring up good ideas." Her focus problematizes the behaviors, not the child himself.

The seats in the EML are set up in a U-shape. At times the teacher and board may be at odd angles for students, making it hard to see and/or giving them the impression of being hard to

see. In the EML 2013, Vijay and Damarco eventually moved from sitting next to each other at the end of the row during a lesson where the board was difficult to see. In the EML 2015, Dione and Luiz are in a similar position and having a similarly difficult time attending to the lesson. Instead of blaming the boys, Mrs. Ball makes a general statement, one that both recognizes that some people are not looking at the board and simultaneously provides them with an excuse. After a few minutes of watching Dione and Luiz mess around, Mrs. Ball makes the following observation "And the people in this row, it's really hard for you to see. Let me see if I can move this just a little bit but I don't want you talking to your partner, I want you watching right now, is that better Luiz and Dione, can you see better now?" "Yeah," says Luiz. Later, she focuses more keenly on the offenders, "Luiz, and Lauren and Dione, this way (look at the board) I know its hard to see."

Key elements to indirect discipline. As a teaching move, indirect discipline helps teachers avoid interpersonal conflicts while addressing unacceptable behaviors; it is effective without being unnecessarily confrontational. Avoiding personalizing discipline, when possible, greatly shortens the duration of disciplinary interventions. Indeed, this practice never incited angry responses from individual students as is often the case when students feel personally attacked. Confrontational discipline is even more likely to incite urban students for whom a significant proportion of their schooling experience involves implicit and explicit disrespect (Delpit, 1998). In this way, small infractions often result in stiff penalties and removal from the learning environment for minorities (Townsend, 2000). In terms of protecting students socially and psychologically, indirect discipline is subtle, yet effective. It combines attention to the

139

social-emotional needs of individual students with the academic needs of the classroom community.

By aiming disciplinary comments at the whole class the teacher avoids making the student feel like a burden or positioning him as the class clown within the social context of his peers. Thus, protecting the teacher-student relationship from unnecessary disputes. This practice avoids "making an example" out of non-white male students. It gives every student a behavioral goal, rather than position one student as the problem. In this way, the focus remains on learning, rather than policing behaviors. In contrast with normative teaching, where the goal is to police identities.

Ultimately, this practice effectively changed the behaviors of target students. Following each teacher intervention, the target student turned away from distractions and turned towards the work of learning. On one occasion, Vijay apologized for his behavior, since he was the only perpetrator; even though Mrs. Ball never called him out directly. Mrs. Ball addresses student behaviors in indirect ways that limit the duration and potential negative consequences of disciplining non-white males.

Reengagement in Learning

The third pattern in these data was the careful and proactive manner with which the teacher seeks to bring a disciplined student back into learning with the classroom community. This teaching move attends to student's academic, social, and emotional needs. Students need to engage in lessons in order to learn from instruction. Yet, engagement cannot be taken for granted, particularly following a disciplinary intervention, which can make students feel self-conscious, attacked, and reticent to reconnect. After being disciplined, students may retreat.

140

Perhaps they need time to calm down after being publicly reprimanded. Perhaps, they are angry with the teacher and avoid learning as a form of resistance (Kohl, 1994), albeit self-defeating resistance. Perhaps they are embarrassed and concerned with their position amongst peers. In any case, teachers ought to be considerate of how a student feels following a disciplinary intervention and not presume that he is automatically back in line with the teacher's objectives. Mrs. Ball actively attends to these potential student emotions and consciously attempts to draw students back into instruction. Student interviews revealed that taking time to reintegrate students positively impacted non-white boys' learning and relationship with the teacher in the EML.

Reengagement in learning in practice. At the conclusion of the intervention in the first episode in this chapter, there is a six-minute activity, wherein Mrs. Ball supports Vijay in explaining a common student misunderstanding about the mini-computers. She supports him by providing prompts. For example, after a student offers an incorrect answer she suggests, "Ask him where he got the 13, 14," and Vijay says "Where did you get the 13, 14 at?" Later during this activity, she tells him, "You should ask him why he thinks so," and Vijay says, "You're right, but how did you get the answer?" Mrs. Ball provides assistance and focus for the discussion at those moments that affect students' understanding of the concept. These supports aim to help Vijay engage in the lesson. They are scaffolds to help him connect back to the class after being the target of a public sanction.

Mrs. Ball encourages Vijay by acknowledging his patience, saying, "You're being a good patient teacher. Its sometimes important for teachers to wait a few minutes to let people think while they wait for a student to respond." With this statement, she connects his actions at the board to a comment he made earlier about patience. During the drafting of the class norms, Vijay

suggested that it's important for teachers to wait for students to explain. Her words demonstrate that she was listening to Vijay. She is also validating his request for patience. Here, listening is a demonstration of care and respect.

Mrs. Ball empowers Vijay, saying **"**Can you figure out what he's doing wrong and explain it to him?" When Vijay says, "Yes," she backs off stage, nearly off camera, and allows him to take over**.** Mrs. Ball gives over her position of power, at the head of the class. She allows Vijay to be the expert. Ultimately, the activity works so well that she lets Vijay provide a second explanation. At the end of this activity, she praises him publicly saying, "You did a great job of being the first person to teach." Consider the importance of that statement as the end of a behavioral modification. How often is a non-white male student esteemed and not "the bad kid" at the conclusion of being disciplined? "You be the teacher" was a much-valued role amongst students in the EML. Indeed nearly every hand is raised as Mrs. Ball turns to the class for a second volunteer teacher.

After moving Vijay to the front of the class, Mrs. Ball works to get his attention and effort back to the lesson. You be the teacher provides an opportunity to turn his punishment into a privilege. Mrs. Ball justifies making him the first teacher by virtue of his proximity to the front of the class. Instead of being the bad kid seat he is now moved closest to the action; the proverbial front row seat. Her supports during the activity help Vijay with the format—after all, this is the first time that a student has been made into the leader of the class discussion. Her encouragements are much more effective than praise. She acknowledges him for real contributions to the class. Inauthentic comments are likely to come across as condescension. The situation after discipline is precarious; it is often an emotional time for students. Teachers would

be wise not to patronize them in these moments. Lastly, empowering Vijay was important and validating for him. During our interview, he indicated a strong sense of pride and accomplishment as he recounted his times at the board verbatim. Vijay was confident at the board, and felt "like he was going to get the right answer." With the true altruism of a classmate, he told me that he liked being at the board even when he was wrong, because "other people can learn from my mistakes." Indeed, given his attitude, intelligence, and articulateness, choosing Vijay to be the teacher was fortuitous for his learning as well as the learning of everyone else in the class. Had Vijay been excluded, everyone would have lost.

Limitations

The focus of this study is teacher-student relationships. Yet, the available data limits direct claims about relational analyses to a small group of students who were interviewed about the topic as part of data collection at the EML 2013. Thus, there is support for the effect of the You be the Teacher activity on Vijay and his relationship with Mrs. Ball. Similar data exists to describe the impact of these teaching moves on Zenon and Dajaun. Unfortunately, this research does not include any pre- and post-survey data or other documentation about changes in the teacher-student relationship. I cannot be sure as to whether these practices indeed impacted trust between teachers and all non-white male students. Yet, there is ample support for the conclusion that students enjoyed positive relationships with Mrs. Ball. Teacher-student relationships at the EML were largely positive and productive, but I do not claim that the quality of these relationships was affected strictly by the teaching moves identified in this research. I argue that these teaching moves are likely to encourage positive relationships, promote effort and engagement, and thereby impact student learning.

Discussion

In the conclusion of this chapter I consider the teaching moves identified within these data in light of the literature. These moves connect with the suggestions of other researchers in ways that are highly applicable to the goal of disrupting the production of racially inequitable outcomes by normative teaching. I end the chapter by considering the ways that these teaching moves might convey trustworthiness on behalf of teachers and give some treatment to the role of trust in relationships.

The Distraction Principle

Similar to Townsend's (2000) "So What Test," the Distraction Principle asks teachers to intervene only when necessary. Townsend argues that teachers who concentrate on inane and small behaviors, the exact focus of zero tolerance policies, unconsciously stray from learning objectives. The fundamental idea is captured in the maxim "pick your battles." In terms of practices for discipline, teachers ought to intervene only in those instances that actually impact the purpose of schooling: student learning. Making this a conscious and principled choice may help teachers overcome implicit bias and dyconscious racism. Dewey (1915) noted that in a workshop, management arises naturally since students who are engaged are not misbehaving. In this vein, Mrs. Ball facilitated learning rather than enforced discipline. The teacher's focus on protecting learning and instructional time is progressive, in its efforts to be inclusive and universal, not permissive — a charge often leveled by those who presume, erroneously, to be capable of observing learning and engagement through culturally biased physical cues.

From the perspective of normative teaching, every student behavior, outside the normative bounds, is intolerable and teachers can 'see' student learning. The distraction principle

offers a legitimate standard for evaluating behaviors and a quick tool for gauging them. The standard may appear to some as lenient, but it was nonetheless enforced diligently. What is important to notice is that the distraction principle is justifiable and focused on learning, not teachers' idiosyncratic and ethnocentric preferences or desires for control. Mrs. Ball's instruction suggests that ignoring trivial, and potentially annoying, behaviors is an effective way to keep non-white boys in class. Ultimately, this strategy allows for many ways of being and keeps students in class and learning. The effect on learning, rather than deviations from culturally informed visions of what a student is supposed to look like, is the measuring stick of the distraction principle.

Indirect Discipline

Kleinfeld's (1975) observed that a common and effective technique of warm demanders "is to impersonalize a situation where a particular individual might be accused of wrongdoing. The wrongdoing is discussed in the presence of the offender, but without personal reference to him" (p. 338). Mrs. Ball made public statements to all students, many of whom were quietly unfocused, about her high expectations for their work. In these examples from the warm up activity, as well as the phrasing around nametags and the insistence on respecting students at the board, Mrs. Ball employs an indirect technique for disciplining non-white male students. Her words set behavioral norms for the entire class. The timing of her interventions and her physical closeness to off-task students allude to more specific motivations. It should be noted that there were several instances wherein Mrs. Ball intervened directly and exclusively with Vijay, as well as other students. In particular, she used this strategy when he was the only or most off-task student. For urban teachers, the choice is not either direct or indirect discipline. Rather the

dilemma is to choose which strategy to use when. This teacher's practices suggest deferring to indirect statements unless the behavior is extreme or exclusive to only one student.

Reengagement in Learning

Several researchers assert that teachers must actively seek to engage and reengage students in learning (Connell & Wellborn, 1991; National Research Council, 2004; Bondy et al., 2007; Cholewa, 2012). This ought to be intuitive. Teachers may be less attentive to reengaging students after a disciplinary event because they presume that students ought to stay engaged, or because their own feelings of reward overshadow considerations of students. Given the power dynamics of classrooms, teachers may not even consider how students feel at all. For Bondy et al. (2007),

> The connections between student engagement and classroom management have been explored for 25 years. Grounded in the seminal work of Emmer and Evertson (Emmer, Evertson, & Anderson, 1980; Evertson & Anderson, 1979; Evertson, Emmer, Sanford, & Clements, 1983), studies consistently indicate the significance of the practices used during the first days of school in establishing the teacher's leadership and fairness (Emmer et al., 1980) and scaffolding students' success and self-regulated behavior (Bohn, Roehrig, & Pressley, 2004).

Culturally responsive classroom management attends to reengagement, but this line of teaching is in opposition to normative practice and explicitly attentive to difference; facts which only further highlight the rarity of honoring students' feelings within teaching.

Demonstrating Trustworthiness

By focusing her demonstrations of power and authority on situations and behaviors that distract students from the shared purpose of schooling, student learning, the EML teacher

146

conveys trustworthiness to students. Her explanations are authoritative, not authoritarian. Throughout the EML's 2013-2015, Mrs. Ball never suggests that students do something for her, she does not rely on personal pleas to motivate students. She does not reference her position or status as teacher as the grounds for a behavioral modification. Instead, all behavior mandates rest on the legitimate needs of learning. For instance, her volume and noise demands were always framed in terms of listening and engaging in classroom discussions. Often times, the noise in classrooms annoys teachers and does not affect students.

In striving to convey trust, Mrs. Ball positively impacts her relationships with non-white male students. She does not provide evidence of bias. She does not enact normative teaching. Explaining behavioral injunctions in reference to learning contributes to trust by making students aware of the rationales. Indeed, the fact that Mrs. Ball is able and willing to explain her classroom management stands in contrast to normative teaching. For instance, the common teacher insistence on sitting and seating posture cannot be linked to learning. Teaching in the EML strives to give students reasons to trust the teacher and environment. Trust is critical to positive teacher-student relationships, especially within the context of teaching across difference. Given the negative experiences of non-white students, their families, and communities in schools, teachers must make active, strategic, and timely efforts to communicate trustworthiness. Otherwise, students might legitimately disengage from learning. As Dweck & Leggest (1988) suggest, "individuals could adopt a more defensive, self-protective posture, devaluing the task and expressing boredom or disdain toward it" (p. 261).

CHAPTER 4

Teaching Moves For Student Names

Preface

"Teacher	Okay, let's take the roll here. Balakay, where is Balakay at? No, Balakay here today?
Blake	My name is Blake.[31]
Teacher	Are you out of your (*sic*) mind? Blake? What? Do you want to go to war Balakay?
Blake	No.
Teacher	Because we could go to war… I'm for real, so you better check yourself!"

Source: Key & Peele – Substitute Teacher, LYBIO.net

Find at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Dd7FixvoKBw

The teacher in the preface is fictional, and all good satire is based on truth. Indeed, good satire draws attention to many things that are too painful to discuss without some modicum of levity. While this teacher may be a bit excessive, the interaction is representative of the types of

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[31] Ironically, the author is a Black man named Blake, to honor his white grandmother's maiden name. In spite of his poverty and blackness, no white teacher ever mispronounced his white-sounding name.

events that create the discipline gap. Some elements of the skit are common in the context of teaching across difference. For instance, teachers commonly mispronounce student names. This is satirical because it is ridiculous to imagine a teacher not being able to pronounce a white-sounding name. If the student's name were Jamari, the video would be decidedly less funny. Notice that the teacher, not student, escalates the situation and does so through teaching moves. The teacher swears and makes threats, while the student is calm and bewildered. His reaction is likely tempered by the rarity of this type of insult for white students. Were this a regular occurrence, he might have responded more vociferously. Lastly, the scene closes with the teacher establishing his authority and power over students. He is right, even when he's wrong, which alludes to many teacher's insistence on dominating students.

Mispronouncing Student Names is No Small Matter

In "Teachers, please learn our names!" Kohli and Solórzano (2012) assert that mispronouncing names, changing, or denigrating them are forms of racial microaggressions experienced by non-white students in schools. They define racial microaggressions as "subtle verbal and non-verbal insults/assaults directed toward People of Color, often carried out automatically or unconsciously; Layered insults/assaults, based on one's race, gender, class, sexuality, language, immigration status, phenotype, accent, or name; Cumulative insults/assaults that take their toll on People of Color. (p.447)." The prefix, "micro," can be misinterpreted as insignificant, but is better understood in contrast with explicit racist aggression—an insult is micro compared to a police shooting.

Microaggressions Accumulate

It is misguided to construe microaggressions as small. Fundamentally, a microaggression is an act of disrespect. If a given microaggression has a small effect, repeated microaggressions produce cumulative effects. Mispronouncing student names is a common student experience within the context of teaching across difference. Names are used for attendance purposes at the beginning of each class. They are used to designate speakers in discussions. They are used to call attention to a particular student. Given the frequency of their use, mispronouncing student names might be a nearly constant phenomenon—as in 'it happens every time.' Continuous microaggressions can be expected to damage the student and the teacher-student relationship, since human beings tend to turn away from harmful experiences. Kohli and Solórzano (2012), reach a similar conclusion in their study, "In isolation, racial microaggressions may not have much meaning or impact; however, as repeated slights, the effect can be profound" (p. 447). The effects of microaggressions could include: detachment from the teacher-student relationship, embarrassment and shame about one's own culture, and even the internalization of racism. Responding by disengaging is harmful for any students learning, but given their vulnerability in society, disengagement may be more harmful to poor and non-white students. According to the National Research Council (2004),

> "When students from advantaged backgrounds become disengaged, they may learn less than they could, but they usually get by or they get second chances. … In contrast, when students … in high-poverty, urban high schools become disengaged, they are less likely to graduate and consequently face severely limited opportunities …[including] unemployment, poverty, poor health, and involvement in the criminal justice system" (p. 1).

By encouraging and facilitating student disengagement from learning, teachers may be triggering a cascade of negative life outcomes for non-white students.

Relationships Affect Learning

The teacher-student relationship is one of constant negotiation. By working assiduously, a teacher can build up bits of "relational capital," says Mrs. Ball. The return for this investment is that relationships can be leveraged for student engagement and thereby learning. Relationships are a critical element of classroom life, for teachers and students, and an area where skillful practice can make all the difference. This chapter considers one specific area of relationship building, student names, and identifies how a habit of whiteness, a routine way of interacting across racial difference, is injurious to the teacher-student relationship.

The importance of relationships is best understood given a theory of teaching and learning. Teachers teach and students learn. There is a hand off of responsibility, as teachers cannot learn for students. The outcome of teaching is student engagement and effort. Teachers can impact these outcomes through instructional design, clear communication, and affecting student's state motivation. That is, teachers can affect whether a lesson is well designed, the process and outcomes are clearly articulated, and to the degree to which students are actively engaged in learning. Relationships are the mediator between teachers and students, teaching and learning. The effect of teaching is moderated and determined by teacher-student relationships. The impact of relationships on learning makes the careful establishment and maintenance of a positive teacher-student relationship a high-leverage practice (TeachingWorks). According to Townsend (2000), relationships may be most important for students who a) are accustomed to close interactions with adults and b) have come to expect negative treatment from teachers.

Townsend suggests relationships are especially important to non-white students, which makes them critical within the context of teaching across difference.

Interrupting Normative Teaching

This chapter focuses on the inability of many white teachers to establish respectful relationships with students of color. One cause of this failure to connect is the tendency of teachers to casually alienate, other, and disrespect non-white students by mispronouncing their names (Figlio, 2005). This work seeks to identify concrete ways to interrupt the habit of mispronouncing non-white students' names. This research considers difference inevitable and, rather than a source of contention, potentially generative for student learning. I take a "practice-based approach" (Ball & Forzani), focusing on what a teacher can do to build relationships with students socially different from her. This chapter identifies practical steps for teaching across difference. The goal is to identify, name, and describe teaching moves that interrupt the white habit of mispronouncing non-white students' names. I also seek teaching moves that turn student names into an asset, a resource for learning in the classroom. In the next section, I describe the core concepts used to identify teaching moves for interrupting the habit of whiteness of mispronouncing non-white names.

Normative Teaching and Habits Of Whiteness

This research is framed using the perspective of MacMullan's concept of "habits of whiteness." According to MacMullan (2011), "Habits form a connection between our broader biological, cultural, or social environment and us" (p. 96). Habits are routine ways of acting and interacting as members of society that become automated ways of understanding and reacting.

MacMullan (2011) suggests there are "bad habit(s): those that continue to function in our behaviors, but have somehow fallen out of harmony with their environment" (p. 97). Although it was always morally repugnant, one can imagine a time when policing names served a purpose for whiteness. For instance, white-sounding names are useful for accessing employment. Consider how frequently the new immigrant groups of the 20th century changed the spelling of their names to hide and remove unpopular ethnicities. The Italians, Poles, and Jewish people regularly altered their names to be more white-sounding, specifically making their last names sound more Anglo-Saxon, in order to access the full benefits of whiteness. More recently, several studies have shown the benefits of a white name and costs of a non-white name for employment (Bertrand & Mulainathan, 2004). White names still signal permissibility and provide an economic benefit—whiteness has always paid wages (Rodriger).

Habits as a Frame for Mispronouncing Student Names

The notion of habit is helpful for considering the pronunciation of names and their connotations. Habits get away from consciousness while keeping an eye on effect. One need not intend harm for another to suffer. For example, a drunk driver may be unconscious and yet harm other motorists. Focusing on the intent or consciousness of the drunkard over the harm to his victims is immoral and unethical. The situation in education is akin to an ambulance arriving on the scene of an accident and the medics consoling the drunk, while the victim lay dying a few feet away. A teacher may not intentionally mispronounce a student's name and still injure that student nonetheless. This work does not privilege intentions over student experiences. That is, the teacher's intention is not as important as the student experience, especially in the case of

153

racism. Research that privileges white teacher intentions over non-white student outcomes is merely an academic instantiation of white supremacy.

Habits are also a useful concept, because they can be changed. When our actions no longer fit the environment, we can choose to evolve and adapt. Habits of whiteness are particularly destructive. They are not compatible with an egalitarian, diverse, or democratic society. If we no longer want to exclude Americans from the benefits of the economy or citizenship on the basis of ethnic traits, than we must find new ways to interact with ethnic, non-white sounding names. Recognizing the sickening effects of a habit allows us to take conscious control over our actions. Despite past faults, we can choose to do better going forward. Difficulty pronouncing unfamiliar names is no excuse to continue alienating students.

Mispronunciation is a habit like smoking. I employ the metaphor of kicking a habit like smoking for several reasons. One, smoking is an addiction. Although obviously harmful, the behavior has passed from conscious consideration. Despite the economic and physical costs of smoking, people continue the habit, especially in stressful situations. It may not make physical or economic sense, but smoking feels right to the smoker. Two, smoking harms bystanders as well as the smoker. Habits of whiteness damage both the target of bias and the actor. Non-white people are harmed by exclusion in many different forms. For example, bastardizing a student's name effectively removes him from the social environment. Without a name, how can one be present? Habits of whiteness harm white people through the loss of productivity and creativity that come from engaging with diverse groups. White people also suffer by creating a cold, cruel, and unethical country that induces a perpetual fear of revenge. History has repeatedly shown the harms inflicted by white people coming back to harm them. Malcolm X proved prescient in

154

warning of the violence inflicted upon non-white people, saying "the chickens will come home to roost."

Mispronouncing student names is an act of disrespect. Among the habits of whiteness, MacMullan (2009) lists a habitual antipathy to what is strange, habits of entitlement, and habits of guilt (p. 170). This chapter addresses the white habit of antipathy to what is different in teaching as it manifests with non-white student names. Teachers mispronounce non-white names because they are non-white, but difference does not always animate prejudice. So why do teachers respond so negatively to non-white student names? It is an act of disrespect rooted in power; one does not mispronounce a boss' name regardless of the strangeness. Mispronunciation fits a pattern of racialization in schooling (Lave). People of color learn of their social exclusion, in part, from teachers. Through the microaggression of mispronouncing non-white names (Kohli & Solorzano, 2012), teachers send the message that people of color are different, aberrant, or strange. This "othering" puts children in the most painful social position possible—that of an outcast. When children mispronounce and make fun of a peer's name, it is called "bullying." When a teacher mangles a name, it is officially sanctioned exclusion. By mispronouncing children's names, teachers effectively put children "in their place" in the racial hierarchy of America.

Respecting Students' Names

This section of the chapter presents the rationale behind the focus on names. Those with different, unique, ethnic, and not white-sounding names are already intimately aware of the power of a name. For others with white-sounding names, it is perhaps not so obviously important. Names fit the taken for granted, background, and not conscious element of habits.

They are such a ubiquitous part of our experience that we no longer notice them. Commonality can lead one to underestimate value. For example, consider the monetary value placed on air and water in contrast with their omnipresence in our lives. Therefore, the following paragraphs are intended to remind the reader of the importance of names that may be hidden by their everyday use. The sections that follow explain that a) names are important on many levels, b) pronunciation becomes problematic in the context of difference, and c) the pronunciation and use of names is consequential for the teacher-student relationship.

Names are Important

Names are no small or peripheral matter. In modern society, a name is necessary for recognizing one's existence. Consider how social security cards and driver's licenses, all forms of legal identification, are prerequisites to accessing American society. Today, a name on an official state issued identification card is required for voting, which is the most fundamental action of a citizen in a democracy. One may exist without a name, but that existence will struggle to be effectual or contribute to self-determination. Names are so important to the bureaucratic function of schooling that checking a class roster, or taking roll call, is a teacher's first duty on the first day of school. This common, routine activity serves as a first interaction between teachers and students and delivers a first impression. According to Davito (1986),

> "These first impressions possess a number of characteristics relevant to the teaching-learning process. First, the impressions are inevitable and form despite attempts to avoid prejudging anyone. Second, they have a powerful effect on how the relationship progresses. Third, and perhaps most important, these impressions are resistant to change. The primacy effect (the tendency to give disproportionate weight to what is perceived first) operates like a filter through which later impressions pass. Confirmatory information, we know, is received more easily

156

and retained longer than contradictory information. First impressions, then, are crucial for the student, the teacher, and the teacher-student relationship" (p. 54).

When teaching across difference, the first teacher-student interaction may consist of the teacher publicly mangling students' names. This initial act of disrespect can damage the teacher-student relationship in its most nascent stage. This is especially true for students with unique and/or non-white-sounding names for whom mispronunciation and disrespect are expected. These students are often primed for disrespect; misstating their names serves as confirmation of teacher bias and initiates habits meant to regain respect and/or save face in front of one's peers. Roll call may be a standard practice, but in the context of teaching across difference, it is rife with potential for conflict.

Names are Important to Teachers

Names are important to teachers as a signifier of status and social class (Figlio, 2005). Americans increasingly seek and utilize identifiers of class as the basis of bias. Thus, teachers read poor-sounding names[32] as signifying poor, and uneducated, parentage (Figlio, 2005). Figlio (2005) shows that teachers expect less of student names with apostrophes or names ending in "quan" or "avious." This is another example of expectancy effects (Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1966). Teachers read poverty into a child's name, expect less of him, and then provide him less encouragement and more discipline. When the child performs poorly, the teacher's bias is confirmed while her role in producing inequity remains hidden by attribution errors. The famous study, *Pygmalion in the Classroom* (Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1966), documented this exact

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[32] It ought to be noted that race and class are conflated in this research, thus "black-sounding" names is also an appropriate descriptor for this research.

process. Although the teacher and student participants in their study were non-white, the teachers taught students differently based on external displays of socioeconomic class, including clothing, hairstyle, and hygiene. Even within a racial group, class markers lead to variance in teacher-student relationships. The classic study by Jean Anyon (198X) showed that curriculum and instruction are defined by class considerations. It is doubtful that children in private schools, whose parents pay exorbitantly for education, endure having their names disrespected, despite the fact that many of these students have foreign and unfamiliar names. In conclusion, names activate race and class-based prejudices in teachers that lead to lower quality teaching and poorer relationships, which damage children with poor- and non-white-sounding names.

Names are Important to Students

For students—indeed, all people—a name is a crucial marker of existence and personhood. Without a name, one cannot claim a formal identity or any of the rights associated with citizenship. Names are an embodiment of one's identity. Being called by one's name is a signal of acknowledgement and respect. Students, particularly adolescents like the students in this study, are keenly attuned to how they are treated and portrayed. In fact, as in-group members, students respond negatively to teachers mispronouncing another student's name. After several negative encounters with teachers, many students become defensive. They grow weary of disrespect. It may sound small, but for people without material wealth, respect is extremely valuable. As Marlo so poignantly proclaimed in the Wire, "My name is MY NAME!"[33]

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[33] (find at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jCaBYEEFTKE).

Pronouncing student names in the context of difference. When white teachers teach white students, they do not mispronounce their names, position them as other, and derail the relationship before at the outset. White names such as like John and Anne are familiar. Problems arise when there are meaningful differences between teachers and students. When the names are ethnic and original, like Przmek, DeHayeseus, Yuniquea, or Xclilices, teachers struggle. Teachers might react to spellings such as La'rayne or Deandre, or they might definitively pronounce them as they think they should be said – "Mee-ah" for "Miah" instead of "Maya," "Julio" instead of "Hulio." Names that are unfamiliar to teachers may require teaching moves other than best guesses, invented nicknames, or finding a white-sounding alternative- strategies often employed by whites (Kohli & Solorzano, 2012). Teachers need alternative moves for non-white students' names.

The normative teaching habit of disrespecting students' names ranges in presentation from passive disregard to active disdain. In fact, both may be present when teachers mispronounce student's names. The disrespect may be casual and the teacher might not even notice her mistake. Sometimes, teachers mock students' names. Other times, they replace the student's name with a nickname or one that is more white-sounding. Changing and replacing student names is a fairly common phenomenon for Asian students- many of whom endure appellations at school that are never used at home. Think for a moment, how often some minorities change and Anglicize their names to make them more white-sounding and easier for white people to pronounce? Now think: how often do white people change their names, Africanize or Asianize them, to make them easier for non-white people to pronounce? There is a lot of power in a name.

Names are Consequential

When a teacher mispronounces a student's name, she loses credibility with that student and also within the larger classroom community. That is, all non-white students may take offense to the misstating any non-white student's name. After all, students pronounce each other's names correctly; if students are capable of stating another's name accurately, why not teachers? Ironically, teachers acknowledge the importance of proper pronunciation of names when the name in question is their own. Teachers do not accept students mangling their names; they interpret mispronunciation as a sign of disrespect.[34] Urban classrooms need reciprocity of respect. Demonstrating respect by explicitly attending to students' names is fundamental to establishing positive and productive teacher-student relationships.

Findings from the EML teaching indicate a number of ways for white teachers to attend to non-white students' names through careful teaching practice. In this section, I describe how the teacher learns names, how she employs them as a disciplinary resource, and finally an upper bound of the practice. Through the teacher's authoritative stance, we are made privy to her rationales and motivations as she explains the norms for names to students. I share these practices in the hopes they will be adopted, adapted, and replicated. I unpack some of rationale behind their appropriateness for teaching across difference. This work identifies practices for moving non-white students' names from potential conflict to vital resource for teacher-student relationships and student learning.

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[34] I was once punished in high school for not remembering a teacher's name and referring to him as 'the old dude' aloud. Incidentally, the teacher was not familiar to me; he was subbing for another teacher that day. Still he found if unacceptable to apply an invented nickname.

Normative Teaching is the Backdrop

Before visiting the EML classroom, we should recall the teaching moves from the preface. As demonstrated in the scene, teachers mispronounce student names, apply baseless, negative interpretations when they resist the abuse, and escalate conflicts unnecessarily. The subtlety of these findings may be opaque without that stark contrast of normative practice and the inequity it produces. I highlight the following practices, not because of novelty, but because of their potential to interrupt normative teaching practices. Those seeking silver bullets will remain disappointed. Identifying alternatives is but one avenue for improving teaching practice. Simply put, this is not a list of best practices or "just good teaching." This is a practice-based examination of the possibility of teaching to be more than unchecked habits of whiteness and the racialized inequity they produce.

Names in Practice

Given the authoritative aspects of Mrs. Ball's teaching, wherein she provides rationales for teaching, activities and evaluations, to students, I use direct quotes from the teacher as insight into her learning goals for using names in the class. As names are always critical to the pedagogy, there is significant overlap in Mrs. Ball's use of names from year to year in the EML. These data represent particularly clear iterations of the purpose of using names in the EML. These highlighted phrases are teaching moves that interrupt the normative teaching habit of disrespecting non-white students' names.

Tell me what you want to be called. After introducing herself, the teacher enlists students in the first task of the program: writing and decorating name tent cards to stand on tables in front of their seats. This is a fairly standard practice for establishing a learning community. Yet, the

EML teacher employs the practice in ways that interrupt the white habit of mispronouncing student names. Consider a common approach to taking roll call from an official class list, the teacher struggling through names unfamiliar to her, sometimes using names that are not the ones used by students. For instance, some 'juniors' go by middle names to distinguish themselves from their parent with the same name. In contrast to standard practices, the EML teacher requests that students "write the name that you'd like me to call you." Asking students for their chosen appellation empowers them. This move allows them to merge their home and school identities, if they so desire. The importance of self-definition cannot be underestimated, especially for an age-group naturally hyper-concerned with self-identity. What would you like to be called allows students to choose an identifier. This disrupts the habit of whiteness to ascribe identities onto non-white people. Regardless of ethnicity or nationality, races are attributed to people based on what they look like to white people (Haney-Lopez, 1996).

Resisting default naming practices. A short time later, the teacher notices some students defaulting to official, but uncomfortable, names. They are not taking advantage of the opportunity for self-definition, perhaps because it is unfamiliar. Students appear to be in the habit of referring to themselves in the ways that teachers prescribe. Mrs. Ball's response, "Some of the names on the nametags are not what you want to be called, so tell me what you want to be called," reaffirms the commitment to student choice. By requesting that students name themselves, this teaching move interrupts the dominant habit of ascribing identities onto people of color. The teacher is not completing a bureaucratic review of the roster; she is getting to know the people in her classroom. This move also creates space for children to enter the class as whole people, not simply students. It allows students to bring the personal and familiar into a new

162

learning environment, rather than shedding their real selves at the door like so many immigrant children who, to avoid the painfulness of their names being mangled, "choose" to use "American names" outside their homes.

I want to say it correctly. On the first day of each EML, the teacher employs a warm-up activity specifically designed to work on public speaking, active listening, and learning students' names. It introduces students to many of the core learning activities of the program, which relies heavily on whole classroom discussion, partner work, and "sensemaking" (Lampert). Throughout the activity, the teacher reiterates the importance of names saying, "The first thing we're going to do is practice talking in this class and practice with the names. My goal is to learn every single person's name and to *learn to pronounce it correctly*." Names are the "first thing," a prerequisite to learning in the EML. The initial frame put an emphasis on pronunciation as a norm, which she follows up with individual students. For instance, "How do you pronounce your name? Do you pronounce the S? Nice to meet you Marquis."

During interviews, the teacher expressed awareness of the tendency to mispronounce non-white student names. In the classroom, she accepted responsibility for learning them and took active steps to avoid disrespect. Indeed, pronouncing names is so important that students are told to monitor the teacher, "You have to watch me all morning long, because I want to say it correctly." Names are so important that students get license to oversee the teacher. This teaching move for learning students' names and correct pronunciations interrupts the white habit of antipathy to what is different.

Who gave you an idea? The EML is designed around the co-construction of knowledge; meaning understanding is developed in a local and communal manner. Students in each EML

163

build a shared understanding of core content. Names are crucial to this approach to building knowledge. They provide a tool for tracking the development of ideas and acknowledging the contributions of individuals. This purpose is made clear when the teacher declares, "try to see if you can get better at knowing everybody's name, so that when we have ideas and we're working you'll know who to talk to, who gave you an idea, and who you want to go talk to." She describes names as useful for getting more information. Names are employed to support learning since they are tool for memory. Names are an instructional resource in the EML.

One way to remember a statement is to remember who said it. Reviewing the notebooks, shows frequent examples of students citing one another, including "Kassie's conjecture," "Jerome's method," and "Kazim's solution." In the EML, students' names are used as a form of technology, a tool to recognize and utilize the intellectual contributions of other students in the class. It is a way to acknowledge when students create knowledge in the classroom, a way to recall discussions, and a way to create an intellectual community.

Names and Student's Intellectual Property

The mathematicians Isaac Newton and Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz engaged in a famous paternity contest over who would be the "Father of Calculus." The dispute took on national proportions between England and Germany, highlighting the importance of recognizing ideas in math and society. The importance of names and intellectual property was not lost on students. The value of names as a tool for recognizing the ideas and intellectual contributions of non-white students became abundantly clear during the development of the concept of "infinitely many" over the first week of the EML 2013.

I stole his idea. The warm-up activity during the first week of the EML 2013 was "Number Sentences for 10." This activity is designed to get students mentally activated. The teacher likens it to "stretching before athletics." The ease is part of the appeal, as it encourages engagement. A wise facilitator starts participants off with an easy win. This is especially important for students whose lack of success in math leads to negative affect and hesitance to engage. The activity also allows the teacher to define vocabulary, such as "equations" and "equals." Most importantly, there are infinitely many solutions to Number Sentences for 10, a design that fosters a discussion of the concept of "infinitely many" during the week.

Over the course of five days, students develop individual and group understandings of the idea of "infinitely many." The discussion to conclude the activity illuminates the inherent importance of names to students and also their legitimacy as a learning tool. Student responses to the prompt "Infinitely many means," include: it goes on forever", "nonstop," "unlimited," and "parallel lines, they go on forever." The teacher then asks students to link the mathematical concept to their own lived experiences. She makes the lesson relevant by asking, "What is something in the world that is infinitely many?" When the discussion reaches a pause, she initiates a turn-and-talk, giving students an opportunity to practice articulating ideas before sharing them publicly. "Okay, so let's find out what some different people in the class think. So the question is how many answers are there to this problem?" she asks. Students respond: "I think there's probably enough equations for 10 to go on forever" and "I think there are 123 answers in this problem." Dajuan says, "I think we could write infinity answers… you could write like a billion, infinity." His partner, Zenon, slams his notebook shut. Seeing this, the teacher says, "Ok, Zenon what did you write, you don't want to read yours?" "No," is all he says

in response. Later, the teacher asks for someone who thought infinitely many to respond. Again trying to engage Zenon, she says "raise your hand if you think it goes on and on and on, Zenon you do I think, because you said this the other day," but he pulls back from the desk. At the end of this discussion, the teacher states, "people who thought it goes on forever, like… Zenon you were actually right," in one last effort to acknowledge his thinking.

During partner work, the teacher walks over to the pair and kneels down to engage Dajuan at eye level. Zenon looks away with the indignity of the wronged. "Do you understand why Zenon's upset right now? There's a reason that you need to think about. I think I know why he's upset and I think you need to think a little bit about it," suggests the EML teacher. Dajuan mumbles "Probably I stole his idea." She affirms his admission, saying "M-hmm… Cause you could've said Zenon had a good idea and it's called infinity, but instead you didn't share that was he actually was the one who thought of it. So that wasn't so great. It's a great idea but you kind of learned it from Zenon… its important sometimes when you get ideas from other people to be able to say thank you." Using student names as a form of technology, in the sense of a tool that supports effort, is vital here. The value of making and acknowledging ideas is deeply human activity. EML teaching does not create, but rather capitalizes on this natural human tendency.

Knowing enough to know better: limits to this teaching move. Although names are essential to establishing relationships with students and classes of students, they can also be a distraction. Teachers must be aware of at least some frames that are out of bounds. I taught a high school student who had the teachers call him "Bud." It was an inside joke; a reference to cannabis. One may allow students choice about their name up to the point of becoming a

166

distraction. In the EML, a student who insists "Tony Montana[35]" is her name exemplifies the upper limit of this practice. The EML teacher asks, "Is that your last name?" Tony admits it is not, saying "No." Yet, Mrs. Ball is trying to be responsive and allows it, "but that's what you want to be called? Okay." This episode is illustrative for at least two reasons. One, teachers cannot allow students to use any name. Two, students will rarely seek to take advantage of teachers for attempting to respect them. When I asked the EML teacher about this mishap, she recognized the error, and the distraction it caused, but reiterated that it was an acceptable cost in exchange for the benefits it affords. It should be noted that this is the only occasion wherein names were problematic. That is, one student in one-hundred used the names as a joke.

Key Elements of Teaching Moves for Names

These findings reveal teaching moves that a white teacher can employ to learn and utilize non-white student's names. White teachers can kick the habit of mispronouncing non-white names by adopting these alternative teaching moves. Key elements of these teaching moves include: a) allowing students to name themselves, rather than relying on a roster, b) actively attending to pronunciations, c) making names into a resource for technology, d) highlighting the intellectual contributions of students, and e) knowing enough about the context to curtail distractions.

Data from the EML 2013-2015 reveal many teaching moves that attend to the potential of names to be a source of conflict. Phrases such as "what would you like to be called" and "Make sure I say it correctly" are used during the introduction to the class as a means of ensuring

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[35] Tony Montana is name of Al Pacino's character in the film Scarface.

respect for students' names and simultaneously developing the capacity for students to use each other's names as resources for learning. This section highlights some of additional benefits of employing teaching moves that convey respect for non-white students' names.

Names are first. Most teachers pronounce or mispronounce student names at the beginning of class on the first day of school. Davito (1986) suggests that names are critical to first impressions between teachers and students. Names are but one of the ways that schools are uncomfortable and unwelcoming to non-white students, but they also symbolize a start. Names are so basic, fundamental, and essential that they are easily overlooked. By attending to non-white student names, teachers can signal racial awareness and sensitivity, a willingness to interrupt negative habits, and uniqueness. They can show students that they are not just another white woman who will casually disrespect them, their families and communities. Pronouncing non-white names correctly is a first step to demonstrating care. Building the teacher-student relationship on a foundation of respect is essential.

Names as a form of learning technology. These teaching moves use names as a tool. Names are a form of technology in the EML classroom. They are necessary tools for pedagogy of co-constructing knowledge by teachers and students. For example, names become tags for theories, conjectures, and solutions within each EML. Every cohort produces several examples, including Cassie's conjecture and Jamari's method. The usefulness of names is a fundamental tenet of the discipline of mathematics as well as most other areas of study in the academe. The importance of names underlies the academic demands for references and citations. By turning names into a tool for learning, for recognizing the contributions of others and carrying discussions over the course of many days, this teaching move counters normative teaching,

which turns names into conflicts through mispronunciation. It is important for uptake to share the positive affordances of alternative teaching moves. Employing student names as a technology is beneficial, while simultaneously remediating potential harms.

Using names for signaling. Names are also used to signal, as in the management practice of using a name to gain a student's attention, then not actually commenting on the inappropriate behavior but still moving the student away from off task behaviors. In these cases, I used students' names to say 'hey, I see you." In this way, names are necessary for teachers to master. "Hey you" is not nearly as effective for managing off task behaviors. Indeed, not knowing the kids' names is a sign of disrespect likely to encourage resistance. Mispronouncing a student's name is similarly disrespectful and not effective. After completing my first lesson as a student teacher, the mentor teacher only told me one thing: "learn their names!"

Names help learning. In a conference paper, Ndemanu (2015) argues that names serves as a way for the brain to pull together all relevant information, like putting a face to a name. Names aid memory, we remember things by thinking about who said it. This is the basis of quotations and citations. Therefore, naming ideas after peers helps students remember the idea, as demonstrated in the EML assessments. This speaks to Lakoff's theory that all learning happens by metaphor. He suggests that all learning links the new to the old. In this case, the ideas are new and the names are old or rooted. It is not strictly learning by metaphor, as in one subject is 'like' another subject. But it is learning by connection, as in one subject goes with another, e.g. knife and fork or salt and pepper. Perhaps, the speaker gives us more potential avenues for remembering. Instead of just seeking out a detached idea, our memory is supported by remembering details about the speaker, context, and situation. This use of names appears in

169

EML data when the teacher continues a conceptual discussion over multiple days. During these disjointed discussions, Mrs. Ball stimulated students' memories by invoking speakers, e.g. who can remember what Ali said yesterday?

Discussion

If white teachers employ these teaching moves with non-white students, they are more likely to build productive relationships and get value, instead of conflict, from using student names. If a teacher is willing to kick the habit of whiteness to ostracize students, to make difference into inferiority, her students are likely to benefit in terms of learning outcomes. Even if these practices do not correlate directly with scores, they undoubtedly improve the lived experience of non-white students.

Potential Impacts of Properly Pronouncing Student Names

Pronouncing a student's name correctly could serve several functions for the teacher-student relationship. Many students with not-white sounding names are accustomed to teachers mispronouncing their names. The effects of microaggressions are cumulative. Disrespect is a predictable pattern for students with non-white names and they develop ways to respond. Sometimes, the response will be loud and confrontational. Other times, a student may respond by quietly disengaging. In all cases, the response will not be as positive as if the teacher recognized the habit and actively endeavored to adopt alternatives. That is, teachers may not know how to pronounce a name, but asking about it and then working diligently are necessary steps.

Attending to non-white student names and culture is a way to show respect. Disrespect and disregard are commonplace experiences for non-white people. Indeed, these are mild forms

of the exclusion that defines the relationship between non-white people and society. Thus, for a white authority figure, like a teacher, to demonstrate respect is an act of social justice.

Simply by admitting to a shortcoming, e.g. ignorance of student names, the teacher creates an opportunity to learn from students. It may start with how to pronounce a name, but this curiosity and willingness to learn can signal a reason for students to engage. They may be more willing to share of their cultures with teachers who demonstrate interest. This is critical for teaching across difference. In a modern, urban classroom, there are far too many cultures for teachers to know them all. Keeping an open stance of learning and creating channels for students to share of themselves are enabling conditions for relevant and responsive teaching.

Coda

Imagine the lyrics of this popular TV theme song from the perspective of a non-white student and the poignancy of names will not be lost.

> "Making your way in the world today takes everything you've got.
> Taking a break from all your worries sure would help a lot…
> Sometimes you want to go, where everybody knows your name,
> and they're always glad you came.
> You wanna be where you can see, our troubles are all the same.
> You wanna be where everybody knows your name."

CHAPTER 5

Discussion

This research makes several contributions to what we know about and how we go about the work of teaching across difference. The concept of habits advances the theoretical understanding of how racialized inequity is created in schools. Theories of conscious and willful racism, the implicit theory behind belief change efforts, are not valid or productive. Simply put, conscious hatred is not how most white people create inequity. That framework is best relegated to overt racists like Klansmen. Presenting the enactment of racism as conscious hatred is not generative. Indeed the current frames for racism give most whites an easy way to opt out of the discussion. Since they do not see themselves as consciously racist, they are not implicated by these claims. In fact, many whites respond angrily at the intimation of conscious racism. The conscious frame allows the conversation to become about guilt, intent and beliefs, and thereby it activates white comfort and white fragility (DiAngelo, 2018). White comfort and white fragility are the vanguards of white supremacy. Once triggered, they militate against any potential progress. As yet another demonstration of white power, whites will move the conversation from the harm they impose to the harm they supposedly endure (DiAngelo, 2018). It is an act of white privilege to focus discussions of race on the feelings of whites, and yet it is a predictable pattern. Thusly, anyone wanting to advance racial justice is well served by avoiding the conscious racist frame whenever possible.

A Valid Theory of Racism Potentially Engages Whites in Racial Justice

Disrupting racialized inequity in education will require the engagement and effort of whites; improvements will not happen in spite of white teachers nor will improvement be done to them. Labaree's (2010) historical analysis highlights the power of teachers to kill reforms on the ground, since they are the necessary and sole implementers. We need to engage white teachers in racial justice and a primary step to getting their participation will be describing the problem in ways that connect with their lived experience. That is, we need valid theories about the production of racism. We need a new theory for how racism is produced and reproduced; one that is generative, accurately framing reality and simultaneously allowing for widespread engagement. We have to begin speaking about race in ways that include white teachers in the discussion if we ever want to improve the outcomes of non-white students.

The Vanguards of White Supremacy

This work presents a theory of how racialized inequity is produced within the context of teaching across difference; a theory that validly explains without unnecessarily attacking. Racialized outcomes are produced by normative teaching and normative teaching is the enactment of habits of whiteness. Habits of whiteness are the routine ways that white people, including the majority of teachers, interact with non-white people. Habits of whiteness come from prolonged experiences within a white supremacist society. Whites take up these habits simply by being members of a racist society; they are born into it. These habits are not conscious. They do not imply guilt, which makes them a generative frame. The theory that habits

produce racist outcomes has two major affordances. One, it allows for a focus on outcomes. Two, it avoids inciting white backlash. Habitual behaviors create exclusion, which was the social and economic basis of white dominance in America. The production of inequity is the focus. Habits of whiteness describes the ways that white people create racialized inequity without reference to consciousness. They are the means and actions of racism. Habits of whiteness bring racism to life. Moving the discussion away from white comfort and onto the negative consequences of habits of whiteness has the potential to engage white teachers and disrupt racialized inequities.

Habits are a Valid Theory

Habits are conceptually significant because they are the key mechanism of racialized inequity. As such, habits are an appropriate target for interventions. Habits describe the actions that most teachers take most of the time—without thinking. Habits are a way to describe the student experience of teaching. They are the actions, behaviors, and ways of being that students regularly encounter in classrooms. They are more accessible and more impactful to students than psychological factors inside of teachers' heads, such as cultural knowledge, intentions, or beliefs. The discussion of beliefs is a trap. First, it privileges teachers over students by centering the conversation on the inner state of teachers instead of the lived realities of students. Focusing on white teachers' beliefs is white privilege. Two, given white comfort and white fragility, the discussion of teachers' emotions often leads to the reproduction of inequity. If we consider that teachers' emotions are not inflamed by racialized inequities, than we realize that most of these feelings are oriented towards oppression. White teachers feel bad about being called racist, but they feel nothing about producing racism. Recall that an element of habits is that they feel right.

These feelings contribute to the enforcement of racism, and yet they are vital to individuals and essential to white privilege. Talking about white teachers' feelings will continue to produce what it has produced thus far: no advancement in racial justice. Many white teacher's feelings are aligned with racism, indeed, there is enough commonality in their feelings to produce inequity on a national scale. Habits frame the discussion around actions and outcomes. Habits underlie normative practice and are therefore an appropriate target for reducing the production of inequity by teachers.

There are Established Ways to Change Habits

Another benefit of framing normative teaching as the enactment of habits is the established literature on changing habits.[36] This dissertation begins the work of changing teacher habits by addressing the first two steps in the process: raising awareness and presenting alternative routines. The first step to behavior change is the recognition that one's current behaviors are harmful, to oneself and others. Habits pass from our consciousness and also our conscious critique. Thus, an alcoholic or a smoker engages in a behavior that is detrimental to her own health and potentially lethal to bystanders. The phrase 'your behaviors affect me negatively in the following ways' is a common part of making alcoholics aware of the harm done by their habit. This work aims to make teachers aware of the damage done by habits of whiteness. These habits breakdown relationships with individuals and whole classes of students, thereby they hinder learning and produce near and long-term exclusion. For example, habits of

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[36] It should be noted that there are some limitations to previously established literature on changing habits. For instance, most of the work focuses on addictions or habits that are clearly harmful to the person doing them. This may not be the case with racism, wherein many whites feel it benefits them. The question of what motivates someone to change may also be categorically different for habits of whiteness. This work aims for teachers who want to change, and does not suppose to be the animus behind the choice to change.

whiteness produce to the discipline gap, which galvanizes the school-to-prison pipeline. Teachers also need to become aware that their racism is seen, known, and recognized. Students anticipate, notice, and respond to teacher bias. Any teacher who encounters these concepts and does not change her practice is willfully producing racialized inequity. The first step in interrupting a habit is to raise the consequences of the behavior to the level of conscious awareness, because awareness provides the perpetrator with choice: change or continue to be damaging. I am not yet cynical enough to believe that there are many people in education who actively choose to harm children.

The other necessary step to changing behaviors is to propose alternative actions. A behavior cannot be replaced with nothing. The choice cannot become: bias or silence. Changing a behavior requires a substitute action; something to do instead of the undesirable behaviors. This work identifies teaching moves that establish and maintain positive teacher-student relationships in the context of teaching across difference. The teaching moves identified herein represent a first step for teaching, a few best guesses based on wisdom of practice and careful qualitative study. Whether they are the 'right' moves is not essential. What is most important at this stage is that they present possibilities. The findings of this dissertation support the notion that teaching across difference could be more than normative teaching practices. They are meant to present a vision of possibility and potential avenues for further study.

Call for More Research

This dissertation can serve as a launch for three next steps in education research. One, there should be more practice-based studies to identify teaching moves that a) do not produce exclusion and b) contribute to positive teacher-student relationships. The history of education

and the literature are clear: efforts to change teachers' beliefs are not effective. Given their

invalid theoretical underpinnings, these efforts cannot lead to improvements. Education research

must move beyond privileging white teacher thinking and begin to honor non-white students'

experiences of normative teaching practices. We need to shift away from irrelevant ideals to

meaningful actions. This work only scratches the surface of alternative practices. There are

undoubtedly many teaching moves that are appropriate for teaching across difference. It is my

hope that this research animates others to foreground actions and student experiences. I also

believe that the literature on immediacy ought to be mined for alternatives to normative teaching.

Two, the teaching moves identified by this research should be validated against valuable

outcomes. This work takes the step of identification, but another step would be to evaluate the

effect of these practices on relationships, trust and respect, and learning, engagement and effort.

Given the work on small schools, one can imagine these moves also producing potential effects

on attendance, school belonging, and even school climate. Three, there need to be pilot studies in

training pre- and in-service teachers how to employ these alternative moves. We need to look at

both the impact of practices and how to prepare teachers to use these practices. Both are

necessary, neither is sufficient alone. Educators need to understand how to engage teachers in

topics and changes that they have thus far resisted. The literature on habit change asserts that a

supportive community engaged in similar work helps with uptake. Perhaps teachers would

benefit from some form of anti-racist support group. This work presents only a peak into the

potential of habits to be a new path for research on teaching and research on teacher education.

New theories are meant to instigate new ways to investigate; they are penultimate, not

conclusive. Future research should evaluate, validate, and consider the implementation of these findings.

Relationships are Key

The teaching moves in this study focus on the teacher-student relationship as a primary and animating outcome. Relationships are critical for several reasons. One, relationships are essential to learning. They are a means for teachers to impact the central outcomes of teaching, namely, student engagement in content and student effort for learning. Relationships impact the evaluations that students make of teachers and their choices of whom they will learn from. Relationships ought to impact instruction by informing how the teacher chooses content and how she communicates it to students. Two, relationships can be established and maintained through careful, strategic, and focused teaching. Teachers can orient themselves in ways that build trust and convey respect. They can ensure that relationships get off to a good start by not enacting bias and habits of whiteness. Relationships are malleable and therefore they provide a route for teachers to connect with students and a means of impacting student outcomes. Relationships are central to this research because they have immediate effects, on learning and exclusion, as well as creating conditions for more long-term growth. I believe that anti-bias and anti-racist development is instigated by significant interaction with someone who is different and does not comport with stereotypes. That is, I believe people change their negative beliefs based on interpersonal relationships. I hope that relationships with students can eventually intervene on teacher's racism.

Relationships Matter for Teaching Across Difference

Relationships may be especially crucial for teachers who are teaching across difference for several reasons. One, relationships will help the teachers to interact with students who are different from them as individuals, rather than as members of stigmatized and disempowered groups. Children are individuals and deserve to be taught as such. Relationships are the means for teachers to learn about students as people. This information should inform evaluations, such as behavior and intelligence. Knowledge about students should also be used to craft lessons and modify instruction. Educators have long worked to get teachers to be responsive to 'culture.' Unfortunately, the concept of culture is woefully under theorized in education, with the result of creating broad race-based "cultures" that are superficial and little more than stereotypes. In short, telling teachers to think of non-white students as members of racial cultures does not move them away from thinking of racial hierarchy. The power of racial thinking precludes the possibility of positive and respectful characterizations of non-white people. Having teachers focus on people, rather than members of stigmatized races, has the potential for positive change. Race is probably important to many student's identities, but how, when, and where the role of race matters to that individual is far from obvious or universal. For teachers to see a non-white male as an individual is an interruption of racist thinking and progress on disrupting the production of racialized inequity.

A second reason for the importance of relationships for teachers teaching across difference is that relationships are extremely important to teachers. Indeed, I posit that one reason why some teachers are leaving the profession is because of poor quality relationships with students. I once asked a fellow first-year teacher about her experience in the classroom, she

taught in an all-black high school, and she responded 'you know, it's okay, but it's tough being called a white bitch every day.' Constant conflict in the classroom is not good for students or teachers. I believe that classroom management is a proxy for relationship quality when teachers list it as a reason for quitting. This might be especially true in the so-called 'hard to staff" schools, almost all of which require teaching across difference. It is also probably true for early career teachers, many of whom take assignments in the less desirable schools where the students are not like them. These factors negatively impact teacher retention. High turnover has been shown to harm schools and students (Ronfeldt, 2013). Given that teacher-student relationships vary by degrees of difference, it appears that teaching across difference is less enjoyable to teachers. Strategies for improving relationships are therefore likely to improve the job satisfaction of teachers, leading them to stick with the profession long enough to develop their practice, and creating more institutional stability in schools with majority-minority student populations.

Educators typically advocate for abstractions. Many have advanced care and empathy as great ideals. Similarly, social justice education sounds like a lofty ambition. Yet, education research often stops at identifying universals, perhaps as a consequence of pursuing generalizability. These proclamations sound and feel right, but they are impotent because they do little to inform actions. This work seeks to put muscle on the bones of high-minded frames. Instead of preaching to teachers what they should be, this work aims to give guidance to what they can do differently. Trust and respect are important because they focus on the student experience. Teachers need to think about how they build trust fast to the start school year and also how they ramp down the trusting relationship at the end of the year. There are models for

180

teachers to study in developing relationships. For example, professionals such as therapists think carefully about entering, building, and dissolving relationships. Teachers cannot continue to assume that students trust them by virtue of their job title. There is no evidence for this premise, indeed, the conflicts in classrooms directly refute this assumption. Similarly, many teachers think about, perhaps even fetishize, students respect for them; few think about demonstrating respect. For many non-white people, respect is not given, it is earned. When teachers demonstrate respect for students they establish the grounds for their own respect. Teachers need more moves, practices and strategies, in order to enact the best ideals of the work. Practical work demands more than targets, it requires tools and pathways.

Resurrecting Relevant Process-Product Research

In my studies of education, I found only one strand of research on teaching applicable and relevant to my findings. The work on "immediacy" is germane to framing and identifying alternatives to normative teaching that do not produce exclusion and contribute to positive teacher-student relationships. For Frymier & Houser (2000),

> Immediacy, a perception of closeness between persons (Richmond et al., 1987), was first advanced by Mehrabian (1971). Immediacy is communicated through a variety of verbal (Gorham, 1988) and nonverbal behaviors (Andersen, 1979), both of which have been found repeatedly to positively impact student learning and motivation to study (Christophel, 1990; Frymier, 1994b; Kearney, Plax, & Wendt-Wasco, 1985). Verbal immediacy consists of behaviors such as calling students by name, asking students about themselves, and asking for students' opinions. Nonverbal immediacy consists of behaviors such as smiling at students, making eye contact, moving about the classroom, and using vocal variety. (p. 209).

181

Immediacy is basically a way to describe teaching moves for establishing and

maintaining relationships between teachers and students. It connects to this work not only be

highlighting that the perception of closeness is important, but it also considers the moves for

conveying closeness. The goals and approach of research on immediacy are well aligned with

this research.

According to Frymier (1994),

Immediacy has been defined as a communication variable that impacts the
perception of physical and psychological closeness (Richmond, et al., 1987).
Mehrabian (1971) introduced the immediacy metaphor which he used to describe
the universal element of approach and avoidance--people approach things they
like and that appeal to them, and avoid things that they dislike, do not appeal to
them, or which induce fear. Mehrabian (1971) and Weiner and Mehrabian (1968)
described a variety of behaviors that communicate immediacy, including closer
proximity, eye contact, smiling, verb tense (present vs. past), inclusiveness ("we"
vs. "I"), and voluntarism ("want" vs. "should"). While immediacy is a high
inference variable, these low inference behaviors have been described as
contributing to perceptions of immediacy. Eye contact and smiling are not in
themselves immediacy, but are behaviors that lead to perceptions of immediacy.
(p.133-34).

This description of immediacy fits both the goal of this research to identify behaviors and

operationalize relationships as well as Mrs. Ball's teaching moves in the EML. In fact, Mrs. Ball

demonstrated each behavior listed in the quote in her interactions with non-white students. The

note that behaviors are not immediacy but support the perception of closeness is critical. This

work follows a similar line, suggesting that teachers can enact moves to convey, express, and

signal care for non-white students.

Students' Perceptions are Their Realities

Another area of overlap between this dissertation and immediacy research is the privileging of the student experience. Rather than focusing on teachers' intentions, immediacy work focuses on student's interpretations and experiences of teacher actions. The importance of the student experience is central to the immediacy concept of perceived caring. The research of Teven and McCroskey (1997) showed strong correlations between perceived caring and instructor and course evaluations, and student's appraisal of their own learning, asserting that "The results of this study clearly support the theory that perceived caring generates more positive teacher evaluations and influences levels of learning of both affective and cognitive learning in a positive way" (Teven & McCroskey, 1997, p.8). Perceived caring fits with the subjective experience of students and impacts learning. Similar to this dissertation, work on immediacy argues for a meaningful connection between relationships and learning.

Immediacy research has considered the impact of difference. Some immediacy research suggests that one's distinct ways of understanding likely impact how they make sense of teacher actions. Sanders and Wiseman (1990) explain that

> "Andersen's (1985) "arousal-valence theory" of the effects of immediacy helps to explain why culture could influence the results of teacher immediacy. The theory suggests that for immediacy to have effects it must be perceived by the receiver. Extremely high levels of arousal result in aversion, while extremely how levels of arousal result in no behavioral change. However, moderate levels of arousal are valenced either positively or negatively resulting in behavioral responses. Andersen suggests that culture is a primary influence on valence. In other words, if arousal is as a result of culturally inappropriate behavior for the receiver, negative valence will occur" (p. 344).

It should be obvious that as human beings students affective states are important, and yet racial and authoritarian power frameworks frequently blind educators to such considerations. Students are expected to submit to teaching in a manner akin to a job; a job for which they are unpaid or perhaps the payment is deferred to the distant future. Immediacy work steps outside of the common tendency of educators to frame students in terms of obedience and submission. It highlights the very real ways that all people, regardless of age, race, or student status, engage in social interactions.

Much education research considers the inner-states, emotions and feelings, of teachers. This dissertation argues that more emphasis should be placed on student's feelings about teaching. For instance, a teacher may care about student's intellectual, social, and emotional development equally. In contrast, it is most important that students feel the teacher is concerned for their well-being and then their learning.

> McCroskey (1992) advanced the concept of "perceived caring" as a central perception of teachers on the part of students. He suggests that it probably is best if a teacher really cares about the student, but notes that it is difficult for any teacher to care a great deal about every student-particularly when teaching very large classes. Thus, it is important for a teacher to learn how to communicate in such a manner that students will perceive that he or she cares about them, whether or not that is the case in reality. It is not the caring that counts; it is the perception of caring that is critical. If a teacher cares deeply, but does not communicate that attribute, he or she might as well not care at all (Teven and McCroskey, 1997, p.1).

This work focuses on how teachers can send the messages of trust and respect that align with perceived caring. My data allows for fairly limited claims about how students perceived

184

these moves, outside of a few interviews. Still, student's perceptions of caring ought to be the metric for evaluating the effectiveness of teaching practices.

Caring Within Instruction

In arguing for care, this work does not ignore content knowledge or instruction. Immediacy focuses on actions. Thus, content knowledge is not the target, rather communication skills are considered the core skill of teaching, since they operationalize content knowledge. Communication is probably more important and more complicated when teaching across difference as effective communication must overcome the distinct ways that teachers and students make meaning. The work of immediacy focuses on communication skills, suggesting that students desire both referential skill and ego support. That is, students evaluate teachers and whether or not they learn from them based on how well the teacher explains content and how much she attends to their likely feelings. According to Frymier and Houser (2000),

> Referential skill, which is defined as "the ability to convey information clearly and unambiguously" (Burleson & Samter, 1990, p. 166), is similar to the concept of teacher clarity, which was found to be positively associated with affective learning (Sidelinger & McCroskey, 1997). West (1994) identified "helping" as a type of teacher student interaction which is similar to Burleson and Samter's ego support. Ellis (1999) identified teacher confirmation of students as being important to student learning. Confirmation is conceptually similar to ego-support. (p. 210)

The literature on immediacy provides even more depth on communication skills that are likely to impact teaching across difference,

> These two skills represent two different dimensions of communication. Referential skill was part of the non-affectively oriented factor found by Burleson and Samter while ego support was part of the affectively oriented factor.

185

Referential skill represents what has traditionally been a part of teaching: explaining content effectively. Ego support represents the relational side of teaching: meeting students' emotional needs and motivating them to succeed. Referential skill primarily involves explaining things clearly and facilitating understanding. Explaining things clearly may help reduce feelings of uncertainty. Richmond and Gorham (1996) argue that students need to understand the instructor's instructional goals and objectives. When students do not understand the instructor's objectives, they experience frustration, and frequently failure because they do not know what is expected of them. This result is also consistent with Sidelinger and McCroskey's (1997) finding that teacher clarity was positively associated with affective learning. Ego support refers to communication skills that help students believe in themselves and strive to be their best (Burleson & Samter, 1990). Ego support involves encouragement and confirmation. Students look to teachers for more than information. Students want teachers to help them feel good about themselves and feel in control of their environment. Part of success is getting good grades, but another part of success is feeling like you have something worthwhile to contribute. When instructors provide ego support, they are helping students to succeed and to feel worthwhile. Frymier et al. (1996) identified competence as an element of learner empowerment.

The research on immediacy supports the findings of this dissertation. I hope to revive this work as it has potential to identify teaching moves that contribute to relationships in the context of teaching across difference. Research on immediacy is part of the much loathed process-product work, which many believe went to an extreme in atomizing elements of teaching while ignoring the intellectual aspects of the work. Thus, educators threw out the baby with the bath water. It is my hope that there is potential to reexamine what these researchers learned 30 years ago in light of my theory that habits of whiteness lead to the production or racialized inequity.

Coda

In keeping with the theme of respecting students, in particular non-white males, I conclude with an interaction between Mrs. Ball and Vijay that captures my hopefulness for our efforts to address the discipline gap. It is 20 minutes into the second half of class on Day 7 and Vijay has been struggling throughout: Dujuan didn't want to be his partner and Alex asked him not to interrupt during a reading. As other students begin working with partners around the room, the teacher goes over to his desk, kneels to his eye level and says, "Suddenly things went really bad all of the sudden, what's going on?" Before he can respond, another student interrupts. Eventually, Vijay asks, "Is it too late to try to be good?" And she responds, "No, it's definitely not too late. So are you ready to try?" He says "Yes." Moving forward, back to the work of teaching and learning, she says "Okay, who do you want to work with…"

My message to urban teachers would echo this interaction: No, it's not too late. Let's get to work.

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