Prioritizing Relationships: Practices that Build Relationships and Knownness and the Relational Philosophies and Influential Life Experiences of Relationally Adept Teachers

by

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First, I think of all of my past students and the relationships I was so lucky to share with them. Throughout this entire experience, not a day has gone by that I don't think about at least one of them. Whenever I felt confused, unsure, or too far away from the work I was trying to capture in all of these pages, I thought back to particular kids, and it was all clear again.

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation includes three manuscripts about teachers' relationships with students. The first explores the relational philosophies of three relationally adept teachers—their guiding beliefs, principles, and attitudes toward relationships in their teaching. This study relies on 12 interviews with teachers plus observations of the teachers discussing their students, the latter of which helped reveal their relational philosophies. This study shows that for many students, teachers moved fluidly between roles of academic coach and emotional confidante, but that for some vulnerable students, they prioritized emotional over academic support. Also, in connecting teachers' philosophies to their life experiences, this study finds teachers' commitment to relationships stemmed in part from memories of their own teachers, models of relationally adept mentors or colleagues, personal experiences seeing a loved one buoyed (or not) by a relationship with a teacher, and keen observations of other people's lives and challenges. The second manuscript builds a detailed description of the relational teaching practices of those three teachers. This part draws on three months of classroom and meeting observations, the same 12 teacher interviews, and 20 student interviews and identifies two sets of relational practices: five that built relationships (e.g., forming a picture of who students are, sharing about oneself) and three that "built students up" in some way (e.g., intentionally noticing students, responding to issues with tolerance). The third manuscript draws on 32 videos of lessons from the Gates Foundation's Measures of Effective Teaching project. The videos of sixteen 6th-9th grade teachers were selected as high or low (top/bottom 4%) in terms of their students' average feelings of "knownness," or how well they thought their teacher understood them per their Student Perception Survey responses. This study finds that high-knownness teachers had personal connections with students (e.g., asked about students' lives outside of school), put students at ease (e.g., encouraged them on difficult work), and shared in positive emotions (e.g., laughed together) whereas low-knownness teachers spent more time addressing perceived misbehavior and embarrassing or mocking students in front of the class. As a whole, this dissertation portrays the complexity of the relational and emotional work teachers do to build

meaningful and significant relationships with students and to make them feel known. This research shows that relationships built by relationally adept teachers occur on many levels, with teachers knowing and connecting with students in service of and during their academic learning but also for the sake of making students feel valued, accepted, and stronger on personal levels—the latter of which appeared deeply tied to teachers' underlying personal philosophies about relationships and the life experiences that had formed those philosophies. This research is significant in beginning to understand how teachers relational practices are rooted in personally and professionally shaped philosophies and experiences, in giving teachers a voice for articulating the relational work they do, and in naming sets of relational teaching practices, an area long known to be important for students and teachers alike but often assumed to be natural or obvious and so left unnamed.

CHAPTER 1

Refocusing on Relationships

Introduction, Motivation, and Contributions

Relationships are consistently seen as foundational to teaching. Positive relationships with teachers support a number of important student outcomes, including helping students learn (Cornelius-White, 2007), promoting healthy development and well-being (Goodenow, 1993; Osterman, 2000), and even teaching students what it means to care (Noddings, 2001). Relationships are also at the core of a humanizing pedagogy that affirms and empowers each child (Salazar, 2013). Even anecdotally, very few people would look back on their own education without thinking of at least one teacher with whom they shared a special relationship that shaped them in some important and lasting way. Furthermore, beyond their benefits to students, relationships represent one of the intangible rewards of teaching for teachers themselves (Lortie, 1975).

Despite all of these indications that relationships matter greatly in education, there are several challenges in practice, research, and policy in terms of student-teacher relationships. First, in practice, relationships can be lacking and inconsistent. Secondary students often report distant relationships with teachers (Hargreaves, 2001; McHugh et al., 2012). Adolescents themselves have expressed in a number of studies that their relationships with teachers are not as close or caring as students would like (McHugh et al., 2012; Schussler & Collins, 2006; Schwartz, Merten & Bursik, 1987). Other research has shown that the quality of relationships with teachers may vary according to student characteristics, such as race, ability, and appearance, suggesting an unsettling bias in how teachers choose to form and maintain relationships (Osterman, 2000). Teachers themselves do not even always agree on how central or peripheral relationships should be in their teaching (Davis, 2006).

Second, there are longstanding tensions in teaching and research on teaching when it comes to relationships. Teachers wear many hats in their relationships with students and manage many dilemmas that arise from occupying a complex role. One such dilemma is that teachers must inherently care for students but balance that with their need to maintain authority and not

show too much emotion publicly (Dutro, 2013; Hargreaves, 2001). Another related dilemma is whether to view students focally as learners in a cognitive realm or focally as whole children in a number of other—moral, emotional, spiritual—realms (Berlak & Berlak, 1981). Likewise, teachers must negotiate an often tricky balance between a personal dynamic with students and a shared purpose to move toward the professional purposes of teaching and learning (Ball & Forzani, 2009; Buchmann, 1989). Amid this tension, there is a lack of consensus among teachers and others on how teachers should balance a focus on academic learning with attention to students' personal, emotional, or mental health needs (Buchmann, 1993; Lynn, McKay, & Atkins, 2003; Salazar, 2013). Conventional thinking in the field has defined the teaching relationship as a triangular one—termed "I-thou-it"—where a teacher and student are connected to one another but are each also connected to a content area, suggesting that any connection a teacher shares with a student is mediated through the ever-present third party of academic content (Hawkins, 1975).

Adding to these complexities, the role and position of relationships is uncertain in the face of recent policy shifts that prioritize academic achievement. Some scholars have argued that recent political shifts toward accountability for academic learning have reduced education to measurable achievement on skills related to economic utility, neglecting other traditional aims of school, including connection and community (Biesta, 2009; Kafka, 2015; Labaree, 2014). Biesta (2009) has referred to this as the "learnification" of education. Whereas traditionally, teachers were chosen or evaluated for their ability to be moral models and warm leaders for students, increasingly the emphasis has been on their ability to "cause" learning instead (Kafka, 2015). Complicating matters, there are few examples in the research base that decompose or describe relational practices in concrete ways, and relationships are one area in which the field of education continues to lack common language, and therefore common understanding.

Through a combination of these factors, relationships can be lacking or problematic in practice and full of complicated tensions for teachers and for those who evaluate, study, or prepare teachers for teaching. From a research perspective, despite a general sense that relationships are important and foundational in education, the field lacks detailed articulations of actual relational practices. Add political shifts that prioritize academic *learning*, and it can seem as though approaches to teaching that prioritize *relationships* are at risk—that relationships will be seen simply as a necessary precondition for learning—an I-thou connection in service of

teaching and learning the “it” of academic content—rather than as potential standalone connections apart from academic content and worthy as their own pursuits.

However, an encouraging sign at present is the increasing attention and urgency related to the more interpersonal and humanizing aspects of school, which has cast them not just as a means to support achievement-based outcomes but also as important ends in their own right. Sykes and Wilson’s (2015) review about competencies for overall effective teaching emphasized three competencies regarding student-teacher relationships: “developing caring and respectful relationships with individual students, attending to and promoting student social and emotional needs and learning, and building positive classroom climate” (p. 3). Other scholarship has listed the elements of a more humanizing pedagogy, in which personal relationships were fundamental (Salazar, 2013). In general, there has been a growing emphasis on social-emotional learning and social-emotional competence through school-level interventions or adopted curricula (Durlak, Weissberg, Dymnicki, Taylor & Schellinger, 2011; Zins, Bloodworth, Weissberg & Walberg, 2007). A number of states are officially adopting social-emotional learning objectives, including nine pilot districts in California where early analyses suggested links between students’ social-emotional learning and their English Language Arts achievement (West, 2016). There are also recent examples of research specifically positioning students’ so-called “non-cognitive” or “non-tested” experiences, such as mindset, grit, and happiness, as important student outcomes that are influenced by teachers’ emotional support and interactions and by school culture (Blazar & Kraft, 2015; West, Kraft, Finn, Martin, Duckworth, Gabrieli & Gabrieli, 2015).

This encouraging emphasis on relationships comes at a particularly crucial time. Nationally, nearly half of all students come to school having experienced one (and, for secondary students, often multiple) adverse childhood experiences, such as economic hardship, divorce, witnessing or experiencing violence, living with people who have mental health, alcohol, or substance abuse issues, and more (Sacks, Murphey, & Moore, 2014). Relationships offer particular promise for these children. Having a consistent and trusting relationship with a teacher can help build resilience and stability for students who have experienced these types of trauma (Cole, O’Brien, Gadd, Ristuccia, Wallace, & Gregory, 2009; Hertel, Johnson, Wolpow, & Kincaid, 2009). Feeling connected to school, including through a closer relationship with a teacher, can help protect against depression, anxiety, and risky adolescent behavior (Resnick, Bearman, Blum, Bauman, Harris, Jones, Tabor, Beuhring, Sieving, Shew & Ireland, 1997;

Shochet, Dadds, Ham & Montague, 2006). On the other hand, feeling rejected or ignored, including by teachers, is associated with anxiety, depression, grief, jealousy, and a number of physical and mental health issues (e.g., eating disorders, suicide) (Baumeister & Leary, 1995).

This dissertation is one that refocuses our attention onto relationships as a central hope and aim of education—foundational for academic learning, but worthy as their own priority. A few key terms merit defining at the outset—first, 'relationship,' a term often glossed over in research perhaps due to our supposed familiarity with it in our daily lives. Throughout this work, I use the word 'relationship' specifically to denote the connection shared between a student and a teacher who know or know of each other (i.e., may not know each other's names or know each other well but have some connection, like a daily wave on the way into school), have experiences together, and hold some space in the other's life or thoughts. In one situation, a student might have a relationship with a teacher where they see each other daily, chat about life outside of school, and where the teacher even attends the child's games on the weekends; in another situation, a student might simply wave to the same teacher each morning on the way into homeroom, never speaking or getting to know each other particularly well, but engaging in this routine special to the two of them; in a third scenario, a student might find himself only ever interacting with a teacher for negative reasons, such as a teacher who only speaks to the student to tell him to take his hat off in the morning or to quiet down in the hall; all three of these examples constitute relationships as conceptualized in this research.

Two additional terms that appear throughout this dissertation merit a brief initial definition here, elaborated in subsequent chapters: 'prioritizing relationships' and 'knownness.' The idea of prioritizing relationships refers to teachers who make relationships a central purpose in their work with students and who often see personal connections or attention to non- or less academic needs as foundational to fulfilling their roles as teachers. Teachers who prioritize relationships operate on the premise that there are many purposes of education—one of which is academic learning—and that a very important purpose of education involves teachers and students feeling connected to each other on, at times, a purely personal level. Knownness, the key concept in Chapter 3, refers to the child's feeling that the teacher knows and understands their life, their needs, their goals, or whatever aspect of themselves that is currently important to them that their teacher know. Teachers who build knownness effortfully learn about students and show them they "get" them.

This dissertation makes a few key contributions to the field. Whereas prior research has shown why or for what outcomes relationships matter or has made general calls for more attention to relationships, this research goes a step deeper by describing with specificity and context what relationally adept teachers do to build relationships and to make students feel known, and what their core relational philosophies are. This level of detail is important for describing a part of teaching that is often seen as natural or effortless, and thus left hidden. The depictions of relationally adept teaching practice and philosophies in this dissertation can help teachers grow in their practice, can aid teacher educators in preparing teachers for this aspect of teaching, and can also educate and remind entities currently spearheading education reform that teaching, especially its relational components, is almost incomprehensibly complex and, in its richest form, extends beyond academic learning. Finally, this is the first study to my knowledge to examine the links between teachers' past experiences and their relational philosophies, with implications for understanding how new or experienced teachers acquire and evolve their relational philosophies across pre-professional, preservice, and inservice experiences.

Overview of Manuscripts

This dissertation is organized into three manuscripts, all of which are qualitative case studies. Table 1-1 details the titles, main research questions, study overview, and key findings of each manuscript. Figure 1-1 illustrates the connections between the chapters. As Figure 1-1 shows in cross-sectional form, a guiding premise is that relational practices, visible above the surface and observable in action, include building relationships, building students up, and building knownness, which are the foci of Chapters 3 and 4. Beneath the surface are teachers' relational philosophies, or beliefs, attitudes, and level of commitment to prioritizing relationships; even deeper, shaping their philosophies are relationally influential experiences. Everything beneath the surface in Figure 1-1 is the topic of Chapter 2. A general premise of this dissertation is that practices, which we can see, are influenced most proximally by the teacher's relational philosophy, which is influenced by her past experiences (and ability to make sense of them). I give overviews of each manuscript next, which are summarized also in Table 1-1.

The first manuscript, *Chapter 2*, focuses on three relationally adept teachers at a middle college charter academy ("Lincoln"), a school that prioritizes relationships in structural ways and provides an ideal study context for understanding the practices and guiding philosophies of teachers who excel at building meaningful relationships with students. This study examines three

focal teachers' commitments to enacting relational practices, which I refer to as their *relational philosophies* and define as the extent to which they choose to prioritize relationships in their teaching as evidenced by the beliefs, attitudes, and guiding principles they have toward the role of relationships in their teaching. Drawing mainly on teacher interviews, I describe teachers' stated relational philosophies, or how they directly described their relational philosophies. Drawing on instances of the teachers discussing specific students, I also describe teachers' implied relational philosophies, or what they revealed about their relational philosophies when they showed what they knew about students. The analysis suggested that relationally adept teachers' philosophies entailed seeing relationships or caring as a central purpose in their teaching roles, cultivated a close personal connection with students, flexibly related to students in a variety of relational capacities, and held a sophisticated catalog of information about each student, with as much information about students' personal selves as about their academic selves. After exploring the teachers' relational philosophies, this chapter then describes the personal and professional experiences the teachers believed influenced their decisions to be relationally guided teachers. Several common experiences emerged as relationally influential for the teachers, most of which involved key people and relationships from their lives that then served as models or motivated them to prioritize relationships. These included primarily their own former teachers, their family members, their former and current colleagues, and their mentor teachers in teacher preparation.

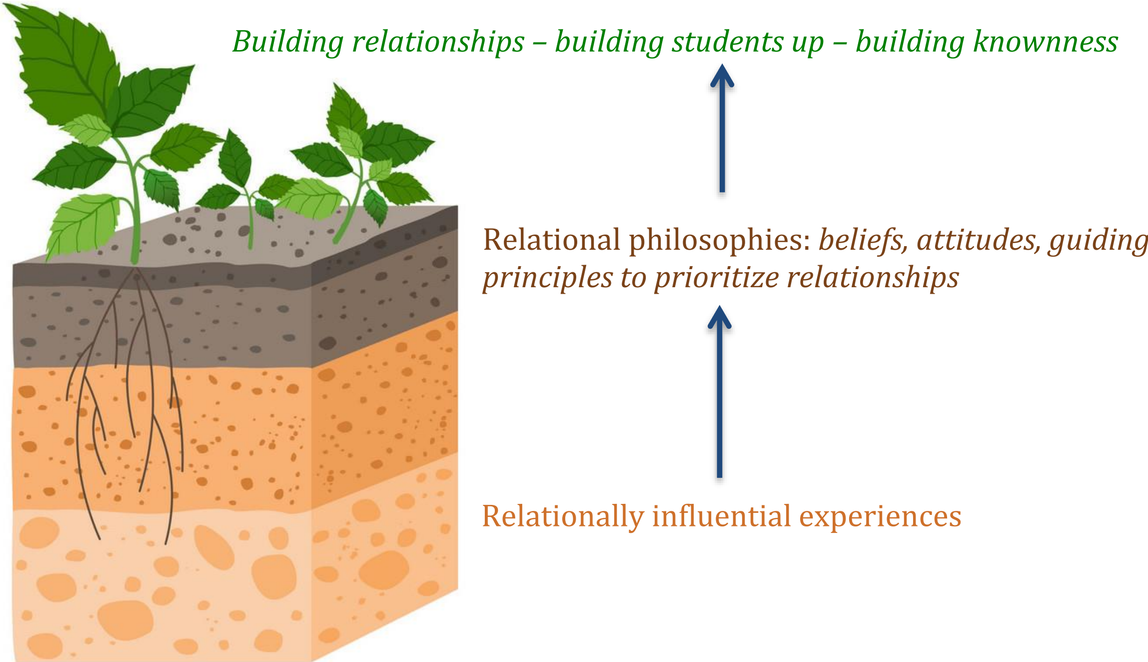
The next manuscript, *Chapter 3*, steps back from the three focal teachers' philosophies and life experiences to describe their actual teaching practices. Drawing on classroom and advising observations, teacher interviews, and student interviews, this chapter asks how teachers built relationships or, specifically, what relational teaching practices were evident in their work with students. Using a grounded theory analytic approach, eight defining relational teaching practices emerged at Lincoln. Though all eight practices helped teachers build relationships, they could be grouped into two sets serving slightly different purposes: one group of practices that built relationships and kept connections open, positive, and characterized by trust, and a second group of practices that "built students up," or made them feel special, valued, affirmed, understood, and noticed. In this way, in their relationships with students, the Lincoln teachers not only strengthened their connections with students but also strengthened the students themselves through those relationships.

The last manuscript, *Chapter 4,* draws on a different dataset to further develop an illustration of relational teaching practices. Whereas the previous manuscript focuses on describing practices to build *relationships*, this manuscript zooms in on practices that build *knownness*—an idea closely related to Chapter 3's practice of systematically forming a picture of who students are. This study is built upon my prior research on students' individual feelings of knownness, where I created student-level measures of knownness based on students' responses about specific teachers on student perception surveys administered by the Gates Foundation's Measures of Effective Teaching project. These surveys were given to adolescent students in six urban districts across the United States in 2009-11. Here, I used the student-level measures to create classroom-level measures of knownness in order to rank teachers according to their students' average knownness. I then selected eight "high-knownness" and eight "low-knownness" classrooms (approximately the top and bottom 4% of classrooms in terms of knownness) to compare teaching practices evident in videos of instruction that the teachers submitted to the project. Using a grounded theory analytic approach, I identified a set of teaching practices more common in high-knownness classrooms, which generally involved encouraging personal connections, sharing positive emotional experiences, and putting students at ease. I also identified a set of teaching practices more common in low-knownness classrooms, which included singling students out negatively and responding to misbehavior harshly. There were also some practices evident in both types of classrooms but enacted differently, such as the use of playful sarcasm in high-knownness classrooms but hurtful sarcasm in low-knownness classrooms. On the whole, students felt more or less known depending on how extensively their teachers built positive personal relationships and shared positive, safe emotional experiences with students.

Table 1-1: Overview of Manuscripts

	Manuscript Title	***Main Research Questions***	***Study Overview***	***Key Findings***
Ch. 2	*The Relational Philosophies of Teachers who Prioritize Relationships and the Experiences they Believe Influenced those Philosophies*	What are Lincoln teachers' relational philosophies? What are the personal or professional experiences in which they believe their relational philosophies are rooted?	Qualitative case study of the same three teachers above, based mainly on teacher interviews and also on teachers' discussions of specific students with me and with their colleagues.	The teachers prioritized caring for students' foundational personal needs (i.e., health and well-being), while also providing academic support, but they faced tensions in managing this balance. They saw their philosophies of prioritizing relationships as rooted in memories of their own favorite K12 or college teachers, their mentor teachers in teacher education, their teaching colleagues, aspects of their personal lives, and professional development.
Ch. 3	*Building Relationships to Build Students Up: Describing Relational Teaching Practices*	What teaching practices help Lincoln teachers build relationships with students?	Qualitative case study of the observed and recounted practices of a group of three relationally adept teachers.	The teachers enacted two interconnected sets of relational practices—one set that built relationships and kept connections open with students, and another set that "built students up" or helped students feel stronger or valued in some way.
Ch. 4	*Teaching Practices Associated with Students' Sense of Knownness*	What teaching practices are evident in high- vs. low-knownness classrooms? How are teaching practices similar or different in high- vs. low-knownness classrooms?	Qualitative case study using video data comparing classroom practices of eight high-knownness teachers and eight low-knownness teachers, based on prior research of students' individual feelings of knownness.	High- and low-knownness teachers' relational practices were mostly different from one another. High-knownness teachers created more opportunities for personal relationships and general enjoyment; low-knownness teachers disallowed personal connections and were more harsh and punitive in their interactions with students.

Figure 1-1: Conceptual Overview – A Cross-Section



CHAPTER 2

The Relational Philosophies of Teachers who Prioritize Relationships and the Experiences they Believe Influenced those Philosophies

Before investigating teachers' *enactments* of relational practices, I begin the dissertation with this study, which focuses on teachers' relational *philosophies* and where those philosophies originated in teachers' lives. I refer in this chapter to teachers' philosophies in the sense of how they explained themselves and their ideals in teaching to me or would to other people (i.e., many teachers are required to write a statement of their teaching philosophy as part of graduating from a teacher preparation program and/or finding a teaching job). In other words, I define teachers' relational philosophies[1] as how they explained and understood their beliefs, priorities, attitudes, guiding principles, preferences, strengths, weaknesses, and more, specifically when it came to relationships. As I explain later, this study generally assumes that teachers' relational philosophies are formed through their personal and professional experiences, and that their relational philosophies then shape the practices they enact. The foci of this study are understanding the relational philosophies of relationally adept teachers and identifying which life experiences most strongly shaped those philosophies, and how—all from the teachers' perspectives.

Background

I begin this section by reviewing research that shows there is widespread uncertainty in terms of how central or peripheral relationships are in teachers' work, and what the purposes of relationships in education *are*, both among teachers and as perceived by others. I then review research that suggests possible reasons this uncertainty around relationships might exist. Given this uncertain position of relationships in teaching, ultimately it falls on individual teachers to decide how central or how peripheral relationships will be in their teaching and what purpose

[1] I employ the term relational 'philosophies' rather than relational 'beliefs' because I consider teachers' entire approach to relationships to be larger and more complex than—though inclusive of—their beliefs. Whereas belief is defined as "something one accepts as true or real, a firmly held opinion", the word 'philosophy' is defined as "a theory or attitude that acts as a guiding principle for behavior" (Oxford Living Dictionaries, accessed 9/10/18). The latter term captures the ideas in this study in that I explore teachers' behaviors or practices in Chapters 3 and 4, and begin with the philosophies that guided those behaviors here..

they believe relationships serve, a choice that reflects their relational philosophies. A guiding premise of this study is that teachers make the choice of what position relationships occupy in their teaching based on whichever influential personal and professional experiences they have had in their lives. Therefore, the second part of this review summarizes research that has explored the ways teachers' experiences shape their teaching.

The Uncertain Position of Relationships in Teaching

Not all teachers or scholars agree that professional teaching entails forming close relationships with students. Davis (2006) found that some middle school teachers thought of relationships with students as a central part of teaching, while others deemed it superficial or tangential. There is sometimes an assumption that students' relational or emotional needs will be met at home or, at least, are not in the realm of what school provides, and that belonging is a reward rather than a need (Osterman, 2000). Especially in secondary contexts, forming close relationships with students might be seen as a nice addition to covering content and supporting students academically, but not a necessity. As a culture, scholars have argued that we assume the relational aspects of education will take care of themselves and that teachers intuitively know how to form relationships with students, whether or not they actually do (Jennings & Greenberg, 2009; Schussler & Collins, 2006). Overall, there is little consensus based on this research that teachers or the field as a whole believe relationships with students are a central professional responsibility.

The tenuous position of personal relationships within the professional role. Many scholars have argued that teachers are in professional roles with specific responsibilities relating to students' academic learning. Although personal relationships can and do form between students and teachers and although teachers attend to non-academic growth and challenges, these scholars see the core relationship between students and teachers as one oriented toward academic learning. In this view, teaching may or may not involve personal connections with students but the connection is not personal at its core or in its purpose; rather, relationships with students should be focused on learning a content area, and the interpersonal dynamic is one of respect rather than affection, forming solely to support the professional goal of teaching and learning a content area (Hawkins, 1974). For example, applying Vygotsky's theories, Goldstein (1999) acknowledges the role a personal connection plays in teachers' efforts to enter a student's zone of proximal development but defines the relational zone as one governed by professional goals.

A challenge when thinking about relationships in teaching is that all humans are engaged at almost all times in forming and maintaining relationships with others. Several scholars, however, have argued that even those parts of teaching that resemble what regular people do—such as caring about or getting to know other people—take on a different meaning or involve different practices *when considered in the context of teaching* (Buchmann, 1989; Ball & Forzani, 2009). In this view, "professional classroom teaching…is specialized work that is distinct from informal commonplace showing, telling, or helping" (Ball & Forzani, 2009, p. 498). By this argument, forming positive, personal relationships with students might echo the ways we approach relationships as regular people, but doing it in the context of professional classroom teaching is different because of the ways teachers and students inherently come together to study a content area. Buchmann (1993) argues this point:

> The view of students as learners underlies the distinctive obligations of teachers, and role orientation in teaching by definition means taking an interest in student learning. Thus, *insofar as teachers are not social workers, career counselors, or simply adults who care for children, their work centers on the curriculum* and presupposes knowledge of subject matter. This is not inconsistent with caring about children or being persons in their role. (p. 147, emphasis added)

In this argument, a number of adults might incidentally or even intentionally care for children, but their *primary* relational purpose with students flows from their professional designation—teachers responsible for an academic curriculum. To teach, of course, implies that *something* is being taught to *someone* by a *teacher*—thus, the triangular Hawkins (1975) relationship known as *I-thou-it*; the existence of the "something"—the *it* being taught—makes the relationship between a teacher and a student different than a relationship between a student and his other caregivers because of the implication that the connection they share *primarily* implicates or revolves around academic content. Although Buchmann states that "this is not inconsistent with caring about children" and although she, herself, would probably wish that all teachers would teach and *also* care, this passage raises an important question: If we define relationships between teachers and students as usually involving a shared connection to academic content, is it possible for teachers to have a connection or a relational purpose apart from academic content? Is such an approach still "teaching"?

The arguments in the above examples—that the primary role of teachers is to teach curriculum and that the primary relationship between a student and teacher necessarily

incorporates learning—could suggest that the relational, emotional, personal parts of education are perhaps secondary in teachers' roles or only done in service of those primary aims of learning. Indeed, although teaching and learning are inherently relational, emotional, and personal experiences, practitioners are often encouraged to bracket off the emotional and personal from the cognitive (Dutro, 2013; Hargreaves, 1998) or to care but not become too emotionally involved (Elbaz, 1983). Berlak and Berlak (1981) presented this tension as one of the dilemmas—"child as a whole child vs. child as a student"—all teachers face, with the former emphasizing children's aesthetic, intellectual, physical, social-emotional, and moral development and the latter focusing on intellectual and cognitive development. They also pointed out that there are drawbacks to each approach; on the one hand, focusing on the child as a student excludes many aspects that make that student who he is, and on the other hand, the whole child approach can be seen as a personal intrusion.

Still, in reality, teachers' days are occupied with helping students in many ways that are unrelated or only indirectly related to their learning. Increasingly, teachers are (often ill-equipped) de facto mental health service providers, especially in many schools that do not have mental health service providers to refer students to (Lynn, McKay, & Atkins, 2003). And teaching is inherently emotional and personal work. Teachers deal daily with a range of emotional interactions with students, which Salazar (2013) has argued are essential to a humanizing education: "A humanizing pedagogy is intentionally focused on the affective domain and requires that educators interact with students on an emotional level" (Salazar, 2013, p. 129). For teachers to be "significant adults" in students' lives, Galbo (1989) found that the relationships they shared needed to be, first and foremost, personal in nature, with strong communication and personal satisfaction for both parties. For Hansen (1998), "It is the person in the role, not the role itself, who brings education to life in the classroom" (p. 405). Muchmore (2001) shows how teachers often align their whole teaching practice to their personal beliefs, underscoring the centrality of the personal in teaching.

In many ways, defining teaching as emotional labor involving the cultivation of relationships apart from academic content could be perceived as undermining the professional status of teaching, which has always been rather tenuous. Some have argued that historically teaching was training for motherhood for many young female teachers who taught for a few years before starting a family of their own, applying their own innate care and personality to the

work with no or little professional training (Herbst, 1989; Kafka, 2016; Sedlak & Schlossman, 1986). Because of this history as a female-dominated profession, there can be a self-consciousness among advocates of professional teaching who fear that including too much of the personal, emotional labor into the practice of teaching or into our definitions of teaching could make teaching seem less professional. This self-consciousness was evident historically when schools of education started replacing pre-existing normal schools, which often prepared women for teaching often with younger students and emphasized morality, care, and nurturing (Powell, 1976). With a focus on preparing teachers, at first mostly men, through subject-matter training in the university halls of knowledge, schools of education made an early effort to elevate the status of teaching by shifting the perceived role of teachers to that of [male] academic expert rather than [female] nurturer. Defining teacher-student relationships as inherently tied to an academic content area seems to be a legacy of this gendered shift in teacher preparation and attempts at professionalization.

The secondary school context and distant relationships. When it comes to teaching adolescents, the position of relationships in teaching becomes even more tenuous. Whereas elementary teachers generally pay greater attention to students' social and emotional development, secondary teachers are more likely to "neutralize" students experiencing issues in class and respond to them outside of class (Hargreaves, 2000, p. 823). It is also more typical in secondary contexts to respond to misbehavior with disciplinary consequences rather than try to understand the root cause of the behavior or coach students through it (Schwartz, Merten & Bursik, 1987). Hargreaves (2001) describes the dilemma secondary teachers face in forming close relationships, that "although [teachers] are supposed to care for their students, they are expected to do so in a somewhat clinical and detached way—to mask their emotions with parents and control them when they are around students" (p. 1069). Hargreaves argues that teachers believe showing emotions around students can compromise their authority; he also argues that teachers felt the need to hide their emotions around parents who often questioned or failed to accept their professional decisions. Hargreaves also describes the tendency for secondary teachers to be more caring inside classroom interactions but then to subscribe to a more clinical detachment around administrators or parents; echoing the role of gender described above, he also shows that these differences are rooted in the classroom being a historically female space where

nurturing is natural and the broader school being a historically male space where authority and professional status are prized, the point to which I turn next.

Narrowing ideas about education. The position of relationships can seem especially uncertain when considered in the context of today's climate of educational accountability and reform. Several scholars have argued that recent reform efforts, like No Child Left Behind and Race to the Top, have led to a vision of education that emphasizes a narrow set of learning outcomes often at the cost of other historic purposes of education. In her extensive review of the history of the teaching profession, Kafka (2015) posits that under a "new, narrower definition of teaching" focused on academic learning only, the profession has diverged from one in which teachers' roles and impacts were traditionally thought to be much wider, when they were first and foremost moral exemplars in their roles, chosen for aspects of their identity and perceived character rather than their content knowledge or pedagogical expertise.

Echoing this idea, educational philosophers have recently written about the "learnification" of education, or viewing education as a set of measurable outcomes for a few skills in a few subjects (Biesta, 2009; Labaree, 2014). In this view, Labaree (2014) argues that recent reforms have reduced education from a holistic endeavor that strives to enlighten people and shape a citizenry instead into a system that produces workers who possess a narrow set of measurable skills thought to be economically useful. Biesta (2009) argues that this focus on measurable learning instead of on education has shifted ideas about what the *purpose* of education is, such that people have become worried about "effective" education rather than "good" education (p. 43)—the former characterized by measurable outcomes and the latter by defensible inputs, such as supportive relationships. As Fenstermacher and Richardson (2005) distinguished in their discussion of quality teaching, teaching can be successful—result in learning—without being good—logically, psychologically, and morally defensible.

In this current context of "learnified" education, the position and purpose of relationships are open questions. One fear the scholars above have pointed out is that reducing the idea of education to academic learning could leave less room for more holistic relationships or could make relationships seem less necessary or central in what teachers do. If the goal of an education is boiled down to measurable academic learning, then it is possible relationships could be reduced in parallel to be only those connections that form to support academic learning—which in fact aligns with conceptualizations described above of teacher-student relationships always

centered on a shared pursuit of academic content. And yet, relationships that go deeper than academic learning and that exist on a level of basic human care are needed now more than ever. While schools have grown more focused on learning, their students have grown in their need of supports that span beyond learning. Increasing numbers of students enter school having experienced multiple "adverse childhood experiences" (e.g., witnessing violence, experiencing poverty, living with a person struggling with mental health and/or addiction) (Sacks, Murphey & Moore, 2014). Given that positive relationships with teachers specifically help build resilience and stability for these students and can help protect against depression, anxiety, and risky adolescent behavior, the increased emphasis on learning at the potential cost of relationships beyond learning appears to be a potential obstacle for many of our most vulnerable students (Cole, O'Brien, Gadd, Ristuccia, Wallace & Gregory, 2009; Hertel, Johnson, Wolpow & Kincaid, 2009; Resnick, Bearman, Blum, Bauman, Harris, Jones, Tabor, Beuhring, Sieving, Shew & Ireland, 1997; Shochet, Dadds, Ham & Montague, 2006). For these students, connecting with a teacher, regardless of whether there is a shared connection to academic content, can be restorative, healing, and pivotal.

Therefore, for a number of complex reasons, relationships occupy an uncertain position in teaching, possibly even more so as education has become focused on narrower sets of outcomes for students. However, whatever position relationships occupy in teachers' practices, this study rests on an argument that their personal relational philosophies depend on what they have experienced in their own lives. I turn next to review literature on influential professional and personal experiences in teachers' lives.

Professional and Personal Influences from Teachers' Lives

Although most teachers complete professional preparation in the form of undergraduate or graduate programs in education, people actually learn to teach starting in early childhood and continuing through the lifespan. Much of the research suggests that professional preparation has a relatively weak and temporary influence on teaching, while past and present personal experiences and one's own professional teaching experience have a stronger and more enduring influence on teaching. Buchmann (1989) writes, "Teachers minds are slates, not blank but scratched in deeply, in plain characters" (p. 190). The reality is that teachers enter formal preparation with well-established memories of themselves as learners, images of themselves as teachers, beliefs about teaching, and confidence based on a lengthy apprenticeship of observation

watching their own teachers (Cohen, 1988; Hoy & Rees, 1977; Lortie, 1975). Considering all of these entrenched pre-training influences, formal preparation can be weak by comparison.

In the pre-training phase of learning to teach, research highlights a variety of childhood and young adult experiences that influence teaching. Many teachers' beliefs about teaching are thought to form well before formal teacher preparation begins, with the beliefs formed earliest in life remaining the most stable over time (Kagan, 1992; Pajares, 1992; Richardson, 1996). A major explanation for how teachers learn to teach is through an apprenticeship of observation, or observing classrooms for 12+ years as a student before becoming a teacher or teaching candidate (Feiman-Nemser, 1983; Lortie, 1975). Teachers bring to teaching memories of themselves as learners, such that teachers sometimes struggle to have accurate perceptions of learners who differ from their memories of themselves as learners (Kagan, 1992). Images of oneself as a teacher based on memories of past teachers also influence teaching (Carter & Doyle, 1996; Kagan, 1992), as do teaching-like experiences, such as babysitting, parenting, camp counseling, and teaching Sunday school (Knowles, 1992; Zeichner & Gore, 1989).

Teachers' pre-training socialization, or apprenticeship of observation, is often viewed as a negative experience for formal teacher preparation to work to overcome or correct (Grossman, 1991; Kennedy, 1998), with the familiarity of the role acting as a barrier to new learning for teachers (Feiman-Nemser & Buchmann, 1985). Taking a different view, Dewey (1904) emphasized the important role of a new teacher's "own direct and personal experience" as a learner in learning to teach (p. 17), arguing that reflections on personal experience might be a useful starting point for learning to teach—though not an ending point.

In addition to the experiences of teaching and learning as a child, a number of scholars point to personal childhood and family experiences as highly influential in teaching (Feiman-Nemser, 2001). On the whole, these authors argue that familial, personal influences are always active in our teaching and leaving them unexamined can be detrimental. Knowles (1992), studying teacher biographies, lists specific aspects of family experiences that influence teaching: "learned social behaviors," "rules of family conduct learned as a young child," "patterns of family interaction and values," and "parents' orientations and beliefs about education" (p. 128), suggesting that the families in which teachers are raised partly shape their interactions and beliefs as teachers. Using a psychoanalytic framework, Greenwalt (2014) argues that there are four figures present in learning to teach: "the child we teach, the child we were, the parental

figures who raised us, and the parental figures who are involved in the lives of the children we teach" (p. 327). In this theory, several personal figures coalesce into the professional experience of teaching. Similarly, Grumet (1988) has posited that teachers' childhoods and their parenting are always present in their teaching and must be acknowledged.

In addition to teachers' personal pasts being important to their teaching, researchers have emphasized how teachers' current personal lives influence their teaching. Research on personal narrative and situated personal practical knowledge in teaching abounded in the 1980s and 1990s investigating the ways teachers' biographies and stories of their lives influenced their teaching (Carter & Doyle, 1996; Connelly & Clandinin, 1990; Elbaz, 1983; Knowles, 1992). In that tradition, Pajak and Blase (1989) examined the ways teachers' current marital status, parenting, family and friend connections, hobbies, and financial status influenced teaching. They found that being a parent and having close family and friends made teachers feel more caring and compassionate toward students, especially if they were a parent of a special needs child or were divorced. Teachers who were single felt personally closer to students, whereas teachers who were married felt as though they related to students more respectfully or professionally. Having hobbies made teachers excited to share and bond with students over common interests. Lastly, they found that teachers who struggled financially experienced strain in their relationships with students. Thus, Pajak and Blase's work underscores how teachers' relationships with students are strongly influenced by what happens in teachers' personal lives.

The relational work of teaching likely needs to be learned in or close to the practice of teaching (Lampert, 2009). At the same time, teacher preparation cannot be expected to be the only place teachers learn to teach given all of these other powerful influences that shape practice (Feiman-Nemser, 2001); and when it comes to relational practices, formal teacher preparation often does not equip teachers with particular skills (Jennings & Greenberg, 2009). Whether teachers are developing their relational philosophies and growing their relational practices through teacher preparation or outside of it, it is important to understand the origins of their relational philosophies and practices. In the next section, I describe the conceptual framework I drew on for this study and provide an overview of the study's research questions and potential contributions.

Conceptual Framework

Drawing on the reviewed literature and my synthesis of it, Figure 2-1 shows the conceptual framework that informed my investigation. First, Figure 2-1 (top) shows my conceptualization of the main relationships between teachers' personal and professional experiences, their relational philosophies, and their teaching practices, which is my overarching idea of how the ideas in this whole dissertation connect to one another. In this depiction, teachers' *life experiences* contribute to their *relational philosophies*, which in turn shape their *practices*. The focus of this study is to describe what happens in the left-hand part of Figure 2-1—within the arrow between experiences and philosophies. (Chapters 3 and 4 focus on aspects of the right-hand side of this figure, teachers' relational practices.)

Figure 2-1 (bottom) shows my conceptualization, based on the synthesized literature, of a spectrum of relational philosophies teachers seem to have—from avoiding relationships to allowing relationships to *prioritizing* relationships. Teachers who *avoid* relationships see relationships as beyond a teacher's professional role and even possibly inappropriate. They do not concern themselves with anything beyond academic interactions, echoing the "just teach" attitude Wallace, Chhuon, and colleagues found makes students feel unknown (Chhuon & Wallace, 2012; Wallace, Ye, McHugh & Chhuon, 2012; Wallace & Chhuon, 2014). In the middle of the spectrum, teachers who *allow* relationships are receptive in some cases to relationships and might have some personal relationships with students, but they do not necessarily prioritize or lead with this in their teaching, just like the non-personal teaching style described by Schwartz, Merten, and Bursik (1987) where teachers are open to relationships but do not consistently pursue them.

To the far right are the teachers who prioritize relationships, who see relationships as a central purpose of teaching and not as simply a means to academic learning goals—the types of teachers in this study whose relational philosophies I sought to uncover. Presented in Figure 2-1 under the heading of teachers who prioritize relationships was my hypothesis of their qualities based on my review of literature. Based on my understanding going into this study, my expectation was that teachers who *prioritize* relationships or are relationally guided see relationships as central to their professional role and to students' experiences, and they actively pursue relationships with all students. They welcome personal relationships with students and see relationships that reach a personal, social, emotional level as fully appropriate to the professional role of teaching. They exemplify the "personal teaching style" observed by

Schwartz, Merten, and Bursik (1987), characterized by allowing diversions into personal conversations completely unrelated to academic content that could seem like tangents in class, seeing misbehavior as evidence of healthy development rather than negative motives, and being open about themselves with their students.

Based on my review of prior research on this topic, the extent to which these types of teachers would also prioritize academics or the relationship between relationships and academics in their teaching was less clear and became a focal question in this study. Of scholarship that did speak to the relationship between relationships and academics, the suggestion was that relationships served largely as bridges to the teacher's professional goal of facilitating academic learning in students. Hawkins (1974) conceptualized this as the teacher and student sharing a mutually reinforcing connection to each other and to their subject matter content; later, Ball and Forzani (2009) described a teacher's connection to a student as a way to grasp how the student understands the academic content they are pursuing. Thus, with the exception of those studies that conceived of relationships as a vehicle to academic learning pursuits, I found much of the research to leave open the question of how exactly teachers balanced building relationships and teaching academic content.

This study draws on interviews and observations with three teachers who were selected because they exemplify excellent relational teaching practices and belong to a school, Lincoln, that formally emphasizes the importance of relationships in a number of ways. All three teachers in this study possess a relational philosophy on the right-hand side of Figure 2-1, one that prioritizes relationships in their teaching. This study seeks first to articulate the three teachers' relational philosophies—to see how teachers who prioritize relationships define their own roles and how they balance their professional responsibility to academic learning with their commitment to relationships, a question not directly explored in the research reviewed in this chapter. Then, the focus shifts to tracing back to personal and professional experiences lived by each teacher that they believe shaped the philosophies they came to hold. By linking teachers' life experiences with their relational philosophies, this study contributes to this field of study by clarifying which experiences matter when it comes specifically to the personal and relational parts of professional teaching, which could help teacher education programs tailor their relational preparation.

To explore these issues, this study is guided by the following research questions:

What are Lincoln teachers' relational philosophies?

What are the personal or professional experiences in which they believe their relational philosophies are rooted?

Motivations and Contributions

This study examines what it means, from relationally adept teachers' point of view, to prioritize relationships in teaching. Although we generally accept that a priority in a teacher's professional role is to inspire or create opportunities for academic learning, either additionally prioritizing relationships or prioritizing relationships instead of academic learning would be a notable and fruitful choice to explore in trying to understand teachers' professional work. Exploring their relational philosophies in this study—the ways they think about relationships in their teaching and how they view their relational and professional roles—does just that. This study explores the question of where relationships fit into teachers' professional work with students—an integral part of teachers' professional work, a nice but rare extra, beyond their professional scope, inappropriate altogether, an essential purpose of teaching apart from academic content, a phenomenon to leverage for academic learning, or something else.

This study rests on an underlying assumption that deeply rooted underneath teachers' actual relational practices are beliefs and decisions about the role of relationships in their teaching, which connect back to some of their life experiences. Prior research has generally examined links between experiences and practices, but without a specific focus on relationships. This study contributes to existing literature first by providing a detailed analysis of three teachers' relational philosophies or the role they see relationships playing in their teaching, thus building on Davis's (2006) study that found that even among teachers, there is a lack of consensus on how central or peripheral relationships were in their teaching. Additionally, by tracing teachers' relational philosophies back to some of their life experiences, this study adds to the research on teachers' life experiences, which has connected experiences to practices generally, but not relational practices in particular.

Methods

This is a qualitative case study of the relational philosophies of three relationally adept high school teachers, and the life experiences that influenced their philosophies. This study draws primarily on four interviews with each teacher and occasionally on observations of the teachers, specifically during meetings when they discussed students as a faculty.

Setting

This qualitative case study took place at Lincoln, a public middle college academy serving high school age students on a community college campus in the Midwest. Students who have completed one or two years of high school in the area of Lincoln can apply by lottery to the middle college. As a middle college, Lincoln allows students to complete their high school course requirements and then earn an Associate's degree or technical certificate on the community college campus. About 100 students graduate from Lincoln each year. Nearly half of Lincoln's graduates are first-generation college students.

Lincoln has 19 teachers, two counselors, and is led by a Dean. All teachers and counselors also function as advisors to a group of students they advise from the time students begin at the school through graduation. One-hour weekly advisory class focuses on things like identifying career pathways of interest, community building, and providing general guidance on academic or non-academic issues. Students also meet with their advisors one-on-one routinely throughout the course of their time at Lincoln; depending on the student's needs, these meetings could be daily, weekly, monthly, or a few times per term.

My selection of Lincoln as the research site for this study was linked to choosing this site for the study in Chapter 3. In that study, I chose Lincoln based on its likelihood of having an abundance of relational practices and strong relationships between students and teachers. Lincoln was likely to showcase strong relationships and relational practice due to its advisory structure and emphasis by the leadership on prioritizing relationships through its soft skills curriculum, college context, and supportive professional culture. For this study, surfacing ideas with teachers about their life experiences and their relational philosophies could have taken many forms in terms of which teachers I selected. For example, I could have searched for one teacher in each of the three categories in my conceptual framework—one teacher who avoids relationships, one who allows them, and one who prioritizes them—which would have provided an excellent comparison along that spectrum. Ultimately, I chose to study the same three teachers whose strong relational practice guided their selection in Chapter 3 because I wanted to build a greater understanding for what makes a teacher—in this case, three teachers—*prioritize* relationships, since the major goal of research like this is ideally to get more teachers to learn to or choose to prioritize relationships, and also to understand how prioritizing relationships can be considered part of the professional work of teaching. Additionally, I theorized that teachers with stronger

relational teaching practice might have more well-developed relational philosophies to discuss as well as many reflections on their life experiences (though it is also likely that a teacher who avoids relationships would have a well-defined relational philosophy and interesting experiences that contributed to her decision to avoid relationships, and that is certainly an area for future compelling research). Of course, even within the three teachers in this study, there is likely variety among them in the ways they prioritized relationships or were able to convey to me that part of their work.

Participants

Three teachers participated in this study: Mrs. Ventura, Mrs. Carroll, and Mr. Adler whom I recruited with the help of the Dean. After meeting with him in April 2017 to discuss the goals of my research, he spoke with various members of the faculty who he thought might be interested in participating in the study based on their past interest in research and/or his perception of their effectiveness in building relationships with students. In June 2017, I visited the school to meet with three interested teachers where I explained my goals and answered their questions; all three enthusiastically agreed to participate and ultimately completed all anticipated parts of the study. All teachers were given a $250 Visa gift card for their participation made possible by a Rackham Graduate Student Research grant.

Importantly, all three teachers taught either English, Critical Thinking (a version of Reading), or Reading Support (a class for lower-skilled readers) at the 9th and 10th grade levels. This decision was incidental but sensible for a few reasons. First, the teachers that the Dean identified as being relationally effective and interested in this study happened to be all English teachers, so my selection was narrowed to English from the start. However, this decision made sense for a few reasons. In terms of classroom observation, it made it easier for me to study three English classes and some with the same lessons being taught so that I could focus on differences in the teachers rather than the curricula. Since many scholars have conceptualized content area as a key third entity in the triangular relationship between student, teacher, and content area learning, keeping the subject matter consistent across participants seemed sensible for studying relationships. Second, as a former English teacher, I was more familiar and comfortable being in an English classroom and knowing what to look for in terms of student participation or engagement, teaching practice or preparation, materials, and more. If I were observing a science

classroom, by contrast, I might easily be caught up in trying to follow aspects of instruction that were outside the scope of this study just because I am not as familiar.

The teachers' extensive biographical and professional backgrounds are covered later in this study as main findings. Briefly, in terms of professional education and experience, all three teachers held Master's degrees, Mrs. Carroll was also National Board certified, and all were all quite experienced. Mrs. Ventura was entering her 16th year as a teacher and 3rd year at Lincoln; Mrs. Carroll was entering her 13th year overall and 7th at Lincoln; and Mr. Adler was entering his 16th year overall and at Lincoln. Each teacher also held positions beyond teacher and advisor at Lincoln. Mrs. Ventura was leading a school-wide project to understand and improve mental health services at the school and also sometimes taught physical education and health. Mrs. Carroll served as the reading specialist at the school, assessing incoming students' reading levels and providing support to struggling readers. She also developed the Critical Thinking curriculum. Also, both Mrs. Carroll and Mr. Adler were serving as instructional coaches to the rest of the faculty and were sometimes asked to coordinate professional development for the faculty. Mr. Adler also led the 9th grade team.

Data Collection

Data collection for this study occurred from September 2017 through December 2017 and drew on observations of the teachers plus four interviews with each teacher. Table 2-1 shows my data collection timeline for this study. I interviewed all teachers for the first time in the first week of September. After completing all observations of each teacher, I conducted their second interviews—for Mrs. Ventura in the last week of September, for Mrs. Carroll in late October, and for Mr. Adler in early November. I interviewed all teachers in mid-November for a third time and around December 1st for the final time. I also observed the two Fall 2018 full-day credentialing meetings where they discussed every student individually as an entire faculty, which took place in early October and early November and constituted a significant part of the data collected for this particular study.

Teacher interviews. I conducted semi-structured interviews with each teacher four times for about 60 minutes each time. Teacher interview protocols are included in Appendix A. I audio-recorded and transcribed all interviews. The first interview, conducted prior to any observations, primarily focused on gathering information about the teacher's personal and professional biography and past relationships with students. The second interview focused on

potential practices I had observed as well as current relationships with students I had observed them teach or advise. The emphasis in the third interview was on teachers' attention to "non-academic" aspects of students' lives, some potential school-level supports for relationship-building, and again about current relationships, this time with students I had interviewed. Lastly, the fourth interview aimed to synthesize teachers' concluding thoughts about their relational work and the students we had discussed throughout the term. In describing the data analysis, below, I clarify which interview questions were used in this study.

Credentialing observations. I wrote detailed observation notes based on two days of credentialing meetings, where the faculty meet together and discuss individual students' progress, concerns, and readiness to transition to college classes at Lincoln. During credentialing meetings, each advisor leads the faculty in a discussion about each of his or her advisees, covering academic as well as non-academic topics. The advisor shares information about this student with colleagues and also elicits feedback or information from colleagues, such as informing colleagues about a difficult issue the student is facing or asking how the student seems academically, emotionally, and more in the colleagues' interactions with them. During these meetings, I recorded jottings whenever the three teachers in this study participated in the conversation, either as advisors leading the discussion or as teachers adding to the discussion when other advisors were leading. I wrote down direct quotes of key discussions wherever possible. The goal of observing and recording these meetings was to capture how the teachers talked about students and what they seemed to know about students, to add to my understanding of their relational philosophies. For example, if teachers knew a great deal about students' personal lives, that could be evidence of a relational philosophy that prioritizes relationships. I transformed the jottings into extended narratives organized by credentialing session and then by student, with about one paragraph per student, or longer for students discussed at greater length (Emerson, Fretz & Shaw, 2011). I also compiled a list of all non-academic topics covered during these meetings (e.g., family is divorcing, student uses drugs).

Analytic Method

My dataset for this study consisted of relevant selections from 12 teacher interview transcripts and from observation notes during credentialing meetings or times during observation (e.g., when walking to and from class, when sitting in office without students) when teachers would share information with me about particular students. Since some interview questions were

particular to the research pursued in Chapter 3, those questions were excluded from this study; my dataset for this study included specific questions about teachers' personal or professional experiences, relational philosophies, particular students, and any other case where they brought up those topics, as described in more detail below. I transcribed all audio recordings of interviews verbatim and stored and analyzed all data in the qualitative software program, NVivo. Table 2-2 summarizes this study's research questions with their corresponding analysis questions and data sources. Full teacher interview protocols are provided at Appendix A.

The first research question, which investigates the teachers' relational philosophies, consists of three analysis questions. The first analysis question centers on teachers' stated responses to questions about their relational philosophies. The second and third analysis questions examine what the teachers knew or told me about their students and, most key, what this revealed about their relational philosophies. As I carried out this research, I realized that the teachers' responses when I directly asked about their relational philosophies were useful but perhaps limited in their generalities or brevity. Instead, I found that when teachers were simply talking to me about particular students, they revealed pieces of their relational philosophies. These pieces were often in line with what they had directly told me, but they provided more contextualized, detailed angles on their philosophies and became an area of focus in my findings. As I describe further below, I evaluated teachers' discussions of individual students both during conversations with me as well as during credentialing meetings with their colleagues. The second research question analyzes the kinds of experiences teachers brought up from their personal and professional lives as well as how they linked them to their relational philosophies. After restricting the analysis to the data selections outlined in Table 2-2, I engaged in different analysis processes for each analysis question, as described next.

Analysis question 1(a): What do the teachers state as their relational philosophy or their own definitions of their relational responsibilities? To analyze the teachers' stated relational philosophies, I began by separating by teacher the data identified as responsive to this question, as shown in Table 2-2. Some data responsive to this question derived from interview questions where I directly asked teachers to describe their approaches to relationship building (e.g., "What are all of the types of interactions you have with students?" or "What '-ing' words and actions do you think go into building relationships?"). Although this chapter was not focused on actions or practices per se, I reasoned that asking them about some of these concrete

components of their relationship-building would help them express their relational philosophies to me. The data responsive to this question also included any passages in interviews where teachers described what they thought their job, role, purpose, and goals were (i.e., generally these were statements beginning with, "I'm here to…" or "My job is to…" or "as teachers, we…"). Other questions were also designed to indirectly give them opportunities to reveal their understanding of their teaching role, such as asking them if they could think of a relationship in life that was analogous to that of a student and teacher or having them think of times in their teaching when they felt most like *themselves.* For each teacher, I read through their entire set of responses about their relational philosophies and wrote an analytic memo to summarize their overall relational philosophies. During the last interview, I engaged in brief member-checking to ensure that my understanding of their philosophies were correct to that point. I shared a few impressions with each teacher of what I thought seemed key about their relational philosophies, and asked them if they wanted to add anything to summarize how they approach relationships. For example, I shared with Mrs. Ventura that my impression was that her philosophy was guided by ideas like care and love, prioritizing those feelings above content, and was personal and motherly. All three teachers agreed with my characterization and affirmed or added more to the depiction. I also shared my findings with the full faculty a few months after I concluded data collection and asked for their thoughts on the teachers' relational philosophies. At this presentation, the three focal teachers did not have anything to add.

Analysis question 1(b): What do the teachers know and say about individual students, and what does that imply about their relational philosophies? As I spent time with the teachers, I realized that their relational philosophies were coming through in textured ways whenever they spoke about their particular students. It is reasonable to believe that many teachers when asked directly might be unable to fully describe their relational philosophy as for many teachers—especially experienced teachers like in this study—it is likely an automatic and ingrained part of how they operate, but through asking them about their students, it is possible to gather and infer what matters to them in their relationships and the extent to which they position relationships centrally in their teaching. In addition to adding to our understanding of their relational philosophies, this analysis also helps corroborate what the teachers said about their philosophies directly. For a simple example, Mrs. Ventura told me directly during interviews how important it was for her to make sure all of her students felt loved and valued. Analyzing

her comments about specific students supported the idea that love was a basic tenet of her relational philosophy, as she often prefaced comments about a particular student with saying how much she liked or loved the student, and in a few cases even compared particular students directly to her son and her nephew, showing that she saw her students as a sort of extended family and adding to my understanding of what she meant by love in her teaching.

To carry out this analysis, I began by breaking the data into units based on individual student-teacher pairs. My goal in breaking the data for this analysis into student-teacher pairs was to be able to say for how many *students* the teachers knew about certain pieces of information. To demonstrate a relational philosophy, for instance, where teachers get to know students on a personal level, breaking the data into these student-teacher pair units allowed me to show that for a majority of students, the teachers knew or spoke about, for instance, their family lives. To create these units, for example, any time Mrs. Ventura spoke to me about her student, Alannah, in any of our interviews together or any time she spoke with colleagues about Alannah at any point during my study, that constituted one student-teacher pair or analytic unit (e.g., Ventura Alannah). If Mrs. *Carroll* spoke about Alannah, that would be a second student-teacher pair or analytic unit (e.g., Carroll Alannah). If Mrs. Ventura spoke about David, that would be a third student-teacher pair or analytic unit (e.g., Ventura David). In total, I broke the data into 154 pair units, or 154 cases of a participating teacher discussing a specific student. This included 54 for Mr. Adler, 40 for Mrs. Carroll, and 60 for Mrs. Ventura; in some cases, the same student was discussed by all teachers, so these numbers are not unique by student but by student-teacher pair. Note that these data *did not* include instances of the same students discussing the teachers, even though I had that data, since the goal was to understand how the teachers thought about and what they knew about their students. Another potential consideration was that in some cases, knowing a category of information about *more* students might be less important than knowing it about *even just one* student; I attempted to monitor my data for such instances where quality proved as important as quantity.

With those 154 units, I conducted several rounds of inductive coding to identify what the teachers knew about their students and how they spoke about them (Charmaz, 2014). Through that iterative process, I identified a total of 17 codes and allowed each unit to be coded with all applicable codes. A codebook defines and gives examples for each code at Appendix B. Before coding all of the data, I coded a representative subset of 20 units with a colleague, and we

reached 92% agreement, with my colleague coding 44 of my 48 codes in the same way I had. Appendix C shows the joint coding exercise my colleague and I performed. The 17 codes I identified included: academics, home life, soft skills, personality, social relationships, motivation, health, past schooling, interests, cultural background, goals, special needs, behavior, progress, adolescent development, concerns, and how well they knew the student. Using the final coding frequencies, I calculated simple percentages to show how often the teachers knew about or spoke about each topic out of the 154 total pairs. I also compared these frequencies and themes among the three teachers and wrote an analytic memo for each teacher about the types of things they knew and how they spoke about their students.

I also analyzed at this point in a further memo what the teachers' knowledge about students implied about their relational philosophies. At this stage, I considered the spectrum of knowledge teachers had: more academic (academics, special needs, progress, concerns, past schooling), less academic (home life, personality, social relationships, health, interests, cultural background, adolescent development, and how well they knew the student), and aspects that were in between (soft skills, motivation, goals, behavior). I started to reflect on how knowing these different pieces of information about students might suggest something about the roles these teachers played. For instance, knowing about academic ability for about the same number of students as teachers knew about family life could imply that these teachers prioritized in a very balanced way their hybrid purposes of knowing students as academic learners and also as people in an important context beyond the classroom. In other words, I reflected on the frequency of knowing about these different categories as a way to imply what was important to the teachers to take time to get to know, and thus what their priorities were.

Analysis question 1(c): How do the teachers think about individual students, and what does that imply about their relational philosophies? To analyze teachers' implied relational philosophies, I engaged in an activity with the teachers during their fourth interviews to understand how they thought about their students and what came to mind about students most immediately. This activity was intended to give teachers a concrete way to express their thinking about individual students and their relationships with them. In the first part of the activity, I gave the teachers about ten slips of paper, each with the name of a student we had discussed previously in conversations or interviews and whom I had observed during classes and meetings. I asked the teachers, without giving much direction, to organize or group the students visually

however it made sense to them, talking through it as they went. In the second part of the activity, I asked the teachers to place each student's slip of paper next to the topic they thought was most important to know about that student or the type of information that first came to mind about that student (from a previously generated list of things they know or like to know about students in general). Again, teachers talked through these decisions as they made them. I captured each stage of these activities in photos, which I then reviewed as I listened and read through the transcriptions of the teachers talking themselves through the activities. Mainly, however, I relied on the transcriptions because I asked the teachers to use students' names while they were talking through so that the photos were a useful backup but the transcriptions included all information.

To analyze this data, I separated the relevant sections of the fourth interview by teacher and wrote an analytic memo for each teacher summarizing how they thought about students, and what that implied about their relational philosophies. First, I took notes on the sequence the teachers went through in organizing the students and then in assigning what was important to know about them—noting their decisions in one column and their justifications in another column side by side. Specifically, I noted on what basis they made their groupings (e.g., social, academic) and why they said they did so. In making these inferences, I re-read this entire part of each teacher's transcript once and made initial guesses as to how I thought they grouped students, which I set aside for a few days before returning to re-assess my impressions. Although it is still possible I erred in these characterizations, I made an effort to carefully assess the groupings by reflecting on it at multiple points. Overall, these passages were relatively brief and the teachers often even used adverbs or adverbial phrases to describe how they thought they were grouping the students (i.e., "socially" or "by friend group"), which helped to clarify it.

After that, I looked for themes across the three teachers, for instance, seeing if a similar grouping came up first for all three teachers (e.g., first, social groupings for all teachers). For the second activity, I first listed the categories that came up for each teacher as being important to know about the given students, with marks for how often. I then summarized for each category the teachers' reasons or the types of student scenarios where they thought it was important to know that type of information. I reflected on themes both in terms of what categories the teachers said rose to the top for knowing about these students (vs. did not rise to the top), and also reflected on similarities in reasons or in the types of students that drove these decisions. For instance, I identified and reflected on the theme that for students who were struggling, the

teachers found it most important to know about potential roots of their struggle (e.g., family life, health), whereas for students who seemed more solid, they wanted to know about their interests or goals. I reflected on what this might mean for equity, as I describe more in the findings.

Therefore, throughout this part of the analysis, I treated teachers' responses as suggestions about how much they prioritized relationships in their teaching. In analyzing the sequences they went through to group students, I treated their sequence as a suggestion of the extent to which they prioritized relationships. For instance, that the teachers all thought about how they would group students socially before they thought about how they would group them academically could suggest that, while they consider an array of student dimensions, a top priority involves knowing about and thinking about students' social relationships, either with them or with each other. In analyzing the information they felt was most important to know about each student, I again treated these choices as indicators of their priorities as teachers. If the teachers told me it was most important to know about the academic ability of all of their students, that would suggest something different about their prioritizing of relationships than if they told me they most liked to know about students' family and friends more than anything else.

Analysis question 2(a): What experiences do the teachers discuss in connection to their relational philosophies? To explore the teachers' personal and professional experiences, I began with the data responsive to this analysis question as detailed in Table 2-2. I then broke the data into analytic units whenever a new main topic of conversation began. In total, I broke the data into 240 idea units. This included 80 for Mr. Adler, 66 for Mrs. Carroll, and 94 for Mrs. Ventura. With those 240 units, I conducted several rounds of inductive coding to identify personal and professional experiences that emerged (Charmaz, 2014). Through that iterative process, I identified a total of nine codes and allowed each unit to be coded with all applicable codes (see Appendix B for codebook). Before coding all of the data, I coded a representative subset of 20 units with a colleague, and we reached 89% initial agreement, with my colleague coding 34 of my 38 codes in the same way I had (see Appendix C for details). The nine codes I identified included six personal experiences (experiences as a student, past personal life, present personal life, aspects of personal identity, quasi-teaching experiences like babysitting, and unsure or teacher feels relational philosophy is innate) and three professional experiences—experiences beginning with teacher preparation (past teaching not at Lincoln, teaching experience at Lincoln, and teacher preparation or professional development).

Using the final coding frequencies, I calculated simple percentages to show how often each teacher referred to each type of experience to begin to see if any experienced seemed to stand out for any teacher. For the same reason, I also compared frequencies and themes among the three teachers. For each teacher, I wrote a brief analytic memo of the experiences within each teacher; the analytic memos I wrote at this point were more narrative or biographical than previous ones since I reasoned that the individuality of these experiences mattered to forming their relational philosophies. I tried to step back for each teacher and reflect on the major events or experiences they had brought up that had seemed highly important to them. To see their stories unfold, I ordered these impressions chronologically, beginning with their responses about their childhood and proceeding to their present experiences working at Lincoln. I also reflected on commonalities and differences across the three teachers. For example, whereas Mr. Adler pointed to a number of influences from his childhood, Mrs. Carroll did not; yet they both pointed to mentor teachers as key influences.

Analysis question 2(b): How do the experiences the teachers discuss link to their relational philosophies? The last analysis question investigated how the teachers saw their experiences connecting to their relational philosophies or practices. To analyze this question, I used the analysis from 2(a) and coded the 240 units for whether or not the teacher explicitly made a connection between an experience and their relational philosophy or practice, which I defined as stating in the same passage something about their relational philosophy *and* an experience *and* showing me how they were connecting the two. In about 40% of the units (94/240), the teachers did explicitly connect their experiences to their philosophies. Although I included all 240 experience units in the overall analysis, any elaborated (i.e., quoted) examples in the findings come from the 94 instances where teachers made those connections explicit.

Findings

In this section, I begin by focusing on how the teachers directly portrayed their relational philosophies. In other words, I describe how the teachers said they approached the role of being a teacher and the position or purpose they saw relationships having in their teaching. After investigating what teachers *directly said* about their relational philosophies, I shift to examine what they *indirectly revealed* about their relational philosophies when discussing their individual students. As I explain later, the decision to analyze teachers' direct statements about their relational philosophies as well as their indirect statements—via their discussions of students—

was sparked by the realization that when the teachers spoke about their students, their relational philosophies came into sharper focus. To describe the teachers' revealed relational philosophies, I analyze three main aspects of what they said about their students: how they organized a set of focal students, what types of information they knew about *all* of their students, and which piece of information it had been most important to know about each focal student. The data containing information about all students came from my interviews with the teachers and from observing them speak with colleagues at credentialing meetings; the other two aspects of how they spoke about students came from an interview activity I conducted with the teachers based on a set of focal students. Finally, recalling the conceptual framework above, the main focus of this study is on not only understanding teachers' relational philosophies but also showing the personal and professional experiences in which they are rooted. Therefore, the last part of the findings section examines key personal and professional experiences the teachers identified and shows how the teachers believed those experiences influenced their relational philosophies.

Teachers' Stated Relational Philosophies

In many ways confirming the conceptualization in Figure 2-1 and the selection of Lincoln teachers for their exemplary relational practices, I found that the teachers all exemplified a relational philosophy that prioritized relationships. However, the question of how much they prioritized relationships in comparison to academics was more complicated. On the one hand, they all felt that their primary purpose as teachers was to help and care for students; sometimes they described academic teaching and learning as an important but *secondary* purpose, and other times they saw academics as a more equal, companion pursuit that reinforced and was reinforced by relationships. Clearer in their philosophy was that to help and care for students, they all felt that relationships with students necessarily called for a personal dimension in the connection, which involved seeing students as children and adolescents—rather than as just students or learners—and authentically bringing their own personal selves to their relationships with students. Although the teachers all believed a personal connection was essential with students, that personal dimension proved to be either difficult to acknowledge or too blurred with their actual personal lives.

In this section, I explore the different ways the teachers characterized relationships in their teaching—at times as the main priority above academics, other times balanced with academic purposes, and, in rare cases, as secondary to academics—and show how the teachers

generally prioritized *both* relationships and academics. In other words, I show that the teachers felt equally committed to helping students learn but also relating to students on levels apart from their academic work together.

I also illustrate a crucial exception that arose in the case of some students with particularly severe struggles for whom the teachers viewed relationships slightly differently—as needing to eclipse academics as the primary purpose of their time together. In these cases, teachers seemed to decide that, while they needed to work on English with these students, they needed more urgently to work on "life" with these students. To help explain this point, throughout this discussion, I draw on the Hawkins (1975) language of "I-thou-it" to refer to teachers' shifting purposes and priorities—from the moments teachers prioritize academics as the focus of their relationships in an I-thou-it dynamic, to the moments teachers prioritize *students* as the focus of their relationships. I refer to the latter dynamic as "I-thou-*thou*" where the first 'thou' is the student himself and the second 'thou' is the *student as the subject*, as the "person-in-the-making" (Hansen, 1998), such that the child's growing-up process is at the heart of the educational relationship the teacher and student share.

Dual priorities of relationships and academics. Recalling from the conceptual framework above, I refer to the idea of prioritizing relationships here as notable since we expect teachers to prioritize academic learning; prioritizing relationships, as these teachers showed, did not necessarily mean *only* prioritizing relationships or doing so at the cost of academics. Instead, much of what the teachers shared indicated the mutually reinforcing nature of academics and relationships—relationships with students strengthened or helped achieve academic learning, and through academic learning experiences, relationships deepened. Mrs. Carroll's description of her relationships with students *through* their shared interest in reading and choosing books illustrated her ability to balance these priorities:

> I think having relationships with students helps me recommend books, keep them engaged, keep them reading, but I also think the conversations I'm able to have with them about their books are a way to get to know them better and I get to reinforce the relationship at whatever level it already exists. (Carroll, Interview 2)

In other words, Mrs. Carroll felt she could coach students as readers based on knowing them and that, through their shared relationships with books, she could also know them better beyond their reading, right in line with conventional conceptualizations of teacher-student relationships as "I-

thou-it" or teacher and student in relation to content (Hawkins, 1974). This example illustrates the often bidirectional relationship between relationships and academics as purposes—how relationships both *served* academic learning goals and also *deepened* as a result of academic learning experiences.

Later, I investigate in depth the ways the teachers revealed their relational priorities in how they spoke about specific students, but their general thoughts about students also pointed to their dual efforts to prioritize relationships and academics. First, when asked in the first month of school to name, without any specific parameters, a few students who had been "on their mind" so far, each teacher named an equal mix of students on their mind for needing the most academic support and the most non-academic support. The teachers appeared to be monitoring and worrying about students who made it onto their radar for either personal challenges, such as Mrs. Carroll's student who had recently been in a car accident or Mr. Adler's student who had some personal hygiene issues he wanted to address, or for academic challenges, such as the students cited by all three teachers as being the most challenged with reading comprehension, engagement in class, or inability to seek help and academic support. The teachers were equally worried about hygiene and signs of depression as they were about reading comprehension and study skills, showing that they understood their relational role to involve dual academic and relational priorities.

Related, I asked the teachers what part of their job made them feel most like "themselves," encouraging them to answer in whatever way they interpreted that idea. My purpose in asking this question was to discern what parts of teaching rose to the top for them or compelled them the most, positing that these might be the areas they spent most of their time and energy or were most effective at doing. If they were going to prioritize relationships at the cost of academics, or vice versa, I reasoned that that would be revealed in their discussion of when they felt most themselves in teaching. Their answers were illuminating in, again, showing that they saw their purposes as balanced between academic specialist and relationship guru; all three teachers listed a perfect balance between the two. Mrs. Ventura said she felt most herself either when teaching content in front of a whole class or when talking one-on-one with students who were working through a personal problem, needed to vent, or were stressed out. Very similarly, Mrs. Carroll responded that she felt most herself as a teacher either one-on-one helping students with their reading or one-on-one advising students through difficult situations or stress. Finally,

Mr. Adler felt most himself either when leading a discussion where students seemed really engaged, when designing a new course, when coaching students through interpersonal conflicts, or when anticipating and helping a smart student who seemed to be losing motivation.

In part due to Lincoln's advising model—where the teachers had some students as their academic teachers and others as their advisors, or in some cases both—the teachers were uniquely situated to exemplify and explain to me their side-by-side academic and relational priorities with students. In particular, Mrs. Carroll's thoughts about connecting with students in these different contexts sheds light on this topic; describing three students she had advised before but was currently teaching for the first time, she said:

> This is the first time I've ever been their classroom teacher. I like it! I like the chance to get to know them, I think, as people before I get to know them as students. [Pause] I think it's all helpful. Like, I think getting to know them as people first, I feel like, gives me some context in the classroom, and then teaching them in the classroom adds even more, kind of, depth and understanding. It's hard to advise them without teaching them, so maybe I just like it because then I get the whole picture, and the order doesn't really matter. I think it's hard to advise someone you haven't taught. If I teach Hakim, I get to see him for 80 minutes a day, 5 days a week, and sure it's a classroom setting, but I get to *see him* those many times, and then if I'm just his academic advisor, I may see him for 50 minutes on a Friday, and then maybe once a month for a one-on-one advising meeting, but I don't get that everyday contact. So I think that's part of it, and I also think getting to know a student as a student… I mean, I'm their academic advisor, so getting to see you in an academic context is really helpful if I'm going to be your advisor." (Carroll, Interview 3)

Evident in Mrs. Carroll's reflection are the side-by-side personal and academic relationships she has with her students. Although she cannot quite decide whether one is more important than the other in terms of chronology, she ultimately seems to decide—in contrast to her colleagues who signified the opposite in their interviews—that she finds it useful to see and know students in an academic context in order to advise and guide them more relationally. Either way, her reflection shows that both are important priorities, but her slight partiality toward valuing her academic time and connections with students foreshadows some of her other views on her relational philosophy, elaborated below.

In all of these responses and examples, the teachers embodied a balance of feeling equally committed to relationships and academic learning with their students, showing that prioritizing relationships, to them, meant prioritizing academics too. In these examples, it is evident that they viewed relationships and academic learning as reinforcing one another and as equally important parts of their time together. At the same time, other responses the teachers

provided suggested that prioritizing relationships, ever so slightly, edged out prioritizing academics when, for some students, they felt pushed by the severity of students' needs to choose just one priority.

Relationships a slightly more compelling commitment. In some ways, what the teachers shared about their relational philosophies suggested that their commitment to relationships was a slightly stronger force or mission than their commitment to academics. In other words, they worked reliably toward both purposes, but on a deeper level felt drawn to relationships as inherent to who they were as teachers; later in this chapter, I show how this feeling translated into some situations where, in response to students' needs, the teachers seemed *not* to simultaneously prioritize relationships and academics but actually drew on this deeper relational commitment to justify to themselves a true prioritization of relationships *over* academics.

In general, an overarching sentiment expressed by Lincoln teachers was that they believed their role was primarily about helping and caring for adolescent people. When they discussed this feeling, they often made academics sound secondary to relationships in how they viewed the purpose of their professional work. Mrs. Ventura's words show how she saw care and love preceding learning:

> *First and foremost*, I want them to know that they're valued and someone cares about them; you know, that's always #1… to just feel cared for and loved and important… what's the point of learning if you don't feel safe and comfortable and all that good stuff? (Ventura, Interview 3, emphasis added)

In a similar vein, Mr. Adler explained, "I love literature, and it's an important part of how I understand my place in the universe… but I think to be a really good teacher, that better not be the reason I get out of bed every morning," going on to explain that his motivation is about mentoring students to learn how to learn and to grow into healthier people (Adler, Interview 3). Mrs. Carroll echoed her colleagues: "Sometimes you can't even start the content *until* you have the other thing" (Carroll, Interview 2, emphasis added), with 'the other thing' referring to the relationship. In statements like these, the teachers seemed committed to relationships on a level even beyond their commitment to academic learning; again, they appeared to believe relationships and academics were twin priorities, which I saw them fulfilling, but they spoke about relationships as a deeper *calling* in these moments. Mr. Adler summarized these twin

purposes as both key to the journey upon which he sees himself guiding students, but with the academic pieces ever so slightly secondary:

> I'm trying to help these people walk through the fire of adolescence and make it, and hopefully learn some cool things along the way. Once that floor is established—but that's not something I'll compromise on—then all the other stuff can kind of grow on that substrate. (Adler, Interview 1)

In this passage, Mr. Adler shows the relationship, for himself, between academic and relational priorities—helping students navigate adolescence in general and also learning during their time together. His use of the word "hopefully" is key; it signifies that his own minimum, which he says he will not compromise on, is helping students survive adolescence. On top of that "substrate," Mr. Adler says the "other stuff" can grow, which refers to the academic learning that will "hopefully" take place. Mrs. Ventura even experienced students who were mainly focused on academics as an obstacle to how she identified as a teacher to the point that she felt disoriented and unsure how to relate to students who had purely academic priorities. She said:

> The ones who are like, I don't want to get to know you as a person, I don't want your, like, love and support, I just want you to teach me some stuff. Sometimes I struggle with that because even—even if they don't have issues, I want to know more about who you are as a person. I want to, you know, connect on a human level, and sometimes there are just those students who are like, nope, I'm here to learn. And those are the ones I really tend to struggle with. (Ventura, Interview 3)

Mrs. Ventura's sense of feeling at a loss when students established academic priorities over relational ones underscores that an essential part of who she was as a teacher involved loving and connecting with students. Her comments almost suggest that, without that, she felt her job was pointless, or at least incomplete. Furthermore, her characterization of students who "just want [her] to teach [them] some stuff" implies that teaching content is a more limited, scaled back version of teaching as she knows it—that teaching content is the kind of "floor" Mr. Adler described, but that other important things grow on top of that.

When I asked the teachers what, overall, they wished their students would take from their time together, their responses generally aligned to this deep relational calling; they thought mostly of students' well-being rather than their academics. Mr. Adler wanted his students to leave their time together simply stronger than they began, but he was flexible in how he thought about their strength. "I hope that they're healthier and have grown in whatever way they needed

to grow during the time," he explained (Adler, Interview 4). Mrs. Ventura echoed Mr. Adler's general idea, as quoted above, indicating that her top priority was that they felt loved and valued.

Mrs. Carroll diverged slightly from Mr. Adler and Mrs. Ventura in that she responded to this question by considering more academic aspects of what she wanted to give her students. She hoped that her reading support students would leave her more engaged as readers, that her other English students would leave her knowing how to think critically, and that her advising students would feel empowered to make decisions in their lives and to know how to access resources in the ways she had modeled. It was surprising that Mrs. Carroll gave this response considering that, at other times as described throughout, she appeared to prioritize personal connections with students, such as aiming to have a personal conversation every day with every student and make sure all of them were feeling good. When directly asked about her role, however, Mrs. Carroll frequently referred to academic learning whereas Mrs. Ventura and Mr. Adler did not. For instance, at one point Mrs. Carroll—in the course of describing her practice of engaging students enthusiastically—directly said, "My students are there to learn, and I am there to teach," showing that she was somewhat of an exception compared to her colleagues in this way; nevertheless, in her actions and in the rest of this chapter, I illustrate how she prioritized and seemed as deeply committed to relationships as her colleagues despite self-reporting a more academically oriented philosophy. I turn now to the idea that the teachers thought their relational philosophy required a personal dimension.

An essential personal dimension. In order to be able to prioritize relationships and academics in their teaching, or to reach their deeper calling as described above, the teachers believed a personal dimension was essential in their relationships with students. By creating opportunities for personal interactions that took place apart from academic ones, the teachers demonstrated that they viewed students as people rather than just students, and they brought their own personal selves to these connections as well. Mrs. Carroll's goal was to have "a personal interaction with every single kid every single day," especially with students who she had heard or knew were facing something difficult outside of school (Carroll, Interview 1). I observed Mrs. Carroll implement this aspect of her philosophy by circulating and chatting with every student every day in the moments before class began or while collecting homework or as students filed out. Mr. Adler explained that, for him, the idea was: "You know a little about me, I know a little about you… I'm not just the person that gives you the grade, I'm also a person that, like, has a

cat, and I'm also the person that struggles with a decision" (Adler, Interview 2). By creating these spaces for conversations about personal topics, everybody could get to know everybody on a personal level, which was important to all of the teachers.

Despite their belief in its importance, the personal dimension proved to be challenging terrain for teachers in their relationships with students. First, they had varying levels of comfort in acknowledging the role of the personal dimension when describing their teaching. Although as described above, Mrs. Carroll's goal was to have a personal conversation with every student every day, she also stated that her relationship with many students was "strictly a very professional academic relationship" focused on teaching students to question, engage with reading, and feel empowered to navigate their future education (Carroll, Interview 3). On the other hand, Mrs. Ventura and Mr. Adler, more consistent in describing their relationships as personal, described some personal costs that accompanied their connections. Mrs. Ventura recounted that one of her former students, whom she called her goddaughter, almost moved in with her family because of their close relationship and the student's own family's issues (her husband prevented it from happening). Mr. Adler shared about losing a student who had become a close friend to suicide, and also reflected on his challenges with balancing the personal parts of his connections with students: "It's hard for me to always see my work as kind of a professional role only, and there's a cost to that sometimes… if [a student's issue] resonates with me in a personal way, I have trouble maintaining perspective" (Adler, Interview 4). These examples show the tricky terrain teachers navigate when it comes to personal connections in their professional roles—from hesitating to directly state how central personal connections were in their teaching to blurring the lines between personal connections as part of teaching and personal connections in general.

Summarizing teachers' stated relational philosophies. To summarize, in the teachers' stated relational philosophies, they prioritized relationships as well as academic learning in their teaching, placing relationships in a central position of their self-defined purposes and roles as teachers, just as prominently as academic learning. It was clear through their examples that in addition to prioritizing academic learning as we expect teachers to do to fulfill their professional responsibilities to students, the Lincoln teachers felt that relationships were just as important a priority in their professional role as well. Although there was evidence that the teachers prioritized academics and relationships alike, the way they spoke about relationships seemed

different; the relational aspects of how they described their roles appeared to speak to an even deeper level of their professional commitment. The teachers believed their major role as a teacher was to help adolescent people through adolescence and to show them care, love, and acceptance, and they approached relationships as central in accomplishing these goals. In other words, they were able to fluidly move between an I-thou-it paradigm and an I-thou-*thou* dynamic, sometimes working on English with students and sometimes working on who the students themselves were becoming. They also welcomed and cultivated a personal dimension in their relationships with students; in fact, in their stated philosophies, relationships with students were incomplete without that personal connection. Related to cultivating a personal connection with students, another key belief they held about relationships was that it required being themselves in the classroom and welcoming students to do the same—connecting as people and not just as teacher-student. In the next section, I turn from what teachers *stated* about their relational philosophies to what they *implied or revealed* about their relational philosophies when they talked about their students.

Teachers' *Revealed* Relational Philosophies

This section is based on the premise that the teachers' direct statements of their relational philosophies seemed incomplete once I considered other sources of information that better *revealed* those philosophies. As elaborated in the analytic methods section, I realized during data collection that the teachers' relational philosophies truly came alive during all of the moments when they spoke to me about their students. Understanding the teachers' relational philosophies depended on finding concrete ways into those philosophies. Based on that reasoning, I present findings in this section that encompass what teachers said they like to know about students generally, what they knew about students specifically in the time frame of this study, and what specific information was most important to know about particular students. Most of the findings in this section are based on the teachers talking to me privately or to colleagues during credentialing meetings about particular students. Some of the findings, as noted, are based on activities I gave the teachers during our final interview, where I asked them to respond to prompts in relation to a set of their students whom I had observed. Through this combination of spontaneous conversations we had about particular students as well as conversations about students elicited through my activities, this section details my findings about what else the teachers' relational philosophies entailed beyond what they stated directly.

What the teachers generally preferred to know about their students. All of the teachers believed it was important to know about a few key pieces of information: students' personal interests or goals, whether they wanted to attend the school or not, family environment, languages spoken at home, and academic skills. Without specific students in mind, the teachers listed the types of information they each believed was important to know about students generally in their experience. Table 2-3 summarizes the information teachers listed, with the first item they shared at the top of the column and the last items near the bottom. Desiring a full picture of each child as a student, as a member of a family, and as a person with interests, desires, and goals revealed information about their relational philosophies. For example, if a teacher responded that she only typically wanted to know a student's reading level, IEP needs, and work ethic, that might suggest a relational philosophy of bracketing off the non-academic and only relating to students concerning academic learning. On the other hand, Lincoln teachers' desire to form this full picture of students revealed and confirmed a relational philosophy marked by interest in the personal in addition to the academic and by a desire to care and help.

In general, the teachers listed mostly non-academic information they wanted to know about their students, and their mentions of academic skills or needs came further down the list of desired information after things like health, family situation, interests, and friends. Previewing ideas presented later in this chapter, each teacher also had a special interest in knowing certain information seemingly based on their lived experiences. Mr. Adler placed somewhat more emphasis on knowing about students' health and well-being as well as their literary interests, probably stemming from his experiences as an outdoor educator and as a person who loves literature. Mrs. Carroll believed it was important to know who students' advisors were, whether they qualified for special education, what else they were doing this semester for coursework, and their past experiences with school and reading, probably rooted in her passion and past experience in teaching lower-skilled readers, becoming a reading specialist, and becoming a teacher leader at Lincoln. Mrs. Ventura explained that, other than knowing whether they wanted to come to the school, a personal tidbit of information, and whether there was any major family or life event occurring, she wanted to observe students for some time without learning or knowing too much about them too early on, and her comments indicated that this perspective grew out of an earlier teaching position with colleagues who would spread false rumors or give her a negative bias about students before she taught them.

In this first part of this section, it is evident that Lincoln teachers' relational philosophies entailed knowing and relating to students on multiple academic and non-academic levels, with some of those choices rooted in the teachers' own individual experiences. Whereas this question asked teachers what they *generally* want to know about students without naming specific students, I turn now to teachers' discussions of *specific* students—first their instinctive responses about a subset of students I observed, and then a detailed catalog of all of the information they knew about dozens of students. Again, anytime teachers spoke about their specific students in these ways, it became clearer that their shared relational philosophy involved a priority to care and a deep commitment to relationships, at the same time resting on side-by-side knowledge of students on deeply personal levels alongside academic ones.

How the teachers thought about their students. The teachers' instinctive responses about particular students, elicited in an activity during their last interview with me, revealed the many lenses teachers applied when they thought about particular students. Sharing their instinctive reactions about particular students showed their relational philosophy was based on seeing and relating to students as social and personal beings, as well as or even *before* seeing them as academic students. This exercise also showed that the teachers thought of students immediately in terms of their own relationships to them, including the extent to which they felt they knew the student. In this activity, I asked the teachers to "organize" a set of about a dozen random students whom I had observed the teachers meet with or teach in class. As they moved paper slips with students' names around on their desks into different configurations—without receiving any direction from me other than to organize them however they thought about or visualized them—I reasoned that they were revealing what was foremost in *how they knew the people* on the papers. Here I detail each teacher's response individually and then draw parallels.

Mr. Adler quickly began the exercise, immediately sorting students into groups based on "who I might want to put together or who might want or need to be around each other" (Adler, Interview 4). In other words, Mr. Adler's first instinct was to organize students socially as he understood their social needs, an interesting choice since the students were from different classes, grade levels, and contexts I had observed and, though they each had a relationship with Mr. Adler, they had not necessarily met each other in real life. In this approach, he first put three girls together, saying that "the most important thing to them" was the need for social connection. He added, "I could see all three of them having a good time, having certain kinds of conflicts but

actually being able to work maybe academically together—maybe not that well—but psychosocially, that'd be a nice group" (Ibid.). Following that, he put three boys together, laughing as he explained that they were "adolescent dudes who would actually probably have a lot of fun, at least in a certain contained area, and I could get them potentially to do some work" (Ibid.). Next, he sorted three students into a third group, explaining that their common link was being "really strong students but… also aware of their world, so I could have them work really well" (Ibid.). Finally, his fourth group consisted of three boys "who would be really fun to go play laser tag with," all students he had explained to me in prior interviews as dear to him but in need of more support and somewhat younger-seeming (Ibid.). Reflecting on the four groups he had arranged, he pointed out other groups that would not work ("they're not gonna be nice to each other") and other pairs that might work in other ways (i.e., a student from the aware-of-their-world group that could be a good mentor to one in the laser tag group). Therefore, in Mr. Adler's approach to this activity, it was clear that his first instinct was to see students as social beings in connection with their peers—even if they had not met each other—and also in part to imagine who would work well together, whether in class on work or outside of class as friends. This response revealed the ways Mr. Adler balanced his relational role, on the one hand, as somebody who helps guide students through adolescence and understands the social experiences students are having, and on the other hand, as a person in charge of academic learning.

Mrs. Carroll thought about her students first in terms of her relationship or familiarity with them, second in terms of their academics, and third in terms of their social connections. She eagerly created a few different types of arrangements. She began by saying, "Ok, I'm thinking of the students I know the most," as she arranged the slips into two groups: the first group consisting of students she either felt she knew well or, even if she did not know well yet, at least had a good connection with or had spent more time with, and the second group consisting of students she felt she knew less and had known for less time. In this arrangement, she kept one student totally by himself, explaining, "He's kind of a different case," and that despite teaching him for three semesters, "He's so quiet, it's so hard to get… to feel like I know him all that well" (Carroll, Interview 4). After first grouping students according to how familiar she felt with them in general, she next turned to an academic arrangement, grouping students into a stronger group and a weaker group, explaining differences in reading levels across and within the two groups. Lastly, she moved the slips of paper into a social configuration, grouping the students based on

who she knew were friends with each other. "These guys are buds," she described for three groups of students, keeping two students separate, explaining that they each had a group of friends but they were not listed on the slips. Lastly, the student who she kept apart in the first grouping continued to be kept apart in the social configuration, though she began telling me about his recent crush on a classmate who was not listed and what she had observed about those interactions. Like Mr. Adler, Mrs. Carroll's choices showed a balance between considering students' social and academic needs, revealing a relational philosophy that balances knowing students on social and academic levels. The fact that her *first* response was to think of students in terms of her own social connections with them revealed the importance in her philosophy of that personal dimension between herself and her students.

Like Mrs. Carroll, Mrs. Ventura thought first about students in terms of how well she knew them, and she also thought of them in terms of their individual personalities. She began by forming one group of students that she felt she did not know well yet because she had not known them for long and also because they were quiet even when she had tried to talk to them. Her second group, on the other hand, consisted of outgoing students, though she noted she also felt she did not know them well yet. Her third group consisted of students who she explained, "I know a bit about personally, I've had a little bit of interaction with them; they sort of have varying levels in the classroom, but they all pretty much participate, so they're in this area of I feel I have a decent connection with them" (Ventura, Interview 4). Her last group was comprised of students she explained as knowing "quite a bit about them, on a personal level" and having met often with them outside of class to provide help of some kind (Ibid.). Thus in her first arrangement, Mrs. Ventura organized students from those she felt she knew least to those she felt she knew best, distinguishing at the same time between students who were quieter and harder to know compared to students who were outgoing and easier to know. In her second arrangement, she switched to "academic thinking," grouping students into one group that struggled with work habits but seemed skilled, another group that struggled with skills but had good work habits, another "group" of just one "super high flyer academically," and a fourth group she described as "academically speaking sort of middle of the road or working hard to be where they're at" (Ventura, Interview 4). Confirming that her first thought was in terms of relationships and personality and her second in terms of academics, Mrs. Ventura concluded the exercise by explaining, "I always think of them on a personal level first before I go to academic" (Ibid.).

Mrs. Ventura's prioritizing of relationships was clear in that she thought of personal relationships before thinking of academics.

This exercise offered a glimpse into the teachers' fluid and layered ways of knowing and positioning themselves in relation to their students—at times as social observer, at times as personal confidante, at times as academic teacher, and more. Corroborating their stated relational philosophies, this exercise showed that the teachers did prioritize care and cultivate a personal dimension in their relationships; they mostly thought of those personal and relational aspects first in this exercise. Mr. Adler's first arrangement was in terms of students' social relationships with each other, and Mrs. Carroll and Mrs. Ventura's first arrangements were in terms of their own familiarity and relationships with the students. However, this reflection also revealed that their relational philosophies involved believing it was important to know students on multiple additional levels—academically, in terms of relationships with peers, and more. Recalling that the definition of philosophy I draw on is "a theory or attitude that acts as a guiding principle for behavior," I am focused on teachers' theories or attitudes that ultimately guide how they choose to connect with students—here, specifically, what levels they believed their relationships reached (academic or more), and what relational roles they chose to take on with students (academic teacher or more). With this exercise, a picture began to emerge of a relational philosophy that not only prioritized care and depended on a personal dimension but also called upon teachers to relate to students on multiple levels, each of which put them in slightly different relational roles from one moment to the next. The next section elaborates in greater detail what the teachers knew about their students and how that revealed even more about their relational philosophies.

What the teachers knew about their students. As previewed above, I realized as data collection progressed that keeping track of the detailed and wide-ranging information teachers were compiling in their minds about specific students might provide the best glimpse into the teachers' relational philosophies. Presenting an organized account of what the teachers knew about their students could imply what their guiding relational principles or philosophies were by suggesting what relational roles they believed they played, what purposes they worked toward, and the levels on which they wanted to know their students. Therefore, to further articulate the teachers' revealed relational philosophies, I concentrated on the passages of data where teachers discussed specific students. I theorized that what teachers knew about students might indicate where teachers thought their relational role, and professional domain, began and ended.

In this section, I begin by giving an overview of each category of information teachers held about their students and how often they seemed to know each type of information. We generally accept that a teacher's professional domain or way of connecting to students involves knowing them academically, and I found several categories of information teachers held about students pertained to their students' academic situations. At the same time, these findings show teachers knew their students on many other levels, including seemingly non-academic ones. For many students, this distinction was irrelevant because, regardless of this sentiment, the teachers continued working toward twin academic and relational purposes; they worked in the I-thou-it realm on English learning with these students as often as they worked in the I-thou-*thou* realm on who the students were becoming in their lives beyond English class. For some students who were experiencing more severe constellations of academic and personal challenges, however, the teachers reached down to this deeper level of purpose to justify *truly* prioritizing relationships and demoting academic learning as the focus of their time together. In these cases, though rare, the teachers decided the students' needs were pressing enough, and their own relational philosophy so dedicated, that they spent most of their time relating to these students *without* an academic 'it' per se—working almost entirely on the *student* as subject, as the person-in-the-making.

Overview. Figure 2-2 shows the range of information teachers had about students and how often they knew the information. This analysis was based on 154 individual students either Mr. Adler, Mrs. Carroll, or Mrs. Ventura discussed. Mr. Adler discussed with me or with colleagues while I observed a total of 54 students, Mrs. Carroll 40 students, and Mrs. Ventura 60 students. The information in Figure 2-2 is organized from most often discussed by all teachers (academics) to least often discussed by all teachers (behavior)—keeping in mind that double coding was allowed, so, in theory, a teacher might have talked about every topic for one student. Overall, academics was the most commonly covered topic when teachers spoke about individual students; however, it only came up for about half of the students they discussed, whereas for half of all students the teachers discussed, the topic of academics never came up. Close second topics discussed after academics were that of home or family, soft skills, and personality, each of which the teachers knew and spoke about for about 40% of the students they discussed. In other words, teachers spoke about students' family, soft skills, and personality in about as many total cases as they spoke about academics. On average, teachers brought up students' social relationships, such

as with friends or romantic partners, about one-third of the time, and they discussed students' health, past school, interests, culture, and goals in about one-fifth of the students' cases. Discussing students' special needs, development or maturity, and their behavior were relatively less common and were only brought up for about one in ten students teachers discussed. One final note is that the teachers sometimes reflected while discussing a student on how well they even felt they knew him or her (without my direct prompting). Mr. Adler reflected on this for 15% of the students he discussed, Mrs. Carroll for 38%, and Mrs. Ventura for 28%, showing that their skill and progress in knowing their students was on their mind pretty often.

As Figure 2-2 indicates, each teacher varied slightly in what they discussed most frequently. Mr. Adler stood out as discussing more frequently than Mrs. Carroll or Mrs. Ventura students' home and family life and less frequently their individual personalities. Although he said when asked that it was important to know about students' health, social relationships, and past school, he discussed those aspects only when discussing a few students and far less often than Mrs. Carroll and Mrs. Ventura did. Mrs. Carroll stood out for discussing some topics more often than Mr. Adler and Mrs. Ventura, including academics, social relationships, past school, interests, special needs, and behavior, all of which align with the items Mrs. Carroll indicated were important for her to know. Lastly, Mrs. Ventura seemed to discuss soft skills more often than her colleagues and academics less often, which probably reflects that she was in her first year of advising a cohort of students and providing soft skill support to them.

As experts on the people with whom they prioritized relationships, the teachers demonstrated an impressive depth of understanding of each student. The teachers had layers and layers of information about each student, forming sophisticated pictures of each student as an academic learner and soft skills student; as a member of a family and a culture; as a human being with interests and goals; as an adolescent with possible health or well-being challenges, developmental delays or gifts, and special needs; as a friend to peers; as someone who had been to other schools before; and as a teenager who made choices to behave certain ways day to day. Having this information about each student suggested that their relational philosophies were about caring and connecting personally, supporting students academically, and juggling detailed and diverse sets of information for each student, resulting in them playing slightly different roles to relate to students on these multiple levels—no easy task.

As explained above, we typically accept that teachers relate to students on academic levels but are less settled on the social, emotional, and personal dimensions or relationships teachers and students might have. This section helps illuminate how exactly the teachers related to their students by focusing on teachers' knowledge of students, spanning the "more" and the "less" academic information teachers had catalogued in their minds. I progress from more frequently to less frequently discussed topics. Appendix B provides a codebook for each category with examples. After describing all of the information teachers had, I return to explaining what this might mean about their relational philosophies.

*Academics***.** When teachers discussed students' academics, they often used positive but brief one-word descriptions (e.g., strong, smart, solid, capable) to describe students experiencing academic success. For students experiencing academic challenges, the teachers were sensitive in how they expressed those ideas, often noting that the difficulties were temporary or only partial, such as Mrs. Carroll saying "academic things are really tough for her right now" or Mrs. Ventura saying a student was "missing a few skills" (Carroll, Interview 2; Ventura, Interview 2). They also noted specific evidence of students' academic success or challenges. Mr. Adler and Mrs. Ventura both noted to colleagues the types of questions students asked—Mr. Adler citing a student's thoughtful questions as evidence of her strength as a student and Mrs. Ventura explaining to colleagues that one of her students many questions signified a lack of understanding. Similarly, Mrs. Carroll described how one of her students' contributions added insight and depth to class discussions (Carroll, Interview 2). The teachers also spoke about students in terms of how interested, challenged, or bored they were. As English teachers, all of the teachers alluded to students' challenges with reading comprehension and reading assessments, and they spoke of their students in terms of their strengths specifically as writers and thinkers. Lastly, Mrs. Carroll noted for a few students aspects of their learning approaches, describing one student as a "listening-talking kind of learner," another as more likely to listen than to participate by speaking, and a third as having a nice "learning personality" of curiosity, organization, and meticulousness (Ibid.).

Home and family. The teachers had an impressive amount of information about students' home lives and families. Since at Lincoln the teachers advise siblings, they often knew how many siblings students had, where in the birth order they were, and generally who lived in the family home. For a number of students, they knew that one parent lived out of state or out of the

country, and they knew what languages students spoke at home with their families. They were aware of families going through divorces, addiction, or other challenges. For example, Mr. Adler knew the details of the home life of one of his students who he described as living through "the double black diamond" family environment and another whose father had left with all of the family's money and whose mother often turned to Mr. Adler to ask him to address her sons' personal conflicts with each other (Adler, Interview 3). Mrs. Ventura also had deep knowledge of her students that came from more dysfunctional home environments. Mrs. Ventura had extensive knowledge of where one student's parents each lived, the types of people they were dating and how many children they had, the fact that they were active drug users, and that there was an ongoing parental rights termination case against the father's girlfriend; for another student, Mrs. Ventura knew about her father's ongoing substance abuse issues; and for another student, she knew about his father being a recovering alcoholic. The teachers also knew which students had more than typical responsibilities at home in terms of caretaking for younger siblings or for parents who recently had surgery or were facing other issues. In a few cases, the teachers knew about students' journeys through immigration. Mr. Adler spoke of one student who immigrated from Yemen but had many family members still in Yemen facing famine and cholera. Mrs. Ventura shared about a student adopted from Guatemala by a single mother. Related to immigration, Mrs. Carroll shared about a student who told her that his own family mocked him for being friends with immigrant students or students from different cultural backgrounds. A last type of information the teachers had about families involved parents who put enormous pressure on their children; each of the teachers noted at least one student whose parents would be upset about any grades that were not perfect.

Soft skills. Reflecting the fact that Lincoln follows a shared soft skills curriculum, there was great consistency in the aspects of students' soft skills the teachers knew about and discussed. Themes included criticism of soft skills, such as students missing meetings or deadlines, having poor or absent communication, being absent or tardy too often, being disorganized with materials, and struggling with things like seat choice, self-advocacy, work completion, and body language. There were also times when the teachers discussed the students in terms of positive soft skills or growth in this area. Mr. Adler shared with colleagues when a student correctly recalled a piece of soft skill information in class, for example, and Mrs. Carroll and Mrs. Ventura often noted when students were working hard at improving their soft skills,

such as when Mrs. Carroll pointed out that a student was tardy but handled it well (i.e., enter class quietly, ask later for make-up work, promptly complete it). Soft skills often came up when the teachers were discussing students with each other during credentialing since the focus of those meetings was to decide if students had the soft skills required to begin college.

Personality. Next, teachers knew and discussed some students in terms of their individual personalities. All three teachers noted when students were sensitive, as well as when they were funny or joyful. Another common theme was to note how quiet and serious versus how outgoing students were. The teachers' discussions of some students drew out descriptions of personality that were unique among the three. For example, Mr. Adler noted when students were sharp or defiant, Mrs. Carroll noted when students were thoughtful or contrarian, and Mrs. Ventura noted when students were particularly helpful to others. These different ways of seeing their students' personalities connected to and made sense in light of the teachers' personal and professional experiences, the emphasis of the final findings section.

Social. When the teachers brought up students' social lives, they demonstrated great knowledge of who students' friends and significant others were. They often mentioned who was friends with whom or who was sitting with whom in class, and they knew in many cases when students were dating or had broken up. Importantly, they often knew how connected or isolated students were. Mr. Adler expressed concern about one student who was isolating himself socially, in part because he was so advanced academically but unable to communicate; for another student, he was concerned about his lack of self-awareness and issues reading peers' social cues, and he noted that he was regularly coming to the aid of this student in social interactions in class. Mrs. Carroll knew about a student who was experiencing "chaos" in his social group which was causing "social ripples" and issues among all of his friends that was affecting not only their friendships but also their behavior and academics (Observation Notes, 2nd Credentialing Meeting). She also knew about a student who was proud of being friends with students from backgrounds differing from his own. Mrs. Ventura particularly noticed when students seemed to be alone, withdrawn, and not interacting with anybody, noting this for several students. Mrs. Carroll and Mrs. Ventura also each noted a situation with a student who was flirting in class with another student, and they both also noted a few pairings of students who tended to sit together, help one another, and have particularly close friendships.

Health. The teachers also knew about aspects of students' physical and mental health and well-being. During my study, Mr. Adler discussed hygiene issues he faced with one student, another student who had a seizure disorder and resulting processing speed issue, a student who had fainted in class, and a student who appeared to be falsely using a splint on his hand as a distraction from writing in class. Mrs. Carroll had a few students' mental health challenges on her mind, including one she worried about who put a lot of academic pressure on himself and she feared was heading toward some sort of breakdown and two other students who had to miss a bunch of school due to mental health issues and doctors' appointments. She was also concerned about a student who had been in a serious car accident at the start of school. Mrs. Ventura knew about a host of health issues as well, including a student's childhood leukemia, another student's transgender transitioning process, and other students' hearing and vision disabilities. In addition, she noted on several occasions specific mental health issues for some students, particularly depression and anxiety. With colleagues, she even noted for one student that February tends to be a "low month for her" (Observation Notes, 2nd Credentialing Meeting).

Past school. Teachers' knowledge about students' past academic experiences included understanding which schools they had attended before coming to Lincoln; all three teachers had knowledge about several "feeder" schools where students could attend elementary and middle school before attending Lincoln, each with different strengths and weaknesses students then entered Lincoln having. They also each noted the many students who had homeschooled for their whole childhood, with Lincoln their first experience of a traditional school setting. Mrs. Carroll in particular was interested in knowing whether students had a history of good or bad experiences with school and with reading, and she knew for a few students that they had switched schools often or had less enjoyable experiences, which gave them less confidence as readers. Mr. Adler also knew about this aspect of students' lives; with one student, he reflected that he sensed she did not like school and wanted to eventually figure out what experiences she had had that made her view school that way.

Interests. The teachers knew several of their students' interests and hobbies outside of school. For example, Mr. Adler knew about one student who loved to draw and another student's interest in artificial intelligence and in the television show "Adventure Time." Mrs. Carroll excitedly told me about a student's interests in hunting and baseball, another student's devotion to the Golden State Warriors, and another student's passion for serving on the African American

Student Association at Lincoln. Mrs. Ventura seemed to know several students whose hobbies were in creative writing and the arts, as well as students who were fans of the Chicago Cubs like she was. She and I even ran into one of her former students from another district who was working as a tradesman on campus one day, and she immediately asked him if he was still in rodeo competitions, recalling an interest of a student over ten years later.

Culture. The teachers had an understanding of students' cultural and religious backgrounds in many cases. They each noted the prevalence of Muslim-American, Russian, and Romanian students at the school and the strong communities of people from those backgrounds who sent their children to Lincoln. Similarly, they all noted the many students who came from conservative Christian families and had been homeschooled, who also sent their children to Lincoln routinely. In this latter case, they each had examples of past or current students who were gay and whose parents were not supportive. Mr. Adler knew a great deal about one particular student who he described as very "country" and who had a hobby of rebuilding assault rifles. Mr. Adler also noted whenever a student seemed to be the only one from a given group in his classes, such as one class in which a student was his only Jewish student and another case where a student was his only Black student in that class. In the case of Muslim-American students, Mr. Adler and Mrs. Carroll both expressed a desire to protect them in certain ways. For Mr. Adler, he described one student as having the challenge of being "Muslim-American in Trump land" and wanting to ensure that student's opinions or presence in class was respected (Adler, Interview 2). Mrs. Carroll was concerned about one of her Muslim-American male students who, she feared, needed some emotional support but felt as though it was a sign of weakness to ask for it, which she attributed to his background as well as to her belief that he might not look to her as a woman for expertise or help.

Goals. As part a college program, Lincoln teachers knew about many of their students' goals and career plans. A major theme was students having the goal of pursuing medical school; all three teachers knew about students who planned to pursue that path and described those students in some cases as ambitious and in other cases as too idealistic about their own chances. Another theme was that many students generally had the goal of attending an elite college. Additionally, the teachers often noted when students' were simply aiming to get through their class to fulfill a requirement rather than to have a memorable learning experience and when students had their hearts set on starting a college schedule by a certain semester. Finally, for

advisees and sometimes for academic students, the teachers typically knew which Lincoln pathway their students were on (e.g., health sciences, culinary arts).

Special needs. Less commonly known but still mentioned for some students was their special education status. In connection to two students, Mr. Adler knew about their probable but undisclosed autism and the parents' desire in both cases not to pursue accommodations. Mrs. Ventura discussed one student who stored hearing aid equipment in her office and needed help having those accommodations move with him into college classes. She also discussed a student's visual impairment and modifications. She advocated for a third student whose IEP had expired but who was on the autism spectrum and seemed to other colleagues to be struggling; for this student, she explained insight his mother had shared with her about how he seemed inattentive but was actually processing at a high level and attending in his own way to lessons. Last, Mrs. Carroll discussed the special education evaluation process occurring for one of her students, and she shared with colleagues the student and her mother's reactions to the process. She also discussed other students with 504 plans, dyslexia, or below-average reading levels. As the school reading specialist, it made sense that Mrs. Carroll seemed to know about more students' disability status and services.

Development. The teachers described a handful of students in terms of their development or maturity level. A common theme was to describe students who struggled with their soft skills as less mature or as seeming younger. Talking about one of his advisees in that category, Mr. Adler laughed and said he was "like a 7th grader still… he's little!" (Adler, Interview 2), and similarly, Mrs. Ventura described one student who was struggling to apply himself as experiencing "typical 9th grade boy lack of effort kind of stuff" and another girl as seeming younger or immature (Ventura, Interview 2). Mrs. Carroll was aware for one student that he was technically two years older than his grade-level peers due to some past schooling delays. In addition to knowing about students' actual ages or their maturity levels, the teachers sometimes talked about students in more general developmental terms, such as Mrs. Ventura discussing one student's worsening inappropriate comments in class and concluding with, "We'll chalk it up to her hormones are out of control" (Ventura, Interview 2).

Behavior. Overall, the teachers knew about or discussed students' behavior issues less often than any other topic, only for about one in ten students, and their discussions of behavior were usually quick and forgiving. For some students, they brought up general examples of the

types of misbehavior they witnessed or heard about, such as a conflict with another student, side conversations in class, breaking a campus rule, socializing in class, or saying inappropriate comments in class. At times, they knew about much more significant issues, like skipping class and using drugs in the woods near campus or finding themselves in legal trouble outside of school; each teacher had at least one student with issues at that level. This finding foreshadows Chapter 3 where one relational practice I identified among Lincoln teachers was that they reacted to perceived misbehavior by trying to understand its source or roots, rather than in consequential or disciplinary ways. Also pointed out in Chapter 3, the teachers believed that having common behavioral language through the soft skills curriculum gave them objective language to coach students through behavioral issues without alienating them from the relationships they had built; the teachers felt that their soft skills language gave them ways to handle behavior without having to personalize it and compromise their relationships. That the teachers discussed behavior minimally with me or with each other is consistent with their approach to behavior as a symptom of potential issues to be helped through rather than as a problem to be penalized.

Summarizing teachers' relational philosophies. At first glance, it was simply impressive to see how much information the teachers had about their students and how many topics this information spanned. Looking more deeply, it was apparent from the teachers' pursuit and possession of such rich and often non-academic information about their students that they were guided by a relational philosophy that certainly did not limit their relationship to that of academic teacher and learner—though it also encompassed those topics as well. Instead, many parts of the information they had—about students' homes, families, personal quirks, friendships, romantic relationships, health and well-being, interests, cultural background, maturity, and behavioral challenges outside of the classroom—revealed their dedication to knowing and connecting with students on levels beyond what some might define teachers as being professionally obligated to do. Later, I discuss this question of whether the Lincoln teachers' relational philosophies represent exactly what we should expect teachers' professional domains to encompass, or whether their knowing and connecting on these other levels went beyond what we would expect a teacher to do and be—in other words, if this is *beyond* teaching or if this is *good*, though rare, teaching. I turn now to the last analysis of teachers' relational philosophies, which examined which domain of information the teachers believed was most important to know about particular students.

Information that rose to the top for particular students. Whereas the above analysis cataloged *all* that mattered to the teachers to know about their students, this section probed what mattered most to them to know about particular students. Using the same set of students in the grouping activity above, the teachers identified which *one* piece of information was most valuable to know about each of the students in the earlier grouping activity. The teachers' responses to this task revealed their relational priorities even more clearly and clarified which level, out of all the levels teachers appeared to have access to in their connections with students, they chose to prioritize for certain profiles of students. In other words, if the teachers knew about all of the categories defined above and yet consistently found it most important to know one or two particular pieces of information about their students, whichever piece that was would indicate more about their relational philosophy (i.e., having access to non-academic information but telling me they always found it most important to know about students' academic ability might indicate that though they espoused a priority to care, they ultimately were guided by a relational philosophy consistent with a more typical academic teacher and learner relationship).

The main finding in this part of the analysis was that the teachers related to students in strikingly different relational capacities depending on factors in the students' lives, over which the students seemed to have little control. For most students, the teachers demonstrated that they were able to act on their dual commitments to relationships as well as students' academic learning, seamlessly moving within the same interactions between taking on the role of academic coach, the role of emotional counselor, and the role of quasi-friend. For some students, however, many of whom were experiencing or had experienced trauma or adverse childhood events, the teachers took a more one-sided stance; drawing on the deepest commitment in their relational philosophies—a sense of a mission to care—they truly seemed to prioritize relationships over academics, operating almost solely in the I-thou-*thou* realm, leaving little time or energy for the I-thou-it.

This resolution in favor of relationships rather than academics stemmed from their belief that students were all starting at different places, with some needing foundational needs filled in, and others having foundational needs fulfilled and therefore ready to move on to more advanced needs; in fact, in interviews, each teacher actually referenced Maslow's hierarchy of needs at least once, unprompted by me. The teachers found it important to know about students' home and family lives when students seemed to be struggling, and they found it important to know

about students' interests, goals, and personalities when students seemed more healthy and successful and in tact at home—a finding with large implications in terms of equity and one that illustrates the teachers' philosophies that they were there to care first, which seemed to mean fulfilling foundational needs for some (e.g., belonging, care) while attending to higher needs for others (e.g., goals, interests). This triaging translated into different teaching roles for different students, where some students needed more of a caregiver, parent, nurturer, social worker, etc. and other students had access to what we might automatically think of as a teacher—an academic coach, a person to help meet goals and realize potential, an ambassador to the future.

This triaging of needs shaped teachers' relational roles in the following examples. The teachers all expressed wanting to know the goals and career plans of their strongest students and the interests of students they did not know well yet but who seemed strong. Mr. Adler explained that, for him, what was important to know about each student depended on how academically strong and generally healthy they were. "If you're academically strong and healthy," he explained, "we want to [know your goals] as much as possible" (Adler, Interview 4). On the other hand, for any students who were struggling either academically or on other levels, the teachers prioritized wanting to know specifically about their health, home life, or social connections. For example, the teachers all explained that for one student, whom they each had taught and who had experienced known childhood trauma with an alcoholic father, they wanted to understand his family life, and Mr. Adler also wanted to monitor his health. For one of Mr. Adler's students displaying current signs of depression and poor hygiene or for one of Mrs. Ventura's students who mentioned being bullied and depressed last year, they found it was most important to know about these students' health in order to monitor their well-being. Similarly, for one of Mrs. Carroll's students who had experienced legal trouble outside of school and with whom she felt a negative connection, she reported that understanding the chaos he experienced at home was the most important part of him that she needed to understand.

To summarize, the teachers generally positioned themselves to fill or respond to whatever the student's most pressing need was, which resulted in different students getting "different" teachers. For many students, there was no dilemma, and the teachers were able to move toward academic and non-academic purposes in mutually supportive ways, chatting about their interests and career goals alongside coaching them as readers, for example. However, the dilemma presented itself when they worked with students who had more severe non-academic challenges,

in which cases, they appeared unable to work toward the twin priorities of academic and relational support, instead resolving the dilemma in favor of the non-academic supports—despite these students always also having severe academic challenges. Resolving the dilemma by attending more to the social-emotional challenges for these students grew out of the teachers' belief that they had to attend to those needs *before* academic learning could take place, or their repeated mentions of Maslow's hierarchy of needs. It also seemed that their personal feelings as teachers from their stated relational philosophies—that the most important part of their jobs were to care and to make students feel valued and to help students become healthier—assisted them in resolving the dilemma in favor of relationships, when they had to choose between relationships and academics. Deciding to differentiate their support in this way, by providing some students with all supports and others with "just" non-academic support was consistent with how Lampert (1985) also described the role of her personal experience in resolving her pedagogical dilemmas: "The person that I wanted to be—this ambiguous self-definition—became a tool to enable me to accomplish my pedagogical goals" (p. 184).

Due to the teachers' flexibility and differentiation, they could relate to their perceived healthier and stronger students as their teacher, mentor, or guide to the future and form relationships around academic support and goals. On the other hand, when students were struggling more severely, the teachers shifted their focus to learning about the sources of those issues, often in their home life, health, or social relationships, how to support them through that, or how to understand the behaviors they saw, and they spent their time connecting with these students as counselors and confidantes. In these cases, the teachers were prepared to help students work on *themselves* and navigate larger "life" issues, which necessarily reduced or extinguished the time they could spend together working on things like writing or studying. As teachers negotiated these priorities for some students, they seemed to position themselves into other roles that might be beyond what we traditionally define as teachers' professional domain—even though they, themselves, defined this work as crucial to their own understanding of what it meant to teach. Having access to many levels of connections with students, a hallmark of the teachers' relational philosophies, gave teachers the flexibility to relate to students in many ways but also introduced a potential issue in that not all students seemed able to access all of those connections. I turn next to the question of where in teachers' own lives—personally and professionally—they believed they acquired a philosophy of prioritizing relationships.

Teachers' Influential Personal and Professional Experiences

Having sketched the teachers' relational philosophies to this point, I next investigate the experiences in which these teachers believed their philosophies of prioritizing relationships were rooted. This section is based on the premise that teachers prioritize relationships (or do not) based in part on the experiences they have lived through. In total, I identified eight experiences all of the teachers mentioned multiple times as connected to the relational philosophies they held: past personal life experiences, past student experiences, early quasi-teaching experiences, teacher preparation, past teaching experience, Lincoln teaching experience, professional development, and parenting. Though prior literature has identified most of these categories as relatively strong influences on teaching practice (except teacher preparation or professional development, which are considered relatively weaker influence), this study specifically explores whether and how these experiences influenced *relational philosophies,* finding that each does in some way.

Overall, the Lincoln teachers could identify several memories and experiences that were responsible for their choice and ability to prioritize relationships in their teaching. Chief among these were their recollections of either their own experiences in school or those of their close family members. Whether they wanted to replicate positive school experiences for their students or step in to improve students' experiences, their memories of their own or close family members' positive or negative educational experiences were quite present in their decisions to prioritize relationships. They also emphasized the importance of specific people within schools who had directly or indirectly contributed to how they prioritized relationships, including their own past teachers and mentors, past students, and colleagues. Additionally, they pointed to lessons in professional development as teachers that had cultivated or affirmed their decision to prioritize relationships; plus, teaching at Lincoln seemed to have functioned as a professional education all its own, with the teachers underscoring all they had learned from the Dean and from colleagues about how it was possible to prioritize relationships.

Apart from these experiences, the teachers also each mentioned a belief that their relational philosophies or practices were simply extensions of their personalities. Although each of the teachers seemed fairly convinced that they had not specifically "learned" the relational aspects of teaching somewhere and instead always possessed these capacities and beliefs, their discussions of experiences suggested that they actually did learn or grow into their relational philosophies through specific experiences, even if they did not realize it when directly asked. For

example, Mrs. Ventura believed she was just "naturally" interested in students' mental health and well-being and recalled telling a previous principal who asked her to mentor other teachers in building relationships: "I kept telling him—I don't think I can teach that; I can't pinpoint, like, how to do it, you know?" (Ventura, Interview 1). Echoing that idea, Mr. Adler described feeling as though he somehow already knew how to connect with students from the first day of student teaching. In Mrs. Carroll's case, she felt unsure of where her relational approach came from. "I didn't have a good answer," she recalled telling her mother when describing her self-perceived inability to think of experiences that influenced her relationships (Carroll, Interview 2). Since the teachers each followed a similar chronology, I proceed chronologically through the experiences next. Appendix B provides a codebook for each category with examples.

Past personal life experiences. The teachers each described close links between experiences from their personal lives during childhood and adolescence and their philosophies of prioritizing relationships. Often, they discussed how a sibling's experience had impacted them. Mr. Adler described how his brother had attended Lincoln, which was part of his own decision to teach there:

> He came here, and I think it really saved him. He was able to be weird and try things on and be left alone in certain ways but cared for in other ways; and he thrived… so seeing that a little bit and then interviewing here, it was like, it would be nice to be part of that. (Adler, Interview 1)

In this passage, Mr. Adler's approach to relationships is visible in how he understood his brother's experience at Lincoln—a combination of giving students independence and care. Mrs. Ventura's brother's life also directly influenced her relational philosophy. She shared that she was the middle child of three siblings and the first in her family to graduate from college. She specifically described her brother, who had struggled with addiction as an adolescent, and how that shaped her as a teacher who prioritizes relationships and a personal connection:

> [His addiction] contributed not only to my desire to do well myself, but also to get to a place where I could help other kids who might be struggling. You know, almost every single year there's a kid who reminds me of my brother, you know what I mean? And I'm like, oh, sweet, smart kid, you know? Because my brother was gifted and super smart and just hated school, so he found other ways to keep himself occupied. And so every year there's a kid that reminds me of him that I think I just want to try to notice and give attention to. Because that's also the thing with my brother… he just fell through the cracks of a big high school. I think people couldn't see past his sort of… craziness… to notice, there's a really smart kid there. (Ventura, Interview 1)

This passage shows how Mrs. Ventura, through her brother's experience, came to prioritize relationships and made attending to students' well-being first and foremost in her teaching, as she says by paying special attention to any students who reminded her of her brother. Because of this personal experience, it is clear why Mrs. Ventura said that she feels an obligation as a teacher to give her students a sense of acceptance and love, to make sure their basic needs as humans are addressed before any learning takes place, and to monitor students who are trying to be invisible or alone, especially those who seem to have issues with addiction.

In addition to siblings, Mr. Adler felt his personal friendships as a child and adolescent influenced his current relational philosophy, especially his desire to have knowledge of home and family lives. He described having a "bifurcated" group of friends, split between "high performing" peers who went on to practice medicine or be professional musicians and, on the other hand, "auto shop guys" (Adler, Interview 3). He recalled how one of his friends was forced by his father to eat a pack of cigarettes after being caught smoking and how another one of his friends would have his insulin taken away as punishment by his abusive father (Ibid.). What Mr. Adler applied from these experiences to his relational philosophy was the ability to imagine what students might be experiencing outside of school and an appreciation that "school was a really rewarding place for some of my friends and a really hostile game you had to play for others" (Ibid.). Recalling these types of incidents from his childhood also contributed to his prioritizing of health and well-being before academic learning; as he reflected on his diabetic friend's extreme punishments, "You know, that's horrifying, so if I have students experiencing something like that, nothing I teach them about writing a sentence is important" (Adler, Interview 4). He also felt that having worked in his father's welding shop at times earlier in his life gave him some credibility to connect or be able to talk about topics that might interest some of his students. Especially as someone who described himself as having grown up financially privileged, these experiences Mr. Adler had with more working class friends or co-workers in his past personal life were instructive in how he approached with more understanding students who might be in similar situations.

The teachers all recalled also simply what it felt like to be a teenager in their own experiences, and they all emphasized that they thought back to their own experiences as teenagers regularly to be more empathetic in how they approached their students. Mrs. Carroll

described how “hyperaware” adolescents are of what others think to explain why she leads with dignity and discretion in her approach to students, such as prioritizing private conversations and making sure to discreetly check on students’ well-being when she knows they are going through something tough. In Mrs. Ventura’s words: “I try to remember that awkward phase of wanting to be accepted by people and find my group… I often just think about that phase of wanting to find people who accept me as I am” (Ventura, Interview 3). By being in touch with their memories of themselves as teenagers, the teachers could fulfill their espoused purposes of helping their students navigate adolescence gracefully.

Past student experiences. In addition to connecting their relational philosophies to their childhoods in general, the teachers specifically recalled influential experiences from when they were K12 and college students. All of the teachers recalled one or two particular teachers of their own with whom they had shared a relationship that then became a model for why they prioritized relationships as teachers, based on how those relationships with teachers had made them feel. All of these teachers had made the Lincoln teachers feel special, connected, or empowered in some way, and they wanted to approach their relationships with students in this same way. Mr. Adler recalled how his 9th grade English teacher—whom he described as still a close friend today—was the first to call him out on not doing work and also to recognize his potential. He explained:

> School was super easy for me in ways that nobody bothered to say, like, this is an important thing, you have some potential here that we actually don’t just hope but we *expect* you to do something with, and so it was great to have that with him. (Adler, Interview 1)

That teacher’s approach with Mr. Adler seemed to influence his own philosophy of seeing it as part of his role to connect and monitor specifically students who appeared to be smart but unmotivated or falling through the cracks. Mrs. Carroll thought back to her 7th grade English teacher who she believed was her inspiration for becoming a teacher herself. She described feeling more excited about her class academically and also carrying on a personal correspondence through journal writing and the teacher’s feedback that made her feel noticed for the first time in her education:

> She’d just be really encouraging for me... a lot of times, because I like to think I was a pretty good writer, my teachers would just say ‘this is great’ or ‘good job’ but she was actually like ‘you can do this’ or ‘have you thought about this’ so she also kind of pushed me in a way that I was appreciative about. (Carroll, Interview 1)

For Mrs. Carroll, this combined academic and personal recognition was important to her as a student and contributed to her efforts to recognize her students in the same way. She reflected:

> I would think about the teachers that were memorable to me, and to me it was a really meaningful thing when a teacher would remember something [about me]. And it didn't happen often, and I don't think it's realistic to expect it to happen often, but when it did it really *meant* something. So that's probably why [I try to do that now]. (Carroll, Interview 2)

In addition to thinking back to teachers who had made them feel noticed, cared for, or special, they thought back to teachers who had been honest with them or stepped out of their professional role and into a personal relationship or honest conversation more often. These memories of teachers almost served to give the Lincoln teachers, years later, the permission they needed to feel allowed to be themselves in their teaching. Mr. Adler recalled an administrator who reacted to a behavior incident with Mr. Adler and his friends by explaining why the behavior was unsafe and why those rules were in place. He recalled experiences:

> Where teachers seemed to step out of the 'I am deploying a lesson to all of my students and you guys stay over here and do the work' and connected with me on the level of an idea or an exception or a question… I mean that to me, those were some of the few truly educational moments in my high school. (Adler, Interview 2)

Mr. Adler's prioritizing of relationships by encouraging a personal connection through his scheduling of time for personal conversations among the whole class was clearly influenced by his appreciation of teachers stepping out of their official roles and being more open with students. Mrs. Ventura shared a similar sense that teachers who connected on a more human level influenced her desire to connect in that way with her students: "The teachers I remember the most are the ones who treated me like a human and not just as this person who's in a seat for 50 minutes—the ones who actually got to know me. (Ventura, Interview 3)." Remembering these models helped them feel comfortable bringing their personal selves to their teaching roles.

Another way the teachers' experiences as students themselves shaped their approach to relationships involved the ways they transformed their own struggles as students themselves into empathy and a way to connect with their current students. Mrs. Carroll specifically mentioned trying to connect more with students who seem quiet and strong because, in her experience as that type of student, she felt often overlooked by teachers. With students who put a lot of pressure on themselves to succeed, she approached them with personal understanding having experienced times like that herself. She explained, "I draw on empathizing with how personally

that hurts and how real that hurt is, but then also, you can come out on the other side of it, and here are some ways we can work through that together" (Carroll, Interview 3). Whereas Mrs. Carroll's success as a student influenced her relational approach, Mrs. Ventura's struggles as a student actually influenced her approach to relationships, specifically why she chose to be so open about her own personal life with her students. She felt that sharing with students her own shortcomings as a student would help students see that they shared something in common with her, which also meant that they too could work hard and overcome those challenges, like she had. This aspect of Mrs. Ventura's teaching again shows her extra attention and efforts to connect with struggling students:

> I do purposefully share stories about myself as a teenager because… I'm hoping that kid who's sitting in the back of the room who feels like they're not a good student or who feels like they don't understand, will hear that and feel like, you know, you can be successful even if it's hard for you. (Ventura, Interview 2).

Knowing what it felt like either to struggle in school in Mrs. Ventura's case or to excel but be under so much pressure in Mrs. Carroll's case helped them connect with students and contributed to their inclinations to tune in to certain students specifically, as well as to attend closely in their roles as teachers to the emotional experiences of being a student that their students faced.

Early quasi-teaching experiences. The teachers sometimes pointed to quasi-teaching experiences they had before becoming teachers that influenced the ways they approached relationships with students now. Mrs. Ventura's experiences as a cheerleading co-captain in high school gave her a sense of leadership and an opportunity to mentor younger students, a dynamic she still brought to her teaching. Mr. Adler cited several quasi-teaching experiences, from being a peer counselor in high school, which helped him understand how to coach people through social situations, to various outdoor leadership roles, which influenced his relational philosophy in many ways. He explained that his time as a sea kayak guide and going through outdoor leadership guide training contributed to his tendency to focus on students' health and well-being first and foremost: "If people don't have their stuff packed correctly and you're not functioning as an individual and as a basic group *low*, you don't want to go *high* up that mountain; it's not gonna be safe" (Adler, Interview 4), a statement clearly related to fulfilling some needs before others for students.

Teacher preparation. In a few cases, the teachers thought aspects of their teacher preparation contributed to the relational philosophies they had as teachers. Specifically, they

cited either mentor teachers or professors in their programs as models they incorporated into their own relational approaches. Mr. Adler's mentor teacher was very influential for him, as he explained:

> Every week at least, sometimes every day, I'm thinking about him… an incredible guy… especially in terms of relationships; [my directing teachers] were masters at that. They would say things like, 'we're in the dignity business, that's what we do; we try to get a 9th grader through the year.'" (Adler, Interview 1)

Mr. Adler's recollection of his mentor teachers' philosophy echoes his own stated purpose, which was to help students survive the "fire of adolescence." Mrs. Carroll and Mrs. Ventura each recalled a professor from their teacher preparation program pulling them aside and recognizing something they had to offer. For Mrs. Carroll, a professor told her she thought she would be a good fit for middle school rather than high school, which she taught for the first half of her career. For Mrs. Ventura, she recalled a professor who stayed after class and offered extra guidance on what courses to take. In each of these cases, they recalled an instructor who made an extra connection and took extra care to guide them and see their potential, which became key aspects of their own relational approaches with students.

Past teaching experience. A theme in how their past teaching experiences influenced their current relational philosophies was that they had learned to pay attention to students who might seem to be doing well because, in their experience, these students often ended up facing some challenges and needed as much support as students who struggled all the time did. Mrs. Ventura described her previous school, which she described as "super middle class suburban, kids you expect to have it all" and a student who was a "beautiful young lady, seemed to have it all… like, she had everything and seemed totally fine, and then one day she was gone" (Ventura, Interview 1). Recalling that a student like that could suddenly be hospitalized and in serious need of help due to self-harm, for Mrs. Ventura "was eye-opening to me to remember that the kids who seem fine might not always be fine" (Ibid.). In another example, Mrs. Ventura felt that her experience supporting a transgender student through his transition "changed [her] trajectory" and led her to prioritize supporting LGBTQ students. A small change this caused her to make was to display a rainbow sticker on her classroom or office door: "Every single time, there's at least one... random strange student who I've never met who will walk in and say, 'I noticed your sticker,' and I'm like, 'Alright, good, good'" (Ventura, Interview 1), illustrating how one part of her relational philosophy is to be available and subtly reach out to students she does not even

know who might need her support. On the other hand, Mr. Adler experienced the tragedy of a former student dying by suicide, which he felt affected his confidence to connect with students in ways he normally had. Whereas Mrs. Ventura's experience with her transgender student had added to her relational approach ways to connect with more students, Mr. Adler felt more hesitant and seemed to be re-evaluating how he connected with students after this tragedy. In this way, experiences with past students contributed to how Lincoln teachers understood their purposes and roles in relating to students.

Past school contexts also shaped their relational philosophies. For Mrs. Ventura, she reasoned that the emphasis on teaching with a "whole child" approach as a middle school teacher earlier in her career rather than seeing herself as a subject matter expert influenced her tendency to approach or know students on a personal level before an academic level; she explained, "We have to make sure they're safe and secure and feeling good before we can get them to really worry about learning" (Ventura, Interview 2). In Mrs. Carroll's case, she described her relational philosophy as changing between her previous teaching and teaching at Lincoln. Whereas at her previous school, relationships had been discouraged or deemed inappropriate, at Lincoln she was able to prioritize relationships in her teaching and know students better, she explained, because it was supported and encouraged. She also recalled how teaching more students and more periods at her previous school left her with less "emotional space" to cultivate relationships, which prevented her from centralizing relationships in her teaching as much as she could at Lincoln (Carroll, Interview 1).

Lincoln teaching experience. The teachers pointed to several aspects of working at Lincoln that had shaped their relational philosophy. First, they each mentioned the Dean's influence, specifically his background in counseling and emphasis on student mental health. The fact that students' well-being was central in the teachers' relationships with and knowledge of students was influenced, they thought, in part by the Dean's focus in this area. Similarly, the teachers all said they had learned a great deal from the Dean and from colleagues about how to problem-solve with or about students in sensitive ways. Mr. Adler mentioned the Dean's emphasis on identifying what he called antecedents, or events and experiences that led students to be however they are. All of the teachers also felt they had learned a great deal from their Lincoln colleagues that had influenced their relational approaches and their understanding of what it meant to teach at Lincoln. Mrs. Carroll and Mrs. Ventura both recalled overhearing

colleagues coach students through legal or disciplinary issues, where they told the students that their behavior had been a poor choice but that they were not in trouble with them as their advisors because it was their job to support them no matter what. This unconditional support and care, which was part of each of the teachers' relational philosophies, stemmed in part from learning at Lincoln that advising students was a years-long process requiring unwavering care.

For Mrs. Carroll and Mr. Adler, who also worked as instructional coaches at Lincoln, that experience contributed to how they approached student relationships as well. Mr. Adler incorporated dedicated time for announcements or personal conversations in class—in his words, just to see "how everybody's doing"—after experiencing the chaos of a student schedule by being both a teacher and an instructional coach and, like students, having no time off during the day (Adler, Interview 2). Interestingly, he recalled a teacher preparation professor who he said would not approve of his system of having these conversations, especially at the beginning of class; however, he trusted his own experience over that training, and it was a significant aspect of how he designed a personal dimension into his relational approach.

Professional development. The teachers pointed to many examples of professional development they completed that they saw reflected in their relational philosophies. They cited the Dean's own professional development he shared with colleagues about adolescent brain development and emotional well-being. Mrs. Carroll shared that her completion of the National Board process, which was considered her professional development at Lincoln, sharpened her ability to closely observe and problem-solve with students, which contributed to her approach to relationships. Mrs. Ventura shared several professional development memories that she felt shaped her relational approach, including learning that adolescent development involves hormones that contribute to more anger and anxiety; that male students tend to participate faster and more often, so increasing wait time builds equity in a classroom; that people are always changing and need a fresh start all the time; and that students experiencing poverty are living in survival mode and basic needs for safety and security must be addressed before ascending to higher level needs, like learning. All of these professional development examples contributed to the teachers' ability to see relationships and students' personal health and well-being as a necessary priority in supporting adolescent students.

Parenting. Lastly, Mr. Adler and Mrs. Ventura believed that being parents influenced their relationships, though in different ways. Mr. Adler found that he sought fewer or less deep

connections with students once he became a parent, in part because he had less time to spend physically at school, either after school or coaching sports. Therefore, although I would still argue his philosophy was to prioritize relationships overall, becoming a parent might have shifted him slightly toward allowing relationships rather than actively prioritizing them in all cases. For Mrs. Ventura, she recalled that once she became a parent earlier in her career, she suddenly felt more comfortable being herself with her students, so her connections actually deepened. Additionally, she felt that being a mother made her more likely to be sensitive to seeing the full picture of students' lives and not just viewing them as academic people but as full people with full lives who she would approach in often "motherly" ways if there were issues (Ventura, Interview 1). She made sense of one of her student's behavior—wearing a hood at all times, limited eye contact, seeming quiet and withdrawn but very smart—by comparing it to her nephew's similar behavior, finding a personal connection to how she viewed that student. Therefore, whereas being a parent changed Mr. Adler's relational philosophy by seeming to limiting his desire to prioritize relationships fully, it seemed to give Mrs. Ventura even more motivation to prioritize relationships in her teaching.

Discussion

This study set out to accomplish two overarching goals: to describe the relational philosophies of three relationally adept teachers and to trace those philosophies to life experiences the teachers believed influenced them. Most of us can probably think of at least one teacher with whom we shared a strong connection, who perhaps knew us on levels few other teachers had reached, with whom we felt we could be ourselves and they would be too. Since we would all wish for every child to have teachers like that more consistently, a first step is articulating the relational philosophy of teachers who are already relationally adept, and also understanding when and where teachers develop such a philosophy.

Articulating a Philosophy of Relationally Adept Teachers

The teachers' shared relational philosophy had several key characteristics, which briefly included:

- Dedication to dual priorities of academic learning and relationship building, a sense that a teacher's job called for sometimes connecting with students to learn a content area and other times connecting with students to work on "life," on the student himself, on the "person-in-the-making"
- Deep sense of calling for the relational part of the role
- Openness to personal connections

- Commitment to knowing students on many levels and gathering many types of information about students
- Flexibility to perform many relational roles
- Willingness to be whichever version of themselves a student needs—an academic coach, a counselor, a confidante, a friend, a quasi-parent, and more

First, their relational philosophy was led by the belief that a primary priority was to care for and help people who were navigating adolescence, with a mutually reinforcing and related goal of teaching academic content. While relationships and academics were conceived of by the teachers as similar priority levels for them, the way they spoke about the relational parts of their work—sometimes characterizing it as a more important purpose in their lives—suggested that while they work toward and achieve relationships and academic learning simultaneously, they feel more deeply called to the relationships they pursue. The teachers were sometimes guided by a relational philosophy that viewed a content area as an ever-present third member of their relationship with students, as in the examples where they discussed knowing students more deeply as a result of learning together and learning more as a result of knowing them better. In that way, their relational philosophy at times resonated with the idea of teacher, student, and content connection in the I-thou-it configuration (Hawkins, 1975). However, their relational philosophy involved a fundamental openness to connecting on many levels—some more personal and some more professional—with students. Having a relational philosophy characterized essentially by a mission to care for adolescent students resulted in the teachers also connecting to students *without* a connection to academic content—instead re-envisioning the content of their connection as the student himself, who he was becoming, how he was growing up, how he would navigate adolescence and early adulthood.

Figure 2-3 shows a conceptualization of the relationship between relationships and academics as priorities for the teachers at Lincoln. This figure reimagines Figure 2-1, which showed a spectrum of the *extent* to which teachers prioritized relationships to instead define what it means to prioritize both academics and relationships, or just one or the other, or neither. To prioritize both, as in most cases at Lincoln, meant going comfortably between relating to students with a focus on academic content and relating to students with a focus on helping them grow on a personal level; it meant seeing students in all of their complexity and knowing them on many levels; and it meant defining all of these relationships as part of their professional scope as teachers. To prioritize, on the other hand, only relationships or only academics meant knowing

and relating to students in a more one-dimensional way, minimizing other elements of who they were. Nevertheless, for some students, the Lincoln teachers demonstrated that they could be pushed to indeed prioritize one more than the other—relationships more than academics—often when they knew about a great deal of challenges in students' personal lives.

The information teachers amassed about students was key to them living out their commitment to multi-level relationships. As if they were detectives trying to crack each student's case, there seemed to be no topic about students that the teachers were not open to knowing; they seemed to believe all topics were useful and appropriate when it came to their students. Having this array of knowledge about each student helped the teachers access multiple levels of connection by taking on different relational roles—for example, sometimes being a trusted listener to talk through a friendship issue, other times being a resource for tips on better study skills, other times being a keen observer of physical and emotional signs of well-being, other times seeming like a parent repeatedly reminding them to perform a set of tasks, and many more. At times—especially for students who appeared to the teachers to be healthy, academically strong, and stable at home—the teachers' openness to relate to students in so many ways afforded students access to all levels of connection, finding a content teacher, a trusted confidante, a well-meaning but nagging parental figure, and a career counselor all in one person. Other times—particularly for students facing perceived emotional, behavioral, family, or mental health challenges—teachers seemed to gauge students' most pressing needs and access the relational role that would allow them to meet those needs; their dedication to fulfilling unmet needs meant repeatedly accessing some points of connection (e.g., social-emotional and mental health) without exploring others (e.g., academic and career goals), the implications of which I discuss later.

Beyond the value of articulating the relational philosophy of teachers who excel in relationships, this work matters because embedded in this philosophy is a contribution to the larger debate of how far the professional domain of teaching extends when it comes to relationships. Undoubtedly, many teachers or others might perceive the Lincoln teachers as going above and beyond any professional expectations, learning about students on levels that are nice but unnecessary, or even wading into inappropriate territory that is beyond their expertise or too removed from who an academic teacher is reasonably equipped to do or expected to be. At the same time, others might read this account of the Lincoln teachers and hold them up as ideals

to which all teachers should aspire or as the teachers they wish they had known as students. It is not an easy question to resolve; not even teachers agree on the position of personal relationships in their teaching, with some believing them to be central and essential and others believing them to be peripheral or a reward (Davis, 2006; Osterman, 2000). Those who perceive the Lincoln teachers as going above and beyond the scope of their professional domain as teachers would be consistent with established scholarship that focuses on academic learning as the key shared purpose that distinguishes relationships between students and teachers (Ball & Forzani, 1999; Buchmann, 1989; Hawkins, 1975). For those in this line of thinking, caring for students can be part of teaching and is even welcomed, but caring *without* teaching content falls short of a teacher's professional obligations and may not be professional teaching at all. And yet, the Lincoln teachers saw these personal care purposes as not only part of their job but as an essential, deeply held commitment and way they understood what it meant to teach. For them, teaching academic content was one purpose of their work, and they took it seriously, balancing it for most students pretty equally with their commitment to relationships; but relationships did not exist only to leverage content learning, for they also existed to help students explore the important topic of *themselves* in order to fulfill the teachers' ultimate goal, to send the students into the world feeling stronger, healthier, and more valued than when they started together.

Analyzing the teachers' knowledge of students added extra insight into how the teachers balanced relational and academic purposes. The teachers had knowledge on a sizeable range of topics about their students in both in- and out-of-school domains. They became experts on the people their students were or wanted to become, forming a vivid picture of each student's life. For students who were doing well academically and personally, they drew on all levels of connection, personal and academic, alternately chatting with them about new releases on Netflix, soccer practice, and strategies for acing the upcoming test. Although the teachers had access to all of these layers of connection, one feature of the teachers' relational philosophy was the flexibility to allow the non-academic pieces to drive their relationships with some students—allowing themselves to replace a focus on content-area learning in their time together with a focus on helping the student figure out life's challenges or his or her own growing-up process. This was the case for students who seemed to be struggling and who the teachers determined—based on their underlying belief that their job was, first, to care—needed a connection around personal, social-emotional, and mental health supports.

Before turning to the teachers' influential life experiences, there was one additional conversation I had with the teachers that shed additional light on their understanding of relationships in their professional roles. I did not focus on this response in the findings above, but it is worth mentioning here in connection to this particular question of how we define teachers' work. Of the many conversations I had with the teachers during this study, one interview question proved more difficult for the teachers to answer. I asked them whether they could think of any other relationship in life that was, in their opinion, analogous to a relationship between a student and a teacher. I reasoned that it might be easier to access their outlook on relationships by giving them the opportunity to think metaphorically. However, all three teachers struggled to answer this question. Mrs. Ventura and Mr. Adler said the most similar relationship they could think of was a mentor-mentee relationship. Mrs. Ventura added that she often distinguishes between her "kids" and her "biological kids," viewing them all as a sort of family, which was consistent with her unique emphasis on loving her students; Mr. Adler also mentioned a parent-child relationship but to make the point that it is not ideal when a teacher has to do work the parents should be doing. Mrs. Carroll struggled the most and could not think of any analogous relationship, though she made a point to say it was not similar to or appropriate to think of her relationships with students as a friend or family type relationship.

The teachers' inability to think of their relationships as anything other than teacher-student was telling, providing further support that they viewed their roles as teachers as all-encompassing of academic and non-academic domains, relationships, and priorities. The teachers' resistance to label their relationships with students as anything other than teacher-student suggests that they believed teaching is not *like* any of those other relationships, it *is* all of those other relationships—even if the professional label of 'teacher' only describes one part—and, for some students, a minimal and non-essential part—of what they do. The teachers positioned themselves at times as their students' friends (listening patiently as they talked through social issues), parents or caretakers (helping clean out backpacks and asking about sleep schedules), therapists (providing thoughtful coaching and monitoring on mental health challenges), motivational speakers (inspiring them as a personal trainer might), legal team (reflecting with students on next steps in disciplinary and legal situations), and, of course, as their teachers (planning and facilitating their academic learning). And yet they did not list any of these as examples as analogous to what they do as teachers, even making sure to say they were

not their students' friends or family (except Mrs. Ventura who did view students as a type of family). In their depiction of relationships, the teachers' portrayal of professional teaching complicated traditional notions that place content focally in the relationship between a student and a teacher, showing that academic content is just one way teachers and students connect and that professional teaching indeed encompasses connections apart from academic goals.

Identifying Influential Life Experiences of Relationally Adept Teachers

A few key themes emerged about which types of life experiences the teachers believed had shaped them into relationally guided teachers. First, the teachers' memories from childhood, of their own teachers, their own experiences, or peers' experiences, stuck with them as major influences that loomed large in their teaching. Next, the teachers pointed to influential people from their professional lives: mentor teachers, colleague teachers and counselors, professional development, and the specific experience of working at Lincoln under their current Dean. Third, becoming a parent was also a key influence. Thus, although their relational philosophies were deeply rooted in long-ago experiences, they were also vibrant and malleable, as evidenced by the fact that some of the teachers' most influential experiences were recent and specifically Lincoln-related.

While those general findings were consistent with prior research, some details emerged as more novel ideas about the experiences that influenced teachers' choices to prioritize and build the types of relationships Lincoln teachers did. One was the idea that two teachers in this study developed their relational philosophy in part due to the experience of a troubled sibling being saved or not saved by school. Mr. Adler saw in his brother—at Lincoln before he taught there—the power of teachers accepting and helping a teenager who before that had not felt accepted, which naturally extended into his belief that his job was to help students survive what he called the fire of adolescence. On the other hand, Mrs. Ventura watched her brother struggle with addiction in high school, going unnoticed and under the radar of teachers, which naturally extended into her dedication to intentionally looking out for and reaching out to students who seemed like him—students who she described as fading or trying to be invisible. In some ways, both of them had taken these experiences with their own brothers and transformed them into opportunities and insights to help someone else's brother.

Another idea that emerged was the experience of keenly observing difficult situations and making sense of them in some way. Presumably everybody has been in a position in their lives to

witness or face situations like these, though at varying levels of awareness, but the Lincoln teachers showed that they specifically applied lessons from these situations to their relational outlook. For Mr. Adler, this happened as a teenager himself, when he witnessed several difficult situations among his friends, such as a diabetic friend's father punishing him by taking away his insulin or another friend's father punishing him for smoking by making him eat cigarettes. Mr. Adler believed these situations helped him imagine more easily exactly how difficult other people might have it since he believed he, himself, had not faced those types of challenges, giving him more empathy as well as the desire to learn about more facets of students' lives. Similarly, the teachers shared memories of getting to know past students who were facing extremely difficult circumstances, with things like parent issues, legal trouble, or homelessness. The more students and situations they knew about, the more they could empathize and learn about current students' situations.

Another idea that emerged was that the teachers had all encountered figures I would call "permission teachers:" other teachers whose example served as the permission they needed to have and live by the relational philosophy they ended up forming. Each teacher talked about teachers they had in their childhood who made them feel special, smart, or noticed, and they also talked about teacher figures in college and teacher preparation who either made a specific effort to connect with them or modeled how to do this with actual students. They also referred to past and current colleagues as models in these ways. In all of these cases, the teachers described feeling as though seeing other teachers develop personal connections and get to know students deeply was the permission they needed to see that as part of their role too. This finding is interesting in that it begs the question of why they felt they needed this permission and how the role had been defined for them before getting this permission.

For the two teachers who were parents in this study, becoming a parent shaped their relational philosophies in fascinating though opposite ways. For Mrs. Ventura, becoming a parent years ago marked a time in her professional life where she finally felt free to be herself in the classroom. She recalled having her first child and feeling like she could suddenly be more authentic with students and not take on a different role as she had been. As her children grew up (middle and high school age at the time of this study), her philosophy continued to be guided by care, close relationships, and personally knowing students, and the concept of love entered into how she described her relationships with students (whereas it did not for Mr. Adler or Mrs.

Carroll). On the other hand, Mr. Adler's relational philosophy shifted when he became a parent to become more distant with students and less available. He felt that his focus was now his son, which left less time for any relational work outside of academic times of day (class and meetings) and resulted in fewer close relationships. Although he felt this way, I observed him engaged in many close relationships with students, and being a parent did not seem to slow down his ability to become an expert on each student. Either way, the personal shift of becoming a parent influenced the ways the teachers thought about their own relational capacities and how they positioned themselves in their work with students.

Finally, the Lincoln context proved to be important in shaping the teachers' relational philosophies. The teachers pointed out that prioritizing relationships was broadly encouraged as a community norm, rather than something they could choose to do or not do individually in their own classrooms. The Dean's particular support and influence was clear, as were recollections of having learned from observing or exchanging ideas with Lincoln colleagues. They all also spoke of professional development they had completed as teachers at Lincoln or in previous positions that had contributed to their desire to prioritize relationships and know their students more personally. In all of these ways, being in the Lincoln context proved to give additional permission to the teachers to have and live the relational philosophies I observed.

Limitations

Some limitations should be considered when interpreting the findings of this study. First, many of the findings were based on teachers' own reports about their relational philosophies and about their influential experiences. Relying on self-reported information presents the possibility of bias in that the teachers might have characterized their reports inaccurately, perhaps putting themselves in a more positive light than others reporting on them may have, perhaps being overly critical, perhaps being simply inaccurate, or perhaps over-reporting their relational work since they understood my research topic. My attempt to balance their self-reported relational philosophies with my interpretation of their indirect reports about their students was intended to address the potential for inaccurate self-reports; nevertheless, that decision also presents a possibility of bias—my own. Since the teachers were chosen as exemplars of relational practice, I might have incorrectly assumed or attributed overly positive relational philosophies or missed evidence of problems in their approaches. In the case of teachers' self-reports on the experiences they thought were influential in shaping their relational philosophies, one potential limitation

was that they might not have been well positioned to understand which experiences really influenced them. The teachers in this study had over 12 years of experience each, and every aspect of their teaching was probably so ingrained and automatic in them that it might have been difficult for them to realize at this point what experiences years ago made them the teachers they are today. Furthermore, the teachers knew the general topic of my study and might have been prejudiced in some of their responses. For instance, in the activity where I asked the teachers to group students in any way they thought about their students, they might have felt compelled to respond first about relationships (as they did); if my study had been more academic in nature, perhaps they would have responded differently. On top of that, a related limitation was my trying to understand their important life experiences through just a few interviews and without being a therapist or other professional trained to explore life experiences with people. The questions I asked the teachers to unravel these complex pieces of their relational philosophies, knowledge of students, and life experiences were just one approach to this puzzle, and others might very well have been better.

The other main limitation of this study reflects that of all small studies of this nature in that the experiences of the three teachers in this study are not representative of all teachers' experiences. At the same time, it was not intended to be representative and instead was meant to capture the relational philosophies and important experiences of a set of adept teachers intentionally chosen for having strong relational practice. Choosing these teachers as a model to which others might aspire can help show one type of example, but a limitation would be that this study did not depict teachers elsewhere on the spectrum of relational philosophies for contrast. Studying teachers from different backgrounds than the teachers in this study or with different life experiences might have led to very different findings; at the same time, other teachers with the same backgrounds and experiences might also have led to very different findings. Related, Lincoln is atypical as a school with its built-in advising model and leadership that encourages teachers to prioritize relationships. Furthermore, the teachers in this study only taught English, and the findings might have varied if the study had included teachers from other disciplines.

Implications

One implication of this study is that we can see the beginning of a map for teachers who want to become more relationally guided. Following the model of the Lincoln teachers, teachers who aspire to have a relational philosophy that prioritizes relationships could begin by reflecting

on whether they prioritize academic learning at the same level as they do relationships, how called they feel to do the relational work, whether they allow for or encourage personal connections, whether they pursue as much information on as many topics as the Lincoln teachers, and whether they are flexible in wearing many relational hats in their relationships. Since this study suggests that relationally excellent practice flows from having this type of relational philosophy, teachers who aspire to become more relationally adept (and teacher educators who seek to develop this in teachers) could follow the Lincoln teachers' example and benefit from the specific illustrations in this study.

Another implication of this study is that we may consider as a field and as a profession to explicitly spell out that the professional role of a teacher entails, and can sometimes be mostly about, personal relationships with students. An important question this study brings up is why teaching as a profession has defined itself as focused on academic learning when in actuality it is multi-focused on academic learning, personal care, mental health and well-being, social-emotional growth, and more. When so many teachers and especially the relationally adept ones feel that their purpose is primarily to care for humans and equally or even secondarily to teach content, I would recommend revisiting as a profession how we define ourselves. Substance is more important than labels, but even the term 'teacher' might be inadequate to describe what teachers do. Above, I interpreted the teachers' reluctance to call their relationships anything other than student-teacher as indicative of their philosophy that being a sometimes friend, parent, therapist, and more is all part of being a professional teacher. On another level, their reluctance makes complete sense given that the teaching profession has had a long history of denying or minimizing the role of personal relationships and care because of the fear that those qualities—considered feminine ones—undercut its professional status (Herbst, 1989; Kafka, 2016; Powell, 1976; Sedlak & Schlossman, 1986). Especially given that teachers are actually de facto mental health service providers given students' increasing non-academic needs (Lynn, McKay & Atkins, 2003) and historically were chosen as moral and personal models rather than pedagogical experts (Kafka, 2015), we must examine whether our increased collective emphasis in recent decades on academic learning has reduced our ability to value and support all that teachers do. Taken altogether, a central implication or question raised by this study is how to update our collective definition of professional teaching (and resulting evaluation and preparation processes) to reflect the reality that many teachers see personal care as the core of their professional role.

Rather than undermine teaching's professional status by acknowledging these aspects of personal care, this study underscores the incredible amount of effort and thought teachers put into caring and the expertise they had about their students. Anybody who has done this work knows how challenging and intricate it is; if anything, redefining teaching to include personal relationships and care as the central priority of the profession should elevate its status by more closely reflecting how hard it is to do this work well.

For those reasons, we must ask whether current evaluation processes, which are rooted in perceptions of what we accept teachers' responsibilities to be, truly capture the sophisticated expertise teachers have about their own students and the tremendous effort that goes into building that expertise and providing such multi-faceted care. As discussed above, many scholars believe that the aims of education have narrowed in recent years with reforms like No Child Left Behind and Race to the Top to an unambitious set of measurable student learning outcomes in a few content areas. In connection with those changes, estimations of teacher quality are increasingly linked to student learning in those narrow areas. On the other hand, this study is a reminder of the wider roles teachers might play for students and the ways they might practice "good" teaching that cultivates relationships, in addition to "effective" teaching that targets learning (Fenstermacher & Richardson, 2005). In that way, this work could also be a warning against being too quick, with this narrower concept of education, to believe that the best teaching is that which predicts an increase in achievement in certain specific areas. Evaluating teachers on student learning outcomes could force teachers to view the child as a student only and their job as tending to that student only, which would represent a truly sad narrowing of the relational philosophies the teachers here embodied. Plus, such a narrowing would come at a great cost especially to that subset of students, as at Lincoln, who happen to need a little bit more of the personal relationship than the learning relationship to navigate life's traumas and challenges.

Related to that point, a crucial implication of this study is one dealing with equity. Lincoln teachers seemed to report that for healthy and strong students, they needed to know primarily about their goals and interests, whereas for struggling students, they needed to understand their families, friends, health, and other personal aspects of their lives. In other words, it would seem that the teachers managed the student versus whole child dilemma (Berlak & Berlak 1981) by tipping the scales slightly one way or the other depending on students' situations, ultimately spending more time in a more personal support role for some students and

in a more traditionally teacher-like role for other students. In one way, this is a practical choice rooted in teachers' philosophies that they want to, at the same time, connect with students around academic learning (I-thou-it) and also connect with students around the topic of the student's own life and growing-up process (I-thou-*thou).* But a question this raises is whether it is fair, for the students who did not get *both* of these connections but mainly got the latter connection, to attend to their struggles without also attending to their aspirations. It would seem that some students are receiving one area of a teacher's expertise—coaching to reach academic and career goals—while other students are receiving attention to what could be considered more basic needs. With teachers' attention a limited resource, teachers must make the difficult choice of how to support each child; since they articulated in their own self-defined purposes of teaching that they felt their job was first to care and second to teach content, it is no surprise that they attend to struggling students' struggles and want to care and heal them before moving to other goals. Certainly, all students' basic needs should be addressed, but this study raises the question of whether struggling students are ever getting to access some of the same opportunities as students whose basic needs are addressed elsewhere—or whether it is fair to hold teachers or students accountable if they fall short of the academic goals. For example, Mr. Adler spent all of his meetings with Kayshla coaching her through her moves at home, her mother's negativity, and her feelings around these personal challenges; ultimately, however, she failed to be credentialed to move on to the next level of several of her classes, and they spent no time coaching her through those academic areas of need. On the other hand, Tahzib, whose personal life was in tact, spent his meetings with Mr. Adler being coached on staying organized for classes, his pathway goals of being a doctor, and hearing about his options on that pathway. Due to differences in their personal lives, Tahzib seemed to have more access to more *of* Mr. Adler in than Kayshla did, though Kayshla certainly benefited from and needed the supports Mr. Adler gave. Ultimately though, Kayshla's personal needs eclipsed her academic ones, leaving her academic ones untended. Some might say that Mr. Adler's decision to focus on Kayshla's personal needs put her at a disadvantage compared to Tahzib who could go "ahead," but it certainly seems that with limited time and resources, Mr. Adler adhered to his philosophy of giving Kayshla and Tahzib what they each needed to get through adolescence and be cared for: for Kayshla, a wellness support system, and for Tahzib, an academic and career coach. We need to examine whether it is a fair goal to get all students to their academic goals when teachers'

professional work needs to proceed along a sequence from fulfilling basic needs to more complicated ones. If the professional work entails personal care, we should consider how we are supporting teachers and setting goals for delivering this personal care.

Lastly, the findings about which experiences are influential in teachers' relational philosophies hold implications for teacher preparation and teacher learning, including through professional development. First, in terms of preparation, the teachers pointed only to their mentor teachers and instructors as sources that influenced their approaches to relationships; they did not mention other aspects of formal preparation, such as coursework. This might suggest that new teachers' lived experiences of their relationships with their teacher educators contribute to their relational philosophies more than, for instance, a course on building relationships. If that is the case, teacher preparation programs might advise or prepare teacher educators to be more intentional and aware as they carry out their roles that the relationships they build with their students will influence the relationships their students build with *their* students. The selection of mentors who will be these relational models would also be important. In terms of teacher growth and professional development, this study suggests that the teachers' relational philosophies continued to evolve as they worked with new colleagues, in new schools, and experienced new professional development. This finding is a positive sign that teachers' approaches to relationships can be malleable over time. For instance, the teachers' convictions that the Dean had been a huge influence in their current relational philosophies indicates that even experienced teachers with well-developed relational approaches could grow in this part of their work.

Another encouraging implication is that experiences both old and new were influential for the teachers, and the teachers in this study never reached a point where their relational philosophy was totally done forming, suggesting they were malleable. Consistent with past research, personal childhood and family experiences were key among the teachers' influential experiences (Feiman-Nemser, 2001; Greenwalt, 2014; Grumet, 1988). An implication then is that teacher preparation should take into account the experiences novice teachers bring to their preparation and how they might make sense of those to gain awareness of their emerging relational philosophies, much like Dewey himself advocated teachers' "own direct and personal experiences" could be a guiding starting point in preparation (Dewey, 1904, p. 17). While relationally adept teachers might naturally engage in this practice like the Lincoln teachers did, offering teachers the opportunity to formally do this as part of preparation could be instructive

for examining the biases teachers bring to their work from the very start of their time as professionals. It could also get them into the habit of reflecting on their relational work going forward, especially considering that this study suggests their philosophies will evolve and need to be re-examined at times.

In terms of selecting teachers, this study raises but does not resolve the question of whether teachers should be chosen for having lived through certain types of experiences that might make them more relationally attuned teachers. Selecting applicants to increase various types of diversity could be one way teacher preparation programs are already trying to recruit teachers whose life experiences perhaps reflect that of a wider range of students. Selecting people who have the capacity to make *sense* of experiences in productive ways for teaching seems to be a key distinction, as would be selecting teachers who feel deeply called, like the Lincoln teachers, to have a relational purpose that defines themselves as teachers. The teachers in this study not only had certain powerful experiences but more importantly made sense of their experience or others' experiences in ways that they absorbed into their relational practices and deeply ingrained sense of purpose as teachers. This was important in that the teachers in this study had not necessarily lived through difficult experiences themselves but made sense of other people's experiences or their own keen observations. With most teachers still tending to be white, middle class, and female, this could be important; although many white, middle-class women have experienced their own adversity, this study shows the equal importance of finding teachers who pay attention to other people's adversities and then absorb them into their own mission.

Table 2-1: Data Collection Timeline

Week	Teacher Interviews	Credentialing Observations
Sept. 4-8	All #1	-
Sept. 25-29	Ventura #2	-
Oct. 2-6		One credentialing meeting
Oct. 23-27	Carroll #2	-
Oct. 30-Nov. 3	-	One credentialing meeting
Nov. 6-10	Adler #2	-
Nov. 13-17	All #3	-
Nov. 27-Dec. 1	All #4	-

Note: Although I observed at Lincoln for more weeks than indicated in this table, the weeks without observations or interviews for *this* study are not reflected in this table.

Table 2-2: Research Questions with Corresponding Analysis Questions and Data Sources

Research Questions	Analysis Questions	Corresponding Data Sources
1. What are Lincoln teachers' relational philosophies?	a. What do the teachers state as their relational philosophies or their own definitions of their relational responsibilities?	Teacher Interview Questions 2B1-3; 3A1-2, B2-3, C3; 4A1-4, plus any passages where the teachers discuss what they say their 'job' or 'role' is.
	b. What do the teachers know and say about individual students, and what does that imply about their relational philosophies?	Teacher Interview Questions 1C1; 2C, D1-2; 3D1-4; 4B, C1-2, plus any passages where the teachers discuss an individual student and/or their relationship; Observation Notes from credentialing meetings and (less common) from non-interview times when teachers told me about students (e.g., while walking to class, while sitting in the office without students).
	c. How do the teachers think about individual students, and what does that imply about their relational philosophies?	Teacher Interview Questions 4B1, C1-2 (Activity).
2. What are the personal or professional experiences in which they believe their relational philosophies are rooted?	a. What experiences do the teachers discuss in connection to their relational philosophies?	Teacher Interview Questions 1 (Full); 2D1, E3; 3C1-2, D4; 4A5, D5, plus other passages where teachers discuss personal or professional experiences.
	b. How do the experiences the teachers discuss link to their relational philosophies?	

Table 2-3: Information Lincoln Teachers Wanted to Know about their Students

	Mr. Adler	Mrs. Carroll	Mrs. Ventura
First given . . . . **Last given**	-Health (including history of trauma) -Family environment -Whether they wanted to attend this school (vs. if their parents pushed for it more) -"Goals or dreams or things they're excited about" -Friends and social group -Beliefs and culture -Academic skill -Past experiences and schools they attended -Books and stories they like -Research interests -"How silly or serious they are" -What they need from the class	-"Who you live with" -Interests or college and career plans -Who their advisor is -Friends and social group -Feelings about reading and school, past experiences and schools they attended -Language spoken at home -Special education status -"What they're into… what's your thing" -Other classes they have that semester	-Whether they wanted to attend this school (vs. if their parents pushed for it more) -"Some little personal tidbit" about their lives or their interests -"If there's any major thing going on with their families or in their life that may impact school" -Academic skill
Suggested & agreed to after teachers generated their own lists	-Where they live (which community since the school draws on many) -Language spoken at home	-Health -Emotional well-being -Whether they wanted to attend this school (vs. if their parents pushed for it more)	-Language spoken at home

Figure 2-1: Conceptual Framework of Teachers' Relational Philosophies in Connection with their Personal and Professional Experiences and their Practices

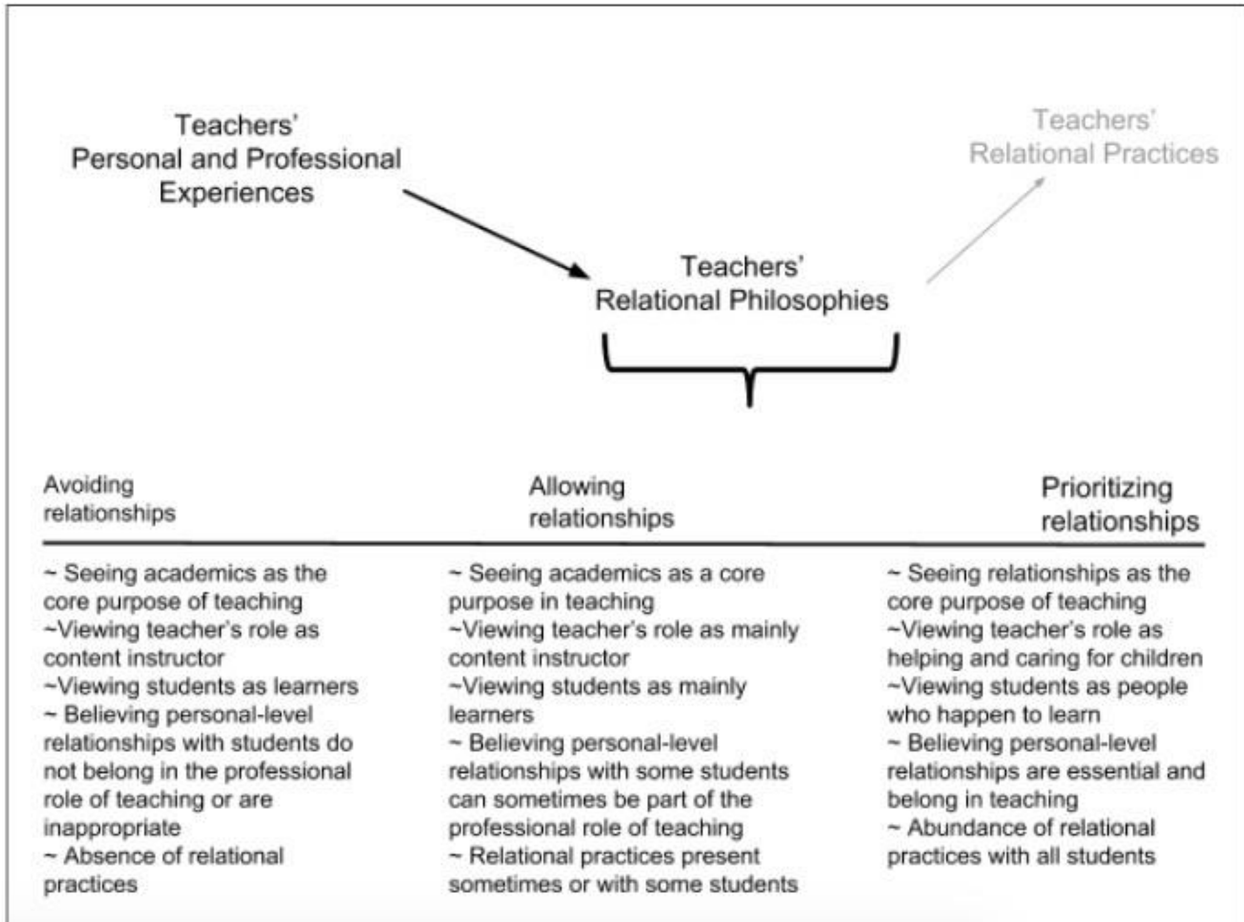


Figure 2-2: Frequency of Each Type of Information Known about Students

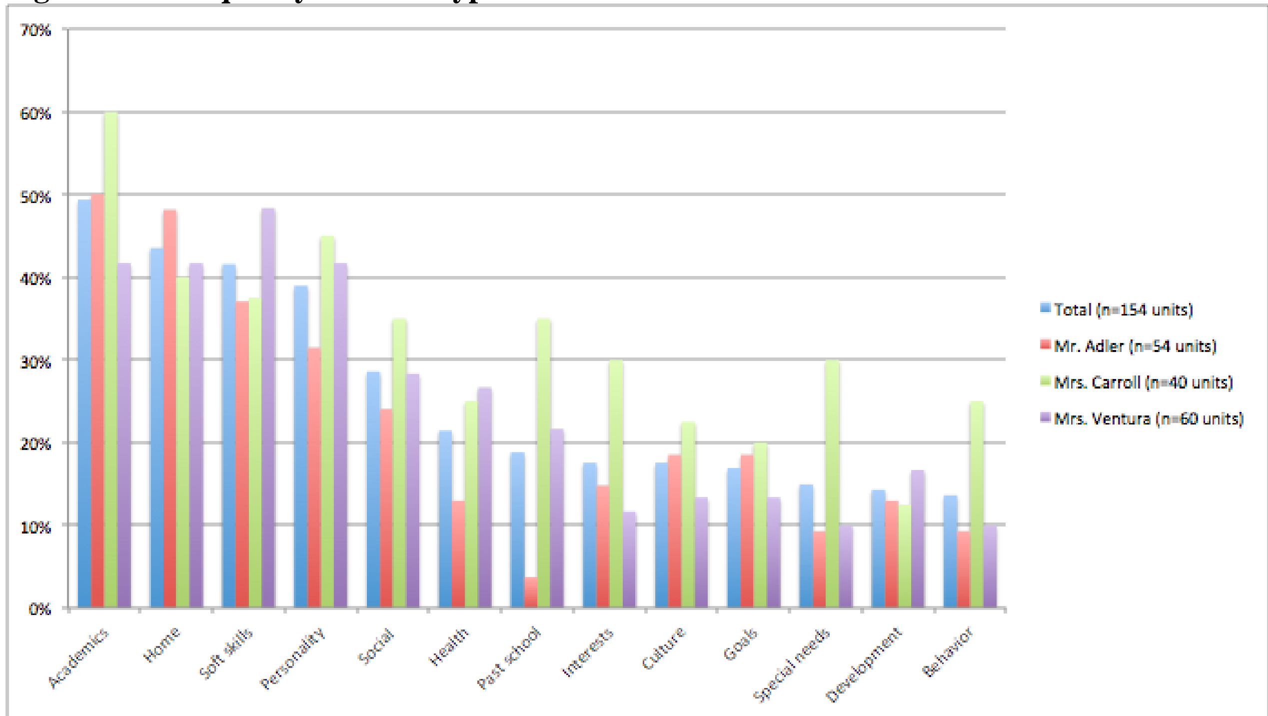


Figure 2-3: Reconceptualizing academic and relational priorities

Prioritize or see as central purpose as teachers:		Relationships	
		No	Yes
Academic Learning	No	Prioritize neither relationships nor academic learning.	Prioritize relationships more than academic learning. See relationships as the primary purpose of working with students. Know students on mainly personal levels. See students as primarily regular people, secondarily as learners.
	Yes	Prioritize academic learning more than relationships. See relationships as beneficial to learning but not as an essential purpose or commitment in their teaching. Know students mainly on academic levels. See students as primarily learners, secondarily as regular people.	Prioritize both relationships and academic learning. Fluidly relate to students in an I-thou-it and an I-thou-*thou* relational dynamic (i.e., sometimes we work on English together, and sometimes we work on *you* and your life together). Know students on multiple levels, academic and otherwise. See students as complex and evolving, with facets as learners, people, and more.

Note: Depending on several factors, the same teacher could fall into different categories for different students (i.e., depending on the student's needs). Lincoln teachers, for instance, mostly resembled the qualities of teachers in the Yes/Yes square, but for some students, their commitment to helping students on a personal level combined with the students' severe and wide-ranging needs pushed them into the Yes Relationships/No Academics square.

CHAPTER 3

Building Relationships to Build Students Up: Describing Relational Teaching Practices

Students benefit in a number of ways from positive relationships with teachers. Academically, several studies have found that better relationships with teachers (through proxies like sense of belonging or emotional support) positively influence students' academic engagement, effort, and achievement (Goodenow, 1993; Gregory & Weinstein, 2004; Osterman, 2000; Reyes, Brackett, Rivers, White & Salovey, 2012). In other studies, positive relationships with teachers have contributed to liking a subject more (Eccles, Midgley, Wigfield, Buchanan, Reuman, Flanagan & MacIver, 1993; Midgley, Feldlaufer & Eccles, 1989); liking school (Battistich, Solomon, Watson, and Schaps, 1997); and developing better "non-cognitive" habits, such as seeking help from teachers (Farrington, Roderick, Allensworth, Nagaoka, Keyes, Johnson & Beechum, 2012; Ryan, Gheen & Midgley, 1998).

Students also benefit from positive relationships with teachers in terms of their development, self-concept, and feeling of connection to school. "Relatedness" is a key component of children's healthy development of autonomy and intrinsic motivation (Ryan & Deci, 2000). Wentzel (1997) linked students' feelings of self-worth, competence, and autonomy to their perceptions of "pedagogical caring" by their teachers. Studies of social-emotional learning or a "prosocial classroom," including positive relationships between students and teachers, have found positive effects on behavior, sense of connection to school, and classroom climate (Durlak, Weissberg, Dymnicki, Taylor & Schellinger, 2011; Jennings & Greenberg, 2009; Zins, Bloodworth, Weissberg & Walberg, 2007). A meta-analysis found positive effects of "person-centered" approaches or "relational teaching practices" on student participation, motivation, self-esteem, social connection, and better attendance and behavior (Cornelius-White, 2007).

Emphasizing relationships is appealing as a way to improve students' educational opportunities as well as their social and emotional development. In addition to being a low-cost, built-in benefit for students (McHugh, Horner, Colditz & Wallace, 2012), positive relationships with teachers have been found to have lasting effects on students' achievement, behavior,

motivation, and sense of belonging in subsequent years of schooling (Anderman, 2003; Hamre & Pianta, 2001; Allen, Pianta, Gregory, Mikami & Lun, 2011). Researchers have also shown that relationships with teachers contribute to students' outcomes separately from other social partners, such as parents or peers, which holds particular promise for students with weaker relationships with families or peers (Furrer & Skinner, 2003; Wentzel, 1998). For example, Harter and Whitesell (2003) found that children's sense of self-worth varied by social partner and that self-worth with any one partner could generalize to students' overall sense of self-worth as students get older; in this way, having a strong sense of self-worth with just one teacher could have a positive impact on overall self-worth.

While prior research has established the clear links and benefits of positive relationships to many student outcomes, locating prior research in which relational teaching practices are broken down and described is more difficult. In my search of the literature on relationships in teaching and learning, I found few studies that decomposed relational teaching practice or "broke [relational] practice into its constituent parts" (Grossman, Compton, Igra, Ronfeldt, Shahan & Williamson, 2009, p. 2058). For example, Sykes and Wilson's (2015) comprehensive framework of competencies for effective teaching paid much attention to the "relational aspects of instruction," such as "forming and sustaining positive relationships based on understanding students as individuals; [and] employing a range of strategies for getting to know students as individuals and in expressing care for them" as well as "creating a sense of belonging or relatedness" (p. 41 and 43). However, without decomposing these practices further, it might remain difficult to understand or enact them effectively, and this important work remains hidden.

Knowing what occurs "inside" of these relational practices is important for teachers who enact the practices, teacher educators who prepare teachers for this work, administrators and others in the role of evaluating teachers for their practice, and policymakers and researchers who seek to understand and improve relational teaching quality. Therefore, this study expands upon existing research by probing the range of strategies and specific ways teachers implemented the relational practices that have often been generally listed or believed to be important, but not described or developed, in prior research. In the next section, I synthesize research already conducted on student-teacher relationships, and I identify five potential practices based on that literature that help teachers build relationships.

Background

Relational Teaching Practices

I draw primarily on a definition of practices as a collection of actions or routines a teacher habitually carries out (Lampert, 2009). As Lampert argues, practices can consist of finer strategies and techniques but are the overarching set of theory-guided acts that characterize what a teacher does. She gives the example of orchestrating classroom discussions as a teaching practice, with revoicing or giving wait time as examples of techniques or strategies within that practice. For this review, I selected studies that directly or indirectly decomposed relational practices into concrete techniques or examples. I also constrained the review to those studies focusing on teaching with adolescent students. For these reasons, this review does not describe all literature about relationships but instead focuses on possible exemplar relational practices for teachers of adolescent students.

Under the umbrella of building relationships as a teaching practice, this review identifies five concrete relational practices teachers might use to build relationships with students based on research already undertaken. I summarize them here and describe them in greater detail below. First, teachers build relationships by actively learning about students through effortful attempts to ask them questions or notice shifts in mood. This practice underscores that building relationships with students requires teachers to choose to do so, since doing so is an active practice involving teachers' intentional efforts. Second, teachers who build relationships with students adjust to students' realities rather than demanding students adjust to theirs. Being able to adjust to where students are leads to learning more accurate information about them and establishing more authentic and caring connections. Third, by creating more opportunities for frequent individual interactions with students, teachers build better relationships with students since these opportunities help teachers learn about students and find points of connection. Next, building relationships with students calls on teachers to be open about some of their own experiences. For students to feel comfortable connecting with teachers, teachers must make the first step in being vulnerable and building the trust that leads to connection. Related to the idea of vulnerability as a requirement for relationships, some research suggests that using humor helps, partly because it helps students see teachers as more relatable or human and partly because it might mean teachers are showing sensitivity to students' development.

Actively learn about students. The literature is clear that forming relationships with students depends on actively learning about them. In several studies with adolescent participants,

students consistently said that they knew teachers cared or were interested in building a relationship when they talked to them about their life outside of school, asked questions, listened genuinely, and paid attention to things like absences or mood shifts (Davis, 2006; McHugh et al., 2012; Ozer, Wolf & Kong, 2008; Salazar, 2013). Wentzel (1997) found that caring teachers specifically asked students when they thought something was wrong and even acted as a friend at times. For Paley (1986), who studied her own practice, learning about her students meant being openly curious, asking them questions, and actively listening (even with the help of a tape recorder). When asked to describe teachers who did not care, students expressed that these teachers ignored them, were not interested in getting to know them, did not always remember their names, and cared only about teaching content (McHugh et al., 2012; Wentzel, 1997).

Actively learning about students need not rely on grand gestures or elaborate plans by teachers but instead grows out of seemingly minor efforts at connection that can build a strong sense of belonging. Ozer et al. (2008) called these efforts "small overtures" as simple as asking students how they are doing or what they did that weekend. McHugh et al. (2012) termed it "effortful engagement," or making an effort to strike up these conversations. The common denominator in building relationships by learning about students is the active approach teachers must take; learning about students cannot happen passively—it takes hard work.

Respond to [mis]behavior with understanding. This relational practice evokes the idea teachers often hear in practice to "meet students where they are." The examples in this section suggest that forming relationships with students involves adjusting to where they are in their development as teenagers, and understanding their behavior in terms of their development. As Paley (1986) wrote, "the first order of reality in the classroom is the student's point of view" (p. 127), an idea that underscores the importance of teachers tolerating what seem like misbehavior but are really evidence of adolescent development. For teaching adolescents, research suggests the importance of teachers adjusting to students' development and recognizing students as "persons-in-the-making" (Hansen, 1998). One study of middle school teachers focused on the idea of reciprocity in the way teachers related to their students, which they defined as "an openness to the specifically early-adolescent side of their students' behavior" (Schwartz, Merten & Bursik, 1987, p. 358). Teachers who were more reciprocal had a higher tolerance for student behaviors that could be seen as immature but were actually evidence of healthy development. For example, highly reciprocal teachers allowed students to carry classroom discussions

seemingly off course because they viewed these tangents as opportunities to learn about students and as evidence of students' learning and development. They described such teachers as "intrigued by the process by which young people are formulating their sense of self" (p. 358).

In addition to seeing behavior as an expression of development, supporting students who have been impacted by trauma or adverse childhood experiences requires teachers to see behavior as emotional and rooted in past traumas (Cole, O'Brien, Gadd, Ristuccia, Wallace, & Gregory, 2009; Hertel et al., 2009). For these vulnerable students, showing them "unconditional positive regard," or consistently supporting students positively despite their mistakes, keeps connections strong (Hertel et al., 2009). Whether contextualizing students' inevitable stumbles as characteristic of their adolescent development or as manifestations of trauma they have endured or are living through, relationships with students require teachers to react with understanding and the benefit of the doubt, rather than disappointment, anger, or consequences.

Make a point of noticing students. Several studies emphasize the need for teachers to make frequent individual contact with students to build closer relationships. In one study, teachers described relationships with particular students in terms of how frequently they talked with that student, again showing the importance of frequent contact and individual acknowledgment in forming relationships (Davis, 2006). Specifically for children who have experienced trauma or adverse childhood experiences, making frequent and positive individual contact helps reaffirm the connection and build trust (Hertel et al., 2009). Also, for students who are lower-performing, publicly recognizing their expertise or accomplishments in front of their peers helps build equity and community (Cohen, Lotan, Scarloss & Arellano, 1999).

Using an allusion to dramatic scripts, Hansen (1989) suggested that many of these important interactions happen "in the brackets," the parts of a script where the stage directions to actors are located, such as directions about what mood to portray or insights about what previous events led up to the main action. Hansen argued that, similarly in the classroom, the moments before, after, and in between the main action of a lesson are important spaces in which teachers interact with and notice students. In an example of this, Uhrmacher (1993) illustrated how teachers in one school made frequent contact with individual students through daily rituals, like personal handshakes at the end of the school day. He called these encounters "focal activities" and saw them as crucial to making sure no student felt unnoticed (p. 437).

Share about one's own life. The literature suggests that one way teachers can build relationships with students is to share genuinely about their own experiences. For students to be open and for compassionate relationships to form between teachers and students, teachers need to take the first step toward being vulnerable by sharing about themselves (Cammarota & Romero, 2006). In that study, the authors argue that, "Students need to see us as complete human beings and interact with us on an emotional level before engaging with us intellectually" (p. 20). Students in another study felt they could form more positive relationships with teachers when teachers talked about their own experiences at the students' age, their challenges when they were students, and their personal lives (Davis, 2006). Some students felt that caring teachers "tell you the truth" (Wentzel, 1997, p. 416) and use a caring and genuine tone (McHugh et al., 2012). In Schwartz et al.'s (1987) study of middle school teachers, part of being a reciprocal teacher who welcomed students' input was sharing about one's own experiences, such as memories of being a student. In these ways, building the trust that it takes to build relationships requires openness and vulnerability on the teacher's part to be the first one to share genuine and personal information. Especially for students who have experienced trauma and have difficulty trusting adults, if adults take the first step to share about themselves, students feel more comfortable reciprocating and emerging from behind some of the protective walls they have constructed to survive previously.

Use humor. Strategically using humor contributed in several studies to building positive relationships with students. For example, teachers who were sensitive to their students' development also tended to tolerate or participate in adolescent joking in class (Schwartz et al., 1987). Hargreaves (1998) explained how humor helped build connections between students and teachers because "humor was what made [teachers] human to each other and to their students" (p. 848). Davis (2006) found that teachers sometimes used humor to engage students and to redirect poor behavior. Thus, using humor seems to serve a practical and emotional role in the forming of relationships. Similarly to teachers sharing about themselves, teachers showing they have a sense of humor would likely put students at ease to be more open about themselves.

Motivations and Contributions

To summarize, the five relational teaching practices identified from prior research have the potential to help teachers form positive relationships but are just a start for understanding teachers' relational practices more deeply. This synthesis of practices is useful for generating a list of broad potential ways to build relationships, but synthesizing findings from studies across

different types of communities and teachers fails to capture a complete picture of how these practices work in a particular context. Whereas the practices above represent noble goals for relational teaching practice, they stop short of consistently breaking the practices down into tangible actions real teachers can apply in their work. Additionally, synthesizing five practices across studies does not illustrate how those five practices might build on one another as a set in *one* classroom.

Therefore, this study set out to describe more comprehensively what one teacher or community of teachers did to foster relationships with students. Unlike some of the studies above that, for instance, set out to describe a type of teaching style or detailed what a humanizing pedagogy looks like and *incidentally* generated a partial picture of a relational teaching practice, this study specifically set out to create a rich, full picture of relational teaching practices by going inside three classrooms solely for the purpose of describing the individual relational practices teachers enacted, how they reinforced and interacted with each other, and why they worked in this context. Furthermore, this study identifies concrete practical techniques teachers can use in their relational practice and provides specific insights into how these particular practices work and the aims to which they contribute. This study is guided by the focal question:

What teaching practices help Lincoln teachers build relationships with students?

Methods

This is a qualitative case study of three teachers in one school that aims to portray how positive relationships with adolescent students are built. Rather than compare the teachers to one another, this study analyzes the teachers together as a group of relationally adept teachers whose philosophy is to prioritize relationships. As will be evident, although the teachers had their own unique teaching approaches, the similarities in their relational practices underscore a goal in this work: to articulate relational practices *all* teachers can enact, even if they are then adapted to their context or to their individual practice.

I purposefully selected this school because of its reputation for prioritizing relationships in a number of ways. Students are paired with one teacher advisor for ongoing non-academic support, with time devoted weekly for one-on-one check-in meetings and community-building activities. Teachers are given time and professional support (e.g., frequent professional development about mental health supports) to cultivate relationships with their students, and they work collegially to keep each other informed about their students and support each other's

relationships. The school also has a centralized soft skills curriculum that teaches students explicitly how to do their part to have positive relationships with teachers. The soft skills curriculum also spells out behavioral expectations and creates a common language across the school so that disciplinary interactions become less personalized to the teacher or the student and more a reflection of school expectations, which the teachers felt helped them stay on positive terms with students more easily after disciplinary interactions. Within this school, I purposefully selected teachers who were perceived by the Dean to be outstanding at building relationships, as described more below. This study draws on observations of the teachers' classes, meetings with colleagues, and meetings with students, as well as four longer interviews with each teacher and short interviews with 20 students. I use a grounded theory analytic approach to identify the key relational teaching practices enacted by these teachers.

Setting

This qualitative case study took place at Lincoln,[2] a public middle college academy serving high school age students on a community college campus in the Midwest. Students who have completed one or two years of high school in the area of Lincoln can apply by lottery to the middle college. As a middle college, Lincoln allows students to complete their high school course requirements and then earn an Associate's degree or technical certificate on the community college campus. About 100 students graduate from Lincoln each year. In the year before this study took place, 85% of Lincoln graduates earned an Associate's degree; the rest earned technical certificates. Nearly half of Lincoln's graduates are first-generation college students. In the year prior to this study, the racial/ethnic breakdown consisted of 76% white students, 11% African-American students, 6% students identifying as multiple races, 5% Asian-American students, and 1% Latinx students; within these groups, Lincoln also has a sizeable Arab-American population, though a specific number is not currently collected by Lincoln.

Lincoln has 19 teachers, two counselors, and is led by a Dean. The physical space Lincoln occupies is a rectangular loop of offices in one wing of a building on the community college campus. At the entrance to Lincoln is the Dean's office, the school secretary's desk, a reception area for visitors, and a teacher work room. Two long hallways extend down the wing from the reception area, with teachers' offices lining both hallways completing the rectangular loop. As a result, Lincoln teachers do not have their own classrooms. In keeping with the fact

[2] Names of all locations and individuals are pseudonyms to protect participants' identities.

that Lincoln is a middle college, Lincoln teachers hold their classes in many classrooms around the community college campus, as college professors do. The teachers teach high school classes (English, Critical Thinking, math, science, and related electives) to all 9th graders and students who have not yet transitioned to full college schedules. Students who have completed their high school requirements take courses with the community college professors, who function separately from the Lincoln faculty.

All teachers and counselors also serve as advisors to a group of students they advise from the time students begin at the school through graduation. The advising model creates a one-on-one advising relationship between each student and advisor as well as a group relationship among the advisees of a given year for a given advisor. Until students advance to a college schedule, they attend advisory class with the fellow advisees of their advisor together on Friday mornings; the rest of the day follows a slightly abbreviated course schedule. The one-hour weekly advisory class focuses on things like identifying career pathways of interest, community building, and providing general guidance on academic or non-academic issues. Students also meet with their advisors one-on-one routinely throughout the course of their time at Lincoln; depending on the student's needs, these meetings could be daily, weekly, monthly, or a few times per term. If an entering student has a sibling already at the school, they are assigned the same advisor. All teachers post office hours sign-ups on their doors and hold regular office hours daily before school, after school, and during their planning period, of which all teachers have at least one 80-minute one daily. Students can attend office hours with any teacher, the most common examples being students meeting with their advisors for routine check-ins and students meeting with an academic teacher about some aspect of their learning.

Ideal study context due to school-level relational supports. My selection of Lincoln as a research context was purposeful (Maxwell, 2013). Given my aim of studying teachers' relationships with students, Lincoln was an excellent site for this work because of the prevalence of positive student-teacher relationships that form through its advising model. As an organization, Lincoln prioritizes these advising relationships by dedicating formal time for the relationships to build. Students are assigned an advisor when they begin attending Lincoln, and that advisor helps them navigate the entire program for the duration of their time at Lincoln. Every Friday, each advisor meets with his or her advisees for community building and for lessons on choosing a career pathway, registering for classes at the community college, and the

like. Every day, each teacher has time built into his or her schedule to meet with students one-on-one in office hours, and students sign up either via email or on paper sign-up sheets on each teacher's office door. Depending on the student's needs, advisors meet with their advisees sometimes daily, weekly, monthly, or just once or twice per term. Having office hours also allows teachers to meet one-on-one with students in their academic classes who they do not advise but who need academic support.

Related to advising, the credentialing process along with the emphasis on having a soft skills curriculum both support teachers in forming relationships with students. Each September and early October, every class taught at Lincoln begins with a 10-20 minute mini-lesson on a soft skill, ranging from topics like following through on plans (i.e., showing up to a scheduled meeting) to professional ways to communicate with teachers to how to set up a meeting with a professor to understanding the concept of a locus of control or a conflict style and reflecting on one's own inclinations. A typical student at Lincoln progressing through one school day in September receives, then, about an hour of soft skills curriculum, with all teachers working from a common soft skills manual that all students receive. As described in more detail later, the teachers in this study all described how having the soft skills curriculum helps their relationships with students because it gives them a common language for addressing problems, which reduces the risk of students personalizing the behavior and resenting the teacher who addresses the issue. By recasting behavior issues as opportunities to improve on soft skills, Lincoln has created a way for teachers to maintain positive relationships with students as coaches of their growth rather than disciplinarians who risk alienating students. Demonstrating mastery of these soft skills becomes part of what students need to advance from high school to college classes, which they refer to as getting credentialed. The credentialing process involves teachers as a group deciding when Lincoln students are ready to move from high school to college classes, a decision based on a combination of information—academic performance, success on college placement tests, and a soft skills grade. Twice per term, school is cancelled for students so that teachers can meet as a faculty to discuss each student's readiness for college, one by one, which leads to detailed discussions about an array of academic and non-academic aspects of students' lives. As elaborated below, Lincoln teachers saw the combination of advising, soft skills curriculum, and credentialing meetings as contributing to their ability to form positive relationships with students

due to opening up a flow of information among colleagues and depersonalizing some of the potential conflicts in a student-teacher relationship.

Another way Lincoln supports relationship building traces to its leadership and professional culture. The Dean makes strong efforts to treat teachers like professionals. He supports them in developing new curriculum and trying out new ideas, in being part of all decisions the school makes, and in striking a work-life balance that allows them, for example, to leave school early for their own child's Halloween party at school, as I observed Mr. Adler do one day. He gives them independence and trusts them as professionals to challenge themselves, such as letting them choose their own professional goals for improvement to serve as their teacher evaluation, rather than evaluating them through other means. All of the teachers in my study expressed their appreciation for the Dean's supportive leadership. As a group of colleagues, the teachers were strong collaborators, regularly exchanging materials with each other and meeting to co-plan classes. For example, Mrs. Carroll fully shared her curriculum for her critical thinking class with Mrs. Ventura, who was in her third year at Lincoln, so that Mrs. Ventura did not have to develop new curriculum. Similarly, new teachers at Lincoln advise just one student in their first year to learn how to advise without the stress of having a full class of advisees and a new set of classes to teach; in their second year, they are given a full class of advisees. Mrs. Carroll explained that feeling trusted and supported as a professional in these ways helped her have the emotional capacity and headspace to build better relationships with students. By making many aspects of teachers' jobs at Lincoln less demanding (i.e., fewer classes to prepare for, receiving material from colleagues, advising one student in the first year), teachers have energy and time to devote to building relationships.

Students' positive perceptions of relationships. Although Lincoln seemed to me as an observer like an ideal context for studying positive relationships, and although the administration and teachers affirmed that belief, a necessary perspective to gain was that of the students since relationships are bidirectional. Indeed, on top of finding that Lincoln supports relationship building due to these aspects of how the school operates, I also confirmed that students at Lincoln viewed their relationships with teachers there quite favorably on the whole, and especially with the three teacher participants in my study. To ascertain students' perceptions, I interviewed 20 students about their relationships with teachers. Each student described their relationships with teachers I either asked them about (the three in the study) or that they

volunteered (their advisors, or others). I asked them questions such as “Do you think _____ has been trying to build a relationship with you? How do you know?”; “What do you think about ____ as a teacher?”; “Do you think ____ knows the ‘real you’ or knows you well? Why?” and the like. In total, they discussed 88 relationships they had with their Lincoln teachers. Appendix D describes in more depth the analytic methods employed to discern students’ perceptions of their relationships.

On the whole, the students confirmed relationships with Lincoln teachers were positive. Figure 1 shows Lincoln students’ evaluations of their relationships, ranging from favorable, to unfavorable, to neutral/unclear, to mixed (a mix of favorable and unfavorable). First, for the three teachers in this study, students’ perceptions of their relationships were favorable 89% of the time, and no student said they had an unfavorable relationship with a teacher in this study. A proportion of nearly 9 in 10 students reporting a positive relationship with the teachers in this study is very strong, considering that secondary students in other studies have frequently described their relationships with teachers as distant and their teachers as uncaring (McHugh et al., 2012; Schussler & Collins, 2006; Schwartz, Merten & Bursik, 1987). In my own prior work (included at Appendix E) with the Measures of Effective Teaching dataset, I found in my analytic sample of nearly 70,000 6th-9th graders in six US urban districts that, on average, students did not perceive their relationships to be as close or caring as Lincoln students. For instance, on average, the students in that study felt it was only “somewhat true” (rather than mostly or totally true) that their teachers cared about them, understood how they felt about things, knew if something was bothering them, or knew them well.

At Lincoln, the findings were however more mixed for *other* Lincoln teachers that students mentioned by name. Just over half of those relationships were considered favorable by students (52%), while about 20% were considered unfavorable, with the rest neutral/unclear or mixed. In the ten cases where students discussed Lincoln teachers generally without naming one (i.e., “teachers here are…”), they were usually favorable evaluations (80%) and the rest of the time neutral/unclear (20%). Given Lincoln students’ mostly positive assessments of their relationships with the teachers at Lincoln and especially with Mr. Adler, Mrs. Carroll, and Mrs. Ventura, Lincoln served as a useful site to pursue this research.

Participants

Participants in this study included three teachers and 20 students. I chose the three teacher participants with the help of the Dean. After meeting with him in April 2017 to discuss the goals of my research, he spoke with various members of the faculty who he thought might be interested in participating in the study based on their past interest in research and/or his perception of their effectiveness in building relationships with students. In June 2017, I visited the school to meet with three interested teachers where I explained my goals and answered their questions; all three enthusiastically agreed to participate and ultimately completed all anticipated parts of the study. As Figure 1 indicates, even within the strong relational environment of Lincoln, the three teachers in this study stood out as having overwhelmingly positive relationships from students' points of view. All teachers were given a $250 Visa gift card for their participation made possible by a Rackham Graduate Student Research grant.

Mrs. Ventura. Mrs. Ventura teaches 9th grade English and middle college[3] Critical Thinking.[4] She is in her third year teaching at Lincoln, but her 16th year as a teacher. Previously, she taught middle school English in a nearby public district. While in that district, she was asked to help start a project-based learning school, where she taught for a few years before briefly moving to another neighboring district, and then to Lincoln. She has a Master's in reading. Originally from another state and region, Mrs. Ventura is white, married, and has two children.

Mrs. Carroll. Mrs. Carroll teaches middle college Critical Thinking, including for the Reading Support group of lower-skilled readers. She is in her seventh year teaching at Lincoln and her 13th year overall. Prior to Lincoln, she taught in a public middle school in a different state. In that position, she was assigned to teach students who were below grade-level readers, which she enjoyed and which caused her to pursue a reading specialist graduate degree and position at the school. At Lincoln, she helped develop the Critical Thinking curriculum and reading specialist role, and she also serves as an instructional coach for other teachers, as well as a teacher leader sometimes coordinating professional development. She is National Board certified. Originally from another state and region, she is white, married, and has no children.

Mr. Adler. Mr. Adler teaches 9th grade English and middle college English, and he is also the teacher leader for the 9th grade team, which he helped start five years ago. He is in his 16th year at Lincoln, where he has been for his whole teaching career. In recent years, he has

[3] Classes are referred to as 'middle college' if they are for students who are not yet taking college classes but also are not in 9th grade.
[4] Critical Thinking is a course at Lincoln focused mainly on reading practice and reading strategies.

also become an instructional coach, working with other faculty on their teaching. He is pursuing an administrative degree at a nearby university part-time. He is originally from the same town in which the school is located, and his siblings even attended Lincoln (though he did not). He is white and has one child.

I recruited 20 student participants to participate in 25-minute after-school interviews. Each teacher set aside about 10 minutes for recruitment during two different class periods each. Mrs. Ventura and Mrs. Carroll had me explain my study and answer students' questions before allowing interested students to sign up while they were working on class activities; Mr. Adler gave the majority of the overview himself and then had students follow up with me after class. In total, I recruited eight students from Mrs. Ventura, eight from Mrs. Carroll, and four from Mr. Adler, but many students were able to speak about two or all three focal teachers since they had relationships with them as well. To encourage participation, I gave students the option of participating alone or with a friend as long as they both agreed to participate together. Fourteen students participated as individuals and six students participated with a friend, resulting in a total of 17 student interviews I conducted. Students were fairly diverse in terms of their age in the program, their gender, and their race. Eight students were 9th graders, and 12 were middle college students. Twelve participants were girls, and eight were boys. Eleven participants were white, four were Arab-American, two were African-American, and two were Latina.

Data Collection

Data collection for this study occurred from August 2017 through December 2017 and drew on half- and full-day observations plus teacher and student interviews. Table 3-1 shows my data collection timeline. My observations of each teacher took place in two parts. First, I observed each teacher for one full and one half day in mid-September to ensure that I would see each teacher relatively near the start of the school year and gain a sense for how the teacher began to build relationships in this early part of the year.[5] Next, I observed each teacher for more time—Mrs. Ventura for seven consecutive school days at the end of September, Mrs. Carroll for three consecutive school days in early October and three consecutive school days in late October[6], and Mr. Adler for eight consecutive school days during early November. I conducted

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[5] Lincoln asked that I refrain from observing during the first two weeks of teachers' time with students, so this was the earliest time I could observe.

[6] Mrs. Carroll's observation days were broken up due to Lincoln's registration and assessment period in October where typical class schedules are interrupted for two weeks.

all teachers' first interviews prior to all observations. Each teacher's second interview and each teacher's students' interviews were conducted around the last day of observation for that teacher. All third and fourth interviews happened after concluding all observations.

Observations. I observed at Lincoln for a total of 29 school days. During that time, I observed the teachers in a variety of contexts. Table 3-2 summarizes the types of events I observed for each teacher and overall. Of the 29 days I observed, 26 involved observing the teacher's full school day (i.e., teaching, advising, meetings). I also attended the school's back to school orientation for students and families, as well as two days of credentialing meetings, where the faculty meet together and discuss individual students' progress, concerns, and readiness to transition to college classes at Lincoln. During all observations, I focused on the three teachers in my study even when other teachers were there. For example, if a teacher not in my study was presenting at credentialing meetings, I was focused on the reactions and participation of the three teachers in my study, even if they were simply listening and nodding.

I observed a total of 100 "events." This included a total of 48 academic class periods, each 80 minutes long, with 17 for Mrs. Ventura, 16 for Mrs. Carroll, and 15 for Mr. Adler. For Mrs. Ventura, I observed 9 periods of 9th grade English and 8 periods of Middle College Critical Thinking. For Mrs. Carroll, I observed 16 periods of Middle College Critical Thinking (with two different groups of students based on reading levels). For Mr. Adler, I observed 7 periods of 9th grade English and 8 periods of Middle College English. I also watched a total of 40 one-on-one student meetings in teachers' offices. I observed Mrs. Ventura meet with a total of 12 students, Mr. Adler with 9 students, and Mrs. Carroll with 19, a larger number due to the fact that she had two periods free for office hours during the school day, whereas Mrs. Ventura and Mr. Adler only had one. I also observed Mrs. Carroll and Mr. Adler teach in the Friday morning advising classes; I did not see the same for Mrs. Ventura because her Friday advising class during my observation period did not occur due to a community-building field trip (which I did not attend). Finally, I also observed the teachers in faculty meetings, in conversations with parents, a meeting with the Dean, and in credentialing meetings.

Before the first classroom observation and at the start of each meeting observation, the teachers introduced me to the students involved and verified that I had their permission to observe; no students declined. During observations that took place in classrooms (e.g., teaching, credentialing, orientation), I sat near the back in an empty student desk, talking to students

occasionally but mostly observing silently. During meeting observations in teachers' offices, I sat in the office but apart from where the teacher and student were sitting to preserve the intimacy of their one-on-one conversations.

While observing each of these events, I took detailed observation notes in a notebook, capturing verbatim quotes wherever possible.[7] In shorthand notes, I attended mainly to what teachers were saying and doing, as well as to individual interactions with students. I did not attend as strongly to, for example, conversations between students not directly interacting with the teacher. During all observations, my notes began before the class or meeting did and ended after the end in order to capture some of the interactions occurring before and after class, the small talk exchanges on the way to and from a meeting, and the like—the important action that Hansen (1989) refers to as occurring in "the brackets." At the end of every day of observing, I typed my field notes into more detailed and comprehensive narratives of that day (Emerson, Fretz & Shaw, 2011). Although I considered expanding on just a selection of events from each day, I decided to include in my longer field notes *all* observations made during the day, hypothesizing that relationship-building could be occurring in ways that would not be apparent if I excluded some information too early in the process.

Teacher interviews. I conducted semi-structured interviews with each teacher four times for about 60 minutes each time. Teacher interview protocols are included in Appendix A. I audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim all interviews. The first interview, conducted prior to any observations, primarily focused on gathering information about the teacher's personal and professional biography and past relationships with students. The second interview focused on practices I had observed as well as current relationships with students I had observed them teach or advise. The emphasis in the third interview was on teachers' attention to "non-academic" aspects of students' lives, some potential school-level supports for relationship-building, and again about current relationships, this time with students I had interviewed. Lastly, the fourth

[7] I chose not to audio-record observation events because I did not plan to directly transcribe them and felt that it was less invasive to simply sit and take notes in a notebook. I considered audio-recording just for the purposes of being able to double-check particular statements that I jotted down, but I decided against this because the volume of recordings to sift through, since my observations were so long, would have outweighed their utility to me.

interview aimed to synthesize teachers' concluding thoughts about their relational work and the students we had discussed throughout the term.[8]

Student interviews. I conducted semi-structured interviews with 20 students after school for about 25 minutes each after observing them in classrooms and meetings. Fourteen students opted to be interviewed on their own, and six students opted to be interviewed together, for three sets of pairs. I spent slightly longer when interviewing two students together. The student interview protocol is included in Appendix A. I audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim all student interviews. The student interview gathered information about students' perceptions of their relationships with the teachers in this study and practices those teachers enacted. The student interview also asked students about their general experiences with relationships with teachers outside of the study to provide some context for each student's preferences and past.

Analytic memos. About every other day during observation weeks, I wrote brief analytic memos seeking to connect what I was observing back to the research questions (Lareau, 1992). On the last day of an observation window for a given teacher, I wrote a longer analytic memo about possible emerging themes, questions, and interpretations reflecting on my whole time with a given teacher. These memos clarified my thinking around what to ask the teachers in the three interviews with each teacher that took place after observations were completed. They also functioned as early thoughts on what later became codes during analyses.

Analytic Method

My final dataset for this study included my full body of observation notes, all 12 teacher interview transcripts, and all 17 student interview transcripts. I stored and analyzed all data in the qualitative software program, NVivo. As outlined above, this analysis investigated the research question: What teaching practices help Lincoln teachers build relationships with students? As a first step in my analysis, I restricted my dataset to those parts of the data that were potentially responsive to this question. To be specific, this included responses to Teacher Interview 1 questions C1-2 (e.g., "Think of one student you feel you had a great connection with… tell me about that student… why did you connect well with that student?"); Teacher Interview 2 questions A3-4, B1-3, D1-2, E1-2 (e.g., "What do you do to introduce yourself to students at the beginning of the year?" "What would you say are the types of interactions you have with

[8] While these interviews were a main source of data for this study, parts of these interviews, which focused on teachers' biographies and their understanding of their relational roles, were also the focal dataset for Chapter 4. In describing the data analysis, below, I clarify which interview questions were used in this study.

students?" Why do you do ____ (practice I observed)? Do you think it is helpful in building relationships? How?"); Teacher Interview 3 questions A1-2, B1-3, and D1-3 (e.g., "While teaching, what non-academic things are you noticing or thinking about or looking for?" What do you tend to get from or contribute to credentialing?" "Tell me about _____ (student I interviewed)… what comes to mind? How is the relationship as you see it? What experiences do you think you draw on to connect with him/her?"; and Teacher Interview 4 questions A1-2, A6, C1-2, and D2 (e.g., "Would your relationships with students be different if you taught, say, math?" "Are students the leading source of information you have about them?" "How would you describe the groups or types of students you typically encounter here? Do you approach relationships with each group differently?"); plus any other passage where a teacher discussed their relationships with students. I also included for this analysis passages where students spoke about their teachers' practices, in response to questions A1-2, A7-8, or B1-14. Most importantly, my full body of observation notes from classroom and meeting observations were included in this analysis and served as the bulk of the data upon which this study relied.

After creating the dataset responsive to this research question, I divided the data into idea units — whenever a new main idea began, either in what I observed in observation notes or in what a teacher or student was discussing during an interview. To ensure that each unit was complete and could be understood on its own, I erred on the side of creating longer rather than shorter units, usually about one or two paragraphs of observation notes or one question and answer pair in interviews. Appendix F provides examples of units identified alongside their coding.

After breaking data into idea units, I conducted several rounds of inductive coding (Charmaz, 2014). Through that iterative process, I identified eight codes that became the final codes and were applied to the full dataset: (1) forming a complete picture of who students are; (2) connecting through shared interest in content; (3) initiating or allowing conversations unrelated to class or meetings; (4) sharing about one's own life; and (5) reflecting on one's own limitations or natural preferences in relationships; (6) responding to issues with tolerance and understanding; (7) recognizing and valuing students; and (8) protecting students' dignity through

compassionate interactions.[9] I allowed for multiple coding of these eight codes. If a unit did not exhibit any of the eight codes, it simply was not coded or retained.

What constituted a relational practice at this stage relied on a few factors I considered as I coded. First, I coded for practices that were generally prevalent and/or appeared across all three teachers. Second, I coded for practices that I perceived as relating to relationships, specifically practices that involved interpersonal interactions between students and teachers, emotional experiences, a focus on well-being, and the like. For instance, I could have identified building community as a practice, but instead I focused on the related practices of forming a picture of who students are and sharing about one's own life—which are part of building a community but more interpersonally and emotionally focused and more accurately reflected exactly what I saw the teachers doing. My arrival at these eight relational practices likely began—even if subconsciously—before I even began coding and grew out of my observation jottings and analytic memos that I wrote during observation. In those ongoing reflections during data collection, I began to notice and grapple with the big ideas that ultimately became or were reflected in these eight practices. For example, the practice of protecting students' dignity through compassionate interactions, in addition to arising inductively from my coding, stemmed from my margin notes of mentions of dignity by the Dean during student orientation, by teachers during faculty meetings, by teachers in their conversations with me in between classes, and as I observed these dignity-filled moments day to day.

Before coding the full dataset with these eight codes, a colleague and I coded the same 20 representative units with 40 total codes.[10] We had initial agreement of 88%; my colleague coded 35 out of my 40 codes in the same way I had. My summary of joint coding undertaken with a colleague is shown at Appendix G. My rationale in collaborating with a peer at this stage was to ensure that I was applying the units and codes consistently and had articulated decision rules that

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[9] Arriving at the final set of eight codes involved revisions through several rounds of early coding. For instance, in earlier iterations of my coding process, the code "responding to issues with tolerance and understanding" initially consisted of two codes—allowing some misbehavior and trying to understand students' issues. The code "recognizing and valuing students" initially consisted also of two codes—noticing students and showing students they were valued and important. I combined both of these into the final codes reflected. The labels of each of the final eight codes shifted somewhat throughout the iterative process (and during the post-coding process) to become more specific (i.e., "forming a complete picture of who students are" began as "getting to know students" and "protecting students' dignity through compassionate interactions" began as simply "protecting students' dignity."

[10] There were a total of 2,088 units, so the 20 units chosen for this exercise were simply meant to represent the full set of units and codes and not to reach a certain percentage of the total data, which would have required many more units.

could be understood by others, since I independently coded the full dataset after our collaborative coding.

Once I had coded the data with the eight codes described, I reflected and wrote analytic memos in an attempt to understand what the eight codes captured, initially writing about one code at a time, and then thinking across codes or groups of codes. After writing about each code, I reflected on whether the eight codes represented practices in the way I intended and the way Lampert described, and after fine-tuning some of the labels as described above, I concluded that the eight codes each reflected a grain size reflective of a teaching practice. Next, I considered how the practices related to each other by thinking about how to group them or which practices seemed to go together (since eight discrete practices felt more difficult to grapple with as a researcher and for future readers). My initial idea was to group the practices into three categories based on "where" the practice occurred: behind the scenes (practices 1 and 5), in class or meetings (practices 2, 3, 4, and 6), and "beyond" (practices 7 and 8). Another idea I explored was to think of the practices as falling along a spectrum from more academic in nature to more personal in nature; for example, connecting over a shared interest in content would be more academic and sharing about one's own life would be more personal.

Unsure, I continued to reflect on how to group the practices and chose to read back through the teachers' interviews for inspiration, which gave me the idea to organize the practices based on Mr. Adler's concept of building students up. This distinction helped me see the practices in terms of their underlying relational functions. I realized that many of the practices enabled teachers to build relationships—the first five listed above. I also realized that the other three practices, while they contributed to building and sustaining relationships, went a step beyond to do what Mr. Adler was describing—to build students up and make them feel empowered, healthier, and happier. For those reasons, I categorized practices into either primarily contributing to building relationships or primarily contributing to building students up. While all eight practices *both* build relationships and build students up in some way, my categorization reflects my interpretation of the practices' *primary* functions.

While completing this study, I tried to maintain self-awareness of the biases I brought to the work. As a former teacher who prioritized building relationships and built many meaningful ones with students, I was aware in this study of my strong conviction that relationships are the most important aspect of a child's education. Although this belief likely helped me notice and

focus on relationship building, it could have also obscured other important aspects of teaching that I am perhaps less likely to see. For example, during classroom observations I found it natural and easy to capture in my notes the rapid-fire conversations Mrs. Carroll had with her students before class started because I saw this as a key way to build relationships in my teaching as well, so it was familiar to me. At the same time, my notes were less detailed during more purely academic interactions, such as when Mrs. Carroll presented new concepts or worked with the class to complete an assignment together because I saw these interactions as attending more to the academic needs of students rather than their social-emotional needs; for instance, my notes were not detailed in the case of presenting a PowerPoint of concepts as students copied down notes, but without any interactions other than reading the slides aloud and waiting for students to take notes, but if she transitioned even for a moment to talking to a student or going beyond simply reading from the slide, I noted those details. Due to my belief in the centrality of relationships and especially ones that attend to social-emotional needs, it is possible that my observations and interview questions overly foregrounded some parts of teachers' practices and minimized other parts. By collecting data from a variety of sources and being able to triangulate them—my own observations, teachers' interpretations of what I observed, and students' interpretations of what I observed—I designed into this study a check against my own interpretations carrying the study. I also shared my initial interpretations with the three teacher participants during and after data collection, and I presented my initial findings to the Lincoln faculty in May 2018. In some cases, the participants simply agreed with my interpretations, and in other cases, they shared a slightly different interpretation with me, which I incorporated into my data. For example, whereas one of my initial interpretations was that having advising at Lincoln "freed up" time in class to focus more on academics, Mr. Adler and Mrs. Carroll both clarified for me how they viewed that balance. They echoed each other in explaining that they still felt they used substantial class time to have advising-type relational interactions and non-academic conversations, and that they did not see boundaries as distinctly as I initially did between advising outside of class to free up time and energy for focusing more on content inside of class. This led to productive conversations with them about how they viewed that balance.

Another bias I brought to this study was my assumption that exemplary relational practices were being enacted in this context. If this study took place in a school that I had selected randomly (and not intentionally because the Dean recommended it as a site of good

relationship-building), I might not have assumed as strongly that I would see strong relational practice. It is possible that my observations and interpretations were colored by a desire to see practices that others insisted were there. It is also possible that I overlooked instances of poor connections between students and teachers or weaker enactment of relational teaching practices due to an assumption that only good relational teaching practice occurred at Lincoln. Throughout this study, I flagged and have tried to include in my findings any such instances where I observed or heard in interviews about less successful relational work.

I was also reflective during my observations and interviews about how I was inevitably changing the very environment I was observing. During observations, I sat near the back of the room, if possible not directly next to any students to maintain separation from the class, and I did not participate in class discussions or interact with students during classes. During one-on-one meetings, I sat apart from the teacher and student as well. Nevertheless, in both of these cases I was aware that my mere presence in the room was likely changing what I was observing. For example, I noticed during an early observation that one of the teachers in my study responded, in my perception, rather sarcastically and harshly to a student who was packing up materials before the end of class, and then seemed to remember my presence, softened the tone, and changed the subject. It seemed, however, that the longer I spent in the classrooms and offices of the Lincoln teachers, the more my presence went unnoticed and teachers' and students' interactions seemed more authentic, so designing the data collection to occur during the entire September through November time period helped teachers and students be more comfortable with my presence and act more authentically like themselves. In addition, by interviewing each teacher prior to observing them, I started to build trust early. Furthermore, since the first interview focused on gathering information about the teachers' childhoods and lives before teaching, as well as having them recall relationships with past students, these first interview conversations were pleasant and led to the discovery of things I shared in common with each teacher, offering us an early point of connection. I believe this helped convince the teachers that I was interested, supportive, and shared similar values.

Findings

In this study, I set out to understand what relationally adept teaching practice looks like in one specific context. My analysis revealed eight practices that three Lincoln teachers[11] enacted in support of their relationships with students. In reality, Lincoln teachers enacted many more practices, and these eight practices likely do not capture the entirety of what they do. These findings reflect my effort to understand key themes and concrete examples of the shared relational practices of a carefully chosen group of relationally adept teachers.

The practices identified in this analysis are categorized into two main sets of practices. These two sets of practices, all relational in nature, diverge in their primary function: one to build relationships with students and the other to "build students up," drawing on a statement by Mr. Adler. The ideas of building a relationship with a student and building a student up are closely related and reinforce each other; however, they are distinguishable from one another in their underlying function. Whereas building a relationship involves the teacher attending to the interpersonal connection she shares with a student, building a student up involves the teacher attending to the student himself; the former is often a foundation for the latter, though they can each occur without the other. Building a relationship with a student captures all that teachers do from initially meeting a student to learning about, interacting with, and connecting with each other in a way that becomes familiar and supportive. A teacher could build a relationship without also building a student up; for example, a teacher might learn a student is on the basketball team and chat with him about the movies he likes but then issue a detention for arriving late to class without trying to understand an underlying issue. Building a student up, as explained more below, entails making a student feel or be better in some way—accepted, valued, empowered, healthy, or happy, to name a few. Just like it is possible to build a relationship without building a student up, it is also possible to build a student up without much of a relationship having been built, such as in the early days of a school year. Ultimately, although each practice was sorted into the category that reflected its *primary* function, all eight practices likely contribute both to building relationships and building students up.

Figure 3-2 illustrates the practices and the sets to which they belong. The first set consists of five practices that primarily functioned to help teachers build and maintain positive relationships with students. These five practices included: (1) forming a complete picture of who

[11] Throughout, I refer to "the Lincoln teachers" specifically to mean the three Lincoln teachers I studied, not every Lincoln teacher.

students are; (2) connecting through shared interest in content; (3) initiating or allowing conversations unrelated to class or meetings; (4) sharing about one's own life; and (5) reflecting on one's own limitations or natural preferences in relationships. The second set consists of three practices that primarily functioned to "build students up," a phrase used by one teacher, which I explain in more detail below. These three practices included: (6) responding to issues with tolerance and understanding; (7) recognizing and valuing students; and (8) protecting students' dignity through compassionate interactions.

Table 3-3 shows the number and percentage of main idea units coded with each practice, from most to least prevalent; the right-hand columns show the data sources from which the coded units came. First, in terms of the overarching categories, 73% of units (1,514 units) were coded with a practice that built relationships, while 42% of units (871 units) were coded with a practice that built students up. Forming a complete picture of who students are was the most prevalently coded practice, coded for one-third of all units. This was likely due to the many units coming from observation notes taken during credentialing meetings where the purpose of the meeting was for teachers to inform each other about students. The next most common practices in terms of frequency were responding to issues with tolerance and understanding and initiating or allowing conversations unrelated to class or meetings, each coded for about one-fifth of the units. Sharing about one's own life, protecting students' dignity through compassionate interactions, and recognizing and valuing students were each found in about 10% of units. Less common were connecting through shared interest in content and reflecting on one's own limitations or natural preferences in relationships, both of which were found in fewer than 5% of units.

Figure 3-3 illustrates the number of codes assigned to units for each of the three teachers in the study; for readability, codes are numbered (i)-(viii) and correspond to the labels in Table 3-3.[12] The goal of this study is not to compare the teachers to one another, but rather to take them together as a whole case. However, since some teachers exhibited certain practices more often than others, which somewhat influenced which teacher's examples I could give for each practice, I present these differences in Figure 3-3. Although this study focuses on describing the practices

[12] Codes are assigned small Roman numerals in this section rather than regular numbers because the sequence according to frequency differs from the sequence of practices discussed in the findings.

of relationally adept teachers as a group, these differences also show that teaching is always, to some extent, an individual and variable expression.

On most practices, there were similar coding frequencies across the three teachers, but in a few cases, there were clear differences. Mr. Adler far more frequently demonstrated or discussed the code of initiating or allowing conversations unrelated to class or meetings (iii), which makes sense considering he intentionally scheduled time for these conversations into his lesson plans. There were also somewhat more instances of protecting students' dignity through compassionate interactions (v) for Mr. Adler. Mrs. Carroll had far more examples of connecting with students through shared interest in content (vii), likely due to her scheduling of student-selected reading during every class and their ensuing one-on-one conversations about books. Lastly, Mr. Adler exhibited slightly fewer instances of forming a complete picture of who students are (i), although this code was still more prevalent than any other code for all teachers.

Next, I describe each practice, beginning with the five practices that I argue help build and maintain relationships, followed by the three practices that I argue help build students up.

Building and Maintaining Relationships: Five Practices

The first set of practices enables teachers to build positive relationships with students and then to maintain those positive relationships. Generally, these five practices helped teachers build relationships by leading students to trust teachers and by establishing ways to interact and connect. These practices also helped teachers maintain positive relationships with students by keeping those connections strong and active and by maintaining students' trust. Forming a picture of who students are allowed teachers to find points of connection and helped students to trust that teachers had their best interests at heart since they were taking time to get to know them. Discovering shared interest in content, such as favorite literature, offered another way for students to connect with and trust their teachers. During exchanges that were unrelated to class or meeting agendas, teachers and students interacted on a more casual and personal level, again helping students trust and connect by seeing their teachers as approachable and relatable. Many of these exchanges involved teachers sharing about themselves, and teachers' willingness to be open and vulnerable further built trust and connectedness. Lastly, as teachers built and maintained their relationships with students, they engaged in ongoing reflection about their own limitations and preferences in those relationships. These five practices, together, helped students trust teachers and see them as people with whom they could and would want to connect,

providing the foundation for relationships to form. Once relationships had begun to form, the practices still benefitted relationships by helping maintain trust and openness. I explain each practice in detail next.

Forming a complete picture of who students are. From the first time they met a student, Lincoln teachers engaged in an ongoing process of trying to piece together information they gathered or sought from the student to form a complete picture of who a student was. They formed this picture with deliberate beginning of the year activities, during conversations that occurred during down time moments, from colleagues, through direct observation, during one-on-one meetings with students, and through advising.[13]

Beginning of the year. At the beginning of the year, Lincoln teachers went about forming their pictures of students in very deliberate ways, directly asking students to share information about themselves. Mrs. Ventura had students write a letter to her in the first week of school, requiring a general introduction of themselves, an introduction of themselves as students, and a description of their goals. In addition to using this letter to get to know students, she also saw it as a helpful baseline writing assessment. Mrs. Carroll gave her students a survey on the first day of school, prompting them to describe something they were passionate about, a skill they could teach someone else, and qualities they would look for in a teacher. She also conducted an individualized reading inventory with her below grade level reading students, which she also used as an opportunity to ask them about their attitudes toward reading and their past experiences as readers. Mr. Adler had students write on an index card their names, preferred names and pronunciations, stories in their lives that were important to them (such as books, movies, video games), research interests, and anything else they wanted to share. He also had them email him "three nonfictions and a fiction," to which he then replied by guessing the fiction. All teachers pointed out that they returned to these documents throughout the school year after spending more time with students, so that they could continue learning from these assignments after the first week of school when they were "more ready to process" the information (Ventura, Interview 2).

[13] For each practice in the Findings section, I made interpretations about how to group themes within the practice. For this practice, for example, I grouped how teachers formed their pictures of students according to different time/place contexts, such as the beginning of the year or during down time moments. For others, I grouped findings within the practice based on my interpretation of their purpose, such as the different purposes for having conversations unrelated to the topic of class. For smaller practices (practices with less data), I did not identify themes and simply summarized the findings, such as in the case of relating to students via content.

Consistently, the teachers completed these assignments themselves, establishing that the exchange of information in their relationships would be a two-way street. Mrs. Ventura shared her letter with students before having them write, and she also completed and modeled a map memoir assignment, described later. Mrs. Carroll told students her responses to the survey questions right after students completed the survey. Mr. Adler shared recent stories he had enjoyed and his own current research interests before having students fill out their index cards, and he modeled his own three nonfictions and a fiction. Mr. Adler also emphasized his sensitivity to not obligating students to disclose too much, explaining, "You don't want to be like, 'Hey, welcome to English, tell me about the worst thing that's ever happened to you.'" (Adler, Interview 2) At the same time, the teachers wanted to provide opportunities for students who did wish to share sensitive information.

During down time moments. Lincoln teachers learned a great deal about students in casual moments—before and after class, in the halls or walking around campus, handing out papers. A 9th grader, Jean, recalled talking with Mrs. Ventura as they happened to walk to class together on the second day of school, where Jean disclosed her trepidations about English class and her lack of confidence as a writer. Before class, the teachers fit in many conversations with students, some with the purpose of gathering information. For example, one day before class, I observed Mrs. Carroll check in with one student about how her dad was doing in the hospital, another student about why his arm is in a sling, a table of boys about how they slept the night before, and another student about his interest in the band on his T-shirt. In this span of 3-4 minutes, Mrs. Carroll added to her evolving picture of each student, from musical interests to serious family issues.

Mr. Adler also learned about students in these types of conversations at the start of class by scheduling formal time at the start of each class to go over "announcements," described in more detail below as part of initiating or allowing conversations unrelated to class or meetings. These information-gathering interactions occurred also at the end of class. For example, one day as students were leaving class, Mrs. Ventura had a conversation with one student about her Romanian roots sparked by her Romania soccer jersey and with another student about her stress related to a writing assignment. These moments also happened in one-on-one meetings with students often while they were packing up, when deceptively simple questions about a student's weekend plans or the music on their headphones led to more insights for the teachers.

Colleagues. At Lincoln, perhaps more than at other schools, teachers learned about students frequently through colleagues due to two formal structures that encouraged colleagues to share information about students: credentialing meetings and advising.

At Lincoln, credentialing is a formal meeting to discuss students as a faculty. Twice per term, the teachers spend an entire day discussing students one by one in terms of their readiness for college classes (earning the "credential" to start college classes). Although the primary purpose of these meetings is to make a decision about each student's readiness for college classes, teachers tended to discuss specific student strengths, concerns, observations, impressions, and anecdotes, helping them form pictures of their students. For teachers advising students without yet having them in an academic class, credentialing meetings are an opportunity to gain a fuller understanding of their advisees as students. As Mrs. Carroll explained, "I'm just trying to still get to know them. I want to cull as much information from my coworkers as possible," especially insight into how the student is struggling and the type of help the student would need (Carroll, Interview 3). Mrs. Carroll also explained this from the point of view of being the teacher who knows the student who the advisor does not yet know as well: "I try to make sure I tell [other advisors] as much as I can so they can get a sense of who that kid is or what I'm seeing in class" (Carroll, Interview 3). In addition to being an opportunity to learn about students' academic profiles, a large number of other topics were covered during credentialing, such as sharing about parents divorcing, students' responsibilities with caretaking of younger siblings, students' after-school jobs and hours, students' worldviews or languages spoken at home, anecdotes of a student collecting cans and bottles around campus, students' romantic relationships and break-ups, and more. In covering these topics, the teachers were able to form a more complete picture of each student, academically and non-academically.

The other way sharing about students with colleagues was built into Lincoln was through its advising model, which enabled more "open channels of communication" among colleagues due to the advising roles they play (Carroll, Interview 3). The teachers described that, when advisors learn information about an advisee, they typically share the information with colleagues who teach that student, and if an academic teacher learns information about a student, she shares that information with the student's advisor. For instance, in one case, a student's mother contacted his advisor about self-harm behavior she had noticed at home, and the advisor then notified all teachers to be on the lookout. In another case, teachers addressed at a faculty meeting

a student's lateness to afternoon class and bloodshot eyes, and Mrs. Ventura, her advisor, shared information about the student's history of drug use and the need for all teachers to monitor her for signs of that. Each teacher mentioned that this open flow of information was important especially in cases where a student has a strong connection with one teacher and weaker connections with other teachers and/or their advisor. Interestingly, students were aware that the teachers regularly communicated about them. One student described to me how teachers offered him their condolences on his grandmother's passing, which he said they learned at a faculty meeting after he emailed his advisor.

Direct observation. Each teacher shared the importance of relying on their own direct observations to figure out more about their students. As Mrs. Ventura explained, although getting information from colleagues is key, she also views each child as a blank slate: "[E]arly in my career, I think I made that decision, like, I don't want to know about the kids beforehand… at least initially for those first few weeks, I want to just get to know this kid on my own terms" (Ventura, Interview 2). The teachers described mainly paying attention to students' body language, changes in appearance, changes in level of engagement day to day, and choice of who they were sitting with or interacting with, including friendships or romantic relationships forming or seeming to end. The teachers also emphasized that they intentionally monitored students who seem to be alone a lot, whether choosing to sit by themselves in class, eating lunch alone, or walking around campus alone. Mr. Adler described one such student as "separat[ing] himself just by dress and by appearance, and also by where he sits in the class, so I want to be sensitive to that" (Adler, Interview 3). Teachers also listened in class for information, such as when Mrs. Ventura overheard a student talking about liking to write stories, and then asked her about that during a meeting.

One-on-one meetings. Students and teachers at Lincoln are in the fortunate position of having built-in office hours dedicated to meeting one-on-one, either for advising or for academic support. During these meetings, teachers added to their pictures of each student. Much of what teachers learned during these meetings came from their direct questions, of which they ask many during each meeting. The questions they asked tended to fall into two categories: academic and non-academic. Academically, the most common questions teachers asked were about how students' classes were going, about particular assignments, and if they had received comments from teachers via their learning management system. For students who were also their advisees,

the teachers demonstrated very specific knowledge of what their advisees were experiencing as students. Mrs. Carroll explained, “I think just the familiarity of getting to know them and not just being able to say, ‘Hey, how’s English going?’ but like, ‘Hey, how’d that memoir you wrote last week go?’ And I get to know them that well, that I can ask them those types of questions” (Carroll, Interview 2). In addition to asking about classes, the teachers probed for information about students’ college pathway interests and goals, such as Mrs. Ventura asking a student whether he got the welding gloves and boots he needed or Mr. Adler asking a student what he understands about the health sciences pathway he chose.

Teachers also pursued non-academic information in their one-on-one meetings. All of the teachers expressed that they wanted to use these meetings to accomplish the intended goals of academic support or advising, but that they always effortfully integrated personal conversation, at least to understand how students are doing. In many cases, this information came from what began as simple, open-ended questions teachers asked about, among other topics, how students are doing, how they are feeling, or if things are going okay outside of school. For example, in an advising meeting, Mr. Adler asked Kayshla if they could talk about things other than her course registration (the original purpose of their meeting), subsequently inquiring, “How are you holding up these days?” This line of inquiry began a conversation about her recent move from one parent’s home to the other parent’s home. In another meeting with an advisee, Mr. Adler transitioned from coaching Tahzib on how to use his planner to ask, “How’s life outside of school?” When Tahzib replied that life was busy outside of school, Mr. Adler asked follow-up questions about what types of things were keeping him busy, how many siblings were at home (seven), where he did his work in the home, if it was noisy, and if he had time to see friends.

Important to building relationships, students sensed that teachers cared about understanding who they were on these academic and non-academic levels. Alannah recalled meeting with Mrs. Carroll for a reading assessment without having met her before, and how “welcomed” she felt at that meeting. “Like some teachers will come off and say, ‘Well hi, what are you here for?’ but she was like, just slowed down, she was like, ‘Hi, how are you doing, are you ok with this, what do you need help with?’” (Alannah, Interview). Even in this brief interaction with a student who she neither taught nor advised and only met this one time, Mrs. Carroll made an effort to learn more about Alannah, which added to her own picture of who this student was and also put Alannah at ease.

Advising. The teachers shared that forming a picture of their academic students was slightly different than forming a picture of their advisees. First, they pointed out that they were more likely to hear from family of their advisees, so parents played a greater role in forming a picture of advisees. Related, since Lincoln advisors are paired with siblings whenever multiple children from one family attend the school, the teachers shared that their picture of advisees is often influenced by the experience with siblings who came through the program already. Although generally the teachers expressed that they depended on observing students in the classroom to get to know them, Mrs. Carroll also saw benefits to not immediately teaching advisees:

> I like the chance to get to know them, I think, as people before I get to know them as students… Like I think getting to know them as people first, I feel like, gives me some context in the classroom and then teaching them in the classroom adds even more, kind of, depth and understanding. (Carroll, Interview 3)

In these ways, teachers actively learned about their students, forming as complete a picture as they could about each one from day one. Sometimes, forming a picture of who students were involved discovering shared interest in things like an author or a debate topic, the next practice.

Connecting through shared interest in content. All of the teachers in this study were English or reading teachers, and they sometimes connected with students through a shared interest in literature or topics arising from discussion; compared to the above practice of forming a picture of students, recall that there were far fewer examples of this practice in the data. Within this practice, a frequent theme among students and teachers at Lincoln was talking about books or authors together. Several students mentioned that they would talk to past teachers about what books they were reading when they ran into them on campus. Similarly, students of Mrs. Ventura and Mr. Adler mentioned that they shared with them a common interest in creative writing. The most frequent observed instances of connecting over content occurred in Mrs. Carroll's class during daily student-selected quiet reading time, which she integrated due to teaching many below grade level readers who simply needed more practice and time reading, but which also led to numerous conversations each day about a favorite author, genre, or novel. For example, Mrs. Carroll and one student frequently conversed about their shared love of particular authors or of classic books about crime or the mafia. Related to the first practice of forming a picture of who students are, Mrs. Carroll explained that part of how she forms her picture is by noticing the books students express interest in.

Lincoln teachers also believed that teaching English allowed them to connect with students in different ways than if they taught another subject. Mr. Adler explained how an English class gives teachers an opportunity to form a deeper picture about students and to grapple with important real-life topics, explaining: "I think the kind of literature we talk about and the ways that I hope we can select meaningful works of writing that speak to the human experience is different [than in other subjects]" (Adler, Interview 4). I observed discussions in Mr. Adler's class, rooted in literature, that contemplated some of life's essential questions, like what it means to be free or how it feels to grow up. The teachers also expressed appreciation that English assignments frequently gave students the opportunity to share opinions and feelings more than in other classes. In Mrs. Ventura's opinion, "As an English teacher, you just get to know them on a more personal level" (Ventura, Interview 2). While these content-based connections added to teachers' pictures of who students were and helped build relationships, teachers also initiated or allowed students to initiate casual, seemingly content-free conversations teachers, which also helped build relationships. I turn to that practice next.

Initiating or allowing conversations unrelated to class or meetings. Lincoln teachers spent a good deal of time having conversations with students in class or in meetings that could be described as casual, off-topic, or personal. Making time for these types of exchanges seemed to have three key purposes: giving students time to de-stress and relax, challenging students or exposing them to new ideas, and allowing teachers to temporarily interact with students slightly outside of their teaching role as a regular person in a way that students found relatable. As is evident in the examples below, Mr. Adler employed this practice more frequently than Mrs. Ventura and Mrs. Carroll, though it was evident in the practice of all three.

***Giving students time to de-stress*.** Mr. Adler brought up the importance of keeping in mind students' busy schedules and the need for time in class to de-stress as one reason he initiates conversations unrelated to class at the start of every class. He explained that, as an instructional coach, he spends some days going from a class he is coaching straight to a class he is teaching, feeling a sense of the chaos students feel going from class to class without much down time between. Therefore, he formally scheduled time at the start of every class for what he called announcements, or an open-ended opportunity for students or himself to bring up any topic they want to discuss. For example, on the day after Halloween, Mr. Adler built in ample time to discuss students' Halloween nights as well as to share about his own with his son.

Another day, finding himself with five extra minutes at the end of class, he started a conversation about who had November birthdays and then talked about the Ultimate Frisbee team's recent tournament win. For the most part, students appreciated these down time conversations and found Mr. Adler "goofy" and "genius" in how he would always bring these conversations back to whatever they were learning (Joe, Student Interview; Josh, Student Interview). Two students felt it wasted time, but they appreciated having less work to do during these classes, consistent with Mr. Adler's interest in giving them a way to de-stress (Dara, Student Interview; Leah, Student Interview). A key in helping students de-stress was the humor that characterized these conversations. From joking that the thermostat was set to "locker-room" to quipping when a student referred to another student by the wrong last name, "He has applied three times to join the Smith family!" Mr. Adler's conversational portions of class always elicited laughs and put students at ease. Although Mrs. Carroll and Mrs. Ventura did not schedule formal time for these conversations in the way Mr. Adler did, they also had these types of interactions in down-time moments before and after class, while passing out papers, and during group work.

Coming across as approachable and genuine. A number of students described teachers as "real" and genuine because of allowing these seemingly off-topic conversations. In one student's words, these conversations "build up who's talking to me;" another student called the teachers, "relatable and everything, like when they teach, they don't just focus on the subject a lot, they will go off-topic a little bit and have a conversation with you, outside of academics and everything, so that's why I kind of like them" (Dara, Student Interview; Fatima, Student Interview). In this way, these personal conversation detours helped students see their teachers as approachable, genuine, and people with whom they wanted to spend more time. One of Mrs. Ventura's students described that having these conversations made her feel as though she was "actually" interacting with and getting to know Mrs. Ventura more compared to teachers who did not allow it, showing how key these conversations were to building relationships.

One way teachers came across as more genuine to students was in their honest sharing of insider knowledge of the school. Rather than emphasize their different status as teachers with more information about the school, they reduced the distance between themselves and their students by letting their guards down and welcoming students into their world a little. A student recounted a time when Mrs. Ventura shared with her class "the insides of stuff" about an assignment where she told the class, "I'm not supposed to tell you all this stuff, but I want you to

be informed," and due to this, the student perceived Mrs. Ventura as easier to trust (Alannah, Student Interview; Ventura, Observation Notes). In a humorous example, I observed Mrs. Ventura share with a class that Lincoln teachers monitor "sad hugging" among couples on campus who might be breaking up. Being so open about their own lives as teachers, similar to the practice below about sharing about their own personal lives, showed students the teachers had nothing to hide and could be trusted. Mr. Adler felt these choices to share about the school deliberately reflected a desire to have students see him as a real person, saying:

> I even do the thing where I'm like the wizard behind the curtain, and I step out, and I'm like, 'Ok, I'm actually not that, let me talk to you about what's going on behind the scenes, at our school or in my teaching or in class.' And I think sometimes that dramatizes the move I'm trying to make between like, there's a role I'm playing as your educator, but [I am also] a person right now… I'm not just the person that gives you the grade, I'm also a person who has a cat and I'm also the person that struggles with a decision. (Adler, Interview 2)

By stepping out of the purely academic teacher role to be open and honest in these conversations, students saw more ways to connect with and more reasons to trust teachers in a relationship.

Challenging students or exposing them to new ideas. While teachers often used these conversations to help students de-stress, at other times they used casual conversations as a venue to challenge students or expose them to new ideas. In these cases, teachers' demonstration of their own interests in topics planted seeds for connections and showed students they were available to discuss these topics further. These instances also helped students see teachers as interesting and worth connecting with. One of the most in depth of these conversations occurred over multiple days. During a conversation about future courses the students could take at Lincoln, Mr. Adler began describing a course he was designing on the literature of adolescence. Before long, he launched into a lecture about what he called "the shell of innocence." This is the idea that we begin as children protected in many ways by a metaphorical shell and that, as we get older, the shell expands, cracks, and starts to let harm in, but also enables growth to occur. He gave examples of how the shell cracks little by little with things like seeing parents cry for the first time or experiencing a first heartbreak—examples students could potentially find connections to. In this lecture and the discussions that followed where he asked students for their thoughts that day and the following day, Mr. Adler challenged students to think about their own development, their resilience to trauma, how they coped with the ways they had been harmed, and how they had been protected. Later, Mr. Adler told me that he works the shell of innocence

lecture into every class he teaches whenever the opportunity presents itself—either if a piece of literature they read relates to it, or in this case, describing a future course he will teach that connects—because he wants to help students make sense of whatever growth or struggles they have been through, and the resilience they have. For students, it simply seemed to offer a point of connection or a sense that Mr. Adler was a person who could help. One student described the power of Mr. Adler's integration of these conversations as follows: "He's just interesting to listen to. And he doesn't isolate himself as a teacher if you know what I mean; he's relatable, I guess… The word human just keeps coming to mind" (Josh, Student Interview). Another student described how he sought out Mr. Adler when he was interested in starting an astronomy club because he realized, "He knows a lot of random stuff, which I can tell by his tangents in class. I feel like talking with him would be useful" (Noam, Student Interview). In spending time on these conversations that exposed students to new ideas on an array of topics, Mr. Adler demonstrated his own curiosity and availability through exposing students to new and challenging ideas, offering students points of connection. Very often, these conversations involved teachers sharing about themselves, which is the fourth practice, next.

Sharing about one's own life. Teachers sharing about their own lives took multiple forms, including using themselves as an example to explain ideas, sharing about personal struggles to inspire students, planting seeds for students to perceive having things in common, lightening the mood, and helping students feel more open. By being open about themselves and making themselves vulnerable, students felt more comfortable opening up and trusting teachers, such that relationships could build. Just as teachers formed a picture of a student, an important piece of building relationships was that students had ways to form a picture of their teacher.

Sharing about oneself to explain concepts. Sometimes, students got glimpses into their teachers' lives when teachers explained concepts using themselves as examples. For example, when teaching the concept of code words in critical thinking, Mrs. Ventura used the example of having code words with her friends on the phone when she was a teenager that they would say when a parent entered the room. When a short story alluded to Sisyphus, Mrs. Carroll gave the example of a Sisyphean task she used to face in folding shirts in a mall job she had in high school. Sometimes, the teachers revealed more personal information. When students completed a soft skills assessment of their conflict style, Mrs. Ventura shared her own conflict style and her tendency to value relationships and avoid conflict. When Mrs. Carroll was helping students

understand how to set up meetings with their advisors, also during a soft skills lesson, she shared that she did not have children, which made her availability for meetings different than for an advisor with children. When a student asked Mr. Adler about pursuing the musical arts pathway versus picking a more stable pathway, like business, he responded by telling a story about his brother who pursued an arts pathway and now works in that field. In cases like these, teachers explained ideas by using their own lives as examples.

Sharing about personal struggles. Lincoln teachers also shared frequently about their personal struggles as students to show students that everybody struggles. For Mrs. Ventura, this choice was completely intentional:

> I've always been really open with my students, like, 'Hey, I was not always a good student, and here's what I learned.' … I think it helped me connect with with kids for me to say, 'Listen, I get where you're coming from, I was a procrastinator, I didn't always like school,' so I've tried to connect with my students in that way…I'm hoping that kid who's sitting in the back of the room who feels like they're not a good student or who feels like they don't understand, will hear that and feel like, you know, you can be successful even if it's hard for you (Ventura, Interview 1)

For example, when Mrs. Ventura explained how hard an upcoming reading assignment would be, she shared that she struggled with her reading in college and understood if they felt intimidated by the text. One student, referring to teachers sharing more personal struggles, explained why his teachers' transparency about struggles was so important to him, saying, "If a teacher tells you, you know, 'don't do drugs,' its' a lot more useless than if a teacher says 'don't do drugs, my friend did drugs, and something bad happened.' It's like it just makes it more… real, you know? Not like a fake teacher, more a real teacher experience." (Noam, Student Interview) By sharing their own struggles, teachers humanized themselves and gave students another reason to trust and connect with them, as well as believe what they were saying.

Planting seeds for connection. In some cases, teachers shared about themselves as a way to plant seeds for connection with students who might realize they shared something in common. At times, this was as simple as, for example, Mrs. Carroll noticing a student was wearing new cowboy boots and telling a story about a wedding she attended in Texas where everybody bought boots and danced. Both Mrs. Ventura and Mrs. Carroll expressed that they had at times shared aspects of their religion with students when students shared a similar experience first. In a more stealthy way, Mrs. Ventura shared that she always places a LGBTQ rainbow sticker on her door, which she proudly reported always draws in one or two students per year who sit down and

nonchalantly say, “I noticed your sticker,” opening up a new relationship and important support for those students (Ventura, Interview 1). Similarly, Mr. Adler shared that he intentionally puts some ideas forward in class to see who reacts, such as bringing up a college football game that he may not have watched but could use as a point of connection with whichever students react.

In some cases, these attempts did not bear immediate fruit. In one illustration of this, I observed Mrs. Ventura make multiple attempts to share about herself with a student working on his map memoir, with no real acknowledgment or connection reciprocated by the student. I watched Charles zoom in on the ocean on his map document, as Mrs. Ventura walked by and commented, “It’s kinda cool to zoom in on the water there, huh?” to no response from Charles. “Because you can tell where it’s really deep,” she continued, adding, “I’m a big water person,” lingering a moment to see if he would respond, which he did not (Observation Notes, Ventura, 9/19/17). Although Charles did not reciprocate in this interaction, it likely laid the groundwork for a connection to form, even if more slowly.

Setting the tone for students to be more open. A common theme in teachers sharing about their own lives was that it created a sense of reciprocity that encouraged students to feel safer to open up and build relationships with teachers. Mrs. Ventura, for example, read aloud her own “map memoir,” an assignment for 9th graders to describe and present to the class places that are special to them in their lives. She read one full entry from her model memoir to the class, tears in her eyes, describing her close relationship to her grandparents, her memories of their vegetable garden, and the story of their passing and of losing that place as a family home. Sofia explained what this sharing meant to her: “I like when they [share like] that because… you feel more close to them, I guess, you know more about them. It’s like when you’re making a friend, like you want to know more about them in order to be closer” (Sofia, Student Interview). Another student echoed the friendship idea, saying:

> I’ve had some teachers who are really great teachers who have been very open and very funny and treat us more like—I don’t want to say treat us less like students, but treat us like students with a lot of respect and friendliness… like friends that you’re teaching, if that makes sense. (Liam, Student Interview)

Students found teachers who shared and showed vulnerability to be approachable, like their own friends. In one exception, a student described one teacher in the study, in her view, as “open in class about [their] personal life, but I don’t think [they] encourage us to be open with our personal lives… like if I see [them] in the hallway [they] won’t say hi.” Although this was only

one case out of over 20 students interviewed, it is important to note that perhaps not all students sensed a two-way street for sharing or felt encouraged to connect.

In considering what she typically shares with students or why, Mrs. Carroll expressed it as, "I think I try to share things that are important to me because my students—things are important to them, and I want to know about those things" (Carroll, Interview 2). In my observations, it was apparent that what was important to Mrs. Carroll to share was her interest in books and authors, stories about her dog and her family, and even her love of the show Grey's Anatomy, all of which her students mentioned as being interesting things they knew about her. Mrs. Ventura emphasized that, "If you're not open to sharing who you are, then they're not going to be, and then it's just this robotic thing… if you're gonna be good at this job, you have to be vulnerable" (Ventura, Interview 3). Her vulnerability was clearly on display in the first few weeks of school when she shared intimate details about her grandparents' passing. Therefore, whether to make students feel comfortable sharing about themselves, to lay the groundwork for connections to form, or just to help explain a concept, the teachers routinely shared about their own lives, helping students see them as genuine and approachable for a relationship.

Reflecting on one's own limitations or natural preferences in relationships. While building relationships, Lincoln teachers also regularly reflected on their own limitations or natural gravitations to certain students. This reflection manifested itself in two main ways: thinking about which students they gravitated toward naturally and making sure they focused on other students too, and thinking about their own personal and professional boundaries, limitations, and potential blind spots.

A theme across all teachers was trying consciously to connect with students who seemed as though they were doing well but could start to struggle, unnoticed. The teachers described wanting to give these students some space and independence but also maintain support and availability for whenever students needed it. Mrs. Carroll described having some students who did not need her help much except to approve their course schedules and check in once in a while, but she expressed concern that sometimes these students encounter a challenge and, at that point, it becomes important for a close relationship to already be built. I observed Mr. Adler explain this same idea candidly to an advisee during course registration. He explained to her that he was inclined to trust her even though he disagreed with her course decision. Mr. Adler explained later to me, saying:

> I try to adjust the dial based on how autonomous they are, how busy they are, how much they feel like they connect with me or what I see that to be; and sometimes I don't get it quite right, and I've had really high performing students who I kind of forget about. I mean, it's not because I don't care; it's because you got all A's last semester, and I have five other people in crisis… [but] those guys still need care. (Adler, Interview 2)

In these ways, the teachers were constantly monitoring and self-assessing their relational efforts.

The teachers were also aware of their own natural gravitations, or the students with whom they naturally and more effortlessly built connections. These could be students they instinctively or more easily clicked with, had things in common with, saw more often, or simply worried about and cared about more readily than others. By continuously self-assessing which students came onto their radar more easily, they could monitor and make sure they were still trying to build relationships with all students, even the ones who flew under their personal radar if they were not vigilant. Generally, Mrs. Ventura and Mrs. Carroll expressed that they naturally gravitated toward students who were struggling more, while Mr. Adler gravitated toward students who seemed intelligent but disenchanted with the idea of school. Knowing their preferences—and consequently, their blind spots to students not fitting these descriptions—was helpful for the teachers. For example, Mrs. Ventura saw a student struggling as an opportunity to connect with them, and interestingly, she saw *not* struggling as a potential roadblock to connection, explaining:

> Even if students don't have issues, I want to know more about who you are as a person, I want to, you know, connect on a human level, and sometimes there are just those students who are like, 'Nope, I'm here to learn.' And those are the ones I really tend to struggle with because I'm like, 'Ok, why don't you want to know me!?'" (Ventura, Interview 4)

This comment shows how Mrs. Ventura had reflected on her tendency to use issues and challenges as a way to connect with students, a self-awareness all of the teachers possessed and revisited as they built relationships.

Beyond their preferences for certain students, the teachers each had personal and professional limitations they routinely self-monitored that impacted how they built relationships. Professionally, the teachers described feeling ill-equipped to fully deal with certain types of issues students were facing, such as mental health issues. They spoke of the importance in those cases of helping facilitate a connection with a counselor who could help them. On a personal level, the teachers were also aware of aspects of their personality that they saw as either strengths or weaknesses that they brought to relationship building. Mrs. Carroll saw her enthusiastic nature

as a potential source of discomfort for students who were not as enthusiastic. Mrs. Ventura saw her empathetic nature as a potential weakness in the sense that she described herself as often gullible or too trusting of students' excuses. Mr. Adler knew he sometimes took negative interactions too personally explaining, "It's hard for me to always see my work as kind of a professional role only; and there's a cost to that sometimes" (Adler, Interview 4).

In addition to recognizing the ways their personalities influenced the ways they built relationships, Mr. Adler shared an additional challenge in building relationships with students stemming from some tragic personal experiences had had been through. He described how a student he had taught, coached, and become friends with after he graduated had died by suicide a few years before this study when the student was in his mid-20s. Mr. Adler explained how he believed the student's death compromised his ability to form relationships with students like he had before: "For me, just professionally, it's there. I'm figuring out, how do I continue to try to connect with students, even though I want to do everything I can to avoid ever feeling hurt like that. So it's a conundrum for me" (Adler, Interview 1). He cited a few cases where the Dean reassigned to other advisors his advisees who were facing certain kinds of crises that hit close to home.

In all of these ways, Lincoln teachers engaged in the practice of building relationships with their students, including by learning about their students, bonding over content, chatting about topics unrelated to the day's business, sharing about themselves, and understanding their own preferences and limitations. By coming across to students as interested and interesting, as relatable and approachable, as people they could trust and connect with, they made it possible to form relationships and then to maintain those relationships. The next set of practices builds on the first set by taking the relationships that have formed and nurturing the *people* with whom those connections have been made—by prioritizing their well-being and building them up.

Beyond Building Relationships to <u>Building Students Up</u>: Three Practices

The second set of practices still contributes to the building and maintaining of positive relationships, but goes one step beyond to help "build students up." This phrase comes from Mr. Adler's explanation of how he saw his role, and it captures the idea that on top of building relationships with students, teachers also have the opportunity to make students feel valued, known, honored, and accepting of themselves. In Mr. Adler's words:

> I think one of the big themes for me as an educator is, in every interaction we have with any other human being, we can either ***build them up***, or we can tear them down; there are no real neutral interactions, I mean, other than the most basic—but even then, even if it's a transaction buying a coffee from somebody, you have the potential to build people up or to not, and choosing not to isn't a neutral thing. So I see part of my role as just somebody who's supposed to kind of **build up and help, really help them not only become better, healthier, stronger people, but also help them survive kind of the fire of adolescence**, that even if they don't learn a whole lot in my class, and I hope they do, but even if they don't, so much of life can be so intense for them outside of my classroom and so much bigger, that just helping them kind of survive through that time and hopefully learn some things along the way, I think, is the foundation—I don't think it's where I want to end most days. (Adler, Interview 3, emphasis added)

In this passage, Mr. Adler portrays his role as a teacher in a way that transcends any classroom or academic undertaking, depicting himself as a wise and steadfast guide for young people as they navigate the tricky terrain of being teenagers. His portrayal makes focal his belief that teachers are called to help prepare students for bigger journeys than just another year of English class, but that in journeying through English class together, they will find something within themselves to keep going strongly forward. Through the three practices in this set—responding to issues with tolerance and understanding, recognizing and valuing students, and protecting students' dignity through compassionate interactions—Lincoln teachers built students up, supporting them in, as Mr. Adler says, surviving the fire of adolescence a little more in tact than they might have without the support. I describe these practices in detail next.

Responding to issues with tolerance and understanding. Examples of challenges Lincoln teachers faced with students included students struggling to understand a concept, misbehaving in some way, or facing an issue with another teacher and seeking coaching from one of the teachers in this study. Whenever these types of issues arose, Lincoln teachers demonstrated a high level of tolerance and understanding by responding with compassion rather than consequences—even when the compassion was combined with redirection. Mrs. Carroll described such responses as "call[ing] them out when that's what needed to happen, in a loving kind of way" (Carroll, Interview 1). Mrs. Ventura even described her intended tone in these types of situations as "motherly" (Ventura, Interview 1). It seemed that rather than react to student issues with consequences or frustration, Lincoln teachers actually made even more of an effort to connect when there were issues or when they were worried about students. For example, when a student missed a scheduled meeting one day, I observed Mrs. Carroll respond by first calling the

student, then emailing the student, and then planning to walk over to the student's last class of the day to make sure the student was alright; rather than assuming the student had simply neglected the meeting, Mrs. Carroll's first thought was that she hoped everything was alright with the student. Teachers' responses to issues with students took three main forms: trying to understand an issue, letting some issues go, and seeing the issue as a teaching opportunity.

Responding by trying to understand. Often, if a teacher experienced an issue with a student, the teacher's first response was to try to understand more about the root of the problem. Mr. Adler described how the Dean would refer to such roots as "antecedents, the things that lead up to whoever it is that's in your class being the way they are" (Adler, Interview 3). For instance, when Mrs. Ventura's student Dani was struggling with reading comprehension and work completion, she met with her and discovered that Dani had missed a large chunk of schooling when she was learning to read due to having cancer during first grade. The teachers often then drew on their understanding of students' issues to contextualize behavior they were seeing. For instance, when Kyle arrived to class late one day, Mrs. Carroll explained to me later that she knows he has a single mom and siblings at all different schools and that they live relatively far away from the school, which was why he is late frequently. The teachers all referred explicitly to Maslow's hierarchy of needs when explaining why they worked so hard to understand the roots of students' issues. Mr. Adler explained it in ways that echoed what Mrs. Carroll and Mrs. Ventura also shared:

> I mean that's sort of a hierarchy of needs thing, so if you're facing a diabetic emergency or your parents just told you they're getting divorced this morning, there's not a whole lot more I need to help you with other than making sure those things don't get worse, and you know, creating a safe and regular place where you can come and get away from some of those things… Even if I say to you, you've still got to do your homework because you can control school and you can't control your parents, like, I still have to *know* that. If I don't know that, I'm gonna really miscalculate how to maintain and further the work that we do. (Adler, Interview 4).

Therefore, the Lincoln teachers made an effort to see students' issues in the context of other, more important challenges they might be facing in their lives

Letting a lot go. Often, the teachers responded to behavior or other issues by letting the issue pass by without much scrutiny. Whether letting misbehavior slide or finding compassion or humor in the issue, Lincoln teachers' practice of responding to misbehavior tolerantly simply by letting a lot of it go was key to building students up. Picking their battles in this way helped

preserve the underlying relationships and reduce potential conflicts. Sometimes this was motivated by the long-term nature of the advising relationship. The teachers explained that, especially when issues have come up with advisees, they gave students multiple chances, allowed many mistakes, and always kept the relationship positive and supportive, even when issues were persistent. They described the idea that advisees could never really be in trouble with them because their job was to support and coach them through issues rather than enforce discipline, and Mrs. Carroll cited the Dean's willingness to act as the disciplinarian when necessary as a key reason the teachers were able to avoid that role.

In their teaching, I observed the teachers frequently letting misbehavior slide without significant consequence. I observed all of the teachers mostly ignore or minimally respond when students shared something inappropriate in class (unless it was a repeat offense and merited greater response). They each tended to downplay behaviors other teachers might have perceived as going too far. In one class, I observed Mr. Adler respond to students who were loudly volunteering to research the website www.drugs.com (when given a choice of many) with a simple, "There are always a few," then assigning it to a student who had said nothing about it. In another class, as students continued socializing despite Mrs. Ventura's multiple requests for them to begin working, she nonchalantly commented that there was "a lot of playfulness" and then patiently requested once more that they get to work, which they slowly did. Students sensed this tolerance, with several telling me that they appreciated the teachers letting them socialize during class. About Mrs. Ventura, one student recalled, "She wasn't aggressive when it came down to us being a little loud," (Kareem, Student Interview) another explaining, "We were able to socialize and be in groups but we also kept to the topic and got the work done" (Annie, Student Interview). In all of these examples, the teachers let the students be the adolescents they were, prone to socializing and misbehavior but all in the service of their development.

In addition to having a high tolerance for socializing or inappropriate comments, the teachers demonstrated a willingness to let behaviors go out of a sense of compassion. When Rashad sat through an entire class with Mrs. Carroll and did not work on a single assigned task, Mrs. Carroll did not push him or require him to do so. Instead, she explained to me:

> I try taking the temperature, like I'm not gonna push you, if your body is in school today, and that's all you could do. I'm so happy you're here. Like, I'm gonna just leave you alone and let you exist (Carroll, Interview 3)

She did make an exception, saying: "If it's a pattern thing, I'm gonna talk to you about it" (Ibid). Mr. Adler felt similarly about student misbehavior, giving the example that sometimes when students are talking to each other during class, he thinks about how they might be talking about something bad that happened over the weekend and might need to talk to that friend at that moment. "Trying to not assign meaning to those behaviors and be open to possible explanations is really important to me," he explained (Adler, Interview 3).

Finally, the teachers often let issues go by laughing them off. For example, when a student signed up for a meeting in the wrong slot on her sign-in sheet, or when another student signed up for a meeting with her on a *different* teacher's sign-in sheet, Mrs. Ventura simply noted this to me with a smile, never mentioning it to the student. When Tahzib emailed Mr. Adler using his brother's email the same week he lost his planner, Mr. Adler relayed this story to colleagues at a meeting, laughing and saying, "Like, what are you doing, man?" (Observation Notes, Credentialing, 11/3/17). Willingness to find humor in these situations showed teachers' recognizing these struggles as part of being an adolescent rather than as serious issues.

Turning issues into teaching opportunities. A third way teachers responded to issues that students faced was by turning them into opportunities to coach students to improve. All of the teachers cited the school-wide soft skills curriculum as a reason they could turn issues into teaching moments. They pointed to the shared vocabulary and shared understanding fostered by the soft skills curriculum to give teachers a way to confront students about issues without it being personal either to themselves or to the student. Mr. Adler explained that, from the student's perspective, having soft skills in common across teachers makes it "harder for a student to say, oh that person doesn't like me if I made a mistake" (Adler, Interview 3). Especially if students are hearing feedback with the same words from multiple teachers, the response to issues is depersonalized, allowing relationships to stay intact and also ensuring that conversations about issues always remain linked to students' goals. Mrs. Carroll explained, "So I think it helps build the relationship in that we approach it as, this is just to help you, that it's all about your future success, so it's not just us having these arbitrary expectations" (Carroll, Interview 3). For example, when Mrs. Ventura arrived at class to find three students sitting in the dark as a joke, she responded by turning the lights on and saying that college-ready behavior would be to turn on the lights, a direct nod to exhibiting the soft skills needed to get credentialed.

Beyond soft skills, I observed several times when the teachers responded to student questions or issues with an on-the-spot lesson. In these cases, the teachers briefly addressed that there had been an issue and then spent more time making a productive moment out of the problem. For instance, when Mrs. Carroll heard students describing the upcoming credentialing meetings as opportunities for teachers to gossip, she patiently responded, “That’s not what it is. Can I tell you what it is?” and then devoted ten minutes of class to describing transparently what happens at the meetings (Observation Notes, Carroll, 10/4/17). Whereas another teacher might have been offended at the student’s negative view of credentialing, Mrs. Carroll recognized that the student just did not understand, and she answered by explaining.

Similarly, in an interaction with a student at a one-on-one meeting, Mr. Adler responded to a student’s nonsensical answer with patient advice. When Mr. Adler had asked the student what career pathway he wanted to pursue, the student responded that he could not remember but he knew he had it written down at home. Mr. Adler’s response was to explain that for now, that answer was fine, but soon his choice of pathway should become something he knows as easily as if he asked him who his best friends are. He patiently helped the student understand why the answer did not make sense—still communicating to the student that the answer did not make sense. By reacting to students’ issues with tolerance and understanding in these ways, teachers helped build students up in the sense that they preserved the relationship and saw students as complicated people with a reason for exhibiting the issues they had, whether those reasons were based on their individual lives or on simply being an adolescent experiencing development. At the same time, they did not let the issue go completely, and students in these situations knew that they had done or said something wrong, but the lesson went beyond ‘you’re wrong’ to ‘here’s why,’ a response that recognized a need for understanding rather than for a consequence. Next, I describe how teachers built students up by showing them they were seen and valued.

Recognizing and valuing students. Lincoln teachers made clear efforts to show students they noticed, appreciated, and enjoyed them. One theme of this practice was that teachers simply noticed and verbalized students’ presence. I observed on several occasions teachers noting which students were absent and checking in with students who had been absent once they returned, asking if they were feeling better and telling them they were glad they were back and had missed them. Similarly, teachers showed their recognition of students’ presence by checking in with individual students during class. Sometimes this was done simply, as with Mrs. Carroll speeding

around the room to check for homework completion and saying each student's name as she went around, "Braden's got it, Shauna's got it…" and so on. One student referenced Mrs. Ventura's routine of walking around and writing down observations on a clipboard as evidence that she cared, because she "checked up on people" (Sofia, Student Interview).

This practice was intentional for the teachers. Mrs. Carroll discussed how her personal goal was to have an individual conversation with every student every day:

> I try to make sure I've had a personal interaction with every single kid every single day.... And then, I think at the beginning of class especially, I tend to check in with the people that I feel like need it a little bit more, and so maybe it's a student who I know is having a rough go at it, or had a pretty negative, crappy thing happen. (Carroll, Interview 2)

For Mrs. Carroll, these brief check-ins not only gave her needed information about how those students were doing, but also showed students that she cared and was looking out for them. Mrs. Ventura and Mr. Adler similarly expressed that they specifically tried to give more attention to students who were going through difficult times in their lives. Mr. Adler also felt tuned into paying attention to "the students that would otherwise fall through the cracks, otherwise really smart students that aren't bought into school, students who are bullied or marginalized" (Adler, Interview 3). He described how with some students in this situation, he uses them as examples (i.e., "So if Braden wanted to do his research project about…") both to get their attention in class and to make them feel seen.

Lincoln teachers also remembered a great deal of information about students that they demonstrated in their conversations with students, which gave students a sense of recognition. Relating to the idea of having formed a picture about who students are, the teachers relied on this catalog of information[14] to ask students follow-up questions and deepen their connections. Myra and Raven recalled Mrs. Carroll remembering things about them, with Myra explaining, "She's very stealthy about it, like, I was talking to her and she mentioned something I brought up in my paper, and I was like, oh, you remembered that!" to which Raven added, "Like, I forgot I even said that!" (Myra and Raven, Student Interview). In an exchange in Mr. Adler's class that surely made one student feel noticed, a student shared that her Halloween had been boring, to which he responded with shock, asking her how it could have been boring when she came to school wearing such incredible Halloween makeup. The student lit up at the realization that he had

[14] Chapter 4 focuses on understanding this catalog of information teachers mentally assembled about students.

noticed her Halloween look the day before, undoubtedly important for a student who had just shared that she had no social plans on Halloween despite being dressed up.

Lincoln teachers were also generous with compliments when they noticed students doing things well. Mrs. Carroll routinely praised students about how quickly they were going through a book, how hard it looked like they were working, or what a good friend they were for picking up work for an absent student. Mr. Adler, knowing that Dara had started a long reading assignment and approving of her initiative, asked her to give advice to the class, putting her in a positive light for her peers. During one credentialing meeting, Mrs. Ventura even pointed out that she sees her role as that of cheerleader, celebrating students' success in front of colleagues. Importantly, the teachers often seemed to publicly give recognition to students who they knew were struggling as a way to buoy them and build them up.

It was also evident that Lincoln teachers simply enjoyed their relationships with students, which came through to make students feel valued. As I observed the teachers during the rare moments of their planning periods when they did not have meetings with students, they often spent the time grading papers and frequently spinning around with a smile to tell me about something interesting or funny or compelling about the student whose work they were reading. In credentialing meetings, the teachers often added little commentaries about how much they appreciated each student, such as Mrs. Ventura saying, "really nice girl, love her to death" or Mr. Adler saying, "Strong writer, interesting guy too" (Observation Notes, Credentialing, 11/3/17). They seemed to build on their sophisticated understanding of each child and transform that into noticing who they were on an even deeper level, such as when Mrs. Ventura told the other teachers in credentialing that Jaylen, a student on the autism spectrum, "[had] a lot going on in there that you just don't notice," trying to get other teachers to see him the way she did. Or during an after-school meeting with Pearl, Mrs. Ventura seemed to read her mind and ask her, "You like writing, don't you?" having never even met with her before or known this about her but seeing to the core of what the student's interests were. In response, Pearl lit up and expounded on how much she loved writing.

Finally, the teachers had careful ways of noticing students who were trying *not* to be noticed. For instance, Mr. Adler had two students, Joe and Iris, both of whom he was mindfully trying to "not let slip into the background and to keep trying to engage [them] in a way that isn't too much." In the case of Joe, Mr. Adler had to talk privately with him about some personal

hygiene issues he was exhibiting, which caused Joe to be pretty upset. After that, Mr. Adler found ways to weave low-stakes but steady interactions with Joe into class; he described one:

> The other day when I left, I was like, Joe, you're in charge!' He's not really in charge, but all the other kids at his table were like, really? … And so right away I'm trying to get back in there, and be like, no, I'm not gonna leave you alone...otherwise I know he's gonna want to distance [himself]. (Adler, Interview 3)

With Iris, who Mr. Adler described as someone who seems uninterested in school and reluctant to participate, Mr. Adler described how he would routinely involve her in low-stakes interactions that would draw her in. He described:

> I try to do that by giving her ways to make decisions that make me look slightly foolish, or make her look in control of things, so like, Iris, what do you think, should I call on someone randomly or should I take hands?' It doesn't matter what she picks, but she has to engage. (Ibid)

These examples illustrate how Mr. Adler balanced noticing fragile students in subtle ways that helped build them up without alienating them.

In noticing and valuing students for who they are, the teachers' underlying goals emerged. Similar to Mr. Adler's idea of building students up, Mrs. Ventura explained to me that her main goals as a teacher were to make students "feel cared for and loved," and that a specific goal for teaching English was that they felt their voice was heard. "They're all looking for acceptance and for someone to see something good in them," she summarized (Ventura, Interview 3). Along with building students up by responding to issues with understanding and making a point to notice and value students, teachers also built students up by interacting with students delicately to protect their dignity in a number of situations, which I detail next.

Protecting students' dignity through compassionate interactions. A key component of building students up was protecting their dignity, or making sure that students' well-being and sense of self-worth remained intact no matter what. A clear example mentioned by several students involved teachers quietly prompting students who had fallen asleep during class to take a walk and get fresh air. Similar to the above practice of responding to student issues with tolerance, protecting students' dignity exemplifies teachers going beyond simply nurturing the interpersonal relationship they had to nurturing the person, the student. In seeing a child fall asleep in class and viewing it as a well-being issue rather than a behavioral affront, and in giving

the student an opportunity to feel better rather than embarrassing or further hurting the child, the teachers built students up.

In these moments, teachers were strengthening their relationships with students but primarily helping the students find their own strength. As Myra, a student who experienced this in Mrs. Carroll's class, summarized:

> She didn't come over to me and say to the entire class, 'Myra, why don't you go outside!' She just came over and kind of looked like she was talking to the table and nudged me a little bit and said, 'Hey are you ok? Go take a walk outside." (Myra and Raven, Student Interview)

Another day in Mrs. Carroll's class, she noticed that a student had begun quietly crying in the back corner at his table, so she directed the students to turn and talk about their homework and then quietly went out into the hall with the student, unnoticed by classmates, and learned he had been in a car accident on his way to school. Asked about her sensitivity to students' dignity, Mrs. Carroll explained that she protects students' dignity because she feels "aware of how hyper-aware [students] are of what everybody else thinks of them" (Carroll, Interview 2).

Lincoln teachers also communicated with students in ways that de-stigmatized some difficult experiences students might be facing and comforted those students, without calling special attention to the student or the challenge. For instance, when a student bragged in Mr. Adler's class about taking two college placement tests in the same day in less than an hour and passing both, Mr. Adler nicely explained that he should "have some common sense" about saying things that might not be as easy for his classmates because these tests were difficult and others might not have passed them yet—simultaneously preserving one student's dignity while teaching him a valuable lesson in front of his peers, while also signaling to his peers that their test pace was also acceptable even if it was slower than that of the sharing student (Observation Notes, Adler, 11/7/17). Often, teachers' efforts to help students feel relieved by de-stigmatizing their challenges came in the form of warning the class that an upcoming assignment or time period might be hard. The teachers often made statements to the full class about assignment difficulty as well, to help all students feel comfortable with their learning process. As Mrs. Ventura passed back the first test of the term to one of her classes, she explained the retake policy and encouraged students to meet with her to go over their tests; "I love that piece; that's your learning," she said (Observation Notes, Ventura, 9/26/17). Similarly, Mr. Adler mentioned

to the class that several students had asked for help on the readings, though he later told me nobody had asked and he just wanted to welcome students to do so.

Key to the teachers' responses to sensitive situations with students was making them see that they were not alone and could get through whatever challenge they were facing. The teachers often consoled stressed students by saying everybody was working hard and struggling in some way, such as Mrs. Ventura assuring Alannah in a meeting where she shared her stress, "Know you're not alone" (Observation Notes, Ventura, 9/27/17). In some difficult conversations, the teachers showed that their most important role was that of listener, allowing students to vent about a challenging situation and saying very little other than expressing their sympathy. When Mrs. Carroll's advisee, Janelle, shared with her that one of her professors was mixing her up with another student (the only two African-American females in the class), she mostly shook her head, winced in sadness for Janelle, and apologized that she was experiencing that. Other times, the teachers gave advice almost like a therapist would. Mr. Adler told his advisee, Kayshla, who was caught between separated parents and bouncing between two houses, that moving is known to be one of the top five psychological stresses humans can endure, but that humans are programmed to survive tough situations, like she was. Giving this advice nonchalantly while they organized her backpack together likely assured Kayshla, like Mrs. Ventura with Alannah, that she was not alone in this struggle and could get through it. In all of these interactions, teachers made sure students' well-being and dignity were attended to first and foremost.

Another way teachers prioritized protecting students' dignity in their interactions was through stealthy, subtle maneuvers. For example, I observed Mrs. Carroll give students multiple options for class work, which she explained delicately were at different levels, but instead of making distinctions too publicly about different reading levels, she explained the options more sensitively: "You might feel like, I'm right with you, not behind you, not ahead of you, right with you," for one handout; or, they might feel like they had extra coffee that morning or already knew some of these concepts, for the second handout; or, they might be moving slowly and feeling sleepy, or feel unsure about the concepts, for the third handout, making students feel more comfortable with their choice *and*—probably more importantly—more understanding of others' choices (Observation Notes, Carroll, 10/5/17). Other times, the teachers were helping the students to larger realizations. Mr. Adler listened to Tahzib's ideas about pursuing a career as a doctor, and then had a careful conversation with him about what that would entail and whether

he was really ready for it given some of his soft skills and other challenges. Mr. Adler explained this to me that in conversations like those, he tries hard to pay attention to students' well-being while being honest with them. In short, the teachers made sure to support students who were struggling by downplaying the struggle, offering alternatives, and offering unconditional support.

Another subtle, stealthy maneuver teachers engaged in was monitoring and nurturing connections with students who were facing particular concerns. For example, Mr. Adler shared in a credentialing meeting that one of his students had written about some "disruptive and upsetting experiences" in her life and that he found some of her body language in class "protective" and was monitoring her plus being "relentlessly positive" with her to keep the connection open in case something happened, evocative of the idea of giving children who have experienced trauma unconditional positive regard (Observation Notes, Credentialing, 11/3/17). Similarly, Mrs. Ventura mentioned that she was particularly watching out for changes in appearance or mood in a few students who had shared aspects of difficult childhoods in their beginning of the year writing assignments. Closely monitoring struggling students, without them usually knowing, was a key part of attending to students' well-being.

To summarize, teachers built students up and helped them progress through the school year and a chunk of their adolescence with their dignity and self-worth as intact as possible. They built students up by showing tolerance and understanding in response to issues they viewed as simply part of being an adolescent or rooted in issues over which students had no control; they made students feel noticed and valued; and they kept students' dignity first and foremost in their interactions. They could build students up because they had also built positive relationships with them, and because they had built positive relationships together, the building up was meaningful and memorable to students.

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to portray in depth how teachers in one carefully chosen context built relationships with their students. By choosing three exemplary teachers in a school known for prioritizing relationships, the goal of this study was to describe the relational practices of three teachers who prioritized relationships. A key contribution of this study is the finding that some relational practices functioned to strengthen interpersonal bonds, while other relational practices functioned to strengthen *people*. Specifically, the analysis suggested that Lincoln

teachers' relational practices achieved two purposes: they built relationships and also "built students up"—made them feel or be better in some way.

In terms of the former, building relationships, I identified five practices through which teachers attended to their foundational connections with students. Through these five practices, Lincoln teachers built and maintained their intepersonal relationships with their students—through learning about each other, finding commonalities, building trust and points of connection, and reflecting on their connections. To review, these included forming a picture of who they were, connecting via shared interest in content, sharing about themselves, allowing conversations unrelated to the topics at hand, and reflecting on their own preferences and limitations. In terms of "building students up," it was evident that upon building or having built *relationships* with students, a distinct set of relational practices in turn built up *the students themselves*, such as Mrs. Ventura assuring a stressed student that she was not alone in her struggles or Mr. Adler and Mrs. Carroll telling two of their advisees experiencing terrible personal situations that they should not have to experience those things and simply but powerfully validating their hardships before coaching them through it. Teachers built students up in these ways through three key practices: noticing and valuing them, protecting their dignity through compassionate interactions, and responding to issues with tolerance and understanding.

Building relationships and building students up represent related but different purposes achieved by a set of relational teaching practices. Undoubtedly, each practice identified in this study accomplishes cross-purposes to some extent; some of the practices I have identified as building relationships also build students up, and some of the practices I have identified as building students up also strengthen relationships. Additionally, the two functions reinforce one another; teachers can build students up more once relationships are stronger, and relationships can become stronger through building students up.

To further clarify the distinction between building relationships and building students up, consider a metaphor. Picture a classic chandelier over a dining room table, its brass arms curving up into about eight pointed light bulbs. Behind the ceiling and walls, wires connect that chandelier to an electrical supply. For that chandelier to light up, the connection must be there and must be live. The relational teaching practices of building a relationship are analogous to keeping that connection between the chandelier and the electric supply open and functioning. Teachers build and maintain open connections with their students just like an owner must

maintain a consistent connection to the home's electrical supply. However, just maintaining that connection is not enough for the chandelier to fulfill its full function. The chandelier also requires functioning bulbs, which often need to be changed, and to be at its most brilliant, the chandelier needs to be polished and maintained. Engaging in the practices of building students up is akin to maintaining the chandelier itself so that the chandelier can look and function at its best. Teachers build students up so that they can be at their healthiest.

It will be apparent from this metaphor that the two purposes are interrelated, whether thinking about a chandelier or a child. Having an electrical connection but letting the bulbs burn out will not light up the room, just as keeping the bulbs changed and the chandelier polished without there being a working connection will also keep the room dark. With students, as Lincoln teachers exemplified, optimal relational practices involve not just keeping a connection or relationship with a student vibrant and open but also taking care of that student as an individual. If the first set of practices identified in this study describe *how* teachers built relationships, the second set of practices capture the idea of *why* they did—often closely related to the philosophies evident in Chapter 2.

Another important contribution of this study was that many of the practices identified that built relationships and built students up occurred in the context of regular classroom teaching and interactions rather than during advisory sessions or time specifically devoted to social-emotional development. Assuring a stressed student that she was not the only one struggling with a concept in the midst of re-teaching her that concept; taking the time to share a snack with a student facing personal struggles under the guise of checking over his homework before class; learning about students' lives and interests and struggles through carefully crafted writing assignments—all of these were examples of the Lincoln teachers carrying out their professional work of teaching academic content but finding opportunities within that purpose to take care of students, learn about them, and support them in many ways. In doing so, the relationships supported the academics, and the academic learning deepened the relationships in meaningful ways. The fact that Lincoln teachers achieved relationships and attended to student well-being *while* teaching provides encouragement that social-emotional development can be powerful and attainable without having to add on an advisory program dedicated to those goals. At the same time, the teachers also felt that the fact that Lincoln had an advisory model at all permeated into how relationships unfolded in their teaching, giving them permission to connect on deeper levels with

students, indicating that perhaps the presence of an advisory program indirectly supports relationship building in important ways.

Some individual practices identified in this study were not apparent in my review of prior research. Two practices identified at Lincoln were not evident in my review of prior work: reflecting on one's own limitations or natural preferences and protecting students' dignity through compassionate interactions. It is possible that studies on these topics escaped my review, were conducted with other names and labels, or simply have not been a focus of prior work. The Lincoln practice of initiating or allowing conversations unrelated to class or meetings was not uncovered in my review of prior research, but overlaps are evident. These conversations unrelated to class or meetings could be classified as "small overtures" and "effortful engagement," or intentional efforts to talk to students about seemingly small topics, like what they had done that weekend or simply how they were doing (McHugh et al., 2012; Ozer et al., 2008). Lincoln teachers asked these types of questions often in those "bracket" (Hansen, 1989) moments before class, after class, while handing out papers in class, while students were working in groups or independently, passing in the halls, and during meetings. Lincoln teachers shared insider knowledge about teaching or the school with students in these types of conversations, such as Mr. Adler asking students for input on grading or Mrs. Carroll explaining what happens at credentialing meetings, a practice that echoes the idea that students see caring teachers as "telling them the truth" (Wentzel, 1997, p. 416). In these conversations, teachers' senses of humor came through, creating times when teachers and students could connect on a more human or personal level (Hargreaves, 1998; Schwartz et al., 1987).

Other practices identified in this study echoed but expanded on some of the practices identified in prior work, specifically three practices that helped build relationships. First, the complete pictures Lincoln teachers formed of who their students are is consistent with prior work showing the importance of students feeling like their teacher is interested in them, though this study demonstrates exactly how teachers showed that interest and learned about their students. Lincoln students' comments echoed several studies where students described teachers who cared as asking them questions, talking to them about life outside of school, asking if they thought something was wrong, and generally getting to know them better (Davis, 2006; McHugh et al., 2012; Ozer et al., 2008; Salazar, 2013; Wentzel, 1997). Connecting with students through a shared interest in content, though not a specific practice identified in this review, was consistent

with the “I-Thou-It” idea that any relationship between a student and teacher necessarily also involves them each having a relationship to an “It,” or content learning (Hawkins, 1974), clearly evident, for example, in Mrs. Carroll’s conversations with students about their favorite authors and novels. A third practice observed at Lincoln with a connection to past research was the practice of teachers sharing about their own lives. Consistent with Cammarota and Romero (2006) as well as Schwartz et al. (1987), one purpose of Lincoln teachers’ sharing about themselves seemed to be create a sense that sharing was a two-way street, making students feel comfortable to open up too. Like Davis (2006) found, Lincoln teachers also intentionally shared about struggles they faced at the students’ ages, which students felt made teachers more approachable for a connection.

A major contribution of this study was articulating the specific ways teachers can build students up. Although some aspects of building students up were evident in prior literature, this study provides a detailed depiction of what this looks like in practice and why it matters. The practice of responding to students’ issues with tolerance and understanding was consistent with Hansen’s (1998) characterization of teachers needing to recognize students as “persons in the making” and Schwartz et al.’s (1987) finding that teachers with a “personal” style see misbehavior as evidence of development and an opportunity to coach students rather than discipline them. This study showed in finer detail what it looks like in practice to believe students are persons in the making, adolescents in development, and people who have experienced or are living through trauma by identifying three types of responses to perceived misbehavior: trying to understand, turning it into a teaching opportunity, and choosing to overlook it in many instances.

Making a point to notice and value students was also consistent with prior research. These examples of noticing and valuing of students ranged from simple noticings, like Mrs. Carroll and a student silently waving at each other in class, to deliberate plans like Mr. Adler asking Iris silly questions as a way to make a student trying to escape notice know that she was actually valued. Lincoln teachers’ particular efforts to notice and give positive attention to students who were struggling was consistent with other observation from prior research that good relational practice involves creating moments of personal interaction, like a daily handshake, and that teachers can build equity by intentionally and publicly recognizing lower-status or lower-performing students (Cohen et al., 1999; Uhrmacher, 1993). Lincoln teachers

made a point of specifically planning to connect with struggling students, such as Mrs. Carroll seemingly nonchalantly—but actually quite intentionally—asking a student experiencing issues at home if she could have a gummy bear; she skillfully used this encounter as a moment to notice him as well as make her own assessment of his well-being—without it seeming to the student or his peers like anything other than asking for a gummy bear, the kind of invisible support that can be so powerful in a relationship. Whereas previous work showed how important this type of action is, this example provides a model for how teachers can actually carry out this work.

Finally, no teaching practice operates on its own, so I offer my interpretation of how Lincoln teachers' practices connected to one another to constitute an overall relational teaching practice. First, as stated throughout, the practices that built relationships mutually reinforced those that built students up. Being built up by a person with whom you share a solid relationship likely means and matters more than being built up by someone without a connection. Likewise, students feel even more connected to their teachers when they are being built up by them—whether they realize they are being built up or not.

At the individual practice level, Figure 3-4 depicts an interpretation of how each practice connects to the others, with those that build relationships in solid boxes and those that build students up in dashed boxes. As the figure suggests, a main point to underscore is that, in my interpretation, forming a picture of students, or really understanding who they are and what they are experiencing, is a central practice and the main link between building relationships and building students up. In other words, I see the practice of understanding who students are as *the* central individual practice that can make or break the whole system of practices. I conceptualize that teachers form this picture of their students with the help of other relationship-building practices: the overlapping practices of initiating or allowing conversations unrelated to class or meetings, sharing about themselves, and connecting through content, all of which help students and teachers get to know each other and trust each other, foundational for a relationship to begin to form. As the double arrow indicates, having a more complete picture of students reinforced existing relationships and made conversations, sharing, and bonding over content more targeted to the picture they had of their students.

Importantly, looking toward the link between knowing students and building them up, I argue that understanding who students are is the key practice upon which teachers rely to build students up. Having complete and accurate pictures of their students guides teachers in knowing

what to build up for whom and when or how to do it. In understanding the constellations of issues and situations in which each of their students is living, teachers adjust their enactment of the practices that build students up, just like they would differentiate instruction on a writing assignment. For example, having a picture of a student facing a divorce at home and academic issues in school might lead a teacher to respond to her inattention in class, a perceived misbehavior, by overlooking it and understanding she is distracted by larger challenges in her life; or learning that a student is experiencing conflict with a good friend might lead a teacher to notice and engage with that student more in the moments before class when that student feels insecure and alone sitting without his friend for the first time while his friend across the room appears happy with other peers. Again indicated by the double arrow, building students up in these ways enhanced the pictures teachers could form of each student; for example, by noticing students, they understood more about them. I do not include arrows between building students up and the other relationship-building practices because I see the practices of connecting via content, having off-topic conversations, and sharing about oneself as indirectly helping build students up—through knowing them; however, these practices are still all connected.

Influencing everything was teachers' self-awareness of their own limitations or natural preferences in relationships, which was a factor in how teachers built relationships and built students up. Teachers' self-awareness was also influenced by the pictures teachers formed of their students, since sometimes learning about a student became a reminder of one's own limitations or preferences, as in the case of Mr. Adler who was more cautious when he learned students were facing similar mental health issues as the student he once befriended but then tragically lost.

To conclude, on top of the many layers of teachers' work, from planning curriculum to engaging students in learning to building a classroom community and more, this study shows the complexity of just one of those layers of practices teachers carry out: the relational. Building on prior research that had begun to identify potential practices to build relationships, this study focused on relationally adept teachers who are dedicated to their relationships in a school that supports that work and prioritizes relationships itself. In pursuing the question of describing relational practices, this study revealed that not only do teachers deploy relational practices that foster connections between themselves and students, but perhaps the most powerful of those relational practices also function to make students stronger as individuals—helping them feel

safer, more able to trust, stronger, more confident, and more accepted. This study is a reminder that, in addition to understanding and engaging teachers in *how* to build relationships with their students, it is crucial to also understand *why* to engage in relational practices—to build up and make better the people we teach.

Limitations

This study has several potential limitations to consider when interpreting the findings. One limitation—which is also a key strength and intention of the research design—is that the school and the teachers exhibited likely a larger repertoire or better enactment of relational practices than I would have found in other contexts. This study was conducted in a school environment where teachers are supported in many institutionalized ways to enact relational practices in ways they might not be at all schools. Teachers at Lincoln are backed up by a thoughtful leader who gives them considerable autonomy and support. The advisory structure and credentialing process create a flow of information about students uncharacteristic of many schools so that teachers are very aware of what students are experiencing. Additionally, the soft skills curriculum helps depersonalize misbehavior for students, enabling teachers to coach students through issues with a common language and without undermining the underlying relationship. All of these characteristics support Lincoln teachers in building relationships and building students up, and most practitioners and researchers would consider these qualities as rare in most secondary schools.

Additionally, within the context of Lincoln, the three teachers I studied were truly exemplary, even compared to their colleagues. They were all highly experienced, having taught for over a decade each, and they were deemed by the Dean as skilled enough to be instructional coaches or teacher leaders at the school. Also, Lincoln students generally perceived relationships with the teachers in the study more frequently favorably than their relationships with other teachers at the school, though relationships were largely positive in both cases. Although the findings of this study might not generalize to other kinds of settings or to a more typical teacher, choosing the most relationally adept teachers for this study was necessary and intentional to be able to build a theory of what constitutes excellent relational teaching practices.

Another limitation included the fact that the teachers were aware of my general research topic when I began to observe them, and increasingly so after I interviewed them and asked specific questions. It is possible that they changed their practices slightly or acted in ways that

they thought would be more responsive to my project or appealing to me given my research. It is also possible that their self-reports during interviews and their explanations of their practices were not quite accurate, which I hoped to balance by also gaining the students' points of view and my own direct observations. As with any observational study, another limitation was that by co-existing in classrooms and offices with the teachers and students, I likely influenced the environment, especially in the case of one-on-one meetings teachers had with students who had not seen me in their classes.

An overall limitation of the data collection was that my observations and interviews likely yielded data that was not entirely representative or comprehensive. First, data collection spanned just three months, September through November, which is only about one-third of the school year. By gathering data nearly daily for three months, I hoped to achieve some depth to what I could observe and understand, but this came at the cost of not collecting data in other potentially important time frames, from December through May. As a result of this choice, I did not see relationships evolve over the course of a whole year, which in reality they do—or in the case of advisors at Lincoln, even longer. However, by observing teachers interact with both new students with whom they were just starting to build a relationship and more advanced students with whom they had already built one, I still observed relationships with a range of longevity. Staggering my observations so that I observed the bulk of Mrs. Ventura in September, the bulk of Mrs. Carroll in early October, and the bulk of Mr. Adler in late October introduces a related limitation in that it is not a perfect comparison of what each teacher did to build relationships at parallel times of year. I tried to address this by at least observing each teacher during the same week in mid-September so that I could observe them at a similar starting point in the year, and my decision to stagger the observations was meant to capture a consecutive series of more days with each teacher. Finally, I was limited in my student interviews to those students who were available and volunteered to do an after-school interview. Although the students I interviewed appeared to be diverse in many ways—in terms of demographics as well as personality—several types of students were not represented in my sample, such as students dealing with more serious issues, students topping the teachers' lists of students of concern, and extremely shy students.

An overall limitation of my analysis is that I identified a set of practices that I saw in the data. It is likely that I extracted practices that meant something to me and could have missed meaningful practices that I either did not understand or did not think were connected to building

relationships, but actually were. In my interviews with teachers, I specifically asked them about teaching practices I had identified while observing. Although I also asked them to identify their own strengths and weaknesses in relationship building and tried to get them to generate an idea of their practices, my ideas about their practices might have biased what they shared with me. To balance out the assumptions I brought to this work, I collaborated on multiple occasions with colleagues who helped me code the data and who challenged my assumptions and interpretations. I also reflected regularly on my own assumptions and made efforts to read through the data looking for practices that I, personally, was less interested in or inclined to see, which is how I generated the practice of connecting with students via a shared interest in content. Additionally, by presenting the preliminary findings to the full staff at Lincoln and getting feedback from the three participating teachers and their colleagues, I increased my confidence in that they agreed with the practices I had identified and did not suggest others that I had missed.

Implications

There are several implications to take from this study. First, as reviewed earlier, positive relationships are linked to a number of important outcomes in school, including their academic engagement, effort, and achievement, as well as "non-cognitive" outcomes, such as feeling connected to school or having higher self-esteem (Cornelius-White, 2007; Reyes, Brackett, Rivers, White & Salovey, 2012; Wentzel, 1997). The findings of this study suggest that one potential "outcome" of building relationships could be this concept of building students up, which is in line with non-cognitive outcomes other scholars have explored. At the same time, with some scholars pointing out that the purposes of education are being increasingly narrowed to academic learning, there is the risk that relationships are only seen as valuable in terms of their utility to cause that learning. This study is a reminder that, although positive relationships with teachers benefit learning as they surely did at Lincoln, what relationships accomplish for students outside of their learning—feeling better and being "built up"—might be even more important to students in the long run.

Another set of implications deals with teacher preparation. Future research should seek to understand whether building relationships and building students up are skill sets learnable in teacher preparation, and if so, how best to cultivate these skills in novice teachers. Teacher preparation presents opportunities to learn in coursework, fieldwork, and various amalgamations of the two, and future research should explore where the relational work of teaching is best

learned. On the other hand, this research explores whether some aspects of a teacher's relational adeptness comes from within the teacher's own background and experiences. Since the relational work of teaching is both part of the professional domain of teaching but also echoes what people do in their personal lives, it is possible that some parts of teachers' capacities to build relationships and build students up are deeply personal, in which case teacher preparation might think about how to find and recuit people who have relational potential or interest.

Related, in terms of teacher evaluation, if enacting relational practices effectively resembles Lincoln teachers' enactment, then another implication of this study is that evaluating teachers' relationship building will require developing tools that accurately capture the types of practices in this study, which are geared toward individual relationships between students and teachers, rather than current tools' inclinations to evaluate the overall class climate and environment. Related to evaluation, this study also suggests that evaluating teachers for their relational practices necessarily requires asking students for their perceptions.

A larger question this study raises is what exactly teachers should be responsible for doing in terms of relationships. Does building relationships or building students up fall within the scope of what we expect or deem appropriate or even find feasible for teachers to do? Engaging in this complex web of relational practices requires teachers to choose to incorporate these pieces into their already crowded practice—and, more importantly, to perhaps redefine the scope of teaching practice altogether. Building relationships with students in the ways Lincoln teachers do goes beyond typical expectations of teachers' relationships with students, in which teachers maintain a professional distance and cultivate an overall positive climate or sense of community in a classroom with the class as a whole, with individual connections as a nice extra if time and interest allow. This study suggests Lincoln-like relationships, those cultivated by teachers who prioritize relatinships, go to a deeply personal level, where teachers and students confide personal information in one another and where teachers seem to attend to students' academic needs but not until their more personal, social, emotional, and health needs have been nurtured. Lincoln teachers knew their limits and had counselor colleagues to whom they could refer students when they needed professional care, but they also involved themselves in students' lives beyond as teachers of academic curriculum. More work needs to be done to understand what the scope of teaching is when it comes to these personal and emotional layers of relationships. Several Lincoln students alluded to friendship when discussing their relationships

with Lincoln teachers, as in Liam's characterization of the best teachers, in his opinion, treating students like "friends they are teaching" or Raven's explanation that she felt as though Mrs. Carroll knew almost as much as her best friend knew about her (Liam, Student Interview; Myra and Raven, Student Interview). In applying friendship language to their depictions of relationships with teachers, the students echoed the idea in prior research that adolescents desire to be close to their teachers, challenging conventional ideas of teachers needing to maintain a professional distance.

A final implication is that the context matters in empowering or precluding teachers' enactment of relational practices. Lincoln teachers felt heavily supported and empowered in their relational work, for example, feeling as though it was not only allowed but encouraged to have personal conversations with students during class in a way that had not been in the teachers' prior schools. The many built-in supports for teachers to have the time and energy to build relationships with students that would build students up—advising, soft skills, credentialing, collegiality, the support of two full-time professional counselors, an emphasis on mental health—are not common across all schools, and are perhaps least common in schools where students face great challenges. Therefore, this study suggests that better enactment of relational practices by teachers might require school-level supports to be in place. Future research could explore these practices specifically in contexts without these supports in place.

On the other hand, in this study, much of teachers' relationship building and building students up occurs in the context of regular academic classes. Although a good deal of this work was done at Lincoln in contexts that might not be relevant in other settings—advising sessions, credentialing meetings, office hours, walks across campus—much of the teachers' relationship building also occurred during times every teacher has every day—the down time before and after class, the moments while handing out papers and walking around the room, and even the middle of class. Although teachers have varying levels of encouragement in how much time they can spend, for example, on conversations unrelated to class, or on how honest they should be about their own lives, I would argue that teachers everywhere have the time and would be encouraged to engage in several of the practices identified in this study, and this study demonstrates that it is possible to integrate these practices into regular class time, not just dedicated advisory time. Remembering a piece of information a student shared, waving to a student in the hallway, creating a cover for a crying or sick student to leave the room unnoticed by peers, asking a

student how they are doing… although these types of acts require that a teacher choose to do them, they take up little time or energy while having a potentially enormous impact on a child and could likely be carried out in *any* school.

Table 3-1: Data Collection Timeline

Week	Observations	Teacher Interviews	Student Interviews
Aug. 21-25	All-school orientation	-	-
Aug. 28-Sept. 1	-	-	-
Sept. 4-8	-	All #1	-
Sept. 11-15	Observe all (1.5 days)	-	-
Sept. 18-22	Observe Mrs. Ventura (4 days)	-	-
Sept. 25-29	Observe Mrs. Ventura (3 days)	Ventura #2	Ventura
Oct. 2-6	Observe Mrs. Carroll (3 days); Observe credentialing (1 day)		
Oct. 9-13	-	-	-
Oct. 16-20	-	-	-
Oct. 23-27	Observe Mrs. Carroll (3 days); Observe Mr. Adler (1 day)	Carroll #2	Carroll
Oct. 30-Nov. 3	Observe Mr. Adler (4 days); Observe credentialing (1 day)	-	-
Nov. 6-10	Observe Mr. Adler (3 days)	Adler #2	Adler
Nov. 13-17	-	All #3	-
Nov. 20-24	-	-	-
Nov. 27-Dec. 1	-	All #4	-

Note: No research took place the weeks of October 9th and 16th due to it being a busy college registration time period at Lincoln.

Table 3-2: Observation Events and Student Interviews by Teacher and Overall

	Mrs. Ventura	Mrs. Carroll	Mr. Adler	**Total**
OBSERVATION DAYS[15]	-	-	-	29
Teacher Observation Days	9	8	9	26
All Staff Credentialing	-	-	-	2
School Orientation	-	-	-	1
OBSERVATION EVENTS	30	38	29	100
Academic Classes (80 min. each)	17	16	15	48
9th Grade English	9	N/A	7	16
Middle College English	N/A	N/A	8	8
Middle College Critical Thinking	8	16	N/A	24
1-on-1 Student Meetings	12	19	9	40
Advising Classes	0	1	2	3
Teacher Meetings (e.g., 9th grade team, English team)	1	0	2	3
Parent Contact (phone calls)	0	1	1	2
Meeting with Dean and Student	0	1	0	1
All Staff Credentialing	-	-	-	2
School Orientation	-	-	-	1
STUDENT INTERVIEWS[16]	8	8	4	20
9th grade English	5	N/A	3	8
Middle College English	N/A	N/A	1	1
Middle College Critical Thinking	3	8	N/A	11

[15] Not counting interview-only days.
[16] These numbers reflect how many interviewees I recruited from each teacher's classes. However, multiple interviewees were also able to discuss teachers other than the one in whose class they were recruited.

Table 3-3: Frequency of Codes Overall and by Data Source (n=2,088 units)

	Number of Idea Units	Percent of Idea Units	From Observation Notes	From Teacher Interviews	From Student Interviews
Building Relationships (i, iii, iv, vii, viii)	**1,514**	**72.5%**	**1,153**	**233**	**128**
Building Students Up (ii, v, vi)	**871**	**41.7%**	**652**	**147**	**72**
i. Forming a complete picture of who students are	696	33.3%	502	141	53
ii. Responding to issues with tolerance and understanding	451	21.6%	342	81	28
iii. Initiating or allowing conversations unrelated to class or meetings	421	20.2%	382	17	22
iv. Sharing about one's own life	263	12.6%	195	25	43
v. Protecting students' dignity through compassionate interactions	232	11.1%	166	44	22
vi. Recognizing and valuing students	188	9.0%	144	22	22
vii. Connecting through shared interest in content	73	3.5%	57	13	3
viii. Reflecting on one's own limitations or natural preferences in relationships	61	2.9%	17	37	7
Total	2,088		1,588	286	214

Note: The data consisted of a total of 2,088 individual idea units, as shown in the Total row. Some units were not assigned any codes if no codes were applicable, and multiple coding was allowed. The number of units per code (each row) represents the number of units to which that code was applied. For example, of 2,088 total idea units, 61 of those units involved a teacher discussing their own limitations or natural relational preferences (a low number because this practice only came up in teacher interviews); 2,027 units were not assigned this code.

Figure 3-1: Lincoln Students' Evaluations of their Relationships with Lincoln Teachers (n=88 relationships)

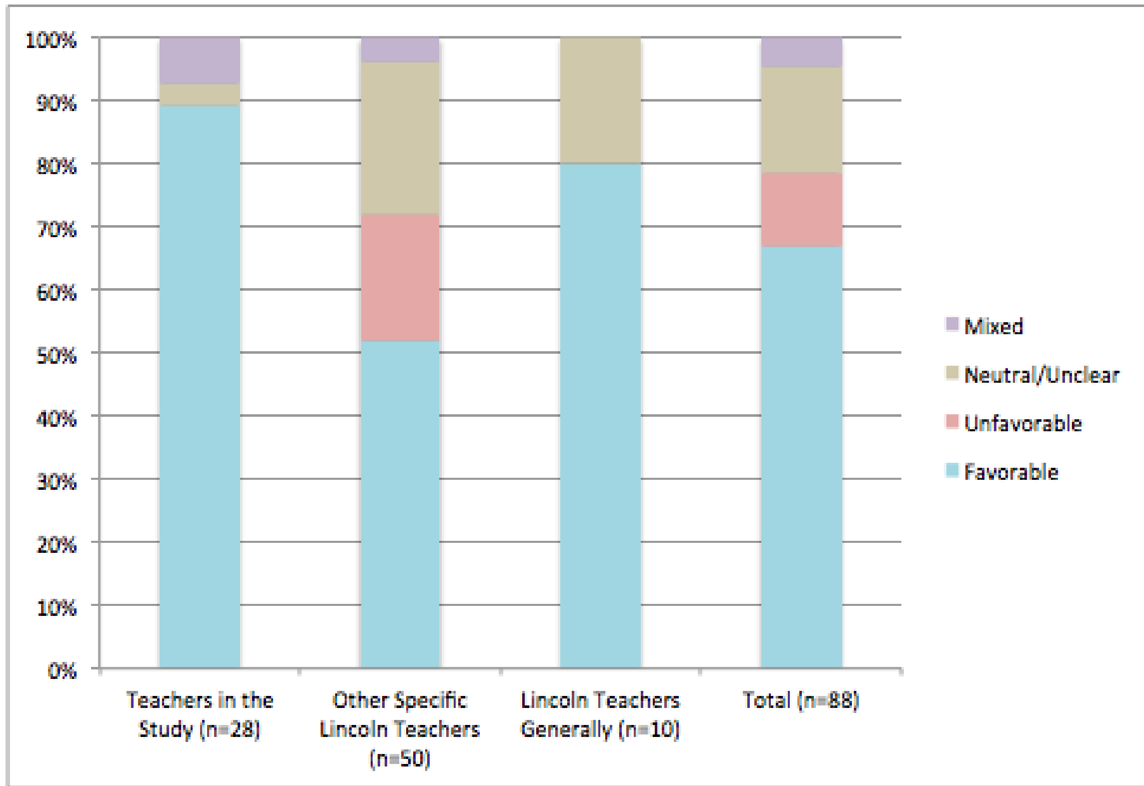
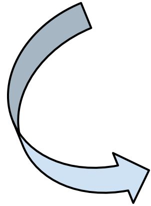


Figure 3-2: Summary of Practices that Build Relationships and Practices that Build Students Up

Building Relationships

Forming a complete picture of who students are
Connecting through shared interest in content
Initiating or allowing conversations unrelated to class or meetings
Sharing about one's own life
Reflecting on one's own limitations or natural preferences in relationships



Building Students Up

Responding to issues with tolerance and understanding
Recognizing and valuing students
Protecting students' dignity through compassionate interactions

Figure 3-3: Coding Frequencies by Teacher (n=2,088 units)

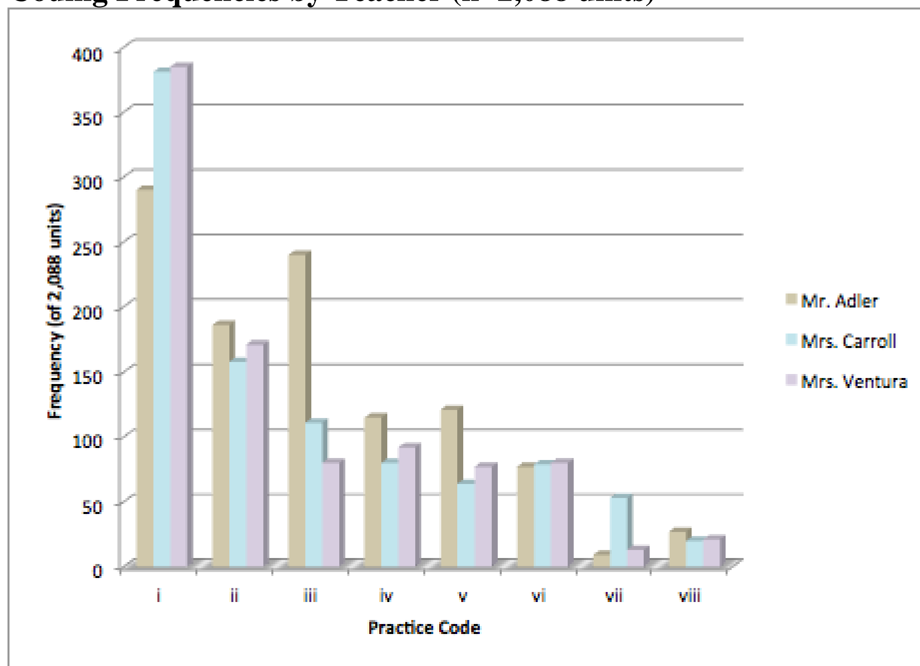
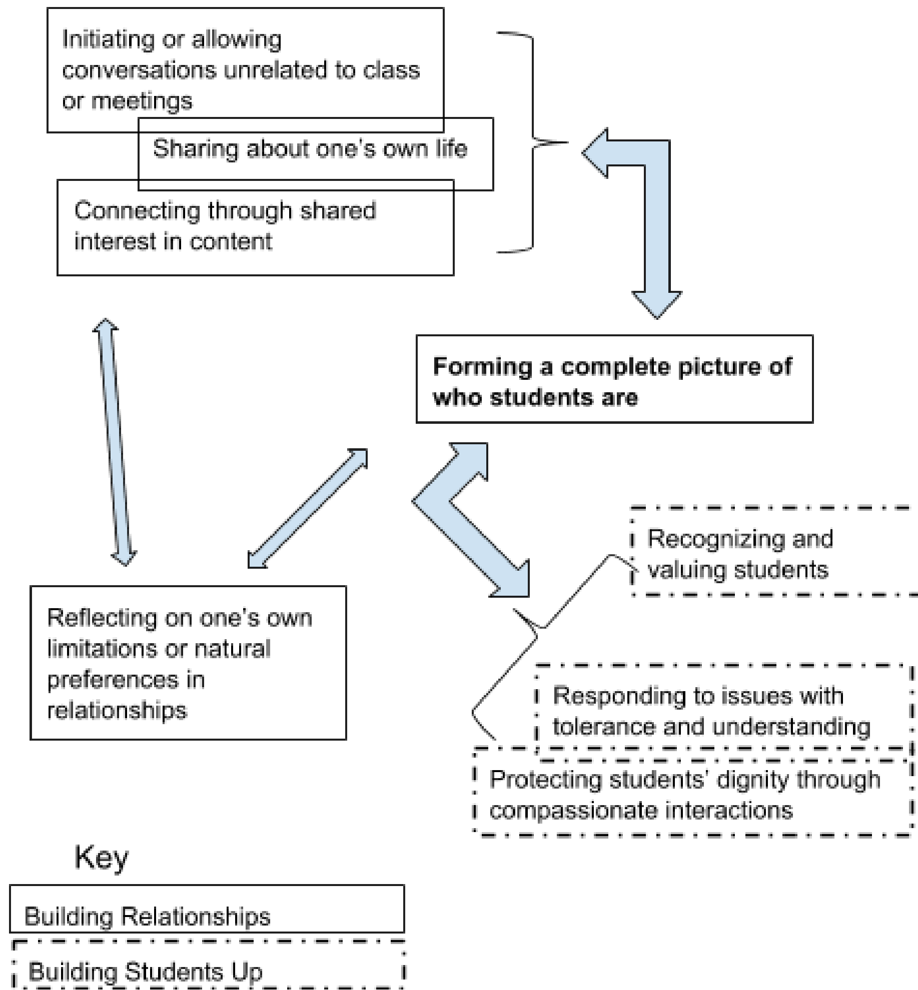


Figure 3-4: Connecting Lincoln Teachers' Practices into an Overall Relational Teaching Practice



CHAPTER 4

Teaching Practices Associated with Students' Sense of Knownness

This study focuses on an emerging concept called knownness. I define *knownness* as a student's sense of feeling known—understood, familiar, visible, valued—as a student and as a person by his or her teacher.[17] Students who feel known have teachers who do not stop at understanding them as learners; students who feel known believe their teachers understand their interests, hopes, fears, beliefs, family life, social life, emotional states, or other information that a student would see as relevant to know about them. For secondary teachers, this means knowing who their adolescents are in the process of becoming, which is changing continuously. When students feel known, they trust teachers, can build relationships with them, and feel validated as people. I arrived at the concept of knownness in my work because, despite how foundational it would appear that knowing students is to connecting with and teaching them, it is a quality often hidden or taken for granted in discussions of relationship building.

To first explore the concept of knownness, I conducted a study using student perception surveys, teacher observation scores, and student achievement data from the Measures of Effective Teaching study (MET project). The full study is included at Appendix E. In that study, I developed a measure[18] of individual students feeling *known* by individual teachers, based on students' responses to the Student Perception Survey. The main findings of that study emphasized the importance of knownness. Knownness was positively associated with students' reading and math achievement as well as their self-perceived well-being. In addition, knownness was positively associated with stronger teacher performance in broad domains of teaching, such as delivering instruction or maintaining a positive classroom environment. Therefore, the study upon which this one builds helped establish that knownness is indeed important for students and associated with better teaching.

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[17] After I had begun my own conceptualization of and research on knownness, I discovered that another research team was engaged in work using the same term and substantially similar concept. I describe their work later in this manuscript.

[18] Using factor analysis, my measure of knownness was based on three student perception survey items: My teacher seems to know if something is bothering me; If I am sad or angry, my teacher helps me feel better; My teacher in this class does not know me very well yet (reverse coded).

However, while the prior study showed that knownness was predicted by generally better teaching in broad domains of practice, it did not delve into particular teaching practices associated with knownness. This study fills that gap. By comparing the classroom practices associated with higher student knownness to those practices evident in contexts with low knownness, this comparative case study provides a detailed look at the exact practices that build—or frustrate—knownness. Drawing on video data from the classrooms of 16 teachers who participated in the Gates Foundation's Measures of Effective Teaching (MET) project, this study investigates the teaching practices evident in classrooms where students, on average, felt either very known or very unknown by teachers—specifically in the top and bottom 4% of classroom-level knownness in the entire MET study. In general, this study identified a set of practices high-knownness teachers engaged in with much more frequency than low-knownness teachers, and vice versa. This study also identified a set of practices that all teachers engaged in with similar frequency but in qualitatively different ways. In these ways, this research portrays in detail the teaching practices that likely contributed to differing levels of knownness.

Although it is an emerging concept, knownness is rooted in and related to several key existing relational concepts. In the next section, I review literature on other established ideas that all support a concept of knownness. I focus on a selection of concepts from research on relationships and education to conceptualize what knownness is and how it is foundational to positive relationships with students. After reviewing each concept, I illustrate its potential links to knownness. The five relational concepts I review are: belonging, relatedness, care, emotional understanding, and social support.

Background

The concepts I have selected are not exhaustive of all concepts that could intersect with knownness. To name a few, I exclude research on classroom climate, culturally responsive pedagogy, restorative practices, and social-emotional learning from this review despite their clear overlaps with making students feel known. I believe each of these topics contributes to knownness in meaningful ways. However, I exclude them in order to focus this project more sharply on individual relationships between students and teachers. I exclude literature on classroom climate because knownness is a student's personal perception, which differs conceptually from an objective measure of classroom climate, although students likely feel more known when a positive climate is in place. In a similar way, restorative practices would build

knownness but emphasize a community relationship rather than individual relationships between students and teachers. I exclude literature on culturally responsive pedagogy because I am emphasizing students' individual qualities in the ways they are known by teachers rather than their group or cultural qualities, though their group identities indeed play crucial roles in their individual experiences. Last, I exclude literature on social-emotional learning even though building knownness draws on social-emotional competencies in teachers and cultivates those competencies in children.

Belonging

Belonging is considered a human need (Maslow, 1968). In a review on general belonging, Baumeister and Leary (1995) identified two main requirements for the need for belonging to be fulfilled by another person: frequent and positive interactions with that person, and a sense that the relationship is stable, will last into the future, and is based on affective concern ("the person must believe that the other cares about his or her welfare and likes (or loves) him or her") (p. 500). In a review on belonging in an educational context, Goodenow (1993) defined belonging as "students' sense of being accepted, valued, included, and encouraged by others in the academic classroom setting and of feeling oneself to be an important part of the life and activity of the class" (p. 26). Goodenow also emphasized that belonging is an individual's subjective feeling rather than an objective measure of classroom climate. Research has suggested that even seemingly minor interactions or shared experiences contribute to a sense of belonging. For example, when people were led to believe they shared something simple in common with a stranger (e.g., a birthday), that mere sense of belonging, in turn, increased their motivation for the stranger's goals (Walton, Cohen, Cwir & Spencer, 2012). Similarly, Baumeister and Leary (1995) emphasized that the frequent positive interactions required for belonging need not be long or intense and that seemingly superficial contact (e.g., small talk) still contributed to belonging if it was frequent and if a caring relationship was in place.

Belonging and knownness. Like belonging, knownness is felt from a student's point of view. I am conceptualizing that students feel a greater sense of belonging when they feel more known. According to Goodenow's (1993) definition of belonging as feeling "accepted, valued, included, and encouraged" and made to feel like an "important part of the life and activity of the class", it is theoretically possible that teachers could make a student feel accepted or part of an activity without first knowing them; indeed, good teachers do this on the first day of school

before relationships are formed. However, it would seem like a much deeper and more meaningful sense of belonging would develop when students felt teachers *knew* who they were accepting, valuing, and including (i.e., "my teacher is accepting *me"* rather than "she accepts everyone"). Knownness also draws on the idea of frequent affectively positive, even seemingly minor interactions affirming belonging. Even knowing seemingly trivial pieces of information about a student would help make students feel known and feel like they belong. Frequent positive interactions with students are likely one venue for learning about students.

Relatedness

Self-determination theory has posited that for children to develop into self-directed and intrinsically motivated individuals, they need a sense of competence, autonomy, and relatedness to others (Ryan & Deci, 2000). In this theory, relatedness is defined as "having secure and satisfying connections with others in one's social milieu" (Deci, Vallerand, Pelletier & Ryan, 1991, p. 327). In the educational context, feeling related to a teacher helps motivate a student before she or he is completely self-directed. In this way, relatedness to teachers serves a vital role in children's development. Goldstein (1999) has conceptualized that the Vygotskian zone of proximal development, typically focused on cognitive growth, is also a "relational zone." In her depiction, affectively pleasant interpersonal connections between students and teachers draw students into learning encounters. Her theory underscores the ways learning is an affective experience, as she calls the zone of proximal development "a space to experience the particular joys of being human" (p. 665). Related to Goldstein's emphasis of the affective alongside the cognitive, studies have also examined the ways people think about relationships. These studies have found that people store information about significant people in their lives in more complex, individualized, and nuanced ways, while they store information about people they know less well in terms of their attributes or traits (e.g., race) (Ostrom, Carpenter, Sedikides & Li, 1993; Pryor & Ostrom, 1981; Sedikides, Olsen & Reis, 1993).

Relatedness and knownness. Relatedness to a teacher, or having "secure and satisfying connections," would seem to rely on and result in teachers knowing students (and students knowing teachers). The idea of a relational zone shows that the interpersonal connection, which I conceptualize requires knowing things about one another, draws students into a learning experience. The research on relational processing is especially applicable to the idea of knownness. Ideally, teachers would know students individually and store information about them

in the complex and nuanced ways described by the studies on relational processing. Without knowing individuals, people generalize about others and, particularly harmful in an educational context, store information about others in terms of their superficial traits, such as race, gender, or ability. When teachers know students better, they are finding and storing information about students in fundamentally different and perhaps less prejudiced ways than when they know less about students. Knowing students in these more in depth and individual ways can help teachers see the person in addition to the group of which they are a member, a key perspective teachers need to build equity and opportunity in their classrooms. Without this individualized knowledge of students, it would be hard to develop the "secure and satisfying connections" and relatedness necessary for healthy development.

Care

Teachers are often described as "caring," but several scholars have conceptualized care as an act teachers carry out rather than as a trait they exhibit. Noddings (2001) has defined care as a relational encounter between the "carer" who provides care and the "cared-for" who must receive or acknowledge that care in some way. Emphasizing receipt of care by the "cared-for" transforms care from a one-way effort by the teacher to a relational and reciprocal encounter. Schussler and Collins (2006) specify the actions of the care provider as: "understand[ing] the other and help[ing] the other reach his potential…" (p. 1464). Ozer, Wolf & Kong (2008) specifically point to "the desire to be 'known' on a personal level' as a sign to students that they are cared for (p. 25)." Valenzuela (1999) has distinguished between aesthetic care and authentic care. Whereas aesthetic care is superficial and sentimental, authentic care involves teachers having a deeper and more genuine understanding of students. Aesthetic care resembles an idea of care as a teacher trait devoid of action and not requiring deep knowledge of students. Care is authentic when it is an action characterized by learning about students and knowing them.

Care and knownness. In these studies, providing care is synonymous with knowing the cared-for; knownness is evidence of care. Authentically caring for students depends on having a deep and genuine understanding of those students. Without basing care on a deep understanding of students as individuals, teachers run the risk of simply "being" caring or caring only on a sentimental level. Instead, when students feel genuinely known by their teachers, they can experience a richer, more authentic care.

Emotional Understanding

Another concept applicable to relationships between students and teachers is emotional understanding. Research has pointed to teachers' social-emotional competence as key to relationships. Hargreaves (1998) explains how teaching is an emotional practice that depends on emotional understanding between teachers and students. Hargreaves discusses emotional understanding as a process of interpreting others' emotional experiences, either by drawing on one's own experiences for reference or by imagining what another person might be feeling. He also emphasizes that when two people do not have similar experiences to draw on, emotional misunderstanding is likely; with teachers and students often having different backgrounds and experiences, he points out that emotional misunderstandings are particularly prevalent in educational contexts. Given that students' behaviors are often rooted in emotion, especially when students have experienced trauma, accurate emotional understanding is crucial in forming relationships with students (Cole et al., 2009).

Emotional understanding and knownness. Having a more accurate emotional understanding of students directly contributes to knowing them more deeply and accurately. Accurately imagining how a student feels is part of understanding what matters to her and how she experiences day to day events. By understanding how students feel, teachers are more likely to interpret their behavior correctly and to keep the relationship positive. Emotional understanding can be an especially important resource for teachers building knownness in students from backgrounds that differ from their own, as some scholars have theorized that teachers are likely to misunderstand what students from other backgrounds are feeling without sharing that same background.

Social Support

Literature on social support also sheds light on student-teacher relationships. Howland and Simpson (2010) focused on two types of support partners in relationships can give each other: emotional support (to make a person feel better) and practical support (to help solve a problem). Studies on social support between relationship partners have found that the most effective support is often invisible to recipients, either because it is done without the recipient knowing or so skillfully that the recipient does not realize he or she is being helped (Bolger, Zuckerman & Kessler, 2000). A study by Howland and Simpson (2010) helps explain how a supporter could provide help without a recipient realizing. They found that less effective supporters tended to emphasize that there was a problem being fixed and that they were in a

support-providing role; conversely, more effective supporters minimized the supporter and recipient roles and did not overtly emphasize the problem being fixed. Although these studies suggest that subtle and invisible support is highly effective, Maisel and Gable (2009) found that visible support was still effective if it was responsive to a need.

Social support and knownness. All teachers have opportunities to provide students emotional and practical support. Although not all teachers seize these opportunities, I argue that teachers are uniquely situated to give students highly effective emotional and practical support because of the ways their support can be both invisible and responsive. First, the ability to effectively support students depends on knownness; the more teachers know a student, the more responsive their support can be. Second, of all types of support teachers might give, students likely expect academic support from most teachers. Receiving emotional support especially might not be coded as such by students receiving it, thus making it invisible. In this way, teachers are in a powerful position to know enough about students to be able to be responsive, but to be productively invisible in their discovery of issues and delivery of support.

Motivations and Contributions

The foregoing review illustrates that many well-developed concepts have significant overlaps with the idea of knownness. To summarize, knowing students makes belonging meaningful; basing acceptance and belonging on truly feeling known affirms for students that on an individual level, teachers are accepting and understanding *them*. Knowing students also builds the connections and common ground that lead to relatedness. When it is based on teachers really knowing students, care feels authentic because it is individual. Finally, teachers have more accurate emotional understanding and more responsive social support when they know their students more deeply, potentially helping teachers interpret students' behavior more fairly, reducing misunderstandings.

Although these concepts from prior research help in conceptualizing the idea of knownness, knownness needs further development as its own specific phenomenon. Furthermore, very little research exists on the actual teaching practices involved in making students feel known. By focusing on teaching practices associated with knownness, this study fills an important gap in the research.

Previous study. This study builds on my prior research using Measures of Effective Teaching (MET project) data (Appendix E). The MET project studied teaching effectiveness in

six urban school districts from 2009-2011. The study collected data on student achievement, student perceptions, teacher perceptions, and school and district demographics. Teachers who participated in the study also submitted videos of their teaching, which third-party raters scored using a variety of observation rubrics (e.g., CLASS, FFT). I used factor analysis to create a measure of students' feelings of knownness based on 6th-9th grade students' responses on the Student Perception Survey. My analytic sample consisted of 63,976 students and 1,632 teachers. Students answered survey responses with one particular teacher in mind, so each measure of knownness was linked to one exact teacher. The knownness measure was based on three survey items that captured how well students said their teachers knew and understood them on an emotional level: "My teacher seems to know if something is bothering me"; "If I am sad or angry, my teacher helps me feel better"; and "My teacher in this class does not know me very well yet (reverse coded)."

Findings suggested that knownness was positively associated with students' self-perceived well-being and academic success (constructs also derived from factor analysis of students' survey responses) as well as their achievement in reading and math. Greater knownness was also associated with stronger performance by teachers in several domains of teaching practice (e.g., classroom organization). Therefore, my prior study identified the importance of knownness for some crucial student outcomes. However, other than showing knownness was associated with better performance in broad domains of instruction, my prior study could not probe in any more detail teaching practices associated with knownness. Whereas that study could indicate that teachers whose students felt more known were better at the teaching domain of managing a classroom environment, for example, it could not describe what teachers did to manage their environments that might have made students feel known.

As I was engaging in my first MET project study, I became aware of a small body of research that was coincidentally also beginning to develop a concept of knownness in connection to teachers' practices. To my knowledge, these researchers are the only ones who have also pursued the concept of knownness and used this term. Although there are overlaps, in some ways the questions and concepts pursued in my work differ from what this research team has pursued. To begin, their line of research on knownness has specifically analyzed knownness from students' points of view: identifying teaching practices that *students* said made them feel known by teachers (Chhuon & Wallace, 2012; Wallace, Ye, McHugh & Chhuon, 2012; Wallace &

Chhuon, 2014). Based on their focus groups, interviews, and surveys with students, they have found that the following teacher actions potentially contribute to knownness:

- students are given a chance to feel “heard in class”;
- students are given the benefit of the doubt and taken seriously;
- teachers go beyond a “just teach” focus on covering content to a personal connection characterized by “going all in” and knowing each other personally;
- teachers “study students” and base their perceptions of students on observations rather than assumptions or stereotypes; and
- teachers help students “examine such questions as ‘who am I’ and ‘who can I be’”
- teachers show “active attentiveness” in their interactions with students

The present study makes important contributions beyond what that prior research has. First, whereas research by the team above has done important work in helping conceptualize knownness and potentially related teaching practices, none of their studies has specifically involved observations of teaching or teachers’ own impressions; rather, two of their studies drew on focus group and survey data and the third drew on interview data, all with students. As a result, their research, valuable in developing the concept from students’ perspectives, complements this study, which probes the important perspective of observed classroom instruction through the use of the MET videos. This study was designed around starting with *knownness* and tracing back to teaching *practices*, whereas my knownness colleagues’ research started with students and asked them to describe knownness, without examining practices in action. Observing classroom instruction is a crucial requirement for making claims about teaching practices that might associate with knownness, and this study makes that possible. Additionally, by specifically comparing and contrasting high- and low-knownness practices, this study offers yet another perspective on knownness. Whereas prior research has conceptualized or summarized practices associated with increasing knownness, this study also makes it possible to describe the practices that could keep students feeling *unknown*.

To investigate teaching practices potentially associated with knownness, this study examines two sets of classrooms: those in which students, on average, felt more known by their teacher and those in which students, on average, felt less known by their teacher. Using videos from the classrooms identified as high- and low-knownness, this study compares and contrasts high- and low-knownness practices, guided by the following research questions:

What teaching practices are evident in high- vs. low-knownness classrooms?

How are teaching practices similar or different in high- vs. low-knownness classrooms?

Methods

This study is a comparative case study exploring teaching practices enacted in two types of classrooms: classrooms where, on average, students felt their teachers knew them well and classrooms where, on average, students felt their teachers did not know them well. Drawing on a selection of 32 videos from eight Math and eight ELA classrooms in grades 6-9, I compare the practices employed by teachers in high- and low-knownness sections.

Selection and Description of Cases

My prior study resulted in a dataset of 63,976 individual students' knownness measures based on a total of 1,632 individual teachers. Using that sample, I averaged students' individual knownness scores within classroom sections (e.g., 1st period English, 5th period Math); I averaged at the section level rather than at the teacher level since videos were of a given section rather than of all teaching by one teacher. Before averaging individual knownness measures at the section level, I excluded and dropped from the analysis any cases where a section had fewer than ten students with an available knownness score. Since most typical secondary classes consist of at least 20 and sometimes 30 or more students, including fewer than ten students in a teacher's knownness score seemed insufficient for generating an accurate idea of a typical class's knownness. After aggregating the students' individual knownness scores up to the section level, there were 989 individual classroom sections with an average knownness score based on ten or more individual students' feelings of knownness.

To select cases for analysis in this study, I first ranked the 989 sections from highest section-level knownness to lowest section-level knownness. I then selected the highest and lowest section for each grade level (6-9) and subject (Math or ELA) pairing. In other words, I identified the highest and lowest knownness sections for 6th grade Math, 6th grade ELA, and so on up to 9th grade, for a total of 16 sections. This meant excluding some of the highest and lowest sections if a similar section was already identified. For example, the top two sections overall were both 7th grade ELA, so the second highest of these was not included in the analysis since the top 7th grade ELA section already represented an instance of high knownness 7th grade ELA for the sample. Selecting sections in this way resulted in including the top and bottom 4% of sections. In terms of rankings, the high knownness sections ranged from #1 to #44 and the low knownness sections ranged from #953 to #989. Throughout this study, I refer to sections by their ranking numbers.

Table 4-1 summarizes information about the 16 sections in the final analytic sample. The high knownness sections ranged from 0.86 to 1.59 standard deviation units for section-level knownness, as compared to a range of -0.88 to -1.46 for low knownness sections. On average, the section-level knownness score was based on the knownness measure of 16 students. While some teachers had three videos available, most had two; for this study I watched two videos per teacher, choosing two randomly whenever teachers had three videos. I analyzed a total of 1,652 minutes or 27.5 hours of video, for an average of 103 minutes per section.

Since this study is focused on teachers' practices, Table 4-1 also includes information about teachers' gender and race. Overall, the analytic sample consisted of nine female and seven male teachers. In terms of race, ten teachers were White and six were Black. Teachers' demographic information was less balanced when broken down by knownness. First, high-knownness teachers tended to be female, and low-knownness teachers tended to be male; specifically, seven of the eight high-knownness teachers were female, and six of the eight low-knownness teachers were male. In terms of race, the high knownness sections were evenly split with four White and four Black teachers; six of the eight low knownness teachers were White, while just two were Black.

Data Collection

To generate the data for this study, I observed and transcribed verbatim video from the 32 identified classes (two videos for each of the 16 classrooms) through the MET video portal. Therefore, data for this study consisted of full verbatim transcriptions of each video in the analytic sample, for a total of 32 videos. The transcriptions focused on the teacher, so all instances of teachers talking to the full class, to groups of students, and to individual students were transcribed. In some cases, other dialogue was audible but did not involve the teacher, such as when students were working in groups; unless this dialogue involved the teacher or involved students talking about the teacher, it was usually not transcribed since the focus of this study was on teaching. In addition to transcribing all dialogue, I included notes about body language, atmosphere, what was happening in the classroom, physical movement, and the like whenever possible and whenever relevant to what the teacher was doing. For example, I noted when the teachers laughed, sighed loudly, or expressed other emotions not captured in dialogue as these nonverbal cues could be important to understanding teachers' practices and students' feelings of knownness. For the same reason, I also noted important movements, such as when students

moved to ask teachers questions, when teachers circulated the room, or when teachers sat at their desks as students worked. In a few cases, teachers left the classroom during the video in order to talk to a student in the hallway or greet students before or after class. Since they were still audible during those times, I transcribed those exchanges as well. The choice to transcribe as much as possible from each video stemmed from my hypothesis that teachers can make students feel known or unknown during any part of their time together. Additionally, before watching and analyzing the videos in the dataset, I chose two random videos not in the dataset to watch to determine if there were parts of the videos upon which I should focus; seeing what seemed like important interactions throughout the videos provided further support to transcribe videos in their entirety. Therefore, rather than narrowing my focus at the observation stage, I intentionally kept a wide lens during observation by capturing everything I could see and hear.

In addition to generating these transcripts, I produced several memos as I transcribed, all seeking to connect my observations back to the research questions (Lareau, 1992). I observed and transcribed beginning with the lowest-knownness section, working up to the highest-knownness section, in order. I chose to begin with low-knownness sections and work up to high-knownness sections because I assumed that I would observe a larger quantity and a more complex enactment of practices with increasing knownness, so I hypothesized that the low-knownness sections would have fewer interactions, less dialogue, and fewer practices overall to capture. This hypothesis was mostly consistent with what I found in that low-knownness sections had, for instance, longer stretches of time where students were silently working and complying with seat work and there was less to transcribe, whereas the high-knownness sections had more complicated back-and-forth interactions between teachers and students and among students.

After transcribing each teacher's two videos, I stopped and wrote a brief memo of my impressions overall of the teaching I observed in that section. These memos were meant to capture a sense of the mood of the classroom, my early ideas about why that teacher was either in the high-knownness or low-knownness category, and any other information I felt was not represented in the transcript. In addition, I connected back to the research questions in these memos by writing initial thoughts about what the practices might be that were associated with that teacher being a high- or low-knownness teacher. When I memoed about the high-knownness teachers, since I observed them after completing the low-knownness observations, I also reflected on how that teacher's practices appeared to contrast or overlap with the low-knownness

practices that had begun to emerge. After observing and transcribing the whole low-knownness set of videos, I stopped and wrote a memo about themes across the low-knownness sections; I did the same after observing and transcribing the whole high-knownness set. These memos plus the 32 transcripts constituted the dataset for this study.

Analytic Method

Analytic units. The first step of the analysis was to break the data into units for analysis. With a subset of high- and low-knownness transcripts, I completed about three rounds of reading through the transcripts and reaching an idea of what units of analysis to use. I decided to break the data into units of "instructional events," which I defined as the main instructional activity or phase of class taking place from the teacher's point of view. Since each section, regardless of knownness, seemed to follow a similar pattern of instructional events (e.g., warm-up, lecture, group work, wrap up), breaking the data into instructional event units made the units more consistent in length and in sequence across all transcripts, and the units were fairly straightforward to recognize. For instance, the first instructional event chronologically in most transcripts was "settling in" or the phase of the class where students were arriving but class had not begun. Students could be doing different things during this time, such as talking to a friend, getting materials out, or still coming in from the hallway, but from the teacher's point of view, this would be a time for settling in. In that example, the settling in phase typically ended when the teacher began to set up or launch the lesson or when students began working on a "bell ringer" activity, which were other units of analysis. In addition to this consistency across the data, breaking the data into instructional events made sense in terms of expecting to see certain relational practices within certain types of instructional events. For example, I expected to see perhaps more concentrated relational practices during the "down-time" type events (e.g., settling in, independent work) than during content-heavy events (e.g., lecture, discussion).[19]

In total, all of the data were broken into one of ten possible units, or instructional events: (i) settling in, (ii) launch, (iii) bell work, (iv) lecture/teacher presenting material, (v) practice, discussion, or grappling, (vi) share-outs, (vii) wrap up, (viii) other activity, (ix) independent

[19] Since my main focus was describing practices rather than describing practices in relation to instructional events, I did not conduct a specific analysis to test the hypothesis that certain relational practices might occur more or less inside of certain instructional events. However, my general impression, as evident in many of the findings below, is that the hypothesis was true. Specifically, more of the high-knownness practices occurred during settling in and share outs, times when high-knownness teachers had more casual conversations with students, whereas more of the low-knownness practices occurred during bell work and independent work, when those teachers made hurtful comments, responded to perceived misbehavior, and generally rushed students through their work.

work, and (x) group work. Appendix H (top) lists the units with their definitions and examples, which I summarize briefly here. The instructional events corresponded to phases of class or other main activities from the teacher's point of view. Settling in described the part of class before class technically begins, when students are filing in and preparing to start and when teachers are doing things like greeting students, preparing at their desk, or standing in the hall. The launch and bell work instructional events also occurred at the beginning of class, when teachers would explain the day's agenda (launch) or assign and complete a preliminary warm-up task (bell work). The instructional event of lecture or teacher presenting material consisted of teachers primarily talking and giving direct instruction on a topic with little or no student participation. On the other hand, the instructional event of practicing, discussing, and grappling represented parts of class where teachers gave students the opportunity to dig into their work, such as practicing math problems together or discussing a story. Share-out portions of class involved teachers allowing most or all students to share an opinion, piece of writing, reflection, and the like, usually in a round robin format with little teacher input. Next, wrap up, similar to launch, consisted of teachers concluding the class, such as by asking students to reflect on what they had learned or announcing homework and the next day's goals. Whenever students were working independently or in groups, the independent work and group work units were used. Last, the other activity event was for cases that fit none of the other units.

Coding. After breaking the full dataset into a total of 298 units of analysis or instructional events, I proceeded to the coding process. I used an open coding approach in this analysis, iteratively reading through a subset of transcripts several times beginning with line by line coding and progressing to group those line by line codes into larger coding categories of potential practices (Charmaz, 2014). In naming these practices, I drew on Lampert's (2009) definition of a practice as an action or routine that a teacher habitually carries out. Each of the codes represented an action or routine I saw multiple teachers engaging in on multiple occasions. As is evident, not all potential practices the teachers engaged in have been codified here; rather, as I coded the data, my decision rule for what constituted a practice was that I noticed the practice again and again, and I could see a way it might relate to knownness. Another researcher might have identified different codes or used more fine-tuned decision rules when identifying these practices, and I address these issues in more detail as limitations later.

In total, each unit could have up to 19 codes or practices applied to it, all 19 of which are listed below with a brief parenthetical example. Appendix H (bottom) provides complete definitions and extended examples from the transcripts for each code. The following list is ordered from the most frequent to the least frequent code, as explained further in the findings section. The complete set of practice codes included:

- reacting to possible behavior issues (*ignoring students who are yelling during a lecture)*
- mentioning a student to others by name (*saying a specific student knew the answer)*
- opining on the difficulty of the work (*saying the writing task should be fast and easy)*
- sharing a laugh (*teacher and students laughing about a funny part in a story)*
- comparing students (*saying another class finished an assignment faster)*
- providing one-on-one academic help (*privately helping a student solve a math problem)*
- engaging in sarcasm (*telling everyone not to talk at once when nobody is volunteering)*
- discussing students' lives outside of school (*having students write about their families)*
- individually connecting or noticing (*asking a student how it feels to have his braces off)*
- expressing excitement or pride or love (*saying "I'm proud of you for sharing")*
- discussing grades *(listing extra credit opportunities)*
- sharing about own personal life (*showing students pictures of own children)*
- allowing extended sharing (*having students take turns sharing poetry they wrote)*
- discussing the school (*saying that the upcoming assembly will be really fun)*
- reflecting on learning (*asking students what they learned that day)*
- alluding to a future event (*saying that things will be harder in algebra next year)*
- discussing teaching or being a teacher (*saying a teacher's salary is tough to live on)*
- threatening or giving a consequence (*asking a student to stay after class)*
- providing small group academic help (*helping a table of three measure angles)*

From coding to themes. Having applied all codes to the complete dataset, I examined two main sets of information: code frequencies and the analytic memos I had generated. First, I tabulated the frequencies of each unit and code overall to get a sense of the prevalence of each unit and code. Next, I compared the frequency of each unit and code in high-knownness versus low-knownness sections using chi-squared tests. I used the results of the chi-square tests to guide my interpretation of themes since they helped show which practices were more characteristic of high- or low-knownness sections. I also noticed that some practices did not occur at statistically different frequencies in high- versus low-knownness sections, but based on my analytic memos recalled that those practices were enacted in qualitatively different ways by teachers in each of those settings. Thus as a first step, I tentatively separated the practices into three groups based mostly on frequencies and chi-square results: practices more common in high-knownness sections, practices more common in low-knownness sections, and practices that occurred similarly often in both but felt different. At that point, I turned to my analytic memos.

As described earlier, my analytic memos consisted of those written after watching the two videos for each teacher, as well as an analytic memo about overall low-knownness impressions and overall high-knownness impressions. The individual teacher memos were organized to record impressions of the classroom atmosphere and my general sense for why students in the classroom might feel either well known or less known, followed by an emerging description of possible practices. For the high-knownness sections, completed after the low-knownness sections, I also included in my memos my impressions of how the practices seemed to compare to those in the low-knownness sections. For instance, I noted that all teachers used sarcasm, but I realized that the purpose and tone of the sarcasm was positive and playful in high-knownness classrooms rather than punitive and harsh as in the case of the low-knownness teachers. I synthesized all of the memos I had created into one larger document so that I had a descriptive list of all potential high- and low-knownness practices and all practices occurring in both settings but in different ways. I expanded that list by re-reading the raw data and compiling illustrative examples in each category for each practice, as well as for disconfirming examples, such as a low-knownness teacher enacting what I characterized as a high-knownness practice.

With this dataset of practice descriptions and examples of high- and low-knownness teachers enacting each practice, I reflected on the three categories. There were many high-knownness practices, and I contemplated writing about all of them as a group of practices that build knownness. However, I realized there were sub-themes within the group of seven high-knownness practices, which allowed me to sort the high-knownness practices into three categories: practices that enabled personal connections to form, practices through which teachers and students could show or feel positive emotions, and practices that helped put students at ease. With only two significantly low-knownness practices, which included responding to behavior and mentioning students by name, I decided to leave them as is and write about them as a group of low-knownness practices. The third category of practices—those enacted with similar frequency but in different ways—consisted of ten practices. Rather than write about all of them, I selected three that particularly showed differences in their enactment between high- and low-knownness teachers. I did not develop into findings the other seven practices in this third category for various reasons. First, some of the practices in that category would have been somewhat repetitive of practices covered in other sections; for example, the practice of giving a consequence was reflected in the practice of responding to behavior. Second, some of the

practices I chose not to develop seemed less directly linked to knownness than the ones I did choose; for instance, the instances of teachers providing one-on-one academic help, though likely related to knownness, tended to focus on academic content and getting work done and would be more challenging to directly connect to knownness. Therefore, the three practices chosen for the third section offered what seemed like the clearest links to knownness and the most illustrative contrasts between high- and low-knownness practice.

Partner agreement and feedback. I engaged with two colleagues throughout the analysis to get feedback about my interpretations of the data and my emerging coding and units, as well as to explore and code some of the data together to gauge the clarity of my coding schemes. From one colleague, I sought feedback about my interpretations of what types of units to use, the substance of the units and codes themselves, and ways to approach organizing the codes into themes and findings. With another colleague, I made sure we could reach reasonable agreement on my unit and coding schemes for a partial but representative set of data to help ensure that, although I would code the dataset independently, my decision rules and definitions were clear and understandable to a peer who did not know in advance which excerpts corresponded to which levels of knownness.

To determine whether my rules and definitions were clear, this colleague and I joint coded a subset of nine transcripts (five low knownness, four high knownness), which included examples of every type of unit. In this selection, I had initially identified 20 units, and my colleague identified 17 of those as I had, assigning a different unit to the other three for initial agreement of 85%; after discussing the specific cases, we reached full agreement. Appendix H (top) shows the units with definitions and examples, and Appendix I (top) presents our joint coding exercise, showing how we each broke up the units. After identifying the unit coding approach and before coding the full dataset, a colleague and I returned to the same 20 units above and each applied my initial set of codes to 11 of those units. I chose those 11 units because, according to my initial coding, they included 18 of the 19 codes. I allowed for multiple coding of units in this analysis. For the 11 units we both coded, I applied a total of 54 codes, and my colleague applied 51 of those in the same way, for 94% agreement. Additionally, she assigned nine codes to units that I did not initially have. After discussing, we agreed on 62 of the 63 codes (my 54 initial codes plus 8 of the 9 my colleague added). Appendix I (bottom) presents our joint coding exercise, showing the units we coded and how we each coded them.

My research design attends to validity in a few key ways. First, by collaborating with two colleagues on the formation and application of the units and codes, I tried to ensure that my own interpretations were more justified and could be understood and applied by someone less familiar with the data. I also attended to validity by transcribing teachers' words verbatim from lesson videos and capturing as much as possible from those videos. In doing so, I created rich data for analysis rather than pre-determining whether data would relate to the research question (Maxwell, 2013). In addition, since I selected classrooms for analysis based on constructs developed from an entire other source of data—the student perception surveys—there was further reason to believe these findings would be valid.

Findings

In this section, I begin by describing the frequencies of instructional events, both overall and for high- vs. low-knownness section differences indicated by chi-square tests. After that, I provide a similar code-level summary of the actual practices. Then I illustrate findings for the three sets of practices: high-knownness practices, low-knownness practices, and three focal practices that were enacted qualitatively differently by high- and low-knownness teachers.

Instructional Events

All data were broken into one of the ten instructional event units. Table 4-2 summarizes the frequencies of the ten instructional event units in this study, organized by their typical, though not always, chronological sequence in class. In total, across all 32 transcripts, there were 298 units, split fairly evenly with 144 coming from high-knownness sections and 154 coming from low-knownness sections. Overall, the most frequently occurring instructional event unit was practicing, discussing, and grappling, which represented nearly one-third of all units (31%). Following the typical sequence of instructional events, only about 3% of instructional events consisted of settling in, and another 14% consisted of either the launch or bell work. One in ten units involved the teacher lecturing or presenting material. Relatively few units had students sharing out (4%). About one-quarter of units involved either independent work (17%) or group work (6%). Finally, 8% of the units across all sections involved teachers wrapping up, and 7% were classified as other activities.

Table 4-2 also shows the frequencies of the instructional events in high- vs. low-knownness sections. Chi-square tests indicated that most of the instructional events happened with similar frequency in high- and low-knownness sections, with a few exceptions. Settling in

occurred significantly more often ($p<0.05$) in high-knownness sections, with seven of the nine total settling in units occurring in those contexts. Sharing out also occurred significantly more ($p<0.1$) in high-knownness sections, with eight of the eleven instances of sharing out happening in high-knownness sections. On the other hand, independent work happened significantly more frequently ($p<0.05$) in the low-knownness sections, comprising 22% of low-knownness units.[20]

Although analyzing the types of instructional events was not a central research question, these findings are important. The prevalence of independent work in low-knownness sections versus settling in and sharing out in high-knownness sections implies that students spent their time somewhat differently in these classrooms—receiving more time for interpersonal interactions in high-knownness classrooms and, conversely, spending more time working quietly on their own in low-knownness classrooms. Meanwhile, these findings also suggest that whether a teacher had built knownness or not, most of the same instructional events showed up at similar rates in their teaching; in other words, high- and low-knownness teachers all seemed to include lecture, practice, a launch, bell work, wrap up, and group work with similar frequency. Given that the instructional events occurred at roughly similar rates, it is likely the differences in knownness actually arose from differences *inside* the instructional events: in the practices.

Practices

As described earlier, each of the 298 instructional event units was assigned up to 19 possible practice codes. Table 4-3 summarizes the percentage of units assigned each code, as well as how frequently it was applied to just high- and just low-knownness units. The chi-square test findings in the right-hand column indicate when the codes were applied at significantly different frequencies in high-knownness sections compared to low-knownness sections. First, the most frequent code applied was the practice of reacting to possible behavior issues, which was evident in 63% of all units. In other words, in almost two-thirds of all units, students did something that was potentially disruptive or inappropriate, and the teachers reacted in a range of ways, from not doing anything to issuing a consequence. The next most frequent code, found in

[20] Though not a focus of this research, I also reviewed the practice frequencies within each of these instructional event units to see if more distinctively high- or low-knownness practices were evident in certain instructional events. Generally, the high-knownness teachers used their extra time spent settling in to laugh and joke with students, connect individually, and nip behavioral issues in the bud, while low-knownness teachers used their more limited settling in time mainly just to address behavioral issues. During the share out units, although all teachers appeared to learn about students' lives outside of school during these parts of class, the high-knownness teachers also used share-outs to express pride and love, to laugh and joke around with students, and to connect individually. There were also differences in how the teachers used independent work time, with high-knownness teachers expressing pride and love or joking with students during those parts of class and low-knownness teachers mentioning students by name for behavioral issues and threatening or issuing consequences.

nearly half of all units (46%), was the practice of mentioning a student to the class by name; as I discuss later, this could take the form of complimenting a student in front of the class or singling a student out negatively. About four in ten units had teachers opining about the difficulty of the work, or sharing an opinion on how hard or easy the work was; again as I discuss later, these opinions could be shared in the spirit of, for example, encouraging students to approach hard work confidently or expressing impatience that a task was not yet done. Several codes were present in about 20% of units, suggesting these practices were relatively less common—sharing a laugh, comparing students, providing one-on-one help, using sarcasm, and discussing students' lives outside of school. Finally, the remainder of the codes were applied to fewer than 15% of units, suggesting they were the least common practices in all of the units.

The middle and right-hand columns of Table 4-3 show the high-knownness frequencies of each practice alongside the low-knownness frequencies, with chi-square results to the far right. These results suggest that while ten of the practices occurred at relatively similar frequencies across high- and low-knownness sections, the other nine practices occurred at significantly different frequencies. Figure 4-1 depicts this information visually, with each bar representing for a given code the difference between its frequency in high- and low-knownness sections. For example, the lowest bar corresponds to the practice of mentioning a student by name, and it extends left of the vertical axis to -34 because there were 34 more instances of this in *low*-knownness sections than in high-knownness sections. On the top , the practice of sharing a laugh extends 37 units to the right because there were 37 more instances of this practice in *high*-knownness sections compared to low-knownness sections. All of the bars extending to the left of the vertical axis correspond to practices that were enacted more frequently in low-knownness classrooms; the bars extending to the right correspond to practices more common in high-knownness classrooms. Black bars indicate levels of significance and depict the nine practices that were significantly more frequent in one setting compared to the other.

As indicated in Figure 4-1, two practices (mentioning a student to others by name and reacting to possible behavior issues) were evident significantly more often in low-knownness sections; many practices (all gray bars) occurred at similar frequencies regardless of knownness; and seven practices (from sharing a laugh down to sharing about personal life) were observed significantly more often in high-knownness sections. I turn now to describing the practices, beginning with the high-knownness practices.

Practices More Common in High-Knownness Sections

Several practices were evident significantly more often in high-knownness sections than in low-knownness sections, suggesting that these practices might be key ones associated with building knownness. In general, the practices enacted more often in high-knownness sections fell into three categories: practices that enabled personal connections to form, practices through which teachers and students could show or feel positive emotions, and practices that helped put students at ease. In this section, I describe each practice as it was enacted in the high-knownness sections, and I also provide examples, of which there were a few, of the practice being enacted in low-knownness sections.

Practices enabling personal connections. First, high-knownness teachers more frequently connected in personal ways with students. Three practices that enabled these personal connections included: sharing about teacher's own personal lives, discussing students' lives outside of school, and individually connecting with or noticing a student. The first two practices—sharing about oneself and discussing students' lives outside of school—frequently occurred together and reciprocally. For example, in an 8th grade ELA section, before asking students to write and share their responses to a writing prompt, the teacher shared her own example. In connection to reading *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings*, the teacher gave the students two options: write about "a time you were the victim of a traumatic incident, but you overcame that incident" or "a time a person helped you from the kindness of his or her own heart without expectation" (Section #7). Then, she shared her version of the second option, an account of her 5th grade teacher helping her by discreetly giving her free supplies for a project that she knew her family could not afford. In sharing this story, she also revealed that she was raised by a single mother and that she was inspired by this teacher because this was the first teacher she had met who was Black, like her, so she realized she too could be a teacher one day. After sharing about herself, a few students shared voluntarily, some more personal than others. One student shared about a time he realized he had forgotten his money in line at DairyQueen, but a woman there paid for his ice cream. In a very different example, another student disclosed (voluntarily) that she had been sexually assaulted by her mother's boyfriend and that they were in the process of overcoming the traumatic incident as a family. This was one example of how a high-knownness teacher created a reciprocal opportunity for sharing and connecting personally.

Often through writing assignments, examples of teachers and students sharing about their lives were plentiful in high-knownness ELA classes. However, they were also evident in math sections. For example, the high-knownness 6th grade math teacher gave students opportunities to share about their lives during both classes I observed. While studying perimeter and area, she paused the lesson to ask students to share where they had used perimeter or area in their lives outside of school, leading students to share about projects they had worked on with their families and providing a glimpse into the ways they spent their time outside of school and the people with whom they lived. During these conversations, the teacher added glimpses of her own life, for example, sharing that she was currently renovating her bathroom and calculated area when estimating how much paint to buy.

In other cases, the sharing was unplanned and unrelated to content but supported a personal connection. In the high-knownness 9th grade ELA class, as students worked in groups on questions from *To Kill a Mockingbird*, a student sitting near the teacher's desk asked the teacher if a photo on her desk was her son, to which the teacher replied that it was, and the student complimented how cute the child was. The student then added, "You should see my little brother, Miss, he is so adorable," to which the teacher replied, "How could he not be? Isn't he as cute as you, come on now!" (Section #10). At that, the student shared more details, adding, "He's a little White boy though. He's not Hispanic or anything; he's, like, White." At this, the teacher asked, "Different dad or just looks different?" and the student answered that they had different dads. The student added that her brother had big brown eyes, and the teacher commented, "Aww, just like you," before moving away to check in with another group. In this example, a simple photograph on a desk sparked a personal conversation about this student's family, and the teacher and the student connected with insights into each other's personal lives.

On a few occasions, these practices were evident in the low-knownness sections also but tended to be unidirectional and quite brief. For example, in the low-knownness 6th grade ELA class, the teacher shared that he also liked the Harry Potter books when a student shared that he did, but the exchange stopped there. Or, the low-knownness 7th and 8th grade ELA teachers both integrated writing prompts about students' own lives that they then shared, such as problems they saw in their community or talents they believed they possessed, but these activities were relatively brief compared to the more extended sharing in high-knownness classrooms.

More often, when low-knownness teachers shared about themselves or discussed students' families, the purpose and tone were actually negative. For example, the low-knownness 7th and 8th grade math teachers alluded to students' lives outside of school only when threatening to call home to report bad behavior. In a stranger example, a low-knownness ELA teacher, attempting to explain a confusing assignment about designing an advertisement to demonstrate appeals to ethos, pathos, or logos, stated several examples alluding to his personal life that seemed inappropriate. Asking the students what would make him listen to an advertisement for a pick-up truck, the teacher explained that he would not want a truck, and then asked the class:

> What would make somebody that is not particularly a frequent buyer—I've had 4 or 5 cars… and they've all been different brands, I'm not, like, brand loyal… so if I was out there on the fence and I was a possible customer for Ford, what would make me stop and at least listen to what they have to offer? Do they put a—a pretty girl sitting there and pointing to the car? Do they have something that would be visually attractive to me? (Section #985)

Later, he continued with the example of how advertisements for perfume would be lost on him—undermining his own lesson that all advertisements work because of appeals to ethos, pathos, or logos—because when he buys a gift for his girlfriend, he simply buys the cheapest option. Unlike high-knownness teachers who shared about their own lives in ways that were both relevant and positive (i.e., sharing a photo of one of their children), this teacher's choice of what to share seemed at best irrelevant and at worst pretty inappropriate. Plus, sharing this information did not lead to students sharing about their own lives since the teacher dominated the conversation with long-winded examples while students worked quietly and independently. While some students might have seen a way to connect with this teacher when he first shared about his car brand preferences, his sharing turned to comments that would seem alienating and hurtful to many. Not only did his points undermine his actual lesson, it is also possible that he pushed some students away with commentary that could easily feel inappropriate to many female students and likely some male students too.

The third practice comprising teachers personally connecting with students involved teachers individually noticing or connecting with students. In terms of noticing students, several of the high-knownness teachers noted aloud when students were absent or when they had returned to school, showing absent students and present peers that their absences were noticed.

They also noticed when something was wrong with students, such as asking, “What’s wrong with your finger?” (Section #44). Teachers also showed that they remembered students’ progress or noticed their interests, such as one teacher telling a student, “Hon, look at me, look at me, you worked really hard the last two days. Don’t give up now, ok?” and telling another student, “Paco, back to drawing, I see? That’s not a bad thing” (Section #10).

Often these individual connections occurred in more extended conversations in private, in the hall or in a corner of the room while other students worked, when teachers took the time to coach a student through a problem. The high-knownness 8th grade math teacher coaxed a crying student into the hall, patiently helped her take some deep breaths, tried to ask what was the matter, and then instructed the student to take a walk and come back when she was ready.

The high-knownness 9th grade ELA teacher in particular had several important one-on-one hallway conversations with students about difficult topics. In one example, she dismissed a student to the hallway after he made an inappropriate comment toward another student, and then a seven minute conversation about major life choices ensued:

> TEACHER: What were you thinking, TJ? Hon, you are at a point right now at this age, where you're gonna make choices that are either gonna take you down the right path, or the wrong path. How was it hangin’ out in Juvey for a few days?
> STUDENT: It sucked.
> TEACHER: Yeah? I would imagine it was pretty hardcore, huh? Not really the nicest people in there? Not really a place you want to go back to?
> STUDENT: No. (Quiet)
> TEACHER: So what are you gonna do differently?
> STUDENT: Change my attitude... Focus on something else.
> TEACHER: Yeah. That's easy to say when you're lookin’ down at your shoes, but is it something that ya feel?
> STUDENT: Yeah.
> TEACHER: Man, how did your mom react?
> STUDENT: That's—when I saw her cry, that's when I told myself that I was gonna change. When I saw her cry.
> TEACHER: Do you feel it inside though? I mean, that's your mom, you're her baby. Remember when we read “Monsters” in the beginning of the year?
> STUDENT: Mmm.
> TEACHER: And do you remember when Steve's dad comes and sees him in jail, and he cries? It's the same thing. I mean these are people who love you more than anything in the whole world, and she's watchin’ you go down the wrong path. So what's gonna happen from here on out?
> STUDENT: Change.
>
> (Section #10)

Next, they discussed the details of his pending court case, probation, his age, and his hope that his family would move to another state. The teacher brought up the story "Monsters" again, and the student brought up another story the experience made him think about, and then she sent him back into the classroom, saying:

> So just think before you act. You're too smart, hon. You're a good kid. You need to stay... stay on the right path. And don't break your mother's heart. And don't break my heart, dude. I was so worried about you. I'm so glad you're back. Oh my Gosh.
>
> (Section #10)

This interaction, focused on serious challenges in TJ's personal life, demonstrated the ways interactions with students were personal and emotional for high-knownness teachers. By individually connecting with this student, this teacher learned about his situation, created an opportunity to add her own advice, showed knowledge of his family, and made clear that, in addition to the student's future being on the line, his mother's and her own heartbreak were too, underscoring her personal connection to this student.

This same teacher demonstrated this personal attention with two other students. Similar to TJ, she dismissed another student to the hall after a conflict with another student and then went out and talked her through the issue, beginning with, "Punkin.' Whatchadoin'? Why ya so cranky?" in a funny voice, which loosened the student up to say that she was facing friendship drama. The teacher sensitively told the student that she would need to deflect people's criticisms of her like WonderWoman: "You're so smart, so you need to let go of the drama, put on your WonderWoman shields, (laughs) and come on in and do the work. Alright, can you do that?" followed by hugging her and saying, "You know I love you, right?" to which the student replied, "Yeah." Another student in this class, Lena, struggled with impulse control, calling out and interrupting others often, getting into conflicts with other students, and saying offensive things. This teacher showed her characteristic personal care with this student as well. At the end of a class when the teacher noticed her in an outburst, the teacher stopped her and calmed her by bringing up the cultural assembly the following day: "I'm very excited to see you sing tomorrow. You are going to be phenomenal and lovely and wonderful, and I'm so excited." She then cupped Lena's face in her hands and said, "Be proud of who you are, be proud of your voice, be proud of your culture." Lena, quieter and calmer, began telling the teacher about the outfit she had planned, and the teacher continued to share her excitement.

I have shared extended examples from this 9th grade ELA teacher because she exemplifies, in my interpretation, highly skilled enactment of the practices that contribute to personal connections between students and teachers—sharing about herself, learning about her students, and individually connecting. Though these personal conversations took up class time, they were this teacher's answer to perceived behavior issues, and they showed students the sincere care she had for them not just as their teacher, but as a person who—in her words—loved them. The next section describes practices through which high-knownness teachers showed positive emotions.

Practices showing positive emotions. In addition to practices building personal connections with students, high-knownness teachers more frequently displayed positive emotions in class through two practices: expressing to students their excitement, pride, or love, and laughing with them. Whereas generally the low-knownness teachers expressed control, condescension, and anger—as described in the section below on low-knownness practices—the high-knownness teachers seemed more relaxed and joyful in their roles, giving their classes a more positive emotional feeling.

First, there was simply more laughter in high-knownness sections, and both students and teachers appeared to be enjoying their time together. The high-knownness 8th grade math teacher frequently sang parts of her lessons, such as telling students to start working on a problem by singing, "Jump on it, jump on it" to the tune of a song the students knew (Section #44). She also joked with students about math terms, such as clarifying that the word was 'angle' and not 'angel' or explaining an acute angle by saying, "When you think of an acute angle, you think to yourself, 'Awww, so cute, that guy's so cute!' An angle less than 90 degrees, little guy, he's just a little guy; put him in your pocket, he's cute," all to lots of laughter from students. In the high-knownness 7th grade math section, the teacher joked with his students about his inability to draw a straight line, to which students playfully teased him, "That's sooo straight," as he laughed along (Section #42). In the high-knownness 9th grade math class, when the teacher announced the homework and students grumbled, the teacher joked that she knew it was their favorite thing to do, to which one student responded that homework was "hell," and everyone laughed (Section #13). In all of these examples, teachers were ready to laugh with students about simple things, from homework to math terms, letting their guard down and enjoying their time together.

High-knownness teachers also expressed positive emotions when they conveyed their excitement, pride, and love to students. Overall, the high-knownness teachers seemed eager and excited to be teaching the students and teaching their subjects. They brought a sense of energy to the work that seemed to spread to the students. For example, the math teachers often told students how much fun they thought it was to work through new math concepts, such as when one teacher said, “Oh, classwork, yayyyy!” (Section #44). Often, teachers also told students how proud they were of their effort and accomplishments. For example, a math teacher asked students how many got an answer correct, and when they all raised their hands, she enthusiastically sang, “Cuz you’re so smart!” (Section #44). The high-knownness 9th grade ELA teacher told one student she was proud of her when she showed her completed work. When the student challenged her and seemed to doubt that she was proud of her, the teacher replied, “I have said many times that I’m proud! In fact, we called your mom and told her we were proud of you in front of the whole class, remember?” and then the student agreed (Section #10).

In addition to showing excitement and pride, the high-knownness teachers expressed love on several occasions. Above, in the example of the 9th grade ELA teacher coaching the student to wear her WonderWoman shields or advising TJ about his legal troubles, the teacher brought the ideas of love and heartbreak into the conversation, reminding the students she loved them and they mattered to her personally. Another teacher demonstrated this in her 8th grade ELA class, reminding students she loved them before correcting their answers, saying things like, “Now y’all, I love you, but you know I’m not acceptin’ if you don’t have the key terms underlined,” and “We love you, yup, you will be wrong, but we love you,” to a student who shared an incorrect answer (Section #7). These teachers’ displays of excitement, pride, and love, on top of their shared laughter with students, introduced positive emotions to the classrooms that set them apart in how they felt compared to low-knownness classrooms.

There was one case where a low-knownness teacher also displayed positive emotions. The low-knownness 8th grade ELA teacher often thanked students for reading aloud or told them they had done well and that she was proud of their writing or of their willingness to share. For example, she said to one student, “I’m so proud of you for speaking up” and to another, “I’m proud of you for trying; keep going” (Section #982). Although this particular teacher expressed pride on a few occasions, generally the low-knownness teachers did not convey a sense of excitement, and there was absolutely no mention of love in the low-knownness sections.

In terms of laughter, when students and teachers laughed together in the low-knownness classes, it was unfortunately in the case of laughing at a student's expense. For example, in the 9th grade ELA class where students were assigned the advertisement task described above, the class laughed on several occasions when the teacher kept returning to the example of one student who had decided to advertise for a fishing rod. For some reason, the teacher fixated on this student's choice as a funny example, even though it would seem to any observer like a fine choice that fulfilled the assignment. At least six times in one period, the class and the teacher laughed at this student's fishing rod choice, all initiated by the teacher returning to his example and making fun of it. In another low-knownness class, when a student asked in the middle of a lesson what page they were on, the teacher insensitively responded, "What planet are you on?" as the rest of the class laughed along at the student's expense (Section #989). These examples show that although there was laughter on occasion in low-knownness sections, it was not part of a positive emotional experience like in the high-knownness classrooms and was even used to potentially hurt or marginalize students. Whereas students in high-knownness sections experienced teachers and teaching characterized by excitement, pride, love, and joy, students in low-knownness sections entered rooms with less laughter or laughter seemingly rooted in negative intentions. Next, I describe two more key high-knownness practices.

Practices putting students at ease. The final two practices enacted more often in high-knownness sections seemed to help put students at ease: allowing extended, unhurried sharing and opining about the difficulty of the work, specifically acknowledging the work was difficult but achievable. Although I cannot know for sure whether the students felt at ease since I did not collect data specifically responsive to that question, I characterize this practice group as such because the students appeared at ease based on the data and because it seems reasonable to characterize them as being at ease given the practices in this group. First, there were opportunities in the high-knownness sections for students to share extensively about their opinions and experiences. These sharing phases of class typically went on for ten minutes or more, and teachers seemed unhurried, letting every student share at least once and waiting until everybody who wanted to share got to share. For instance, when the high-knownness 7th grade ELA students learned about haiku poems, the teacher facilitated an extended sharing period where students could share all of their ideas for haiku poem topics. As students shared once or more, the teacher recorded their ideas on the board, recording every idea even if it would be

difficult to write about or was not quite correct (i.e., if it was not about nature, in this case). Even after many had shared, she continued to ask if anybody else wanted to share before moving on. In another lesson, this teacher read a short story aloud to the class and paused throughout the story to ask the students questions about their reactions, such as asking what they would do if they were in the characters' situation or what they thought would happen next. Again, she allowed the sharing to continue until everybody who wanted to share had a chance. Other high-knownness teachers allowed extended sharing like this as well, such as the 8th grade ELA teacher having all students share an example of personification they wrote about, the 6th grade math teacher giving students a chance to share examples in their lives of using area and perimeter, and the 8th grade math teacher reserving the last ten minutes of class for students to share reflections on what they had learned.

High-knownness teachers also put students at ease by opining about the difficulty of the work, specifically to take moments here and there to acknowledge that their work was difficult. These teachers often asked students if they thought the work was hard or easy and checked in with students about how confident they felt. "Not too bad, right? They're not too bad?" asked one teacher, followed by warning students that the next set of problems would be "a little tricky" but that they would figure them out together (Section #42). Another teacher asked students if their bell ringer was too difficult, and when a student said it was pretty hard, the teacher replied in a deep voice, "Oh yeah, yeah, yeah, it's reeeeeally hard!" and the student joked back, "I think I'm gonna die from this!" to which the teacher responded, "Ooh, Lord have mercy!" with everybody laughing (Section #4). They also took some responsibility for the work being hard for students, as when one student expressed confusion at a problem, and the teacher replied, "Ok, where'd I lose you?" (Section #13). Therefore, high-knownness teachers checked in with students about the work, acknowledging it was difficult, showing they were there to help, and making hard work seem more approachable.

Putting students at ease was not the norm in low-knownness sections. Rather than give students a sense that they could take time to share and listen to one another, the sense in low-knownness classrooms was the opposite—more clearly about hurrying up and not wasting time. Whereas high-knownness teachers continued to ask if students wanted to share even after many minutes of sharing, low-knownness teachers more often warned students that time was up after only a few moments of working on a task, or impatiently stated that they were behind. Low-

knownness teachers also exhibited a tendency to minimize the difficulty of the work and imply instead that it was easy, even as students clearly struggled. For example, one math teacher told students after re-explaining a concept, “That’s all you’ve got to do is plug them into the formula; I have not changed a single thing yet today. We’re doing it exactly the same way every time. Just straight substitution,” to which a student replied, “It’s hard” (Section #986). The teacher asked, “What’s hard about it?” and then without listening, moved on. When a 6th grade ELA class struggled to know the right answer on a grammar exercise, the teacher told them, “Not gonna tell you [the answer], you gotta tell me; that’s kinda how we’ve been doin’ this since August,” impatient with rather than understanding of their struggle with the exercise, moments later realizing that he had assigned them the wrong exercise that they did not yet know how to solve (but not taking full responsibility for doing so) (Section #953). Although most low-knownness teachers operated in the ways just described, it should be noted that two of the low-knownness teachers encouraged student sharing in response to writing prompts, and one low-knownness teacher acknowledged the difficulty of the work to his students, resembling their high-knownness counterparts.

Thus, the low-knownness teachers’ decisions to portray the work as easy when really it was hard for some students and to hurry students along rather than give them time to share probably did the opposite of put students at ease, likely upsetting or stressing students out. The next section turns to the practices that were more frequently evident in low-knownness sections. Whereas the practices that characterized high-knownness sections revolved around personal connections, positive emotions, and putting student at ease, the practices that characterized the low-knownness sections fell into a theme of controlling and criticizing students.

Practices More Common in Low-Knownness Sections

Two practices were evident significantly more often in low-knownness sections compared to high-knownness sections: reacting to possible behavior issues and mentioning students to others or the class by name. These were also the two most frequent practices overall, for all sections. In general, teachers’ reactions to possible behavior issues in the low-knownness sections were harsh and punitive, and rather than their responses resulting in better behavior, poor behavior seemed to multiply. Students’ behavior and teachers’ responses in low-knownness sections seemed to take two forms: silent, compliant students with rigid structures or loud, defiant students with no structures. While the former sections seemed quiet and controlled and

the latter seemed loud and chaotic, all of the low-knownness sections displayed teachers commenting nearly constantly on students' behaviors—in two of every three instructional events. This was especially surprising at first in the quiet, low-knownness sections; despite students' silent obedience in these sections, their teachers exerted relentless authority and control with rigid structures. For example, in one low-knownness section, the teacher commented several times on students needing to either stop talking or stop clicking their pens, despite the classroom appearing to be silent. In another section, students completed a silent warm-up writing assignment as the teacher called three students at a time to give her their pencils so she could sharpen them, not allowing them to use the sharpener themselves (Section #982).

On the other hand, in the loud and chaotic low-knownness sections, the teachers seemed exasperated and at a loss for how to succeed in their many efforts to quiet and focus the class. In one section, students talked, made barking and mooing noises, yelled out inappropriate words randomly, and put post-it notes on each other's backs throughout the entire lesson, undeterred by the teacher's frequent pleas for them to stop (Section #989). Other sections were similar in that students regularly spoke over each other, failed to listen or follow what the teacher asked, argued during group work, and spent most of class being redirected to no avail (Sections #986, #976).

Low-knownness teachers' attempts to redirect behavior were notable for their harshness, especially when contrasted with the high-knownness teachers. For instance, one teacher, displeased at students' efforts to follow along as he reviewed work, told a room of 6th graders:

> Here's what confuses me. Everybody—I know, nobody in this class doesn't do bell work. But yet when I'm goin' over it, nobody is flippin' through bell—well, I shouldn't say nobody, like 5 of you are flippin' through papers. What are you doing with your bell work after you do it? Do you just shove it up your nose and snot-rocket later? I don't know what's goin' on.
>
> (Section #953)

Instead of trying to understand why students were missing materials or give them the benefit of the doubt and attempt to help, this teacher immediately turned to what seemed to be a harsh tone and a belittling, unhelpful commentary. In a case with a tone that seemed less mean but more exasperated, an 8th grade math teacher told his chaotic class:

> You know, it doesn't help me when we're going through stuff and we're having to go through this quickly, when there's constant chatter. You're really making it tough. Right now, guys, there are a number of people in this class who are really doing poorly. Just can't afford the constant chatter, I'm telling you that. I've got some real problem grades here, and unless you really start focusing, I'm really concerned about the grades and

> about the 7-8 people in this class right now. A lot of you are doing really well, but some of you are not. You've got to stay focused. I get tired of telling Algebra Honors students to pay attention, have your book open, read the material, I mean it's just—I know what I'm talking about. I ask you to do a problem and show your work, you don't show your work. I know how to teach this stuff. What I don't really know how to do is constantly tell an Algebra Honors class to be quiet, like 15 or 20 times. That just wears me out. (Section #989)

This teacher, like others, spent most of his classes redirecting behavior every few moments, but instead of doing so harshly as the teacher above, his redirections seemed more patient. His many nonchalant "please stop the talking, guys" warnings coalesced into this extended explanation to students of the effect their behavior was having on him as well as on his performance as he saw it. These two examples show that responses to behavior in low-knownness sections ranged from mean and harsh to exhausted and burnt out.

An important observation was that even seemingly simple interactions escalated quickly with low-knownness teachers. In one example, a student asked if he could go to the restroom while the teacher was going over a math problem from the warm-up activity. The student's request was met with the angry response, "Oh my God, no, I'm teaching." The student replied, "I have, uh, a problem right now," to which the teacher responded, "Yes, your problem is me," as students laughed and he moved back through the problem over their laughter and talking (Section #986). The student's question seemed ill-timed, but the teacher's responses to this interruption seemed disproportionately harsh.

The two practices more common in low-knownness sections, responding to behavior issues and addressing specific students by name, often went hand in hand. When these teachers responded to behavior, it often involved calling out a specific student by name, sometimes having a full discipline interaction in front of the whole class. Sometimes, mentioning students by name was a relatively short-lived event, such as a teacher telling the class: "This is a regular class like any day, and we're not dealing with the garbage. Is that understood? Jose?" (Section #976). Often, the teachers seemed to negatively single out or make fun of students more extensively, such as when one teacher went around checking homework and then announced to the class, "Alright, Tyler told two people the wrong homework last night, okay, well you're gonna do the right homework tonight" (Section #976). In the example earlier with the student who had the fishing rod idea for his advertisement assignment, the teacher made this student a

punchline repeatedly during this class, with other students (and the student himself, seemingly reluctantly) laughing along (Section #985).

At times, mentioning a student was part of an even longer, more embarrassing discipline event on display for the whole class. In one example of an 8th grade math class, the teacher instructed the class to read from their textbook quietly and then returned to sit behind his desk. From across the room, the teacher warned a student to read, then walked over and continued, at full volume for the class to hear:

> Jason, I'm just telling you, the next time I tell you, I'm gonna call your mother. You know, this is exactly the kind of thing that I was talking to your father about. I've said now, three times, to do it. Just do what I tell you to do, Jason. You want to know how this whole thing started with your father, that's the reason. I've told you three times.
>
> (Section #989)

Through this interaction, the teacher announced to the class an ongoing conflict between the teacher, the student, and his family, an undoubtedly negative experience for Jason. In another example, a 7th grade math teacher threateningly asked a student if she needed to make a phone call home, talking over his response, saying: "Eli, it's called self-control, self-control is what it is." Eli responded, "I have that," and the teacher responded, "Well then you need to utilize it" (Section #988). Before class ended, she publicly announced he should remember how to do the activity at hand and also scheduled time at the end of class to call home. In both of these examples, the teachers embarrassed students in front of their peers with their harsh and disproportionate responses to misbehavior that was so mild it was not even evident on the videos. Furthermore, both teachers twisted their threats to implicate the students' families. It would seem that being mentioned in this way by a teacher would feel alienating and stressful, not to mention misunderstood and therefore perhaps less known.

In Jason's, Tanya's, and Eli's cases, no egregious or even minor behavior was evident on the video; none of the students appeared to make any noises, to be out of their seats, or to do anything otherwise disruptive, except for perhaps not attending to the lesson as actively as they could have been—though of course, not everything was visible on the camera view to an outside observer. Yet, for whatever offense the teachers saw or thought they saw, the teachers then escalated these interactions into ones that singled students out in front of their peers, put them in a negative light, and led to threats and consequences that would feel to any student, at a minimum, embarrassing. This authoritative, controlling, often angry tone was in sharp contrast to

the positive emotions displayed in high-knownness sections, pointing to a clear contrast in the emotional landscape of high- versus low-knownness experiences.

Although low-knownness teachers generally followed the patterns described above, there were some exceptions where teachers responded to behavior more patiently or privately. For example, at times the teachers made eye contact with a student and mouthed “Stop” or patted a student on the back to give them a gentle reminder to redirect their behavior. Another teacher had private conversations in the hall whenever a student arrived to class late, which other students could not hear. One teacher patiently explained to students why their behavior was not acceptable, such as when he said in a whisper to one student privately at his desk, “We don’t have time for that, Charles. We’ll have time for that later on, now is not the time, ok? Keep your mind on what you’re doing” (Section #981). There were also some counterexamples where low-knownness teachers singled students out for positive reasons. Most commonly, teachers mentioned students by name when they had offered a correct or insightful idea, such as saying, “Step 1, as Thomas correctly said…” or “Liz, you are on fire today” (Section #989, #976). In one example, the teacher even remembered an insightful point he had heard a student share in a small group and asked him to share it with the whole class (Section #981). Therefore, although generally the low-knownness teachers responded to behavior in controlling and harsh ways or singled students out for negative reasons, there were also moments when the opposite was true.

Although responding to behavior and mentioning students by name was a practice evident more often in low-knownness classrooms, some high-knownness teachers also exhibited these practices. Yet in those cases, it was generally more positive and non-confrontational, and they seemed to have a higher tolerance for misbehavior, perhaps to preserve underlying positive relationships with students by reducing conflict. One teacher’s approach represented this practice well. The high-knownness 9th grade ELA section seemed loud and frantic, almost like the low-knownness sections in terms of the chaos and the number of times she redirected behavior. However, with her more positive tone and clear sensitivity and understanding, her responses to students’ behavior showed patience and tolerance. For instance, in one class, while students settled in over the course of about five minutes, she addressed several students’ behavior directly but patiently—fake-swatting a student away from her desk laughing and saying “get out of here,” patiently responding to students’ questions about the camera, asking a few students by name to spit out their gum but thanking them for coming to class on time, telling other students to leave

and go to their next class rather than linger in hers, joking with another student about taking his pencil out of his mouth or else "blood would squirt everywhere," commenting to another student that she must have slept well the night before because she seemed energetic, and asking another student to get rid of her candy but then allowing her to keep it because the student said it helped her to focus. Rather than exert control over her students to try to completely eradicate all behavior, this teacher seemed to acknowledge that some amount of socializing (actually a lot), breaking the rules, and pushing the limits was acceptable. I turn next to some of the practices that were enacted just as often in high- and low-knownness settings but in qualitatively different ways, further illuminating the contrast between high- and low-knownness teaching.

Practices Enacted with Similar Frequency but in Different Ways

Several practices were enacted just as often in high-knownness sections as they were in low-knownness sections, but were enacted in qualitatively different ways. In this section, I describe three of the practices that were enacted in qualitatively different ways despite occurring at similar frequencies in the two settings: discussing grades, using sarcasm, and comparing students. I chose these three practices in particular because they illustrated substantially opposite enactments of the same general practice, illustrating that high-knownness classrooms not only enacted different practices than low-knownness teachers, but also enacted some of the same practices differently. As described earlier, I chose not to focus on other practices in this third category because in some cases, they provided less of a contrast, less of a direct link to knownness, or were closely related to practices covered elsewhere in the findings.

Discussing grades. First, all teachers discussed grades in about 10% of all instructional events. Discussing grades involved talking to students about class grades, individual grades, rubrics, end of term grading policies, extra credit, and the like. In general, the high-knownness sections' discussions of grades were brief and informative for students, whereas conversations about grades in the low-knownness sections were much longer and more threatening in tone. In a few high-knownness sections, for instance, there were brief mentions at the end of class that students could turn in extra credit work, or one teacher explained that anyone who volunteered to share their writing would receive 20 extra credit points on their next essay assignment. Other times, high-knownness teachers responded to students' questions about when certain assignments would be graded, or in one case, the teacher shared that although students did not have school the next day, it was a day reserved for teachers to finish end of term grading. One

high-knownness math teacher even reminded students quickly that grades were less important than understanding. When a student said to himself, ‘I made an 80!” upon receiving some work back, she said, “Alright, good job. Ok, so we understand the concept right?” (Section #13).

Whereas the high-knownness teachers’ discussions of grades were mostly brief and informational, the low-knownness teachers’ discussions of grades took up more class time and seemed designed to scare students into focusing or improving. First, in low-knownness sections, teachers spent significant amounts of time in the beginning or end of class explaining upcoming assignments, grading, end of term grades, and extra credit, or so-called housekeeping. Low-knownness teachers also frequently discussed grades in relation to future events, like upcoming tests, progress reports, or report cards, often creating a foreboding sense that consequential future assessments were looming. For instance, a 7th grade math teacher moved from urging students to use their study guide to mentioning that they could be held back in 7th grade math if they did not ultimately pass the class, which required passing the upcoming test. The 6th grade ELA teacher showed quite a harsh approach to grades, warning his class:

> If you are totally in the toilet, you can make up anything that you're missin’... now you're only gonna get half credit for that. You can do the extra credit. And you still have this quiz and that story. You still have plenty of chances to dig yourself out of a muddy hole, if that's where you are. Questions about grade stuff? Ask me now cuz I don't want to go over this again.
>
> (Section #953)

On another occasion, the same teacher commented as he returned assignments, “Most of you did pretty well on this, better than the last time we did somethin’ like this, thank God” (Ibid.). For these reasons, low-knownness teachers seemed more preoccupied with grades than the high-knownness teachers and spoke about them in what seemed like more threatening ways.

Using sarcasm. About 20% of all instructional events involved some sort of sarcastic comment by a teacher, but again, the low- and high-knownness versions of sarcasm differed. Whereas the high-knownness teachers’ use of sarcasm was typically playful and humorous, the low-knownness teachers’ sarcastic comments tended to be darker and meaner. Sometimes, the high-knownness teachers’ sarcastic comments were playful jabs at the students, such as when a math teacher said to her students, “I know how much you all love negatives” as students groaned upon seeing a problem with negatives, or when an ELA teacher joked, “Gee, that sounds familiar!” after reading aloud from a short story: “She had a select group of followers who

squealed and hugged each other in between class as if they hadn't seen each other in years." (Section #13, #1). Other times, the high-knownness teachers used sarcasm as a way to handle behavior issues. For example, when a student asked her math teacher if it was just lucky that she got the right answer, since he told her she had actually approached it incorrectly, he responded with a smile, "Yes, and it's probably cuz you had the gum in your mouth that you didn't spit out" (Section #42). Similarly, when the 9th grade ELA teacher saw that TJ had not completed any of his *To Kill a Mockingbird* homework questions, she pretended to be the voice of his homework sheets and said, "Hello, TJ, I miss you, I wish that you would answer me! Please answer me, TJ, I'm so lonely!" (Section #10). In these examples, high-knownness teachers relied on humorous sarcasm both to show that they understood how the students felt and to coax students into behaving better, both constructive uses of sarcasm.

On the contrary, low-knownness teachers' sarcastic comments sounded more destructive. One teacher, faced with a class that was not focusing or participating, sarcastically thanked them, saying, "Thank you, guys, for being totally disrespectful, rude, and obnoxious" including sarcastically thanking a specific student with, "Justin, thanks for not doing anything, ok? Thanks. Thanks for taking this class next year" (Section #986). Rather than try to figure out why students were being inattentive, this teacher used sarcasm seemingly to shame students into participating and to simultaneously vent his own frustration—while at the same time embarrassing a particular student by name and bringing up the serious potential consequence of having to repeat the class, which given it was a sarcastic comment, may or may not have been accurate. In another offensive comment that employed sarcasm, a 6th grade ELA teacher, after failing to elicit a correct answer from the class on a grammar exercise for a solid five minutes, finally heard the correct answer from a student and sarcastically said to that student, "Beautiful. God bless you," a fleeting sarcastic remark potentially offensive in its insincerity to the student who answered and in its flippancy to anyone with religious beliefs (Section #953). The contrast between sarcastically joking with students by pretending to be their incomplete homework paper compared to sarcastically thanking God that a struggling student finally knew the correct answer illustrates how the practices of high- and low-knownness teachers diverged.

Comparing students. About 20% of all instructional events involved teachers comparing students. In low-knownness sections, this tended to involve pitting students or classes against one another to show how students were better or worse than one another, whereas in high-

knownness sections, teachers more often *resisted* comparisons and tended to focus on how students were similar. In high-knownness sections, for instance, when two students argued over an idea they were working on, their teacher responded, "You're both smart" and moved on (Section #1). High-knownness teachers often minimized the comparison between students who understood and students who still needed more time. One teacher explicitly addressed this in her class when some students began to socialize and others were still working on a difficult problem, cautioning them, "Just because you… caught it first on, somebody else may need a little bit more help or didn't hear, so let's…" and then she sat down to help those students as the class quieted down (Section #13). Similarly, another teacher nonchalantly said to a quicker student, "You already have both of 'em? Fast. Give everybody else a couple more minutes" (Section #7). Instead of celebrating this student or declaring them faster for everybody to hear, she quietly made a statement about the rest of students.

Unlike those examples, the low-knownness teachers tended to pit students against their peers. One teacher, for example, named several students he said he would no longer call on in their discussion because they had been the only ones to participate to that point: "Somebody other than the four people who've been carrying the class today" (Section #953). In other examples, the teachers' comparisons seemed to shine a spotlight on students who were struggling or taking longer. For instance, as students completed a writing response independently, one teacher helped a student by giving him a sentence starter and then announced to the class that if they needed a sentence starter, she had one they could use. When a student nearby said she had started her sentence differently, the teacher replied, "That's ok. I said 'if you need a starter.' You don't need a starter, you're doing very well. I've had many people who aren't doin' as well as you're doin' right now," with the student who originally needed the starter looking on, embarrassed (Section #982). In these teachers' classrooms, students were made to feel different, particularly if they completed work slowly. In one math class, the teacher even projected examples of students' work to show correct and incorrect examples, with students knowing which peers had completed each type (Section #988).

In all of the practices in this section, there were also a few examples of high-knownness teachers resembling low-knownness teachers and vice versa. In other words, in a handful of cases, high-knownness teachers discussed grades in harsher tones, used sarcasm in more hurtful ways, and compared students in ways that positioned some as better or worse than one another.

For example, the high-knownness 8th grade math teacher often had students raise their hands to indicate when they were done with a problem, understood it, or got it correct, of course putting this information on display to peers. On the other hand, there were some cases where low-knownness teachers discussed grades more objectively or briefly, used sarcasm more playfully, or resisted comparing students and showed how they were similar instead. For instance, in one low-knownness 7th grade math class, when students asked to review certain problems, he would say things like "Alright, this is a common mistake" or "Man, operations with decimals and integers are killing us, guys; we need some practice" or "Here's where I bet a lot of us got confused" (Section #976), statements that would seem to help a student who was confused feel less alone in that.

Discussion

Overall, there were meaningful quantitative and qualitative differences between teaching practices in high-knownness and low-knownness classrooms. In general, the two contexts represented entirely different educational experiences, both in terms of how known they made students feel and in terms of the emotional atmosphere apparent in observations. Some aspects of teaching practice that defined high-knownness contexts were practically nonexistent in low-knownness contexts, and vice versa. Other practices that were present in both settings differed significantly in how low- versus high-knownness teachers enacted them. Table 4-4 presents a full summary of the defining features and key differences between high- vs. low-knownness sections. Although one possible outcome of this study was to find that differences in knownness were associated with experiences we would not find evident in videos of instruction, this study confirmed that, at least in part, the differences in knownness pointed to differences in teaching.

Classrooms high in knownness were warm, joyful places where students and teachers seemed pleased to be there. In these sections, teachers and students made personal connections with each other by learning about each other's personal lives. Teachers connected often with individual students to coach them on personal and emotional challenges they were facing. Positive emotions of laughter, excitement, pride, and love permeated high-knownness classrooms, and teachers helped put students at ease by giving them ample opportunities to share their own opinions in an unhurried way, by giving them more time to settle in before class, and by acknowledging when work was difficult. In these settings, students could make mistakes and misbehave without severe redirection and without being singled out negatively in front of their

peers; their teachers tolerated and forgave most conflicts and issues that arose. Teachers used sarcasm constructively, as a way to joke around or sometimes gently redirect misbehavior, and rather than compare students to one another in an evaluative way, they pointed out the ways they were all similar and faced struggles in common with one another.

In contrast, lower-knownness classrooms seemed harsh, confrontational, and controlling environments where teachers often appeared downright unhappy to be there and students seemed either resigned and compliant or defiant and chaotic. Although teachers in high- and low-knownness classrooms responded to a similar number of behavior issues overall, low-knownness teachers' responses were harsher and more punitive, often singling out or embarrassing students in front of their peers, all in sharp contrast to the speedy and private ways high-knownness teachers addressed such situations. Low-knownness classrooms were often devoid of personal connections, positive emotions, or any sense of feeling at ease. Teachers and students did not learn about each other or form personal bonds, there was little laughter and no joy or love, there were rarely opportunities for students to share, and teachers often compared students to one another in hurtful, public ways. Teachers used sarcasm destructively, often to make fun of students or belittle them, and they spent a lot of time discussing grades and alluding to foreboding future evaluative events. Overall, students in low-knownness sections spent much more of their time working quietly and independently, with far fewer opportunities to interact interpersonally with their teachers or peers. There were hardly any examples of low-knownness teachers giving students time to share or settle in before class. Instead, there was a sense in low-knownness contexts that teachers were rushing students through tasks, were very concerned about maintaining rigid routines and schedules, and were focused purely on content coverage and behavior management.

Identifying the practices that occurred significantly more often in high-knownness classrooms helps explain what teachers did to help students feel so known compared to low-knownness teachers. High-knownness teachers enacted entire sets of practices rarely or never enacted by low-knownness teachers: practices that worked to enable personal connections, that showed a range of happy emotions, and that put students more at ease. In those ways, high-knownness practices tended to occupy personal and emotional dimensions of students' experiences. In high-knownness sections, teachers made time and created opportunities to connect while settling in before class, through round robin sharing activities, and through

personal conversations in the hall or in class for teachers, all of which gave students a chance to be heard in class and for their ideas to be taken seriously. Also, by allowing a personal dimension into their relationships with students through sharing about their own lives, learning about students' lives, and making room for feelings like pride, excitement, and love in their relationships with students, teachers went beyond a "just teach" mentality to coach their students through personal and emotional challenges, including conversations about who students are or hope to be. Additionally, by tolerating misbehavior and responding patiently, teachers gave students the benefit of the doubt, allowing them to make mistakes without any major consequences that would threaten their relationships.

There are also clear reasons the practices evident in low-knownness classrooms did not amount to students feeling known. The often controlling and antagonistic nature of teachers' interactions with students in low-knownness classrooms—through their severe and escalated reactions to behavior issues, their tendency to embarrass or compare students, and their lack of interpersonal connections or positive emotions—created experiences in which students likely felt stressed, rejected, insecure, and negated. In these classrooms, there was no personal or emotional dimension to the experience; rather, the emphasis was on covering content, often rapidly and stressfully, and managing behavior. This lack of personal connection, of sharing opportunities, and of positive emotions prevented students from feeling heard or being known. With behavior enforcement as the main topic of interactions and with students spending a large amount of their time working passively and independently, the low-knownness teachers left little room for non-academic or non-behavioral interactions, nevermind space for discussing who students are or hope to become or for studying students and getting to know them. This seeming lack of care and interest and the prevalence of negative rather than positive interactions helps explain why students would feel no sense of care, relatedness, belonging, emotional understanding, social support—or knownness.

This study confirms the findings of prior research and extends those findings. In terms of how this study confirms prior findings, first, high-knownness teaching practices seemed to provide ways for students to feel they belonged; with extended sharing opportunities, for example, it was likely possible for students to feel their voice was heard and they were part of the classroom community. The personal connections the high-knownness teachers sought to make with their students likely made students feel connected, emotionally understood, and

authentically cared for. Especially since high-knownness teachers also shared about their own lives, teachers' care must have felt more authentic to students in that they had some awareness of who their teachers were and what mattered to them. By knowing students in these deeper and more personal ways, the teachers would seem to be able to provide more targeted and effective social support.

This study also confirms some of the practices that students in the Chhuon and Wallace research team identified as helping them feel known. Students in those studies believed they felt more known when they felt more heard in class, seemingly related to the practice identified in this study of giving students ample opportunities to share and have a voice in class. They also felt known when they were taken seriously by teachers and given the benefit of the doubt, seemingly aligned to the practice in this study of responding to behavior tolerantly. Students also cited a preference to form personal connections with teachers rather than having teachers who "just taught" content and made no other personal overtures, and they felt more known when teachers made efforts to learn about them, all practices connected to those in this study dealing with forming personal connections, sharing about oneself, and learning about students.

Beyond corroborating prior research, this study also extends it. First, this study focuses on observations of teachers' practices in connection to knownness, the first study of which I am aware that does so. Whereas prior studies have contributed to a conceptualization of knownness or described it from students' points of view, this study is the first to analyze knownness by linking it to observable teaching practices. Specifically, this study has identified three cohesive sets of practices that build knownness—practices that encourage personal connections to form (sharing about oneself, learning about students, and individually connecting or noticing students), practices where teachers and students share a positive emotional experience (laughing together and expressing excitement, pride, and love), and practices that put students at ease (allowing extended and unhurried sharing and acknowledging how hard but doable the work is).

Recalling the summary of findings by the Chhuon and Wallace knownness research team, above, this study confirms many of their findings and makes a few key contributions that extend their work. Overall, I identified practices focused on teachers making personal connections with students and allowing extended sharing that confirm the findings from my colleagues' previous research. My colleagues described the importance of teachers "going all in" to know students personally, making efforts to study students to understand who they are as individuals, and

showing “active attentiveness” to notice students; those ideas align seamlessly with the findings in this study that high-knownness teachers personally connect with students through three practices: sharing about oneself, learning about students, and noticing students individually. My colleagues also emphasize in their work that knownness depends on students feeling heard in class and feeling like they are being taken seriously, which align with the practice of allowing extended sharing that makes students feel heard and lets them know their voice matters. On the other hand, this study breaks new ground in terms of understanding how to build knownness by generating ideas about additional practices not explored in my colleagues’ work: sharing laughs, expressing excitement/pride/love, and acknowledging the difficulty of the work, all of which contributed to students’ sense of being known. Additionally, this study’s grouping of high-knownness practices into three sets sheds more light on how knownness comes about. While my colleagues’ research already identified the importance of personally connecting as an ingredient in knownness, my findings here identified that knownness also grows when teachers and students share positive emotional experiences and when teachers help put students at ease and reduce their stress.

In terms of research design, a key contribution of this study was to examine teaching practices associated with knownness by observing teaching—based on student perceptions—rather than asking students without also observing teaching, as past research has done. Furthermore, by selecting a comparative set of high- and low-knownness teachers, this study made it possible not just to connect knownness to teaching practices more directly but also to understand what made the difference in terms of knownness forming. An alternative to this study could have been studying just high-knownness teachers’ practices to formulate an idea of what teaching that cultivates knownness looks like—much like Chapters 2 and 3 intentionally focused on teachers who were exemplary at prioritizing relationships in their teaching. However, by including the foil of low-knownness practices, this study was able to offer illustrative contrasts between the practices—or different enactments of the same practices—that defined either high- or low-knownness practices. Therefore, by relying on a dataset comprised entirely of teaching observations, all selected based on student perceptions of knownness, this study is the first to examine teaching practices associated with, and not just student perceptions of, knownness.

Limitations

Some limitations should be considered when interpreting this study. First, the dataset was limited in that it was restricted to videos of classrooms I have never visited and with teachers and students I have never interviewed. Without being able to talk to the students and teachers in the videos, this study misses a valuable perspective that could have helped explain exactly how some of the practices made students feel more known or less known. Although students' survey responses, which are key to this study, give some indication of how known they felt, interviews with students would be able to uncover a more direct link between the practices they perceived their teachers enacting and the ways it made them feel. Additional research in this area should particularly focus on understanding teachers' perspectives on knownness and the practices they believe they enact to achieve it.

As an outsider only viewing these interactions by video, it is also possible that I missed key interactions, could not hear important exchanges, and interpreted what I saw without full information about what happened. Additionally, there is the possibility that the practices I observed were not representative of each teacher's practice for two reasons. First, with a camera and sometimes a MET project representative present in the classroom, it is possible that teachers modified their practice and exhibited a different, possibly better, performance than what might be typical for them without a camera. Second, only watching two videos of each teacher is a relatively brief snapshot within a school year, or even within a school week or day; these brief snapshots likely did not capture the full range of what any teacher does.

Another limitation of this study involved my coding process and identification of practices, which might have been too narrow. Although I believed while coding that I was simply documenting any practice that (a) I saw repeatedly and (b) might possibly relate to knownness, I realized later that the list of practices I identified actually had at least one of the following qualities: they tended to involve an interpersonal interaction between a teacher and student, an emotional experience for students and/or teachers, a potential link to students' well-being, and/or a situation where teachers stepped slightly beyond an academic role and were either more casual, more personal, more emotional, or more authentic. The practices I identified ultimately reflected the way I defined 'relationship' in Chapter 1 as a connection, which could take on a positive, neutral, or negative quality; some of the practices identified were overtly more positive (e.g., sharing a laugh), while others were general and took on positive and negative valences (e.g., using sarcasm). Although the choice to allow positive, negative, and neutral codes

in the same round of coding reflected my open definition of a relationship, this choice represented a limitation in the potential confusion it introduced; while some codes seemed complete at this first stage, others needed to be broken down further. Instead, I could have been more methodical, for example requiring that practices identified in the first round of coding did not have a positive or negative valence, and then coding in a second round for those qualities, or generally keeping a first round of codes more broad and neutral, and then branching into finer codes at the second stage, rather than the first stage. Splitting my coding into two rounds in this way would have been in some ways more aligned to how I defined relationships as well as more systematic and less speculative. Related, rather than collaborate with my research colleague at other stages of this analysis, a beneficial exercise would have been to ask her to list practices she saw in a subset of data, or to establish clearer decision rules for myself as I generated the codes, or to see if she would identify positive and negative practices in a first round or general practices followed by a second round of assigning a valence. Given the potential limitations in how I approached my coding, this study could have missed practices that, for example, did not appear to me to be related to knownness but might have been, or that prematurely assigned a positive or negative quality to the practice.

Last, it is not possible from this study to establish causal links between teaching practices and feelings of knownness. There could be many other interpretations based on this dataset, and none of them can say with certainty exactly what caused students to feel known or unknown. Several higher-level factors that could contribute to knownness were not explored at all in this study, such as school culture, students' potential predispositions to feel known (i.e., past positive relationships with teachers), aspects of students' identities, or teachers' personal goals or professional preparation for knowing their students. Related, these same factors could have influenced the practices the teachers employed.

It is also possible that I biased my own observations since I knew which videos were high- and low-knownness before watching them. Indeed, my study design involved ranking the sections by knownness and then watching videos from lowest to highest knownness. It is possible that when I watched a high- or low-knownness video, knowing it was high in knownness or low in knownness might have led me to see some practices but be blind to others based on what I instinctively thought might correlate to knownness. I might, for example, ignore or discount a seemingly more benevolent practice in a low-knownness classroom because it did

not align with my expectation, and vice versa for high-knownness classrooms. One indication that my observations actually resisted the bias I just described was that several practices occurred with similar frequency in both high- and low-knownness contexts but were later found to be enacted in qualitatively different ways. If my observations were biased, I might have expected to find *different* practices in the two knownness contexts, which in many cases I did not. Also, in a few cases,[21] the teaching practices I observed seemed *not* to reflect what I would have expected of the knownness measure, further suggesting that my observations were fair. Finding practices that seemed to contradict knownness levels could suggest that something occurred beyond the videos I observed that might explain how known students felt better than I was able to capture in my observations. This could also simply be a reminder that this study is based on average knownness, and there will always be exceptional cases. These cases highlight a potential limitation in basing this study solely on observations of two lessons. It is possible that observing more lessons or observing other types of exchanges that were not available (i.e., before or after class, grading, online) would have shed light on why these two teachers seemed mismatched to their knownness scores. It is also possible that the practices I've identified are not exhaustive of those that distinguish high- and low-knownness classrooms; perhaps other, unidentified teaching practices are what contributed to these teachers' classifications.

Implications

There are a number of implications to take from this work. First, this study suggests that knownness is shaped at least in part by classroom teaching practices, and specifically the ones that this study has identified as characterizing high-knownness classrooms. All of the practices identified in this study arose from interactions in the context of academic class time rather than advisory blocks or dedicated time for social-emotional outcomes. That the practices leading to high knownness, a worthy emotional outcome for students, originated during regular class time suggests all teachers in all schools could incorporate some of these practices during their regular class time, promoting students' well-being without adding dedicated and often costly social-

[21] There were two teachers whose practices seemed mismatched to their knownness classification; the Section #3 teacher resembled a low-knownness teacher in her practices while the Section #981 teacher resembled a high-knownness teacher in his. The teacher of Section #3 often compared students negatively, embarrassed students by name, and had a low tolerance for misbehavior. In one example, she even seemed to mask her own embarrassment at calling Diego by the wrong name by disciplining him in front of the class for a seemingly trivial issue with his school uniform. Meanwhile, the Section #981 teacher, despite being just eight sections from the bottom in terms of knownness, gave students lots of opportunities for sharing out, handled behavior issues respectfully and privately, made some personal connections with students, and showed efforts to learn about their lives.

emotional interventions or programs. This also suggests that students' different feelings in these settings actually were related to differences in teaching practices. For instance, if there were no apparent differences in teaching despite differences in knownness, that could have suggested students' feelings of knownness are shaped by factors beyond teaching, like school culture or interactions with teachers outside the classroom. Additionally, the fact that this study found contrasts between teaching in the two settings suggests that the measure of knownness developed in prior work had validity.

Second, ultimately this study underscores that for knownness to form, teachers must make room for personal and emotional relationships in their time with students, and this might mean re-imagining the role or scope of what teachers do.[22] This study suggests that, when students feel known, teachers have let students and themselves socialize, relax, and share, they have made room to get to know each other on personal levels, they have shared joyful emotional experiences, and they have at times strayed from pure academic work. This vision of teaching encompasses more and different feelings and purposes than perhaps the conventional image of professional teaching (i.e., "Don't smile before Christmas!") does.

Along with the implication that teaching toward knownness might require a re-imagining of what teachers should do is the question of whether currently teachers are prepared to do this type of work or see it as part of their teaching. A straightforward implication is that teacher preparation programs might focus more on cultivating these high-knownness practices among their graduates, sending novices out into their first teaching positions ready to connect personally with students, share positive emotional experiences, and put students at ease. And yet, given there is not even consensus among teachers on how central or peripheral relationships and emotional connections should be with students (Davis, 2006), this study demonstrates the need for much more clarity on what we expect of teachers or will support them in doing. At the teacher preparation stage, the question is whether we should or currently do prepare teachers for the emotional dimensions of their roles. Are teachers equipped by preparation to share about themselves in constructive ways, to foster joyfulness in class in a way that maintains student safety and learning, to learn about students in ways that are productive and honor the student without harming or compromising their privacy or individuality? Furthermore, are the emotional dimensions of teaching capable of being imbued in teachers during preparation, or are they more

[22] One emphasis in Chapter 4 is on redefining or understanding the role and scope of professional teaching.

likely innate resources teachers bring and need help channeling?[23] Future research should aim to understand what makes some teachers capable or willing to teach toward knownness, and others not.

If some consensus is reached on the extent to which teaching should encompass things like helping students feel known or forming more emotional connections, then another implication of this work is to consider whether teacher evaluation or researchers' assessments of teaching quality are fair. Whereas currently teacher evaluation systems tend to assess a general classroom atmosphere without considering individual relationships or students' perceptions as consistently or thoroughly, teacher evaluation systems will need to find ways to measure and see knownness. Some researchers have begun to consider broadening the concept of the value teachers add to students beyond just academic value discerned by achievement tests, and this seems like a fruitful line of research that could encompass the value teachers add to aspects of students' emotional well-being, like knownness.

Another implication of this work is that it underscores the importance of knownness, both as a factor that positively influences other educational outcomes and as a meaningful outcome in its own right. My prior research showed that feeling more known was associated with achieving higher reading and math scores, as well as reporting a stronger sense of well-being and confidence. The line of research by Chhuon and Wallace has shown that adolescents really value when teachers know them and engage in all of the practices they see as related to their feeling of knownness. However, a further implication introduced by this study is the likelihood of how important knownness actually is to teachers' emotional well-being. It was clear in the videos of high-knownness teachers that their days in school felt joyful and rewarding—not to say that they were perfect, but especially compared to low-knownness classrooms, teachers who cultivated more knownness seemed better adjusted and happier in their teaching roles. Given the many possible challenges of being a teacher—from giant workloads to at times poor public perceptions of their work to financial instability in some places to unsupportive administrators—this work raises the possibility that the emotional connections teachers cultivate with their students and the process of getting to know them and support them might be important buoys in their professional roles, in line with the idea of teaching having mainly intrinsic rewards (Lortie, 1978). So a possible implication of this study, given its focus on teachers' practices, is that the joy produced

[23] These questions are at the heart of Chapter 4.

in a classroom where people know each other and emotionally connect could be an important workplace feature for teachers and is worthy of future study. A related implication of this study is that the cost of not foregrounding attention to the personal and emotional elements, as evident in the low-knownness classrooms, is large. On top of leaving students feeling unknown by teachers and the missed opportunities for personal development implied by that loss, teachers who failed to integrate the emotional and personal dimensions that could lead to knownness were left with seemingly more behavior issues among students. Low-knownness teachers also seemed more unhappy and frustrated as professionals. Future research could explore the relationships between teacher satisfaction, knownness, and willingness or resistance to integrate a personal dimension into the professional role.

Table 4-1: Characteristics of High- and Low-Knownness Sections Selected for Analysis

Section Knownness Rank (1=highest average knownness)	Section-Level Average Knownness (SD units)	Number of Student Surveys for Section	Grade	Subject	Videos Available	Minutes of Video Used (two videos)	Teacher Gender	Teacher Race
High Knownness								
1	1.59	22	7	ELA	2	70	Female	White
3	1.26	14	6	ELA	2	81	Female	Black
4	1.23	13	6	Math	2	87	Female	Black
7	1.11	14	8	ELA	3	62	Female	Black
10	1.09	12	9	ELA	2	185	Female	White
13	1.05	15	9	Math	3	81	Female	White
42	0.88	18	7	Math	3	111	Male	Black
44	0.86	26	8	Math	2	113	Female	White
Low Knownness								
953	-0.88	13	6	ELA	2	118	Male	White
976	-1.05	20	6	Math	2	114	Male	White
981	-1.17	10	7	ELA	3	76	Male	Black
982	-1.17	18	8	ELA	2	131	Female	Black
985	-1.20	21	9	ELA	2	98	Male	White
986	-1.22	13	9	Math	2	95	Male	White
988	-1.40	16	7	Math	2	107	Female	White
989	-1.46	16	8	Math	2	123	Male	White

Note: The total minutes of video number represents the number of minutes of the two videos I watched for each teacher.

Table 4-2: Unit Frequencies Overall and Comparison of Units in High- and Low-Knownness Sections

Unit	All Sections		High Knownness Sections		Low Knownness Sections		Chi-square z statistic
	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Settling in	9	3.0%	7	4.9%	2	1.3%	1.77*
Launch	22	7.4%	12	8.3%	10	6.5%	0.61
Bell work	21	7.0%	10	6.9%	11	7.1%	-0.07
Lecture or teacher presenting material	31	10.4%	15	10.4%	16	10.4%	0.01
Practice, discussion, or grappling	91	30.5%	44	30.6%	47	30.5%	0.01
Share-outs	11	3.7%	8	5.6%	3	1.9%	1.63+
Independent work	50	16.8%	16	11.1%	34	22.1%	-2.58*
Group work	18	6.0%	9	6.3%	9	5.8%	0.15
Wrap up	25	8.4%	12	8.3%	13	8.4%	-0.03
Other activity	20	6.7%	11	7.6%	9	5.8%	0.62
TOTAL	**298**		**144**		**154**		

Note: Significance levels are as follows: + $p<0.10$, * $p<0.05$, ** $p<0.01$, *** $p<0.001$.

Table 4-3: Coding Frequencies Overall and Comparison of Codes in High- and Low-Knownness Sections, from Overall Most Frequent to Overall Least Frequent (n=298 units)

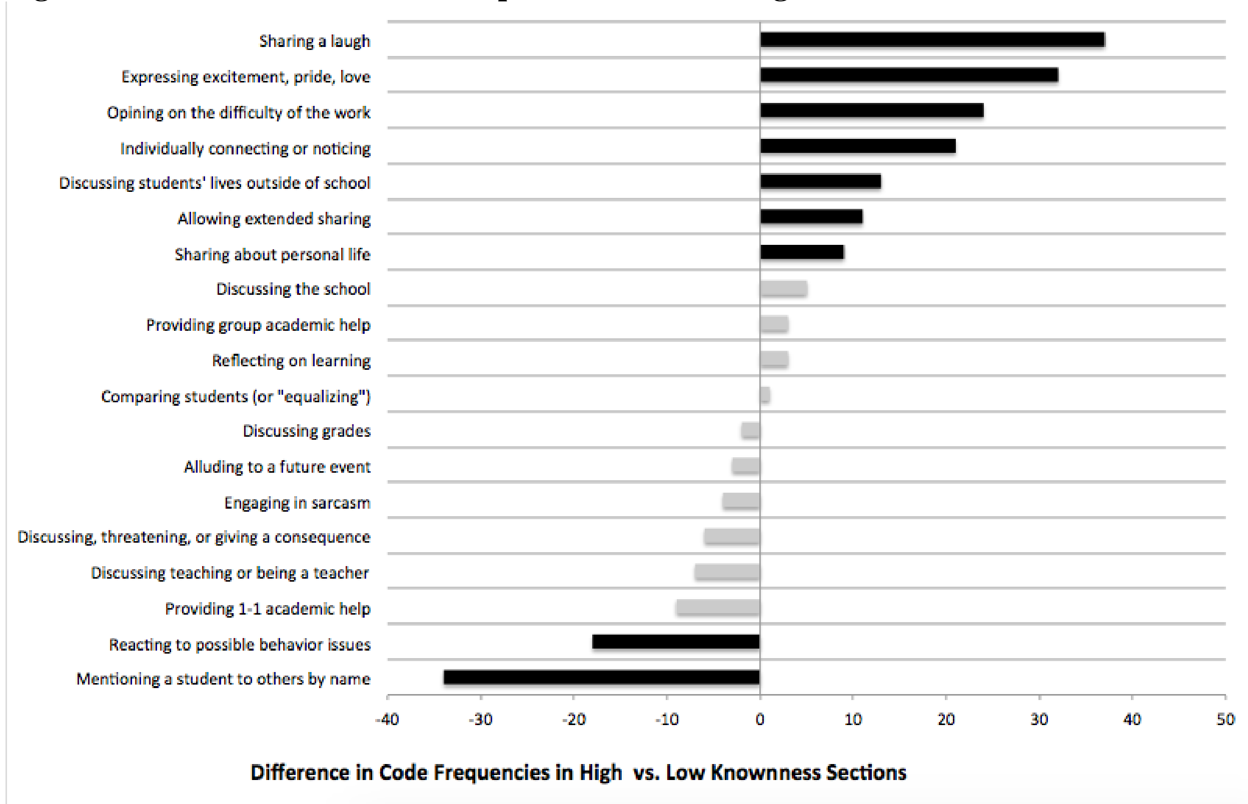
Code	All Sections		High Knownness Sections		Low Knownness Sections		Chi-square z statistic
	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Reacting to possible behavior issues	188	63.1%	85	59.0%	103	66.9%	-1.41+
Mentioning a student to others by name	136	45.6%	51	35.4%	85	55.2%	-3.50***
Opining on / acknowledge the difficulty of the work	106	35.6%	65	45.1%	41	26.6%	3.39**
Sharing a laugh	63	21.1%	50	34.7%	13	8.4%	5.77***
Comparing students (or "equalizing")	59	19.8%	30	20.8%	29	18.8%	0.43
Providing one-on-one academic help	55	18.5%	23	16.0%	32	20.8%	-1.07
Engaging in sarcasm	54	18.1%	25	17.4%	29	18.8%	-0.33
Discussing students' lives outside of school	53	17.8%	33	22.9%	20	13.0%	2.24*
Individually connecting or noticing	47	15.8%	34	23.6%	13	8.4%	3.62***
Expressing excitement, pride, love	42	14.1%	37	25.7%	5	3.2%	5.74***
Discussing grades	36	12.1%	17	11.8%	19	12.3%	-0.14
Sharing about personal life	31	10.4%	20	13.9%	11	7.1%	1.90*
Allowing extended sharing	31	10.4%	21	14.6%	10	6.5%	2.28*
Discussing the school	31	10.4%	18	12.5%	13	8.4%	1.14
Reflecting on learning	29	9.7%	16	11.1%	13	8.4%	0.77
Alluding to a future event	29	9.7%	13	9.0%	16	10.4%	-0.40

Discussing teaching or being a teacher	29	9.7%	11	7.6%	18	11.7%	-1.19
Discussing, threatening, or giving a consequence	24	8.1%	9	6.3%	15	9.7%	-1.12
Providing group academic help	19	6.4%	11	7.6%	8	5.2%	0.86

Table 4-4: Summary of High- and Low-Knownness Practices and Tendencies

High Knownness	Low Knownness
Personal connections Sharing about oneself Learning about students Individually connecting Positive emotions Laughing together Expressing excitement, pride, love Feeling at ease Extended sharing Acknowledging / opining on difficulties Also: Tolerating behavior issues Using sarcasm playfully Discussing grades briefly and to inform Resisting comparing students More settling in units More sharing out units	Controlling interactions Responding to behavior issues severely Embarrassing students by name Few or no personal connections, positive emotions, or feeling at ease Also: Using sarcasm hurtfully Discussing grades threateningly Comparing students More independent work units Few or no settling in or sharing out units

Figure 4-1: Differences in Code Frequencies Between High- and Low-Knownness Sections



Note: Black bars represent significantly different frequencies in high- vs. low-knownness sections according to chi-square tests, and gray bars represent non-significant differences. Any bars to the left of the vertical axis indicate a practice that occurred more frequently in low-knownness sections, and bars to the right of the vertical axis represent practices that occurred more often in high-knownness sections.

CHAPTER 5

Re-Prioritizing Relationships in Policy, Practice, and Research

> *In studying the child, the teacher tries to learn his innermost thoughts so that she may be able to render her guidance intelligible to him. As she learns to understand him, she begins to sympathize with him, and in return she secures his love; once his love is secured, he will follow her to the end of the earth, and the examinations will take care of themselves. Thus the weight of oppression becomes removed from the child; he becomes free and happy in his freedom, and the school is converted into the loveliest of homes.*
>
> Joseph M. Rice, 1893

Pediatrician and progressive education advocate, Joseph M. Rice, wrote the above vision of ideal teaching after observing hundreds of classrooms in public schools across the United States 125 years ago. As public schools swelled with children from around the world, this progressive, child-centered vision offered a hopeful alternative to more typical educational experiences characterized by control and compliance. Certainly, we would like to think we have come a long way from those days and realized all or part of the vision Dr. Rice sets forth. In fact, this dissertation provides some encouragement that Dr. Rice's vision is a reality in some schools and classrooms. At the same time, the findings of these studies suggest that we face significant challenges in giving all children access to the type of teaching and teachers Rice envisions.

The idea of prioritizing relationships in education and as a teacher, in exactly the ways Dr. Rice describes, is at the core of this dissertation. Dr. Rice's portrayal is alive today in the classrooms of the teachers I characterized as high in student knownness and in the philosophies and practices of Mr. Adler, Mrs. Carroll, and Mrs. Ventura. Just as Dr. Rice described, the relationally guided teachers in this collection of studies indeed studied their children and tried to learn their innermost thoughts in order to provide the best guidance possible; they aimed to understand and sympathize with the situations of the children they taught; and they loved and were loved by their students. Their classrooms were indeed lovely homes, full of children and teachers laughing together, sharing of themselves, and finding joy in being together. The Lincoln teachers all held relational philosophies that were similar to Dr. Rice's notion that once there was

love in the relationship, which was the part they felt uniquely committed to, the child would trust and follow the teacher's guidance, and the academic pieces ("examinations"), also important priorities, would take care of themselves. Their collective conviction was that their primary job was not just to teach content but at the same time to care and show students they were accepted and valued; all of the teachers embodied love in their connections with students.

Teaching in the Dr. Rice or high-knownness or Lincoln paradigm trusts that relationships, not teaching or teachers alone, lead to academic progress. As the teachers demonstrated in this study, and as I and others have found in previous research, positive relationships are a powerful foundation for academic learning and all sorts of educational outcomes (e.g., effort, motivation, well-being, liking a subject, engagement, better behavior). In an era that cares increasingly about incrementally raising measurable academic learning outcomes, this dissertation is an important reminder that one crucial way to increase students' achievement is to shift our gaze away from learning per se and toward something that, at first glance, can seen unrelated, non-academic or personal in nature, and deceptively simple: relationships. This reminds me of a memory in my own schooling. I can remember being on a field trip to a planetarium as a child and looking up at the starry ceiling. When the man guiding the show asked us all if we could see some group of stars in a specific part of the ceiling where he told us to look, we all said no. Then he told us that some stars can only be seen if you do not look at them—if you look somewhere slightly away from them, and without changing anything, he showed us a slightly different area of the ceiling to fix our gaze upon. As we all shifted our gaze to that area, the room filled with quiet "oohs" and "ahhs" as we all saw the stars he first asked about. I remember looking back at the space I thought they were, and they were gone; and then looking to the side of where they were, and they were there again. I would argue that education reformers today are trying too hard to look for learning by looking *at* learning and should instead shift their gaze to relationships, at which point learning will come into focus more. So the first point to make is that prioritizing relationships supports and is likely the best strategy for increasing academic learning.

For some, knowing that relationships serve learning outcomes might be enough of a reason to focus on relationships. On the other hand, this dissertation is a reminder to re-examine our priorities. Beyond seeing relationships as an instrument toward academic outcomes, those who subscribe to a vision of teaching that ultimately views relationships as more than a means to an end recognize that relationships are the whole point of education, the worthiest of aims in

their own right—and the part of the job that compels teachers to be teachers, in the case of the Lincoln teachers. Dr. Rice's vision does not characterize love as being secured for the purpose of performing better on the examinations. Rather, his depiction paints love as the goal itself—which, on its own, is enough to constitute an education if we expand our idea of what education is… a coming together where we grow in our capacities to listen, participate, share, learn, reason, question, and be good citizens and neighbors and family members. We achieve these things through coming together in relationships. In a time when children increasingly come to school having survived or still experiencing multiple adverse childhood experiences and traumas, spanning poverty, violence, and other instabilities, the priority must be the relationships they have with their teachers in the safety of their classroom home, which have the potential to build resilience and offer a calm in a storm. If children themselves could choose which of their "outcomes" we work on as an educational community, feeling connected to a loving adult would likely be high on their lists.

I turn now to some major implications that emerged from this research, written here as lessons that could be readily taken up by new or experienced teachers and teacher educators and also inform leaders, policymakers, the reform community, and other researchers. After summarizing these lessons, I offer recommendations and reflections. The lessons, recommendations, and reflections I offer in this chapter are rooted in the findings of this dissertation, but also represent an extension into posing new questions and illustrating impressions and ideas that, although less tightly attached to the findings, start to build a bridge to the work I envision doing in the future.

Lessons from Lincoln and Beyond

This dissertation is a detailed guide for how to start becoming a relationally adept teacher with the type of relational philosophy the teachers in this dissertation represented. I have identified a number of concrete teaching practices, any of which teachers can add to their repertoires to help them build relationships, build students up, and build knownness. I have also identified beliefs, attitudes, commitments, and guiding principles they can add to their relational philosophies to prioritize relationships in their professional capacities as teachers.

A major goal is to build students up. The finding that teachers might have two related but separate aims in their relationship-building—to build a positive connection *and* to make students feel built up, which parallels feeling known—is important information for

understanding the complexity of what teachers do when they engage in relational work. Although prior research has continually found that relationships matter for a number of other outcomes, little prior research has described the practices that supported building students up and making them feel known. In pursuing those questions, a key lesson is that building relationships might be the comparatively more straightforward part of what teachers do and represent just a starting point of their relational work. A potentially even more compelling and powerful part of teachers' relational practices and philosophies was the other part: building students up and making them feel healthier, empowered, and known. A key first lesson, then, is to support and prepare teachers to recognize that building connections is not a finish line but a starting line and that some of the most impressive and humanizing work unfolds after that.

Know the students. Another major lesson is that the importance of *knowing* students and fostering a personal connection cannot be overstated. We can interact and support people in our day to day lives without *really* knowing them, but the examples in this research demonstrate just how well exemplary teachers really do get to know their students. At Lincoln, knowing students was a key ingredient to building relationships with them. The feeling of knownness among the students in high-knownness classrooms was clearly associated with a number of teaching practices based on building personal connections, sharing positive emotions, and feeling at ease and relaxed, helping to show that the sense of feeling known was valid as a measure and worthy as a goal. The Lincoln teachers' relational philosophy called on them to know students in terms of at least a dozen different facets of their lives, spanning their academic needs, home life, interests, goals, health, personality, friendships, romantic relationships, previous schooling experiences, behavioral challenges, and more. Knowing students in these broad and deep ways gave them seemingly endless levels upon which they could connect with students and allowed them to coach and support students in many realms of their lives—academic and not. Knowing students also gave them insights on what kind of needs the students had and which relational role they should play for each student, which resulted in a sort of triaging of needs. When I was a teacher, I always pictured hypothetically taking a test designed by each student about *themselves*, where they could test my knowledge on absolutely anything about themselves; my goal as a teacher was to reach that level of knownness with my students. The teachers in this study shared that value.

Get personal. Another lesson is the importance of getting personal in this work. Relationally guided teaching requires personal connections, which takes vulnerability and humility on the teacher's part. Key practices to build relationships at Lincoln and in the high-knownness classrooms relied not only on knowing students' personal situations but also being willing to share about one's own personal life. For Lincoln teachers, whose philosophy depended on a belief that a personal connection was essential in their relationships, it was not difficult to make themselves vulnerable in the ways it takes to be personal with students. They, as well as the high-knownness teachers, were honest with students even if it put themselves in a negative light or showcased their own struggles; in fact, they even purposefully shared those types of stories to make themselves more approachable. By contrast, teachers whose students did not feel known had clear boundaries in place to prevent personal exchanges from taking place, confirming the idea from previous research that teachers who "just teach" (content) without cultivating personal connections preclude knownness or relationships from forming. Importantly, the Lincoln and high-knownness teachers did not "just get personal" – they taught content *and* got personal, underscoring the finding that relational excellence and academic excellence appeared to coexist.

Be flexible. Many of the findings pointed to the need for teachers to be flexible. One way teachers needed to be flexible was in terms of relating to students on multiple levels—at times needing to be a caring friend, other times a concerned counselor, other times a knowledgeable tutor, and other times a quasi-parental figure. Another way teachers needed to be flexible was in their tolerance for adolescent behavior. For one, the Lincoln and high-knownness teachers allowed and even encouraged what might be considered by other teachers to be conversations that took class off track or off topic. From Mr. Adler's scheduled announcement period at the start of class to the high-knownness teachers' time spent allowing all students to share out for long periods of time, relationally guided teachers were flexible in how they spent their time. Rather than hold students to rigid schedules, they sometimes followed students' lead to just sit back and chat. In their classrooms, at times it felt as though they had all the time in the world to spend on connecting in these sharing conversations, whereas by contrast, the low-knownness teachers hurried students through content coverage and penalized students who attempted to veer off topic or stray from the schedule. The relationally adept teachers also had high thresholds for students behaving poorly, being inattentive, getting into trouble inside or outside of the

classroom, and the like. Their response was often, first, to try to understand where the behavior was coming from specifically—what life events might be occurring—but also to chalk a lot of issues up to the fits and starts of adolescent development or to struggles happening outside of school. They let a good amount of misbehavior go unaddressed, they picked their battles, and they also used these instances as teaching opportunities, turning potential problems into productive moments. In these aspects of their approach, they showed their combined priorities of connecting and teaching content, mentoring students in behavioral or emotional matters while in the midst of academic lessons, thus providing a double lesson—academic and beyond. By contrast, low-knownness teachers responded severely to even minor behavioral infractions, creating atmospheres of control, compliance, and sometimes chaos—at the same time not appearing to deliver any ambitious instruction.

Notice students. Consistent with the Lincoln teachers' memories of their most treasured teachers being the ones who simply noticed and got to know them, another lesson was the importance of simply noticing students. High-knownness teachers regularly checked in individually with students, even just for fleeting moments on the way into class, but doing so was associated with feeling more known. Low-knownness teachers also noticed students, except in negative ways, often singling them out or even making fun of students in front of their peers. The Lincoln teachers' incredibly detailed catalogs of information about students depended on their ability to be keen observers of students' day to day appearance, interactions, seating choices, mood, engagement, and more, so in addition to noticing students by checking in with them and making them feel seen, noticing also entailed having a sharp eye for students' well-being. In this sense, the teachers showed their front-line position in terms of monitoring students' health.

Create emotional safety. Relationally adept teachers also modeled the necessity of fostering an emotionally safe environment. The Lincoln teachers built students up, or made them feel empowered and valued, in part by showing them compassion and protecting their dignity. In this way, the teachers embodied their philosophy of caring first, of prioritizing that students felt nurtured and safe. By contrast, the low-knownness teachers routinely eroded students' dignity by creating an atmosphere of fear and control, by embarrassing students by name in front of their peers, by harshly responding to behavior, and by scaring students about their grades and about how hard the work was. Like the Lincoln teachers, the high-knownness teachers created emotionally safe experiences for their students. They spoke about grades briefly and

approachably, monitored how students felt about the difficulty of the work, gave little pep talks to help students find the work more approachable, and responded warmly to the extended sharing they allowed in class. Such actions ensured that students of relationally guided teachers felt emotionally protected and safe, which helped them feel both built up as individuals and known.

Have fun. A final lesson from this research was that relationally adept teachers had fun with their students and enjoyed being with them, sharing positive emotional experiences together. The Lincoln and high-knownness teachers very frequently laughed together and joked around; expressed positive emotions like pride and happiness; and got to show their fun, authentic sides to each other. They were not afraid to show love and welcome love.

Recommendations and Reflections

The above lessons synthesize the findings from this dissertation into an overarching blueprint for *how* to enact practices that reflect a commitment to making relationships the priority in teaching. From this research, I also provide the following recommendations to other stakeholders, including fellow researchers, teacher educators, educator advocates, reformers, policymakers—all who participate in our collective narrative of why we teach and what teachers do.

Emphasize relationships in any reform or improvement efforts. First, one recommendation is that anyone engaged in reforming or improving education in any way consider committing to relationships in their work. Applying some of the lessons above to one's own relational practice and philosophy would be one way to become more relationally guided. Implied in this recommendation is the hope that we reduce our collective emphasis on academic learning as *the* goal of education since that could threaten our dedication to prioritizing relationships. Prioritizing relationships *does not* mean de-prioritizing learning. On the contrary, relationships enhance learning. However, this research suggests that prioritizing academic learning might run the risk of *de-prioritizing* relationships. In my own experiences as a teacher as well as in observing the low-knownness teachers, classrooms that prioritize learning are easy to spot in that they are often missing the lovely home atmosphere of their high-knownness or relationship-prioritizing counterparts. In the knownness study, the low-knownness classrooms where students felt barely or not known by their teachers (i.e., they had negative or no relationships) were also characterized by strict rules around grading and work completion and time in class spent silently and individually completing work; my personal impression as I

observed these classrooms was an atmosphere of drill, compliance, and unhappiness. In these classrooms, the high-knownness relationships or relational practices were evident only rarely, and the emotional connections, positive emotions, and sense of being at ease that characterized the high-knownness classrooms were mostly absent. But furthermore, in classrooms that prioritize learning academic content —in the sense that the low-knownness classrooms emphasized covering material quickly and quietly—the learning itself appeared to pale in comparison to the spaces in which relationships were the priority and learning was a byproduct. My personal impression observing the high-knownness or Lincoln classrooms vs. the low-knownness classrooms was that children in the former seemed to feel highly connected to their teachers *and* to their learning, whereas children in the latter seemed to lack either connection.

An encouraging sign from this research is that teachers at Lincoln and in the high-knownness classrooms were able to prioritize relationships *while* teaching academic content. Lincoln teachers protected students dignity while helping them study for tests, created moments of individual noticing during lectures on reading strategies, and got to know students' personal lives while knowing them as readers and writers. Similarly, the high-knownness teachers made students feel known through a set of practices that occurred—in this study—entirely between the bells signifying the beginning and end of class. The Lincoln teachers also showed that they prioritized academic learning as much as relationships—even if they felt more deeply compelled toward the relational work—and they knew their students inside and out, academic and not. In a time when social-emotional learning efforts have proliferated most often in the form of add-on programs, advisories, and interventions apart from academic class time, this research suggests that, with slight additions or modifications to their teaching practices, supporting students' well-being is also possible in the context of regular class business. As referenced in the literature review earlier, research on social support has found that *invisible* support can be especially powerful to recipients—support they do not realize they are receiving but that still helps them in some way. Given that students might expect academic support from a teacher but perhaps not other (personal and emotional) kinds of support, and given that students might expect social-emotional support during an advisory block but not necessarily during social studies class, it is possible that relational work teachers perform as they go about their lessons is among the most stealthy and positive ways to support students' overall development.

Clarify as a field what the goals of education are, and make room for the non-academic as an explicit goal. Especially related to the last point about supporting students who come to school with large non-academic needs, the field needs more clarity around what the overall goals of education are, even if it is difficult to agree. The Lincoln teachers and high-knownness teachers worked extremely hard to support some of their students around largely non-academic needs. Some of these students had few interactions with their teachers around academics at all because their non-academic needs eclipsed their academic ones, and time and resources are limited. The 9th grade English teacher's conversation with her student in the hall about his week in juvenile detention and her coaching around not making those same mistakes again have great value to our society—though it should not be a choice, some might argue, that hallway conversation has even *more* value than if that same time were spent helping him answer the short story questions he was supposed to be completing. Efforts like this should be just as valued, and gains in these non-academic realms just as celebrated, as any teacher's academic lessons or any student's academic growth. Even if the teachers in these scenarios contributed nothing academically to their students' lives—though that would seem unlikely—they still contributed positively to students' lives and to society's need for healthy individuals, which should count for something.

The goals all relationally guided teachers really live by as evidenced by the Lincoln teachers' relational philosophies—to fill whatever needs need filling—should be not just what guides these exceptional teachers internally but also what we desire, evaluate, reward, and prepare teachers to do. Therefore, a key recommendation flowing from this research is to honestly reflect upon and explicitly state that the goals of education rightfully extend beyond academic learning and should be allowed to vary by child and context. Teachers like Mrs. Ventura, Mrs. Carroll, and Mr. Adler already make decisions internally about how to let their goals and connections vary for children based on their needs; a recommendation here is that our educational systems—evaluation processes, the ways we prepare teachers, the ways we define teaching—align more with what these teachers already do. The examples in this dissertation provide ample support for reconceptualizing the professional dynamic of teaching to sometimes be more of an I-thou-it relationship, and other times an I-thou-*thou*, with both valid expressions of a teacher's time, expertise, and care.

Recognizing that non-academic goals are valid ones in education is not just good for students but also for teachers. It was clear in the classrooms in this study that teachers felt happier and fulfilled in their roles when they prioritized relationships, while their counterparts who seemed to prioritize learning and have no relationships seemed miserable, incredibly unhappy, and even hostile towards students. Therefore, not only is prioritizing relationships a worthy aim for building students' well-being, resilience, and stability, with the byproduct of increasing their learning; it should also be seen as a choice directly related to teacher satisfaction and perhaps teacher retention, providing the intangible rewards teachers rely on (Lortie, 1975).

Clarify as a field where the professional domain of teaching extends, and recognize that teachers' relational work is expert-level professional work. Prioritizing relationships calls upon teachers to do intimate, personal work with their students. To an outsider, this work might seem effortless or natural, as simple as chatting with children at recess or asking how somebody's weekend was, things all humans might do or be capable of doing. Yet, to anyone who has engaged in this relational work with students, it is quite effortful and, even if natural to some, this study suggests it is the result of a lifetime of relationally influential experiences that have been consciously or subconsciously fashioned into a decision to prioritize relationships—and it is anything but simple. Therefore, another recommendation is to clarify as a field what the professional domain of teaching entails, and to give the relational work teachers engage in a more central and explicit place in that domain. If stakeholders cannot even agree on whether relationships are central or peripheral in teaching, or recognize the relational work (specifically the relational work that occurs beyond academic interactions) as a necessary—not secondary—part of the professional domain of teaching, the profession cannot successfully show what makes itself a profession. All of these points underscore the complexity of defining what a teacher's job is and how far we are from adequately characterizing what it means to be (or evaluate, or prepare, or coach) a professional teacher. To address this, researchers must continue trying to understand the tensions inherent in teaching between the personal and the professional, between the emotional and the academic, finding ways to show that emphasizing the personal parts of teaching does not compromise its professional status—on the contrary, given how hard this work is, it should elevate the professional status of teaching and prove its true complexity. To seamlessly help a student learn a content area *and* grow as a person, and to have the professional

judgment to know when and how to switch between those two dynamics, is challenging and admirable professional work worthy of recognition and further study.

Articulating the professional domain of teaching will also help clarify the extent to which teachers might benefit from added training in other professional domains—domains into which they are sometimes drawn to support their students. Teachers in this study wore many hats, resembling anything from a friend to a therapist to a surrogate parent, though they were hesitant to call the relationship anything other than teacher-student when asked directly. With teachers often put into a position especially to be de facto mental health providers, or at least front-line observers, professional teaching that prioritizes relationships veers into other professional territory. If clarifying the professional domain of teaching means recognizing that sometimes teachers might need to be able to do basic pieces of what other types of professionals do, then that is helpful information that could shape how we train teachers in the future, especially to respond to growing numbers of students with histories of trauma.

Generally make the relational work teachers do more explicit to outsiders and as a research community. A related recommendation in this research is to work as a field to make the relational work teachers do much more explicit and transparent to outsiders. Making these practices explicit and providing examples of each practice can serve as a resource for teachers and teacher educators, but moreover can serve as a reminder to policymakers and researchers of the complexity of the relational work involved in teaching and, therefore, in evaluating, preparing, selecting, retaining, and supporting teachers. Although teachers are often assumed to know how to do the relational work involved in teaching—perhaps because they are usually female and the work of caring is typically associated with being female, or perhaps because such work is thought to be common sense work that all humans engage in—research like this, which breaks down and demystifies the relational work, is needed in order to address the reality that, according to secondary students in a number of studies, teachers actually struggle with this part of their work, or at least, their students report that they do not do enough of it. Furthermore, people in charge of teachers, their evaluation, and education reform might easily underestimate the complexity of teachers' work if the relational practices remain implicit and unspoken because, at first glance and without firsthand experience, some of these pieces of relational work can seem natural or effortless. Continuing to change the narrative that teaching is easy and/or just focused on content area learning is crucial to helping outsiders understand how hard teachers

work and how difficult their work is. Doing work like this that provides, for example, a catalog of information three teachers held about their students, is the type of accurate portrayal of what teachers do (and what makes them brilliant) that we need to see more examples of.

I can recall a time in my personal life when I shared with some relatives at a gathering that my shoulder hurt (due to tendonitis from a volleyball injury), to which one relative responded, “From writing on the board so much?” At first, I laughed, assuming the comment was a joke, but I quickly realized that since her, and others’, perceptions of teaching are so different from reality, she was serious. As educators, when we spend our days engaged mainly in the delicate work of building students up, motivating them, coaching them, inspiring them, and, yes, writing on the board from time to time, it is frustrating to have a persistent public perception that what teachers do is some simple transaction of providing content for others to receive. The hardest and most valuable parts of the work of teaching are the ones Dr. Rice describes: securing the love of children, building a home in the classroom, figuring out who each child is and what he or she needs or wants, and then, accompanying them on a journey of becoming stronger—and more informed—people. Lamentably, these pieces are often either assumed to be easy or natural, overlooked completely, or believed to be extra niceties, when really they are the heart of good, professional teaching and deserve much more attention in research, policy, practice, and public perception. Articulating what we do to the general public is important for earning the respect we deserve as professionals engaged in work that is just as intricate as other respected professions.

Assess whether teacher evaluation and teacher preparation reflect teachers’ relational work. Another recommendation is to assess whether teacher evaluation tools currently honor and reflect the complexity of the relational work indicated in this dissertation. Fair evaluations of teachers must take into account this strategic and delicate professional relational work teachers do, which often hides in plain sight because it *seems* so normal or simple or natural. In an era that prioritizes learning and defines quality teaching as that which results in assessable learning, it devalues teachers to omit this delicate relational work from our evaluations of good teaching or professional teaching. Clarifying, as recommended above, how we define the professional domain of teaching and the goals of education, will help ensure that evaluation tools reflect a more holistic picture of what teachers do, one that includes the relational.

Another recommendation is for teacher preparation and professional development to give teachers—new and experienced—opportunities to make sense of the experiences in their lives that influence their relational philosophies and practices. Related, future researchers should explore why some teachers prioritize relationships and others do not, or why some teachers absorb and make sense of experiences in their relational philosophies while others do not. For example, maybe low-knownness teachers had particular experiences that led them to distance themselves from students; or perhaps they had some of the same experiences as their high-knownness and Lincoln counterparts but were less capable of building a relational philosophy from them at all, which led them to do nothing relationally. Understanding more about this could shed light on whether relationally strong teachers should be selected, prepared, or a combination.

Directions for future research. Future research could build on the findings of this dissertation in the following ways. First, future studies could investigate the relational practices and philosophies of not just relationally adept teachers but also teachers who are either less committed to relationships or perhaps less skillful at enacting relational practices. In addition to focusing on other types of teachers, future research could occur in other types of school contexts, such as larger or more typical public schools that might not have Lincoln-type supports. This research could examine whether Lincoln-type relational practices are possible in environments without Lincoln-type relational supports. A third way future research could specifically build on the Lincoln-related findings is to focus on the leadership in places like Lincoln. Since Lincoln's professional community and particularly the Dean's leadership appeared to be so crucial to the teachers there feeling supported and competent relationally, speaking to leaders who have created that type of relational context would be fruitful for making recommendations to schools and districts to be more relationally supportive. Likewise, speaking to leaders of schools and districts that lack Lincoln-type supports could clarify what exactly they believe their obstacles are to being more like Lincoln.

In terms of the knownness research, future research could focus more specifically on why or how the practices identified in the high-knownness practices appeared to correlate with higher knownness. Since this study could not provide evidence that the practices identified actually caused greater knownness, future study designs on this topic could provide the researchers with a way to talk to the students about the practices that their teachers used and ask them to think about whether the characterization of the practices are accurate and, if so, why they felt more known

because of them. Another approach could be to design an experiment in which some teachers receive knownness professional development and others do not and then compare practices in the two contexts. Future research should also explore the idea of knownness from teachers' points of view; since this research examined students' survey response perceptions of knownness and teachers' observed practices, and since the Chhuon and Wallace team's research has focused on students' descriptions of knownness, no research has asked teachers about this topic, which seems like a necessary next step. Parents' and guardians' voices could also be useful in this research in helping explain to researchers which teachers knew their children (or themselves) the best and how they believe the teachers accomplished that. Future research should also continue to develop knownness as a measure and as a potential important outcome we value as a goal of education alongside other outcomes, like achievement and engagement. Later research could also explore what long-term outcomes knownness might predict, such as long-term mental health or self-esteem.

A much needed area of future research, briefly mentioned above, centers on the exact opposite of what this study mostly focused on—the teachers who would resemble the low-knownness teachers or those who, in the conceptual framing of Chapter 2, avoid relationships. Since students consistently report that their actual secondary teachers resemble these distant, uncaring teachers more so than the Lincoln or high-knownness style of teacher, we need to understand why these teachers are the way that they are. Given the ways this research has shown that, at least for the Lincoln teachers, engaging in the relational aspects of teaching is a conscious choice that reflects a commitment that has evolved since pre-training, future research on low-knownness type teachers should explore whether they have always been that way, why they resist relationships or emotional experiences with students, and how they understand their roles as teachers overall if they shut this part off. It is also an open question whether teachers such as these can receive, for example, professional development that could inspire them to allow or prioritize relationships, so an interesting avenue for future research could be developing professional opportunities focused on prioritizing relationships and then seeing whether their philosophies and/or practices evolved. How to best design professional development on these topics is another area for future research.

Finally, a fascinating area for future research would involve continuing to explore teachers' relational philosophies through the lens of their life experiences. This study only delved

into these questions for three teachers. Future research should pursue the same types of questions in trying to uncover teachers' relational philosophies and influential life experiences, and the links between them, but for simply more teachers and also for different teachers than were represented in this study. The teachers in this study were experienced, white, taught English, taught high school, and each had Master's degrees. It would be interesting in future research to recruit teachers from a wider variety of experience levels, demographic and education backgrounds, subject areas, and grade levels. Studying more teachers in this way could help us identify patterns, for example, of which life experiences tend to predict relationally committed teaching. Building on the finding in this study that the Lincoln teachers seemed to have made sense of and reflected on either their first-hand experiences of adversity or witnessing others experience adversity, future research should investigate how that works—what makes some people able to productively transform adversity (or witnessing adversity) into a relational mission.

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My hope is that this dissertation is a reminder of the complexity of teaching and the sheer talent and thoughtfulness it takes to do this work in the ways the high-knownness and Lincoln teachers do. To me, there is a challenging set of paradoxes wrapped up in this work: What, in my mind, sets teaching apart as highly difficult and professional work—the ability and decision to build people up—is rooted in extremely *personal* experiences and choices. This rootedness in personal, deep parts of who we are can undermine the fact that it is complex professional work deserving of study and respect. Doing this relational work, such as amassing the huge catalogs of information about each student that the Lincoln teachers have or spotting and filling different types of needs for different children, is probably harder than (or at least as hard as) planning or teaching a curriculum, and yet it is assumed to be natural and effortless and is given less explicit time and attention in preparation or evaluation. Prioritizing learning, although the spirit of current education reform, appears not only to stifle learning but also to de-prioritize relationships. Teachers become caught in a system that emphasizes content coverage and assessments, and with limited time, preparation, or support, they respond as best they can in that system, and relationships fall by the wayside—especially if they lack an underlying core commitment to relationships that empowers them to continue prioritizing relationships in the face of competing agendas. On the other hand, prioritizing relationships or love in the way Dr.

Rice does, which can seem like a pie-in-the-sky or naïve or un-rigorous pipe dream, seems actually to provide an opportunity for children to connect at school, to feel valued and built up and known, *and* to have genuine learning opportunities.

My point is that relationships are *the* most important aim and purpose of education, yet as a society, the purely learning-oriented aims of our times run the risk of taking us away from relationships. We can stare really intently at the sky for some stars that will never appear, unless we shift our gaze in a productive way. This dissertation is an effort to reconnect with the worthiest and most human purposes of education—the intangible, often personal, connections through which we learn. I would argue that learning is what we *do* at school, but it is not the reason we *go*. To make that argument might signal to some that I view learning as unimportant or would accept models of schooling without learning. However, my point is that, by shifting our gaze to relationships, our children will be connected *and* educated. With relationships as the goal, we cannot go wrong; shifting our gaze like this, the whole sky, a wider vision of education, comes into view.

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Epilogue

As a final thought, I bring up a new but extremely well-funded trend in line with the "learnification" of education: "personalized learning." Personalized learning aims to give each student, typically through an online learning platform accessed via a school-issued personal computer or device, a set of curriculum and assessments geared toward the academic level at which he is diagnosed to be. He progresses through this curriculum and various formative and summative assessments independently and with the guidance and permissions of his teacher. A popular such platform is called Summit Learning, which is fully funded by the Chan Zuckerberg Initiative and is being given to an increasing number of districts and charter networks, at no financial cost, as their total curriculum, fully replacing what teachers have done previously. Based on research, the system includes: a set of cognitive skills (e.g., asking questions, identifying a central idea, word choice) that students are assessed on each year and within each unit ("project"); a set of content knowledge concepts that are tested independently of the project completion; and habits of success (e.g., self-regulation, executive function, sense of belonging) students are mentored on. Teachers can modify or add to the curriculum provided, but in general, teachers are provided with the same projects, tasks, and checkpoints or assessments; a 7th grade

social studies teacher in New Mexico has the same five projects pre-set on her Summit account for her students as a 7th grade teacher in New York City.

A few aspects of Summit or other personalized learning platforms relate to the ideas raised in this dissertation. First, class time is restructured so that, most of the time, students are working independently or in same-needs small groups, with limited full class time. The idea is that students should be self-directed, so a good amount of their time is spent managing their own time and tasks and completing them on their own, on the platform. For instance, they can complete a warm-up assignment about what they know about the Silk Road, and then they can watch a playlist of videos compiled on the platform from various websites (e.g., PBS, NPR), followed by completing a graphic organizer about what they learned in the videos; the system walks them through each step, with the teacher giving them permission for when to move to a checkpoint (assessment) or to a new project (unit). In addition to being self-directed and independent a lot of the time, Summit designed relationships with teachers into the system itself. Students are able to request meetings (i.e., a 5-10 minute chat) with teachers using an online form where they say what they want to talk about, and teachers can approve when they are ready; they are also on a regular rotation with some particular "mentees" for whom they help manage the self-directed learning portion of the platform (i.e., coaching on all subjects and on navigating the platform or the school year in general, even if they do not have that student in a class). Summit argues that this leads to more students getting more face-to-face time with teachers.

The advantages and disadvantages of personalized learning can and will long be debated beyond the scope of this chapter. For now, I describe this system to ask a few questions about how teachers' ability to prioritize relationships is affected if this is the wave of the future in education. First, I would argue that Summit is an excellent example of an approach to education that prioritizes learning. Although it incorporates relationships and the soft-skill habits of success into its design, it is mainly designed around the idea of offering students individualized curriculum and assessments and creating a way for students to spend time teaching themselves content and learning how to learn. As described above, there are real threats to relationships when we prioritize learning.

On the flipside, we could argue that Summit is an example of an approach to education that prioritizes relationships because of designing student and teacher mentorship into the platform. However, I would argue that there can only be one true priority of any educational

approach, and that in personalized learning approaches, learning trumps relationships as a primary purpose in that everybody's time together is now spent substantially alone, though in the same room, pursuing academic learning milestones. Especially in the case of Summit, mentoring meetings, where relationships could be seen as being a priority, are geared toward checking in and covering an agenda of topics based mostly on progress in the platform, with teachers also coached to ask personal questions as warm-ups at the start of the conversation.

At best, I would argue that this approach is one that sees relationships as an input for learning outcomes, but not as the primary purpose of education. Future research should explore how relationships feel to students and teachers and how relational practices and philosophies shift in the context of personalized learning. With the limitless funding of the Chan Zuckerberg Initiative, this is one example of an education reform quietly changing our purposes and our systems very quickly and perhaps without enough scrutiny or restraint. Although it has the potential to change many aspects of children's educational experiences, I wonder and worry about whether teachers will be able to prioritize relationships in such a system, how connected anyone will feel to each other, and whether the professional role of teaching will evolve in a direction that acknowledges the relational work or further marginalizes it.

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In 1951, Isaac Asimov wrote a science fiction short story, "The Fun They Had," one of my absolute favorite stories to read with my middle school students and one which presaged the above debate with eerie accuracy. In the story, which takes place in the year 2157, 11-year-old Margie's friend 13-year-old Tommy discovers a centuries-old book in his attic, the first paper book they have ever seen. The book is about school, but schools of centuries ago, not the schools Margie and Tommy are used to. Their schools consist of "mechanical teachers," machines in their houses that display to them, individually, lessons and questions and into which they feed their homework and tests using punch codes the children fill in. In fact, on the day they discover the book, a man comes over to repair Margie's teacher—Asimov writes, "He smiled at Margie and gave her an apple, then took the teacher apart," a line that elicits amazing looks of wonder and confusion from 6th graders until they realize the teacher is a computer.

Margie and Tom sit together and read about these old "funny schools" together while the man fixes Margie's teacher. As soon as the teacher is fixed, Margie's mother interrupts them and makes Margie go back to "school." Disappointed, the two return to "school" at their houses and

make plans to finish reading the book together later. The story ends with the following brilliant encapsulation of why school and teachers matter, which in light of today's changes reads as a nostalgic caution, at least to me:

> *Margie went into the schoolroom. It was right next to her bedroom, and the mechanical teacher was on and waiting for her. It was always on at the same time every day except Saturday and Sunday, because her mother said little girls learned better if they learned at regular hours.*
>
> *The screen was lit up, and it said: "Today's arithmetic lesson is on the addition of proper fractions. Please insert yesterday's homework in the proper slot."*
>
> *Margie did so with a sigh. She was thinking about the old schools they had when her grandfather's grandfather was a little boy. All the kids from the whole neighborhood came, laughing and shouting in the schoolyard, sitting together in the schoolroom, going home together at the end of the day. They learned the same things, so they could help one another on the homework and talk about it.*
>
> *And the teachers were people...*
>
> *The mechanical teacher was flashing on the screen: "When we add the fractions 1/2 and 1/4..."*
>
> *Margie was thinking about how the kids must have loved it in the old days. She was thinking about the fun they had.*

It is sadly becoming easier to imagine a world where our children have Margie's experience of school and wistfully long for the days when they went somewhere with other children, had teachers who were people, and, because they were together, had fun and helped each other learn. With so many things isolating and challenging children in today's world and skyrocketing rates of depression and anxiety among young people, now more than ever, we need to re-prioritize relationships and knownness as our most important purposes in education. Realizing Dr. Rice's vision is a continuous project, especially in the face of fast-moving pushes to prioritize learning and personalization.

In a field dominated by fads, temporary fixes, and "experts" from outside of education, prioritizing relationships is a timeless pursuit. Further fracturing ourselves and prioritizing individual learning in a way that moves toward Asimov's vision should alarm us all. Only in community with each other will the learning happen—not to mention the fun. Classrooms rich in love, which feel like home to those who join together in them as a type of family every day, will always be what children, teachers, and our whole society need most.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Lincoln Teacher and Student Interview Protocols

Teacher Interview 1

A. Teaching biography

Currently

1. How long have you taught here?
2. What are your current and past roles here?
3. What is it like to teach here?

Before this position

4. How many years, total, have you been teaching?
5. Did you do any non-teaching work after college?
6. What were you doing before teaching here?

Teacher preparation

7. Did you complete a teacher preparation program?
8. Tell me about your teacher preparation program(s).
9. What stands out to you that you learned?
10. Do you still think about things you learned there? If so, describe.

Choosing to teach

11. When did you decide to become a teacher?
12. Why did you want to become a teacher?
13. Overall, are you still happy you decided to teach?
14. Why did you choose to teach this age group?
15. What do you enjoy about this age group?

B. Personal biography

You as a student

1. Where did you grow up and go to school?
2. What were your K12 teachers like?
3. Who was your favorite K12 teacher? Why?
4. How would you describe yourself as a student?
5. What have your higher education experiences been like?
6. Who was your favorite higher ed level teacher? Why?

Children in your life	
	7. Do you have children?
	8. Did you grow up with siblings or a big family?
	9. Were you in caretaker or teaching roles as a child or teenager?
	10. Do you think any childhood experiences with children influenced your decision to teach or helped you once you were a teacher?
	11. Do you ever think about yourself as a child when you are teaching?
	12. Do you ever think about other children you know (or knew) when you are teaching?

C. Relationships with past students

1. For (1) a student you had a strong connection with and (2) a student you had a weaker connection with:
    a. Tell me about that student.
    b. What did you know about him/her?
    c. What did you and that student tend to talk about?
    d. How would that student describe you as a teacher?
    e. Why did you connect well/poorly with that student?
    f. Did you know that student better/worse than other students?

<u>Teacher Interview 2</u>

A. Miscellaneous (questions arising from observation)

1. How many students are you currently: Teaching? Advising?
2. What is your professional development emphasis this year?
3. Do you keep records of meeting with your advisees or students?
4. What do you do to introduce yourself to students at the beginning of the year?

B. Interactions with students generally

1. What would you say are all of the types of interactions you have with students?
2. If you think of 'building relationships with students,' what actions go into that?
3. Do you build relationships differently with academic students than advising students? How?

C. Students this year

1. Which student or students have been on your mind a lot this year? Why?

D. Questions about observed practices

For each bullet-point observed practice:

1. Why do you do this? Where do you think you learned this?
2. How do you think this practice might influence the way you build relationships?

Mrs. Ventura	Mrs. Carroll	Mr. Adler
· Clipboard observations · Introduction letters · Map memoirs · Salvaging "off" answers · Patience with misbehavior · Mostly silent listening to group work · Sharing about own life · Voluntary participation	· Small talk at beginning of class · Enthusiasm/animation/pace · Student-selected reading · Subtle or stealthy conversations about behavior or well-being · Sharing about own life · Student participation mix of voluntary/cold-call	· Announcements and tangents · Names assignment · Sharing about own life · Shell of innocence speech · Voluntary participation · Challenging content, college feeling · Metacognitive questions

E. Specific relationships (based on students I observed them interact with)
For each student:

1. What is the status of your relationship with this student (i.e., how is it going with this student)?
2. What types of things do you know about this student, and how do you know/use that information?
3. What experiences of your own are you drawing on when connecting with this student?

Teacher Interview 3

A. "Non-Academic" role or practices

1. While teaching, what "non-academic" things are you noticing, thinking about, or looking for?
2. How often do you help academic students (not advising students) with non-academic issues? Have you been a de facto advisor to students who were not your advising students?

B. School level influences shaping practice

1. How do these features unique to this context influence how you build or define your relationships with students?
    a. Soft skills curriculum
    b. Middle college program
    c. Mental health emphasis
    d. Advising sibling groups
2. What are your goals during credentialing, and how does the credentialing process influence your relationships with or knowledge of students?
3. Does your relationship with students change when you get to be both their teacher and their advisor? How is it different than being just their advisor or just their teacher?

C. Personal experience

1. Which part of this job makes you feel the most like "yourself"?
2. How has being at this school changed you as a person?

3. What, above all, do you want your students to take from their time with you?

D. Questions about the students I interviewed
For each student:

1. Tell me about this student; what comes to mind immediately?
2. How do you think they see the relationship they have with you?
3. How do you see the relationship (i.e., close, distant, positive, negative, etc.)?
4. What experiences do you think you draw on in your relationship and interactions with this student?

<u>Teacher Interview 4</u>

A. Relationships, generally

1. What do you think are your strengths and weaknesses in terms of the relationships you have with students or how you support students' well-being?
2. Would your relationships with students be different if you taught, say, math? How?
3. Is there a relationship in life that you think is analogous to student and teacher when you are their academic teacher?
4. Is there a relationship in life that you think is analogous to advisor and student when you are their advisor?
5. What are some aspects of your identity that you think might play a role in your relationships with students, and how (have them think first, then offer: gender, race, educational level, socioeconomic status, sexuality/marital status, parent status, religion, political beliefs/worldview)?
6. Are students the leading source of information you have about them, or are other sources?

B. Activity: How teachers see students and their relationships
(Give them paper slips with each student's name who we discussed in Interviews 2 and 3)

1. Show me your relationships or group/organize these students visually however it makes sense to you, and talk through how you're doing this as you go.

C. Activity: What teachers know or want to know about students

1. If you had to make a list, what information is generally important to you to know about your students here, and why? (have them list first, then offer: family/home situation, past schooling/academic ability, languages spoken, friend situation, emotional well-being, physical/mental health, other classes currently taking, advisor, pathway/career plans, trauma history, where they live, interests/hobbies/activities)
2. Now, place each student from the earlier activity next to whichever piece of information (on the list) that it has been <u>most</u> important to know about that particular student <u>or whatever stands out</u> to you that you know about that student. Think aloud as you do, particularly about why it has been important to know that information about this student.

D. Students at this school, generally

1. How would you describe the groups or types of students you typically encounter here?
2. Do you approach building relationships with groups differently or similarly? Explain.
3. Which students tend to be "your" students—you connect with/focus on/naturally "get"?

4. Which tend to be more elusive for you, or you struggle more to connect with them?
5. What experiences do you think make some groups easier or harder for you to connect with or gravitate toward?

E. Ending

1. Is there anything you want to ask or add about anything we've talked about this fall?

<u>Student Interview</u>

A. Warm up questions

1. Who is your advisor?
2. How many times have you met so far?
3. What do you talk about at your meetings?
4. Why did you want to come to this school?
5. Did you have a favorite teacher in middle school, or a teacher you really connected with?
6. Can you tell me about that teacher and why they come to mind?
7. Do you have a favorite teacher here, or a teacher you really connect with?
8. Can you tell me about that teacher and why they come to mind?

B. Perceptions of teachers in this study

1. What do you think about ** as a teacher?
2. Can you remember what your first impression of ** was?
3. Have you met with ** outside of class?
4. During class, when do you tend to talk to **? Does ** ever talk to you individually?
5. Have you and ** emailed each other? About what?
6. Have you received any PowerSchool comments from **? What did they say?
7. Did ** do anything to try to get to know you in the beginning of the year?
8. Did ** do anything to introduce themselves to the class in the beginning of the year?
9. Do you think ** has been trying to build a relationship with <u>you</u>? Explain.
10. Do you think ** knows the "real you" or knows you well? What does s/he know?
11. If you came to school and something was bothering you, do you think ** would notice?
12. How much do you think ** shares about their personal life compared to other teachers?
13. Do you like when ** shares about their personal life?
14. Have you talked to ** about personal, emotional, social, or family issues? Would you?

C. Relationships with teachers more generally

1. Do you usually like to be close to your teachers?
2. Do you feel like teachers usually make an effort to build a relationship with you?
3. How often have you had a negative connection with a teacher?
4. How often have you had no feeling of connection with a teacher?
5. Have you ever felt invisible to a teacher?
6. Have you ever had a teacher who you felt like knew the "real you" or a lot about you?
7. What types of things do you want teachers to know or not know about you?
8. What advice would you give a new teacher about how to build a relationship with you?
9. Is there anything else you can share with me as a student about how teachers can build relationships with someone like you?

APPENDIX B

Chapter 2 Codebook

CATEGORIES OF INFORMATION ABOUT STUDENTS, WITH EXAMPLES		
Academics	Teachers talk about a student's academic ability, academic performance, intelligence, and grades.	"H: Is he as smart as he thinks he is? Mr. Adler: Yeah, I think in certain narrow domains, he really is. But all he's doing in argument, I'm like, you're not blowing me away with some of your writing, but I don't want to lose that connection that I might have with him, but also that the institution has with him, or that he might have with the institution." (Adler, Interview 2) "As the semester has gone on, the things she volunteers to say or do in class have become more and more sort of outrageous. So she's intelligent, she's pretty bright and capable, but she makes me wonder, like what's going on, why are you suddenly seeking attention this way." (Ventura, Interview 3)
Behavior	Teachers talk about challenges or consequences a student is facing in terms of behavior.	"Like I had a student last year who got in trouble for stealing from the vending machine, so like the college is now involved and he's getting in trouble and written up for something like larceny or something dumb like that, and I was like, no I need you to come see me so we can figure out how to solve this, like I'm not pumped you got yourself into this situation, but one of the reasons you have a BASE advisor is to help you figure it out." (Carroll, Interview 1)
Home and Family	Teachers talk about a student's home life and family, including where the student lives, who the student lives with, the status of parents and step-parents or other guardians,	"They do primarily speak Russian at home, which impacts him here, but also the family and home situation is that there's a pattern of chronic absences and other things that kind of impact his, yeah." (Ventura, Interview 2) "He just had this gap between his perception

	and the sense of the home's overall well-being.	and where he actually was, and that sort of has persisted, like he's doing great and making progress and getting there, he's gonna get there, but I think a part of that is the sibling piece, his sibling sort of had an easier go of it around here, he's the younger one in his family... so yup. He's an interesting, super cool kid but an interesting guy." (Carroll, Interview 3)
Goals	Teachers talk about a student's goals for their career, pathway, academics, extracurriculars, and more.	"I just want to make sure he's not getting discouraged or depressed, and he has good goals, but he's a little bit clueless about things, and some of that might be that he's just young, but it might be that he's just lower skilled, and if he's lower in terms of IQ and things, then I have to really support his emotional well-being in terms of like making good choices, you know pushing himself, still learning and getting the most from this program, but he might be looking at PA school as the farthest he's gonna get and his brother is gonna go be like a surgeon. Or maybe PA school is too hard for him, and being able to help him maintain his dignity." (Adler, Interview 4)
Health	Teachers talk about a student's physical and mental health, including any history of trauma.	"Academic things are really tough for her right now, and she's dealing with some mental health issues outside of school that are making, kind of compounding it." (Carroll, Interview 2) "So in 2nd hour there's a student who has some hygiene issues. We asked the counselor to talk to him, and I think he did. But he's not—he sits in the back, and I've gotta talk to him, like today. Cuz it's bugging me, it's upsetting me when I walk in now cuz the room smells so bad. So I was rehearsing last night trying to fall asleep like, what am I gonna say to him, cuz I've had that kind of conversation with students before, but if he's already heard it from one other person, I feel like I've gotta be kind of concrete with him about it, so I think... if the

		timing presents itself today, I've got to take him aside individually. I think I'm gonna ask him to take a walk with me so that we're like outside walking around or not standing in the hall with people walking by." (Adler, Interview 2)
Interests	Teachers talk about a student's personal or academic interests or hobbies.	"Last year he was a first year, he's doing welding, he loves to hunt, he takes opening day off every year and like, I'm so not a hunter, I'm just not, it's not part of my family, so like last year he came to me and wrote me this epic email that I saved cuz it was so great about like, asking for permission to take opening day off and how he'll be in a hunting blind thinking critically about his next moves, like all this stuff. (Laughs) I like him a lot. He's a really, really great kid." (Carroll, Interview 3)
Past schooling	Teachers talk about what schools a student has attended in the past, teachers they know who have taught the student, and the reputation of schools students have attended. Includes also teachers discussing a student's past homeschooling experiences.	"Iris presents like someone who doesn't like school, like rolls her eyes at me, never wants to participate, she's got her head down, and I'm not gonna leave her alone, but I'm gonna keep trying to gauge, like, how much is enough, how much is too much, and I try to do that by giving her ways to make decisions that make me look slightly foolish, or make her in control of things, so like, Iris what do you think, should I call on somebody randomly or should I take hands. It doesn't matter what she picks, but she has to engage. Iris, you seem not to want to answer the question, that probably means I should shutup! (Laughs) [She'll say:] Yup. Aw, I knew you were gonna say that! (Laughs) And so I'll try to kind of get some banter going…and then trying to figure out, like, little by little, like why, what's going on at home, or why are you—or what terrible teacher did you have that made you feel bad about learning, or whatever. But thinking about like the, the Dean calls them, like, antecedents, like the things that lead up to

		whoever it is that's in your class, being the way they are, is way more important to me in terms of relationships, I mean there is the sort of behavior equals this, we have rules, you can't bring an iguana to class, but yeah" (Adler, Interview 3) "Knowing his background, having gone to lots of different schools and not having some great experiences in those schools, that's important to know." (Carroll, Interview 4)
Personality	Teachers talk about a student's personality, demeanor, sense of humor, and the like.	"He is super personable. He kind of reminds me of a politician almost, very like, let me shake your hand, I'm the mayor. A lot of fun to teach, he's very charismatic and kind of charming and stuff, but I'm still kind of waiting to see how well do his skills match up with his presence. And I mean, you know, some of the work I've gotten from him is a little mixed, but I don't know that it's lack of skill, it might be typical 9th grade boy lack of effort kind of stuff. But he's a super fun kid to teach and get to know. I appreciate someone like him who's willing to talk to anybody in the room and work with anybody in the room and make everybody feel comfortable and welcome, I think that's a really special kind of characteristic that he has. I really appreciate those qualities." (Ventura, Interview 3)
Social connections	Teachers talk about a student's social landscape, including the student's friends, boyfriend or girlfriend, or lack of social connections.	"She is a very thoughtful student. She's very social, and I mean that in a really positive way, like I could pair her up with anybody in the class and she could work with them." (Carroll, Interview 3) "See that's the problem, he's not connecting with people. And... it's gonna make it more isolated and really hard." (Adler, Interview 2) "Mrs. Ventura first says Sarah has a busy after-school schedule with dance every day and that she might start to realize soon that school has to come first. …She adds that she

		and Pat are either 'broken up or learned how not to hang all over each other.'" (Observation Notes, 2nd Credentialing Meeting)
Soft skills	Teachers talk about a student's soft skill development or struggles.	"He took forever to get credentialed, he just was a lot, had really difficult soft skills challenges, but he was really hilarious and very personable, so he'd come in and always make me laugh, but he also really appreciated the effort, and he made it through fine. Leena had some similar—she's different in a lot of ways—but really difficult with soft skills initially, and academically there's some stuff that she's pretty good at, and there's some stuff that's really hard for her, and helping her to really get comfortable talking about that and not shying away from challenges, but also really staying on her on soft skills, so she's internalized a lot of that this semester." (Adler, Interview 2)
Special needs	Teachers talk about a student's IEP or 504 accommodations, or their ELL needs.	"He does have a visual impairment so we have to make sure he can see things, and he does a good job advocating for himself so ya know, if I forget to make something enlarged, he doesn't mind asking about it. He let me know today he's gonna start bringing an iPad where he can, you know, blow stuff up, so he's good at advocating for himself." (Ventura, Interview 2)
Culture	Teachers talk about a student's cultural or racial identity. Includes teachers talking about a student's religion, worldview, or political position and beliefs.	"I feel like I just haven't gotten to know a lot about him. But yesterday, he did share some parts of his worldview and thoughts, his thoughts on immigration and stuff, so that was interesting and kind of let me see a little bit more about who he is or maybe where he comes from." (Ventura, Interview 4) "Later Mrs. Carroll tells me that Nick is from a conservative Christian family and thinks he might be rebelling." (Observation Notes, Carroll) "Christian is like, country, man. He's like out in the boonies. On the first day of school he told me the only hobby he has is building AR-15s and he came with kind of a guarded, like, 'I've

		heard about this place.' Hillary: He seems like he's really buying in though? Mr. Adler: (Smiles) He's great! He's fantastic. It's interesting, he refused to read the first essay I had them read in class about a girl who was struggling with a decision to wear a headscarf or not. He just ignored it. And that day I saw him and I was like, come here, I noticed you didn't read that. And he was like, I kind of....And I was like, no, bullshit; if you express an opinion in that class, I'll defend your right to have an opinion no matter what it is, as long as it's respectful; but I'm gonna also demand that you really try to think through things, even if they're uncomfortable, even if they're challenging for you, and it's not because I want you to believe what she's writing as the conclusion you should reach, but I gotta help you to learn to live in a world on this campus with lots of different people and also learn a language that demands and expects their respect from your perspective. And I think that was a pretty important—just noticing that, um, because it does concern me. He hasn't expressed anything, but even doing names, he was real uncomfortable with the Muslim kids' names, he kind of skimmed past 'em, and I didn't make him—a lot of times I'll make people get the pronunciation right—cuz I didn't want to overdose him, ya know? But I want to keep applying enough of that [pressure]." (Adler, Interview 2)
In terms of knowing	Teachers talk about a student in terms of how well they feel they know the student.	"He's my advisee. And so... I feel like I know him, like, better; I wish I knew him more, cuz he's kind of a tough nut to crack. He's hard, he's a hard guy." (Carroll, Interview 2)
TYPES OF INFLUENTIAL EXPERIENCES, WITH EXAMPLES		
Personal past experience	Teachers discuss personal experiences in their past, not including their K12	"I think with them I do constantly think about, like I get that teenagers are just sort of trying to feel out who they are and how much can I

	schooling.	get away with, that kind of limit, so I always kind of just... like alright, I'll let you do your thing for a little bit, but then there's always that line, right. So I try to just kind of honor like... that testing the waters kind of thing, cuz I remember that, I remember kind of being that kid who wants to just be different or set myself apart or look for acceptance, you know, so I try not to make a big deal out of it sometimes because I think sometimes when they do say stuff that's way out there, the bigger deal you make out of it, the more they're getting exactly what they want, right, yeah, so... my usual way is just to downplay, like ok, and moving on." (Ventura, Interview 3)
Personal current experience (parenting)	Teachers discuss their current personal life, such as their spouse, children, hobbies, and interests.	"I think once I became a parent (pause) the kind of connection I made with students is a little less, but... Hillary: Do you feel like it's because you have less emotional bandwidth? Mr. Adler: A little bit yeah, I'm more protective of my time, I'm not running activities. You know, it's those times like in the bus to the event when you're talking to someone, or here late in the day and somebody just swings by to talk about a book, when like the really neat stuff happens in some ways. Hillary: So you're just less available. Mr. Adler: Yeah, and I don't feel bad about that. But I also feel like, man, you know, students need that sometimes. And they can get it from lots of different places and lots of different people." (Adler, Interview 1)
K12/college student experience	Teachers discuss their memories of being a K12/college student, including memories of particular teachers and events.	"But I had a really impactful 7th grade teacher, Ms. Lepore, who's probably the reason I'm a teacher. She was so incredibly different from anybody else who had ever taught me because she was... not a nun (laughs). She was younger. She (pause) had gone to Teachers College, which I'm not sure if any of

		my other teachers had. And she had these new ideas about like, cooperative learning. Crazy. She didn't have textbooks, she had centers, and we'd do projects, and we could make choices. I realize now it was differentiated instruction, and she was really—it was ELA so I loved it anyways, but she's probably the reason that I'm an ELA teacher now. Hillary: Do you remember times when she interacted with you and made you feel like you were connecting? Mrs. Carroll: I remember we used to keep journals in her class and she'd write back and forth to us. (pause) I remember she'd just be really encouraging for me and I think a lot of times, because I like to think I was a pretty good writer, my teachers would just say 'this is great' or 'good job,' but she was actually like 'you can do this' or 'have you thought about this' so she also kind of pushed me in a way that I was appreciative about." (Carroll, Interview 1)
Quasi-teaching experience	Teachers discuss experiences they had prior to teaching that were in the realm of teaching or caretaking but not teaching per se, such as babysitting, being a team captain, being a peer counselor, leading a youth group, and the like.	"Mr. Adler: I think having worked with adults in an educational role is really helpful. Hillary: Was that in the sea kayaking? Mr. Adler: Yeah. Some of these people paying $2000 a person to go on a weeklong trip with me, some of them were, like, Chicago Board of Paper Traders, who would try to muscle their way into, 'well I'm not gonna do that,' so figuring out like, I can't really tell this person they have to do what I say, but they have to do what I say. Or somebody who's really afraid or has a physical weakness or doesn't like the trip as much as they thought they would or a couple in a boat where one can steer and the other can see... how do you manage those things in an environment that can be dangerous or physically demanding?" (Adler, Interview 1)
Teacher preparation	Teachers discuss their teacher preparation	"I think some of it was in the way I was trained early on in that district, we had a lot of

or professional development	program, including professors, mentor teachers, and coursework they recall. Teachers also discuss learnings from professional development since teacher preparation ended.	PD around... working with students in poverty and students who are kind of living in survival mode if they're constantly worried where their next meal is coming from, or do they have a place to sleep that night, those things that, you really can't move up the ladder of human needs if—so yeah, I just think early on, I was so ingrained in that, that you have to attend to these things first, before you can teach them." (Ventura, Interview 3)
Past teaching in a non-Lincoln context	Teachers discuss past official teaching positions, past students, and past colleagues, all prior to Lincoln.	"I think my time in middle school was probably really a big factor in that, you know we worked hard at that level to just, uh, do that whole child sort of teaching rather than just a subject," (Ventura, Interview 2)
Teaching in the Lincoln context	Teachers discuss the experience of past teaching at Lincoln, including in particular learning from the Lincoln policies and the Dean's influence.	"I remember when I was a new advisor still trying to figure out what this role meant, one of my coworkers who had been a more experienced advisor was talking to one of her students who had gotten arrested over the weekend for drugs, and he was in her office, and she was like, how old are you, and he's like, oh I'm like 16 or something. And she goes, when you're 16, you do stupid things, you did a stupid thing, and this doesn't define who you are, and you're not gonna be in trouble with me, and that was really instructive for me to hear because I imagine what teachers would say to students in that situation and her conversation was totally different, so I've tried to kind of take that, I'm on your side, what you did maybe was a poor choice, but we're gonna move past it and figure it out and you've got me on your side to help you figure it out." (Carroll, Interview 1)
Explicit link made by teacher between the experience and their relationships as a teacher	In discussing any of the above, teachers make an explicit, clear link between the experience discussed and an aspect of their relationships with students or how they approach them.	"And one of the students I think I connected most deeply with... took his own life back in the spring of 2012. And he was an adult at this point, he was 26, 25, and he was in my very first year teaching here. He was in my advisory. He ran away from home and I tried to help his parents find him. He came back and coached with me, he was my first assistant coach for the team I built here. … For me, just professionally, it's there. I'm figuring

		out how do I continue to try to connect with students, even though I want to do everything I can to avoid ever feeling hurt like that. So it's a conundrum for me." (Adler, Interview 1)

APPENDIX C

Chapter 2 Joint Coding Exercise

Unit	My Codes	Colleague's Codes
INFORMATION ABOUT STUDENTS		
Credentialing. "Alaa" who is in Mr. Adler's class has all N's. Mr. Adler tells the counselor that he forwarded Alaa's mom's reply to Mr. Adler's initial email, and that he and Alaa have talked together too about him telling his parents what's going on. Mr. Adler is talking about wanting Alaa to take more initiative, saying he told him, "you've gotta be driving this." He says he's into the play they're reading and sits up front but that he notices he has worn a splint on one finger the whole year so far, which he removes for lunch to play football and then wastes time during Mr. Adler's class to retape on. Mr. Adler laughs about this and says he told him he has it backwards, that he could "safely remove the splint for English class." Another teacher explains why he has the splint and when it's coming off, and Mr. Adler says he understands but the point is he's not using it correctly. Mr. Adler adds that Alaa wrote something in his class about how his parents wanted him to come here but he doesn't really want to be here, and Mr. Adler says, "That's just something I don't want to lose sight of." **Credentialing.** Mr. Adler says he'll probably have to "head off discontent you might get from his parents," and explains that he has made gains but kind of has "one really good working wheel on the motorcycle." He says there has been "huge improvement and it's substantive," but he's not sure if he reads outside of class so they can work on that together. He says a positive note is that he asked the class yesterday to recall a soft skills thing they had done, and he was the one who remembered and stated it for the class.	Academics Home Health Soft skills	Academics Home Interests Soft skills
Interview. Mr. Adler: I mean Pat is a real problem with that because he wants to go into medical whatever but he just withdrew from Spanish cuz it's too hard, and part of	Academics Goals	Academics Goals

me is really frustrated cuz I want to be like, quit lying to yourself, you are lying to me, you're also lying to yourself, and all I can do is advise you based on the quality of information you give me, so if you're telling me you want to be a doctor but you're doing something different from that, what should I do as your advisor, how do you want me to help you, but if I get frustrated, then all they respond to is that I'm frustrated. So I have to really try to be like, let's just talk about the evidence, here's where it looks like you're headed, if you make the same decisions here's where you're likely to be, if you're happy with that, that's not my job to judge you, if you're not happy with it and telling me you want to change, I can only give you a certain menu of things you might do, if you don't do those , you're saying you're ok with where you're at.		
Credentialing. Looking at Mr. Adler, the advisor tells him they've talked a lot about him together. Mr. Adler says that the issues are not just that he's communicated with him haphazardly and missed appointments, but also that he left town on a Friday for this golf outing and let him know 2 days ahead, so although he told him about the work he'd miss, he never asked for it, and Mr. Adler says he didn't provide it. He says as a result, he did no SAT practice thus getting the low score. Mr. Adler says, "It seems to me there's multiple ways he's struggling in soft skills, not just communication." Two other teachers say they didn't know it was a golf outing, he had just told them he had a family obligation; and they agree he has no follow-through. Mr. Adler adds that the first time he looked at his planner, he said his phone wasn't charged; the second time, he had it but it was spotty, so he says, "I don't know, I don't want him—if he feels like he's at a disadvantage in my class." He asks the other teachers if they've seen decent soft skills. One teacher says decent enough but that yesterday he asked if he could meet with Mr. Adler during his class, and he had to explain that you can't leave class for meetings. Mr. Adler says he could see him stealing from one college class to pay for another.	Academics Soft Skills	Academics Soft skills
Interview. Hillary: Ok. Tahzib. I watched you meet with him. Mr. Adler: I love that guy. He's like a 7th grader still. He's got terrible soft skills and he's kinda goofy in class, and he doesn't pay attention very well, but it's because he's little. So I have to be really careful cuz I can get frustrated with him, like you lost your planner again!? It's not ok you lost	Academics Behavior Home Personality Soft skills In terms of knowing	Academics Behavior Home Personality Soft skills

it, but it's always ok whatever happens because I'm your Advisor. Um, so he's had some kind of misbehavior stuff, and his grade's real low in my class because he missed a quiz because his mom took him out for a dentist appointment, so I've gotta help him kind of build himself back up there. I taught his brother, I know his mom a little bit. They're a super sweet family. His brother's real high-performing, so the expectations are really high, and he's a little bit, ya know, he's just kind of goofy. So I've been trying really hard not to be frustrated with him—more than, or with him, to him. And he's somebody who I have to be careful because I originally assumed, like your brother's all A's, I'm sure you'll be really solid. And he's not solid! He's definitely smart, but he's kind of the baby of the family, and so that... that's something that has occurred to me only over the last 4-5 weeks, whereas the first 4 weeks I was like, oh that guy, I don't even have to pay attention to him, he's got it. And you know, I know the job well enough to know not to do that but it's hard, it's harder to not assume somebody will have their act together if they had a really strong sibling. It's easy for me to not judge somebody new if they had a trainwreck of a sibling because it's like, hey life's different, I don't want to hold something against someone, but it's interesting to think that the risk is there to miss somebody who might need a lot of extra help.		
Interview. (re Annie) Mrs. Carroll: Like I feel like I know... these students the most. (Grant, Joey, Liam, Becca, Annie, Hakim)… these guys are so strong, she's really strong (Annie, Hakim, Mikaela)... those are academically the strongest kids… These guys are buds (Hakim, Annie, Mikaela)…I think I've got a really good connection with these guys (moving Joey, Liam, Annie, Hakim) *** Mrs. Carroll: (Laughs) Ok, so I think for Annie, I think... knowing... like I think knowing her past experiences in school, and I think, I had her sister so knowing her past experiences and also her academic, like she's a bright kid, she's a very bright kid, and I think knowing her kind of... student personality, like learning personality, I don't know if that makes sense, it's kind of part of academic ability, she's strong, but she's also just hardworking, organized, meticulous, kind of a student, and I think that kind of is part of that category.	Academics Home Past schooling Personality Social In terms of knowing	Academics Home Past schooling Social In terms of knowing

{For Hakim} **Interview.** Hillary: Hakim, and the first questions is just what comes to mind about him. Mrs. Carroll: Uh... how serious he is. A pretty serious student. Uh... that would probably be the first thing that would come to mind; it's not who he is, but it's a pretty pronounced feature of who he is. Hillary: Ok, so how do you think he sees your relationship or what kind of relationship do you think he wants? Mrs. Carroll: Uh... I think he probably sees me as... it's interesting cuz like, the advising role is so different vs. the first year... because I think he's a student with ambitions, and I know about those ambitions, I think he sees me as someone who can help him set up his EDP and things like that, like to help him achieve those. I hope he sees me—I don't know if he sees me that way yet—as a resource that can help him cope with problems and deal with things when they come up that are either stressful for him or are impeding him in getting to those goals. Uh... yeah. Hillary: Ok. And then how do you see the relationship with him? Mrs. Carroll: I think we have a positive relationship, I don't think, yeah I think I have a positive relationship with him. He and his mom and aunt were at my gym the other night, and he was so embarrassed, and I was so embarrassed, it was really funny (laughs). It was embarrassing for all of us. I think we have a positive relationship, I think... he may at times be frustrated by my lack of being either able to answer his questions because he is an ambitious student, like a lot of times we'll be talking and I'll be like, yeah it's a great question, you've got to talk to the university about that, or like, talk to a college counselor, like I don't know the things for med school, I just don't (laughs). And I think some students are like, well then what are you good for, so I think he might feel a little frustrated about that. *** Mrs. Caroll: Like I feel like I know... these students the most. (Grant, Joey, Liam, Becca, Annie, Hakim)…these guys are so strong, she's really strong (Annie, Hakim, Mikaela)... those are academically the strongest kids…These guys are buds (Hakim, Annie, Mikaela)…I think I've got a really good connection with these guys (moving Joey, Liam, Annie, Hakim).	Academics Home Goals Health Personality Social Culture In terms of knowing	Academics Home Goals Health Personality Social Culture In terms of knowing

Observation. Mrs. Carroll tells me today that she didn't know about Hakim's situation with his English teacher, but that he's one she worries about because he's so "conscientious" and puts pressure on himself and will be switching to CC classes next semester, and she's worried that at some point he'll need some help and head toward some kind of "mental health breakdown." She says she had a student like him in the past, also very bright, who wasn't "on her radar" to "check in with" but then fell apart in her senior year because of the pressure. She says Hakim is similarly really bright but she isn't sure if he as a person or culturally feels ok asking for help		
Credentialing. Josephine comes up. Mrs. Carroll notes that comments were about side conversations, phone, and air time, and a teacher adds that she's improving.	Discipline Soft skills	Discipline Soft skills
Observation. She later tells me that he's an advising student of hers. She tells me he did a good job of "being late," which means he told her he needed to show her his homework later and came in quietly. She knows he has a single mom and kids going to all different schools and coming from far away, so she understands as his Advisor why he's late. She says they document it in PowerSchool and after 5 tardies, the tardies are counted as absences. She says he's at 6 tardies now to her class but isn't late to any other classes, so it's really just a morning transportation issue.	Home Soft skills	Home Soft skills
Credentialing. Adil comes up. Mrs. Ventura explains that they're working on the hearing aid materials being in her office; she says it's somewhat disruptive for meetings, but they're working it out. He has one N for side conversation, and a teacher wonders if it's a hearing issue. Mrs. Ventura says she didn't see major concerns, that he'll stay with Lincoln for math, and that, "My only thought is that we probably need to talk about how his hearing accommodation moves into college with him." One of the special educators says he should go into those classes with a 504. Mrs. Ventura asks if she needs to do anything now to ensure that that happens in time for his January college classes starting. The special educator and the Dean give her specific directions on what she should do. Mrs. Ventura takes notes and says that she'd like to figure something out with where he can store the device since it's in her office now which is fine but it can be "uncomfortable" when he comes in during advising	Soft skills Special needs	Special needs

meetings.		
Interview. Hillary: So what's your relationship with Chelsea like? Mrs. Ventura: Ahh, mmm-hmm. She seems really quiet. She likes to read and write from what I got from her letter and her memoir. She's just... not really outgoing. She comes from another really small charter school, so my guess would be that she's... doesn't know a lot of other students here yet because we don't get too many from there. So I kind of get a sense that she's just starting to get to know people, but she has not come and talk to me separately, so she's someone who I haven't really connected with yet. Hillary: Ok, and I saw you talking to her one-on-one in the computer lab, and was it just about the assignment? Mrs. Ventura: Um, a little bit, but I think I noticed... and I don't remember, but I noticed she was writing about something that was familiar to me, so I kind of tried to talk with her a little bit, but it was definitely one of those where she... talked a little bit about it but she didn't expand enough to make a whole conversation. *** Yeah and Chelsea and David, mostly I've had them academically, but you know, they don't engage in conversation very much, so even when I'm walking around the classroom trying to get to know students, you know, the two of them don't say much.... a couple of these are hard to put on there because I feel like I don't know a lot about them yet, like Chelsea and David. I know maybe a personal tidbit for Chelsea is I think she's interested in art, and so that's something that could help me connect at some point, even though I haven't been able to really crack that shell yet. **Observation.** Mrs. Ventura says that Chelsea, "strikes me as someone who takes time to warm up," but she says she thinks she likes writing based on a short conversation they had in the computer lab last week.	Interests Past schooling Personality Social In terms of knowing	Interests Past schooling Personality Social status In terms of knowing
Credentialing. Mrs. Ventura's 9th grader, Laura, comes up. Mrs. Ventura adds that she's strong academically and hesitates before saying that she sits with a group of Romanian girls, explaining that she brings that up because they all wrote in their map memoirs about how close of a community they are, describing them as "very tight." She says she gave her an N because of the side conversation at this table and because she was a "loud	Social Soft skills Culture	Behavior Social Soft skills Culture

snacker" during other students' presentations. The advisor says that maybe Laura needs to work on "acclimating" to a more "neutral academic culture." Mrs. Ventura diplomatically replies, "Yeah?" as if questioning, and then she says or Laura can just be better about not engaging in the side talk during class.		
{For Leo} **Credentialing.** Mrs. Ventura: Even though, like Leo is my advising student and I'm in my second year of working with him, I still just don't know him that well, and I've never had him academically, so it's been hard to build those relationships. So yeah, they're so quiet, they're hard, like, they're hard to crack. ** And then I would put Dani and Leo together as like skill academic worries, they do their work but they both struggle particularly with reading ** Leo could fit under languages spoken but also family/home situation, so they do primarily speak Russian at home, which impacts him here, but also the family/home situation is that there's a pattern of chronic absences and other things that kind of impact his, yeah. ** **Credentialing.** Next is Leo. He has 3 N's and 1 S, along with a B, a C, and an F. Work completion and lack of participation are the main issues. One teacher says he stares at whatever they're reading and doesn't seek help. Mrs. Ventura smiles and adds that he did get an A on a recent test. Another teacher says he doesn't really talk unless she goes over and pulls participation out of his table, and then he seems to know what he's doing. "Alright, yeah, I don't know, I've just gotta keep working on it," Mrs. Ventura says. The Dean jumps in and says that they've got to remember where these kids start and "celebrate all movement." Mrs. Ventura says it's true and they meet on Fridays and he is "actually talking." She says he speaks no English at home, and the Dean jumps in and adds that not only that, he "writes in another alphabet" (Cyrillic) and probably feels "completely lost" a lot of the time.	Academics Home Personality Special needs Culture In terms of knowing	Academics Home Personality Special needs Culture In terms of knowing
Agreement on 20 units of individual teachers discussing individual students: 44/48=92%		
INFLUENTIAL EXPERIENCES		

Unit (Idea)	**My Codes**	**Colleague's Codes**
What I remember most that was instructive was the work I did with my cooperating teachers when I was student teaching. I was able to have 3 separate cooperating teachers, so I had 2 at the high school level and I had 1 at the middle school level, and they were all really, really different in their approaches, but I mean I culled so much from just working with them and talking with them.	Teacher preparation or professional development	Teacher preparation or professional development
There were definitely instructive moments when I went back and got my Master's. I had a professor in a class and it was like primary and early literacy, and I sort of went into it with the attitude, like, what, I want to teach middle school and high school, I don't need to know this, but her class was so, so eye-opening for me about how (a) a case study can teach you so much, and I used that later on in my career, so I went through the National Board certification process, which is all about case study, and having that experience in grad school, seeing case study as a way to have your eyes opened to the bigger picture was really big for me when I went through that process and has really changed the way that I approach observations of students and thinking about problem-solving, like zooming in on an individual and seeing how I can extrapolate from that for the whole. So that was one thing that was really instructive.	Teacher preparation or professional development Explicit link made by teacher between the experience and their relationships as a teacher	Teacher preparation or professional development Explicit link made by teacher between the experience and their relationships as a teacher
And then the other thing that was really instructive for that class was my definition of assessment. So I had gone through undergrad, and we took a class in assessment, and it was literally about the math of grades (laughs), and then I went through and started teaching and you have to keep a gradebook and so assessment for me was about grades, and I took this class when it was all about primary and early ed, and it was all about like 'what do they know' or 'what don't they know' or 'what can they already do' or 'how can you build on what they can already do to..' which is like (laughs) that's really what assessment should be, and so having that experience I think, has shaped the way I view assessment vs. just something that goes in the gradebook. Which is a no brainer I think to most	Teacher preparation or professional development	Teacher preparation or professional development Past teaching in a non-MC context

people, but it wasn't to me.		
Hillary: Do you ever think about yourself as a child when you're teaching now? If certain kids remind you of yourself or of your sister? Mrs. Carroll: I think every once in a while I do come across students who remind me of me, and it's kind of like you said about the students that are pretty quiet and like, you know, they're on the stronger maybe side of being students, but not to the point of, like, you know, they're just kind of doing their own thing, and they seem like they don't need you that much. So I think maybe I try to reach out and connect with those students because I think that you can sort of get overlooked a little bit if that's your personality. I also, I try to think about different ways of giving attention. Because not everybody wants public attention.	K12 student experience Personal identity Explicit link made by teacher between the experience and their relationships as a teacher	K12 student experience Personal identity Explicit link made by teacher between the experience and their relationships as a teacher
Hillary: Now you teach older kids than middle school, so maybe you could talk about how you adjusted going from middle school to this age and this context. Mrs. Carroll: It's not a typical high school. I think at first it was really hard for me to go from the group of students I was working with, so 7th and 8th grade students, and I was working exclusively with students reading below grade level, I taught 5 classes and 2 of the classes were what we called intensive ed, so those were classes where the students had severe and profound disabilities, a lot of whom had 1-1 aides, and I loved that, it was really meaningful work to me, but I was sort of used to working with that group of students. And so to go from that to teaching not just reading support but more so to teaching the critical thinking, where I'm teaching students who are reading above grade level, I'd never taught anybody reading above grade level before, and the curriculum was new, so that was hard.	Past teaching in a non-MC context	Past teaching in a non-MC context
So, you know, some things stand out to me. Talking in teacher ed about the—when I was going through teacher ed, that was just the beginning, I think the early days of really pushing the inclusion movement, with special needs kids in the regular classroom, so I feel like I remember some of that.	Teacher preparation or professional development	Teacher preparation or professional development
The other thing that really helped is actually after I	Past teaching in	Past teaching in

graduated undergrad and then my husband and I moved here to Michigan, as I was transferring my certificate to Michigan and looking for a job, I actually ended up subbing for the first year before I got a permanent teaching job, and that year subbing was... amazing too because I didn't really have to focus on grading anything or making lesson plans, so I just learned how to manage a classroom, like just the behavior management piece, which was super important, plus every classroom I subbed in, I was looking around, like how do you decorate, what things are up, you know, looking at the lessons and totally stealing their ideas. Hillary: You probably saw all the grades and all the subjects? Mrs. Ventura: I did, so that was, I would actually recommend that to people, to sub for a year, because you learn so much... without the stress.	a non-MC context	a non-MC context
Hillary: Ok, so it sounds like you decided to become a teacher when you were still really young? Mrs. Ventura: Ummmm, sort of. Yeah. I have stories—I always tell people I think deep inside I always knew I was meant to be a teacher because I would play school and I would force my brother to be my student and I'd give him homework, you know, all that stuff…	Personal past experience	Personal past experience
But then I went through a period of years, I was actually, like, a bit of an ill child, I had some medical issues, so then I went through a period of years where I was like, I want to be a pediatrician because I love my doctors, I want to be one of them, and I actually thought that was what was gonna happen until I hit my first semester of college. And then I realized, like, that's not who I am, you know, and I think the teaching piece was always with me in high school, when I was a member of sport teams or whatever, I tended to be a leader on those teams, even though I never thought I was. Like, other people would be like, 'Oh, she can be our leader,' and I was like—you know what I mean. So it was one of those things that I think was just innate that I didn't ever... focus in on until finally I was in college and was like, 'oh, this whole doctor thing is really not for me, I am meant to be a teacher.' And so I kind of made that official switch during my first	Personal past experience Quasi-teaching experience	Personal past experience Quasi-teaching experience Teacher preparation or professional development

semester of college.		
I think... I mean, really, the drive for me to come back here was in part to get credentialed so I could get the job in the Bahamas. It was my dream job and I got it and they were like, do you want to fly down here, and in one weekend, as I was graduating, I had to decide, am I going that route, or am I going, because I'd also gotten the job here, or am I gonna stay here.	Personal past experience	Personal past experience
But I think a little bit was personal. My brother was a student here at the time. That's kinda how I found out about the job opening. And he had been bullied mercilessly in his 9th grade year, I think maybe 9th and 10th, at a local sort of standard high school, and he came here, and I think it really saved him. He was able to be weird and to try things on and to be left alone in certain ways but cared for in other ways. And he thrived. He works now in... he's highly successful, in a field related to things he studied here... He's a pretty fulfilled guy. So seeing that a little bit, and then kind of interviewing here, it was like it would be nice to be a part of that.	Personal past experience Explicit link made by teacher between the experience and their relationships as a teacher	Personal past experience Explicit link made by teacher between the experience and their relationships as a teacher
And then I also found high school an absurd experience. And so being able to teach in a high school that was way less absurd, or maybe we aren't at all, was really interesting to me. Specifically the idea that if I didn't do homework but could do well on a math test because I had the skills, why would I be sent to the principal and given detention for showing I knew how to do the thing that was being taught to me but failing to comply with the rote exercises that, you know—and the problem was not that the school should've adjusted to me. I understand that we ask people to learn how to deal with an institution. But there was no advisor or person whose job it was, unless some teacher decided informally, to say, 'let's talk about how you've gotten to where you are, what your goals are..' My parents, neither of my parents went to college. I had no real vision for what I was supposed to do after I graduated. And so even though I was a pretty sharp kid... the large high school didn't really in any kind of comprehensive way care for, for me, or help me to make the most of the experience.	Personal past experience K12 student experience	Personal past experience K12 student experience

But I had some amazing teachers here and there that helped me to see—because I like learning, I really like learning, I really like school in the sense that it's a place where you can go and hang out and learn.	K12 student experience	K12 student experience
So the next question is about aspects of your identity that you think might play a role in your connections with students... so, gender, race, level of education, socioeconomic status now or growing up, sexuality, marital status, parent we just talked about, and religious or political beliefs... if any of those things influence your relationships. Mrs. Ventura: Yeah, I definitely think they do. You know, as a female, I think I'm able to relate to some of the problems my female students might experience more, you kind of understand what they're going through when they're... feeling emotional, so I definitely think that helps build relationships, that you can do that.	Personal identity Explicit link made by teacher between the experience and their relationships as a teacher	Personal identity Explicit link made by teacher between the experience and their relationships as a teacher
I definitely, you know, I'm not like forthcoming with my religious beliefs in the classroom, but definitely in a one-on-one meeting, if a student kind of shares their faith, you sometimes can relate on that level one-on-one.	Personal identity Explicit link made by teacher between the experience and their relationships as a teacher	Personal identity Explicit link made by teacher between the experience and their relationships as a teacher
Uh, race-wise, I'm super aware of that especially at my previous school that was probably 70% African-American population there and I was aware of the fact that I'm very white and some of my students might not relate as well, you know I'm a firm believer that sometimes some of the people we relate to are people we are similar to, so I kind of worried about that, but it tended to not be as big of an issue as I thought, that the students I found, as long as they know you care about them, they don't really care what you look like, but you know, I'm married to a minority and so I think that helps me to maybe be a little bit more sensitive to just like some race issues and things that minorities might face that I don't have to, so even though I haven't	Personal current experience Past teaching in a non-MC context Personal identity Explicit link made by teacher between the experience and their relationships as	Personal current experience Past teaching in a non-MC context Personal identity Explicit link made by teacher between the experience and their relationships as

gone through it myself, I'm close to it.	a teacher	a teacher
I think my skill to dismantle and understand friend situations are much better now. I think of it less in the context of my own experiences and more in terms of lots of different student experiences. I also did, I was a peer counselor in high school, and that was a really cool group and has helped me.	Quasi-teaching experience Teaching in the Lincoln context Explicit link made by teacher between the experience and their relationships as a teacher	Quasi-teaching experience Teaching in the Lincoln context Explicit link made by teacher between the experience and their relationships as a teacher
I think working with the Dean around some PD with you know, student, adolescent brain development has been helpful for emotional well-being. And then like... yeah.	Teacher preparation or professional development Teaching in the Lincoln context Explicit link made by teacher between the experience and their relationships as a teacher	Teacher preparation or professional development Teaching in the Lincoln context
I was talking to my mom about this and about how you asked about whether there were things from being a kid and whether that impacted how I am as a teacher. And I was like, I didn't have a good answer! I mean, for me, I think it would just be experiences in my past teaching lower-skilled readers, that's like the only thing I can think about.	Past teaching in a non-MC context Unsure or believe it to be innate	Past teaching in a non-MC context Unsure or believe it to be innate
Hillary: So, and this is the hardest part probably, but what past personal or professional experiences or relationships or training or anything do you think you draw on to connect with Hakim? Mrs. Carroll: Mmm... uh... I think the part of me that was a pretty—I was not nearly as smart as he is—but I was a pretty motivated student, so I get that part of him, I kinda get that drive even though I	K12 student experience Teaching in the Lincoln context Explicit link made by teacher	K12 student experience Explicit link made by teacher between the experience and their

wasn't as ambitious as I perceive him to be, but like I get that part of it, and I also remember feeling devastated over grades that I didn't feel were fair, or were surprised to have earned, so I get that sense of disappointment and how that feels, so much, and so personal. So I think I can relate a little bit on my own personal experience, and then I just think having advised other students who—he's also a little bit less initially like emotive as some of my other students are, and I think he's such a sweet, polite student that I think sometimes he's just being so polite that I feel like, it's fine, like you can let your hair down a little bit, it's gonna be ok, but like I've worked with students, I have a student right now who's graduating, who's a lot like that one particular sense, like also not super emotive, and that's totally fine, that's just who he is.	between the experience and their relationships as a teacher	relationships as a teacher
Agreement on 20 units of discussing experiences: 34/38 = 89%		

APPENDIX D

Evaluating Students' Perceptions of Relationships: Analytic Methods

To confirm that Lincoln was an ideal context for studying positive relationships between teachers and students, I analyzed how favorably students viewed their relationships with teachers there. The findings for this analysis are included in the Methods section, but the analytic approach is described here.

To determine how favorably Lincoln students viewed their relationships with teachers, I created a dataset focused on Lincoln students' discussions of their relationships with Lincoln teachers. Generally, these discussions resulted from Student Interview questions A1-4, 7-8, and B1-14, and I also included any other passages where a student told me about their relationship with a teacher. For this analysis, a unit consisted of one student discussing either one teacher in my study, another Lincoln teacher they referred to by name, or Lincoln teachers as a whole (e.g., "I have good connections with all of my teachers here").

I identified a total of 88 such units, 28 of which were about teachers in this study, 50 of which were about other specific Lincoln teachers, and 10 of which were about Lincoln teachers as a whole. To each unit, I assigned one of four possible evaluations of the relationship as the student described it: favorable, unfavorable, neutral/unclear, or mixed. Examples of each of the four valences are given in the codebook at Appendix 3. I assigned a valence of favorable if a student discussed their relationship with the teacher in positive terms (i.e., liking the teacher, having a good connection, enjoying the class). On the other hand, I assigned a valence of unfavorable if a student discussed their relationship with the teacher in negative terms (i.e., not liking the teacher, dreading the class, having conflicts with the teacher). In some cases, it was not possible to determine the valence because the student presented simple information without an indication of their opinion on the relationship; these were assigned the designation of neutral/unclear. In very few cases, a student expressed both favorable and unfavorable opinions of the same teacher, so those were designated as mixed. A colleague and I reached agreement on 19 out of 20 units (95%) that we jointly coded.

APPENDIX E

Prior Unpublished Research: Relatedness Between Students and Teachers: The Importance of Supporting and Knowing Students

Abstract

Using student perception surveys, classroom observation ratings, and student demographic and achievement data from the Gates Foundation Measures of Effective Teaching project, this study analyzes two aspects of student-teacher relatedness for young adolescents based on a sample of 63,976 unique 6th to 9th grade students and 1,632 unique teachers. Using student perception surveys, this study found that student-teacher relatedness consisted of distinct personal and academic elements; personal relatedness to teachers involved feeling known through a personal or emotional connection with a teacher, and academic relatedness to teachers involved feeling supported for the purpose of learning. On average, students felt less personally known than academically supported. Through multilevel regression analyses as well as structural equation modeling, this study finds that both aspects of relatedness positively influenced students' achievement outcomes as well as their self-perceived sense of well-being and academic success. Teaching practices measured by classroom observation instruments were modestly associated with how known and supported students felt. A main implication of this study is that supporting students toward their academic goals involves cultivating relationships with some amount of distinctly personal connection. A direction for future research is to continue examining the nature of student-teacher relatedness and what it means to feel known, and to identify teaching practices that help build these personal and academic connections.

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In adolescence, students naturally seek out connections with non-parental adults, including teachers, as models for their own growth (Midgley, Feldlaufer & Eccles, 1989). Research has shown, however, that middle and high school students feel less connected personally and emotionally to teachers than they would prefer. Instead, many adolescents describe their relationships with teachers as distant, impersonal, and uncaring (Eccles & Roeser, 2011; McHugh, Horner, Colditz & Wallace, 2012). In these studies, students perceive their interactions with teachers to be fleeting and shallow, with most teachers keeping students at a distance. Labeling these "role distances", Hargreaves (2001) has identified three such distances that exist between secondary students and their teachers: the sociocultural distance between teachers' and students' backgrounds, the professional distance of approaching students in a more clinical or business-like manner, and physical distance based on infrequent in-person contact with students and families. Thus, much research points to an important mismatch between the closer and more personal connections students want to have with their teachers and the more distant and impersonal interactions they do have.

Despite students desiring personal closeness with teachers, a personal connection between students and teachers is not the only one—and probably not the primary one—they share. Instead, the student-teacher relationship and its goals are primarily professional rather than personal for a number of reasons. In characterizing teaching as a "profession of human improvement," Cohen (1989) described the challenges involved for teachers working toward professional goals with great uncertainty to help students who are not always willing partners in their own success. In Cohen's depiction, the teacher has a professional responsibility to help her student improve, and although this might entail personal connections, it cannot stop there. Grossman, Compton, Shahan, Ronfeldt, Igra, and Shaing (2007) illustrated this point in their study about preparing teachers for relational practice: "In all helping professions, the purpose of the relationship is not merely an affective one; the point is not simply to generate good will so that everyone gets along. Rather, the practitioner cultivates the relationship in order to further the professional goals" (p. 111). Clearly, engaging in the work of improving other humans through teaching relies on professional relationships built through careful and very challenging professional practice. Less clear is the nature of the personal part of this connection and how it

functions alongside or in conjunction with the professional relationship students and teachers share.

Therefore, this study investigates the tension between the more professional or academic and the more personal or emotional dimensions of student-teacher relatedness. As described in more detail below (see conceptual framework), I conceptualize the personal part of student-teacher relatedness as consisting of teachers making students feel known on a personal level that is distinct from the professional connection and goals they share. By contrast, I conceptualize the professional or academic part of student-teacher relatedness as consisting of teachers providing students with support as learners in service of the professional goals they share. Given students' strong desire for more personal connections with their teachers, this study investigates what role feeling personally known by a teacher plays in achieving the professional goals that bring teachers and students together.

Background and Conceptual Framework

Motivation: Growing Attention to Relational and Emotional Aspects of Teaching

The relational aspects of teaching and learning are increasingly visible in recent research and policy. Sykes and Wilson's (2015) review and report about competencies for effective teaching emphasized three competencies regarding student-teacher relationships: "developing caring and respectful relationships with individual students, attending to and promoting student social and emotional needs and learning, and building positive classroom climate" (p. 3). The three competencies they propose are consistent with the direction of recent research and initiatives. First, there has been a growing emphasis on social-emotional learning and social-emotional competence through school-level interventions or adopted curricula (Durlak, Weissberg, Dymnicki, Taylor & Schellinger, 2011; Zins, Bloodworth, Weissberg & Walberg, 2007). Related, nine pilot districts in California have adopted social-emotional learning with early analyses suggesting links between students' social-emotional learning and their English Language Arts achievement (West, 2016). A growing number of states are officially adopting social-emotional learning objectives and are contemplating approaches to assessment despite measurement challenges (Blad, 2015; Duckworth, 2015). In line with the third competency Sykes and Wilson proposed, Hamre, Pianta et al. (2013), long focused on classroom climate in their

research, have identified Emotional Support as one of three main components of effective teaching in the widely used Teaching through Interactions rubric of classroom observation.

There are also recent examples of research in which students' emotional experiences in school are considered alongside their academic ones. Some of these studies have considered students' so-called "non-cognitive" or "non-tested" student outcomes, such as mindset, grit, and happiness. One study analyzed links between classroom practice and students' "non-tested outcomes." Blazar and Kraft (2015) found that teachers' interactions with students and their emotional support contributed to students' "non-tested outcomes" (happiness, grit, mindset, self-efficacy). Another study examined connections between school culture and students' "non-cognitive" self-perceptions. In a study of 8th graders in Boston, West, Kraft, Finn, Martin, Duckworth, Gabrieli & Gabrieli (2015) analyzed how students' "non-cognitive" perceptions of themselves changed as a result of being in a charter organization versus in a regular public school, so that students in the charter organization seemed to develop higher expectations for their own academic performance.

Despite researchers and practitioners paying increasing attention to the relational and emotional aspects of the lives of students in schools, less is known about the kinds of relationships teachers might cultivate with students and the ways those connections are formed. The purpose of this paper is to explore the concept of "relatedness" between students and teachers, and its role in teaching and learning. In the next four sections, I review literature on student-teacher relatedness—first, research on the substantively professional purposes and academic substance and goals of student-teacher relatedness; next, research on the substantively personal purposes and emotional substance and goals of student-teacher relatedness; and, finally, research that speaks to the importance of both aspects of relatedness being present for students. Drawing on the literature, I then offer my conceptual framework for what constitutes the personal and professional aspects of relatedness, as well as their relationship to one another. As part of this framework, I also define two key concepts for this study: knownness and support. I conclude with four research questions that guide this study.

Relatedness in the Service of Students' Academic Success

In this section, I summarize research that has viewed student-teacher relatedness as consistently associated with academic benefits for students. These studies illustrate how

valuable student-teacher relatedness can be to students' academic engagement, motivation, achievement, love of a subject area, and work habits.

First, a number of studies have focused on the academic benefits of student-teacher connections. Cornelius-White (2007) conducted a meta-analysis of studies in which relational teaching practices (e.g., "honoring students' voices, having learner-centered beliefs") positively predicted student behavior and achievement. Osterman (2000) found that students' sense of school belonging—feeling part of the school or connected to others there—was associated with students' attitude, motivation, engagement, achievement, and "psychological processes" – all critical to students' academic success (p. 327). In other studies, a stronger "teacher connection" led to higher math achievement (Gregory & Weinstein, 2004), and more positive emotional support (as measured by the CLASS instrument) predicted higher student engagement and, indirectly, student grades (Reyes, Brackett, Rivers, White & Salovey, 2012).

In addition to improving achievement, student-teacher relatedness has been shown to improve other important academic outcomes for students. At least two studies have found that positive relationships with teachers positively affected middle school students' love of a subject area (Eccles, Midgley, Wigfield, Buchanan, Reuman, Flanagan & MacIver, 1993; Midgley, Feldlaufer & Eccles, 1989). Finally, Ryan, Gheen & Midgley (1998) found that relationships could change important work habits for vulnerable students, including learning to ask for help. Even looking longitudinally, Hamre and Pianta (2001) found that kindergarteners with more positive student-teacher relationships had more positive behavioral and academic outcomes through all of elementary and middle school, and that students with behavior issues in kindergarten but with a positive student-teacher relationship outperformed their counterparts who lacked a positive relationship.

Although the studies described in this section establish positive links between student-teacher relatedness and academic success for students, their characterizations of the nature of student-teacher relatedness are somewhat broad. A contribution of the present study is to better articulate the nature of student-teacher relatedness and the affordances for students of having both an academic and a personal connection to teachers.

Relatedness Apart from Service to Academic Goals

This section focuses on literature in which student-teacher relatedness supports students' well-being and growth apart from their academic goals. These studies highlight the ways that student-teacher relatedness can positively influence students' development, identity formation, motivation, and well-being. In addition, the research reviewed in this section is more specific in describing the more personal or emotional nature of the student-teacher connections that can lead to these non-academic outcomes.

According to self-determination theory, healthy development and well-being in part depends on relatedness (Ryan and Deci, 2000). In the context of education, when students feel personally connected to a teacher, they are more likely to adopt some of the teacher's goals as their own, a key step toward becoming intrinsically or self-motivated, which promotes healthy development and well-being. Emotionally rooted student-teacher relatedness also contributes to adolescent students' identity formation. In a study of middle school students, Schwartz, Merten, and Bursik (1987) defined reciprocal or personal relationships between teachers and students as those in which teachers welcomed personal information about students, shared their own personal information with students, and recognized students as uniquely in the process of development and identity formation. By contrast, impersonal or non-reciprocal teachers prevented sharing of any personal information by students or teachers and neglected to acknowledge that student behavior (or misbehavior) was evidence of development and identity building. In their study, they found that more reciprocal and personal relationships between students and teachers helped affirm adolescents' emerging identities and sense of self-worth—and that having a more impersonal teacher made students feel negated. Similarly, Osterman (2000) found that students who did not feel related to teachers were more likely to experience serious emotional consequences, from loneliness to suicide.

Many studies have documented adolescents' desire to relate to their teachers on this personal level. In their own words, students have often described wanting to relate to their teachers as they would their friends or parents (Wentzel, 1997; Schussler & Collins, 2006). Schwartz, Merten, and Bursik's (1987) study of middle school teachers indicated that adolescents want to relate to teachers on a peer level because of the heightened awareness of social status that comes with development; they found that teachers who did relate to students in a friendship-type way made students feel most connected to them. By contrast,

students perceived teachers who eschewed this personal connection as impossible to connect with on any level—personal or academic; instead, students characterized such relationships as having "barriers" primarily because teachers made no effort to get to know them beyond their purely academic roles (McHugh et al., 2012).

A number of studies have also documented students' ideas of how teachers can cultivate a better personal connection with them. Importantly, these studies suggest that the personal connection goes beyond teachers simply being pleasant toward students but rather involves teachers making intentional efforts to show care in response to a need. In del Carmen Salazar's (2013) review, the first of ten principles and practices for a humanizing pedagogy is for educators to "actively inquire into students' identities inside and outside of school" (p. 138). McHugh et al.'s (2012) similar idea of "effortful engagement" involves teachers proactively learning about and from their students, including "gathering some degree of tricky emotion information," like discreetly understanding students' moods or emotional states day to day (p. 29). Related, in a study of urban adolescents, Ozer, Wolf, and Kong (2008) described specific "small overtures" teachers can make to show they care for their students on a personal level (p. 17). They elaborated one example worth quoting in full here to demonstrate these small but powerful overtures:

> [Grace] reported a particularly close relationship with her gym teacher who knew about her father's illness: 'A lot of kids are scared and threatened by him 'cause . . . he's always screaming at kids cutting in the gym. . . . I feel he's one of the few teachers that actually really do care about the school. . . . He would ask about my Dad. . . . If I was slipping in my classes,. . . he was saying,. . . 'You can use my class as a prep period to do homework.' Like most students who discussed a personal problem with a teacher, however, Grace did not initiate the discussion. *When asked how her teacher learned about her father's illness, she replied, 'I think he asked me why I was absent so much.'* (p. 23, emphasis added).

Therefore, this research, which often highlights students' narratives of their own experiences connecting personally with teachers, suggests that small but strategic care-based efforts by teachers can lead to the emotional connections that benefit students apart from academic success.

Personal and Academic Relatedness: Distinct but Connected

Though thus far this review has focused on the ways student-teacher relatedness contributes to different sets of experiences or successes for students, the literature typically recognizes that the personal and academic aspects of relatedness are not actually distinct. That is, studies tend to characterize student-teacher relatedness as based on neither an exclusively academic connection nor an exclusively personal connection. In fact, many of the above studies indicate that a balance of an academic and a personal relationship is optimal. One example underscores this point particularly well. In a study of Maori students in New Zealand, Bishop, Ladwig, and Berryman (2013) developed a theory of "whanaungatanga" or classroom (including student-teacher) connections resembling extended-family Maori relationships so that students could experience connections at school in the ways they were accustomed in their personal lives. Importantly, they found that developing whanaungatanga relationships alone was necessary but insufficient for helping Maori learners reach their fullest potential. They summarized students' feedback:

> They told us of the dangers of teachers who mistakenly thought that developing Whanaungatanga was enough. In these peoples' classrooms they felt patronized, belittled, and left adrift. Similarly, teachers who used what might be termed 'constructivist/constructionist, student-centered' pedagogies without locating and predicating these approaches on/within a culturally responsive and relational context failed to engage them effectively in learning because they did not know how to connect to Maori students (p. 209).

This study of Maori classrooms demonstrates that teachers who endeavor to connect both academically and personally with their students provide a richer and more complete sense of relatedness adolescent students desire and benefit from.

Conceptualizing Personal and Professional Aspects of Student-Teacher Relatedness

Drawing on the literature described above, in this section I introduce the conceptual framework that guides my analysis. As the literature suggests, the personal and academic aspects of relatedness are closely tied to one another, with elements of both apparent even in momentary interactions between teachers and students. I separate them out in this analysis in order to examine the specific role of personal relatedness through teachers making students feel personally known. A diagram showing my conceptual framework of

student-teacher relatedness and its professional and personal components is pictured at Figure 1. Note that throughout this paper, I refer to "professional" aspects of relatedness as "academic" ones.

As Figure 1 shows, student-teacher relatedness involves both an academic and a personal connection. On the academic side, teachers and students relate to each other in the roles of teacher and learner; through this connection, a teacher provides academic support to help a student experience their shared goal of academic success; this connection is an extension of the teacher's professional responsibility to help her students improve. On the personal side, teachers and students relate to each other as personal individuals, with the connection being a site through which teachers care for students and attend to their well-being through knowing them personally. In the richest experience of my conceptualization of student-teacher relatedness, students experience both aspects of relatedness in their connections with teachers. An important quality of relatedness in this conceptualization is that it is support and knownness as perceived by students; in this study, as I describe in more detail in subsequent sections, I employ measures of students' perceptions of the relatedness their teachers have cultivated with them.

An illustrative example. In this conceptualization, what makes academic and personal relatedness distinct are their different purposes and emphases. The important distinction is that the purpose of the professional connection is to support the student's learning and academic success; the purpose of the personal connection is to care for the student and their well-being. The emphasis in the professional connection is on the student as a learner; the emphasis in the personal connection is on the student as a person. In this conceptualization, teachers sometimes connect with students for a focally academic purpose. Through their academic connection, they share professional goals; the teacher's professional work of teaching *is* the student's professional work of learning. For example, a teacher draws on and builds a connection with a student while coaching him as he revises an essay; they are connecting through this process, with their dialogue focused on improving the essay and providing the skills needed to learn from that process. In that example, the goal is to improve the essay and acquire some more writing skills, and the focus is on developing the writer.

By contrast, sometimes students and teachers connect in a primarily emotional way; in those connections, their relatedness is expressed through teachers caring for and knowing students as people outside of their learning. In the above example of the student and teacher working together to revise the student's essay, the teacher could come to know the student more deeply by asking why the student seems to feel so apprehensive about the revision process; doing so might have shifted the dialogue away from the content of the essay to the student's emotional state. The teacher might then listen to the student describe the pressure he feels from his parents to perform as well as his older sister, an important piece of information that the teacher could then use to provide whatever care and encouragement he might need generally. In that example, the goal shifts from helping revise the essay to understanding the student's other, emotional experience, and the focus shifts from talking about the essay to talking about the student himself. Certainly, such an emotional relationship likely helps the academic goals, and the academic relationship likely enables personal growth; this study considers what makes those personal and academic connections both distinct and interwoven.

Support. In the above example, the teacher interacting with the student to revise an essay illustrates student-teacher relatedness in the service of the professional goals that bring teachers and students together, in this case, teaching a developing writer. This aspect of relatedness comes from Hawkins's (1974) seminal argument that there is a third entity always present in a student-teacher relationship: subject-specific learning. In revising the essay together, a teacher and student are connecting with each other because of the presence of the essay and the learning of writing; the teacher-student part of this triangular relationship with content entails dialogue and support around learning.

Hawkins argued that it was this additional learning piece that made a student-teacher relationship necessarily different from another child-adult relationship, which he argued changed the nature of the relationship from one based on purely interpersonal affection to one based on respect for the learner. Importantly, he also acknowledged that the student-teacher relationship is still partly personal, but not *essentially* so: "I don't want to deny a very important element of affection for children in the make-up of good teachers, but the essence of the relationship is not that. It is a personal relationship, but it's not that

kind of personal relationship" (p. 50). Conceptualizing the affective connection as being in service of the professional goals echoes the idea expressed by Grossman et al. (2007).

Knownness. In the above example, the teacher learning about the student's personal insecurities during the revision process illustrates a concept I am calling *knownness*. I define knownness as the perception by a student that his or her teacher seeks, learns, remembers, and then applies accurate and individualized personal information that is salient to know about that particular student; such information could span aspects of a student's personal, social, emotional, academic, and cultural self and development and would vary by student. Some information would be what a student wants the teacher to know, such as her interests or goals. Other information might include qualities the student does not yet understand herself but that the teacher could still understand (i.e., a 1st grader might not understand his parents' divorce, but a teacher could use knowledge of that event to interpret the student's day to day well-being, engagement, etc.). It is up to the student to decide how known she or he feels; just as Noddings (2012) characterizes teachers' care as two-directional in that it needs to be received by the student, teachers' efforts to know a student depend on the student feeling known. In this way, although knownness is the student's perception, it can also approximate a teacher's effort at relatedness; knownness reflects the parts of the teachers' efforts at knowing the student that actually registered with the student.

In addition to being associated with important outcomes of student success, I conceptualize feeling known by teachers as important in and of itself. As Paley (1986) wrote, "Children who know others are listening may begin to listen to themselves" (p. 127), an idea that closely echoes Noddings's (2012) belief that being cared for by teachers in turn teaches students to care and how to care. In other words, knowing students teaches them they are worth knowing, and also teaches them that getting to know other people is part of being a connected family member, friend, student, professional, citizen, and more.

Summary and Research Questions

As professionals engaged in the complex work of human improvement, teachers must fulfill professional responsibilities to help students experience academic success; but this work also entails connecting to those humans. Supporting students as learners and knowing them as people represent two kinds of relatedness teachers cultivate with

students, each with a slightly different focus, purpose, and role for the student and teacher. To investigate the personal and professional elements of student-teacher relatedness, this study draws on the Measures of Effective Teaching (MET) data which includes extensive survey-based information about how students experienced classrooms and their relationships with teachers in 2,500 classrooms across six districts. The following research questions guide this study:

1. How known and supported do students feel? When students feel supported, do they also feel known?
2. What explains how known or supported students feel? Do students from particular backgrounds feel better known or supported? Do students who experience particular teaching practices feel better known or supported?
3. How does feeling known or supported benefit students? Does feeling known or supported predict students' actual achievement or their self-perceived academic success and well-being?
4. Does a structural equation modeling approach support conceptualizing academic and personal relatedness as distinct? What do results from this modeling approach suggest about the roles of feeling known and feeling supported by teachers?

Method

Data

This study relies on data from the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation's Measures of Effective Teaching Project ("MET Project"). During school years 2009-2010 and 2010-2011, the MET Project collected data relating to classroom teaching in over 2,500 4th-9th grade classrooms in six large United States school districts: Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools, North Carolina; Dallas Independent School District, Texas; Denver Public Schools, Colorado; Hillsborough County Public Schools, Florida; Memphis City Schools, Tennessee; and New York City Department of Education.

This study draws on three different core data files from the MET archives. Specifically, I constructed a data file linking a core student file containing student demographic, survey, and achievement data to a core teacher file containing teacher demographic data; from there, I linked a section-level file containing classroom observation

ratings for each section that a student and teacher were in together. The data for these analyses have been structured so that each observation represents a unique student-teacher pair in a particular section for one of two subjects, either English Language Arts ("ELA") or Mathematics. Therefore, student-teacher pairs can appear in the analytic dataset multiple times (i.e., if the same student-teacher pair were together for ELA and Mathematics). This choice is consistent with conceptualizing teaching and learning as a triangular relationship involving a student, a teacher, and a content area (Hawkins, 1974).

Student perception surveys. At the core of this study is information provided by students about the teaching they experienced in their classrooms. Students responded to surveys with a particular teacher from a particular class in mind (e.g., Ms. Smith, 8th grade ELA); each observation in this analysis consists of students' survey responses about one teacher linked to information (e.g., observation scores, demographic data) about that teacher only. MET student perception surveys included 36 items from the Tripod 7Cs, which measure seven dimensions of teaching: Care, Control, Clarify, Challenge, Captivate, Confer, and Consolidate (Ferguson, 2010). Student surveys also included several scales added by MET researchers, including but not limited to questions about academic success, happiness, test preparation, and grit. Student survey response options were on a 5-point Likert-type scale, from Totally Untrue to Totally True; some questions were reverse coded.

Classroom observation scores. Teachers involved in the MET Project made videos of their classroom instruction available as part of their participation. These videos were in turn scored by trained raters using several classroom observation rubrics. This study includes observation scores using four protocols: Classroom Assessment Scoring System (CLASS), Framework for Teaching (FFT), Protocol for Language Arts Teaching Observation (PLATO), and Mathematical Quality of Instruction (MQI). CLASS and FFT are not subject-specific and encompass dimensions of instructional quality along with classroom environment or emotional support; they are generic and designed to be used with any subject. PLATO and MQI are specific-specific to ELA and Mathematics, respectively—though PLATO also includes elements pertaining to classroom environment. Teachers in this study's sample were considered specialist teachers since they taught one subject to multiple sections of students. Year One participants had two sections of students in the MET project and submitted two videos of each section to the project based on two separate

days of instruction. Year Two participants had one section of students in the MET project and submitted four videos of that section to the project from four separate days of instruction. In both years, each video was scored by raters on both the CLASS and the FFT rubrics since they are not subject-specific, as well as either the PLATO or the MQI rubric depending on which subject was being taught.

Student achievement data. The MET data also include information about students' current and prior achievement on state assessments math, reading, writing, and science, as well as MET-administered assessments (the Balanced Assessment in Mathematics and the Stanford Achievement Test). In this study, I use the current and prior year state assessment data for math and reading. In the full MET sample, 93% of students had state test scores available for the year they were part of the project, and about 78% of students had available state test scores for the prior year. The MET project converted all student achievement scores to rank-based z-scores, ranking state achievement scores within district, subject, and grade.

Student and teacher demographic information. The MET data also include information about student background, including but not limited to gender, race/ethnicity, free or reduced lunch status, special education status, English Language Learner status, age, and grade level. In addition, the data include information about teachers' racial background and years of teaching experience. This study drew on information about teachers' racial backgrounds.

Sample

For the purposes of this study, the sample has been restricted in a few ways. This study draws on students in 6th-9th grade who completed the secondary version of the survey. First, I only include 6th-9th grade students in the analytic sample because both the Student Perception Survey and the CLASS instrument differ for 4th-5th graders. Since my substantive focus is on early adolescent students and because of these variations in the surveys and observation instruments, I exclude 4th-5th graders. The sample is also restricted to students responding to the survey about either their ELA or their Math classes. While this decision resulted in eliminating 9th grade Biology respondents from the sample, focusing on specifically ELA and Math respondents aligned with the decision to focus on ELA and Math achievement gains in later parts of the analysis.

A substantial number of students did not take a Student Perception Survey. Surveys were administered to all consenting and present students in participating MET teachers' classes. For this study, surveys were completed by 63,976 students, and they were not completed by 30,092 students. Since student survey responses are central to this study, observations involving students without any survey data were excluded from the analytic sample. More detail on those students is provided below, and this is addressed as a limitation of the study. Once the above constraints were applied to the sample, the final analytic sample included 70,873 unique student-by-teacher-by-subject observations, which included 63,976 unique students. A subgroup of 30,092 students was dropped due to missing student surveys.

Analytic sample of students*.* In all, the analytic sample consisted of 63,976 unique students. Table 1 (left) provides descriptive information about students in the analytic sample. About 26% of the analytic sample consisted of students in 9th grade, with another 22.6% in 8th grade, 24% in 7th grade, and 27.4% in 6th grade. The sample consisted of 46.7% of students responding about their Math teachers and 53.3% of students responding about their ELA teachers. Students in the analytic sample were evenly split in terms of gender. Hispanic students made up 33.6% of the analytic sample (21,361 students), Black students made up another 30.7% (19,527), and White students another 25.7% (16,374). Over half (60.4%) of students in the analytic sample qualified for free or reduced price lunch. About 8,000 students (12.6%) were identified as English Language Learners, and 4,170 (6.6%) were special education students.

Students missing surveys*.* There were significant differences between students who completed surveys and those who did not. Table 1 (right) shows descriptive information about the students who did not complete surveys and thus were dropped; chi-square analyses showed significant differences between students in the analytic sample and students who were dropped due to not completing a survey. Overall, students who completed surveys were disproportionately more Female, White, and Asian than the students who did not respond to a survey. Students who did not complete surveys were disproportionately more likely to be Male, Black or Hispanic, low-income, and receiving special education services. Additionally, students who responded to surveys came disproportionately from younger grades.

Teachers. Table 1 also summarizes information about the analytic sample of 1,632 unique teachers. This sample was predominantly White (60.8%). About one-third of teachers in the analytic sample were Black (32.5%) and 6.7% of teachers identified as Hispanic. While 1.8% of teachers (20 teachers total) in the analytic sample were first-year teachers during their MET participation year, 81.7% of teachers in the analytic sample had five or more years of teaching experience. A teacher was included in the final analytic sample as long as she was linked to at least one student who completed a survey; if all students linked to a teacher did not complete a survey, that teacher would not be included in the final analytic sample. There were no significant differences in available teacher characteristics between those teachers who were included in the final analytic sample and those who were not included.

Measures

Student perception factors. This study involved two stages of analyses: multilevel regression modeling followed by structural equation modeling. For the first stage, exploratory factor analyses of student perception items yielded student perception measures for use in the multilevel models. Those measures, in turn, guided decisions about what constructs to specify in the confirmatory factor analysis of the structural equation modeling stage. A number of considerations went into the creation of two student perception constructs—support and knownness—at the multilevel modeling stage. These two student perception constructs reflected the conceptualization above (see review of literature and conceptual framing) that relatedness can take a more primarily academic (support) and a more primarily personal (knownness) form.

Arriving at the constructs of knownness and support involved first identifying survey items that captured a sense of student-teacher relatedness at all and then employing factor analysis to examine whether the two conceptualized types of relatedness held. For example, I eliminated questions about the amount of test preparation students had experienced in their classes or about their teachers' ability to manage classroom behavior. I kept questions that stated or implied a student-teacher connection or interaction. With a set of items potentially responsive to student-teacher relatedness, I conducted exploratory factor analyses.

For use in the multilevel regression modeling stage, exploratory factor analyses yielded four student perception factors. The final set of items and measures are shown in Table 2. In this final set, two student perception measures—support and knownness—involved students' responses about how their teachers made them feel through their interactions, in this case making students feel either academically supported or personally known. The other two student perception measures —academic success and well-being—represented students' perceptions of their own experiences in class. Perceived academic success encompasses students' perceptions of working hard and feeling good about their work in the class. Perceived well-being items reflect students' emotional states in class. In this study, students' perceptions of academic success and well-being were used mostly as outcomes along with students' academic achievement.

On the whole, knownness items focused on emotional connection and care, while support items stated or implied a connection not only between teachers and students but also to learning. In factor analyses, two items loaded more strongly onto the support construct than onto the knownness construct, despite appearing to represent more personal than academic aspects of relatedness ("My teacher in this class makes me feel that s/he really cares about me" and "My teacher really tries to understand how students feel about things"). Deciding to include these two items in the construct of support stemmed from the factor loadings and also made sense conceptually. Including these two items in the support construct reflects the complexity of the support construct, which is primarily but not exclusively academic. As explained in the review, providing students with support encompasses a personal element as well, which could explain why these two items loaded with other items focused on academic support.

Between-factor correlations (Table 2, bottom) show that knownness and support are highly correlated (0.7069) but still distinct. Part of my conceptualization is that feeling known and well are closely linked personal aspects of relatedness, and that feeling supported and successful are closely linked academic aspects of relatedness. Correlations among these measures show that feeling known and well were moderately correlated (0.3664) and feeling supported and successful were more strongly correlated (0.6631).

Creating the four student perception constructs described could be seen as unnecessary since the Student Perception Survey already contained a number of pre-

existing scales, including the Tripod 7C's and the subscales the MET Project added (e.g., happiness in class). Although using existing constructs from these scales was an option, researchers have also expressed concern that the 7Cs are highly correlated to one another and present issues with collinearity in analysis (Raudenbush and Jean, 2015). In a study that analyzed several potential underlying factor structures in the MET Student Perception Survey data, Wallace, Kelcey, and Ruzek (2016) found no support for the existence of seven distinct Tripod structures in their sample; in fact, they argued that there is a general survey response construct encompassing all items unidimensionally. In addition to these considerations regarding the Tripod scale, my research questions seek specific information about relatedness that cut across different scales in the Student Perception Survey.

Additional measures. Since this investigation is based on a conceptualization of student-teacher relatedness involving two parts—knownness and support—I created additional measures to capture the "total" relatedness students experienced. First, I created binary versions of knownness and support by splitting each into two subgroups, cut at the median: top-50% and bottom-50%. Using those binary versions, I created a 2x2 measure of knownness and support, which categorized students into four groups based on whether they fell into the top-50% of support only, knownness only, both, or neither. If students fell into the top-50% on both constructs, they could be considered overall more highly related to teachers. Conversely, if students fell into the bottom-50% on both constructs, they might be considered overall more weakly related to their teachers. Students with top-50% of either support or knownness but not both could be described as partially related to teachers.

Classroom observation scores. Teachers submitted four videos to the MET project. In Year One, the four videos came from two sections of students over two separate days of instruction; in Year Two, the four videos came from one section of students over four separate days of instruction. This study draws on observation scores using four protocols: Classroom Assessment Scoring System (CLASS), Framework for Teaching (FFT), Protocol for Language Arts Teaching Observation (PLATO), and Mathematical Quality of Instruction (MQI). CLASS and FFT are generic protocols that can be used across subject matter; PLATO and MQI are subject-specific for ELA and Mathematics, respectively.

Table 3 (right) shows available dimensions for MET observation scores. FFT includes four total domains of teaching: Planning and Preparation, Classroom Environment, Instruction, and Professional Responsibility. The MET project scored videos based on two domains: Classroom Environment and Instruction. CLASS includes three main domains of practice: Emotional Support, Classroom Organization, and Instructional Support, all three of which were scored for the MET project. PLATO includes dimensions relating to the teaching of ELA (e.g., "explicit strategy instruction," "representation of content") and also to classroom environment (e.g., "behavior management," "time management"). MQI includes dimensions relating to the teaching of Math (e.g., "richness of the mathematics," "working with students and mathematics").

Since classroom observation scores in the MET project were based on third-party raters' scoring of video data, not all domain or dimension information was available for all four observation instruments in this study. For example, the Professional Responsibilities domain of FFT was not scored using MET data because it would be difficult to assess teachers' professionalism by watching videos of their instruction. For this study, I used all dimension scores that were available, standardized them, and then averaged them into domain-level scores, as I explain in more detail below. Table 3 (left) details the domains of teaching practice into which the dimensions were classified for this study. For FFT and CLASS, I grouped available dimensions into domains consistent with how the instruments are used in practice. For example, my FFT classroom environment measure drew on the four dimensions available in MET that FFT classifies as Classroom Environment (creating an environment of respect and rapport, establishing a culture for learning, managing classroom procedures, and managing student behavior). The fifth dimension that FFT would include with Classroom Environment (organizing physical space) was not available in MET as it is one that could not be gleaned with video data. Only some dimensions for PLATO and MQI were available, and they did not constitute complete domains in the ways FFT and CLASS did. To be consistent with FFT and CLASS, I grouped the available PLATO dimensions into either an instruction-related or an environment-related domain. MQI's dimensions were all purely instruction-related and thus were used to create one measure of MQI instructional practice.

Though imperfect, the domains in this study have been designed for this research and are not completely representative of the ways these instruments might be used in practice or if all dimensions were available in the MET data for each instrument. As a check, I used factor analysis to investigate whether the domains I created for this study would hold together. The PLATO and MQI domains did hold together; the FFT and CLASS domains generally held together, though some cross-loading was evident (e.g., the FFT culture dimension cross-loaded onto the Environment and Instruction domains). Given that I had built the FFT and CLASS domains based on how the instruments were designed, I proceeded despite some evidence of cross-loading.

Student achievement. Students' state assessment data for reading and math were available for the years during and prior to the MET project. I used students' current-year state assessment data as their current achievement, and also drew on their prior-year state assessment data as a control in all models where achievement was an outcome. For structural equation models, I calculated difference scores between the current- and prior-year achievement and included these gains in achievement in structural models as outcomes. Given the variety of reading and math assessments across states and districts who participated, the MET project converted all state assessment scores to rank-based z-scores within district, subject, and grade.

Student and teacher information. Student information drawn upon in this study included race; gender; free or reduced price lunch, special education, and English Language Learner ("ELL") status; and grade level. Available teacher information was more limited; I drew upon information regarding race. I also created measures reflecting student-teacher race matching or mismatching for Black, Hispanic, and White students and teachers (no other race group data were available for teachers). On the student-teacher race match variables, students from races for which no teacher race information was available (e.g., Asian students) were coded as mismatching if their teacher was Black, Hispanic, or White, and as missing if their teacher's race was missing.

Methods of Analysis

Research Question 1: How known and supported do students feel? When students feel supported, do they also feel known?

To understand how supported and how known students felt, I began with descriptive data on students' survey responses, specifically students' average responses on items comprising the support and knownness measures. Since it appeared that average responses on knownness items were lower than average responses on support items, I used a one-sample t-test to test whether the mean response across knownness items was significantly different from the mean response across support items. Next, to analyze the relationship between knownness and support, I began with a simple correlation between the two measures. I also created a new variable, described above, to classify students as top-50% of both knownness and support, bottom-50% of both, top-50% of knownness only, or top-50% of support only. I used a chi-square test on the set of top-50% and bottom-50% subgroups to evaluate whether the distribution was significantly different from expected values.

Research Question 2: What explains how known or supported students feel? Do students from particular backgrounds feel better known or supported? Do students who experience particular teaching practices feel better known or supported?

Given the nested nature of students, class sections, teachers, and schools in this study, it is probable that students in the same sections or with the same teachers or in the same schools would have experiences that were not independent from one another. Therefore, to answer Research Question 2, I used 4-level hierarchical linear models with students at level 1, class sections at level 2, teachers at level 3, and schools at level 4. Intraclass correlations suggested that 2.96% of the variation in the focal student perception of feeling known was at the school level (level 4), 16.64% was at the teacher level (level 3), and 20.05% was at the section level (level 2).[24] Of 63,976 students in the analytic sample, 68% were Year One MET participants; recalling from above that Year One participating teachers submitted four videos of teaching based on two sections of students, the majority of students in the analytic sample had a teacher with two different sections of students, further supporting the decision to include a section level in models.

[24] I also examined results from all models answering Research Questions 2 and 3 using 3-level hierarchical linear models where students were nested in teachers who were nested in schools (thus omitting the section level included in the 4-level models). Results were mostly similar between 3- and 4-level models. However, I decided to use 4-level models because intra-class correlations suggested that there was significant variation at all levels included in the 4-level model.

Thus, all models used to answer Research Questions 2 and 3 specified these four levels. In the first analysis for Research Question 2, I modeled perceived knownness as an outcome predicted by a set of student background characteristics (grade, subject, gender, race, free or reduced lunch status, special education status, and English Language Learner status). The general form of the model used to answer this part of Research Question 2 is given in Equation 1:

$$Knownness_{ijkl} = \gamma_{0000} + \gamma_{1000}\boldsymbol{S} + v_{000l} + u_{00kl} + r_{0jkl} + e_{ijkl} \text{ (Equation 1)}$$

where the outcome of knownness for student *i* in section *j* with teacher *k* in school *l* is a function of an intercept (γ_{0000}), a vector of student background predictors described above ($\boldsymbol{S}$), a school-level random effect v_{000l}, a teacher-level random effect u_{00kl}, a section-level random effect r_{0jkl}, and a student-level residual e_{ijkl}. Using the same model, I replaced the outcome of knownness with the outcome of perceived support.

To answer the next part of Research Question 2, I modeled perceived knownness as a function of the domains of teaching practice based on each rubric of classroom instruction (e.g., FFT, CLASS, PLATO, MQI). The general form of the model used to answer this part of Research Question 2 is given in Equation 2:

$$Knownness_{ijkl} = \gamma_{0000} + \gamma_{1000}Rubric + v_{000l} + u_{00kl} + r_{0jkl} + e_{ijkl} \text{ (Equation 2)}$$

where the outcome of knownness for student *i* in section *j* with teacher *k* in school *l* is a function of an intercept (γ_{0000}), a section-level vector of teaching practices on one rubric of classroom observation (*Rubric*) (i.e., the two FFT domains in one model, the three CLASS domains in another model, and the two PLATO domains in a third model), a school-level random effect v_{000l}, a teacher-level random effect u_{00kl}, a section-level random effect r_{0jkl}, and a student-level residual e_{ijkl}. In separate models, I also modeled each domain of teaching practice as an independent predictor. Using the same model, I replaced the outcome of knownness with the outcome of perceived support. In additional models that are not shown, I included the group of student background characteristics described above as covariates; results were nearly the same, so those models are not reported.[25]

[25] In models for Research Question 2 and 3, results were nearly identical with or without controls for student background characteristics. I chose to report results of models without student background characteristics since adjusting for those background characteristics did not seem necessary given the very similar results.

Lastly, to investigate the associations between teaching practices and feelings of knownness and support in a slightly different way, I used logistic regression with a binary outcome of being in the top-50% of both knownness and support versus not. Like the others, the logistic regression models were modeled in four levels and involved teaching domains as independent predictors in some models and as a group of predictors in others.

Research Question 3: How does feeling known or supported benefit students? Does feeling known or supported predict students' actual achievement or their self-perceived academic success and well-being?

In the first analysis of Research Question 3, I modeled current year achievement on a state assessment (reading or math) as a function of knownness and support. In Equation 3, below, I describe the general model where knownness and support together predicted current year achievement; in other specifications, the other versions of knownness and support (e.g., subgroup dummies, interactions) would be substituted for the Knownness and Support terms given in the equation. The general form of the model used to answer Research Question 3 is given in Equation 3:

$$CurrentAchvt_{ijkl} = \gamma_{0000} + \gamma_{1000}Knownness_{ijkl} + \gamma_{2000}Support_{ijkl} + \gamma_{3000}PriorAchvt_{ijkl} + v_{000l} + u_{00kl} + r_{0jkl} + e_{ijkl} \quad (Equation\ 3)$$

where the outcome of current year achievement in reading or math for student *i* in section *j* with teacher *k* in school *l* is a function of an intercept (γ_{0000}), perceived knownness ($Knownness_{ijkl}$), perceived support ($Support_{ijkl}$), a control for prior year achievement ($PriorAchvt_{ijkl}$), a school-level random effect v_{000l}, a teacher-level random effect u_{00kl}, a section-level random effect r_{0jkl}, and a student-level residual e_{ijkl}. Altogether, I used several different versions of knownness and support as predictors, including as continuous measures (together as represented in Equation 3 and independently), as 2x2 subgroup dummies (top-50% or bottom-50% knownness and support) with the top-50% of both knownness and support as the reference group, and with an interaction between mean-centered knownness and high/low support. I used the same model for the outcomes of students' perceived academic success and well-being (measures detailed at Table 4), removing prior year achievement from those models. I also included student background covariates in some models; Findings were very similar and are not shown here.

Research Question 4: Does a structural equation modeling approach support conceptualizing academic and personal relatedness as distinct? What do Findings from this modeling approach suggest about the roles of feeling known and feeling supported by teachers?

The first parts of this analysis used individual regression analyses to investigate relationships between sets of constructs one pair at a time (e.g., teaching practices and perceptions; perceptions and achievement). To evaluate all relationships at once in the last part of the analysis, I used structural equation modeling ("SEM"). I provide methodological detail about the SEM approach below in conjunction with the Findings of the analyses answering Research Question 4. As an overview, SEM begins with a measurement model that establishes construct validity, and it continues with a structural model that assesses relationships among all constructs at once (Kline, 2005). Through SEM, I could build a measurement model to assess how well survey items fit the hypothesized latent constructs of feeling known, supported, successful, and well. By including the measurement model in the structural model, I could be more confident in my estimation of the relationships among constructs, having accounted for measurement error. In addition, I used a Multiple Causes Multiple Indicators ("MIMIC") model at the measurement stage to determine which student background covariates should be included in the final structural models due to actual mean differences on constructs or differences in how students responded to particular items on average. Throughout, I build alternative models alongside the hypothesized models to strengthen the conclusions and rule out alternative explanations for the data.

Findings

Research Question 1: How known and supported do students feel? When students feel supported, do they also feel known?

On average, students felt less known in comparison to how supported, academically successful, and emotionally well they felt in their classes. As detailed below, the majority of students felt either relatively well known *and* well supported or relatively less well known *and* less well supported, suggesting that knownness and support were experienced as a sort of "package deal."

On average, students felt less well known than supported, successful, or well in class. Table 4 (top) shows that students' mean responses to the three questions comprising the construct of knownness were generally lower than mean responses to questions about support. On average, student responses to questions about feeling known were closer to the third response option out of five, which would suggest they feel "Somewhat" known on average. Meanwhile, student responses to the questions about feeling supported were closer to the fourth response option, suggesting they felt "Mostly" known on average. I also calculated each student's average response across items on each measure so that I could compare overall averages across measures. Using a one-sample t-test, I verified that the mean response across all support items (3.79) and the mean response across all knownness items (3.17) were significantly different ($p<0.001$).

Table 4 also shows students' perceptions of their own academic success and well-being. On average, students endorsed statements about their academic success as falling between "Somewhat" and "Mostly True." Questions about their well-being were phrased in the negative (e.g., stressed, angry, and nervous in class), and on average, they reported these feelings as the second response option: "Mostly Untrue." Therefore, of the four student perceptions of knownness, support, academic success, and well-being, students' perceptions of knownness, on average, were the weakest.

Seeing lower average perceptions of feeling known raised the question of whether students who felt less known also tended to feel less supported, or if alternatively some students felt better supported while *different* students felt better known. A 0.7069 correlation between the knownness construct and support construct suggested that perhaps feeling more known usually did mean also feeling more supported. To investigate this further, I created a measure where students were classified into four possible subgroups: (a) top 50% on both support and knownness, (b) top 50% on support but bottom 50% on knownness, (c) bottom 50% on support but top 50% on knownness, and (d) bottom 50% on both support and knownness. Table 5 shows the distributions of students in these four subgroups. Nearly 80% of students reported that they experienced support and knownness as a sort of "package deal"—either reporting top-50% levels of both or bottom-50% levels of both. About 23% of students experienced top-50% on one construct and bottom-50% on the other. As a further investigation, a chi-square test of the

relationship between high and low support and high and low knownness suggested that this was an uneven distribution (χ^2=0.0001, p<0.001). Taken altogether, this suggests that for most students, support and knownness might coexist: jointly more present or jointly more absent from students' experiences. At the same time, a nontrivial number of students thought they experienced knownness without support, or support without knownness, which underscores that the two constructs are in fact distinct facets of students' connections with their teachers.

Research Question 2: What explains how known or supported students feel? Do students from particular backgrounds feel better known or supported? Do students who experience particular teaching practices feel better known or supported?

Overall, some groups of students felt significantly better known than their counterparts, including younger students (6th and 7th grade vs. 8th and 9th grade), ELL students, and students responding about their ELA teachers (compared to students responding about Math teachers). The same general trends were evident for feelings of support, with females also feeling better supported compared to males. All in all, better performance on most teaching practices helped students feel better known and supported.

Table 6 shows Findings from multilevel regression models where aspects of students' backgrounds predicted their perceptions of knownness and support. In these models, all predictors were entered as a set to predict feeling known or feeling supported; relationships were similar when predictors were modeled independently. Findings suggested that older students felt significantly less supported and less known by their teachers compared to students in earlier grades. Compared to 6th graders, students from each grade level felt *increasingly less* well known with each grade level: 7th graders by 19% of a standard deviation, 8th graders by 26% of a standard deviation, and 9th graders by 27% of a standard deviation. On average, older students also felt less supported at each additional grade level. Subject matter mattered to students' perceptions of knownness and support, with students responding to surveys about their ELA teachers reporting significantly stronger feelings of support and knownness compared to students responding about their Math teachers. On a positive note, special education and ELL students felt significantly better known compared to general education students.

Students' gender and racial backgrounds also played a role in how known and supported they felt. Boys felt significantly less supported than girls, though there was no gender-based difference in knownness. Compared to Black students, White, Hispanic, and Other race students felt significantly less known and supported; there was no significant difference in how well known or supported Asian and Native American students felt compared to Black students. [26] Lastly, there appeared to be no relationship between socioeconomic status and feeling known or supported. Although knownness and support are the central focus in these analyses, I also explored the relationships between students' background characteristics and their feelings of academic success and well-being in models that are not shown. Notably, students who qualified for free and reduced price lunch, received special education services, were English language learners, and/or were boys all reported significantly lower well-being than their peers.

Next, these analyses investigated whether having a teacher with stronger teaching practice in any of the FFT, CLASS, PLATO, and MQI domains of instruction was associated with feeling better known or supported (Table 7, left). When domains were modeled independently, students consistently felt better known and supported when teachers performed more strongly on the generic rubrics (FFT and CLASS) rather than subject-specific (PLATO and MQI). One exception was the PLATO domain focused on Environment, which, like the generic rubrics, predicted feeling more known and supported. The PLATO and MQI constructs focused on subject-specific instruction were unrelated to students feel better known or supported.[27] When the domains of practice were modeled together as predictors (i.e., the two FFT domains in one model, the three CLASS domains in another model, and the two PLATO domains in a third model), similar patterns were evident as when domains were independent predictors, with a few notable exceptions. Independently, both FFT domains predicted knownness and support; when modeled together, both predicted support but—counterintuitively—only the domain of Instruction explained

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[26] I also investigated whether students and teachers sharing a racial background influenced students' feelings of knownness or support (Table 6, bottom). Although one result suggested that Black students who had Black teachers felt better known and supported, other results seemed to make less sense (e.g., Hispanic students with Hispanic teachers felt less well known and supported). Reaching justifiable conclusions about these results would require probing more deeply into these relationships, which is worth pursuing in future research.

[27] In models that are not shown, I replaced knownness and academic support with academic success and well-being as outcomes; in these models, I found the same patterns between teaching practices and students' feelings of academic success and well-being as between teaching practices and students' feelings of support and knownness.

knownness and not the domain of Classroom Environment. All three CLASS domains independently predicted knownness and support; when modeled together, only the domain of Emotional Support predicted knownness, while Emotional Support and Classroom Organization predicted support—but not Instructional Support, again a counterintuitive finding. PLATO predicted support and knownness in the same ways when its domains were modeled independently or together; in both cases, the Environment domain predicted support and knownness, while the ELA Instruction domain did not.

Recalling that the majority of students in this sample experienced knownness and support as a sort of package deal, an additional analysis using multilevel logistic regression modeling explored which domains of instruction predicted students falling specifically into the top-50% of both knownness and support (with the 16,242 students in the top-50% of both coded as 1, and all other students coded as 0). Table 7 (right) shows these Findings. When modeled as independent predictors, the generic rubric domains and the PLATO Environment domain predicted students falling into that top-50% subgroup of students who felt most known and most supported. When domains from the same rubric were modeled together, the exact same pattern held, except that CLASS Instructional Support no longer predicted falling into the top-50% group. Interestingly, there were different Findings when this was modeled in three levels (student in teacher in school) rather than in four (student in *section* in teacher in school). In the three-level specification of the model, only one domain of teaching practice—CLASS Emotional Support—predicted students falling into the top-50% of *both* support and knownness.

Research Question 3: How does feeling known or supported benefit students? Does feeling known or supported predict students' actual achievement or their self-perceived academic success and well-being?

Table 8 summarizes Findings from multilevel regression models where knownness and support predicted students' actual reading and math achievement as well as their own perceived academic success and well-being. Each row of the table represents an individual model in which various configurations of knownness and support (e.g., subgroups, interactions) were modeled in order to understand how knownness and support influence students' outcomes both independently and in connection to one another. In the simplest specifications (Table 8, top), knownness and support were modeled as independent

predictors of achievement and perceived success and well-being. The Findings suggested that students who felt more known had higher math achievement and felt more academically successful and well in class. Students who felt more supported had higher reading as well as math achievement, and they also felt more successful and well in class. In the next model where support and knownness were entered together as predictors, support continued to positively predict students' achievement as well as their perceived success and well-being. Knownness also continued to positively predict students' perceived success and well-being. However, once support was controlled for in this model, knownness actually predicted significantly lower achievement in reading (and was trending similarly for math, but not significant).

In the next model specification (Table 8, middle), the predictors were the subgroup indicators based on whether students were in the top-50% or bottom-50% of knownness and/or support. The reference group was the subgroup of students in the top-50% of both knownness and support. All coefficients trended negative, with most significant, suggesting that compared to students with high levels of both support and knownness, students with low levels of knownness, support, or both had lower reading and math achievement and had worse perceptions of their academic success and well-being. In particular, having high knownness without high support predicted significantly lower reading and math achievement and significantly worse perceptions of academic success and well-being, compared to having high knownness with high support; this result suggested the importance of support to these outcomes. Further signifying the importance of support, there was no significant difference in achievement between students who felt well supported *and* well known and those who felt only well supported.

The final model specification (Table 8, bottom) involved an interaction between mean-centered knownness and a binary version of perceived support, with the bottom-50% coded as 1 to aid with the interpretation of main effects. The main effects suggest that, for students with average knownness, being in the bottom-50% of support is associated with significantly lower reading and math achievement as well as significantly worse perceptions of academic success and well-being. Among students in the top-50% of support, an increase in knownness was associated with a significant increase in self-

perceptions of success and well-being; it also trended positive with student achievement measures but was non-significant.

For the outcome of reading achievement, feeling more known was associated with lower reading achievement, and the interaction term suggests that the relationship between feeling known and reading achievement was significantly weaker for students with low support than for students with high support. For well-being, the opposite was true: the positive relationship between feeling known and perceived well-being was significantly stronger for students who felt less supported than students who felt more supported. Interactions for the outcomes of math achievement and feeling successful were negative but not significant. On the whole, it appeared that feeling more known was associated with better academic outcomes (achievement and perceived academic success) when students already felt more highly supported. On the other hand, feeling more known benefitted the personal outcome (well-being) especially when students felt less supported, suggesting perhaps a special role knownness could play for particular students who felt less supported.

Research Question 4: Does a structural equation modeling approach support conceptualizing academic and personal relatedness as distinct? What do Findings from this modeling approach suggest about the roles of feeling known and feeling supported by teachers?

All in all, this analysis suggested that feeling personally known mattered as much as feeling academically supported did. Across structural models, the strongest association of all was consistently between support and knownness. A series of alternative models showed that neither academic nor personal relatedness appeared to be more focal than the other; rather, these two sides of relatedness appeared to be similarly important and complementary aspects of relatedness in terms of model fit and how they influenced students' self-perceived success, well-being, and their actual achievement. The models also suggested that there were consistently positive associations especially between feeling successful and having higher achievement gains, and between the teaching practices of emotional support and classroom organization and feeling related—either via knownness or support. In the sections below, I describe the hypothesized and alternative models among the four student perceptions, and then I explain the measurement model and

selection of covariates. After that, I evaluate a number of structural models and compelling alternatives.

Hypothesized and alternative models. Whereas prior analyses explored relationships between two given elements at a time (e.g., teaching practices and knownness; support and achievement), this part of the analysis makes it possible to examine all hypothesized relationships at once. Using structural equation modeling, this part of the analysis is guided by the hypothesized relationships among teaching practices, students' perceptions, and student achievement (Figure 2). In this hypothesis, teaching practices directly predict students' perceptions, and students' perceptions directly predict their achievement; in this way, the relationship between teaching and learning is mediated by or filtered through students' perceptions, which are the main focus of this research question.[28] For all analyses in this section, I use the CLASS rubric only since it has the domain of Emotional Support that seems especially pertinent to relatedness. In this section, I describe the hypothesized model (Figures 3 and 4) and possible alternative models (Figure 5).

Figure 3 illustrates the hypothesized relationships among the four student perceptions in the hypothesized model: knownness, support, well-being, and academic success. In fact, the four student perceptions could be configured in a variety of ways that would represent different theories about how they constitute a student's experience. My hypothesis in Figure 3 reflects one possible scenario: that knownness directly and indirectly predicts support, well-being, and academic success, making it "exogenous" to the other student perceptions (nothing predicts knownness). The hypothesized model draws on my conceptualization of the two sides of relatedness—knownness based on emotional relatedness and support based on academic relatedness. In turn, my hypothesis directly links the personal relatedness of knownness with students' perceived emotional well-being and also directly links the academic relatedness of support with students' perceived academic success. In addition to considering how the four student perceptions relate to one another in this hypothesis, I also considered how they might connect to the other elements

[28] In SEM, boxes represent observed items, while circles represent latent constructs, which are comprised of their own items. Since they were directly observed, CLASS domains and reading and math achievement gains are represented as boxes; student perceptions are represented with circles since they are latent constructs drawing on survey responses.

involved in Figure 1 (teaching practices and student achievement gains). Based on those considerations, placing knownness focally among the student perceptions reflects a theory that, out of all of the perceptions students can have, teachers' practices directly and proximally influence how *known* students feel; on the other side of this hypothesis, students' feelings of academic success are most proximal to their actual achievement gains.

Importantly, the ability to test competing hypotheses is a methodological strength of structural equation modeling, so I also tested whether configurations fitting competing theories would fit the data any better. For instance, it might be that teaching practices most proximally predict how *supported* students feel, so one alternative model would reverse knownness and support (Figure 5, Alternative 1). In this alternative model, support still predicts academic success and knownness still predicts well-being—thus preserving the distinctly academic and personal sides of relatedness—but support rather than knownness is exogenous to the other perceptions. A second alternative tests the possibility that knownness could explain academic success while support could explain well-being, thus "mixing" the emotional and academic sides of relatedness (Figure 5, Alternative 2). A third possibility I explored has teaching practices directly explain students' perceived well-being in class, which helps them feel supported and successful, all leading them to feel known (Figure 1, Alternative 3). In the next section, I describe how the hypothesized model fit the data, and I compare it to the fit of the alternative models. Before doing so, I briefly discuss the measurement model and selection of covariates.[29]

Measurement and MIMIC models. First, all student response variables were checked for skew and kurtosis, and none needed to be transformed. Confirmatory factor analysis ("CFA") established that the four latent student perception constructs fit the data well.[30] Table 9 shows that all factor loadings were significant and strong. In addition, model

[29] All SEM analyses used the WLSMV estimator in MPlus (weighted least squares, mean, and variance adjusted) since the focal variables involving student survey responses were categorical with fewer than seven response options. For the model to be correctly identified, latent construct variances were set to 1, with the first indicator of each construct allowed to be free.

[30] Since CFA requires items to load onto one specified construct each, it represents a more rigorous measurement approach than the exploratory factor analysis I undertook in prior analyses, in which items are allowed to cross-load on multiple factors at once (Muthen & Muthen, 2006). Nevertheless, through the CFA, I found that the four student perception constructs identified through exploratory factor analysis—knownness, support, well-being and academic success—still exhibited good fit in the CFA approach.

fit statistics[31] were in acceptable ranges, with RMSEA 0.067 (close to the <0.05 suggested cutoff), CFI/TLI 0.964/0.957 (within the >0.95 suggested cutoff), and WRMR 10.289.[32]

To make sure the four constructs of knownness, support, academic success, and well-being were a good representation of the items, I evaluated two alternative models specifying other possible latent constructs. Both alternative models fit the data less well than the retained CFA. The first alternative measurement model explored whether knownness and support were distinct or, instead, might represent a collective idea of student-teacher relatedness. This alternative model specified three factors: one "relatedness" construct (comprising all support and knownness items) and academic success and well-being. The fit was worse than the retained measurement model (RMSEA: 0.072; CFI/TLI: 0.958/0.951; WRMR: 11.249). Importantly, this helped provide further evidence for the conceptualization that knownness and support are distinct facets of student-teacher relatedness. The second alternative model helped dismiss the possibility that all items were unidimensional or would load onto one "student perception" construct. This model showed poor fit (RMSEA: 0.109; CFI/TLI: 0.901/0.889; WRMR: 17.667).[33]

Next, Multiple Causes Multiple Indicators (MIMIC) models helped establish which covariates should be retained in subsequent structural models. MIMIC models test whether covariates account for meaningful differences on constructs (i.e., if females felt significantly more known) and/or meaningful differences in how subgroups responded to items (i.e., if females and males had significantly different responses on a knownness item).[34] I tested five aspects of students' backgrounds based on available data: grade level (6th&7th vs. 8th&9th), gender, race (same as teacher vs. different from teacher), free or reduced lunch status (eligible or not), and subject about which the student answered the survey (ELA vs.

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[31] Whenever model fit statistics are reported throughout, I have relied on fit statistics that are used for categorical variables in MPlus: RMSEA (root mean square residual), CFI (comparative fit index), TLI (Tucker-Lewis index), and WRMR (weighted root mean residual). In some cases, I also report changes in chi-square from model to model to help assess how model fit is changing; the absolute value of the chi-square itself is not helpful on its own, especially in large samples like this one.

[32] At 10.289, the WRMR fit statistic was beyond the suggested cutoff of 1, but as an experimental fit statistic, if RMSEA and CFI/TLI are within accepted ranges, WRMR can be ignored (Muthen & Muthen, 2006).

[33] As an extra check, I also tried dropping one well-being item, which had shown a low factor loading in the main model (0.346). However, dropping this item resulted in no improvement to the fit, so I kept that item. Lastly, I tried including several error covariance paths between items as suggested by modification indices, but most resulted in no meaningful change to model fit and did not add anything conceptually, so I did not retain any of those paths.

[34] All latent constructs were regressed on each exogenous student characteristic; then, all individual items were regressed on the indicators. In MIMIC models, if paths are significant, if model fit improves over the baseline CFA, or if there is theoretical reason to think the path should be retained as a control, we can include the covariate in subsequent models.

Math). Fit statistics for all attempted MIMIC models are provided in Table 10, with each row reflecting one MIMIC model. Overall, these models suggested that there were in fact latent mean differences in subgroups' perceptions, as well as differences in how subgroups responded to particular items. Based on these differences, the final measurement model and subsequent structural models included controls for gender and grade level affecting latent mean differences in knownness and support, and for race and socioeconomic status affecting particular item responses. Appendix Table 1 shows coefficients from the final measurement model for all retained covariate paths. This final CFA with covariates had good fit, with an RMSEA of 0.048 and CFI/TLI of 0.976/0.971 and was an improvement over the original CFA that did not include covariates. This final model was the base upon which all subsequent structural models were built. In the next section, I describe the hypothesized and alternative structural models, focusing first on student perceptions, and then expanding the model to include teaching practices and student achievement gains.

Structural model and alternative models. Figure 3 shows how the four student perceptions might connect to one another. On the left side of the diagram, feeling supported and feeling known represent two aspects of teachers' relatedness efforts—the former more academically focused, the latter more emotionally focused. On the right side of the diagram, feeling successful and feeling well represent two aspects of students' perceptions of their own experience in class—their academic success and their emotional well-being. As the diagram shows, the relationship between feeling supported and successful is primarily academic, while the relationship between feeling known and well is mainly emotional. The question marks between support and knownness and between success and well-being actually reflect a question that cannot quite be answered since this analysis is correlational rather than causal. Although it is impossible to establish a causal relationship or chronological sequence among these constructs, the analyses below experiment with both directions implied in this diagram (e.g., academic predicting emotional, and emotional predicting academic) in order to explore the associations.

Structural model. Figure 4 depicts the main structural model hypothesized in Figure 3. This model fit the data well (RMSEA: 0.050; CFI/TLI: 0.973/0.968; WRMR 7.970).

Standardized factor loadings greater than 0.5 are deemed "large" effects[35] in SEM. In this model, the strongest effect was that of knownness on support (beta=0.916, $p<0.001$). Next strongest were the parallel and nearly identical effects within the academic and emotional parts of the model: on the emotional side, knownness on well-being (beta=0.674, $p<0.001$), and on the academic side, support on academic success (beta=0.672, $p<0.001$). The indirect effect of knownness on academic success was also strong (beta=0.730, $p<0.001$), especially by way of support. Though significant, the relationship between well-being and effort was more modest (beta=0.170, $p<0.001$).

Overall, this model shows one defensible theory of how feeling known might function as a part of student-teacher relatedness. First, this model supports the argument that the emotional side of relatedness is highly associated with an emotional outcome (knownness and well-being) and that the academic side of relatedness is highly associated with an academic outcome (support and academic success); these two paths were strong and similar. This model also shows that it is reasonable to place the emotional part of relatedness—feeling known—exogenous to the other perceptions. Feeling known strongly and significantly explained feelings of support, well-being, and, indirectly, feeling successful academically. Although this does not represent chronological time, this model might suggest that feelings of support, well-being, and academic success depended in some way on feeling known.

Alternative models. Figure 5 depicts the knownness model from Figure 4, alongside three plausible alternative models, previewed conceptually above. Alternative 1 tests an important alternative explanation for the way knownness functions as part of relatedness. This model favors support and examines the possibility that the academic part of relatedness—the link between support and academic success—predicts the emotional side of relatedness—knownness and well-being. Fit statistics showed that this model fit the data marginally better than the hypothesized model; therefore, I return to this model in more detail below. Next, Alternative 2, which fit the data less well than the hypothesized model, helped confirm that the model represents the data better when it preserves the direct connections between the emotional pieces (knownness and well-being) and the

[35] SEM researchers often use "effect" language; however, effects in SEM are understood to be correlational and not causal.

academic pieces (support and success)—rather than mixing them up as this model does. Finally, Alternative 3 tested the possibility that students' emotional states explained everything else, and that feeling known stemmed from feeling supported and successful. This model fit the data considerably less well than the others.

Based on model fit, the main hypothesized model ("knownness model") and Alternative 1 ("support model") were equally valid representations of student perceptions in this sample. Therefore, I analyzed two expanded models, one using the knownness model (Figure 6a) and another using the support model (Figure 6b). In addition to student perceptions, the expanded models included teaching practices[36] and student achievement gains; the expanded knownness and support models are built identically except for the positioning of student perception constructs.

First, both the expanded knownness model and the expanded support model fit the data very well and about the same (expanded knownness model: RMSEA 0.039, CFI/TLI 0.976/0.972; expanded support model: RMSEA 0.039, CFI/TLI 0.977/0.973). In both models, there were modest positive effects of teachers' Emotional Support and Classroom Organization on students feeling known (beta=0.148, p<0.001 and beta=0.163, p<0.001, respectively) or supported (beta=0.142, p<0.001 and beta=0.158, p<0.001, respectively).[37] There were also slight but significant direct and indirect effects between students' perceptions and their achievement gains in both models.

Overall, the expanded models suggest that how students perceived their relationships with teachers mattered, and that they perceived two distinct but balanced sides of those relationships—academic and emotional. Both of the expanded models confirmed that teaching practices directly influenced students' perceptions of relatedness (feeling known and supported), which, in turn, directly influenced students' self-perceived

[36] In all expanded models, I focus on the CLASS instrument since it has multiple domains of instruction, including emotional support which is particularly pertinent to this analysis.

[37] Both models showed a marginal and negative effect of Instructional Support on feeling known or supported. However, all three domains of practice had positive effects on feeling known and supported when they were included independently in the model, and also when they were included in pairs. The effect of Instructional Support switched direction only when included alongside both Emotional Support and Classroom Organization, so the negative effect displayed probably should not be considered a meaningful finding. Appendix Figure 1 sheds additional light on this finding; it shows the expanded model with results for two subgroups: students with top-50% knownness and support ("hi") and students with bottom-50% knownness and support ("lo"); the negative relationship between Instructional Support and knownness appears just for the low relatedness subgroup, which sheds some light on the negative Instructional Support finding.

outcomes (well-being and academic success) along with their achievement gains. Importantly, both models showed strong relationships within the more emotional and more academic pieces. Relationships between feeling known and well were consistently strong; relationships between feeling supported and successful were also consistently strong. Furthermore, there were strong associations across the emotional and academic components when it came to relatedness; the relationship between these two sides of relatedness—feeling known and feeling supported—was consistently the strongest connection in the whole model.

Figures 7a-7d depict alternative expanded models. All of these models helped confirm that the final models at Figures 6a and 6b were the most reasonable representations of the data. Several of these alternative models allowed domains of teaching practices to predict both perceived knownness and support, and allowed both perceived success and well-being to predict achievement gains. The final models did not allow for this as these decisions worsened model fit. These alternative models also showed conflicting findings around the relationships between teaching practices and student perceptions. However, there were consistently significant effects of feeling successful on achievement gains, and consistently insignificant effects of well-being on achievement gains. In addition, one alternative model (Figure 7a) considered fully separating the academic from the emotional by having no links between feeling known and well and feeling supported and successful; this model exhibited poor fit.

Discussion

This study builds on the conceptualization in research on teaching that student-teacher relatedness involves teachers and learners connecting around a content area to fulfill a professionally situated goal of academic learning. To understand that student-teacher connection more deeply, this study has examined the role of a personal connection within or alongside that professional relationship that students and teachers share.

Findings in this study suggest that student-teacher relatedness indeed encompasses both a personal element of knownness and a professional element of support. Importantly, this study illustrates how these two sides of relatedness each help contribute to the goals of the other or, in other words, how the personal connection can buoy the professional one and its purposes, and vice versa. For students, feeling personally known was consistently

associated with reporting better emotional well-being, and feeling academically supported consistently predicted feeling more academically successful and having better math and reading achievement. A contribution of this study is the finding that personal knownness not only contributed to the personal outcome of well-being but also positively influenced directly (Table 8) and indirectly (Figure 6a) students' reading and math achievement and their perceived academic success. Likewise, feeling academically supported was associated not only with academic success and achievement but also directly (Table 8) and indirectly (Figure 6b) with perceived personal well-being.

Using structural equation modeling helped confirm the complementary nature of the personal and the professional aspects of student-teacher relatedness. In these models (Figures 6a and 6b), there were consistently parallel effects for each side of relatedness, with strong associations between feeling personally known and reporting better well-being, and similarly strong associations between feeling academically supported and feeling more academically successful. However, stronger than those links within the personal and professional sides of relatedness was actually the association *across* the two sides of relatedness; the association between knownness and support was the most persistent association across all models. An alternative model specification helped explain what this steady connection between support and knownness could mean. Figure 7b demonstrated that the full model fit considerably more poorly when the link between support and knownness was left out, suggesting that the power of relatedness is in the balance between its personal and professional parts. This idea is consistent with Bishop et al.'s (2013) argument that neither academic support nor positive relationships are sufficient on their own but, rather, are most effective together.

Despite the apparent value of feeling known and supported, this study identified some concerns as to how related students felt or did not feel to their teachers. Particular subgroups of students felt especially less known and supported, including older students (8th and 9th graders) and boys. Additionally, students responding about their relationships with math teachers (compared to students responding about their relationships with ELA teachers) felt significantly less known and less supported. On average, students also felt significantly less known than supported by their teachers, and students who felt less supported tended to also feel less known. These findings are consistent with research in

which secondary students have expressed that their teachers do not get to know them personally, despite supporting them academically, which students describe as a barrier to overall student-teacher relatedness (Eccles & Roeser, 2011; Hargreaves, 2001; McHugh, Horner, Colditz & Wallace, 2012). Although this study suggests the most complete sense of relatedness involves both complementary parts—knownness and support—fewer than 4 in 10 students in this sample experienced top-50% levels of both. All in all, these findings suggest that most students are experiencing neither enough relatedness nor complete relatedness with their teachers; given the variety of positive associations of both types of relatedness to a range of outcomes, experiencing less than complete relatedness to teachers puts students at a significant disadvantage. Coupled with the ways relatedness seems tied to specific student characteristics, this puts particular students—older students and boys—at a particular disadvantage. It also suggests students feel less related to their math teachers, perhaps adding an extra challenge for students in their math classes.

This study also sheds some light on the relationship between teachers' practices and their students' feelings of relatedness. On the whole, teachers with better performance on the generic FFT and CLASS rubrics, as well as the classroom environment domain of the ELA-specific PLATO rubric, had students who felt better related—more known and more supported. On the other hand, performance on the instruction-focused domains of the subject-specific rubrics, PLATO and MQI, did not explain students' feelings of relatedness; additionally, better performance on the CLASS domain of Instructional Support no longer predicted feelings of relatedness when performance on CLASS Emotional Support and CLASS Classroom Organization were included in the model. This might suggest that relatedness—even academically focused relatedness—is cultivated apart from moments of pure academic instruction and that ambitious subject-matter instruction on its own is not a direct route to student-teacher relatedness. Rather, relatedness of both types appears to be an extension of teachers' capacity to manage a classroom, foster a positive classroom climate, and provide emotional support.

Limitations

A few limitations are important in interpreting the findings of this study. First many students did not provide survey responses and thus were excluded from the analytic sample. Given that non-respondents tended to be from more marginalized backgrounds

(Black, Hispanic, male, special education) and from older grades, this analysis is missing their crucial perspective. It is possible, for example, that their responses would have resulted in an even larger subgroup of students who felt less known and/or less supported. The analytic sample might then represent students who felt, on average, more supported and more known had the excluded students been included. Even if the analytic sample had been able to include these students, the MET project gathered data in six urban districts; therefore, Findings of this study would not generalize to all school contexts.

In addition to sample limitations, some measures reflect limitations of this study. The teaching practice measures are limited in their capacities to fully represent teaching. Teachers' scores in these domains of practice likely reflect somewhat narrow snapshots of teaching practice, scored by third-party observers through the use of video data. In addition, averaging the dimension scores available in MET to form domain scores for this study does not necessarily reflect the instruments' intended use or complexity. Therefore, any findings in this study about the relationship between teaching practices and students' perceptions of relatedness should be interpreted knowing that the measures of teaching practice captured in this study are limited and do not reflect the full range of what teachers do. For instance, there could be very crucial teaching practices that influence how related students feel to their teachers which are not represented in this study or in these rubrics at all, but might instead be identified through other approaches to research.

Similarly, creating measures from the student perception survey involved subjective decisions about which items to submit to factor analysis. It is always possible that the items used in this analysis to represent the ideas of knownness, support, well-being, and academic success would signal meaningfully different ideas to different researchers. Decisions about interpreting factor loadings in factor analysis can be influenced by the motivation of the research; it is possible that seeing knownness and support as constructs represented by the items in this study is a result of expecting to find constructs like them.

Finally, the SEM portion of the analysis might have yielded different responses if it accounted for the nesting of students in teachers and in schools the way the multilevel regression analyses did. With every relationship modeled at the student level in the SEM part of this analysis, I have not accounted for differences in experiences of students who share a section, a teacher, or a school as I did in the hierarchical linear models; accounting

for those relationships might have resulted in slightly different findings. In addition, the use of MIMIC models relies on dichotomized, and thus perhaps oversimplified, versions of covariates. In the case of the student and teacher race match covariate, for example, we could show that being from the same race biased responses to certain survey items, but we could not understand whether this affected students from all backgrounds or just some, which made it difficult to draw deeper conclusions about the role of race in these relationships.

Implications

In a time of increasing attention among practitioners and policymakers to the relational aspects of instruction and to students' emotional experiences in school, it is crucial to understand the nature of relatedness between students and teachers, including the teaching practices that lead to relatedness and ways to support teachers in becoming relationally competent. A central implication of this study is that enacting, evaluating, and researching student-teacher relationships should take into consideration not only the connection students and teachers share around learning, but also the personal connections they share, including how well students feel that their teachers know them.

An implication for practitioners is that fully relating to students entails not just providing academic support but also caring for and knowing students on a personal, emotional level. This study is a reminder of the importance of staying open to these personal connections with students—and intentionally cultivating them—while also pursuing professional relationships and goals with students. Connecting with adolescents on a personal level in a professional context is skillful and subtle work; the literature and Findings from this study suggest that these connections might be uncommon for adolescent students because fostering them requires such delicate efforts by teachers. Although the importance of cultivating personal relationships with students is relatively clear, the challenges are significant. It could be that the challenges of knowing the number of students secondary teachers see in one day precludes even motivated teachers from knowing their students well. Further research could explore not only teaching practices that help cultivate relatedness, but also the decisions teachers face and make in terms of whether to not to "effortfully engage" to build these personal connections (McHugh et al., 2012). In this vein, researchers should also attempt to understand the constraints outside

of teachers' control that prevent them from better knowing their students, such as the role distances mentioned in the literature review (Hargreaves, 2001). For teacher educators, this study suggests that preparing teachers involves not only learning how to cultivate personal connections with students alongside professional ones, but also helping teachers opt to integrate knownness into their teaching practice despite other demands they face.

Related, this study emphasizes that the personal connections teachers make with their students actually help fulfill teachers' professional responsibility to help their students improve academically. One could argue that this situates knownness in the professional domain of what teachers are expected to do for their students. Yet, knowing students is part of a murky slice of the work teachers do that is often deemed to be innate skill and an extension of what regular people do. It remains for researchers to continue to analyze both the overlaps and distinctions between teachers knowing students in school contexts and adults knowing children in other contexts. This study highlights the importance for the field of teaching and research on teaching of claiming the capacity to build personal bonds with students as a central challenge and key part of the professional domain of teaching.

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Table E-1: Descriptive statistics comparing analytic and non-analytic samples of students and teachers

	Analytic Sample (n=63,976 students)		Non-Analytic Sample (n=30,092 students)		
	n	%	n	%	Chi-square
Students:					
Female	32,133	50.5	13,766	48.4	32.98***
Male (vs. Female)	31,525	49.5	14,659	51.6	32.98***
Asian	4,804	7.6	1,471	5.2	173.76***
Black	19,527	30.7	11,382	40.1	775.22***
Hispanic	21,361	33.6	9,979	35.1	21.36***
White	16,374	25.7	4,927	17.3	776.52***
NativeAmerican	239	0.4	128	0.5	
Other Race	1,330	2.1	519	1.8	6.90**
Free Lunch	31,754	60.4	15,296	65.3	166.03***
Special Ed	4,170	6.6	2,367	8.4	101.26***
ELL	8,043	12.6	3,630	12.8	0.33
Grade 6	19,414	27.4	6,527	19.6	728.50***
Grade 7	16,989	24.0	7,422	22.3	34.18***
Grade 8	16,007	22.6	6,878	20.7	47.50***
Grade 9	18,463	26.1	12,419	37.4	1400.00***
English Language Arts (vs. Math)	37,752	53.3	15,921	47.9	262.13**
Teachers:					
White Black Hispanic	615 329 68	60.8 32.5 6.7	272 168 22	58.9 36.4 4.8	0.48 2.11 2.12

Note: * $p<0.05$; ** $p<0.01$; *** $p<0.001$. Data for teacher race were limited to White, Black, and Hispanic.

Table E-2: Student survey measures and items

Measure	Survey Items	Alpha among Items
Feeling known	My teacher in this class does not know me very well yet. (Reverse) My teacher seems to know if something is bothering me. If I am sad or angry, my teacher helps me feel better.	.6914
Feeling supported	The teacher in this class encourages me to do my best. If you don't understand something, my teacher explains it another way. My teacher tells us what we are learning and why. My teacher seems to believe in my ability. My teacher respects my ideas and suggestions. The comments that I get on my work in this class help me understand how to improve. My teacher in this class makes me feel that s/he really cares about me. My teacher really tries to understand how students feel about things.	.9002
Feeling successful	I have pushed myself hard to completely understand my lessons in this class. I have done my best quality work in this class all year long. I am happy with how well I have done in this class. When doing schoolwork for this class, I try to learn as much as I can and I don't worry about how long it takes. I feel smart when I am in this class.	.7947
Feeling well	I feel stressed out in this class. (Reverse) Being in this class makes me feel angry. (Reverse) I get nervous in this class. (Reverse)	.6483

Correlations among student perception measures

	Feeling known	Feeling supported	Feeling successful	Feeling well
Feeling known	1.0000			
Feeling supported	0.7069	1.0000		
Feeling successful	0.5180	0.6631	1.0000	
Feeling well	0.3664	0.4928	0.4244	1.0000

Table E-3: Classroom observation instruments, domains, and dimensions

Observation Instrument	Domain	Dimensions
Framework for Teaching	Classroom Environment	Creating an environment of respect/rapport Establishing a culture for learning Managing classroom procedures Managing student behavior
	Instruction	Communicating with students Using questioning/discussion techniques Engaging students in learning Using assessment in instruction
Classroom Assessment Scoring System	Emotional Support	Positive climate Negative climate Teacher sensitivity Regard for student perspectives
	Classroom Organization	Behavior management Productivity Instructional learning formats
	Instructional Supports	Content understanding Analysis and problem solving Instructional dialogue Quality of feedback
PLATO	"Environment"*	Behavior management Time management
	"Instruction"*	Intellectual challenge Representation of content Models and modeling Explicit strategy instruction Classroom discourse
MQI	"Instruction"*	Richness of the mathematics Errors and imprecision Working with students and mathematics Student participation in meaning-making Explicitness and thoroughness Connections between classroom work and mathematics

* As explained in the text, the domain names "Environment" and "Instruction" do not come from the PLATO and MQI instruments themselves and are only labeled as such to enable comparison to FFT and CLASS in this study.

Table E-4: Average perceptions of knownness, support, success, and well-being (1=Totally Untrue, 2=Mostly Untrue, 3=Somewhat, 4=Mostly True, 5=Totally True)

Construct	Student Perception Survey Items	n	Item Mean (sd)
Feeling known	**Average of student-level mean (sd) response across items#: 3.17 (1.13)**		
	My teacher in this class does not know me very well yet.*	46,682	2.35 (1.30)
	My teacher seems to know if something is bothering me.	67,935	3.06 (1.31)
	If I am sad or angry, my teacher helps me feel better.	47,105	2.34 (1.30)
Feeling supported	**Average of student-level mean (sd) response across items#: 3.79 (0.89)**		
	The teacher in this class encourages me to do my best.	47,514	4.06 (1.09)
	If you don't understand something, my teacher explains it another way.	69,465	4.00 (1.07)
	My teacher tells us what we are learning and why.	47,283	3.91 (1.10)
	My teacher seems to believe in my ability.	46,891	3.90 (1.10)
	My teacher respects my ideas and suggestions.	67,926	3.76 (1.13)
	The comments that I get on my work in this class help me understand how to improve.	68,951	3.73 (1.14)
	My teacher in this class makes me feel that s/he really cares about me.	69,237	3.65 (1.23)
	My teacher really tries to understand how students feel about things.	68,421	3.52 (1.19)
Feeling successful	**Average of student-level mean (sd) response across items#: 3.73 (0.84)**		
	I have pushed myself hard to completely understand my lessons in this class.	69,244	3.87 (1.04)
	I have done my best quality work in this class all year long.	68,263	3.81 (1.07)
	I am happy with how well I have done in this class.	68,174	3.75 (1.19)
	When doing schoolwork for this class, I try to learn as much as I can and I don't worry about how long it takes.	67,941	3.64 (1.10)
	I feel smart when I am in this class.	68,199	3.59 (1.18)
Feeling well	**Average of student-level mean (sd) response across items#*: 3.99 (0.94)**		
	I feel stressed out in this class.*	68,712	2.27 (1.30)
	Being in this class makes me feel angry.*	69,597	1.88 (1.19)
	I get nervous in this class.*	69,428	1.87 (1.16)

Note: Average mean responses across items were calculated by first taking the mean of each student's responses on a group of items (e.g., knownness), and then taking the sample mean of that student-level mean.
*Note: These items were originally reverse coded, and item means reported in this table reflect original coding. To calculate the mean of student-level average responses on items, I recoded reverse-coded items so that they aligned with the rest of the items; therefore, the four construct-level means were calculated using recoded reverse items.

Table E-5: Composition of students feeling known and/or supported

	Bottom 50%: Feeling known	**Top 50%: Feeling known**
Bottom 50%: Feeling supported	n=16,181 38.4%	n=4,942 11.7%
Top 50%: Feeling supported	n=4,797 11.4%	n=16,242 38.5%

Table E-6: Student characteristics predicting students feeling known and feeling supported

	Feeling known	**Feeling supported**
Grade (vs. 6th)		
Grade 7	-0.189*** (0.035)	-0.143*** (0.038)
Grade 8	-0.257*** (0.037)	-0.172*** (0.040)
Grade 9	-0.271*** (0.042)	-0.238*** (0.043)
ELA (vs. Math)	0.072** (0.024)	0.087*** (0.026)
Male	-0.017 (0.010)	-0.103*** (0.010)
Race (vs. Black)		
White	-0.080*** (0.017)	-0.136*** (0.171)
Hisp	-0.143*** (0.015)	-0.116*** (0.015)
Asian	0.007 (0.023)	-0.022 (0.023)
Nat.Am.	0.063 (0.091)	0.100 (0.093)
Other	-0.104** (0.036)	-0.113** (0.036)
Free Lunch	-0.009 (0.012)	-0.018 (0.012)
Special Ed	0.059** (0.021)	0.013 (0.021)
ELL	0.084*** (0.017)	0.073*** (0.017)

Note: Each column represents Findings from one model where student background characteristics were entered as a set of predictors (represented in Equation 1).

Table E-7: Teaching practices predicting students feeling known and/or supported

	Feeling known		Feeling supported		Top 50% of feeling both known and supported	
FFT Classroom Environment	0.0483*** (0.0129)	0.0107 (0.0173)	0.0966*** (0.0134)	0.0604*** (0.0180)	1.214*** (0.0363)	1.115** (0.0450)
FFT Classroom Instruction	0.0607*** (0.0123)	0.0538** (0.0166)	0.0906*** (0.0128)	0.0520** (0.0173)	1.211*** (0.0348)	1.128** (0.0438)
CLASS Emotional Support	0.139*** (0.0175)	0.104*** (0.0226)	0.130*** (0.0186)	0.0764** (0.0236)	1.365*** (0.0568)	1.231*** (0.0654)
CLASS Classroom Organization	0.0686*** (0.0134)	0.0203 (0.0207)	0.129*** (0.0139)	0.0977*** (0.0216)	1.234*** (0.0393)	1.106* (0.0538)
CLASS Instructional Support	0.0964*** (0.0134)	0.0352 (0.0248)	0.128*** (0.0141)	0.0200 (0.0259)	1.287*** (0.0407)	1.087 (0.0627)
PLATO Classroom Environment	0.0373* (0.0170)	0.0380* (0.0174)	0.0873*** (0.0179)	0.0854*** (0.0184)	1.161*** (0.0475)	1.160*** (0.0487)
PLATO ELA Instruction	0.00735 (0.0221)	-0.0039 (0.0226)	0.0369 (0.0239)	0.0106 (0.0241)	1.054 (0.0574)	1.007 (0.0556)
MQI Math Instruction	0.0113 (0.0271)	N/A	0.0271 (0.0279)	N/A	1.088 (0.0654)	N/A
Domains modeled: *Independently*	x		x		x	
As rubric groups		x		x		x
Logistic models; odds ratios					x	x

Findings were similar when student covariates were included and are not shown here. These models are also represented as Equation 2.

Table E-8: Relationships between students feeling known and supported and students feeling successful and well

	Actual Achievement		Student Perceptions	
	Reading	**Math**	**Feeling successful**	**Feeling well**
Feeling known	-0.0062 (0.0032)	0.0117*** (0.0029)	0.495*** (0.0043)	0.342*** (0.0046)
Feeling supported	0.0116*** (0.0034)	0.0259*** (0.0031)	0.661*** (0.0039)	0.476*** (0.0045)
Feeling known	-0.0246*** (0.0046)	-0.0078 (0.0041)	0.0963*** (0.0053)	0.0515*** (0.0060)
Feeling supported	0.0283*** (0.0046)	0.0310*** (0.0042)	0.596*** (0.0053)	0.442*** (0.0061)
2x2 Measure *(vs. High on Both)*				
Low on Both	-0.0112 (0.0077)	-0.0420*** (0.0069)	-1.256*** (0.0096)	-0.836*** (0.0106)
High Support, Low Knownness	-0.0015 (0.0107)	-0.0144 (0.0095)	-0.363*** (0.0135)	-0.230*** (0.0148)
High Knownness, Low Support	-0.0395*** (0.0107)	-0.0473*** (0.0095)	-0.879*** (0.0134)	-0.533*** (0.0147)
Feeling known (mean-centered)	0.00036 (0.0055)	0.00781 (0.0049)	0.289*** (0.0068)	0.162*** (0.0076)
Feeling supported (bottom-50%=1)	-0.0361*** (0.0080)	-0.0376*** (0.0071)	-0.764*** (0.0098)	-0.472*** (0.0108)
Interaction	-0.0339*** (0.0079)	-0.0116 (0.0070)	-0.139 (0.0097)	0.104*** (0.0108)

Findings displayed come from models where knownness and support predicted actual reading and math achievement, as well as feelings of academic success and well-being. Each cell represents Findings from a single model; each row, demarcated by the horizontal lines, represents a series of models with the same predictor(s) and different outcomes. Findings were similar when student covariates were included, so they are not shown here. These models are also represented as Equations 2 and 3. All models with achievement as the outcome also included a control for students' prior year achievement on the state reading and math assessments.

Table E-9: Student perception item factor loadings in confirmatory factor analysis

Measure	**Survey Items**	**CFA Coefficients (SE)**
Feeling known	My teacher seems to know if something is bothering me.	0.783 (0.002)
	If I am sad or angry, my teacher helps me feel better.	0.861 (0.002)
	My teacher in this class does not know me very well yet. (Reverse)	0.545 (0.004)
Feeling supported	The teacher in this class encourages me to do my best.	0.814 (0.002)
	If you don't understand something, my teacher explains it another way.	0.728 (0.002)
	My teacher tells us what we are learning and why.	0.702 (0.003)
	My teacher seems to believe in my ability.	0.797 (0.002)
	My teacher respects my ideas and suggestions.	0.799 (0.002)
	The comments that I get on my work in this class help me understand how to improve.	0.749 (0.002)
	My teacher in this class makes me feel that s/he really cares about me.	0.817 (0.002)
	My teacher really tries to understand how students feel about things.	0.791 (0.002)
Feeling successful	I have pushed myself hard to completely understand my lessons in this class.	0.598 (0.003)
	I have done my best quality work in this class all year long.	0.665 (0.003)
	I am happy with how well I have done in this class.	0.781 (0.002)
	When doing schoolwork for this class, I try to learn as much as I can and I don't worry about how long it takes.	0.665 (0.003)
	I feel smart when I am in this class.	0.800 (0.002)
Feeling well	I feel stressed out in this class. (Reverse)	0.754 (0.003)
	Being in this class makes me feel angry. (Reverse)	0.883 (0.003)
	I get nervous in this class. (Reverse)	0.346 (0.005)

Table E-10: Model fit for MIMIC models with student background characteristics

Student Background Characteristic	RMSEA	CFI/TLI	WRMR	χ^2	Retained in subsequent models?
Baseline confirmatory factor model					
	0.067	0.964/0.957	10.289	46729	
Models testing paths between covariates and factors					
Grade level (6th/7th vs. 8th/9th)	0.064	0.964/0.957	10.009	47039	x
Gender (Male vs. Female)	0.064	0.964/0.958	9.998	47161	x
Race (Same as teacher vs. Not)	0.064	0.965/0.958	9.232	40133	
Free or reduced lunch (Eligible vs. Not)	0.063	0.966/0.960	8.830	37036	
Subject (ELA vs. Math)	0.064	0.964/0.958	10.016	47380	
Models testing paths between covariates and items					
Grade level (6th/7th vs. 8th/9th)	0.068	0.962/0.953	10.880	50198	
Gender (Male vs. Female)	0.064	0.966/0.958	10.205	44267	
Race (Same as teacher vs. Not)	0.062	0.968/0.961	9.245	36256	x
Free or reduced lunch (Eligible vs. Not)	0.061	0.969/0.962	8.815	33212	x
Subject (ELA vs. Math)	0.063	0.968/0.960	10.058	43013	
Final confirmatory factor model with retained covariate paths to items and factors					
	0.048	0.976/0.971	7.563	23380	

Table E-11: Coefficients between covariates and Figure E-4 constructs and items (only significant paths shown)

Path: Covariate to Construct or Item	Coefficient in Structural Model
Grade (1=8th/9th, 0=6th/7th)→	
Feeling known	-0.220***
Feeling successful	-0.346***
Feeling well	0.123***
Gender (1=Male, 0=Female)→	
Feeling known	-0.031**
Feeling supported	-0.219***
Feeling successful	-0.093***
Feeling well	-0.121***
Free or Reduced Lunch Status (1=Yes, 0=No)→	
Feeling known: My teacher in this class does not know me very well yet.	-0.041**
Feeling known: My teacher seems to know if something is bothering me.	0.036***
Feeling supported: My teacher seems to believe in my ability.	-0.048***
Feeling supported: My teacher really tries to understand how students feel about things.	0.034**
Feeling supported: The comments that I get on my work in this class help me understand how to improve.	0.048***
Feeling supported: If you don't understand something, my teacher explains it another way.	0.075***
Feeling supported: My teacher tells us what we are learning and why.	0.099***
Same Race as Teacher (1=Yes, 0=No)→	
Feeling known: My teacher in this class does not know me very well yet.	-0.076***
Feeling supported: My teacher seems to believe in my ability.	-0.035**
Feeling supported: The teacher in this class encourages me to do my best.	-0.052***
Feeling supported: My teacher respects my ideas and suggestions.	0.024*

*Items listed reflect Findings of MIMIC models indicating which items to retain as covariates in structural model(s); *p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001.

Figure E-1: Conceptual framework showing student-teacher relatedness consisting of academic and personal elements

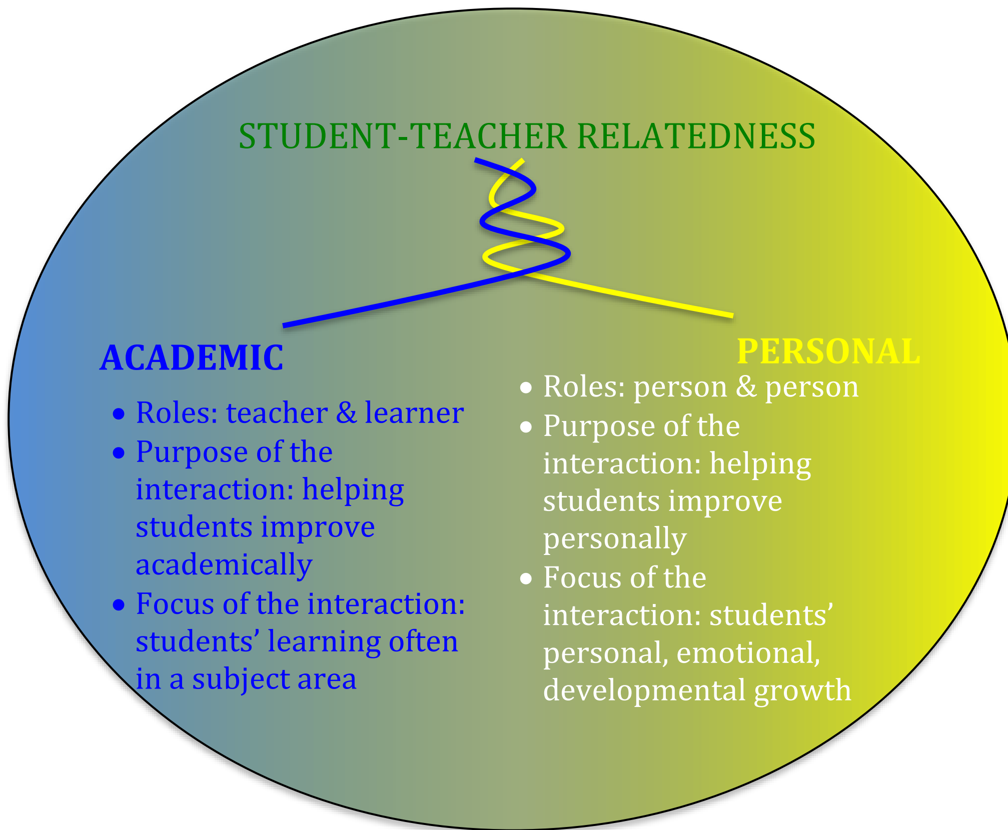


Figure E-2: General conceptual model

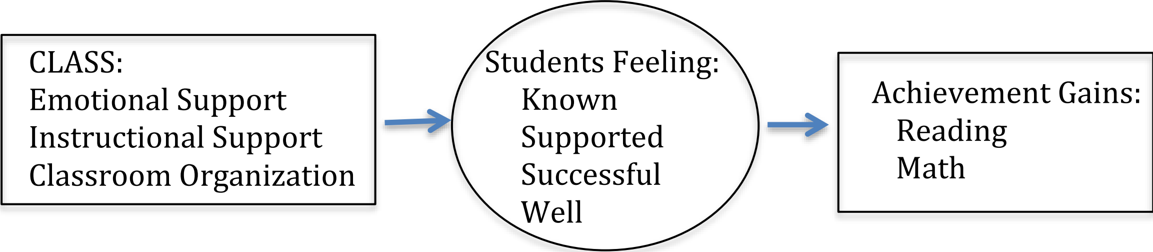


Figure E-3: Conceptual model showing relationships among students' feelings of academic and personal relatedness and outcomes

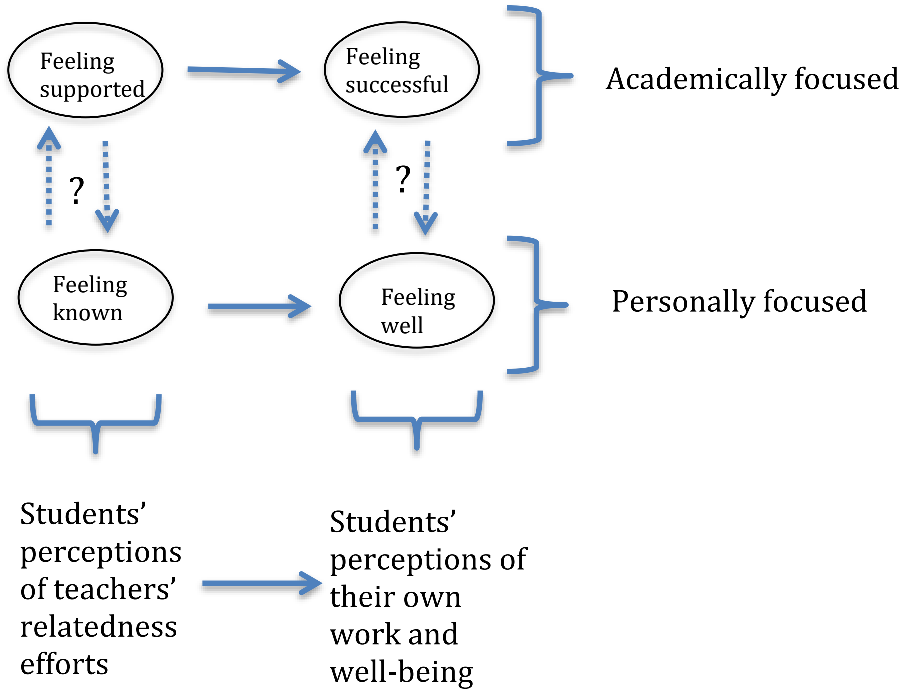


Figure E-4: Structural model (n=49,168) of students' perceptions, showing direct and indirect effects. Standardized coefficients shown; *** p<0.001; Item names (e.g., k1, k2) correspond to items in Table 9; Model included covariates but, for clarity, covariate paths displayed separately at Appendix Table 1.

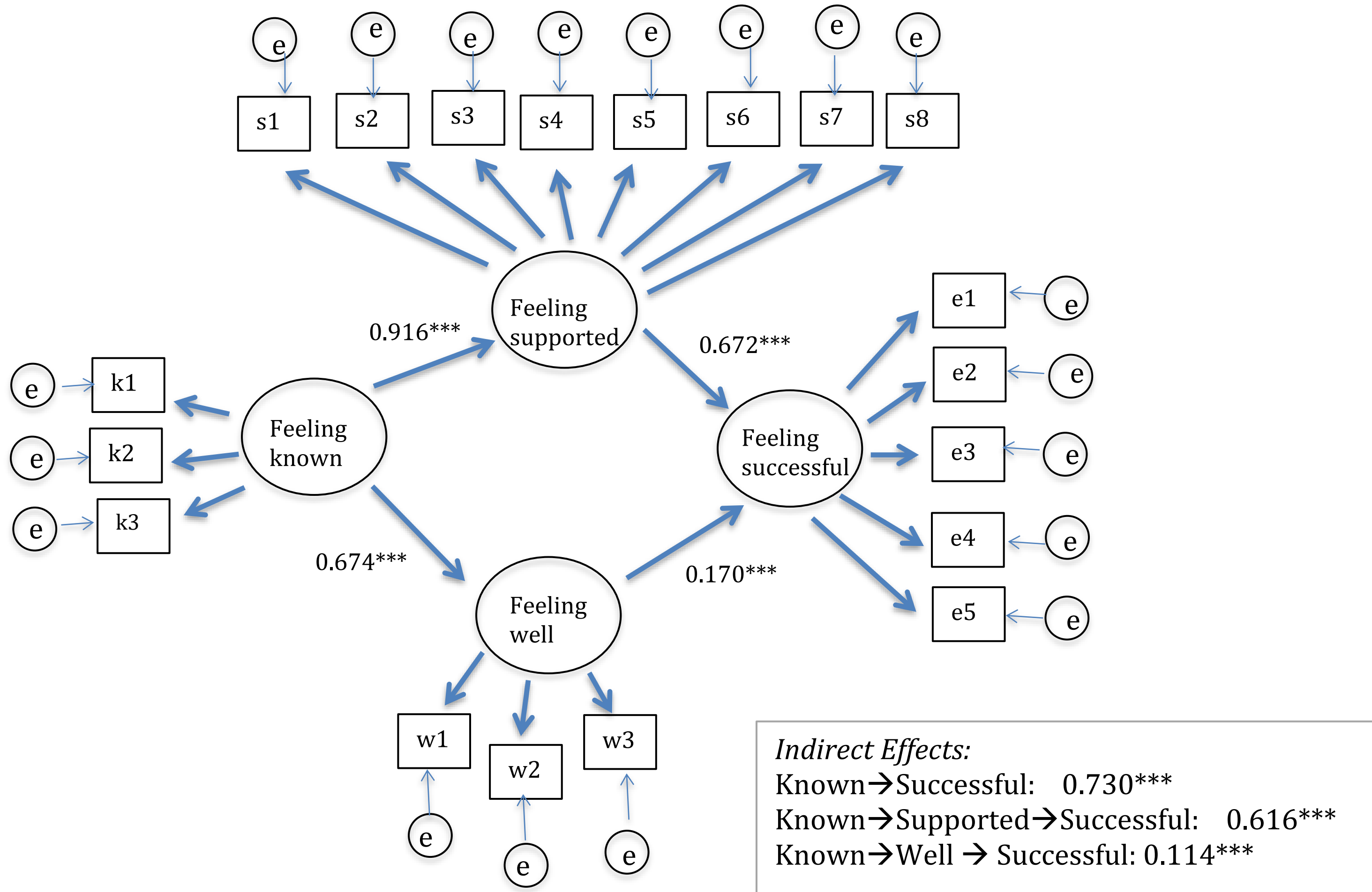
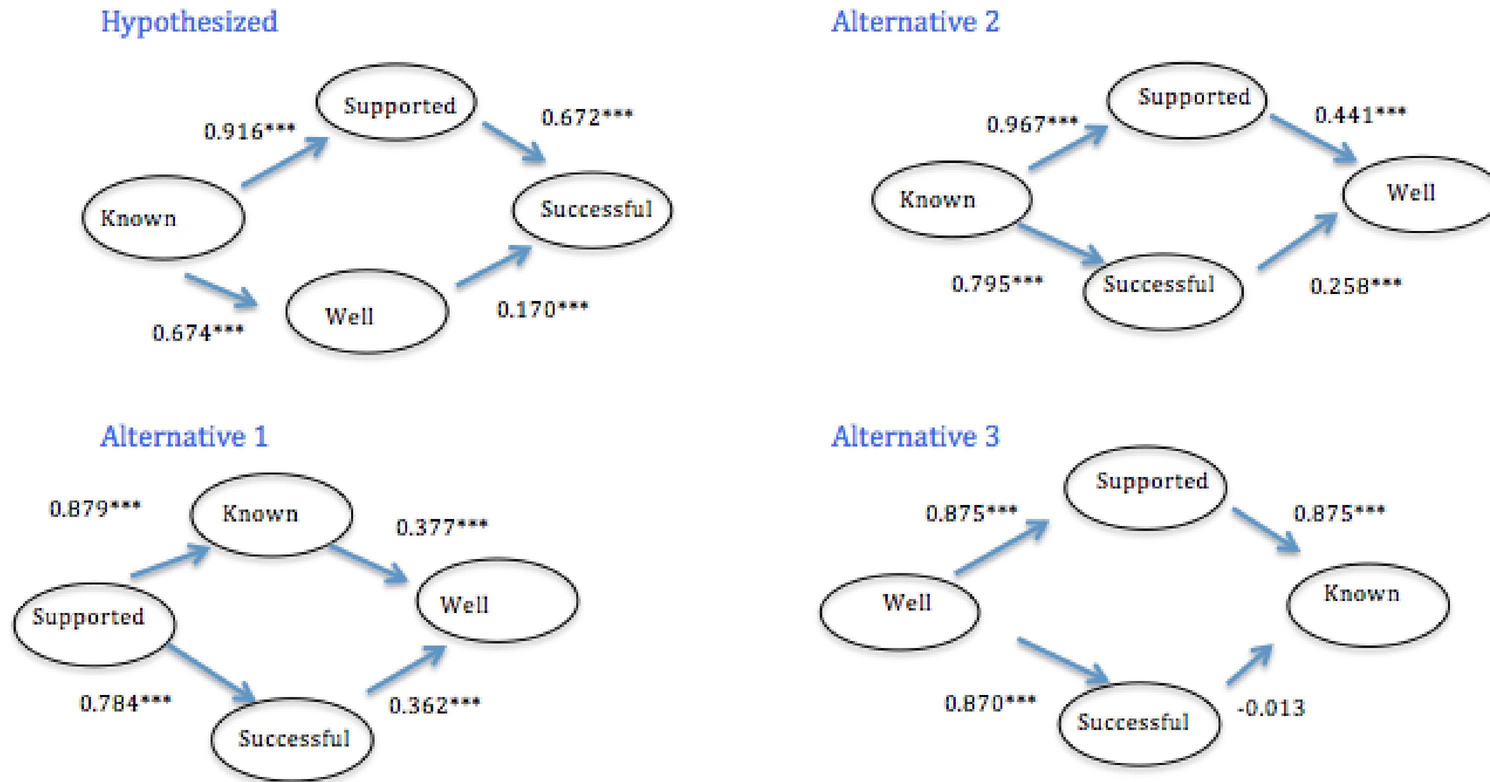
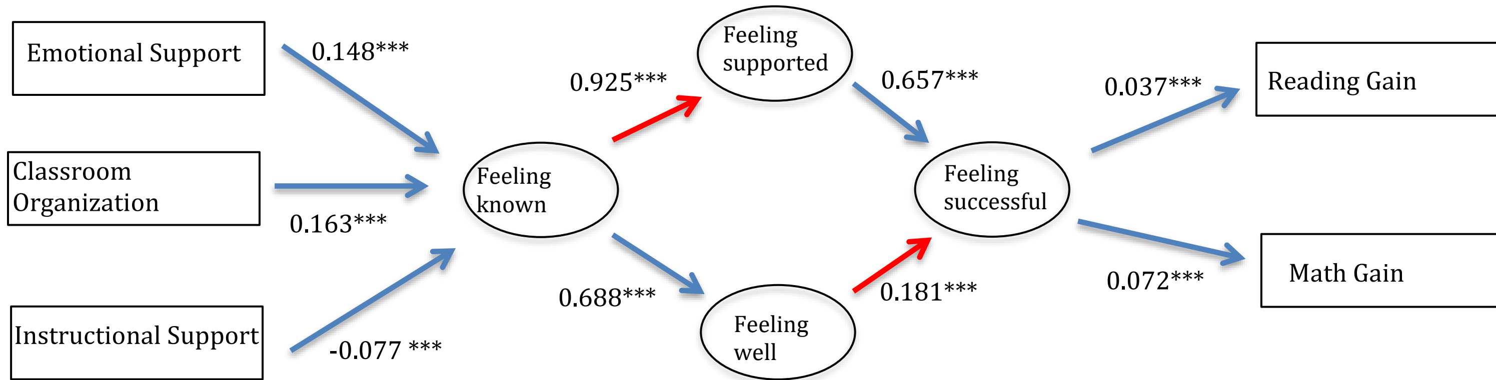


Figure E-5: Alternate structural models of students' perceptions (n=49,168). Model fit statistics also shown; standardized coefficients shown, where *** p<0.001; covariates included but not displayed.



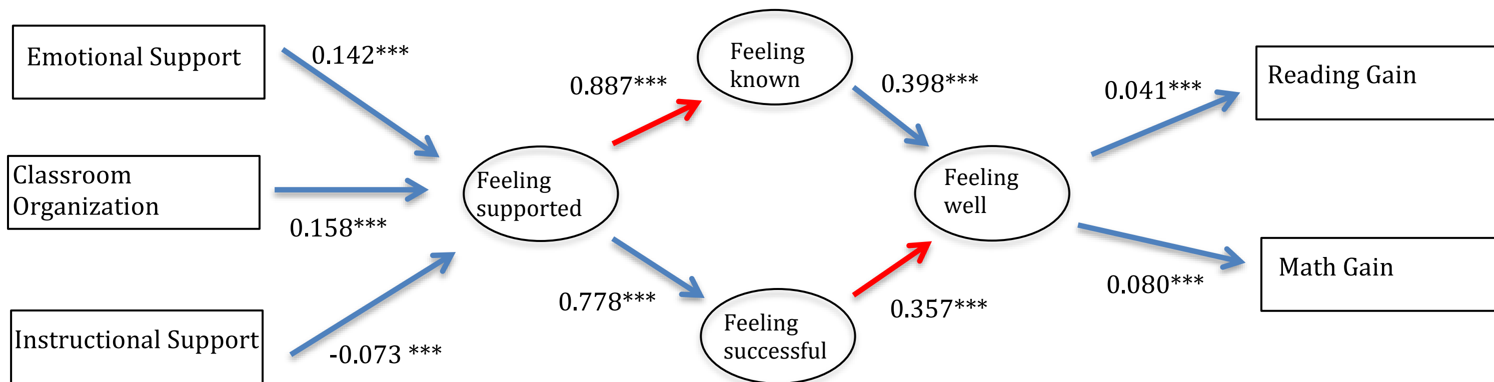
FIT STATISTICS	**Hypothesized model**	Alternative 1	Alternative 2	Alternative 3
RMSEA	**0.050**	0.049	0.052	0.059
CFI/TLI	**0.973/0.968**	0.975/0.970	0.972/0.966	0.963/0.956
Chi-square	**25811**	24463	27436	35672

Figure E-6a: Full structural model making knownness focal (n=30,046) with CLASS teaching practice domains, students' perceptions, and student achievement gains. Standardized coefficients shown; *** p<0.001; For clarity, perception items and covariates are included but not shown.



Model Fit:	*Total Indirect Effects:*	
Chi-square: 14697	Reading→Emotional Support	0.004***
RMSEA: 0.039	Math→Emotional Support	0.008***
CFI/TLI: 0.976/0.972	Feeling successful→Emotional Support	0.109***
	Reading→Organization	0.004***
	Math→Organization	0.009***
	Feeling successful →Organization	0.119***
	Reading→Instr. Support	-0.002**
	Math→Instr. Support	-0.004***
	Feeling successful →Instr. Support	-0.056***

Figure E-6b: Full structural model making support focal (n=30,046) with CLASS teaching practice domains, students' perceptions, and student achievement gains. Standardized coefficients shown; *** $p<0.001$; For clarity, perception items and covariates are included but not shown.



Model Fit:
Chi-square: 14119
RMSEA: 0.039
CFI/TLI: 0.977/0.973

Total Indirect Effects:

Reading→Emotional Support	0.004***
Math→Emotional Support	0.007***
Feeling well →Emotional Support	0.111***
Reading→Organization	0.004***
Math→Organization	0.008***
Feeling well →Organization	0.123***
Reading→Instr. Support	-0.002**
Math→Instr. Support	-0.004***
Feeling well →Instr. Support	-0.057***

Figure E-7a: Structural model explored prior to final expanded model; overview only.

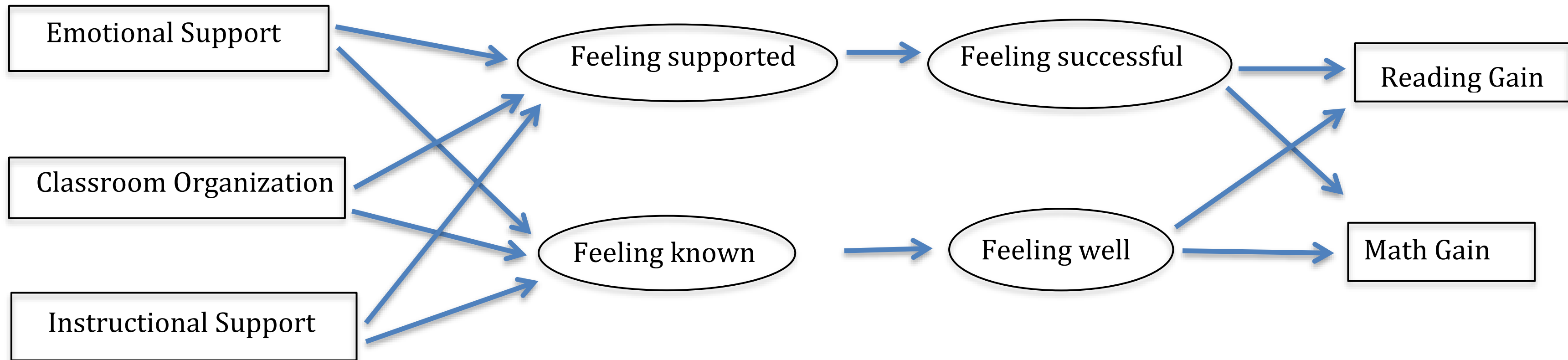


Figure E-7b: Structural model explored prior to final expanded model; overview only; red arrows highlight difference from Figure E-7a.

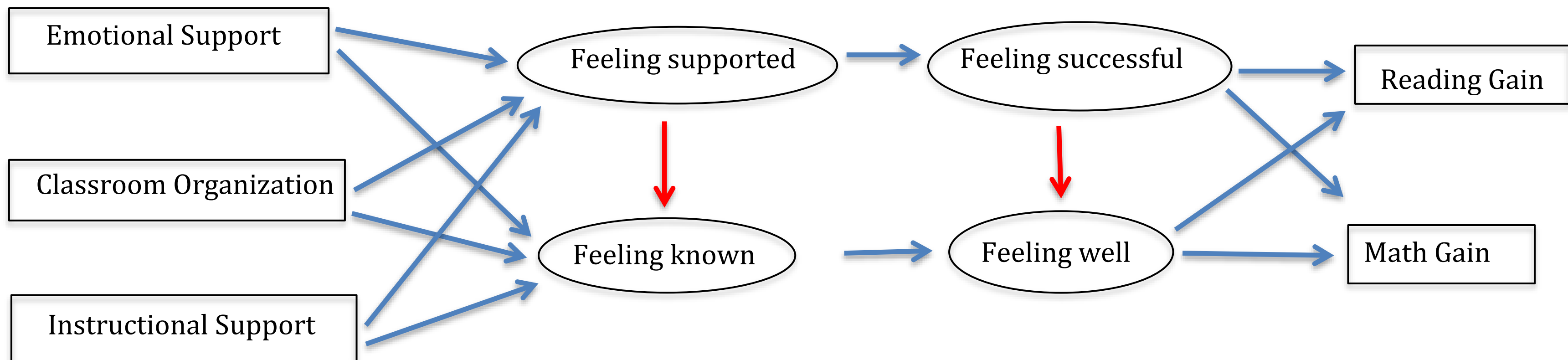


Figure E-7c: Structural model explored prior to final expanded model; overview only; red arrows highlight difference from Figure E-7a.

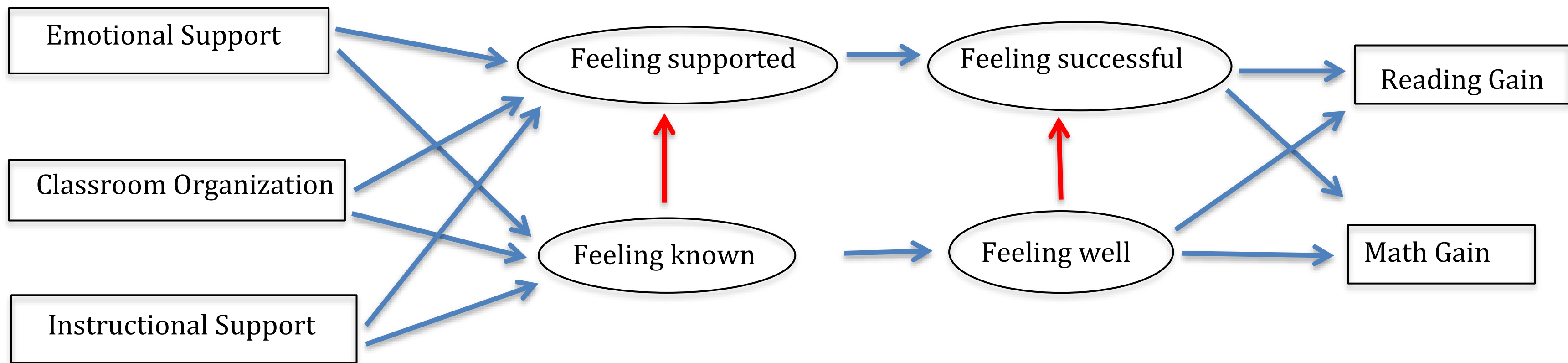


Figure E-7d: Structural model explored prior to final expanded model; overview only; red arrows highlight difference from Figure E-7a.

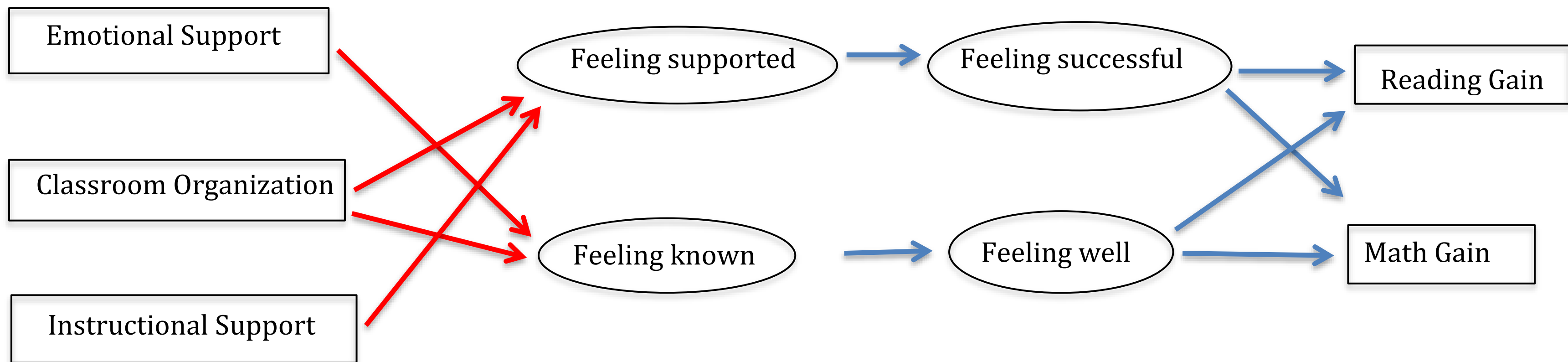
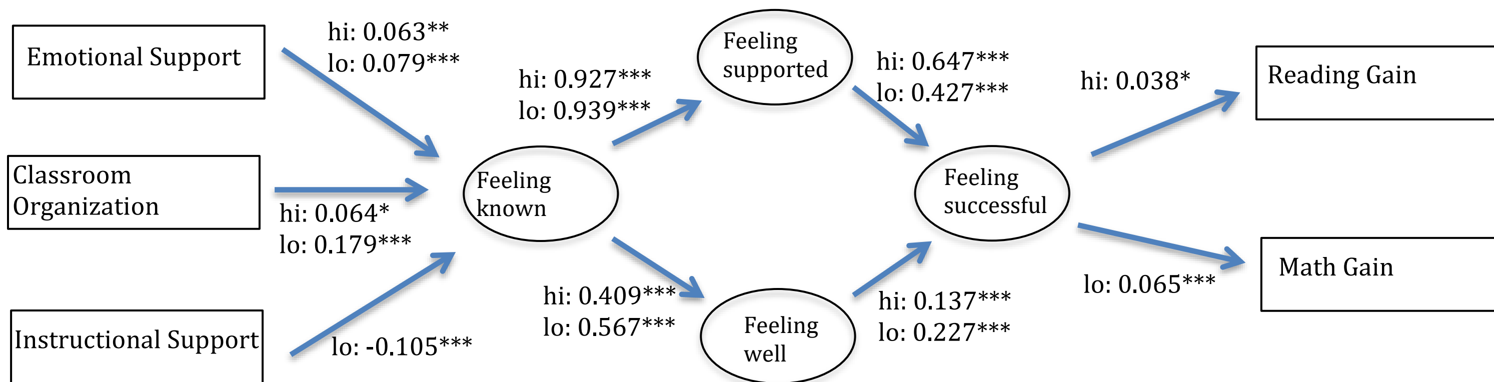


Figure E-8: Structural model of CLASS teaching practice domains, students' perceptions, and student achievement gains, showing results of subgroup analysis. Standardized coefficients shown; *p<0.05, **p<0.001, ***p<0.001; For clarity, included items and covariates not shown. Coefficients for subgroups of students with top-50% knownness and support ("hi", n=6,423) and bottom-50% knownness and support ("lo", n=6,533). For clarity, only significant coefficients are shown.



Model Fit:
<u>High-50% subgroup:</u>
Chi-square: 2830
RMSEA: 0.036
CFI/TLI: 0.938/0.928
WRMR: 2.504
<u>Low-50% subgroup:</u>
Chi-square: 5358
RMSEA: 0.050
CFI/TLI: 0.911/0.897
WRMR: 3.441

Indirect Effects:

Reading (both subgroups)→
- Emotional Support: NS
- Organization: NS
- Instructional Support: NS
- Knownness: hi 0.025*

Math (both subgroups)→
- Emotional Support: lo 0.003**
- Organization: lo 0.006**
- Instructional Support: lo -0.004*
- Knownness: lo 0.034***

Feeling successful (hi subgroup)→
- Emotional Support: 0.041**
- Organization: 0.042*
- Instructional Support: NS
- Knownness: 0.657***

Feeling successful (low subgroup)→
- Emotional Support: 0.042***
- Organization: 0.093***
- Instructional Support: -0.056**
- Knownness: 0.530***

APPENDIX F

Chapter 3 Codebook

Name: *Definition*
Example(s)

Site Selection: Is there justification to choose this setting as an exemplar for relational teaching practice, according to students' perceptions?

Favorable: *The student describes the teacher or his/her relationship with the teacher in positive terms, as "liking" the teacher, connecting or getting along, looking forward to their class, having a good experience in the class, and the like.*

"Although for the first, like, my social studies teacher, he was (laughs) ... in the first day of school he gave a presentation of his timeline of life and what his degree was and how he struggled a few years and he wants us to relate to it. At first I thought it was strange just because it hadn't happened before like that, somebody giving a whole timeline of their life and the name of their kids and how they traveled on their honeymoon (laughs), but then I was like, hey that's pretty cool, I can relate to that. I think some kids would think it's weird. It is different, but it's awesome." (Salma, Student Interview)

"Same thing with Mrs. ______—Yes, so I connected with Mrs. _______ the first two weeks of school, the English teacher. I, um, because I screwed up and forgot to turn in a homework assignment, then my grade already went down to a B, and I was like, can I just make it up? Cuz she used to teach at public school before she came here, so she knows the late policy, like just turn it in whenever at public schools, and like she—we
had a good discussion about it, how it's different here, so now I know to turn all my work in on time and all that. It really helped cuz I was really upset, I was like, I got a B already, it's the first two weeks. Just a stupid homework assignment, but..." (Leah, Student Interview)

Unfavorable: *The student describes the teacher or his/her relationship with the teacher in negative terms, as not "liking" the teacher, not connecting or getting along, dreading their class, having a bad experience in the class, and the like.*

"Hillary: Ok. So yeah, do you have anything else you would want to say about your thoughts on the way teachers can build relationships with students or get to know them, or anything else about teachers who are really good at that or really bad at that?
Hakim: Um, kinda like when teachers, this is more of a negative aspect, like when teachers don't really attempt or try to see through the same perspective as you, that can be, like bad.
Hillary: Has that happened to you?

Hakim: Yeah.
Hillary: What happened?
Hakim: Like... I recently had an English paper and I feel like... there are things that I wrote that made sense to me, but didn't make sense to the teacher, but could make sense, like in a larger aspect.
Hillary: If she tried to understand or asked you or something.
Hakim: Yeah.
Hillary: So you got the paper back and realized that's what she thought and then did anything else happen? Did you try to talk to her or talk to Mrs. Carroll or anything?
Hakim: Um, it's kind of like in the middle of it right now, but I don't know yet.
Hillary: Hmm, that's interesting. I'm glad you said that. How does it make you feel going into that class now and trying to collaborate with her?
Hakim: I feel like... my academic grade also suffered.
Hillary: Yeah, that's stressful.
Hakim: Yeah, it's kind of stressful in that class now.
Hillary: Yeah, you seem like someone who's really motivated and care a lot about this. I'm sorry. So if you could fix how this teacher did this, even if she still gave you the feedback, what do you wish she did? If she knew how you felt, what do you
wish she'd do?
Hakim: Like try to come see me, to try to see where I was coming from." (Hakim, Student Interview)

"Hillary: So who is your advisor?
Liam: Ms. ______.
Hillary: Ok, and have you met with her this year?
Liam: I have a few times.
Hillary: Ok and what did you generally talk about.
Liam: Uh, scheduling and also like soft skills stuff. Um, organization of my materials, uh, classwork, and
generally overall how I'm doing in classes.
Hillary: Ok, so pretty much academic?
Liam: Mmm-hmm.
Hillary: Do you guys get along?
Liam: Uh, I think she means well for the most part, but she comes off as very strict and kind of, um, there's probably a better word for this but kind of mean and... she doesn't drop things lightly, she's like, just go do this. So I find that kind of annoying and hard to work with from my perspective, but like I said I think she means well by her work." (Liam, Student Interview)

Neutral or Unclear: *The student does not clearly say one way or the other whether they have a positive or negative view of the teacher or his/her relationship with the teacher.*

"Hillary: Ok so who is your advisor?
Josh: My advisor is Mrs. ______.
Hillary: Ok, and how often have you two met so far?
Josh: This year, we usually meet once a week, I didn't meet with her last week, so there's

been a couple weeks where I had gaps, but mostly every week.
Hillary: Ok, and what do you usually talk about?
Josh: Um, we usually talk about, take a quick look at my grades, see how I'm doing; if I have any questions regarding teachers or anything happening around campus or anything like that, she can answer those; if I'm having any problems on campus, I can talk to her; um, like this happened I don't know how to deal with this, I go to my advisor." (Josh, Student Interview)

Mixed: *The student's description of the teacher or his/her relationship with the teacher consists of a mix of Favorable and Unfavorable characterizations.*

"Dara: Like Mr. Adler is like... I don't even know how to describe him. He's just Adler. (Laughs)
Hillary: Do you like him as a teacher?
Dara: I do.
Hillary: Yeah, so what do you like about him?
Dara: He's very knowledgeable in what he's teaching about. Um, doesn't make like a lot of mistakes. Like if a teacher was teaching math and would make mistakes, she'd be like 2+2 is... 6, and I'd be like (laughs). He doesn't do a lot of that. Um (pause) he likes to give us more challenging work so that it can expand our minds, and not just like within our comfort zones, cuz a lot of the stuff he tries to teach us, I'm like (Making a face)... No!
…
Hillary: Ok, and... do you think he's been trying to build a relationship with you individually?
Dara: No. (Laughs)
Hillary: How come?
Dara: I mean, like he doesn't, I was just talking about this with one of my friends. I said that Mr. Adler doesn't seem... like he's trying to be, but he comes off as sexist to me. So, and I don't know if that has anything to do with his comfort level with young girls, which I know can be really hard when you're a man
that age. But um—
Hillary: Why do you get that sense?
Dara: I don't know, um... I think it's a blend with that and just like a basic favoritism of who's involved in class. And I think maybe there tends to be boys... but....
Hillary: So do you feel like the boys are dominating that class? I don't want to put words in your mouth.
Dara: I don't know. (Laughs) I don't feel like they're dominant, I think they just like, like if he's looking for an answer, he's probably looking for a boy's answer first. That was real interesting to me.
Hillary: Ok... when you say he's looking for a boy's answer, how do you know?
Dara: I guess cuz most of the students that are in his advisory are boys, so...
Hillary: Oh, ok, so they're participating a lot more.
Dara: Right, mmm-hmm.
Hillary: Are these the boys that sit up front?
Dara: Maybe yeah.
Hillary: Ok, well that's really interesting. So you don't feel like he's building a relationship with you. Do you feel like he kind of gets who you are, or understands who you are?

Dara: (pause) On like a surface level? Hillary: Like on any level. If I asked him to tell me about you, what would he probably say? Dara: Mostly like academic things (laughs), like my work, stuff like that." (Dara, Student Interview)
Main RQ: What relational practices do teachers enact?
Forming a complete picture of who students are: *Teachers endeavor to find out an array of information about students from a variety of sources, including students themselves, parents or family members (especially siblings), friends, colleagues, and counselors. Teachers gather information proactively and catalog other information they receive to form a sophisticated picture of each student.* "She asks if class is going ok for her, and Farah says yes and that she really likes it. Mrs. Carroll asks what she likes about it, and Farah says that they get to read every day. "That's my favorite part too," Mrs. Carroll says. 'You already finished a book!' Mrs. Carroll adds. Farah says that she doesn't even usually like to read. 'Could've fooled me," Mrs. Carroll says with a smile. She spins around and pulls up Google Classroom to show Farah examples of the book projects by past students. "Oh, wow, ok," Farah says as she looks. 'Who's lucky enough to be your advisor?' Mrs. Carroll asks Farah. Farah says the name of one of the counselors. Mrs. Carroll smiles and says she's like her too because on a lot of school issues when Mrs. Carroll doesn't know something, she turns to that counselor. Farah looks interested to hear this and says, 'You learn something new every day.' (Observation Notes, Carroll) "I mean I guess she kind of figures it out because there's staff meetings and Mrs. _____ told the rest of the staff, like, hey he feels like this because of the funeral, stuff like that, so she came up to me and I appreciated that. But I wasn't really in a bad mood. If I was, I feel like she would attempt to help." (Sebastian, Student Interview) "She says they are supposed to be on the lookout for signs of drug use, and she mentions that it's hard to tell because with edibles and vaping and other options, it's tougher to just 'smell' if a student used a drug during lunch. She mentions that the faculty discussed her as a student of concern at their meeting that morning and a teacher shared that she saw her go to lunch with another student who is a known concern." (Observation Notes, Ventura) "Mrs. Ventura says one thing she's learning from the introduction letters is that a lot of students this year come from really big families with many siblings." (Observation Notes, Ventura) "I think about the first things I ask, like what books are important to you, what stories are important to you, what are your research interests, and then I ask if there's anything else you want me to know about you, and sometimes they'll tell me about like, you know, learning disability status or special needs, that's actually not only legally important to me to know but important to me as a teacher." (Adler, Interview 4)

“Hillary: Ok, how about the things you know about students, like about a dad being in the hospital or kids having injuries, I noticed you seem to already know these things going into class and then sometimes you’re just asking how are you and finding out.
Mrs. Carroll: Some of those are based on past conversations. I think when Shauna was talking about her dad, like, she’s my advisee so she had told me about some stuff that was going on, and she also talked to another teacher who told me about it.” (Carroll, Interview 2)

“He shares with me the index cards he has students fill out the first few days of school. He asks about their name, their preferred name and pronunciation, stories that are important to them, their research interests, and anything else they’d like to share. For research interests, he tells me he sees students and wants them to see themselves as grad students, in the sense that they should have interests they pursue on their own and connections they find in their learning. I read a few of the cards and note a few:
-‘I am very quiet and have difficulty in group projects.’
-‘I like books in hard copy.’
-‘I always write a star next to my name.’
-‘No stories are important to me yet.’
-‘I don’t like to raise my hand.’
-‘I have ADHD and Asberger’s (sic).’
-I tend to try to micromanage group projects.’
-Another card lists LGBT literature as an interest but not the romance novels because they are ‘boring.’” (Observation Notes, Adler)

Connecting through shared interest in content: *Teachers connect with students via a shared interest in content, such as books they are reading or topics they are discussing. In these passages, teachers express a sense of connection or having something in common with a student dealing with an academic topic.*

“Hillary: So it sounds like the way you’ve been connecting with him is sometimes through the work and sometimes through conversation.
Mrs. Carroll: Yup, conversation prompted by the work.
Hillary: Would you say that happens a lot… that the relationships starts with the content, or do you think you can have another separate thing that’s personal?
Mrs. Carroll: No, I think sometimes you can’t even start the content until you have the other thing. (Laughs)” (Carroll, Interview 2)

“Hillary: So how do you think you would know that one student differently if she went into your academic class?
Mrs. Ventura: I’m not sure... I’m not sure... because I just know—I mean, I know all the other teachers are saying she’s great, she’s a really good student, she’s a hard worker, she’s a nice kid, so I feel like I would just have positive thoughts about her, you know.
Hillary: It’s like how your daughter is here... you know her but don’t see her in class, so there’s one relationship but not the other dimension.
Mrs. Ventura: Yeah, exactly, it’s weird.
Hillary: Is it less like a teacher-student relationship?

Mrs. Ventura: It is less like a teacher-student, and you know, when I do meet with her, you know, again there's a lot about having them in class and being their advisor that helps solidify that. At least, if nothing else, you're getting a lot of face time, right, and they know you as a teacher too, so she doesn't—I think about it in the other way too, like she doesn't know what kind of teacher I am, she doesn't know how I am in the classroom, so I even think in that way, she only knows me as this person I go to—you know what I mean, so I think for both of us it's missing." (Ventura, Interview 3) "When they finish, Mrs. Carroll passes out handouts and while walking around comments on student-selected reading books. 'You'll finish that next week, I bet,' she says to one student. 'Which one'd you grab?' she asks another. 'Your book is sooo funny!' she says to another, and asks if she's seen the TV show Freaks and Geeks." (Observation Notes, Carroll)
Initiating or allowing conversations unrelated to class or meetings: *Teachers allow or initiate "off-topic" conversations during teaching or advising. Teachers make time for discussing students' lives outside of school, such as events on the college campus, Halloween, or a Netflix series everybody is watching. In these moments, the conversation is more casual, relaxed, humorous, and personal. Also includes teachers going on tangents while teaching, discussing related but separate topics or real-life examples that become stories.* "and so being able to—and it's hard, I feel like, if I had to chart out like, how I do it, there's certain inviolable sort of givens I want to operate within, and then everything else can be flexible. Because... yeah, because— and I hope I do it clearly enough, and I think I usually do, that like, there are certain things we don't laugh at, or there's certain things we always do to start the day or end the day, and I hope that creates enough of a safety structure that I can act as if there are like no rules whatever, look at this crazy person who's doing this silly thing, I can't believe we just had a 20 minute conversation about childbirth because like 5 people were really interested in it or whatever. Because then it's like you never know what's gonna happen in this kind of exciting way or this authentic way." (Adler, Interview 3) ""He asks what else. A student says pathway panels are on the 21st, and Mr. Adler nods and repeats the time and that it's a half-day. He says if they went last year, it's optional this year, but they should still go if they're struggling to choose a pathway or want to explore other options. He also says it's a day they get to go home at 12, so planning will help them not get stuck at school if they rely on others for rides. Another student asks for the date of the panels again, and Mr. Adler answers in a riddle form that involves saying how many days it is before his birthday. Students ask when his birthday is, how old he is, etc. in response. Mr. Adler responds by saying he was born the year the Vietnam War ended and as far as age says, "At this point I've survived a fairly long life. If this were the Middle Ages, I'd be the oldest guy in the village." (Observation Notes, Adler) "As they leave, she says, 'Have a wonderful day! Have something delicious for lunch!' and encourages them to eat outside since it'll be nice out." (Observation Notes, Ventura) "Mrs. Carroll asks what she's going to do after school and shares that she's going to try to go

for a run since it's nice out." (Observation Notes, Carroll) "From across the room, he notices Muhammad's copy is already marked up. 'Muhammad, you have a pre-annotated copy?' he asks him. Muhammad nods, and Mr. Adler says it'd be interesting to think whether that helped him as he read. He adds that hopefully the person who annotated it 'wasn't a doofus,' and the students all laugh." (Observation Notes, Adler)
Sharing about one's own life: *Teachers share candidly about their own lives, telling students about their families, their own experiences in school, what they do outside of school, and more. Teachers are also open to answering personal questions.* "Calling the group back together, Mrs. Ventura says that some of these words they might not even know, and she gives the example of how she didn't know any Native American slurs until she met her husband who is 100% Native American." (Observation Notes, Ventura) "I always give what I would call a medium-temperature example, like I was in a car accident at 20 years old and it was really upsetting to me, and in the weeks and months that followed, something like a film that involved a sudden thing like a car accident would have been upsetting for me, and I would've wanted to say to an instructor, 'Hey can you please let me know ahead of time,' not, 'I refuse to watch a move that has a car accident,' so that's one way I try to give students some agency in helping me support them. I try to make the point that they have the right to be emotionally safe but not intellectually safe in class. It's kind of a complex point to make, but for me that's an important distinction." (Adler, Interview 3) "I really think one of the big things is you have to be open to sharing like who you are and kind of making yourself vulnerable, which is... which is hard—I mean, I've worked with teachers before, and I did have a principal once who was like, I want you to teach a couple of people how to do what you do, and I was like, ok I'll try, but one of them was really, really resistant to like, I don't want them to know anything personal about me, I don't want to share, like I am just here to teach this thing, and I'm like that's really not gonna work, like if you're not open to sharing who you are, then they're not going to be, and then it's just this robotic thing, and that's just not how it works really. And I guess maybe it works like that in some places, like maybe college classes, they're there, they tell you the content, and you take a test and you move on, but how much of that do you really remember, right, so... I don't know, and to me high school is not about just getting content in their heads. They're really gonna learn the content when they go to college. In high school it's really about learning how to... be a student, how to be a good human (laughs), how to interact with others, right. So for me it's about all those other things, but I really think, the number one thing, if you're gonna be good at this job, you have to be vulnerable, you have to be able to tell kids when you're wrong, and... yeah." (Ventura, Interview 3) "The word 'jigsaw' appears on the agenda, and a girl up front says she loves puzzles, and Mrs. Carroll says she loves puzzles too and does one every holiday with her family. She says she did one on her birthday this summer and looks for a photo of it on her phone, but can't find it, so she shows the girl a picture of her dog instead. She makes her way around the

room and asks Tarik how he is today, and he says good and asks how she is. She says tired because she was up past her bedtime last night." (Observation Notes, Carroll) "As a full class, she explains figurative language again, reading the definitions and talking about the author's choice. When she gets to simile, she says she couldn't forget what she learned in 4th grade with Sister Theresa, that simile has an L and so does 'like.' 'So thank you, Sister Theresa,' she says with a chuckle." (Observation Notes, Carroll)
Reflecting on one's own limitations or natural preferences in relationships: *Teachers think about their own boundaries and preferences when entering into relationships with students, as well as students' expressed or implied boundaries or preferences. Teachers are intentional about how they build relationships with individual students, taking different approaches for different students, and taking an approach that preserves their own emotional safety.* "Mr. Adler:I think once I became a parent, the kind of connection I made with students is a little less but… Hillary: Do you feel like it's a little less because you just have less emotional bandwidth, or something else? Mr. Adler: A little bit, yeah, and I'm more protective of my time, I'm not running activities. You know, it's those times like in the bus to the event when you're talking to someone, or here late in the day and somebody swings by just to talk about a book, when like the really neat stuff happens in some ways. Hillary: So you're just a little less available. Mr. Adler: Yeah, and I don't feel bad about that. But I also feel like, man you know, students need that sometimes. And they can get it from lots of different places and lots of different people." (Adler, Interview 1) "And I think the one thing I will say for myself that is a strength is I'm also aware of that, so I think for this student in particular, connecting him with our counselor, because I think he is equipped to handle those things." (Carroll, Interview 4) "Mrs. Ventura tells me that her husband always asks her if she has a sign on her forehead that attracts these types of kids to her (kids struggling emotionally). She says that at every school she's been at, she always has 'these kids' or they find her. She says that even though there wasn't advising at her old schools, these kids would come and talk to her in the same way." (Observation Notes, Ventura)
Responding to issues with tolerance and understanding: *When students are facing issues or struggles or are misbehaving in some way, teachers respond with patience and tolerance. Teachers respond to a student experiencing an issue or struggle with warmth, support, and validation. When students fall short of behavioral norms or expectations, teachers react calmly and without singling out or calling more negative attention to the behavior. Teachers view relationships with students as needing to endure despite issues that might arise, and they give students unconditional support no matter what is going on, including multiple chances to make things right.*

“And I think the other piece is we always couch that soft skills on that, we’re focusing on these so you can be successful later, so I think it helps build the relationship in that we approach it is, this is just to help you, that it’s all about your future success, so it’s not just us having these arbitrary expectations.” (Ventura, Interview 3)

“This is when he starts mentioning, sort of under his breath, that he’s not an ‘arty person’ and ‘had his doubts’ but figured out when he started the animation class that it’s the wrong track for him. As he tells me that he’s a ‘hot mess’ while Mrs. Carroll is at her computer looking up some information for him, she jumps in with ‘not at all.’ Nick adds that he’s ‘running on eight shots of espresso,’ and I see he looks either highly caffeinated or highly nervous. He’s also drinking from a Venti ice water; he works at Starbucks part-time. ‘That’s not good, my friend,’ Mrs. Carroll says about the espresso, but I notice she doesn’t make a huge deal of it.” (Observation Notes, Carroll)

“Andy raises his hand and says that he’ll still participate, but what “incentive” is there to participate as an audience member. Mr. Adler buys himself some time by standing, getting his phone out, taking a photo of the board sign-up, and then sitting back down, before answering. He says he’ll give Andy the short answer, though it ends up not being too short. He says first of all, it’s an expectation of the course. He says completing college is less about talent and more about the ability to getting things done and ‘not failing the team.’ He mentions working at Google as an example and how places like that choose graduates from liberal arts colleges where they didn’t necessarily study stuff directly related to whatever their job is but where they have learned how to think, exist with others, and buy into something. He says, ‘You have to put up with a certain amount of stuff not related to your own interests,’ in life, and that, ‘if you can’t do that, a lot of life is difficult.’ He says that also, despite school to this point feeling like a transaction where they consume information like a product, it’s really supposed to be a transformation. ‘You leave changed,’ he says. He says that schools are ‘making a public’ and that that’s why ‘we put everyone together, to work together, learn from each other… so you don’t murder each other as adults.’” (Observation Notes, Adler)

“Another student comes up. The advisor says this student has matured since 9th grade and isn’t making the weird noises anymore. Mr. Adler pips in with a relieved, ‘Yes!’ and Mrs. Ventura laughs and says, ‘We’re always gonna have those memories.’” (Observation Notes, Credentialing)

Recognizing and valuing students: *Teachers intentionally recognize students individually, notice their presence and acknowledge it, and express that they value, like, or enjoy the student. Teachers notice when students are facing a struggle, even if the student is not calling attention to it.*

“Lots of small talk conversations begin the class. Mrs. Carroll compliments one student on sitting in a new spot.” (Observation Notes, Carroll)

“Mrs. Ventura tells me that after students have presented, she’s been trying to say something

to them, or check in, or connect in some way, even to point out something she shares in common with them based on what they shared in their map memoir." (Observation Notes, Ventura)

"Like, Braden, he's been sitting up front lately cuz I bugged him about it, you know, it's just gonna be a long ride for him, and he's working and getting better, but it's gonna be a while. So I'll just call his name in the middle of an example and then he'll perk up, like, 'Oh, talking about me again!' And he plays along pretty well." (Observation Notes, Adler)

"She silently waves hello to a student who silently waves back on her way out the door to the water fountain." (Observation Notes, Carroll)

Protecting students' dignity through compassionate interactions: *Teachers directly address sensitive issues with students privately, sensitively, and subtly. Teachers show compassion and preserve the student's dignity, all while addressing important though difficult challenges.*

"She has students turn to discuss this with their tables, and she walks quickly over to Myra who looks hot or tired, and she asks if she's ok, quietly. Myra says she is but she leaves the classroom for a few minutes after that. Mrs. Carroll continues walking around listening to groups." (Observation Notes, Carroll)

"After a few more minutes, as students are waiting and getting settled into class chatting, Mr. Adler comes in and walks over to Andy's desk where there is an Arby's bag and half-eaten burger, along with his phone—left before Mr. Adler pulled him into the hall to send him to the Dean. He asks his neighbor who always sits there if that's all Andy's stuff, and he says yes. Mr. Adler starts to tell the neighbor to bring it to Andy later, but then decides to start carefully wrapping up the burger into the box and then back into the bag, and sets it off to the side. He sort of says to the neighbor that Andy will be back and just had to go to a meeting. To me it seems like not the whole truth, and I think the kid knows too, but he acts maturely and says, 'Oh, ok.'" (Observation Notes, Adler)

"They move on to new notes for today. Before that, Mrs. Ventura mentions that the test will be coming back at the end of class and that usually the first exam will be their lowest grade, and that even though she doesn't see huge differences between this test and later tests, she thinks people tend to learn how to study better and end up doing better on the next few tests." (Observation Notes, Ventura)

"'Feeling better?' Mrs. Ventura asks Alannah as she starts packing up. Alannah nods. Mrs. Ventura asks about her science test and then if she's feeling 'stressed or overwhelmed.' Alannah thinks and quietly says, 'Yeah, sort of.' Mrs. Ventura explains that this is the point in the semester where lots of students experience stress and the feeling of being overwhelmed. 'Know you're not alone,' she tells Alannah. 'It gets hard here for a little bit.' She adds that she always has Ms. ___ (her advisor) to complain to. 'That's what we're here for!' she says, smiling. 'Alright, kiddo,' she says as Alannah heads out." (Observation Notes, Ventura)

APPENDIX G

Chapter 3 Joint Coding Exercise

Site Selection: Is there justification to choose this setting as an exemplar for relational teaching practice, according to students' perceptions?	
Unit	**Colleague's Code (My Code)**
{Evaluate for Alannah only} Hillary: Ok and do you have Mr. Adler this year, or did you last year? Alannah: No but he and Mrs. ____, their advising is like combined, so. Hillary: So you kind of have him. *** Hillary: Ok, that's cool. So if we think about Mr. Adler with these questions... does he help you and try to build a relationship with you? Alannah: Yeah, he helps everyone. He does a good job at what he's doing... it's like, ok yeah he knows what he's doing. It doesn't necessarily have to be me, it could be somebody else, he'll just come over and explain it and then ask me if it makes sense and double-check if I still don't understand, so he's good at what he does. Hillary: Ok. So do you think you have a relationship with him or not really? Do you think he knows you? Alannah: He knows me. If he sees me or any of his students he'll come over and say hi and ask you how you're doing and then go on with his day, so. Yeah. *** Hillary: Ok so last one, Adler, what's the scoop on him among the friends? Alannah: Yeah, like Leah says, he does go more in charge than Mrs. ____— Leah: A lot! Alannah: But I think she's kind of like new to the program. He's been here for quite a while. And then I think kids get kind of annoyed because it could be lunch time and you're hanging out with your friends, and he'll walk up and be like, hi. Hillary: So that's annoying if a teacher does that? Leah: No, not if Mrs. Ventura—well it depends on how they're interacting. Alannah: Mrs. Ventura's in here. Mrs. Ventura eats with her teacher friends. Hillary: Alright, well that's helpful.	Mixed (Mixed)
Annie: Well, I just want to mention something. With Mrs. _____, I found her really hard but I really liked her still; I have a hard time not liking teachers I think.	Favorable (Favorable)

Hillary: The next question is kind of weird, but do you think she cares about you at this point, like you personally? Calvin: Sure? Yeah. Hillary: Does she do anything in particular to make you feel that way? Calvin: No, just I'm comfortable in the class I guess. Hillary: Ok. And what makes you comfortable? Calvin: I don't know. Hillary: Just a feeling? Calvin: Yeah.	Neutral/Unclear (Favorable)
[In this passage, Dara discusses two science teachers; evaluate both] So do you like to have close relationships with teachers? Or do you not really care? Dara: I think it can help my level of comfort within the class. But then it might distract how I'm actually doing in the class, like my grade. Hillary: Oh, ok, so if it's too close, you could get too casual about things? Dara: Yeah. And then expect my grade to be higher and then be like, what? Thought you liked me, bro. Hillary: Ok, has that ever happened? Dara: Uh, kind of. That happened with my science teacher this year. Because he was super chill about things, and then I have, cuz we have three different units, so I have a new teacher in science now, like now she's not like super... like I just miss my old science teacher. Hillary: I'm assuming that was ______ and ________. A lot of students like ________. What is it about him? A lot of people have described him as "chill," and I'm wondering what you really mean about that? Dara: (Laughs) Well, what I mean by chill is like... (pause) like, (laughs) I dropped an F bomb on him one time, in class, and like when I was talking to him (laughs). And he wasn't like, what, what did you say!? That just wasn't—there's just this level of comfort. Like, he's not my friend, but he's like not my dad. Hillary: That's a great way of putting it. So what did he do? He just let it go? Dara: Yeah. It was really different cuz then I dropped an S bomb, and like I'm not a consistent swearer, I'm not, but... Hillary: Just those two times? Dara: Just those two times (laughs). But that other teacher was like, whoa, chill yo! Hillary: Which is not chill. Dara: (Laughs)	*Teacher 1* Favorable (Favorable) *Teacher 2* Unfavorable (Unfavorable)
Hillary: Ok. So yeah, do you have anything else you would want to say about your thoughts on the way teachers can build relationships with students or get to know them, or anything else about teachers who are really good at that or really bad at that? Hakim: Um, kinda like when teachers, this is more of a negative aspect, like when teachers don't really attempt or try to see through the same perspective as you, that can be, like bad.	Unfavorable (Unfavorable)

Hillary: Has that happened to you? Hakim: Yeah. Hillary: What happened? Hakim: Like... I recently had an English paper and I feel like... there are things that I wrote that made sense to me, but didn’t make sense to the teacher, but could make sense, like in a larger aspect. Hillary: If she tried to understand or asked you or something. Hakim: Yeah. Hillary: So you got the paper back and realized that’s what she thought and then did anything else happen? Did you try to talk to her or talk to Mrs. Carroll or anything? Hakim: Um, it’s kind of like in the middle of it right now, but I don’t know yet. Hillary: Hmm, that’s interesting. I’m glad you said that. How does it make you feel going into that class now and trying to collaborate with her? Hakim: I feel like... my academic grade also suffered. Hillary: Yeah, that’s stressful. Hakim: Yeah, it’s kind of stressful in that class now. Hillary: Yeah, you seem like someone who’s really motivated and care a lot about this. I’m sorry. So if you could fix how this teacher did this, even if she still gave you the feedback, what do you wish she did? If she knew how you felt, what do you wish she’d do? Hakim: Like try to come see me, to try to see where I was coming from.	
Mrs. _____, I would talk to because she's my Advisor, I don't really feel like I have any connection to Mrs. _______; in fact, I don't even know if she's a Ms. or a Mrs. so I honestly don't know what to call her half the time, and usually whatever I say, I say. So I don't really feel like I know much about her, I don't feel like I have a personal connection with her like my sister does. I would like to have a connection with her, I just don't. Hillary: When she's teaching advising, does she share as much, like Mr. Adler does? Josh: No she keeps it more... Hillary: Yeah, so you feel like you can't get to know her as much? Josh: Yeah. Hillary: It's still early. Josh: It is early. Hillary: So would you say you have a negative connection with her? Josh: Well, but see—I wouldn't say—it's not negative, like I want to get to know her more. Hillary: It's just kind of neutral. Josh: Yeah! Neutral. Neutral's a great word.	Neutral/Unclear (Neutral/Unclear)
Hillary: Ok, so first question is, who's your Advisor? Kareem: Mr. _____. Hillary: Have you guys met yet? Kareem: Yes, we've met, we've had one brief meeting so far.	Neutral/Unclear (Neutral/Unclear)

Hillary: Ok, and did you set it up or did he? Kareem: I set it up. Hillary: Ok, and what did you talk about at it? Kareem: Um, it was more like a first orientation kind of thing where I just came in, he checked my grades, and we kind of talked about one of the areas I could improve on, so we checked those teacher comments that I had.	
Leah: Same thing with Mrs. ______—Yes, so I connected with Mrs. _______ the first two weeks of school, the English teacher. I, um, because I screwed up and forgot to turn in a homework assignment, then my grade already went down to a B, and I was like, can I just make it up? Cuz she used to teach at public school before she came here, so she knows the late policy, like just turn it in whenever at public schools, and like she—we had a good discussion about it, how it's different here, so now I know to turn all my work in on time and all that. It really helped cuz I was really upset, I was like, I got a B already, it's the first two weeks. Just a stupid homework assignment, but.	Favorable (Favorable)
Hillary: So who is your Advisor? Liam: Ms. ______. Hillary: Ok, and have you met with her this year? Liam: I have a few times. Hillary: Ok and what did you generally talk about. Liam: Uh, scheduling and also like soft skills stuff. Um, organization of my materials, uh, classwork, and generally overall how I'm doing in classes. Hillary: Ok, so pretty much academic? Liam: Mmm-hmm. Hillary: Do you guys get along? Liam: Uh, I think she means well for the most part, but she comes off as very strict and kind of, um, there's probably a better word for this but kind of mean and... she doesn't drop things lightly, she's like, just go do this. So I find that kind of annoying and hard to work with from my perspective, but like I said I think she means well by her work.	Unfavorable (Unfavorable)
{Evaluate for multiple relationships: Mikaela/Ventura, Mikaela/Carroll, Mikaela/Adler, Annie/Ventura, Annie/Carroll, Annie/Adler} Hillary: Do you like when teachers share about their own personal lives with you? And do you feel like these teachers do? Does it help you connect? Mikaela: I think there should be a balance of it because I've known teachers who share too much and some who don't share any. So I think bringing something up that has to do with the topic is one thing and that's fine, and it helps you get to know the teacher more, as long as it's not something really personal or they're bringing it up all the time. I think Ventura and Carroll have done that pretty well. Hillary: Was there anything they shared that made you feel like you had something in common or could connect with them? Mikaela: I can't think of anything but yeah. Hillary: Ok. And how about for you?	*Mikaela/Ventura* Favorable (Favorable) *Mikaela/Carroll* Favorable (Favorable) *Mikaela/Adler* Favorable (Favorable) *Annie/Ventura* Favorable (Favorable)

Annie: I like it when teachers talk about themselves. I think there should be a balance, but I find it interesting. Like Mrs. Carroll likes to talk about her dog and, uh, Mr. Adler one time brought his kid to class cuz we were doing a lexicon challenge, which is a word challenge, and I think that it's good when the teachers bring it up, and it depends if you can connect to it or not. Like with Mrs. Carroll bringing up her dog, I love dogs, I'm obsessed with my dog, I'm obsessed with all dogs. My Instagram username is puppylover... Hillary: That wasn't already taken? Annie: No puppylover#### (number). Hillary: Oh, ok. So does anything stand out that you had in common with them? Annie: Ventura's a big fan of the Cubs, and I'm not necessarily a big fan of the Cubs, but I also enjoy advisingball, so we connected on that. Mikaela: I haven't had Adler, but I've heard a bunch of people talk about how much he likes bread; that's something I can relate to. Annie: Yes, yes! He has a bread oven. Mikaela: I can relate to him in that aspect even though I've never had him.	*Annie/Carroll* Favorable (Favorable) *Annie/Adler* Favorable (Favorable)
{Evaluate for Myra/Carroll and Raven/Carroll} Hillary: So then the same question but about this school, a teacher you're connecting with the most and why. Or if none come to mind you can say that too. Myra: Carroll honestly. Raven: Yeah. Myra: I think she's right now my favorite teacher here. Raven: Yeah. Hillary: Nice, both of you. And so did you have her last year? (No) So why does she come to mind? Raven: She doesn't have it like you have to do one thing and if you don't do it, you get a bad grade on it, she knows that you're not gonna be perfect, and she doesn't try to bring you down about it. If you do something wrong, she'll just tell you, and she lets you retry and you can do better. Myra: And she's also one of those people who is happy all the time but not annoyingly happy, like she'll be happy on Mondays but it's in the morning, so I'm just like, oh yay, now I'm awake, more or less.	*Myra/Carroll* Favorable (Favorable) *Raven/Carroll* Favorable (Favorable)
Salma: Although for the first, like, my social studies teacher, he was (laughs) ... in the first day of school he gave a presentation of his timeline of life and what his degree was and how he struggled a few years and he wants us to relate to it. At first I thought it was strange just because it hadn't happened before like that, somebody giving a whole timeline of their life and the name of their kids and how they traveled on their honeymoon (laughs), but then I was like, hey that's pretty cool, I can relate to that. I think some kids would think it's weird. It is different, but it's awesome.	Favorable (Favorable)
Jess: Yeah Mr. ______ was my favorite teacher.	Favorable (Favorable)
Agreement on 20 units of students discussing particular teachers: 19/20 = 95%	

Main RQ: What were Lincoln teachers' relational practices?		
Unit	Colleague's Codes	My Codes
So I decided to start kind of keeping notes and making sure that I make sure to put notes in PowerSchool so that if I do give a kid an N there's a really clear connection to why. So that's really why I did it, I wanted to be able to make sure that my comments in PowerSchool support whatever grade they're gonna get for credentialing, and I don't want them to be surprised, you know what I mean? I don't want a kid to get an N and then come back to me and be like, I have no idea why, I want to be able to explain it. So I take the notes during class so that I can remember to put it in the computer at the end of the day.	Protecting students' dignity through compassionate interactions	Forming a complete picture of who students are Responding to issues with tolerance and understanding
Hillary: And do you feel like this is a piece in building relationships? Mrs. Ventura: I think so, I think it helps me, it keeps me more alert to notice things during class, it certainly helps me notice if there's behavior that's ... different for a student, like if it suddenly changes or things like that I notice.	Forming a complete picture of who students are	Forming a complete picture of who students are
Hillary: Ok, and then... the small talk conversations in the beginning of class, initiated by you and students. Do you have particular goals with that? Mrs. Carroll: I try to make sure, like in the back of my head, and I'd be so curious to find out how effective I am at this, to try to make sure I've had a personal interaction with every single kid every single day. And then, whether that was before class or during class or after class or academic or non-academic... that's my goal. And then I think at the beginning of class especially I tend to check in with the people that I feel like need it a little bit more... And so maybe it's a student who I know is having a rough go at it, or had a pretty negative crappy thing happen. And as a staff we're pretty informed about what's happening with one another's students, and so I might know, ok, this student just had a really tough meeting with the Dean and their Mom and, like, I'm not gonna be like, I'm so sorry about that meeting, but you know, Can I have a gummy bear, is that cool? (Laughs) Hillary: Is that what that was with Braden? Mrs. Carroll: Yup, yup. I don't know, just something cheesy but kind of like being recognized.	Forming a complete picture of who students are Recognizing and valuing students Protecting students' dignity through compassionate interactions	Forming a complete picture of who students are Recognizing and valuing students Protecting students' dignity through compassionate interactions
So the intro letters, kind of the same questions... as well as	Forming a	Forming a

your feedback on them. Mrs. Ventura: Yeah, so I guess it just came from when I was at the middle school, we worked in a team, an interdisciplinary team, and there were 3 of us on the team, and together the 3 of us just kind of came up with this intro letter. We each wrote a letter to the students and gave it to them on the first day as a way of introducing ourselves, and then we had them write back to us as a team. I don't quite remember why we started it other than we just thought it would be a good way to start the first day of school and have the kids get to know us and have us get to know them. And that's where that started. I had not used it for a while and I restarted it this year...	complete picture of who students are Sharing about one's own life	complete picture of who students are Sharing about one's own life
Hillary: Ok, so student-selected reading, I feel like that's a way you bond with kids, so can you tell me about that. Mrs. Carroll: Yeah. It's two things that help each other. So one thing, to me student-selected reading is central to my curriculum. It's something I advocated for, when I first started working here it hadn't been part of the school, and I felt it was really important to have, and I still feel that way. It's not perfect, and I know kids are just texting some of the time, and I'm like actually sort of ok with that. But (laughs) I really made the case for it, and I feel really strong about it curricularly, but I think being able to talk to kids and get them excited about reading, and having them, like— validate their choices and honor where they are and what they're interested and celebrate when they finish a book and give them the opportunity to share what they've read and encourage, like oh my gosh, you're gonna finish that, that's awesome, tell me what's going on, um... did you like it, what are you gonna read next, who would you recommend—I'm trying to kind of like create this environment where they see themselves as readers. That's way more true for my second hour class where we do that four times a week than it is in my first hour class where we only do it twice a week, but I think for most of the students in my first hour class it's not as necessary as it is for the students in my second hour class. Yeah, no I think having relationships with students helps me recommend books, keep them engaged, keep them reading, but I also think the conversations I'm able to have with them about their books are a way that I get to know them better and I get to reinforce the relationship at whatever level it already exists. I think that helps.	Connecting through shared interest in content Responding to issues with tolerance and understanding	Connecting through shared interest in content Responding to issues with tolerance and understanding
Hillary: Totally. Ok, how about... things you know about students, like about a dad being in the hospital or kids	Forming a complete picture	Forming a complete

having injuries, I noticed you seem to already know things going into class, and then sometimes you're just asking how are you, or reacting to Joey's new boots, and those are clear, but other times I'm like, how did she know that. Mrs. Carroll: Some of those are based on past conversations. I think when Nicole was talking about her dad, like, she's my advising student, she had emailed me that stuff was going on, and she also talked to another teacher who told me about it. I think Rashad and I were complaining about the dentist because we both had a dentist appointment and both hate the dentist, so we bonded over that. Hillary: Like, how'd you know—did he miss class? Mrs. Carroll: I feel like he missed class and told me about it, and I was like, dude, me too, like I have to go also. (Laughs)	of who students are Sharing about one's own life Recognizing and valuing students Initiating or allowing conversations unrelated to class or meetings	picture of who students are Sharing about one's own life Initiating or allowing conversations unrelated to class or meetings
Hillary: Ok, so another thing... it's actually kind of about Rashad. Something I've noticed here in general is that any kind of side talk or behavior stuff that goes on, which isn't a lot at all, but there is some, and it seems like it doesn't get addressed in class but probably gets addressed in other ways that I wasn't able to see, like PowerSchool comments maybe. A specific case the other day, I noticed Rashad—and I'm sure you noticed too— Mrs. Carroll: Yup. Hillary: —didn't do any work with the group at the end, the group of 3, and I'm just curious what you were thinking or if you kind of let some kids have days like that or moments like that. Mrs. Carroll: Yeah, so I think it's a combination, and it's not a system, it's just a like, I throw it up there and sometimes it sticks. So sometimes you need an off day, and so do I, and I'm not gonna bug you. I also think I try, and I don't know how good I am at doing this, I try taking the temperature, like I'm not gonna push you, if your body is in school today, and that's all you could do, I'm so happy you're here. (Laughs) Like I'm gonna just leave you alone and, like, let you exist. If it's a pattern thing, like, I'm gonna talk to you about it, like, I noticed this.. and that's what I did with Rashad, like I noticed what's kinda goin on, and he wasn't feeling well, and I was like, well you're gonna need that at some point, so let me know what you need to do. Um... I think my, what I try to always do is talk to the student and ask a question, that's not like do this now.	Responding to issues with tolerance and understanding Protecting students' dignity through compassionate interactions Reflecting on one's own limitations or natural preferences in relationships	Responding to issues with tolerance and understanding Protecting students' dignity through compassionate interactions
Hillary: Ok, and what do you do to introduce yourself to	Reflecting on	Reflecting on

students in the first day or two? Mr. Adler: Oh, it's different with MC a little bit than 9th grade. I mean there are some similarities, but. In MC I try to get down to business right away, and the relationship building I think occurs, I hope, a little more naturally over the course of the first 2 or 3 weeks of curriculum. So one of the very first things I have them do is fill out a notecard, and so I explain my response to that to them, so I do the same, so here's who I am, here are my research interests, here are some books that are important to me that I've read recently, and then I do the backside of the card, so here are some things that might help you to know, just things about me as a teacher that are important to me, that kind of thing. Hillary: Do you do it before they do it? Mr. Adler: Yeah, so I do it when I introduce the task. So that's one way that I try to start that.	one's own limitations or natural preferences in relationships Forming a complete picture of who students are Connecting through shared interest in content Sharing about one's own life	one's own limitations or natural preferences in relationships Forming a complete picture of who students are Connecting through shared interest in content Sharing about one's own life
Um... you know I definitely like try... either as an overt kind of warm-up, like welcome back to our place, like let me talk to you about my cat or my son, do a little bit of that, but sometimes I'll use those things as tension breakers or ways to resolve spots where a student looks like they're embarrassed or if the curriculum's gotten really difficult or something like that, then I can sometimes return to those things, and, like, well if you think that's embarrassing, you should hear about the time that I got locked in the bathroom here, so there's a little bit of that.	Sharing about one's own life Protecting students' dignity through compassionate interactions Initiating or allowing conversations unrelated to class or meetings	Sharing about one's own life Protecting students' dignity through compassionate interactions Initiating or allowing conversations unrelated to class or meetings
Annie: For Adler, I took his course in the winter, and it was really hard. I got my lowest grade in that class, which wasn't a bad grade or anything, it was just like my hardest class. Um, I thought he was good at teaching, but sometimes we weren't always learning English, we were learning philosophy stuff, so we would get different perspectives to write about stuff, this happened sort of in my spring semester when I took him again and we read a different book every week and um, then we would write about it, like a post, and then wrote an essay about it, and I thought his class was hard but I thought he provided the necessary supports for me to succeed in that class, cuz in that class I actually did much better, cuz I think I was	Connecting through shared interest in content Initiating or allowing conversations unrelated to class or meetings	Connecting through shared interest in content Initiating or allowing conversations unrelated to class or meetings

better at, uh, actually... using him. Hillary: So do you feel like you had a good relationship with him? Annie: I do, like if I see him in the hallway, he's like hey, and then I tell him the books I've been reading...		
Hillary: Ok, and what about Ventura and Carroll? Annie: I had Ventura in the fall semester, and I really liked her. There was some fooling around in class but again I think we got the work done and I don't think it was too much of a distraction and we, this semester, she reached out to me and asked if she could use a project I did last year, and I was like sure, and it was really nice to talk to her again, and whenever I see my old teachers, it's like, hey how you doing, like we stop and talk for a little bit.	Recognizing and valuing students	Recognizing and valuing students
Hillary: During class, when do you tend to talk to her? From before to during to after... Myra: A lot of times she'll come around to the tables and be like, oh that looks really good, or something like that... Raven: Yeah.	Forming a complete picture of who students are Recognizing and valuing students	Forming a complete picture of who students are Recognizing and valuing students
Myra: And then if you look like you're falling asleep like I was, I fell asleep a couple times cuz I can't sleep, she would come up and be like, hey go take a walk around the building or something. Hillary: Interesting, so did she know ahead of time about—is there a sleeping issue there? Myra: It's not so much an issue, it's just certain weeks I fall into a pattern. Hillary: Ok, and she seemed to understand that, or did you have to explain it to her? Myra: I didn't, the only people that really know are at my table and from my old school. Hillary: But she didn't make you feel bad about it, she just said here's what you need. Did that help build trust? Myra: It made it like, hey I can feel sucky and she won't be like, hey perk up, be happy.	Responding to issues with tolerance and understanding Protecting students' dignity through compassionate interactions	Responding to issues with tolerance and understanding Protecting students' dignity through compassionate interactions
Do you remember in the first week, did he give you an opportunity to introduce yourself to him? Joe: Yeah, he had us write down on an index card our name, what we like to do, something that might be a challenge for us. Hillary: Do you remember what you wrote? Joe: My name, I said I like to write video games, and I	Forming a complete picture of who students are	Forming a complete picture of who students are

said I mostly have trouble with completing homework. Hillary: Ok.		
And... do you remember if he introduced who he is? Joe: Yeah. Hillary: Do you remember anything standing out about what he told you? Joe: That he has a fat cat.	Sharing about one's own life	Sharing about one's own life
Observation. She asks if he's started the article analysis for her class. Sebastian says yes, he's actually broken it into 4 nights of work for himself, and he was going to start tonight. Mrs. Ventura is clearly impressed and tells him so, and asks him if he wrote this plan down for himself somewhere. He says yes, on his whiteboard, and she asks if he had that last year, to which he says yes but mostly for chores. Mrs. Ventura says that she's hearing that work completion might have also been a home issue from the sounds of it, and he agrees, volunteering that especially vacuuming was hard for him to always do. Sebastian tells a story about how he took it upon himself to put away clean laundry for his whole family after it piled up for a few weeks this summer and after getting a bit descriptive, he says, "This is weird to talk about." Mrs. Ventura replies, "It's ok, we went there."	Forming a complete picture of who students are Initiating or allowing conversations unrelated to class or meetings	Forming a complete picture of who students are Initiating or allowing conversations unrelated to class or meetings
Mrs. Ventura then asks if he's using a planner this year (the school gives them out), and he says yes but as soon as his phone is fixed, he'll be switching planning to his phone. Mrs. Ventura marks this as important and asks a bunch of questions about why he hasn't had a phone and whether this is why he's made the turn-around. Sebastian explains that he isn't a phone addict and he's actually enjoyed not having a phone all summer, so he'll continue to be ok once the phone is with him again.	Forming a complete picture of who students are	Forming a complete picture of who students are
He segues into the short story from yesterday, asking students to take it out and look at what annotations they made. He asks them to think of general responses or reactions first just from looking back at the story and their notes. He cues up three students to talk and then they share. Mila shares a response about how it's a weird situation, society is based on one person, she doesn't think it's true happiness, and she does a nice job summarizing some key points; it's a great starting comment for the discussion. Mr. Adler writes what she has said in paraphrased form on the board in the form of a few questions. The second student shares that maybe the point is that we need imperfection to realize what perfection is, and that he finds it weird the narrator asks the audience	Connecting through shared interest in content Recognizing or valuing students Protecting students' dignity through compassionate interactions	Connecting through shared interest in content Recognizing or valuing students Protecting students' dignity through compassionate interactions

questions. Mr. Adler writes versions of these thoughts on the board as questions. Mila raises her hand while the second student is sharing, and Mr. Adler lets him finish, writes the questions, and excitedly calls on Mila, saying, "You just realized something." As she adds, Mr. Adler is clearly intrigued with Mila's point—he later tells me she's "super smart" and he really enjoys her participation around literature—and continues adding to the questions on the board, annotating what's already there. Then the third student adds that the story was strange, and although he hasn't added anything new to the discussion, Mr. Adler finds a sliver of the student's point and still writes another question on the board as the student talks so that the third student's point appears to the class to have been a good one.		
While students quietly look over the study guides on their own, Mrs. Carroll fixes the door and on the way back checks in with a student who had been absent, saying "You feeling better? Glad you're back." The student briefly says he's feeling better.	Forming a complete picture of who students are Recognizing and valuing students	Forming a complete picture of who students are Recognizing and valuing students Protecting students' dignity through compassionate interactions
Agreement on 20 units of teachers' practices: 35/40=88% (based on 40 initial codes)		

APPENDIX H

Chapter 4 Codebook

a: Unit Definitions and Examples

Settling in: Phase of class before it officially begins with a launch or bell work, where students are filing into the room, students and/or teachers are chatting, bell is ringing, students and/or teachers greeting each other.	TEACHER: Ok—you're late (quietly to a student)—(inaudible) open your notebooks, you have... 5 minutes. 11:39 we're stopping. (Teacher shuts door) TEACHER: Yes (to student). STUDENT: I have a question cuz um... (inaudible) TEACHER: Late, you're late (to student coming in). STUDENT: Sorry. TEACHER: What? (to student asking question) STUDENT: (inaudible) TEACHER: They're gonna make an announcement? STUDENT: Not (inaudible) period. TEACHER: They're gonna what? (Shutting door again) STUDENT: (inaudible) TEACHER: Alright, well, write yourself a pass. You have to go too? Write yourself a pass. (Another student raises hand) Yes? STUDENT: (inaudible) TEACHER: Say it one more time. STUDENT: (inaudible) TEACHER: (whispers) It is filming. (Students laugh) Alright, what's—It's a 360 degree camera, so... I'll answer questions... it'll hear you! (smiling) (Students whispering with more questions) Section #44, Video 2.
Launch: Phase at the start of class where the teacher explains or previews the trajectory, objectives, upcoming assignments, and other class business, like attendance.	TEACHER: Good morning, class. (Class: Good morning, Ms. ___) Today we're gonna actually start in a new theme, and the theme we're talkin about will be relationships. Most kids just think when we're talkin bout relationships, it ends in family or girlfriend/boyfriend, so we're actually gonna expose or open up our horizons to be able to understand the different branches, the different types of relationships that we can have. Um, so, the theme for this 6 weeks, which started last week, is relationships. Today we're actually gonna start by using a completely different genre, that we have not played with at all this year. And that will be drama. Section #3, Video 2.

Bell Work: Phase at the start of class where students are completing "bell work" or a "do now" activity. Includes students completing the assignment and any discussion going over the assignment.	(Classroom empty; Teacher waiting in hallway as students come in) (One student comes in) TEACHER: Start with the quick write on the board. (As students file in, she tells each student/group to start with the quick write while standing at the door in the hall) TEACHER: Starting with the quick write. TEACHER: Starting with the quick write. TEACHER: Shhh, starting with the quick write. TEACHER: Starting with the quick write. Shhh. TEACHER: Starting with the quick write. TEACHER: Starting with the quick write. Shhh. It's already on. TEACHER: Starting with the quick write. TEACHER: Starting with the quick write. TEACHER: Starting with the quick write. TEACHER: Shhh, starting with the quick write. Here, look. The quick write. (Students come in a little noisy, don't appear to be writing, whispering about camera; Teacher still in hall) TEACHER: Ladies and gentlemen, I'm so glad you all realize that we are bein taped, right now. We are already being taped. Please go ahead and start with the quick write. (Still at door) TEACHER: Quick write. Quick write. (Students pretty loud) TEACHER: Starting with the quick write. TEACHER: Starting with the quick write. TEACHER: Starting with the quick write. (Some still coming in) (Bell rings) (Shuts door) TEACHER: Good afternoon, ladies and gentlemen. It looks like several of you have already started with your quick write. I'm going to set the timer and you have exactly 10 minutes, and what I'd like for you to do is describe Squeaky's relationship with Raymond. And of course you know this is from our story Raymond's Run. You may begin. There are several of you who probably would like for me to sharpen your pencils. If you sit at Area 1 and you'd like for me to sharpen your pencil at Area 1, push your chair under and come. (Students walk to teacher's desk as she sharpens their pencils; rest of students talking a little) TEACHER: Ladies and gentlemen, thank you so much for not talking and continuing to work. If you sit at Area 2 and you'd like for me to take care of your pencil, please come quickly. (About 6 students in line) (I notice in this view there's a wall of windows with sunlight, but all shades are down) STUDENT: Thank you. TEACHER: You're welcome. TEACHER: If by any chance, you need a little help or a little reminder as to the relationship between Squeaky and Raymond,

	you have a passage in front of you. Make sure you put your name on it and the 4th period on it, and then I'd like for you to look through that passage between the first two pages, and you should be finding information on the relationship between Raymond and Squeaky. STUDENT: (inaudible) (re pencil) TEACHER: Area 3, if you need for me to sharpen your pencil, come forward. Area 4, if you need for me to sharpen your pencil, come forward. (Student walks in late; Teacher goes with him into the hallway; Teacher returns by herself, then he comes in) (Teacher walking around; Students quieting down to write; Tells one student to "walk over" and she goes to another desk, briefly sits, and returns to her own) (Student raises his hand; Teacher walks over, stands next to him, hands clasped behind her, answers question quietly) STUDENT: What do you mean by Squeaky and Raymond's relationship? TEACHER: You know what a relationship is? How they get along well together? And I want you to describe it. If you have difficulty remembering, you can look through the first two pages and find information. (Already walking away during the last sentence of this answer) STUDENT: Alright. The first two? Pages? (Still walking away, doesn't appear to hear) TEACHER: (to another student) Stay focused on the assignment. (Student raises hand, calls teacher's name; she walks over; Question/answer inaudible) (Teacher mostly standing off to the side, sometimes walks through to other side) (Looks at one student's paper) TEACHER: (quietly to student) It's about Squeaky's relationship with Raymond. STUDENT: Ohhh. (Starts explaining, inaudible) TEACHER: Ok go ahead and continue writing. This is good information, now continue now that you realize exactly what I'm lookin for; finish writing. TEACHER: I like what I see. Several of you who look like you might be a little stumped, you have decided to go ahead and read the first two pages, and that'll give you some clues. Very good. TEACHER: (inaudible) (to one student) ... some clues. You can try, just keep trying. TEACHER: (to another student) I want you to complete the assignment as requested. (Starts walking away, then returns, puts hand on shoulder) Please use that. Use it. (Student asking what?) Please use this. (Student: Oh) TEACHER: (to student who she told to try before) I'm proud of

	you for trying; keep going. (Timer rings) TEACHER: Ok, ladies and gentlemen, the bell just rang. Finish the sentence you're on. Finish the sentence you are on. TEACHER: Now will somebody share with me one of the items that you placed on your paper regarding the relationship with Squeaky and Raymond. Yes, sir? STUDENT: (inaudible) TEACHER: Ok, can you speak louder please? STUDENT: She's very protective of him. TEACHER: Ok, she's very protective of Raymond. Very good. Anybody else? Yes? STUDENT: Raymond's older than her. TEACHER: Raymond's older than Squeaky. Very good. Anybody else? Ok, hold on, let me get somebody else, then I'll come right back to you. Uh, Chris did you have your hand up? STUDENT: No. TEACHER: Yes, sir? STUDENT: (inaudible) (This is the student who asked what she meant before by relationship) TEACHER: Ok would you speak a little louder, please? Say that one more time. STUDENT: (inaudible) even though she's younger than him. TEACHER: Ok, you're echoing the fact that Squeaky is very protective of her brother. Very good. Anybody have anything different? Did you cite examples in your paper? Nobody cited examples? Ok, but—Oh, yeah that's right (Student raising hand saying he did). Did you show an example of how Squeaky is protective of her brother? Yes, please speak very loud. Turn this way please. STUDENT: Cuz she'll fight people for making fun of him, so... TEACHER: Ok, she fights people who make fun of her brother's head. And why would she need to... why is there concern about his head? STUDENT: Cuz it's big. STUDENT: There's too much fluid in it. TEACHER: There's fluid on his head, yeah. And, uh, that fluid is, uh, causing his head to be larger. STUDENT: Is that, like, a disorder? TEACHER: Yes. Yes, very good, very good. Ok, ladies and gentlemen, now, you've done a good job. Section #982, Video 2.
Lecture or Teacher Presenting Material: Parts of the class where	TEACHER: Awesome. Ok, now listen. How many of you know what an acronym is? (A few raise hands) We use acronyms, or we use mnemonic devices to help us— STUDENT: Like, my mom gave us $10 or something like that—

the teacher is presenting information or lecturing. Even if students are participating (often as answering teacher-posed questions), these parts of class are characterized by being teacher-led and having teachers do the majority of the talking.	TEACHER: Yeah, we use acronyms or mnemonic devices to help us learn things or remember things. We use Please Excuse My Dear Aunt Sally. STUDENT: (inaudible) STUDENT: Yeah. TEACHER: And what is that for, the planets? STUDENT: Yeah. TEACHER: Mmm-hmm. So we use acronyms all the time. FOIL is an acronym that mathematics use. Just like we use Please Excuse My Dear Aunt Sally, we're gonna use FOIL to help us multiply two binomials. Alright so get your notes out so that you can take notes. In your workbook... (at board, getting materials) we're going to be... on page 102 and 103. (Students gathering materials) TEACHER: Now when you have two binomials... (quietly) Jake, hand me that. (to class) You use the FOIL method. (Passes what Jake gave her to another student across the room) (Writing on board now) TEACHER: Now notice here you have two binomials, how do I know they're binomials? STUDENT: (inaudible) TEACHER: Cuz they've got 2 terms. This polynomial has 2 terms, this polynomial has 2 terms. And we're gonna use the FOIL. Each letter in FOIL tells us what to do. (Writing on board, students taking note) Each letter in FOIL tells us what to do. The F stands for First terms. First terms. And that's the first term... of each binomial. (Writing) That's the first term of each binomial. (Pauses, students writing) TEACHER: In my first binomial, I have an x right? (Students: Mmm-hmm) And I'm gonna multiply it by the first term in the second binomial. So I have x times x and I get x^2. So x stands for the first term in each binomial. O stands for Outside terms. (Writing) O stands for the outside terms. And those are the terms on the outside of each binomial. Or the terms on the outside of the problem, maybe I should say, the terms on the outside of the problem. (Writing) Ok terms on the outside of the problem. So here for O I'm gonna multiply x and 8, those are the 2 terms on the very outside or the very ends. So I'm gonna multiply x... times 8. Multiply x times 8. STUDENT: Ms. ____? (Two people enter, think later they might be a student teacher or two) TEACHER: Ok... come on in, find a group to help sit and work. Come right back here to this one back group right here. That'll be a good group, that'll be fine. So when we multiply x by 8, we get... STUDENT: (inaudible)

	TEACHER: 8x. (Students laughing) TEACHER: Ok, I. The I stands for the Inside. (Writing) The inside terms. And those are terms... in the middle of the problem. Ok the terms in the middle of the problem. What two terms are in the middle over here? (Students say) 5 and x. So we have 5 times x (Writing) and what is 5 times x? (They say) 5x. And then the L is for... Last terms. And those are the... last term of each binomial. Last term of each binomial. So here, what's the last term of my first binomial. STUDENT: 5. TEACHER: 5. What's my last term of my second binomial. STUDENT: 8. TEACHER: And 5 times 8? STUDENT: 40. (Students just say out answer) TEACHER: 40. Now, we're not finished because you noticed... right here, those two terms are alike, so we have to combine our like terms. So when we finish our problem, x+5 times x+8, we get x^2 +13x+40. (Writing) And this is your answer. x^2+13x+40. Where'd I get the 13x from? (Students say) I combined the two like terms, or the two terms that are alike. Ok? Questions? Section #13, Video 1.
Practice, Discussion, or Grappling: Parts of the class where students are engaging in back-and-forth discussion with the teacher or each other. Also includes parts of the class where students are grappling with or practicing an aspect of their learning via discussion. Also includes parts of the class where students are working through problems or questions as a	TEACHER: Alright, what's the first thing we can do... maybe together we can get it done because I don't think I caught any one person's answer out there. The first thing we need to do is... STUDENT: Um, we have to add it by the... (inaudible) TEACHER: Add it by the 8? Pete? STUDENT: First, what you've got to do is you have to put the subtraction sign—ok, you've got to put the subtraction sign into addition. And you've got to put a negative over the 8. TEACHER: Very good, add the opposite. STUDENT: Ohhhh. TEACHER: Good first step, and then we... Jackson? STUDENT: Add the positive 8 to both sides. TEACHER: Wonderful, add the positive 8 to both sides. STUDENT: (inaudible) TEACHER: -21 plus a positive 8... Samir? (-13) Negative 13. TEACHER: The -8 and the positive 8 then cancel on the right side. Ok, I saw variations of the answer right there, and then for those of you who I did see with this correct answer, I was also seeing a variety of graphs, as well. What kind of circle are we going to have at -13? What kind of circle, Becca? STUDENT: Closed. TEACHER: Closed circle at 13 because of the equals to part, so closed circle at 13. I'm looking for numbers... looking for numbers, less than or equal to -13. Am I going to find those to the

class.	left or right? Numbers less than or equal to -13. STUDENT: It says greater than 13. TEACHER: Ok, then -13 is greater than or equal to a number? Yes, ma'am? STUDENT: Right. TEACHER: To the right? So you're gonna tell me... let's test something here. If I shade to the right, if I shade this way, I'm going to include 0, correct? Is this a true statement? Is -13 greater than 0? STUDENT: Of course. (Students arguing out loud at the same time and responding to "of course" student; some saying "yes it is" and another saying "no it's equal or less than") Oh, wait, what am I saying? Of course not, when I said of course, I meant of course not. STUDENT: No, it's noooottttt. STUDENT: When I said of course, I meant of course not. STUDENT: No, zero is greater than. STUDENT: Shush. TEACHER: Excuse me. STUDENT: I'm sorry. TEACHER: Manners. You don't like being told shush. STUDENT: I know. TEACHER: So you don't tell others to shush. STUDENT: I know. (A student claps twice; students laugh) TEACHER: Alright, so technically, it does go to the left. Now some of you from Friday drew the conclusion that whichever the inequality pointed, that's the way we shaded, but that's only true when your variable is on the left, and I tried to point that out to you. It's only when your variable is on your left that you can use the pointing trick. If we wanted to flip this around, we can say that—notice that the inequality is open toward the -13, so we can flip this around... and then say that d is less than or equal to -13. So whichever way you want to remember to flip this, you can say that it's open towards the -13 or that it's pointing towards the d and then flip it around that way... Jordan. Alright. But then you can use the pointing trick because now your variable is on the left. Now it is pointing left and we shaded towards the left. So you have to be careful that way, it's not always just the way it's pointing. You have to be careful which side your variable is on. We could check these numbers, again if you check 0, 0 plus -8 is...? STUDENT: 0...oh, wait, -8. TEACHER: -8. -21, is that bigger than -8? STUDENT: Yeah. (Other students say no) STUDENT: The highest in the negatives are lower.

	TEACHER: Right, so this—none of these numbers down here satisfy the inequality, even if we check 8, 8+ -8 is... STUDENT: 8+ -8? STUDENT: Zero. TEACHER: Is -21 bigger than 0? STUDENT: No. TEACHER: No, so none of these down here work. STUDENT: But that's right, right Ms. A., that the higher the negative number, the lower it is? TEACHER: Right, bigger the negative, smaller the number really is. (Students quietly saying things like "whoa"; seem to be marveling at the realization the student just pointed out) TEACHER: We have to work with the fractions here. We've done a whole chapter on fractions. This one's not as bad to really work with as long as you just work with them. Isaac just reminded us anytime we see subtraction we need to... add the opposite. (Student talking) Jordan... So what are we going to add to both sides? (Student: inaudible) Add a positive 1.5... You need to get used to working with the fractions because when you get to the algebra course next year, they will be sure to work with fractions that you have to work with, that cannot be turned into decimals. That way the - and the + 1.5 cancel. (pause) Now just stop and think about it for a minute. 5 and 1.5 is... Jackson? STUDENT: 6.5. TEACHER: 6.5. You really didn't have to do ... any calculations as far as fractions. 5 wholes and another 1.5 is 6.5. You have 5 dollars and another 1.5 dollars, you know you now have 6.5 dollars. Alright, you didn't have to do any calculating as far as fractions go there. So you now have 6.5. This goes on the number line the same way. TEACHER: Open or closed circle? Matthew? STUDENT: Open. TEACHER: Open circle. Are we going left or right? Allison? STUDENT: Left. TEACHER: We are going to the left. We are looking for numbers smaller than 6.5. And all of those numbers will be to its left. Make sure I can see your shading from your original line. So again you have to get comfortable working with your fractions. What questions do you guys have on this one? Do we see how we got the 5 wholes and the 1.5? STUDENT: (inaudible) ...homework? TEACHER: I've not looked at the details of your homework, as to how many fractions there are. Section #988, Video 1.
Share Outs: Parts	TEACHER: Alright, we did the area... How do you use perimeter in

of the class where most or all students are invited to share an opinion, an experience, a piece of writing, or an idea in a round-robin type format. Often these parts of class feel as though there is no time limit for the sharing, and it continues until everyone who wants to speak has had the chance to speak.	everyday life, like you're goin around, you are home, you're in school... STUDENT: Sometimes you've gotta measure, like if you're putting up a (inaudible) or doing something. TEACHER: Very good. STUDENT (diff): Can I share? TEACHER: Let her finish. STUDENT: Cuz sometimes I do that with my brother. TEACHER: You do that with whom? STUDENT: My brother. TEACHER: Ohh, what do you all do? STUDENT: When he, cuz he helped my mom fix the house, so he measures what he's gonna do, uh, inside, and then he makes a map about it... (inaudible) the carpet or the walls. TEACHER: Very good. Very good. I don't know how I use it—how do you use it, or how do you see your parents use it? Tina uses, uh, that with her brother. Anybody else? Have you eva done anything wit ya dad, ya mom, at home? Joshua? STUDENT: (inaudible) TEACHER: Speak up a little bit. STUDENT: My dad was fixin my mom's closet, and we had to measure (inaudible) too long or too short. TEACHER: Very good. His dad was fixin, um, did you all hear what he said? STUDENT: Mmm-hmm. TEACHER: Ok, what did he say? STUDENT: His dad was fixin his mama's closet. TEACHER: Ok, his dad was fixin his mom's closet, and he needed to know, you know, the perimeter, ok. Alex? STUDENT: (inaudible) TEACHER: Speak up a little bit louder so everybody can hear. STUDENT: I use it with my dad whenever he goes and buys cord, like, how much (inaudible) TEACHER: Ok. Hear what he said? You know what cords are? Somethin like ropes, right? Because cords... sometimes they use it (acting out pulling a cord) to do what? STUDENT: Measure. TEACHER: Yeah, to pen off like an area, like a piece, you ever seen like construction on the road, or somethin like that, where they're (miming fencing off an area with rope) fixin a piece in the road, and they have to um— STUDENT: Put the cones. TEACHER: Yeah, put the cones, like, around it, or they have to use, like, a barrier. Ok, yeah, one more? STUDENT: How to maximize the space (inaudible) my dad

	measures, like (inaudible) doing the living room, I mean like, how long can (inaudible) TEACHER: And you usin big words to. He said in order to maximize the space in his livin room (chuckles), his dad need to know, you know, how much space he has so he have to know the area, because you know, how much space the sofa is gonna take up, how much space the chair is gonna take up. Very good. I know, I'm paintin my bathroom, and I have to know how much paint I need, so I have to know the area of my bathroom, in order to know how much paint so I wouldn't buy a whole lot and waste it or something. So we use area and we use perimeter all the time. Even you, who are in 6th grade, your parents use it, a lot of jobs use it, you're usin it with your brothers and sisters, with your mom and dad, movin furniture, redecoratin, mowin the lawn, outside, if you have a job, you have to know how big the lawn is gonna be so you know how much you're gonna charge a person! The area of the yard. So you see now, and summa is comin up, and some of you are gonna need little summa jobs, right? Maybe you might need this! STUDENT: We get allowances. TEACHER: You get allowances? Yeah? If you vacuum the livin room, I'll give you $2. Wait a minute, let me see how big this living room is? Uh uh, I need a little bit more, right? Because the area of this room is twice such and such so you gotta pay me a little bit more. (Student laughs) You gettin it? Section #4, Video 1.
Wrap Up: Phase of class near the end of the lesson where the teacher states a conclusion of the lesson, assigns homework, recaps lessons learned, or previews upcoming assignments or topics	TEACHER: But, um, you all did a great job, we're gonna go ahead and wrap it up, but I hope that you guys understand that a response to literature is not always directly related to something that happened in the story but it could be something that happened to who? STUDENT: You. TEACHER: To you, as a individual. Ok. (Video ends) Section #7, Video 2.
Other Activity: Parts of the class not characterized by other categories defined here, such as	TEACHER: Alright, now, let's go to, let me have a new reader. What's your question? STUDENT: Can I read? TEACHER: No, I'm gonna let somebody else read because we've got plenty of people, so I'm gonna let another person. Who'd like to read? Yes, go ahead. (Next student reads; Teacher says "Wait,

performing skits or doing a class read-aloud.	let me get over here so I can hear you. (Walks to her) Go ahead." She doesn't carry materials or rely on materials the whole class, so she needs to hear what part students are reading. Students read several parts one after another.) Section #982, Video 1.
Independent Work: Parts of the class where students are working independently and the teacher may or may not be circulating and helping.	TEACHER: You know what you're doing, get started. Need to talk to me, talk to me. You're all tellin me you're ready to get to work, so I'm gonna leave you alone. (Returns to desk, stands there) (About 15 min left in class) STUDENT: Can we work with a partner? TEACHER: Like I told you, this one's more of a test grade, so I've gotta know that you know how to do it. STUDENT: (inaudible) TEACHER: (quietly to him) What? I don't know, you do the math. (Students start working) (Teacher walks around) STUDENT: (inaudible) TEACHER: You gotta write as much as you need to write to get all that in there. STUDENT (diff): (inaudible) TEACHER: Figure out what it's gonna be about and then figure out what you're, which of these sentences.. what you're gonna write in each of these sentences, then start writing. STUDENT (diff): (inaudible) TEACHER: Hmm? It's your plan, I don't care. (Calls Dylan to his desk) (Quietly) TEACHER: I was tellin you to turn around. STUDENT (diff): (inaudible) TEACHER: It's your prewrite. You do whatever you want, whatever makes sense for the prewrite. I don't care. (Teacher organizing papers on desk) (Students silently working) (Teacher walking slowly around through the desks) (Returns to own desk) (Fixes something written on board) (Returns to desk) TEACHER: Somebody's clickin something. Please stop. (Organizes papers on desk) (Student raises hand, takes teacher a minute or so to notice: Teacher stays at desk) TEACHER: Yeah? (Across room) STUDENT: When you write, does it have to be about, like, school... TEACHER: Doesn't matter. Somebody's writin about summer—when I was lookin, somebody's writin about her summer trip. Somebody else was writin about where they come from, somebody else was writin about—I can't remember—what they

	did the other night. (Stands at desk, continues organizing papers) (Walks over to another student, can't hear what he says) (Walks to board) TEACHER: I saw somebody doin somethin that's really smart. If you need to, you might want to copy this stuff down, if you need a reminder. (Pointing to board) (Sits at his desk) (Walks around again) (Back to his desk) (Changes something else on board) (Sits at desk, flipping through some papers) (Walks around again) TEACHER: Yeah? STUDENT: (inaudible) TEACHER: Like you're gonna go on a trip or somethin like that? You can tell me what you planned, that's fine. (Returns to desk, standing) (Stands, looking at board for a while) (So quiet, can hear the nextdoor teacher teaching) Section #953, Video 2.
Group Work: Parts of the class where students are working in small groups and the teacher may or may not be circulating and helping.	TEACHER: Ok so this is a nice list of words to choose from for our haiku right. So now what we need to do is the last step, which I'm gonna move over here so we have time, so we have room to write. Um, we need to pick some words in here and some phrases cuz these aren't just all words. And we need to create a haiku. STUDENT: It looks kinda hard. TEACHER: It's not that hard. So let's look at the list we have here, and right now you're going to—you're gonna work as a table right now, and I want you guys to pick words out, and we're gonna write our first line. (Calling out questions) STUDENT: It has to rhyme? STUDENT: Do we have to write them down? TEACHER: No, does a haiku have to rhyme? (No) Does it say anything in the format about it having to rhyme? STUDENT: But could it rhyme? TEACHER: It could, but it does not have to. So right now we're workin on line 1, how many syllables does it have to have? (5) Good, so let's think of 5 syllables. (Writing) You're talking together at your tables. STUDENT: It has to be 5 syllables? TEACHER: Yeah it has to be for your first line. (At one table)

	STUDENT: I was gonna say (inaudible) STUDENT: What about (inaudible) STUDENT: You could (inaudible) TEACHER: Ok that's fine, so Ali said playing in the dirt... STUDENT: The dirt has a mushy and squishy feeling. STUDENT: What about 7? (Clapping while they say some more out, teacher adds at the end) (Walks to another group) TEACHER: Let me hear what you have. You know what, since you guys are really good at this, each table, come up with your own haiku. About dirt. So use this list we created, everybody's haikus are gonna be different, you're working together. (To group) TEACHER: I'll come help you, ok. STUDENT: (inaudible) TEACHER: You're both smart. And Jess, the first line needs to have 5 syllables, so... STUDENT: (Clapping) Dirt is very brown. TEACHER: Ok, dirt is very brown. So write that, that's your first line. STUDENT: Wait, what is it? (Laughs) (Keeps going) TEACHER: Dirt, one syllable. (Keeps going) TEACHER: Alright table 2, what do we have so far? (Keeps going) TEACHER: Alright, let's see if it's a good haiku. Planting seeds in spring (saying in syllable blocks), making mud dirt in the yard, mushy and squishy. Very good. STUDENT: (inaudible) TEACHER: What? STUDENT: (inaudible) TEACHER: It doesn't matter, whichever one you can reach. STUDENT: (inaudible) TEACHER: Me too. STUDENT: (inaudible) TEACHER: That's the last time you patted yourself on the back? That's sad! (Keeps walking) (Students working, clapping, writing) STUDENT: Ms. ___, we're done! STUDENT: Ms. ___, we got ours! (Walks over) TEACHER: Let me see. (Student reads it, clapping) (Teacher reads it, choppy) TEACHER: Very good you want to write it out on this board? TEACHER: Alright, table 1, good job, pat yuh-selves (NY accent)

	on the back. (To group) TEACHER: Ok let's see table 3. (To another) You guys are up next, everybody else is done. STUDENT: What! (Reads table 3) (Another table) STUDENT: (inaudible) TEACHER: Why? STUDENT: (inaudible) TEACHER: Why? TEACHER: Table 2, you guys done? (Across room) (Reads one near her) TEACHER: One more 5 syllable line. You're both working together. What does it need to grow? STUDENT: (inaudible) la boca (shutup in Spanish) TEACHER: Come on, can you focus? Look at the words you have up there. STUDENT: (inaudible) STUDENT: (inaudible) TEACHER: No that has nothing to do with dirt. How bout in that first, planting... STUDENT: Oh. (Teacher gives her a line) (Keeps walking) (Other tables — arguing about two copying each other) TEACHER: Guys, your poems are gonna be similar cuz you're all copyin from the same list. Alright, stop, I don't want to start a fight. STUDENT: Who copied? TEACHER: Joseph, sit down. STUDENT: (inaudible) TEACHER: Nobody. Section #1, Video 1.

b: Code Definitions and Examples

Code	**Definition**	**Example from a High Knownness Section**	**Example from a Low Knownness Section**
Reacting to possible behavior issues	Any time a student behaves negatively or in a way that is disruptive or distracting to other students, teachers respond in a range of ways, from directly	(Teacher laughs and fake swats student away from her desk saying “get out of here”…patiently responds to questions about the camera…asks a few kids to spit out gum “I need your gum out”…tells other kids to leave and go to their	TEACHER: Here's what confuses me. Everybody—I know, nobody in this class doesn't do bell work. But yet when I'm goin over it, nobody is flippin through bell—well, I shouldn't say nobody, like 5 of you are flippin through papers. What are you doing with your bell work after you do

	addressing the behavior with a consequence or warning to tolerating the behavior and letting it pass without incident. All units where a student is engaging in a potentially negative activity that could be perceived as misbehavior are assigned this code to then analyze the teacher's response in terms of how authoritative vs. tolerant it is.	next class and not socialize "back to class, back to class"…jokes with another kid about taking a pencil out of his mouth because he could fall on his face and "blood would squirt everywhere" (student laughs)… "shhh, shhh, someone got some sleep last night" to loud student…all before launching into quiet reading… all while sitting in one of the student desks w/ quiet voice… "Tia, with the candy!") STUDENT: It helps me focus, I swear. TEACHER: Ugh, fine. (Section #10)	it? Do you just shove it up your nose and snot-rocket later, I don't know what's goin on. (Section #953)
Mentioning a student to others by name	Any time a teacher mentions a student by name to the whole class or to a group of peers, this code is assigned. The teacher may mention the student in a positive, neutral, or negative light.	TEACHER: Yes, Miguel? STUDENT: (inaudible) TEACHER: Ohh! (Laughs) You're workin' good this morning. (Section #4)	TEACHER: I'm sorry, but we should have said this before. We're not gonna act inappropriately today. And if we are, I'm gonna have to send you out. This is a regular class like any day, and we're not dealing with the garbage. Is that understood? Pedro? (Section #976)
Comparing students (or "equalizing" / opposite of comparing)	When teachers compare students to each other, this code is assigned. Comparing students to each other can include comparing	TEACHER: You already have the both of 'em? Fast. Give everybody else a couple more minutes. (Section #7)	TEACHER: Ok, now, what I would like for you to do is tell me the thing that Squeaky does to practice, how does she prepare for success. Tell me what Cynthia does, and I told you where you could find this

	individual students to one another or comparing one class to another class, for example, comparing how one class took longer to do an assignment than the previous class. This code also includes statements by teachers that are the opposite of comparing students to one another, where teachers instead express a sentiment of having a common experience. For example, instead of saying "Roberto, you're still working, hurry up!" which would be making a comparison between Roberto and others, other teachers might say something like, "This is not an easy task, and it's ok that some of us are still working," dispelling the idea that anyone is different than anyone else.		information. And I want this on the bottom half or the bottom portion of your quick write from earlier. (Checks in with individual student; inaudible... "Ok, write it down, Squeaky practices for success by...") TEACHER: (to full class) If you need a starter, "Squeaky practices for success by..." STUDENT: Oh, I didn't start with, I started with.. TEACHER: That's ok. I said if you need a starter, you don't need a starter, you're doing very well. I've had many people who are not doin' as well as you're doin' right now. (Kid who just needed/was given starter looking on.) (Section #982)

Opining on the difficulty of the work	When teachers express an attitude toward the difficulty of the work they are engaging in as a class, this code is assigned. The attitude expressed could be support and encouragement, with an acknowledgment that the work is hard but can be done. The attitude expressed could also be frustration and impatience, as with statements about how the work should be easy, should be done already, or has been done before.	TEACHER: Alright before I show #10, are there questions on any one of these? Alright, not too bad. Right? They're not too bad. (Section #42)	TEACHER: Alright? That's all you've got to do is plug them into the formula. I have not changed a single thing yet today. We're doing it exactly the same way every time. Just straight substitution. STUDENT: (inaudible) ... it's hard. TEACHER: What's hard about it? STUDENT: (inaudible) (Students talking) TEACHER: Alright, any questions here? Anybody don't understand any of the process that we've done here, raise your hands now. Now's the time to ask me questions. (Section #986)
Expressing excitement, pride, love	Any time teachers show or express sentiments like excitement, pride, or love, this code is assigned. Teachers might directly state these sentiments, sharing with students that they are proud of them or that they love them. Or, teachers might show excitement,	TEACHER: Ok, what'd you get? STUDENT: I got personification. TEACHER: For #4? STUDENT: Yeah, because the word I underlined was (inaudible) TEACHER: We love you. Yup, you will be wrong. We love you. (Teacher laughs lightly, a few students too) Ok what's wrong with that one, why'd he get that	TEACHER: Ok, thank you. Alright ladies and gentlemen, you did a good job. All those readers who read for me, thank you so much, I appreciate that. (Section #982)

	pride, and warmth.	one wrong? (Section #7)	
Engaging in sarcasm	Any instance of teacher sarcasm is assigned this code. The sarcasm could be used for positive or negative ends. Positive uses of sarcasm could include joking around or using a sense of humor to relate to students. Negative uses of sarcasm could manifest as making fun of students.	TEACHER: You were able to get the right answer, but there's some errors (Student comes back up to the front to get her notebook). So you have to be careful, you have to combine like terms first. STUDENT: So I was just lucky? TEACHER: Yes. It's probably cuz you had the gum in your mouth that you didn't spit out. (Smiling) (Section #42)	TEACHER: Now, last one, I'm gonna do number 39, guys, so let's kind of work on 39 together. And again, do not go ahead. (Students talking, some turning around, one throwing something, one student yells "testicular!" inexplicably, none appear to be working) TEACHER: Ok, now— STUDENT: What page are we on? TEACHER: Page? What page are we on? What planet are you on? (Students laughing, talking) (Section #989)
Individually connecting or noticing	This code is assigned to any units where teachers specifically acknowledge an individual student or have a personal conversation with an individual student about non-academic things. This also includes conversations or noticings where teachers are making evident their prior knowledge about a student and using it to continue a conversation	TEACHER: Ok, we have 5 people down. Alexandra, something happened to her eye so she's out by doctor's orders. So... hopefully we'll see her next week. (Section #4)	TEACHER: Havin' problems? (very quietly to Jonathan, puts hand on shoulder) Do you not understand? Ok, make an effort, if you make an effort I can let you know where you're goin' wrong. Ok? (double pat on the back)

	previously begun.		
Sharing about personal life	This code is assigned to units in which a teacher shares about his or her own personal life, such as his or her family, interests outside of school, memories of being in school or the students' age, and more.	TEACHER: So mine (writing response model) says: Mrs. Flowers did not have to take the time—and I want you to tell me which one I'm responding to—Mrs. Flowers did not have to take the time to help Maya, but she chose to do so anyway. I had a Mrs. Flowers in my life. Her name was Ms. Walker. She was tall, thin, and she wore braces. Her skin was a light brown. I had never seen a black teacher before, ever. I was in the 5th grade and just turned 10 years old. Wow, I thought, how did she become a teacher? She spoke well, she appeared to be extremely intelligent. Ms. Walker gave us a project to do. She loved projects. I did too, but there was only a few simple problems. My mother couldn't afford to buy the supplies needed to complete the project. I felt embarrassed; what should I do, what would I do? Before I could accept the project assignment, Ms. Walker had written me a note. It read, Tabby, meet me after class. I have lots of	TEACHER: Remember if you've chosen TV commercial, you have to at least summarize the commercial. The odds are that I've never seen it. (Section #985)

		extra supplies. I smiled. I felt relieved. Also this deed doesn't match Mrs. Flowers's deed, it was equally important to me. (Section #7)	
Discussing students' lives outside of school	For any unit where the teacher and students are discussing students' home lives, families, community, or life outside of school, this code is assigned. Also includes units where these topics are not fully discussed but where the teacher mentions or alludes to them.	TEACHER: Bethany, working on chapter questions, get away from my yogurt! Back away from my yogurt! STUDENT: Is that (inaudible) (re a photo on desk)? TEACHER: It is, it is. STUDENT: He's so photogenic, Miss. TEACHER: Thank you, sweetheart. (Students talking still, pretty loud, teacher now standing at her desk writing other students bathroom passes) STUDENT: He's so cute. TEACHER: I think so too. STUDENT: You should see my little brother, Miss, he is so adorable. TEACHER: How could he not be? Isn't he as cute as you, come on now! STUDENT: He's a little white boy though. He's not Hispanic or anything, he's like, white. TEACHER: He's not? Different dad or just looks different? STUDENT: Yeah,	TEACHER: And so that's what her competitive edge is, running. Ok? And you all have some competitive things, remember we talked about that earlier this week, we had an opportunity to write about the things that you're really good at, remember? (Student: Yes, ma'am.) Ok, we're gonna deal with that a little later this afternoon. Foreshadowing, ok? (Section #982)

		different dad. He has big brown eyes. TEACHER: Aww, like you. (Section #10)	
Reflecting on learning	Any unit in which the teacher is either reflecting on learning or asking students to reflect on their learning is assigned this code.	TEACHER: Ok, real quickly let's go... Ok, closing, go ahead, someone closing. Uhhh Katya. STUDENT: (Reading from slide) What did you learn that was new today? What did you learn that was difficult? TEACHER: What'd you learn that was new? Max? STUDENT: Um, to find the value of x. TEACHER: You didn't know to find the value of x before? STUDENT: No, (inaudible) TEACHER: Oh, so what to do when they don't give you a regular angle measure. Ok. What else? STUDENT: Vertical angles are congruent. TEACHER: Love it, yes, love that. Go ahead. STUDENT: The—the signs. TEACHER: The signs, what's that called, it's not called signs, starts with an n... STUDENT: Notation. TEACHER: Notation, how you write something. You're gonna use it so often, they're gonna be your	TEACHER: Alright, can somebody tell me why you think I asked those particular questions in the bell ringer? Why do you think I— STUDENT: No. STUDENT: Because (inaudible) TEACHER: Ok, it is something that we are gonna go over today, and it does tie in. Alright. STUDENT: Persuasive writing. TEACHER: Ok, this is actually a little bit different. Ok, uh, we're gonna go over response to literature today. And... it's critical because it helps you to get a deeper appreciation of whatever it is that you're reading, and also, if you turn around the apply those same principles to your writing then your writing will improve also. (Section #981)

		best friends. (Bell rings) TEACHER: Alright, almost done. (Nobody packs up or gets up) TEACHER: What was easy for you, what was difficult? STUDENT: (inaudible) TEACHER: Yeah, but there's 2 ways to write it. This is the way I like to write it so it doesn't look like less than. If I just write it like that, that's the other way to write it, so I put it like that. Ok, what else? STUDENT: (inaudible) TEACHER: Yes. Was that easy for you, was that difficult? STUDENT: Difficult. TEACHER: It was difficult. Ok. What was easy? STUDENT: Everything. TEACHER: (laughs) Good. STUDENT: (inaudible) TEACHER: Yeah finding substitution, cuz we did this. What else? STUDENT: (inaudible) TEACHER: Finding—so the whole thing (laughs). Alright what are you gonna walk away from today with? What are you gonna remember? Say it. STUDENT: That vertical angles are congruent.	

		TEACHER: Vertical angles are congruent. It should be... stamped in ya head. (Section #44)	
Allowing extended sharing	In any unit where the teacher allows extended sharing by students seemingly without time limit, such that everyone who wants to share (i.e., has hand raised) gets to share, is assigned this code. In many cases, this code overlaps with the Share Outs unit; however, this code is also assigned to other units, such as Bell Work or Discussion, where students are permitted or encouraged to share extensively.	(Every student shares an idea for the topic of a haiku they will write as a class; some students share more than one idea. As the students share, the teacher writes a list on the board, keeping all ideas, even ones that are slightly off or odd.) (Section #1)	(Most students share what they wrote in their warm-up about a challenge they see in their community, with some sharing about people's attitudes, littering, drugs, and gangs. As students share, the teacher repeats what they say and then moves on to the next student without editorializing or adding much to each student's sharing.) (Section #981)
Alluding to a future event	This code is assigned to any unit where a teacher is alluding to a future event, such as an upcoming test, school event, or next year.	TEACHER: Very good, very good. Ok, now we're doin this, and I say pizza because a lot of us, we just like pizza. (Students laugh) Because after the test, we're gonna party with pizza and drinks and stuff like that, we're just gonna party, we just like pizza.	TEACHER: Remember guys, you need to use this review sheet for our quiz on Monday. You need to be successful on this quiz. Your progress reports are going home on Tuesday. Some of you need to be successful overall this 9 weeks so that hopefully you can pass 7th grade in general. So again you need to be successful.

		(Section #4)	Marcus: What if we just fail this class, will we still be held back? TEACHER: Yes. Yes, they can hold you back. (Other students talking/reacting) Marcus: I thought there was like a Florida rule that no kid gets left behind or something? (Students laughing) No, for real, like we go to classes in the summer or something? I'm serious! (Teacher walks over and turns off camera...while saying "The idea is..." and it cuts off) (Section #988)
Discussing grades	This code is assigned to any unit where a teacher is discussing or answering questions about grading, expectations, rubrics, and whether something "counts".	(Student asks a question) TEACHER: For you all yes. For me, it's a regular day. (Students: Ooooohhh!) TEACHER: It's ok. No, I get to do your grades tomorrow though. Yayyy. (Laughs) (Students: Ohhhhh) (Section #42)	TEACHER: Most of you did pretty well on this, better than the last time we did somethin' like this, thank God. (Section #953)
Discussing, threatenin g, or giving a consequen ce	This code is assigned to any unit where a teacher mentions, threatens, or issues a behavioral warning or consequence. A consequence could include being sent out of	TEACHER: Lena! First things first, you're playing around. Second thing you're speaking inappropriately. Is this what your father wants to hear? Your mother? STUDENT: (Shaking head no) (Section #10)	TEACHER: Ok, what else? What's the purpose? What do we want to do when we go and read anything? What do we want to do? STUDENT: Find out things! TEACHER: We want to find out things. We want to find out things. So if we're responding, Vito, we get our best understanding if we're really payin' attention and

	class, a call home, a bad grade, and the like.		goin' over things like we need to, right? Ok, I want you to stay after class. (Section #981)
Discussing teaching or being a teacher	This code is assigned to any unit where a teacher is discussing what it is like to be a teacher, his/her teaching style, and similar.	TEACHER: (to class) Have you figured out what we're gonna do next? We're gonna work these problems out, mmm-hmm. Julio went crazy with the x, y's, and z's, didn't he? (Still writing) When I get tired of makin your problems, I let you make 'em up (chuckles). (Section #13)	TEACHER: Alright, here's the good news. Here's the good news, Sami. We've got one more example. (Student: Nooo) Yeah, because look, what's the one thing I haven't had to do yet? (Student: Check) Arraaaaange the icons in order. (Student: I don't know what you're talking about) What, am I all blurry now? (A few inaudible student comments about being on camera) STUDENT: You changed... (inaudible) TEACHER: That's because you all are actually... participating and following directions. (Students talking) STUDENT: You teachin' like (inaudible) only cuz that camera is here. I think that's why. ... TEACHER: Alright, here's your work. (Students surprised) STUDENT: What! STUDENT: We've got work? STUDENT: He done changed for real. (Section #986)
Discussing the school	This code is assigned to any unit where the teacher is discussing	TEACHER: Cultural Celebration Day tomorrow. That's a big thing that's happening here with all of our	TEACHER: This is what I need you guys to do now. Uh, your homework assignment, let's get back to that (Intercom

	his/her perception of the school at large, including discussing school events, school policies, or where their opinion of the school is conveyed in some way; for example, if a teacher talks over an intercom announcement vs. pauses so that everyone can listen, she is showing an opinion toward the school.	cultural celebrations. Tomorrow, classes are shortened, you're gonna go to 1st, 2nd, and 3rd classes, then with your 4th period class, you're going down to the Multicultural Celebration, ok? At it this year, this year they're making it even bigger. They're having dancing, they're having singing, they're having all kinds of performances, ok, and it's a celebration, it'll be in the auditorium, it's a celebration of all the cultures, and then this year for the first time ever, they're having a dance afterwards. So if you want to go to the dance, it should be a lot of fun. STUDENT: Where? TEACHER: In the gym. STUDENT: Do we have to pay? TEACHER: I don't know actually, that's a good question, I'll find out tomorrow. So it's gonna be an interesting situation, just like this where they got to learn about different cultures, that's what we're gonna do tomorrow, and I'm so excited to see all the pride that you guys have in your different cultures. (Kids calling	announcements start)—ignore the announcements. (Announcements playing) Alright let's write down, we'll just write down your homework assignment, and I'll talk through this. Alright, we all came up with 3 things at the beginning of class. Using one of the 3 things you came up with, you are to argue for that position, then we're gonna flip onto the other side, and we gonna argue for the other side. You gonna argue one side of one of those issues that you came up with, and then you gonna argue the other side. That way you be able to see the facts from both sides of the coin. So everybody I need you to write this down, quickly. Jonathan, write that down. (Announcements still loudly playing) (Section #981)

		out, sharing) Yay! And tomorrow, you dress like your culture, ok, dress like your culture. (Calling out) (Section #10)	
Providing group academic help	This code is assigned to any unit where a teacher is providing a group with academic support. This code overlaps somewhat with the Group Work unit, except that teachers are not providing help in all cases of the Group Work unit. Only those cases where teachers are providing support during Group Work are assigned this code.	TEACHER: (Continuing quietly to two students) (inaudible) So you have to put it on the number line, and what I've told you to do is (inaudible), put the zero, the number, and then the same number with the opposite sign. Now if it doesn't have the little line underneath, then it's a open circle. So I'm gonna put an open circle on the 6 cuz that's settin up the boundaries (inaudible). (Student inaudible) Yeah, you mighta talked about it last year... at the end... these are easy, but they're gonna get a little bit harder as we go along. So you want all the numbers that are bigger than 6. All the numbers that are bigger than 6 are to the right of 6. Now a little trick that I taught them yesterday, as long as the letter's on the right side, whichever direction it's pointing to, that's the direction you shade. (Student asks a question, inaudible) Right exactly. If there's not an equal	TEACHER: (Wiping one table's whiteboard with his hand) This should not be done until everybody's finished with this, on paper. (Student: I was copying what he has down) No, you can't copy what he has down, you have to do it together as a group. (Students continue working; I hear all math talk) (Teacher starts drawing something on his own whiteboard) (Teacher tells student to put something away: "Put it away") TEACHER: Check your numbers with the people at your table, and then put it on the whiteboard. TEACHER: Do we agree on the numbers yet? Or are we still finishing? No the output... input and output. (One table; stays, keeps looking) (Keeps walking) (Tells one group: "Alright, looks good") (Tells another: "And include your... ordered pairs") TEACHER: Once you're done with your ordered pair, you can place your white—and your graph—you can place your whiteboards facing out on the chalk tray up front.

		sign. If there's an equal sign then we can do a shaded circle. Now what you have in the book is 1-step equation, so remember like we had b+3 is greater than or equal to 6. You have to show your solutions, so you have to show (inaudible). (Student question inaudible) Right, if it was subtraction (inaudible). Cuz you do the opposite. No this is a different example so I just made this example up. If it has a equal sign, what that means is you have to shade in the circle, so I'm gonna go to the #3, I'm gonna put a closed circle, so you actually have to color it in. (Student question inaudible) Right, and then the open circle is if there's no equal sign. If there is an equal sign, then you have to shade it. So in your book you'll see a combination of both. (Student inaudible) Yeah you could, or... you can just line it up like this. (inaudible) (Student inaudible) Now only thing, if the letter's on the other side, then you can't use this trick. Like for example if it said (Student inaudible) Right. So if it's on the	Just be careful of the cord, don't trip over the cord. (Student raises hand; teacher walks over; Student: You said not now for this, right? Teacher: That's right, not now, it's gonna have to wait till after class; Looks like he picks up an iPad and puts it away) (Another table: "Yes, done?") TEACHER: And I'm not so concerned with the numbering on the... on the grid, I just want to see where your line is. So don't take time to number it. Take the time to get the points in the right spot. (Approaches student: "Can I have it please? Thank you" (not clear what he takes; puts it on his desk)) (Asks another group to put their board up on the tray, says again not to trip over the cord; Tells another group "facing out so we can see it" when they ask; Tells another group "and we're not just connecting the points, remember, we're extending that line, we want to extend that line through the points" Student: Ok like this is one whole grid? Teacher draws: "Like this, so it's not just connecting, it's going through all those points" Student: Oh, ok.) (Students talking, some arguing over whiteboard: Teacher: "What's the problem, what are we

		right, you have to understand what you're lookin for, so you kinda read the problem backwards. So this says (inaudible) if you read it backwards, so you make your number line and you want all values greater than 7, so open circle, and all numbers greater than 7 are to the right. (inaudible) (Student inaudible) No, no, that's only—see how the letter's on the right? That's a trick you can use, but you can only use that when the letter is on the right. Then you don't even have to think about it, if the letter's on the left side, you know which way it's pointing. Some problems put the letter on the right side, and then you have to think about it (inaudible) (Student inaudible) (inaudible) Use a calculator so you don't make a mistake with your signs. (Student inaudible) (inaudible) (continues explaining, mostly inaudible because it's a quiet conversation off to the side, the teacher appears to be sitting at a student desk with students watching around him) (Section #42)	having trouble with?" Student: I skipped 1 line for 1/2. Teacher: Shhh; Boys arguing about the math itself, "No it's not like that" and "Yeah it is"; They seem to figure it out; Teacher: "Ok are we good? Alright, connect the points, draw the line through it") TEACHER: Alright, which boards am I still waiting on? (To a student across the room) And I want you to take your backpack off ok? (Other boys still arguing about the math problem) TEACHER: Alright, look at each group's work. (Section #976)

Providing 1-1 academic help	This code is assigned to any unit where a teacher is providing a student with one-on-one academic support. This code overlaps somewhat with the Independent Work unit, except that teachers are not providing help in all cases of the Independent Work unit. Only those cases where teachers are providing support during Independent Work are assigned this code.	(Goes to student with a question) STUDENT: Is this book, Scout's point of view? TEACHER: Yeeeessss! She's the narrator. So when it says I, she's talking about herself, right? STUDENT: (inaudible) TEACHER: Right, right. STUDENT: Like, "Go home I said." TEACHER: Right. (To another student nearby) Did you write out your script, Jason, that's adorable but it's not gonna get you a good grade. That was your drawing of Ewell, but that is not what you're supposed to be working on right now. STUDENT: (shows her) TEACHER: Excellent, keep going. STUDENT: Is it long? TEACHER: How long does what have to be? STUDENT: (inaudible) TEACHER: You're answerin the questions aren't you? STUDENT (diff): Ok, Ms., I get confused because, like, I don't get how they're talking. TEACHER: (reads from page) And then this is all just narration, so that's all her, you're looking for the places with the quotation marks.	(Students talking a bunch, I hear one talking about going to a castle, so probably the story) (Student raises hand, then gets up to go show his paper to the teacher, teacher doesn't move, has one foot on ground and one leg up on desk, working on computer; Teacher says "I would say you talk about the two of them, start with that, and then talk through both of them, slicing and cutting"; Student: "Thank you") TEACHER: Jade, I need you to take this commas test, bring a pencil. (Jade walks over to desk attached to his desk to take a test; Teacher returns to computer with leg up; Whispers to himself "Dammit" and looks at watch; there are about 5-10 minutes left) (Walks around) (Picks up student's paper) TEACHER: That's all you added to this whole thing? STUDENT: (waiting for teacher to read it, sitting under where he stands) (Puts paper back down and leans over it, taps pencil on it) TEACHER: There's plenty of places where you can add detail, something crazy to happen to him. Just a few—this sounds like a newspaper article. You're writing a narrative. There are tons and tons and tons

		STUDENT: Ohhh, alright. I got it now. (Walks away) (Section #10)	of places where you're just tellin me and not showin me. STUDENT (diff): Is this (inaudible) so far? TEACHER: What are you showin me? STUDENT: (inaudible) TEACHER: I'm not gonna sit here and read this, what'd you do today? STUDENT: Oh, I did this part. TEACHER: Ok, well that's what you were supposed to be doin today. (Keeps walking) TEACHER: (To diff student) Did you find any places where you could show instead of tell? STUDENT: Not yet. (Keeps walking) (Looks at another student's paper: "Good") (Looks at watch) (Back to desk, to computer, paces to other desk, back to computer, leg up) (Student raises hand) TEACHER: Yup? (doesn't move) STUDENT: (inaudible) TEACHER: You're gonna do more revising tomorrow, you're gonna write on Friday. (Section #953)
Sharing a laugh	This code is assigned to any unit where students and teachers are laughing together at something. It	TEACHER: When you think of an acute angle, you think to yourself awwwww, so cute, that guy's so cute. (Students laugh) An angle less than 90 degrees, little	TEACHER: Who has another one? Look towards the end of the chapter, the last page, maybe page and a half. TEACHER: Yes? STUDENT: Um, at the end of page 49, um, (inaudible).

	does not include if students are laughing at something on their own, or if teachers are laughing on their own.	guy, he's a little guy, put him in your pocket, he's cute. (Section #44)	TEACHER: Keep looking. (Student/teacher giggle) (Section #985)

APPENDIX I

Chapter 4 Joint Coding Exercise

	Colleague's Units (Same as mine unless indicated otherwise)	**Colleague's Codes (Bold ones are ones colleague suggested adding and I agreed; Italic ones are ones I had but colleague didn't initially see but then agreed; Regular face ones are ones I had and colleague had)**
Partial transcript 1: TEACHER: Alright, Gabrielle's gonna try. Give them a second to try on their own. Try #1 on your own. Let me give you about... 30 seconds, and then Gabrielle's gonna give us that one. And then... James, you have #2, but wait, you gotta wait before you give out the answer. STUDENT: (inaudible) TEACHER: Wait, wait, wait, Gabrielle's gonna tell us what to write. You put what you think it is. And you should write the question, James. Cuz when you go back to study you need to... you need to know, what was the original question. STUDENT: (inaudible) (Students working) (Student asks a question) TEACHER: For you all yes. For me, it's a regular day. (Students: Ooooohhh!) TEACHER: It's ok. No, I get to do your grades tomorrow though. Yayyy. (Laughs) (Students: Ohhhhh) TEACHER: (Laughs) **Alright**, go. Go,	Independent Work Practice/ Discuss/ Grappling	Unit 1: Independent Work: • **Giving 1-1 academic help** • **Individual connecting or noticing** • Discussing grades • **Discussing the school** • Discussing teaching or being a teacher • Sharing a laugh • Responding to possible behavior issue Unit 2: Practice: • Discussing grades • Mentioning a student to the class by name • Responding to

Gabrielle. STUDENT: I think it's like... TEACHER: Alright, listen, listen. STUDENT: (inaudible) TEACHER: Yeah you can use whatever variable. STUDENT: (Laughs) 4n... like 4n... shutup (laughs) TEACHER: Alright... STUDENT: (inaudible) TEACHER: Tell me what side's the pointing side facing, left or right? STUDENT: Right... no left, left. TEACHER: Ok, but remember you don't really have to describe it. When you say less than, that's up to me (points to himself) as a listener to know, ok, I know which direction to put it, so you don't have to really explain it. But that's what it should look like. Ok? Then you— STUDENT: I have (inaudible) TEACHER: Yeah that's fine, that's fine. The only thing, with me, I just try to use whatever they're talkin about in the question— STUDENT: (inaudible) (about using an x as a variable) TEACHER: Well let's get away from—cuz once you put it together (with a times sign) then... Yeah? STUDENT (diff): For the first one, I got the same thing, but it's 4 times n (inaudible) TEACHER: Yeah well that's what Josh was sayin. You know, once you put the variable next to the number, it's already understood, the multiplication's already understood. Yeah, don't do it anymore. I won't mark it incorrect, but it's not necessary.		possible behavior issue • *Opining on difficulty of the work*
Partial transcript 2: Alright, now, Muhammad, what's one thing that you wrote down? STUDENT: Attitude. TEACHER: Ok, in what way? STUDENT: Like, people feelin bad about	Share Outs Setup/Launch	Unit 1: Share Outs: • *Allowing extended* • Discussing student's lives outside of school

other people (inaudible). TEACHER: People feelin bad about other people...? STUDENT: No. TEACHER: Alright could you explain that a little better? STUDENT: That's what I think. TEACHER: What did you... (holds hand out silently telling other student to stop clapping) just... STUDENT: Like, attitudes about school. TEACHER: Ok, attitudes about school. What type of attitudes about school? STUDENT: Like, negative attitude where people hate school. TEACHER: Ok, negative attitudes about school, so... your position, then, what would your position be? You're hoping that people would feel what about school? STUDENT: Good about it. TEACHER: Ok, good, you want people to feel good about school, and not so negative. Excellent. DeJuan, give me one (appears to be cold-calling). STUDENT: Um, littering. TEACHER: Ok, good. You know what, that's a very strong one. And your position on littering is what? STUDENT: Save the world. (students laugh) TEACHER: Let's not be silly, let's not be silly. STUDENT: Peace on earth. TEACHER: Ok, so let's go back to our original one, when you said littering. So your position is what? STUDENT: (inaudible) TEACHER: Ok, so littering is not ok to you. Good, good. Somebody from this table. STUDENT: What? TEACHER: Leo? STUDENT: Drugs. TEACHER: Drugs, good. That's a very, that's a very strong problem, and your position on that is what? You think it's a good or bad thing?		• Responding to possible behavior issue Unit 2: Setup/Launch: • Discussing students' lives outside of school • Responding to possible behavior issue • **Opining on difficulty of the work** • Reflecting on learning

STUDENT: (inaudible) TEACHER: He thinks it's a bad thing, he thinks it's a bad thing. And you know, just on what he said alone—Muhammad, your attention please—just on what he said alone, if we just look around the neighborhood, we can see a whole lot of what kind of activity? STUDENT: Drug activity, gangs. STUDENT: Guns. TEACHER: A lot of drugs, a lot of gangs. We gonna find a way to—we want people to not do those things, we want people to not do those things because what? STUDENT: They go to jail. TEACHER: It's dangerous, all that stuff is dangerous. <u>**Alright**</u>, now, what we just did is an activity that's gonna lead us into the day's lesson, which is about persuasion. We want people to feel the way that we do about specific types of things, about certain types of things. Alright... now, what I need everybody to do is in your binders, sorry your spirals, turn to the classwork section, and we gonna take a few notes on persuasion. Alright, all of you guys had some really very good answers, and I really like your answers. So can I have a volunteer before we even get started, what do you think our objective for the day will be? STUDENT: Persuasive writing. TEACHER: Right, so we gonna talk a little bit more about persuasive writing. I'm gonna show you some different techniques that need to be in your writing to make it more effective. STUDENT: There's techniques for this? TEACHER: Yes, there are techniques. STUDENT: I thought it was just write down something and make it sound persuasive. TEACHER: There are ways that you can do it better instead of just writing it down — stuff follows a form or specific pattern, and if you know the pattern, your writing becomes more effective, you can		

communicate what you want better, and people will want to do what you're asking them to do, that's what we're trying to get to with persuasive writing. STUDENT: Don't you need that kind of writing like if you're running for Mayor, President, Governor, School Board... TEACHER: Yes, you do. Good point, good point. All good points.		
Partial transcript 3: TEACHER: (Reads another one) Translate that line right now, do it. STUDENT: (inaudible) (question) TEACHER: It does, it does. Write it out, write it out, write it out, write it out. STUDENT: What line are we translating? TEACHER: Uh, 'this love that thou hast shown, doth add more grief,' that line. (Goes to hall where Katie is) TEACHER: Punkin. Whatcha doin. (Accent) Why ya so cranky? STUDENT: (inaudible) TEACHER: Hon, you just got back. STUDENT: Yeah, I know. TEACHER: Ok, but there's no talking anything. Just ignore her. You are fabulous right? Did you have a good time with your family? STUDENT: Amber wasn't talking to me. TEACHER: No, I know. Did you have a good time with your family? STUDENT: Yeah. TEACHER: Did you have a nice vacation? STUDENT: Yeah. TEACHER: Did you get to relax and enjoy? STUDENT: Yeah. TEACHER: So take all that energy, and put on your WonderWoman shield (makes a sound like putting on a shield or flying). Did you ever watch WonderWoman, oh my Gosh, I love WonderWoman, she has those bracelets right (makes sounds of using the bracelets). So people would throw words at her, or they'd throw things at her, and she'd go pew-pew-pew. So you need to put your	Independent Work Practice/ Discuss/ Grapple Independent Work	Unit 1: Independent Work: • **Sharing about own personal life** • Individually connecting or noticing • Discussing grades • Discussing students' lives outside of school • Alluding to a future event • Responding to a possible behavior issue • Expressing excitement, pride, or love Unit 2: Practice: • **Allowing extended sharing** • Sharing about own personal life • **Individually connecting or noticing** • Discussing students' lives outside of school • Mentioning a student by name to the class

<table>
<tr>
<td>WonderWoman bracelet on, so you hear people talkin crap, pew-pew-pew. Right?
STUDENT: I just hate it.
TEACHER: I know, but remember... if you're angry, you let the teachers know, you don't take it out on us, right? And the talking, you come in and you talk drama all the time. Right, cuz it eats at you, and it festers, but then you miss out on the work. Right? And then you don't pass the class. Ohhhh my Gosh, you're so smart.
STUDENT: (inaudible)
TEACHER: But, you're so smart, so you need to let go on the drama, put on your WonderWoman shields, (laughs) and come on in and do the work. Alright, can you do that? Can you apologize for yelling at me?
STUDENT: Sorry.
TEACHER: Thank you! Do you know I love you? (They hug)
STUDENT: Yeah.
TEACHER: Ok. Come on in, little lamb. What are you gonna do when you hear bad things? Pew-pew-pew (laughs). Alright? Ok. (They come back in)
TEACHER: <u>Alright</u>, who wants to read me their translation. Gabby, you've been so quiet today, let's hear the translation!
STUDENT (tia): She's always quiet, what are you talkin about.
TEACHER: I know, she's super quiet.
(Tia continues saying things)
TEACHER: (Reads the sentence they're translating) Shhh, shhh. What does that mean. Escucha por favor!
STUDENT: This love that you shown.
TEACHER: What does that line mean Megan?
STUDENT: (inaudible)
TEACHER: Adds more grief to my own.
STUDENT: Oh yeah.
TEACHER: So what does that mean? (They call out)
STUDENT (Lena): This love you had shown added more grief—</td>
<td></td>
<td>• Sharing a laugh
• Responding to a possible behavior issue
Unit 3: Independent Work:
• Giving 1-1 academic help
• Mentioning a student by name to the class
• Being sarcastic
• Responding to a possible behavior issue
• Expressing excitement, pride, or love</td>
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TEACHER: What's grief? (Calling out) Sadness, thank you. So he's saying what? What's he saying to Benvoglio. STUDENT (Lena): That the love you created added more sadness to my own. TEACHER: He's saying that the love you've shown me made me sadder. Have you ever experienced a period where you're really sad and if someone comes up and wants to hug you or help you, then you want to cry more? (A few say yeah) Then you're like don't talk to me because then I'm gonna cry... you guys know that happens with me right? I'm like you just can't hug me because I'll cry more. STUDENT (Tia): My mom did that last night because (inaudible) fell down the stairs... TEACHER: Laughing? How? (Laughs, as Tia explains) TEACHER: Oh so then were you sad? STUDENT: Well I had actual reason to cry then. TEACHER: Yeah I would imagine. Well that's what he's saying to Benvoglio. And then as we go (continues reading)... **<u>Translate</u>** the next two lines, do it quickly, go. STUDENT: What the? TEACHER: Exactly. Do it quickly. (Students calling out possibilities) Look at her, switchin the verbs and the subjects! Work it girl! (Snaps fingers) Keep going, keep going, I love it, oh, you guys make me so proud. STUDENT (Lena): No we don't. (Teacher walks to vending machine kid) TEACHER: Ugh, vending machine. (To another) Alright, so this is your pencil. These are the sentences we're translating. (Reads them) What does thou mean? Hast? STUDENT: You... has.... TEACHER: Ok so put them in, write those up there.		
Partial transcript 4: Teacher: Notice, did I change the first	Practice/ Discuss/	Unit 1: Practice: • Mentioning a

equation at all? (Student: No; Other student: You didn't have to.) I didn't have to. Now look again, when I made that -5 and -2, I had to remember, we're multiplying the whole thing by -1. Ok? We have 3x+2y equals 8 and -2x-5y equals -12. (Student question, inaudible) I had to find a—you've got to—this—when you're getting ready to want them to be opposites, Jasmine, you've got to do some thinking. (Other student: Like me) Alright, you've got to think. Alright, because they're already the same digit. So you've got to think, what can I multiply 2 by to get a -2? (Jasmine: Negative, ok...I had to read my notes, that's why) -1, right. Alright, that's why when we looked at the first one and it was 3 and -4, I couldn't multiply by -1, I had to multiply by a number. So now that they're opposites, what can I do now? (Students guessing) Eliminate by doing addition, by adding them together (Student: Yeah) so that's 3+-5, -2x (Student: equals) 2+-2, gone 0. 8+-12 (Student: -4). What's next, Louisa? (Louisa: divide) Divide them... good! Divide them by -2. x equals 2. Um, I'm gonna have to come over here to do this, um... Luke, which equation do you want to use? First one, ok. So we're gonna go 3 times 2 plus 2y equals 8. What's 3 times 2? (6) 6. +2y equals 8. Subtract 6 from both sides. 2y equals 8-6... it's 2. And, what do I do last? (Student: Divide) Divide by 2. Y equals what? (Student: 0) 2/2 equals zero? No, it's 1. So what's my solution? (Student: (2,1)) You sure? (1,2), alright. Any questions? (Student: Nope) TEACHER: **<u>Alright</u>**, here's your work. (Students surprised) STUDENT: What! STUDENT: We've got work? STUDENT: He done changed for real. (Referencing above when a student said he had changed... unclear... might mean because camera is there, might mean	Grapple Wrap Up	student to the class by name Unit 2: Wrap Up: • Discussing the school • Discussing teaching or being a teacher • Mentioning a student to the class by name • Responding to a possible behavior issue • Reflecting on learning

something else) STUDENT: I told you this. STUDENT: Change is good. STUDENT: What kind of work? STUDENT: When was the last time you gave us homework? TEACHER: Tray, sit down. (Passing HW out) TEACHER: Yup, now, shh, once everybody gets it I'll tell you when it's due. It is homework. STUDENT: Nooo. TEACHER: Yessss. Um, the homework... is due... (Students guessing) Tuesday. (Students: Ohhh!) I'm giving you the weekend and Monday. Alright, here's the thing though. Go ahead and put it away because you don't do all the problems. You are only doing... shhh... Julissa. You are doing numbers 11 through 20. That's it. (Student: Yes!) You're doing numbers 11-20. (Student: That's it?) Now, Demetrius made a good comment that, you know, this is different. Yes it is. This is me teaching offline, Demetrius. When you are online... you need to be doing and following the directions according to that. (Student: She's boring!) I'm boring too. (Student: It ain't actually; Student: You better) I'm boring too. Any questions on systems of equations? (Students talking, getting up, seem to be reflecting on lesson, with one saying it was one of their best days) TEACHER: Ladies and gentlemen, let me talk to you real quick about being on computers. It is the same thing, ok, it is the same thing. (Students: No) You just interact with yourself instead of the class. (Students talking) TEACHER: That's where self-motivation comes in. (inaudible) (Students sit and talk until bell rings; one sings on the way out)		
Partial transcript 5:	Lecture/Te	Unit 1: Other Activity:

TEACHER: Ok, take a look at the grade I just gave back to you. If you have any MIs in the score part. Look at the score. If you see any MI, you can make those up for half credit. Um, journals, I don't know why, but some people still don't know what that means. That's the stuff we write at the beginning and end of each week. So this person's I'm holding didn't give me the journal from 4/5 and 4/9. Ok. I know that you don't remember what all this stuff is. That's why we have our handy dandy planner in the corner. Matthew, turn around. So if you need to be reminded of what any of this is, it should be on the planner. I probably didn't keep up with too much of it last week, so if there's somethin you're missing from last week, you may need to come ask me. But the rest of this should be on there. If any of this is a worksheet and the worksheets are not over there, I'm not makin any more new copies. I've been doin that this whole quarter helpin people out, I'm done. So if it's a worksheet and it's not over there, you're out of luck. Um, I will take any make-up work, let me add that too. (Writes on board) Extra credit... slash make-up work. Due June 7th. I got about 2 of you in here that I still need to give some quizzes that you never took, so that could help your grade. Um, so here's what you have left. You have, I'll probably take one more grade this week—I may not—actually, I probably won't. Here's what I will take this week. We're doin a quiz on Friday. Next week you've got, um, the stories due, everybody look, I pushed it back a day cuz I realized I've got to give myself time to do 'em and grade 'em. Ok, they were gonna be due on June 9th, they're gonna be due on Tuesday the 8th. So... if you are totally in the toilet, you can make up anything that you're missin, now you're only gonna get half credit for that. You can do the extra credit.	acher Presenting Material (*Hillary had 2 units, breaking at "Alright" in blue: first Other Activity, second Lecture/ Presenting Material)*	• Discussing grades • Opining on difficulty of the work • Mentioning a student to the class by name • Being sarcastic • Discussing teaching or being a teacher • Alluding to a future event • Comparing students • Responding to a possible behavior issue Unit 2: Lecture/Presenting Material: • Making fun of, insulting, embarrassing, belittling, students (or content), singling out for a negative reason, not taking students seriously • Being sarcastic • Response to [mis]behavior or request of certain behavior (i.e., teacher handling management or discipline)

And you still have this quiz and that story. You still have plenty of chances to dig yourself out of a muddy hole, if that's where you are. Questions about grade stuff? Ask me now cuz I don't want to go over this again. STUDENT: (inaudible) TEACHER: Those are always 100 points. STUDENT: (inaudible) TEACHER: Probably. Anybody else? We're goin goin goin over here—yeah? STUDENT: (inaudible) TEACHER: Not this second, wait till we start workin. TEACHER: **Alright**, you should have in front of you, the rough draft that I gave you back yesterday. Everybody also look at the little bead thing I gave back to you that you did yesterday. Um, here's what I did on the bead thing. The bead chart or whatever it was called—what was it called? Bead chart? (Student silent) Here's what I did on that, if you see one or two things circled with a question out to the side, those probably aren't the only questions I had when I read it. Those are probably just the two that stuck out in my mind. But if I wrote something like... your details don't make sense, that's probably a problem on all of them. Or if I put...these things don't go together, it's probably not the only one that doesn't go together. Ok so just because I circled one thing doesn't mean it's the only one that had a problem. What you need to do—listen close, this isn't that weird if you just listen to me. (Student silent but still getting papers out) Whatever question I wrote on there, or whatever comment I wrote on there, you need to ask yourself that question on all of those little circles, So if I wrote a who or a what on all those circles, ask yourself who what who what who what, ok? That make sense? Ok.		
Partial Transcript 6 (Before class)	Settling In	N/A (only used for unit agreement)

TEACHER: Ok guys. TEACHER: Ok, thanks. What class are you going to? STUDENT: Art. TEACHER: I'm going to put 3:20 on this (issuing a late pass). Ok, guys. TEACHER: Neal, who are you going to? I'm gonna give you a pass. Come on over, I'll give you a pass. She said you were texting. I'm not—it's her, she told me. [muffled] TEACHER: Where you going to? Who? TEACHER: Who are you going to, Cindy?		
Partial Transcript 7 TEACHER: Any more questions on your bell work? (No questions asked) TEACHER: On number 5, what kind of circle, or what kind of inequality sign are we gonna have with that closed circle? (Pause, no answers) We gonna have the, um, equals to part on there, or not? Dan? STUDENT: Um... (inaudible) TEACHER: We're going to have the equals to sign on this with number 5 because it's the closed circle meaning equals to is part of it. TEACHER: Jonathan, go and check the homework please. TEACHER: Any questions on your homework from those of you who did your homework? (Circles, quietly helps individual student, class still silent) TEACHER: Alright. Today, we're gonna be solving inequalities by adding, and if you look to the top of the homework paper, it says by adding and subtracting, but when we were solving equations, we only did solving equations by adding, because that's—we involve the additive inverse only to solve our equations. Solving your inequalities is just like solving equations. Um... I want to say 99.9% are the same way. For us today, it's 100% the same way. (To student checking homework) Jonathan, did	Do Now/Bell Work Setup/Launch (Hillary had Lecture/Teacher Presenting)	N/A (only used for unit agreement)

you have any questions? TEACHER: So again, as far as today goes, solving the inequalities will be just like solving equations. ... You're getting good at solving your equations again, dusting that stuff off from, um first and second nine weeks, bringing it back. TEACHER: To have added practice of putting your inequalities on number lines... we'll graph all of these on number lines even though the directions on all of these don't say to do that.		
Partial Transcript 8 TEACHER: Alright, watch your numbers. Watch your numbers. Your (inaudible) bell work is like what we did yesterday, you're multiplying the polynomial by the monomial. Your (inaudible) for the CPS is up here. (Walking around, students working) TEACHER: (quietly) Ok, finished? Yes? (Standing at front desk looking at some papers) (Students silently working) TEACHER: Ok, everyone's finished? Everyone's inputted right? (Looking at screen, seems like students voted from desk?) TEACHER: Ok, hold on. Have you put yours in? Ok. (Switches screen) TEACHER: Let's see how we did. Ok, awesome. (Students reacting loudly—"ooh"; "I made an 80!") Awesome job. Alright, Good job. (Chuckles) Ok. So we understand that concept right? STUDENT: Yeah. TEACHER: Great. (Chuckles) Alright, now... shh. We've got to move on, we've got to move on. Today we're going to FOIL. STUDENT: (inaudible) TEACHER: Awesome. Ok, now listen. How many of you know what an acronym is? (A few raise hands) We use acronyms, or we	Do Now/Bell Work Setup/Launch Lecture/Teacher Presenting	N/A (only used for unit agreement)

use mnemonic devices to help us— STUDENT: Like, my mom gave us $10 or something like that— TEACHER: Yeah, we use acronyms or mnemonic devices to help us learn things or remember things. We use Please Excuse My Dear Aunt Sally. STUDENT: (inaudible) STUDENT: Yeah. TEACHER: And what is that for, the planets? STUDENT: Yeah. TEACHER: Mmm-hmm. So we use acronyms all the time. FOIL is an acronym that mathematics use (sic). Just like we use Please Excuse My Dear Aunt Sally, we're gonna use FOIL to help us multiply two binomials. Alright so get your notes out so that you can take notes. In your workbook... (at board, getting materials) we're going to be... on page 102 and 103.		
Partial Transcript 9 TEACHER: Table 2, you guys done. (Across room) (Reads one near her) TEACHER: One more 5 syllable line. You're both working together. What does it need to grow? STUDENT: (inaudible) la boca (shutup in Spanish) TEACHER: Come on, can you focus? Look at the words you have up there. STUDENT: (inaudible) STUDENT: (inaudible) TEACHER: No that has nothing to do with dirt. How bout in that first, planting... STUDENT: Oh. (Teacher gives her a line) (Keeps walking) (Other tables — arguing about two copying each other) TEACHER: Guys, your poems are gonna be similar cuz you're all copyin from the same list. Alright, stop, I don't want to start a fight.	Group Work Practice/Discuss Setup/Launch (Hillary had Independent Work)	N/A (only used for unit agreement)

STUDENT: Who copied? TEACHER: Alex sit down. STUDENT: (inaudible) TEACHER: Nobody. (Teacher does clapping to bring class back together) TEACHER: I walked through, and you guys wrote a whole bunch of nice haikus, and I want you to share them out. Amy, would you like to share yours? STUDENT: Of course. TEACHER: Read it. Alright, everybody listen, and while she's reading, listen. STUDENT: Dirt is very brown. TEACHER: Ok, that's 5 syllables. STUDENT: (inaudible) TEACHER: Is that ok? STUDENT: Yeah. TEACHER: Ok, good. STUDENT: (inaudible) TEACHER: Planting seeds in spring, good. (Student asks to go to bathroom) TEACHER: Can you wait, the period's gonna be over soon. Jennifer? STUDENT: Making mud art in the dirt. TEACHER: Making mud art in the dirt. Good. Mushy and squishy, good. Viv, read yours. (Chattering) Wait! Don't be rude. STUDENT: (inaudible) STUDENT (diff): There has to be a— TEACHER: No it doesn't have to—I said you could add to it if you wanted to. Rachel? STUDENT: (inaudible) (Loud noises on other side of room) TEACHER: Good, you want to read yours? STUDENT: (inaudible) TEACHER: Good. And last but not least, table 2, somebody please share what you have. STUDENT: I'll share. TEACHER: Thank you, Noah. Go ahead. (Student reads) TEACHER: I love mudpies. That's 4. Nope. (Chattering)		

TEACHER: I like making—nope. (Students calling out at once) TEACHER: I enjoy mudpies, very good. STUDENT: Ow! She (inaudible) TEACHER: Um, shhh, alright, now what you're gonna do. All the steps we did, you're goin to create your own haiku now. STUDENT: With our name? TEACHER: Not with your name, with something from nature. You're gonna come up with your own haikus. So think of—follow this list. You're gonna choose a topic from nature, then you're gonna do what I did here with you guys, create different words that—Jess— STUDENT: Yes? TEACHER: You're gonna choose a topic from nature, then brainstorm a set of words and phrases that help you describe that thing in nature or how you feel about it, and then you're gonna create your own haiku usin the form that I just gave you. So right now you're gonna do it on scrap paper. I'm givin you guys computer paper, and you're gonna finish it for homework for your poetry booklet. Are there any questions? Yes, Viv. STUDENT: Can it be from any topic? TEACHER: From nature. (Students chattering) Remember you're writing two haikus for your poetry booklet, but you're starting on the first one now. STUDENT: Ms.? TEACHER: Come on, get started, you did a good job.		