Distribution Agreement

In presenting this thesis or dissertation as a partial fulfillment of the requirements for an advanced degree from Emory University, I hereby grant to Emory University and its agents the non-exclusive license to archive, make accessible, and display my thesis or dissertation in whole or in part in all forms of media, now or hereafter known, including display on the world wide web. I understand that I may select some access restrictions as part of the online submission of this thesis or dissertation. I retain all ownership rights to the copyright of the thesis or dissertation. I also retain the right to use in future works (such as articles or books) all or part of this thesis or dissertation.

Signature:

_____ _____

Mari Ann Roberts Date

African American, European American, or Does It Make A Difference?

Teacher Perceptions of Care for African American Students

By

Mari Ann Roberts
Doctor of Philosophy

Educational Studies

_____
Emile Vanessa Siddle Walker, Ed.D.
Chair

_____
Kristen L. Buras, Ph.D.
Committee Member

_____
Joseph P. Cadray, Ph.D.
Committee Member

Accepted:

_____
Lisa A. Tedesco, Ph.D. Dean of the Graduate School

_____ Date

African American, European American, or Does It Make A Difference?

Teacher Perceptions of Care for African American Students

By

Mari Ann Roberts
B.S. Ed. Wright State University, 1993
J.D. Mercer University, 1996

Advisor: E. Vanessa Siddle Walker, Ed.D.

An Abstract of
A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Emory University
In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
In Educational Studies
2009

Abstract
African American, European American, or Does It Make A Difference?
Teacher Perceptions of Care for African American Students
by Mari Ann Roberts

Growing research evidence on the ethic of care suggests that caring should be an integral part of the pedagogical methods implemented in schools. However, the colorblind "community of care" described in the literature (Ferreira, Smith, & Bosworth, 2002; Schussler & Collins, 2006; Thompson, 2004) does not disaggregate the lines of ethnicity, gender or SES. Moreover, only a paucity of research explores teacher perceptions of caring. The purpose of this study was to examine teacher care for Black students, by exploring the reported perceptions and behaviors of African American and European American teachers using theoretical lenses of care theory, culturally relevant pedagogy, and critical race theory.

A phenomenological methodology was used to guide the design, implementation, and analysis of this study. Interviews were conducted with ten "successful" African American and seven "successful" European American teachers who taught in high schools with majority African American or European American student populations. Specifically, the following research questions guided this study:
1. How do "successful" African American and European American secondary teachers define teacher care for their African American students?
2. What specific behaviors/attitudes/critical incidents do successful African American and European American secondary teachers share as examples of their care for African American students (if any)?
3. What explanations do successful African American and European American teachers provide for their reported care behaviors?
4. What is the relationship (if any) between teacher perceptions of care, culturally relevant pedagogy and critical race theory?

Findings suggest that overall, the phenomenon of teacher care specifically for, or on behalf of, Black students was acknowledged or implied somewhat equally across most emergent themes by teachers of both races. Nevertheless, findings also revealed racialized differences in teacher definitions and behaviors; caring rationale based on individualistic inspiration, altruistic inspiration, and influential inspiration; and an extant relationship between culturally relevant pedagogy, critical race theory, and the respondents' perceptions of their care for Black students.

Running head: RACIAL DIFFERENCES IN TEACHER CARING

African American, European American, or Does It Make A Difference?

Teacher Perceptions of Care for African American Students

By

Mari Ann Roberts
B.S. Ed. Wright State University, 1993
J.D. Mercer University, 1996

Advisor: E. Vanessa Siddle Walker, Ed.D.

A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Emory University
In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
In Educational Studies
2009

Acknowledgements

Many people toiled behind this venture. I gratefully dedicate this work to my Mother, Glenda Roberts, my partner, Jasyn Banks, and my friend Kevnie Green-Patterson. You were there for me through all my tears and woes and prayed for me without ceasing. I love you all and appreciate you more than you know.

I would like to thank the 17 teachers involved in this project. Their willingness to provide frank and genuine feedback has enabled me to think deeply about issues surrounding teacher care. I truly hope that the education of African American students will be improved because of our collaboration.

I would also like to thank my chair Dr. Vanessa Siddle Walker for stepping in and taking me out of the rain. I would not have completed this work without you. I am truly grateful for all your valuable advice about, and hard work with, my "raggedy paper" and me (or is it I?). You are wise and wonderful in your wisdom.

I thank my committee members and former chair, Dr. Joseph Cadray, Dr. Kristen Buras, and Dr. Jacqueline Jordan Irvine for their invaluable input and counsel. I also thank my "Beez," Ellen Usher, Patricia Thomas, Tracey Alvair, Jennifer Thomas, Eric Wearne, Barbara Coble, Carrie Haight, and my colleagues Vera Stenhouse and members of GSRR for their kindness and support. Finally, I thank GOD for without him I am nothing.

Table of Contents

Introduction

> I was an exceedingly shy, withdrawn, and uneasy student. Yet my teachers somehow made me believe I could learn. And when I could scarcely see for myself any future at all, my teachers told me the future was mine (Baldwin, 1985, p. 662).

Although students benefit greatly from schools with well-designed and coherent curriculum, state-of-the art equipment, cutting edge technology, and strong instructional leaders, providing a caring classroom environment is also an important part of helping students succeed. Literature that discusses teacher care affirms that students experience positive school outcomes such as improved attendance, attitude, self-esteem, effort, and identification with school if they believe their teachers care for them and their well-being (e.g. Aspy & Roebuck, 1977; Bender, 1978; Bulach, Brown and Potter, 1998; Darling-Hammond, 1997; Noblit, Rogers & McCadden, 1995; Noddings, 1995; Steele, 1992; Wentzel, 1997).

Yet, care is a concept that has escaped focused attention in educational research. Many noted researchers who study care make consistent statements about the existence and benefits of an ethic of care in the classroom (Eaker-Rich & Van Galen, 1996; Gilligan, 1982; Noddings, 1992; Oakes & Lipton, 1999; Palmer, 2003; Siddle-Walker & Snarey, 2004), but due to its many facets, researchers have yet to, or are unable to, mesh their work in order to provide a more comprehensive definition of teacher care (Alder, 2002; Rogers & Webb, 1991). Care is difficult to quantify and a paucity of empirical data exists providing evidence of the ways care is actually implemented, learned, or transmitted in schools (Schussler & Collins, 2006).

When examining school environment on the secondary level, many researchers have claimed that high schools are organized in a way that impedes meaningful relationships (Noddings, 1996, 2002a; Schussler & Collins, 2006). Although teachers express deep concern for their students, and students say they want to be cared for, many high school students do not feel their teachers care about them. This evokes a conundrum in which students want to be cared for and teachers want to care; yet for some reason, a lack of caring relationships still exists (Noddings, 1996). A large number of students never make the transition from ninth to tenth grade and many students who drop out of high school have specifically cited lack of caring as a reason behind their decision to leave (Schussler & Collins, 2006).

High school can be a challenging time for many students but particularly for students of color who face many educational challenges (Thompson, 2007). In examining efforts to address the concerns of children from particular cultural and ethic backgrounds, growing research evidence suggests that care is an integral part of culturally responsive pedagogical methods and characteristics demonstrated by a number of African American teachers in a purposeful effort to provide positive school outcomes, influence skills of social and political critique, and inspire socio-economic elevation for African American students (Beauboeuf-Lafontant, 2002; Cutforth, 1999; Denbo & Beaulieu, 1997; Foster, 1997; Jones, 1982, 2002; Irvine, 1999, 2002; Irvine & Frazier, 1998; McCullough-Garret, 1993; Monroe & Obidah, 2003; Morris & Morris, 2000, 2002; Siddle Walker, 2000; Siddle Walker & Snarey, 2004; Sizemore, 1981; Thompson, 2004; Ward, 1995; Ware, 2002b; Wilder, 2000). The purposeful actions of these teachers seem to result in a unique kind of "culturally-relevant critical teacher care" (CRCTC). In this paper, CRCTC is defined as a type of teacher care pedagogy that is an amalgamation of Ladson-Billings'

culturally relevant pedagogy (1995b), Irvine's cultural synchronization (1990), critical race theory (DeCuir & Dixson, 2004; Ladson Billings & Tate, 1995; Lopez, 2003; Parker, Deyhle, & Villenas, 1999; Parker, Deyhle, Villenas, & Nebeker, 1998), and specific behaviors such as "warm demanding" (Irvine, 2002; Irvine & Fraser, 1998; Vasquez, 1988), "other mothering" (Irvine, 2002; Irvine & Fraser, 1998; Lipman, 1998; Ware, 2002b), and "colortalk" or political clarity (Beaubeouf-Lafontant, 2002; Lewis, 2001; Lopez, 2003; Thompson, 2004). African American teacher care is an important factor in the equation of Black students and school identification, but even more importantly, according to Cochran-Smith (1997), the ethic of caring is in harmony with work and research on successful teaching of all students of color.

To be sure, caring is not unique to African American students or teachers, and African American teachers do not have a monopoly on teacher care. Important examples of successful European American teacher care (Cooper, 2002; Dillion, 1989; King, 1991, 1993; Parsons, 2005) exist throughout the current literature and many teachers of other ethnicities clearly exhibit care for their African American students and work hard to see them succeed (Cooper, 2002; Howard, 2001a, 2001b; Irvine, 2002; Ladson-Billings, 1995a). Negative behaviors and beliefs expressed by teachers of any race are damaging to the educational outcomes of African American students and positive behaviors and beliefs expressed by teachers of any race can be beneficial to educational outcomes (Lee, 1999).

However, the literature consistently shows that the behaviors of White teachers often result in limited, negative, perceptions of, and reactions to, African American student behaviors. European American teachers, who make up between 87% and now more recently 90% of the United States' teaching workforce (Wilder, 2000), often find

themselves working with students of color whose cultures may be unfamiliar. Additionally, some researchers have found a "dysconscious racism" (King, 1991) existing in the beliefs and behaviors of some pre- and in-service White teachers that supports dominant White norms and privileges and focuses on negative rather than positive characteristics of African American students (e.g. Ladson-Billings, 1998; Lewis, 2001; Lopez, 2003; Nieto, 1996). This understanding of White teachers' racism is reinforced by the fact that there are still many European American teachers who simply seem to believe that Black students misbehave more often than White students and are more frequently in need of discipline or remediation (King, 1993; Uhlenberg & Brown, 2002). While it is important to note that, as Irvine (1990) suggests, Black teachers can also fall prey to the trap of negative expectations, researchers have also shown that White teachers are more likely to be out of cultural sync with their African American students, and African American students are more likely to see that lack of cultural synchronization as a lack of care (Arriaza, 2003; Delpit, 1995; Honora, 2003; Howard, 2003a, 2003b; Monroe & Obidah 2003; Talbert-Johnson, 2004).

Statement and Significance of the Problem

African American students have been described as "one of the most disenfranchised and underachieving segments of the nation's K-12 student population" (Howard, 2003b). Despite being one of the so-called "beneficiaries" of many US public school restructuring and educational reforms such as Title I, Headstart, and Success for All, African American students and many other students of color are struggling in the public education system (Gay, 2000; Howard 2002; Irvine 1990, 1999). Even more tragically, many of these students have simply given up and dropped out of school (NCES, 2004), despite myriad

programs that claim to leave no child behind. The swath of disenfranchised students that lie in the wake of programs such as these mentioned above demonstrate that education policy-makers often have their own political purposes and agendas which have little effect and even less positive impact on student achievement. (Kozol, 2005; Noddings, 2007; Smith & Fey, 2000).

One of the most compelling examples of the educational deficiencies discussed above may be found in the attrition rates and standardized test scores of African American students. Steele (1992) suggests that the test scores of African American students in the early grades are similar to their white peers, but decline the longer African American students remain in schools. Current data from the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), for 1971–2004 in Long-Term Trend Reading Assessments, do not mirror Steele's contentions, but nevertheless show that the results for secondary students may be identical. NAEP data show that in 2004, African American students at age nine experienced a 26 point test score gap from their White peers. While this gap narrowed to 22 points at age 13, by the end of high school the gap was wider than ever at 29 points. Long-Term Trend Math Assessments tell a similar story. These facts imply that the disjunction between African American students and school only seems to intensify when students reach the secondary level (Honora, 2003; Lee, 1999; Roderick, 2003; Steele, 1992).

The actuality of the widening achievement gap for African American secondary students is reinforced by Ladson-Billings (1995) who notes in her seminal work on culturally relevant pedagogy that "among African American high school students identified as gifted in their elementary grades, only about half were continuing to do well at the high school level. The gap is also noted by Roderick (2003) who, in a study of

early high school experiences and school outcomes among African American male adolescents, noted that many freshman experienced academic difficulty. He pointed out that "more than 40% of entering African American 9th graders in Chicago failed a major subject in the first semester of high school and 20% failed two or more" (p. 540). He also emphasized that, "the reform of high school environments should be a top priority in addressing the racial achievement gap and in improving the college prospects of African American students particularly males" (p. 581).

In spite of the myriad micro and macro-structural reforms that would be required to influence sustained academic achievement, many teachers continue their quixotic effort to make change, one student at a time. Though teachers are often the target of blame and accusation in discussions of the achievement gap, the data indicate that teacher efforts matter. In fact, many times caring teachers working with students to see them succeed generate high levels of success (Gay, 2000). This correlation suggests that the recruitment and retention of highly qualified caring teachers may be a powerful component in solving the puzzling problem of the lack of achievement of African American students and students in general (Collier, 2005; Donaldson, 1996; Eaker-Rich & Van Galen, 1996; Foster, 1993; Gay, 2000; Hale, 2001; Irvine, 1990, 2002; King, 1991, 1993; McCullough-Garrett, 1993).

Teacher care has been identified as "the most important belief system related to student achievement" (Agne, Greenwood, & Miller, 1994, pp.177-178). Collier undergirds this belief in her opinion paper entitled *An Ethic of Caring: The Fuel for High Teacher Efficacy*: She says "the act of caring and being cared for forms a loop which provides needed support to enhance student growth, development, and performance . . .

Student and teacher success experienced within communities of caring increases . . . student ability to learn" (p. 358).

The influence of teacher care on student motivation is readily available in the history of African Americans in segregated schools. In this and other literature, the importance and success of Black teachers caring for Black students in a caring school environment is demonstrated. In such, researchers have unearthed many recounted stories of African American teachers caring for Black students by claiming responsibility for their successful education and these teachers are often fondly remembered as those who treated education as a "mission" in which they were "called" to make a difference in the lives of their students and their community (Beauboeuf-Lafontant, 2002; Foster, 1997; Jones, 2002; Irvine, 1999, 2002; Irvine & Frazier, 1998; Monroe & Obidah, 2003; Morris & Morris, 2000, 2002; Siddle Walker, 2000; Thompson, 2004; Ware, 2002; Wilder, 2000).

However, although the moral development and teacher education literature have elevated the critical component of care in student success, they conversely have given little attention to delineating the ways it operates in the classrooms of students of color to encourage academic achievement. In an educational system where 90% of the teachers are White, the number of African American teachers has been consistently shrinking (NEA, 2003). Despite the fact that extensive research has illuminated aspects of Black teacher pedagogy that support African American student success (Walker, 2005), in the area of moral development, these disappearing teachers have been marginalized and their voices left out of the discussion regarding teacher care.

In sum, despite the fact that many researchers have opined that teacher care is an important component of student success, very little empirical work has examined the

actual effect of the presence or absence of teacher care on student academic achievement. One reason for the dearth of empirical work concerning teacher care appears to be the lack of a concrete definition of the phenomenon itself. Rogers and Webb (1991) state that, "the lack of a coherent definition of caring does not indicate a lack of understanding or knowledge about what caring is or ought to be, rather it reflects our inability to describe that understanding" (p. 177). The failure to clearly describe or define tenants of care impedes researcher ability to explore relationships between care and student achievement or understand the role of ethnicity in caring teacher behavior.

Research Questions

The purpose of this study was to examine the phenomenon of teacher care for Black students by exploring the reported attitudes and behaviors of "successful" African American and European American teachers. Specifically, this study sought to examine the ways in which reported behaviors differed based on ethnicity and school setting, to understand the rationale that explained reported teacher behavior, and to examine the relationship of the reported behaviors to the extant literature on teacher caring, culturally relevant pedagogy, and critical race theory. Specifically the following research questions guided this study:

1. How do "successful" African American and European American secondary teachers define teacher care for their African American students?
2. What specific behaviors/attitudes/critical incidents do successful African American and European American secondary teachers perceive are examples of their care for African American students (if any)?

3. What explanations do successful African American and European American teachers provide for their reported caring behaviors?

4. What is the relationship (if any) between teacher perceptions of care, culturally relevant pedagogy and critical race theory?

Definition of Terms

African American secondary teachers' perceptions/definitions of teacher care may include specific types of culturally relevant pedagogy that researchers have previously identified with African American teachers such as the use of other mothering, colortalk and warm demanding. Terms specific to the research questions will be defined in this section.

- *African American/Black* - According to the Census 2000 definition, this category refers to "people having origins in any of the Black racial groups of Africa" (Grieco & Cassidy, 2001, p. 2). In the United States, this definition often is used interchangeably with Black or Black American and often includes those of African Caribbean or African Canadian heritage who often seem to share some of the same cultural characteristics. For the purposes of this study, I will not differentiate between the aforementioned subgroups and will refer to all as African American or Black.
- *White/European American* – According to the Census 2000 definition this category refers to, "A person having origins in any of the original peoples of Europe, the Middle East or North Africa" (www.census.gov). In the United States, this definition is often used to describe those of primarily European decent and does not often include those of Middle Eastern or North African heritage. For

the purposes of this study, I will mirror the common United States mode of definition and will refer to those of primarily European decent as White or European American.

- *Successful* – Teachers who are "successful" are defined as those who have been identified through community nomination by parents of secondary students or principals as teachers who influence repeated positive student academic outcomes and who hold high academic standards for their students.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical frameworks supporting this study are care theory, culturally relevant pedagogy, and critical race theory. I will analyze key concepts surrounding the understanding of care theory by discussing definitions of care as they are presented by researchers in the field and drawing parallels, where applicable, to ideas examined by this dissertation. I will then discuss culturally relevant pedagogy and critical race theory.

Care Theory

The ethic of care as a theoretical framework is understood from many perspectives. Various scholars from philosophy, developmental psychology, and education (Agne, 1999; Gilligan, 1982; Kohlberg, 1984; Noddings, 1984, 1988, 1989, 1992, 1995, 2001, 2002a, 2002b; Oakes & Lipton, 1999; Rogers & Webb, 1991; Russel, Purkey & Siegel, 1982; Siddle-Walker, 1993; Tarlow, 1996) have contributed to this body of knowledge and have defined care in various ways. However, because of its many possible definitions, the definition of care, although extensive, is more tacit than established.

Carole Gilligan, a pioneer in the field of care theory, discusses an "ethic of care" which she believes "contains the ideals of human relationship, the vision that the self and

the other will be treated as of equal worth, that despite differences in power, things will be fair; the vision that everyone will be responded to and included, that no one will be left alone or hurt" (1982, p. 63). Gilligan's studies primarily reflect a feminine perspective of Kohlbergian morality theory.

Kohlberg was one of the first researchers to complete empirical studies that examined whether a person's ability to address ethical issues could develop in later life and whether morality could be taught. He believed that a person's ability to address moral issues was not formed all at once; just as there are stages of growth in physical development, Kohlberg believed the ability to think morally also developed in stages. Kohlberg additionally emphasized as part of his stages a hierarchy of justice, which he believed resonated more strongly with males and placed higher on his scale of ethical decision-making processes, over what he perceived to be the "female trait" of care (1984). Gilligan's studies, though built upon Kohlberg's theories, conversely suggested a possibility for the placement of care above the ethic of justice on a Kohlbergian scale.

As a modification to Gilligan's work, Noddings (1984) examined the feminine understanding of care developed by Gilligan and expanded its application to the classroom while simultaneously acknowledging its accessibility to both male and female caregivers. According to Noddings (1984), a caring relationship involved an emotion she called "engrossment," an actual state where the "one caring" received the "cared for" and related closely to that individual. In an educational setting, the teacher would be the one-caring and the student the cared-for. Although it is often mistaken as such, Noddings' care is not simply a self-effacing type of behavior. Noddings clarifies this important point in her work by pointing out that caring is embedded in reciprocal relationships and requires a certain amount of trade in kind. The understanding of care as a reciprocal

responsibility is also reflected in the work of care theorists like Tarlow (1996), who say that reciprocity lies at the "end of a chain of caring events. . . caring must be understood as . . . a process requiring effort on the part of both persons" (p. 80).

Noddings further clarifies her explanation of care by adding that a caring act must be interpreted as caring by the one receiving the care. She calls for moral education and emphasizes the need for open dialogue between the teacher and student. She suggests that this dialogue be practiced with the relational aspects of teacher-student interaction and confirmation of messages being received and sent. Noddings also makes the important point that one must be open to caring in order to receive it effectively (1984).

Noddings calls for policy makers, administrators, and educators to organize schools so that caring can flourish and structure education around themes of care. However, she critiques her own work by acknowledging that in today's political climate, her ideas will most likely not be implemented (Noddings, 1995). She attempts to address this problem by suggesting smaller implementations of her theory in individual classrooms or with individual teachers while continuing to call attention to her original position, reminding us that schools have not provided an appropriately attentive educational or moral response to the drastic social changes in today's society (Noddings, 1992).

In other work Noddings (1989, 1992, 2002b) specifically addresses some of the issues and concerns that are a foundation of this study. An example of her demonstration of these concerns is reflected in this statement. "The objective of care shifts with the situation and also with the recipient. Two students in the same class are roughly in the same situation, but they may need very different forms of care from their teacher" (2002b, p. 20). Noddings declares the "difficulties of knowing another's nature, needs, and desires when one party holds power over the other or is a member of a group that has

historically dominated another" (Noddings, 1992, p. 3) and her words undergird some of the many reasons why definitions and perceptions of teacher care are important to determine when attempting to address the educational needs of individuals from various ethnic backgrounds.

In a discussion of urban schools Noddings chronicles the fatigue and burn-out experienced by many teachers who sincerely care for their students and reminds policy makers, administrators, and educators that this burn-out often takes place simply because the efforts of these teachers are not perceived as caring. She also mentions that urban teachers often find themselves perceived as an enemy and a natural target for resistance. Finally, she reaffirms the benefits of implementing care in the classroom (Noddings, 1995) by stating that, "we will not surpass adequate educational achievement until our children believe they are cared for and learn to care for others" (p.675).

A previously discussed limitation of Nodding's work lies in the fact that she never provides a concrete definition of care. Other researchers agree with Noddings and also acknowledge that care is a slippery concept to define (Alder, 2002; Rogers & Webb, 1991). Nevertheless, Noddings succinctly addresses the lack of definitiveness in her definition of care by explaining that caring is a "way of being in relation, not a specific set of behaviors" (Noddings, 1992, p.17).

Mirroring Nodding's concept, other researchers and educators discuss a belief in human interaction as a central theme of care theory. Like Noddings, these researchers also believe that the role of care in educational cultures and communities is instrumental to student success (Aspy & Roebuck, 1977; Bender, 1978; Bulach, Brown and Potter, 1998; Darling-Hammond, 1997; Noblit, Rogers & McCadden, 1995; Noddings, 1995; Owens & Ennis, 2005; Steele, 1992; Toldson, 2008; Wentzel, 1997). The

conceptualization of teacher care as an essential part of student academic success is also reflected in the definition of care given by Siddle-Walker (1993) in her examination of interpersonal caring in segregated, African American schools. She defines care as "the direct attention an individual gives to meet the psychological, sociological, and academic needs of another individual or individuals" (p.65). In including "academic needs" as part of her definition, Walker suggests the possibility of an interactive relationship between caring teaching and student motivation to succeed. Similarly, Noddings (1988, 1992a, 1992b, 1995, 2002) makes several valid arguments for care in schools, as do Oakes and Lipton (1999), who also claim that the need to establish human interaction is a pedagogical necessity.

Beauboeuf-Lafontant (2002), Gay, (2000), Gomez, Allen & Clinton (2004), Irvine (2001), Siddle Walker and Snarey (2004), Thompson (2007), Valenzuela (1999) and others are among a miniscule number of researchers who have been pioneers in the conversation addressing the convergence of cultural relevance and care. Yet, Siddle-Walker and Snarey (2004) appear to be the only researchers who attempt to situate African American children in the care/justice debate thereby extending Gillian and Kohlberg and intermeshing Nodding's care with African American perspectives. These researchers examine the concerns of care as it confronts concepts that are pertinent to the African American culture, such as colortalk. Moreover, Rolón-Dow (2005), in her work with Puerto Rican female students, appears to be the only researcher who examines how race/ethnicity influences particular student/teacher care narratives. In her attempt to create an intersection of care and critical race theory, she stresses the importance of a race-centered analysis of care to the educational success of minority students.

Parker Palmer (2003) regularly addresses the subject of teachers, care, and education and espouses what he calls a "pedagogy of the soul" which respects cultural diversity and calls for institutional change, social change, and personal transformation in schools. Palmer makes a poignant case for soulful, caring, teaching pedagogy when he says, "If the link between soul and role is so critical in medicine, surely the same is true in education, where the relation of teacher and student must be deeply human for real learning to occur" (p.380).

Palmer, like Noddings, also critiques the possibilities inherent in his work. He laments that despite the existence of his "pedagogy of the soul" as an educational utopian environment, United States public education continues to be a political battlefield where both teachers and children are at risk, especially children who live on the margins of society (2003). By calling for "soulful pedagogy" to be used with "children on the margins of society," Palmer, like many other researchers, also acknowledges the importance of teacher care for students of minority cultures.

When reviewing the definition of care given by Gilligan (1982), the expansion of care theory into the realm of education by Noddings (1988, 1992a, 1992b, 1995, 2002), the further analysis of reciprocity in care theory by Tarlow (1996), the need for and benefit of teacher care for minority students mentioned by Noddings and Palmer, and the elevation of care theory to the realm of the soul by Palmer (2003), it becomes evident that all of these theories serve to enhance human interaction and possibly, student achievement. Noddings, Tarlow, Palmer, and Siddle-Walker (1993), in particular, focus on the quality and type of caring interactions between teachers and students. This focus on *quality* and *type* of teacher care drives the line of inquiry undergirding this study and exemplifies the intersection between my work and care theory.

Culturally Relevant Pedagogy

The conceptualization of caring has at times been subsumed within an overarching examination of Culturally Relevant Pedagogy (CRP) as a theoretical framework; in fact, CRP is said by some to contain many of the ideals and concepts found in the literature on caring (Irvine, 2001, 2002; Irvine and Armento, 2001; Ladson-Billings, 1995a, 1995b; Nieto, 1996). The term Culturally Relevant Pedagogy has often been confounded or used interchangeably with other pedagogical terms such as multicultural, culturally congruent, culturally diverse, culturally appropriate, and others. Yet, more than praxis, CRP is a philosophical construct that discusses a set of pedagogical behaviors that identifies, values, respects, and utilizes the cultural knowledge and performance styles of ethnically diverse students. This type of pedagogy sees culture as a powerful variable in student success, finds teacher knowledge and reflection to be important considerations in lesson planning, and acknowledges the import of high standards and expectations for teachers who wish to practice its tenets (Irvine, 2001).

The theory of culturally relevant pedagogy is most popularly identified with the work of Ladson Billings (1992). In her work, Ladson Billings (1992) emphasizes the deep involvement of student and teacher relationship to CRP, clearly defines it as a pedagogy that "prepares students to effect change in society, not merely fit into it" (p.382), and describes culturally relevant pedagogues as teachers who "empower students intellectually, socially, emotionally, and politically by using cultural referents to impart knowledge, skills, and attitudes" (p.382). In later work, she also contrasts the ideals of culturally relevant and assimilationist teaching and explains that assimiliationist teachers encourage a change of ethnically diverse student culture, values, and beliefs, to reflect those of the dominant culture.

In addition to Ladson-Billings, other researchers have also discussed CRP utilizing the often interchangeable terminology of cultural relevance. These researchers include Villegas (1991) and Bowers and Flinders (1990). In addition, researchers such as Irvine (2001) have pointed out that teachers who have varied teaching styles or philosophies may believe that surface actions such as a celebration of Cinco de Mayo may constitute cultural relevance and may easily confuse or misunderstand the ideals of CRP.

Although many broad propositions have emerged from the CRP research, there are three overarching contentions outlined by Ladson Billings (a) conceptions of self and others held by culturally relevant teachers, (b) the manner in which these teachers structure social relations, and (c) the conceptions of knowledge held by these teachers. Teacher beliefs and behaviors connected to Ladson-Billing's contentions were streamlined and specifically connected to African American teachers in the work of Irvine and Fraser (1998). Therefore, for the purposes of clarity and relevance, the examination of CRP by Irvine and Fraser will be utilized in this work to evaluate the presence of a CRP framework in teachers professed caring behaviors and beliefs.

In an examination of Irene Washington, an African American teacher with 23 years of experience who was recognized as a model teacher in her predominately Black school and community, Irvine and Fraser discuss culturally responsive pedagogy and link it's ideals to specific teacher beliefs and behaviors. These researchers state that culturally responsive African American teachers: (1) perceive themselves as parental surrogates and advocates for Black students; (2) employ a teaching style filled with high emotional involvement, call and response, creative analogies, symbolism and lively and often spontaneous discussion; (3) use students' everyday cultural and historical experiences to

link new concepts to prior knowledge ; (4) spend classroom and non classroom time developing personal relationship with students, (5) tease or joke with their students using dialect or slang to establish relationship, and (6) teach with authority, running their class in ways that contribute to students' achievement.

When consistently implemented, CRP can result in successful outcomes for culturally diverse students. These are improved attendance, academic achievement, problem solving skills, and increased identification and cultural synchronization with the schooling experience (Ladson-Billings, 1995). As stated by Howard (2003), this type of pedagogy "has been described by a number of researchers as an effective means of meeting the academic and social needs of culturally diverse students" (p. 196).

CRP has been a thematic underpinning of much of the work that discusses African American teacher pedagogy. It has also been found in the pedagogy of teachers of other cultural and racial backgrounds. CRP may become very relevant to this inquiry as teachers will describe and define their pedagogical care behaviors toward African American students and their descriptions of these behaviors, if true to past research, will include aspects of CRP.

Critical Race Theory

Critical Race Theory (CRT) as a theoretical framework first derived from the legal field, where scholars such as Derrick Bell and Alan Freeman searched for a way to move away from the Civil Rights movement and the Critical Legal Studies movement in order to more directly and adequately address race and racism in the United States. Later, educational scholars such as Gloria Ladson-Billings and William F. Tate introduced CRT to the field of education to be used as a theoretical and analytical framework in educational research (DeCur & Dixson, 2004).

CRT primarily consists of three loosely formed principles. The first premise of CRT stresses the need to interrogate how the law reproduces, reifies, and normalizes racism in society. Critical Race theorists see racism as a normal and endemic component of our society rather than an abnormal or unusual concept and believe that the majority in this country fail to see this view because the experience of racism is part of our everyday reality. This first tenet of CRT seeks to "unmask the hidden faces of racism by exposing and unveiling white privilege in its various permutations" (Ladson-Billings, 1998, p.12).

The second premise of CRT is "interest convergence," which is a belief that European Americans will be concerned about the interests of people of color only when those concerns promote the self-interests of European Americans (Lopez, 2003). The third premise of CRT acknowledges two differing accounts of reality, dominant reality and subaltern reality. This particular tenet of CRT declares that racial reality has been filtered out of the conversation in American society and therefore requires a focus on the telling of stories and "counter stories," particularly by people of color, that challenge the dominant legal, political, and ideological thinking about race and power. (Lopez, 2003; Parker, Deyhle, Villenas, & Nebeker, 1998). DeCuir and Dixson (2004) define counter storytelling as stories which "cast doubt on the validity of accepted premises or myths, especially ones held by the majority" (p. 27). The researchers espouse beliefs that counter storytelling "helps us understand what life is like for others and . . . can be found in various forms including personal stories/narratives, other people's stories/narratives, and composite stories/narratives" (p. 27).

As it is addressed in the field of education, the three foundational premises of CRT are much the same. However, the language of CRT changes when it includes educational concerns. Ladson-Billings (1998) in her article "Just What is Critical Race

Theory and What is it Doing in a Nice Field like Education," a critical examination of the integration of CRT and education, explains that CRT addresses conceptual realities of categories like "school achievement, middle classness, maleness, beauty, intelligence, and science existing as normative categories of whiteness, while categories like "gangs, welfare recipients, basketball players, and the underclass are the marginalized and de-legitimated categories of blackness. Solorzano and Yosso (2000) state that critical race theory in education is:

> "defined as a framework or set of basic perspectives, methods, and *pedagogy* [italics added] that seeks to identify, analyze, and transform those structural, cultural, and interpersonal aspects of education that maintain the marginal position and subordination of [African American and Latino] students. Critical Race Theory asks such questions as: What role do schools, school processes, and school structures play in the maintenance of racial, ethnic, and gender subordination?" (pp 40-42).

An examination of CRT is not complete unless we note that Critical Race theorists such as Ladson-Billings (1998) have expressed concerns over the actual application of the theory in education. Concerns raised have addressed the application of CRT, expressing a fear that it may "continue to generate scholarly papers and debate and never penetrate the classrooms and daily experiences of students of color" (p. 22). Theorists have also suggested that educational researchers should take much more time to study CRT and understand the legal literature in which it is based. Additionally, Ladson-Billings mentions that adopting CRT as a framework for educational reform will call for "bold and sometimes unpopular positions" (1998).

According to Ladson-Billings, much of the scholarship of CRT focuses on the role of "voice" in bringing additional power to discourses of racial justice (1998). The intersection of my work and CRT is in this "voice." Counterstories of teacher care by African American teachers will be compared with stories of European American teachers and thereby may catalyze cognitive conflicts and generate a closer look at the significance of race and the ways teachers believe race influences teacher care, students, and educational outcomes. Investigating the perceptions of these teachers will "underscore the teachers' understandings of the saliency of race in education" (Ladson Billings, 1998) and care pedagogy, thereby, helping to eliminate the mythology of a homogenous European American "community of care" that cuts across lines of ethnicity, gender, and SES (Ferreira, Smith, & Bosworth, 2002; Thompson, 2004).

Review of the Literature

This review examines four literatures relevant to care and African American students. This literature addresses (1) teacher care; (2) teacher care and African American students; (3) African American teacher care for African American students; and (4) European American teacher care for African American students. I begin by describing the search strategy for locating articles included in this review.

Literature Search Strategy

The initial search for this literature yielded 89 empirical studies, which included philosophical and conceptual articles on caring in education, African American teacher care, White teacher care, and culturally relevant pedagogy. Search descriptors included "caring," "care," "African American teacher perceptions," "African American (Black) student perceptions," "secondary school student perceptions," "care and learning

environment," "pre-desegregation teacher care," "student-teacher relationships," "warm demander," "other mother," "culturally relevant pedagogy," "White teachers and African American (Black) students," "White teacher perceptions" "critical race theory" and "culturally relevant pedagogy and care."

Because of the dearth of care studies in secondary education, and in consideration of the pressing need for African American student achievement on the secondary level, articles that discussed elementary or middle school students or teachers were included in this review. Excluded from this literature review were studies and philosophical or conceptual articles that did not address at least one of the aforementioned topics and therefore, were not relevant to the purposes of this dissertation. The desire to examine the actual perceptions of teachers regarding teacher care also led to the exclusion of articles that did not directly or indirectly address teacher perceptions.

Additionally, this literature review includes philosophical and conceptual articles that discuss other related issues such as perceptions of race, caring behaviors, influence of teacher behavior, and African American teachers' demonstrations of care. This narrowing of subject matter led to the 17 major articles included in this review.

Teacher Care

Although this study is primarily concerned with secondary teachers' perceptions of care, as previously mentioned, research does not yield much specific information in this area. Discussions about perceptions of teacher care are often embedded in the midst of other key issues or research concerns. Therefore, studies examined in this section will cull discussions about the importance of teacher care from studies surrounding teacher care in general and other primary researcher concerns (Agne, Greenwood & Miller, 1994; Alder, 2002; Cornelius-White, 2007; Owens & Ennis, 2005; Wentzel, 1997).

While studies involving teacher perceptions of care are limited, available studies conclude that effective teachers are caring teachers. Owens and Ennis (2005) in their synthesis of literature addressing the ethic of care in teaching, discuss three theoretical frameworks that affect teaching practice: the ethic of care, relational knowing (Gilligan, 1982; Noddings 1984), and teacher development of self (Lipka and Brinthaupt, 1999). Owens and Ennis (2005) concluded that the literature they reviewed described care as one of the key characteristics that helps beginning teachers in their practice. The researchers believed that current teacher education programs and professional development courses failed to address the ethic of care and its importance in the educational process.

A quantitative study done by Agne, Greenwood, and Miller (1994) investigated expert teachers' beliefs through the use of a questionnaire designed to access four teacher beliefs known to be highly correlated with student achievement and teacher actions. Those beliefs included teacher efficacy, teacher locus of control, pupil control ideology, and teacher stress. The researchers examined expert teachers who were represented by 88 Teachers of the Year selected by their various states during 1987-1990. The results of the questionnaire were analyzed then compared to a group of 92 in-service teachers with all levels of experience. The findings demonstrated that teachers of the year were significantly more humanistic in their approach to student control than other in-service teachers. They held more caring beliefs about students than other in-service teachers and also tended to be more friendly, trusting, accepting, flexible, respectful, democratic, and student-empowering. During the analysis of their research, Agne et al. (1994) extended a previous model of causal links to a new model leading to teacher effectiveness.

In the Agne at al. model, links of (a) teacher beliefs, (b) teacher behavior, (c) student beliefs, (d) student behavior, and (e) student achievement lead to teacher effectiveness. Furthermore, the researchers stressed that the essential part of teacher beliefs is teacher care.

The authors asserted that teacher care is critical in any teacher's development of a "Master Teacher Self" as well as teacher ability to increase levels of student achievement (1994). Agne et al. concluded that, if caring is the most important belief system related to student achievement then, teachers must understand factors that enhance as well as diminish teacher care. As an ancillary matter of importance, the researchers also discussed fear and suggested that it is a controlling factor that inhibits caring and creates a lower-quality teacher who may suffer burn out more easily.

In a meta-analysis of classical person- and learner-centered education, and teacher-student relationship literature that examined the correlational and causal associations of teacher-student relationship and positive student outcomes, Cornelius-White (2007), reviewed close to 1,000 articles in order to synthesize 119 studies from 1948 to 2004. Studies covered in this meta-analysis included over 355,325 students, 14,851 teachers and 2,439 schools. The median student sample for each study was 500 and the majority of the students included were in grades one through 12. The researchers specifically focused on select variables that were emphasized most frequently in "models of warmth or care" (p. 116). The study asked the following questions that are pertinent to this literature review: (1) What is the degree of association between positive teacher-student relationships and positive student outcomes, and (2) What are the degrees of association between individual person-centered teacher variables [warmth or care] and positive student outcomes" (p. 116). The synthesis was structured to satisfy eight pre-

determined criteria used to appraise the quality of syntheses which included (1) clear questions, (2) a comprehensive search for primary studies, (3) inclusion criteria, (4) the validity of primary studies, (5) accuracy and bias control, (6) the analysis of variation in findings, (7) the appropriate combination of findings, and (8) adequately supported conclusions.

The results of the first research question found that when only positive teacher-student relationships were examined, the mean correlation between these relationships and positive student outcomes was r=.36 (SD= .32) at a 95% confidence level. The results of research question two pertinent to this study found the mean correlation between empathy r=.32, warmth r=.32, and positive student outcomes was significant at a 95% confidence level. As the author points out, empathy and warmth are often considered large factors in teacher caring. Therefore, when one looks at the essence of Cornelius-White's findings, overall "learner-centered teacher variables" such as empathy, warmth, positive relationships, and encouraging thinking and learning had above-average associations with positive student outcomes such as participation, critical thinking, satisfaction, self-esteem, math achievement, verbal achievement, IQ, grades, attendance, and reduction in disruptive behavior.

The Cornelius-White study, though powerful, does not strictly contain its analysis to secondary grades, nor does it specifically address teacher perceptions. One could argue that a large limitation of this study is the fact that "learner-centered teacher variables" are not the same thing as teacher care. However, similar factors in the construction of both make the findings of this study quite relevant to an investigation of the benefits of teacher care.

The Cornelius-White study is an example of teacher care research that lacks the inclusion of teacher perceptions. As a result of the lack of teacher perception research on the secondary level, the following studies in this section discuss perceptions of middle school students and teachers regarding teacher care. Alder (2002) conducted an interpretive qualitative study that examined what care means to urban middle school students and their teachers, and how caring relationships are created and maintained between urban middle school students and their teachers. She used two African American schools, "Atlantic and Pacific," which were assigned by the school district to participate in the study. At each of the two sites, one teacher who had been designated by the principal as "particularly caring" was interviewed and observed. Each teacher had at least eight years of teaching experience. Alder also interviewed 12 students who elected to participate from the 50 students in both classes. Team members, counselors, administrators, and others who had first hand knowledge of the classes involved with the study were also interviewed (Alder, 2002).

The findings of Alder's study show that while all the student-respondents had a clear idea of behaviors they expected from a caring teacher, they were not equally as uniform on the subject of whether teachers were actually caring. Ten of the students interviewed in Alder's study believed all teachers care, while two were not sure if any of their teachers cared. In defining teacher care, the students felt teachers were caring when they knew their students well, provided personalized leadership for their students, taught until students reached understanding, talked with students individually and privately, answered questions, helped students with academic problems, and called home to solicit parental support or discuss personal student problems. In defining the highest form of teacher care, the students utilized specific teacher actions such as a willingness to be

strict, have control over disruptive behavior, and pressure students into getting work done as examples of this behavior (2002).

Limitations in Alder's work are primarily related to the highly contextualized selection of her participants. Selection issues in her work arise because the schools in the study were selected by the school system, the teachers were selected by the principals of those schools, and students who participated in the study were those who returned the signed Human Subjects form. The students who were most likely to return the forms may have been successful in the class or may have had a positive bias for either teacher. Additionally, Alder's study only included middle school students and, since students' perceptions of teacher-student relationships seem to grow more negative the longer they are in school, a longitudinal study of student perceptions of teacher care may have provided a more accurate picture.

A more compelling example of work that examines student perceptions of teacher care is the quantitative study by Wentzel (1997), a longitudinal study of sixth through eighth graders' perceptions of teacher care. This study, for the most part, showed a strong instance in which perceived caring from teachers predicted motivational outcomes for students.

The primary questions that Wentzel's study attempted to answer were: a) to what extent do adolescents' perceptions of caring teachers predict efforts to achieve positive social and academic outcomes at school; and b) how do middle school students characterize a caring, supportive, teacher. In order to address the first question, the researcher distributed the *Teacher Social and Academic Support Subscales of the Classroom Life Measure* to 248 students. This instrument instructed students to measure perceived caring by teachers by using a Likert-type scale where an item like "my teacher

cares about me" would be scored by the students on a scale of one equals never, five equals always. In addressing the second question, the researcher distributed the *Who Cares Questionnaire* to 375 students. This instrument asked students to define behaviors they believed constituted teacher care by marking an item like "my teacher cares about me" on the same type of scale described above (Wentzel, 1997).

In answer to the first question, Wentzel found that perceived caring from teachers predicted motivational outcomes of students even when levels of personal psychological distress or previous motivation were considered. Regarding the second question, student respondents described a caring teacher as one who demonstrated democratic interaction styles, developed expectations for student behavior in light of individual differences, modeled a caring attitude toward his or her own work, and provided constructive feedback (Wentzel, 1997).

Although Wentzel's study makes an influential statement about the relationship between teacher care and positive school outcomes, the research has some limitations. Like Alder (2002) a key limitation of Wentzels' (1997) study is in the sample used. Her study examined White sixth, seventh, and eighth graders rather than African American students. Therefore, the study has limited generalizability to the population of interest in this empirical work. Nevertheless, the study does provide a clear example of how students perceive care and hence, the findings are relevant. Another potential limitation is the use of student perceptions to evaluate teacher care. Wentzel comments that previous research has shown little correlation between adolescents' subjective reports of caregiving and observer or parent reports. In other words, how adolescents define teacher care may be different from parental or researcher understandings of care. Wentzel provides a platform for future research on this matter by mentioning that little is known

about what constitutes effective caregiving in the classroom from a student perspective. This same question has often been posed by other researchers (Howard, 2001a, 2001b, 2002; Katz, 1999; Peart & Campbell, 1999; Wilder, 2000).

Summary

In summary, studies in this section suggest that teachers and students often agree on significant aspects of teacher care, such as the need for communication and classroom control. Much of the research on teacher care captures the perceptions of students, and students may differ from teachers in what they believe caring teacher behaviors should be. The difference seems not to lie in whether teacher care is important to the students and teachers. Caring clearly is important to both. Instead, differing perspectives seem to provide varying opinions of how care should be demonstrated. Nevertheless, regardless of any differences, these studies provide credibility to the positive influence of teacher care.

Teacher Care and African American Students

Teachers have a great deal of influence in the educational lives of African American students and can make a difference, positive or negative, in the way these students interact with schools and teachers (Howard, 2002; Sizemore, 1981; Slaughter Defoe & Carlson, 1996; Toldson, 2008; Vasquez, 1988). African American students are often unsuccessful in school and, more often than not, seem to find themselves outside the norms and mores embraced by schools and teachers (Arriaza, 2003; Monroe & Obidah, 2003; Talbert-Johnson, 2004). However, according to some studies, teacher care may be able to lessen the disconnect felt by these students and contribute to positive student outcomes (Honora, 2003; Lee, 1999; Parsons, 2005).

Student perceptions of classroom and school environment can have direct impact on student achievement as well as personal social behaviors. This impact is often intensified with African American students who researchers believe are more strongly influenced by authority figures, such as teachers, than majority students (Sizemore, 1981; Vasquez, 1988). Researchers who investigate African American student perceptions of school reveal that these students often differ from White students in that they find student-teacher relationships as the most important dimension of school climate (Sizemore, 1981; Slaughter-Defoe & Carlson, 1996). Researchers also discuss Black students who speak of a disappointment with, and increasingly negative perception of, the depersonalization of teacher-student relationships during high school (Howard, 2003a; Lee, 1999). These students have identified teacher apathy, lack of caring, and low expectations as reasons for their underachievement (Lee, 1999).

In a seminal review of classroom atmospheres commonly found in American schools, Vasquez (1988) discussed the implications of classroom atmosphere for minority students. The author discussed six thematic variables that serve as the foundation of classroom atmosphere: the expectations of teachers, the feminization of the classroom, the cooperative vs. competitive context, the attribution of success and failure, the perceived caring of the teacher, and the democratic environment. He additionally discussed the failures and success/effects of each environment for minority students. Overall, Vasquez determined that minority students need an "equitable context" in their classroom environment. This is a context which (1) takes into account the psychological needs of all students, (2) gives both majority and minority students the psychological freedom to do their best, and (3) addresses the cultural, economic, social, and individual needs of each student. He stressed that the creation of this "equitable context" would

depend on a teacher's personal knowledge of what is needed by all students in her classroom (Vasquez, 1988).

In describing foundational variables of classroom atmosphere, Vasquez touted high expectation levels held by teachers as a common trait of schools described as effective. He mentioned a large amount of evidence to support the belief that what a teacher expects from his students by way of performance is a factor closely related to the achievement levels of those students. He held that minority students are even more strongly influenced by adult authority figures such as teachers.

According to Vasquez, teacher care is another important part of a successful classroom environment for minority students because student perceptions concerning teacher care seem to have meaningful impact on student performance and behavior. Vasquez mentioned that "caring and demanding school environments make kids work hard and learn" (249). The researcher stressed that in order to provide a caring environment, a teacher must be aware that minority students have a tendency to not separate a person from his or her behaviors and, as a result, must have a mutually caring and respectful relationship with a teacher in order to learn from them. He discussed a type of teacher characterized as a "warm demander" who has been found to provide the most successful demonstration of care with minority students. He defined a "warm demander" as a teacher, who will not lower standards for students, will reach out to students, and will provide needed student assistance in practical ways. Many other researchers also discuss and support the notion of a warm demander. (Irvine, 1999; Irvine & Fraser, 1998; Ware, 2002b, 2006).

Although Vasquez freely admitted that a direct relationship between academic achievement and a caring, democratic, classroom has yet to be clearly established, he still

saw this type of classroom environment as a very important variable in student success. He posited that a caring, democratic, classroom environment may be directly related to important minority student outcomes such as self-esteem, mutual respect and rapport, and he calls for a more democratic classroom where the predominately middle-class teachers establish an environment that is inclusive of all cultures.

The themes Vasquez identified and examined have value. His primary point, which calls for an equitable context in classroom environments and teacher awareness of differing needs in student population, is well made. However, this researcher includes both low-income and minority or marginalized students as one demographic group. While these groups do have their similarities, they also have many differences and may not always share benefits from the same type of classroom environment adjustments.

Many themes in Vasquez's (1988) findings were confirmed by Slaughter-Defoe and Carlson (1996) when they studied third graders' perceptions of school climate through a self-report survey individually administrated to 1,000 African American and 260 Latino children. Some of the children in the study were participating in a one-year study of the "Comer process," a school reform program piloted in public elementary schools serving primarily low-income minority children. Others were used as control groups. A 24-item instrument adapted from a middle school climate questionnaire was used to aid researchers in determining students' perceptions of their relationships with teachers and peers within the school and the classroom. Items included that were pertinent to this literature review were those that assessed the dimensions of positive relationships between students and adults in the school. The items focused on students' perceptions of the motivating behaviors teachers used, including how much teachers encouraged academic performance, how fair adults in the school behaved, how much

adults in school respect students, and how much they care about students (Slaughter-Defoe & Carlson, 1996).

These researchers found that African American children in their study viewed teacher-student relations as the most important dimension of school climate and believed caring teachers listened to children, were available to comfort and help with school, acknowledged the students' best efforts, and were able to comfort and help with personal problems. Additionally and equally important, the researchers posited that children's background/racial and ethnic differences may strongly influence their perspective of a positive school climate. The researchers gave an example to bolster this supposition by addressing the emphasis that African American schoolchildren in their sample placed on the importance of the student-teacher bond. The most influential statement in the researchers' findings was a comment about the benefits of a caring teacher to the educational success of African American students. Slaughter-Defoe and Carlson affirmed that affective, nurturing, teachers were consistently found to be of key importance to the early learning and development of African American children.

When discussing Slaughter-Defoe and Carlson's study, one must take into account the primary purpose of the study, the age of the students involved, and the authors' discussion of school climate as extremely malleable. First, the primary purpose of this study was to examine the effects of a particular school reform program on elementary school students. As a result, the researchers' findings may have been skewed toward supporting positive outcomes of the reform program because students who participated in the reform studies may have been more receptive to caring teachers than students that did not participate. However, the researchers diminish this possibility by using control groups outside the program. Also of concern is the fact that the questions in

this study were designed to evaluate school climate, not the effects of teacher care. Subsequently, like so many other studies that discuss teacher care, this study did not involve secondary students and no generalizations can be made of students' opinions, perceptions, or beliefs in this study that will validate the effects of teacher care for secondary students. Finally, the authors themselves point out that school climate is a multidimensional variable that may be affected by student reactions to teacher perceptions. This is a positive yet troublesome fact. The mercurial nature of school climate does support the contention that teacher behavior affects student performance, but the nature of that climate also shows that student perception research is changeable and unreliable (1996).

Howard's (2003b) qualitative study of 20 students in two majority African American high schools addressed secondary teacher care in a population of respondents who were more representative of this dissertation study than Slaughter-Defoe and Carlson (1996). Howard (2003b) revealed findings of three key themes that influence students' academic identities: the role of parents, the perceptions of teachers, and the role of college.

Student respondents mentioned the double-edged sword of racism and discrimination as impactful in the classroom in addition to a lack of teacher-student relationship. Students in Howard's study felt that a lack of positive teacher relationships manifests itself in overall lack of teacher care and general teacher apathy. Students also mentioned that many teachers negatively pre-judged them because of their race, made them feel as if they knew nothing, and thought of students as dumb, lazy, individuals who would never achieve much.

Howard's findings become even more significant to the purposes of this research because students in his study cited the effects of a lack of teacher care on their motivation in the classroom and beyond. Some students mentioned not wanting to try to perform academically after being demoralized by certain teachers, while others mentioned a drop in self-esteem, a questioning of their ability, and one student likened the teacher student relationship to an oppositional tug-of-war. She stated, "It's like a big tug-of-war for our minds. We're pulling on one side telling ourselves that we are smart, bright and talented. They, [teachers] are pulling on the other side saying we are dumb, lazy, and will never amount to anything" (10). This statement becomes strikingly germane to this section of the literature review when the same student concluded her above statement by acknowledging, "A lot of kids . . . have lost the tug-of-war for their minds and they believe the hype [negative statements/actions/implications made by educators to students]" (p. 10). In this compelling statement, these students have identified a lack of teacher care. Howard's students clearly state that student success is undoubtedly affected by negative teacher behavior (2003a).

In Lee's (1999) qualitative ethnography of tenth through twelfth grade African American high school students, the participants identified three specific structures and practices they felt contributed to their poor academic performance such as teacher centered classrooms; perceived racism and discrimination from teachers, particularly in assessment; teacher-student patterns of interaction and expectations (or the lack of); and lack of personal teacher-student relationships which they said was evidenced by teacher apathy, lack of caring, and negative messages about perceived academic abilities. Conversely, students also discussed the transformative differences that some caring

teachers made in their lives. These students were particularly appreciative of challenging curriculum, high expectations, interactive learning, and close relationships with teachers.

An important finding of Lee's study discussed the potential of teacher care for African American student success. All low-achieving students in this study felt as if they would improve academically if they had positive relationships with caring teachers (1999). This is a finding that deserves closer examination because of its potential importance to African American student achievement.

Summary

When discussing African American students and teacher care, research results seem inconclusive. Many researchers contend that African American student achievement is influenced, whether positively or negatively, by teacher behavior. The degree to which a caring teacher makes a difference for an African American student and his or her positive educational outcomes is unclear, however. The number of studies that address teacher care grows even smaller on the secondary level.

African American Teacher Care for African American Students

Many research studies seem to reflect a special, culturally-relevant, critically caring relationship between many African American teachers and their African American students pre-desegregation. This type of caring relationship can be seen more clearly in examples given by Black teachers and students during this historical timeframe in the ways teachers have been noted for fulfilling a number of caring roles such as being homes away from home, missionaries, nurturers, supporters, and disciplinarians (Foster, 1993, 1997; Johnson and Prom-Jackson, 1987 Jones, 1982; Sowell, 1976; Siddle Walker, 2003).

Recent research concerning African American students' perceptions of education supports the contention that some African American students both desire African American teachers and specifically desire these teachers for the type of culturally-relevant, critically caring relationship they provide. Some of these students express a particular appreciation for African American teachers whom they say increase student confidence, engage in sociopolitical critique, and encourage academic success. (Howard, 2001b; King, 1993; Thompson, 2004; Wilder, 2000).

The fact that a particular ethos of care clearly existed between African American teachers and students pre-desegregation is most clearly demonstrated in the work of Vanessa Siddle Walker (1993, 1996, 2000, 2001, 2003). One stream of her research focuses on the interpersonal relationships of teachers and students in Caswell County Training School (CCTS) (1993). Siddle Walker's data for this qualitative case study came from a larger study which used "historical ethnography" to understand the nature of schooling in this particular institution, which had been identified as a "good" school by the residents of the community surrounding it. The purpose of this particular segment of Walker's study was "to address the omission of a contextual analysis of the presence of interpersonal caring in the literature by focusing on an explanation of how this type of caring functioned successfully for African American students in one 'good' segregated school" (1993, p.65). The article she writes gives us a closer examination of the phenomenon of "interpersonal caring" by examining the daily interactions of the school environment, discussing the response of students to the care they received, discussing the teachers' positions on the care they expressed for their students, and exploring the significance of interpersonal caring as it impacts history and school reform.

Siddle Walker began by acknowledging that a salient finding in the research on good segregated schools concerns the importance of caring, interpersonal relationships between students, teachers and administration. She also mentioned that more recent findings by many researchers have confirmed and extended early findings and suggested a heavy importance attributed to the caring relation between students and teachers in African American schools pre-desegregation. She then strengthened her evaluation of the dominance of care in the literature on African American schools pre-desegregation by referring to Foster (1990, 1991), Irvine and Irvine (1984), Sowell (1976), Jones (1981) and others. She synthesized this research, stressing that, the aforementioned studies "provide a powerful assertion that within African American segregated school environments, an attribute called caring was a dominant factor in defining the goodness of the school" (Siddle Walker, 1993, p.64).

Walker explicated her points in this article by discussing interviews with both African American students and teachers who attended or worked in CCTS, recounting the numerous ways that they talked about the interpersonal, caring, relationship between students, staff, and administration. Many of the examples of caring behaviors shared by the students and teachers in Siddle Walker's study seem to resonate strongly with current literature about the actions and behaviors of "effective" African American teachers (Beauboeuf-Lofantant, 2002; Cooper, 2002; Howard, 2001a, 2001b; 2003a; Irvine, 2002; Siddle Walker & Archung, 2003; Ware, 2002b).

Both students and teachers discussed the creation of a "homelike environment" where teachers and students interacted in a personal, family-like, manner. As true to a family structure, students said that their teachers, like parents, would not let them act up, supported and encouraged them, pushed them to learn, had conversations and gave advice

about personal matters, and provided them with needed items such as food, clothing, or school supplies (Siddle Walker, 1993). Students described teachers that were "just like a mother" (p.73), and Siddle Walker stressed that a mother-like approach was the basis for many student-teacher interactions.

Teachers also discussed their own behaviors in ways that seem to resonate with the current literature on Critical Race Theory, sociopolitical critique/political clarity, and colortalk. Various actions described by the teachers showed that, like the first tenet of CRT, teachers were unmasking the hidden faces of racism by exposing and unveiling white privilege in its various permutations. Teachers explained that they would be able to "do more with the Black students" (64), and tell students that "when you get out of here, you had better know some stuff" (p.69). Teachers strongly implied that before desegregation, things were different; they were able to discuss the difficulty of life as a Black person with their students, then, help them rise to that challenge. These teacher behaviors are an example of colortalk – conversation where one acknowledges that race does make a difference in the realities that are experienced in everyday life (Thompson, 2004). Many of the teachers in Siddle Walker's (1993) study bemoaned the current inability to talk to African American students in a similarly direct and honest manner.

A finding of Siddle Walker's particularly germane to the interests of this dissertation was that student-teacher interpersonal relating did not stop in elementary school, but permeated secondary school and influenced college attendance. Student respondents discussed receiving help on financial aid paperwork for college, being encouraged to attend college when not having previously considered it, and being given money for fees. One student said, "She [her teacher at that time] did things that teachers just don't have time for now" (p. 71). This student's statement among others indicated

that students of CCTS, like the teachers, believed that somehow the African American student-teacher relationship has changed in the process of integration. Additionally, in the case of student academic achievement, it seems as if teacher care was impactful. Students often referred to the fact that they performed in school because they did not want to disappoint those who were "working so hard to ensure their success" (p.73).

Siddle Walker supported the veracity of the personal narratives of her student and teacher subjects with document analysis, in which she found support for the student's statements of their personal and academic success which they often attributed to their teachers. Written documentation also evidenced the positive regard in which the surrounding community held CCTS.

As persuasive as Siddle Walker's student-teacher narratives are, some limitations to her study should also be considered. The researcher mentions that she does not wish to imply that this interpersonal caring took place in the case of every teacher. Furthermore, she revealed that a small number of interviewees suggested that some students were treated with great difference based on proximity to town, skin color, academic competence, and familial relationships with teachers. However, she also points out that these same interviewees also described positive relationships with other teachers that reflected the tone of the majority of the student respondents. Siddle Walker's findings also can not be generalized to any other school due to the restrictive nature of her one-school case study and the historical era of her research; nevertheless, it is important to remember that her findings do dovetail cleanly with the findings of other researchers on African American schools pre-desegregation (Foster, 1990, 1991; Irvine and Irvine, 1984; Jones, 1981; Sowell, 1976).

More recently, some research supports a contention that some African American teachers still seem to think of teaching Black students as a special mission in which they should demonstrate a culturally-relevant type of critical care (Knight, 2004). Researchers note that a number of African American teachers post-desegregation say that they purposely demonstrate a special culturally-relevant care for Black students in which they choose to communicate with African American students about the power, value, and consequences of choosing to achieve academically; talk honestly with African American students and parents; hold high expectations for their students; and talk to students about things outside of the classroom (Foster, 1993,1997; King 1993; Knight, 2004).This type of teacher "agonize(s) over the disintegration of urban and rural Black communities, the rampant materialism of the society, and the devastating effect these conditions have had on the students they teach" (Foster, 1997, XLVII).

Unlike Siddle Walker's intended historical focus, King (1993) provided a comprehensive literature review which examined reasons why African American teachers are important to African American students both pre- and post-*Brown*. She cited many reports that depicted a crisis related to the limited presence of African American teachers and all teachers-of-color in current classrooms. She continued to help readers understand the impact of this crisis by addressing key points such as the literature's allusion to the culturally congruent and pedagogically responsive teaching methodologies often attributed to African American teachers. According to King (1993), culturally-responsive teaching methods are greatly valued by African American students and parents and often involve both caring behaviors congruent to those previously mentioned in this literature review as well as caring behaviors that could be defined as the culturally-specific "critical care" previously discussed in this literature review. Another key point King examined,

involved a trend of literature that asserts that African American teachers view their care about African American youth and education as "one step in improving the quality of life for all Americans" (p. 117).

King posits that much can be learned from the successful pedagogical practices of African American teachers and suggests that future research explore many new directions in relation to their practice. Most germane to this study was her request that researchers explore how the experiences of African American teachers compare or contrast with those of European American teachers. While King's work gave less specific attention to issues concerning African American students and care, other researchers, such as Wilder (2000), examine African American teachers, African American students, and care in a more direct fashion.

Wilder's (2000) study showed how exposure to African American teachers and their practices helped a group of African American students to identify with and feel personally connected to those teachers and the course content they taught. She conducted in-depth 90-minute interviews over the course of six months with 12 respondents ages 18 and 19 and evaluated the students' responses to open-ended questions. The students were selected from a pool of second-semester college freshmen enrolled full time at a four year university and represented a cross-section of high schools in the northeast. Importantly, Wilder's participants were self-selected volunteers who signed up to participate in her study after hearing the researcher speak at a freshman seminar for incoming students of color. These students also represented several different aspects of socioeconomic family and school situations. During high school, two of the students attended private schools in affluent neighborhoods, three attended suburban schools, four attended low-income inner-city schools, and one attended a magnet school. The terms African American,

African, and Caribbean were used interchangeably throughout Wilder's study in reference to teachers who were also described as teachers of African descent and only 50% of the students in the study actually had African American teachers at some time in their school experience (Wilder, 2000).

During the course of this study, Wilder found that some students sensed a "gap," or a lack of reference to, African Americans in their school's curriculum. Other students discussed not having had African American secondary teachers, but remembered and expressed appreciation for those they had in earlier years. One student, Rose, recalled the only African American teacher she had, an Upward Bound teacher.

> I remember Ms. Rhodes. She is an African American teacher. She taught us so much about Africa and where we came from and what we had to do . . . she is such a powerful lady. She gave me a view that no one else really gave me" (214).

Another student, Malcolm, recalled an important African American/Caribbean teacher he experienced, "I remember this teacher Mr. Thomas . . . He used to say, 'you gotta do this, you gotta do that or you'll miss the boat. He was so serious and hard." (214).

Malcolm, in his recount of Mr. Thomas' actions, unknowingly touched upon two of the main teacher actions represented in African American critical teacher care. The two actions described by Malcolm were Mr. Thomas' encouragement of academic success and his drive to make students think about the issues they had to face in the larger society outside of school. This teacher's actions could be defined as political clarity or sociopolitical critique (Beauboeuf-Lafontant, 2002; Wilder, 2000) and are also closely related to "colortalk" (Rolón-Dow 2005; Thompson, 2004). Political clarity takes place when minority teachers of color, inform minority students of their same culture, about the challenges and issues germane to being a member of that culture in the United States

(Thompson, 2004). Malcolm further explained the sociopolitical critique Mr. Thomas encouraged when he concluded his statements: “He [Mr. Thomas] would tell us that we couldn’t take life for a joke because they’ll chew you up in the real world” (Wilder, 2000 p. 214). The critical incidents discussed above are not the only manifestations of African American students expressing a desire for, and appreciation of, culturally relevant care of African American teachers. The researcher found many others.

Wilder’s students highlighted many crucial ways in which teachers of African descent powerfully impact African American students. Students said these teachers increased student confidence; provided an opportunity for students to read about African and African American culture; introduced the African American culture, including its ties to Africa and its contemporary relationship to students; and focused on the connections between education and global awareness. The researcher also noted that general descriptions of African American teachers by Black students did not include words that connoted feelings of alienation or marginality (2000). Other student respondents, who had no experience with African American teachers, did not express specific concern over the lack, but Wilder posits that this may be the result of acclimation to the status quo. Some students interviewed by Wilder who had not experienced Black teachers while in school spoke strongly to the need for them because, “they can understand the times that we live in” (216).

Although Wilder’s study speaks significantly for African American teacher care, one must critique the way in which her participants were selected. Self selection of students attending a voluntary freshman seminar potentially narrows the pool of student-participants to include only those who may have been academically successful or who have had positive relationships with teachers. Additionally, interviewing students in

college creates a potentially skewed sample because students presently attending college were most likely academically successful in high school and, therefore, may be predisposed to positive images of teachers. Wilder says that most students who did not have African American teachers "tended not to spontaneously express concern over the limited presence of teachers of color in their schools" (216). This piece of Wilders' study bears more examination. Whether these particular African American students felt a strong desire for, or lamented the lack of, culturally relevant pedagogy and whether they desired, or even knew to desire critical care remains at question.

Moving away from student perceptions into the foundational interest of this dissertation - teacher perceptions - begs a close look to the work of Foster (1993). In an ethnographic study of African American teachers and teaching, this researcher spoke with 17 experienced, exemplary, Black teachers about their perceptions of teaching. Foster's participants had 17 to 66 years of teaching experience and ranged in age from 45 to 85 years. Eight of her respondents were secondary teachers; the rest elementary and junior high.

Foster recounted an ever-diminishing number of Black teachers who talk honestly with African American students and parents, in terms they understand, about the value of academic achievement. She mentioned the difficulty at the present time for teachers to assume their historical roles as warm demanders, who would admonish, cajole, urge, and "meddle" in the lives of their students. Foster believes that the result of this diminishing portion of African American teaching pedagogy is an increasing passivity in Black students who currently seem to view school as a means to an end, not an opportunity, and academic achievement as pointless (1993).

Foster's respondents said that they intended to struggle against the diminishing numbers of Black teachers and the loss of Black teaching pedagogy in order to pull together the mutilated remnants of what once was a strong, positive, educational belief system. In order to do this, Foster's teachers consciously and purposefully fashioned philosophies and pedagogies that drew on lessons from their own childhood in African American schools and communities. When remembering their own African American teachers (many of them pre-desegregation), respondents said these teachers were concerned individuals who commanded respect, respectful of pupils, and caring in that they held all students to the highest academic expectations. Other terms used to describe past teachers mentioned that they were: (1) concerned with the whole student, community and family; (2) concerned with affective, social, and emotional level of each child; (3) known to act as surrogate parents; (4) willing to go above and beyond; and (5) more interested in African American students as human beings. Finally, these teachers were concerned about students' futures, unafraid to help students, wanted students to move ahead, believed in students, and felt their students believed in them.

Without a wellspring of African American community experience to draw upon, the teachers in Foster's study believed the current pedagogy being implemented by majority European American middle class teachers often seemed dry and barren of positive educational outcomes for African American students. In order to combat this current drought, Foster's teachers said they purposely demonstrated a special, culturally relevant care for their students in which they attempt to willingly implement and embody postures and principles they admired in their own teachers. These teachers' behaviors prove to be yet another example of African American teachers attempting to implement

culturally-relevant "critical care." For Foster's teachers, decisions to care for their students in particularly culturally-relevant ways resulted in many positive outcomes.

Just a few of the benefits mentioned by teachers in the study were feelings of connection, affiliation, and solidarity with the pupils they teach. Teachers often addressed or spoke about children in kinship terms. Even when kinship terms were not used, the teachers' usage of cultural metaphors connoted a similar connectedness and common affiliation with students. Foster's teachers described themselves as doing their job, which often involved that of mentor, coach supporter, and *in-loco parentes.*

These teachers also felt a need to participate in political clarity or colortalk with their students, did not embrace a color blind philosophy, and were very willing to address the limitations of "cosmetic changes in our society" (p. 381). These respondents seemed to feel as if the cosmetic changes in our society called for the lack of political clarity or colortalk in classrooms. Black teachers in Foster's study mentioned a need to be ever vigilant in the fight against ongoing structural inequalities for African Americans and many teachers were specifically concerned with how changes in society retarded their success.

Of note, even when teachers did not espouse the presence of an African American ethos in their teaching, Foster found evidence that an African American ideology informed their teaching pedagogy. Some of these teachers were concerned that the trend toward driving schools to be results-based would continue to perpetuate African American student inequality. According to Foster, some examples of the results-based nature of today's schools were moves to increase teacher pay for increasing student test scores and the realties of passing test scores as measures of students, schools, teachers and principals without consideration of alternative factors that influence education for

every child. Some of her respondents contemplated the effects of such an educational society on the prospects of higher education for African American students and expressed distress at its potential negative impact.

In the end Foster provides a window to the "hidden curriculum" that undergirds the practice of her teacher-respondents. Furthermore, she demonstrates that this type of teacher is proficient in community norms and concerned that his or her students master much more than the content of specific subjects; indeed the students were to master life. If mastery was not within reach, these teachers hoped they could help students understand the personal value, collective power, and political consequences of selecting or rejecting academic achievement.

Summary

In sum, articles above that discuss African American teachers and their relationship with African American students seem to suggest that African American students taught by Black teachers speak fondly of them and feel that these teachers helped them to acquire knowledge about their culture that was personally meaningful. Conversely, African American teachers teaching Black students expressed feelings of connection, affiliation, and solidarity with the pupils they teach. Although some of the studies provide inconclusive data on the extent to which all students are evenly cared for within a school environment, the overwhelming number of teacher student narratives both pre and post *Brown* suggest a positive relationship between culturally-relevant African American teachers, and African American student achievement.

European American Teacher Care for African American Students

African American teachers do not hold the sole secret of care for African American students. Some research suggests that it is not shared ethnicity, but instead, teachers who

display high expectations, have strong and consciously examined self-identities, and engage in sociopolitical critique that affect positive educational experiences for diverse groups of students (Kunjufu, 2002; Ladson-Billings, 1995a). Furthermore, some researchers show care as a pedagogical tool that is effectively used by both White and African American teachers (Cooper, 2000; Cothran & Ennis 2000; Dillon, 1989; Parsons, 2005).

Cooper (2000), in a qualitative case study of the beliefs and practices of three White teachers of Black children, discussed a dearth of empirical studies on the successful pedagogical practices of White teachers of Black children. She mentioned the literature concerning Black children in the Roman Catholic school system, noting that African American students in the Catholic school system, which is predominately White and does not make an overt effort to address cultural synchronization, achieve at a much higher level than their public school peers. She also emphasized that the possibility of cultural synchronization is not limited to teachers and students of the same race and alluded to teachers such as Ayers (1993,1995), Hoffman (1996), and Paley (1979, 1995, 1997) as unique, independent, and intellectual advocates of Black children. Cooper's study is particularly germane to this study due to its juxtaposition of White teacher beliefs and actions with existing literature on effective Black teachers.

The three primary school teachers in Cooper's study were first through third grade teachers with 9, 29, and 30 years of experience, respectively. These teachers, identified as "effective teachers of Black children by their Black principal" (p. 55), were the favorites of many Black parents in the community, and were frequently requested prior to the start of each school year. Through interviews and classroom observations, these teachers were found by Cooper to be somewhat similar to many effective, progressive, and culturally

responsive teachers of African American students found in the literature. Cooper found that her teachers, like those in the literature, worked hard, invested in their own learning, attempted to individualize instruction as needed, and held high expectations for their students' achievement. She found the similarities of these teachers to their African American peers discussed in the literature to be striking.

While observing teachers in her study, Cooper found five key themes she believed dovetailed with the literature on effective African American teachers of African American students. Cooper first mentioned that teachers in her study, as well as effective African American teachers in the literature, tended to share the opinion that subject matter content was of utmost importance. Both groups emphasized curriculum, content, and basic skills, and placed a strong emphasis on interpersonal learning by focusing on specific, individualistic, learner needs. Cooper provided an example of her interpersonal learning findings in the willingness of both European American and African American teachers to have direct interaction with students as well as provide direct instruction to them. She also recounted a certain pride that both groups of teachers seemed to take in employing these methods.

Cooper described one of the strongest and most impressive connections between both African American and European American teachers as "a seemingly flawless execution of an authoritative discipline style" (2001, p. 153). In this case, the researcher drew an additional parallel connecting the two groups in her study with the Catholic school teachers mentioned earlier in this section. In a further examination of this specific theme, Cooper explained that classrooms of both groups of effective White and Black teachers were teacher-centered which, she said, contradicted recent research calling for child-centered classrooms.

Cooper concluded the discussion of similarities between her respondents and effective Black teachers in the literature by discussing a final key theme that emphasized respect for students' culture and community, which she described as "an appreciable evidence of the teachers' respect and commitment to the Black community. These themes included the teachers' empathy for Black children and their willingness to learn from and value what the Black community had to offer" (2001, p.158).

In a discussion of key differences found between Cooper's respondents and the literature on effective African American teachers, the researcher mentioned two themes of note and called for a closer examination of both. Cooper first discussed a noteworthy difference in what she called "personal norms" (p.159). In short, personal norms were the difference in where each group of teachers placed the locus of judgment about their behaviors. The researcher found that while Black teachers in the literature evaluated their behaviors by what the community wanted or what they believed was for the good of the community. Her White respondents evaluated their behavior by personal views and experiences. Cooper believed the result of this locus of judgment was that her "White teachers did not seem to view the schools as places that reflect the greater communities' ideals" (p. 159). She saw this issue as problematic because she felt it could encourage Black children in these teachers' classrooms to receive training that inadvertently contrasted with their community norms, thus placing the childrens' success both in and out of school in jeopardy.

Cooper next discussed differences in what she called "the significance of racial consciousness," defined as a lack of any "direct race-based discussion" (p.160) in her White teachers' practices (p. 160). She explained that the absence of such discussion may have been due to factors such as the pursuit of a colorblind society or the fear of

being misunderstood. Nevertheless, she found the absence of a "race-based discussion" by the White teachers made them ineffectual as culturally relevant pedagogues, and she emphasized that this finding should not be ignored. This particular theme of difference found by Cooper is strikingly similar to previously-discussed subjects of colortalk and political clarity mentioned in this review by Thompson (2004), Foster (1993), and others.

Cooper briefly compared and contrasted her teachers, to teachers found in the literature on effective teachers of White students. Her discussion in this area however, was very limited due to what she felt were the constraints of a dearth of studies concerning effective White teachers of African American students.

In critiquing Cooper's work, one must consider the reliability of her findings primarily because of her small sample size. Cooper herself mentioned this as a shortcoming of note, but also dismissed it because she primarily relied only on the themes she found emergent with all respondents. As a side note, Cooper discussed the difficulty she faced in gaining access to respondents because of her subject matter, which dealt with complex issues of race and culture. The researcher alluded to the fact that the pure relief associated with gaining access to respondents after much effort may have inflated her perceptions of the respondents. This difficulty is of importance to this study which examines issues quite similar to those in Cooper's work.

Parsons (2005), unlike Cooper, did not attempt to examine differences between Black and White teacher behaviors. Nevertheless, this researcher's qualitative inquiry provided a clear, relevant, singular, discussion of one White teacher's care and described this care as "a bridge to Black students" (p. 25). Parsons examined the purposeful, caring, teacher actions of a White teacher and defines those actions as "a viable platform from which to address dysconsciousness and to encourage teachers to question, challenge, and alter the

existing racial and hierarchical order in classrooms" (p. 31). The researcher observed "Teacher A," a White female teacher, and the only adult respondent in Parsons' study. Parsons found that this teacher established a community in her classroom where each student's input was equally valued through the use of several techniques. These techniques included (1) *Engrossment* – where caregivers are fully attentive and act in the best interest of the cared-for; (2) *Receptivity* – a non-judgmental acceptance of the cared-for, and (3) *Confirmation* – an act of affirming and encouraging the best of others, seeing and accepting who others are, and choosing to see the best in them.

The researcher described "Teacher A" as a freedom fighter demonstrating care through modeling, dialogue, practice, action, and lobbying for social justice for marginalized students in her classroom who were of primarily African American decent. Parsons said "Teacher A" equalized access to classroom experiences by disrupting dominance and creating space for African American students, providing assistance to students through the spirit of belief and pride rather than remediation, and devising opportunities that enforced and reinforced competence. This teacher encouraged Black students to exercise and demonstrate their competence through helping peers.

In telling the story of the 24 student respondents in Teacher A's class, Parsons shared findings that addressed specifically the benefits of teacher care to African American student success. Importantly, most students in this teacher's class, race notwithstanding, responded by giving "Teacher A" exactly what she wanted. Teacher A's behavior apparently generated an increased level of successful academic outcomes and an increased willingness to try, help, respect, and cooperate with the classroom community.

Parsons' study is a strong example of White teacher care for African American students, but it is also an example of some of the factors that this type of care may lack.

Parsons discussed social justice advocacy by describing the interactions that "Teacher A" had with other students on the behalf of Black students. For example when another student was speaking in the turn of an African American student, Teacher A intervened, creating a space for the Black student to be heard. The researcher further described the culturally relevant care demonstrated by Teacher A as "an avenue through which progress in changing political realities for all students can be made" (p. 32). Yet, in alignment with Cooper's (2000) aforementioned concerns of racial consciousness by White teachers, Parsons (2005) did not include as part of her findings a discussion of any social justice advocacy based on Teacher A's acknowledgement of the challenges that students face outside the classroom. According to Parsons' findings, Teacher A's actions were focused on the world inside her classroom. She seemed not to address challenges to be found outside the classroom either verbally or by raised levels of student expectations as have African American teachers in previously discussed articles in this literature review. While one explanation for this lack of political clarity could be attributed to the age of the students, fourth grade, Parsons addressed the lack by emphasizing that despite the aforementioned omission, the culturally relevant care demonstrated by Teacher A should be considered a promising step in the right direction (2005). While studies of earlier grades such as Cooper's (2000) and Parsons' (2005) are more prevalent in the literature, there are a few studies that speak to a specific high school population of interest and thus are germane to the interests of the current study. Cothran & Ennis (2000) is one such study.

Cothran and Ennis' (2000) qualitative study was part of a larger study that examined participant perspectives in urban secondary schools. The primary intent of this specific piece of that larger study was to investigate and compare teacher and student perspectives

concerning educational engagement. Specifically, the researchers' questions examined how students and teachers perceived their current levels of engagement with one another and how both groups perceived the influence of the current context of their relationship on student engagement.

Participants in Cothran and Ennis' study were four European American physical education teachers with 18-29 years of experience and their students at three urban high schools "Madison," "Longwood," and "Georgetown" High (MH, LH, and GH respectively). MH had an African American population of 67.2 percent, LH 92 percent, and GH 93 percent. Fifty-one students participated in the study and were members of the four teachers classes. Nineteen of the students were from LH, 15 from GH, and 17 from MH.

Data for the study included class observation, interviews, and field notes. Each school was observed at least 40 hours and field note analysis led to a framework for developing interview questions. Questions which focused on students' descriptions of their own engagement, engaging classes, preferred class activities, and changes that students would like to make in their schools. Teachers were interviewed at the conclusion of all student interviews. Once data had been collected, Cothran and Ennis used the "constant comparison process" outlined by LcCompte and Preissle (1993) for data reduction and analysis.

Much of the data found by the researchers addressed various aspects of teacher-student relationship such as level of engagement, type of desired communication, and teaching style. For example, data gleaned from teachers and students showed that both groups perceived definite barriers to student engagement. However, students noting impediments to engagement reported that their individual engagement levels could be

flexible and responsive to teachers' actions. In fact, according to the researchers, "due to the low value that students frequently assigned to the subject matter, the teacher rather than the student often became the reason for student engagement" (Cothran & Ennis, 2000, p.111). Due to the research questions, much of the Cothran and Ennis article specifically discussed student engagement level, but an equally large and important section of their article and findings dealt specifically with teacher care.

Student respondents reported that they were more willing to engage when they felt the teacher cared. They wanted teachers to care if they learned the subject matter and to care about them as a person. Students said that teachers demonstrated caring about them in two ways: (1) teachers were willing to work with students and (2) teachers showed concern for students' personal lives and well being. Not only did students mention this willingness to engage as one of the effects of teacher care, they also mentioned willingness to engage despite self-reported incongruence between life outside of school and their course work.

Students in the study defined caring teachers as those who were willing to work with students until they reached understanding, those who would create environments where students felt they could experience success, and those who would provide a safe environment where students would feel supported in working out challenging assignments. Furthermore, the primarily African American (89%) student respondents specifically described the White physical-education teachers in the study as caring. Students specified that these teachers cared about what they did outside of class, got involved with students by coming to school activities or sports, checked on students if they were not feeling well in class, and trusted them.

The limitations of the Cothran and Ennis study are few. The study was well developed and carefully documented. However, concerns arise when the sample is considered. Physical education teachers do not experience the same type of classroom environment as teachers in core curricular areas of science, math, social studies or English. Class sizes are much larger; student lessons are often much more kinetic; and physical education teachers are often coaches for various after-school activities. Because of these things, the student-teacher relationship may differ. For example, some of the students used the example of teacher care demonstrated through teachers getting involved with students by coming to school activities or sports. After school involvement with students happens automatically with physical education teachers, and these responsibilities may cause them to be misperceived either positively or negatively. A sample from a wider range of educational disciplines may have provided more insight.

In her microethnography of an African American, low-track, secondary English classroom, Dillon (1989) also found strong examples of White teacher care. The researcher approached the study in an attempt to discover the nature of social organization, verbal, and non-verbal patterns of interaction in a teacher's (Mr. Appleby's) classroom. She also attempted to understand teacher and student perceptions of a teacher's actions.

While the main focus of the study was the establishment of social organization in this teacher's classroom, Dillon touched upon some of the main themes in pedagogical care when she described Mr. Appleby as a translator and intercultural broker in the lives of his students. She stated that he made learning experiences meaningful by studying the backgrounds of his students and then bridging differences between cultural diversity in the classroom, school, and home cultures during teacher and student interactions.

Through candid discussion with some of Appleby's students, Dillon determined that this teacher established an open, risk-free environment for student learning, strategically planned lessons to meet the interest and needs of his students, and implemented lessons in which all students could be active and successful learners. Students themselves commented that this teacher's caring actions were important to them and contributed to their learning and attitude toward reading. Students discussed many other positive responses to Appleby's care pedagogy such as a motivation to attend class, participate during class, and complete assignments.

Appleby himself emphasized the importance of relationships, a key element of care pedagogy, in his instruction. He said that learning could not occur successfully without students' feeling good about themselves and their ability to learn. In order to create relationship with students, Appleby stressed that teachers must talk to students, make time to listen when students come with problems, and encourage students who do not believe they can accomplish anything in life. The researcher also noted that this teacher shared his own background, concerns, and goals with his students. Most of the actions of this teacher seem to mirror elements of successful care pedagogy previously discussed in this literature review. The importance of care to this teacher was reflected by his self-proclaimed desire to "show them [students] that I want them to learn and that I care about who they are" (p. 227).

Summary

Unfortunately, research addressing successful, caring, White teachers of Black students is sparse. The teacher care research described above often finds similarities between European American teachers who are perceived as caring, and African American teachers who have been deemed "successful" with African American students. In doing

so, researchers identify key behaviors such as teachers who hold high expectations, support students affective as well as academic needs, emphasize curriculum, and establish teacher-centered classrooms. Where the two groups of teachers differ most is in the realm of sociopolitical critique and in their perceptions of the role of community. Unlike many reports of African American teachers, teachers in the studies above were not reported as participants in conversations with students about the realities or effects of racism for students or in their surrounding communities.

Notwithstanding important examples of teacher care in studies such as these discussed above, some researchers have found a "dysconscious racism" (King, 1991) existing in the beliefs and behaviors of some pre- and in-service White teachers that supports dominant White norms and privileges and focuses on negative rather than positive characteristics of African Americans (e.g. Ladson-Billings, 1998; Lewis, 2001; Lopez, 2003; Nieto, 1996). This concept of racism is reinforced by the fact that there are still many White teachers who simply believe that Black students misbehave more often than White students and are more frequently in need of discipline or remediation (King, 1993; Uhlenberg & Brown, 2002). In a mixed methods study of how conflict between teachers and students mediates building social capital, Arriaza (2000) found that one out of every two African American children received at least one referral in the years between sixth and seventh grades. He also found that African American middle school students, 26% of the schools' population in his study, received at least 51% of the discipline referrals issued. Furthermore, in a quantitative study of Black and White teachers' perception of possible causes and potential solutions to the Black White achievement gap, Uhlenberg and Brown (2002) noted that, on average, White teachers in their study seemed to believe that misbehavior and lack of effort by African American

students were significant causes of the achievement gap. It is important to note however, that researchers in the study insisted that due to their small sample number, their findings could not be generalized. The existence of such data creates a striking discord with the White teacher care literature explicated above. It creates a research conundrum that begs for a closer examination of European American teachers and the ways in which they care for their African American students.

Summary of Caring Literature

Research involving teacher definitions and perceptions of their care for students is sparse at best and even more minimal on the secondary level. Instead, the thrust of the literature focuses on elementary and middle school students and their perceptions of the role of caring. While some researchers have espoused care theory, and others have posited that teacher student relationship is beneficial to successful classroom experiences for students, little empirical attention has been devoted to attempting to gain a better understanding of care and its various nuances and effects. In addition to the educational benefits of teacher care, when one additionally considers subjects of inquiry such as secondary school and African American students, little to no empirical work speaks to this topic.

Existing literature shows that many teachers do care for their students. These caring teachers work to develop relationship with students, show concern about their students' well-being, and work to improve student academic achievement before, during, and after school. The literature also shows that African American students desire, and often feel as if they benefit from, caring teachers. Historical literature shows that some African American teachers have provided a specific, culturally-relevant, critical, care to African American students which has benefitted these students socially, emotionally, and

academically. More current research on African American teaching pedagogy has shown much of the same type of care being implemented in the classroom by some Black teachers post-*Brown*. Nevertheless, African American teachers are not the only educators who successfully provide care for Black students; there are compelling examples of White teacher care for African American students as well. In contrast to the literature on successful caring Black teachers, examples of White teacher care did not show a view of school as reflective of larger community ideals. Furthermore, for the most part, researcher findings of White teacher care in the literature seem to either overlook, or seem not to have found, many examples of European American teachers caring for their African American students by communicating with racial consciousness or political clarity.

The Pilot Study

In a pilot study conducted in 2007, I examined successful African American teacher definitions and perceptions of care for African American students. The study was guided by the following basic inquiries: (1) How do "successful" African American secondary teachers define teacher care for their African American students, (2) What specific behaviors/attitudes/critical incidents do successful African American secondary teachers perceive as examples of their care for African American students, and (3) What explanations do African American teachers provide for their care behaviors? Seidman's (1991) phenomenological interviewing method was used to inform the research questions. Participants in the study included seven female and one male (N=8) African American secondary teachers who met a pre-determined criteria for successful teachers

and taught in schools with majority African American student populations in one metro area of a city located in the Southeastern United States.

Findings suggest that teacher caring was: (1) defined by teachers with "a different sameness," an almost indistinguishable similarity in self-described caring behaviors on behalf of African American students, yet a semantic difference in whether or not teachers were willing to state that their care was specifically intended for these students.; and (2) demonstrated through specific behaviors that addressed students' affective needs, served as a means to address academic and future student needs, and reflected a blend of traditional care literature, critical race theory, culturally relevant pedagogy, and the historical literature on African American teachers pre-*Brown*. Furthermore, findings indicate that teachers' care was influenced by: (1) prior teacher life experiences, (2) perceived life experiences of students, and (3) an internal calling to care.

There were 13 overarching variables consistent in all eight respondents despite their age, years of teaching experience, subject taught, or school socio-economic status. Furthermore, 11 of the overarching variables are similar to those found in the historical literature on African American teacher care pre *Brown* and emergent categories found in more contemporary understandings of African American teacher/student relationship (Foster, 1993, 1997; King 1993; Knight, 2004; Roberts, 2007; Ware, 2006).

The presence of so many similar overarching variables suggests the possibility of a specific culturally-relevant critical care currently demonstrated by African American teachers on the behalf of their African American students. The existence of this culturally relevant critical teacher care (CRCTC) warrants further investigation and generates questions such as: Do teachers of other races/ethnicities such as European American teachers feel as if they provide CRCTC for their African American students? Do

examples of CRCTC differ by race or ethnicity of teacher? Is the provision of CRTC impacted in any way by teacher race or ethnicity? Research questions one through four, in the current dissertation study, seek to answer these questions.

While the overarching variables mentioned above were arresting, there were also emergent inconsistencies of note. One of these inconsistencies recounts teacher denials of providing care that is specifically intended for African American students. While five respondents in the pilot study clearly acknowledged that they implemented care behaviors on behalf of their African American students, three of the respondents claimed that they did not. Yet conversely, the same three later discussed various specific incidents of providing care which was *specifically intended* for African American students. Also, all respondents described participating in the same behaviors that, whether manifest or implied, demonstrated elements of CRCTC for Black students. Reasons for respondents' acknowledgement or denial are unknown. This also warrants further investigation and generates questions such as why do some African American teachers refuse to verbally acknowledge their CRCTC for their African American students? Whether teachers of other ethnicities practice CRCTC and if so, whether they are willing to verbally acknowledge it? Why or why not? Research questions one through four in the dissertation study seek to answer these questions.

An additional limitation of the pilot study concerns the gender of the respondents which was primarily female. A partially successful attempt was made in the dissertation study to gather more perceptions from male teachers and address some of the issues brought forth by the single male respondent such as: the necessity of demonstrating CRCTC differently for African American female students and male students and a specific desire to implement classroom techniques that address the way African

American male students learn. Gathering more male perceptions was intended to enhance my understanding of definitions and perceptions of teacher care for African American students. For further purposes of clarity and contrast, in an effort to further extend and clarify my understanding of teacher care and CRTC, this dissertation study included teachers at schools with majority European American student populations, and European American teacher perceptions from both predominately African American and European American schools.

Methodology

This study utilized a qualitative, phenomenological inquiry methodology to define the phenomenon of teacher care as demonstrated for African American students by African American and European American secondary teachers. In phenomenological inquiry, perception is regarded as a primary source of knowledge. It includes intentions united with sensations which together make up the complete act of perception (Groenwald, 2004). According to Creswell (1998), phenomenology describes lived experiences for several individuals about a concept or phenomenon (1998). In using this particular methodology, a researcher attempts to describe a phenomenon as accurately as possible free from the overarching shadow of any preconceived framework. Although I interviewed teachers prior to this study who discussed elements of a type of "culturally relevant critical teacher care" that I find in much of the literature about African American teachers, I did not analyze data with the previous coding schematic but generated new analytic measures, in order to allow the understandings and perceptions of the respondents to arise and take precedence.

The use of phenomenology calls for an *epoche* or "bracketing," a suspension of all judgment about what is real until that judgment is founded on a more certain basis, and an inductive rather than deductive reduction and analysis of data (Creswell, 1998; Groenwald, 2004; Seidman, 1991). Although the philosophical foundations of this idea are valid, there are concerns with the requirements of "absolute suspension of judgment" that must be noted and have been discussed by researchers such as Maso (2001). In a recent article in which he links phenomenology and ethnography, this researcher points out considerable shortcomings in the traditional view of the nature of phenomenological inquiry, a view favored by scholars such as Groenwald (2004) and Cresswell (1998). He says:

> Nowadays, [the idea of] strict bracketing of all presuppositions and prejudices about phenomena must be considered a myth. Since Hanson we know that perception and interpretation are inseparable, which means that theories and interpretations are 'there' in the observing, from the outset. . . To bracket them, if at all possible, would make perception, and therefore experience, impossible. This is why bracketing can at best refer to an attempt to refrain from those presuppositions and prejudices about phenomena that are sensed by phenomenologists as contaminating (from the outside) their pure experiences of those phenomena. What will be bracketed and what subsequently appears to consciousness will be dependent on who is bracketing. (2001, p. 138)

Maso points out that the method of phenomenological reduction is a utopian ideal that cannot be reached without eliminating the very phenomena that researchers are interested in. He argues that the bracketing procedure underlies the same socially, and in

this case culturally, contingent prejudices and presuppositions that it attempts to dismantle and he reminds us to be cautious not to frame phenomenological goals, methods and findings in absolute terms.

In ethnography, an emerging awareness of researcher positionality, sometimes characterized as the "reflexive turn" (Emerson, 2001), has facilitated a seismic shift in the ways researchers locate themselves within the context of their own research and writing (Coffey, 1999). Given the aforementioned concerns, I argue that a real awareness and acknowledgement of the influence of my researcher bias and positionality, on processes such as bracketing, only contribute to the validity and sophistication of the phenomenological findings of my study. My argument is also supported by Seidman (1991) who created the interview methodology utilized in this study.

The use of phenomenological inquiry to investigate care has been questioned by researchers such as Derrida (1978) and Sartre (1956) due to the "transcendental or pure consciousness" requirements of this methodology. However, I support the position of Noddings (2002), who undertakes the examination of a "phenomenology of care" (p.13) by seeking a wider, more universal description of the phenomenon itself. I selected this approach because in constructing a view of something that has not been clearly defined, such as secondary teacher care for African American students and its culturally-relevant aspects, it seemed best to suspend judgment – as much as possible – and open my consciousness to an emergent understanding of the phenomenon itself.

To employ the best use of the phenomenological lens in this particular instance, I originally intended to approach this inquiry through a modified use of Seidman's (1991) in-depth phenomenologically-based interviewing method. This method combines life-history interviewing and focused, in-depth interviewing informed by assumptions drawn

from phenomenology. Seidman (1991) believes that the strength of in-depth interviewing lies in the ability to understand the details of people's experiences from their point of view. Through this type of interviewing, researchers are able to examine how individual experience interacts with the social and organizational forces in participants' lives and work and discover interconnections between people who live and work in a shared context (Seidman, 1991).

Like Seidman, I utilized a focused, in-depth, interviewing method in an effort to examine my respondents' experiences from their point of view. However, the "life history" aspect of Seidman's interview process was not a clear focus of this study because my desire was to actuate an in-depth phenomenological analysis of teacher care itself. This phenomenological research design was intended to aid my attempt to restrict bias and discover essential perceptions that composed the central underlying meaning of the experience of secondary teacher care for African American students (Cresswell, 1998).

Participants

Data from the eight African American participants in the pilot study were used. Information was also gathered from nine other participants in this study who included two African American teachers who teach in a predominately European American school, four European American teachers who teach in a predominately European American school, and three European American teachers who teach in a predominately African American school[1]. All teachers were deemed "successful in increasing student academic

[1]This study's focus was European American and African American teachers because in the geographical region of the particular school district of interest, the majority of the K-12 teaching population is African American at 52% with the second highest number of teachers being of European American decent at 47% (GA Dept of Ed, http://accountability.doe.k12.ga.us/report2000/ last update 2001). The opportunity to do

achievement" through the process of "community nomination" (Foster, 1997). Community nomination is a process developed by Michelle Foster (1993) in which members of a specific community of interest suggest individuals who they believe to be the best subjects for a researcher to interview. Except in the case of one site, parents who participated in the Parent Teacher Association of each school, counselors, and principals who led the schools of interest were asked to identify secondary teachers whom they felt "were *particularly* successful with helping African American students achieve academically." In the remaining site, only PTA parents and the principal were utilized as the counselors were unwilling to participate. The lists of recommendations were compared and the first selection of teachers was made from teachers who were recommended by all three parties. Participants in the sample taught in one of four secondary public school(s) in a single metropolitan region of a southeastern city in the United States. Details concerning all participants' levels of experience, awards, schools, and teaching assignments can be found in Appendix E. Due to the one-sided nature of gender in the pilot study, a diligent effort was made to make male teachers at least 50% of the interview population. Unfortunately, the effort was unsuccessful. Male teachers were 33% of the dissertation interview population and therefore 23.5 % of the total participant pool. Selection of the number of participants was continuously informed by the progress of the work.

Selection of the number of participants was also informed by the work of Seidman (1991) who provides two criteria that determine whether a researcher has a sufficient number of participants to inform his or her work. His first criterion is sufficiency in which he asks "are there sufficient numbers to reflect the range of

---

empirical work involving other minority cultures or ethnicities of teachers such as Native American, Latino or Asian in this geographical region was meager.

participants and sites that make up the population so that others outside the sample might have a chance to connect to the experiences of those in it?"(p. 45). Seidman's next criterion is saturation of information. In other words, are there enough participants in the study to take the researcher to a point where he or she is no longer learning anything new?

After selecting participants for the study, I contacted each participant by letter, to introduce myself and the study and request a time and date in order to hold a face-to-face meeting. The purpose of this meeting was to provide more information about the study, to answer any questions about the study, establish greater rapport, obtain written consent for participation in the study, and aid in scheduling interviews. Interview one was a face-to-face meeting of 80 minutes (see Appendix A). Interviews two and three were much shorter telephone interviews or brief visits with the amount of time guided by teachers' responses (see Appendix B and C respectively). All interviews were semi-structured and recorded with a digital-recording device.

Participants in this study worked in schools located in an urban/suburban county school system in the southeastern United States referred to here as Montgomery County Schools. Utilizing a large metro county and spreading my participants throughout four high schools in the area with different racial and socio-economic populations provided sufficient saturation of information to properly inform these particular research questions.

The Montgomery County School system, which is 75% African American, has a somewhat contentious racial history in which residents, students, and teachers often claim that either the majority White populated north half or the majority populated Black south half of the school system receives more financial and academic benefits. For the purposes of this research, two schools, Jefferson and Marvin Konner, were selected from the

southern, predominately African American half of the county and two more, Rivers Edge and Wood Ridge, were selected from the northern, predominately European American half of the county. While the geographical region of the county receiving the largest financial support may have been arguable, the differences discussed by county residents could not easily be disputed. Marvin Konner was actually new construction and Jefferson had newer physical additions than either Rivers Edge or Woodridge. There was also a clear distinction in academic performance levels of students in the northern and southern ends of the county. This county had 21 high schools from north to south with five of the "top high schools"[2] located in the northern half of the county and five of the lowest performing schools located in the south.

Reciprocity and Access

When I began this study, I was most concerned about attaining what Walker (2005) would call "sufficient engagement" (p. 34) with my European American teachers. I found myself approaching this particular group of teachers with both insider status, from having been a high school teacher, and outsider status due to my ethnicity. I earnestly discussed my positioning with the respondents who all assured me that my racial identity had no influence in their reactions or responses. Thinking that their responses may have been polite or made under duress, I paid further attention to this concern during the interviews and data analysis and surprisingly their reactions and responses indicated that some type of valid connection was made with most of the White teachers I interviewed. I base this belief on the extremely candid nature of many of their responses and the fact that many of them offered their classes for observation at any time,

[2] The five schools mentioned were posted on the county web site as the "top high schools in Montgomery County by SAT scores" (2008). While average scores in the county were in the 1300's, none of the five schools listed an average score below 1600.

invited me to their homes, introduced me to their children and spouses, shared extremely personal information, and, in the case of one teacher of English background, served me tea.

More troubling to me regarding access is the access I attained with those of my own ethnicity. I had 15 nominations for the dissertation and began contacting teachers in October. While six European American and one African American nominee(s) contacted me and scheduled interview times within one or two days of receiving the letter, two White and six African American nominees received multiple e-mails and visits before any communication was reciprocated. Following up with this set of teachers was particularly challenging and disconcerting. Teachers are busy individuals who give much to their students and as a result, have little time for others. I would normally overlook the difficulty of contact except for two points, (1) the experience was almost exclusively emanating from African Americans and (2) the experience was similar with the African American teachers nominated for the pilot study. While the two African American teachers in majority White schools who interviewed with me for the dissertation study seemed to do so openly, during the interviews they both espoused a color-blind philosophy that, at least for one, was clearly not reflected in their described actions. Compared to the White teachers, they also seemed somewhat stiff and uncomfortable during our communication. Other nominated teachers would not speak with me at all (See Appendix F for further information).

As I considered reciprocity, which I decided to provide to my participants in the form of magazine subscriptions to *Rethinking Schools*, I also tried to make sense of the previously mentioned access experiences through journaling, peer and senior researcher conversation, and study. What spoke to me most clearly was the work of Siddle Walker

(1995, 2005), Foster (1994), and others in which they insist that, while similarities of phenotype, culture, or community may exist between researcher and participants, a researcher must be admitted into the inner circle of an African American community before real connections are made and real engagement takes place. In spite of our shared ethnicity, I was raised in a different region of the country from the area of study, and this is evident in my speech and style of communication. Perhaps geography was a factor. Tillman (2006) discusses similar concerns of access in her work where her research privilege was "challenged by some participants who were suspicious of [her] motives and how their experiences would be described in [her] findings" (p. 282). For lack of a firm hypothesis, this portion of my experience is worthy of note and more study.

Data Sources and Collection

I served as the principal investigator in the collection of data for this study. Interviews provided the primary source of data. Generalized field notes provided a secondary data source.

Interviews

In this type of approach, interviewers use primarily open-ended questions. The major task was to build upon and explore participants' responses to those questions. The goal was to have a participant reconstruct his or her experience within the topic under study. This primary source of data was provided by three interviews with each participant conducted by the researcher. The first interview provided an in-depth examination of information surrounding the research questions; the second encouraged participants to elaborate on any unclear information from the previous interview and the third encouraged participants to member check personal profiles and answer questions that developed from emergent themes.

Interview guides were used with all participants and can be found in Appendices A through C. The interview guides were piloted in a previous study and questions were adjusted accordingly for the sake of clarity and relevance. Refinement of the second interview guide took place after interview one was coded and emergent themes were identified, and thus aided in the development of useful follow up questions.

Interview one: Information gathering. The purpose of the first interview was to concentrate on concrete details of the participants' present experiences and understandings in the phenomenon of study. I addressed questions relating directly to the research questions proposed earlier in this work. I asked participants to unpack definitions, philosophies, and perceptions as well as details of experiences upon which their perceptions were built. In order to better understand respondents' experiences within the realm of an educational social setting I elicited contextual details by asking demographic questions, questions concerning the academic achievement of the respondent's students, and questions concerning stories/critical incidents that may have provided examples of the interviewee's experiences in school and with African American students. In this interview, the task was to "put the participants' experiences in context by asking them to tell as much as possible about themselves in light of the topic up to the present time" (Seidman, 1991, p.11).

Interview two: Elaboration and clarification. The purpose of the second interview was to encourage participants to impart even deeper meaning to concepts that were already addressed (Seidman, 1991). Participants were also asked to reflect on, elaborate on, and clarify prior responses and address questions that developed from emergent themes. The interview was structured in such a way as to elicit deeper understandings about meanings and perceptions of themes, issues, stories or statements from the previous

interview. Furthermore, teachers were asked to provide a deeper understanding of the meaning of their experiences, to clarify "the intellectual and emotional connections between their work and life" (Seidman, 1991, p. 12).

Interview three: Clarification. In this interview, participants were encouraged to member check personal profiles, and/or narratives, clarify any researcher misunderstandings or mis-representations, and add any incomplete information.

All interviews were transcribed, labeled with the participants' pseudonyms, dated in order to later correlate them with other data as means of a reliability check, and filed with field notes.

Field notes. As a secondary source of information, overarching general field notes were diligently recorded regarding what I heard, saw, and experienced in the course of collecting data and reflecting on the data-gathering process. I recorded information during interviews such as non-verbal signs and body languages, or descriptions of surroundings. The field notes were labeled with the participants' pseudonyms, dated in order to later correlate them with other data as means of a reliability check, and filed with interview transcripts.

Data Coding and Analysis

Interview data were collected, coded, and analyzed to determine the respondents' perceptions and definitions of teacher care. A combination of methodologies espoused by Moustakas (1994) and Cresswell (1998) were used in a four-stage analytical process (see Appendix G). The first stage employed bracketing of the information, which is also known as phenomenological reduction or first level coding. In this stage, I extracted sections of text from all transcribed data that represented statements significant to the research questions and simultaneously noted emergent themes. After extraction, all

significant statements were charted according to frequency and utilized in the development of broad themes.

In the second level of analysis, I eliminated duplicate statements and clustered the large themes and units of meaning to form narrower, formulated meanings as analytic work. Formulated meanings were discovered, through reading, rereading, and reflecting upon significant statements as well as rereading interview transcripts for any significant statements that may have been overlooked. These actions helped me to discover and identify meaning hidden in the various contexts of the phenomenon but present in the respondents' original descriptions (Creswell, 1998, p. 280). A secondary source of data, field notes, was used to inform understandings derived from interviews.

In the third stage, informed by Colaizzi (1978), I created clusters of themes organized from the aggregated formulated meanings identified in stage two. These clusters represented themes or second level codes that emerged from and were common to all of the participants' descriptions of teacher care. Matrices, which separated second level codes by research question, teacher, and school, were constructed and significant statements, which represented second level codes, were placed in them and additionally placed into individual teacher matrices. After this point, created clusters of themes concerning teacher care for African American students were referred back to original descriptions of teacher care for purposes of validation and any discrepancies were noted among or between the various clusters. Matrices were then refined a second time to remove extraneous or incorrect terminology or codes.

In stage four all of the above steps were integrated, and charts which examined the representation of codes across and between schools and teachers were created. Significant findings were identified when clearly differentiated from others. Due to the

small number of subjects in this study, a “clear differentiation” was determined by a margin of roughly 30 percentage points. This process resulted in an “exhaustive description” of the phenomenon of teacher care for African American students. An exhaustive description provides “as unequivocal a statement of the essential structure of the phenomenon as possible” (Creswell, 1998, p. 280).

Reliability

Specific issues related to reliability in qualitative research have to do with minimizing the possibility of bias and error in a study (Yin, 1989). Reliability expects that results determined by a study will be consistent with data collected (Merriam 1998). To this end, the following techniques were utilized to address reliability: (1) My researcher journal was kept throughout the process and used in the consideration of validity of findings, (2) I intentionally had nothing to do with the selection of the participants outside of contacting and then working with those who were suggested, (3) my potential bias was revealed to participants, (4) I initiated member checking to clarify unclear information transcribed from tier one interviews as well as developed profiles, (5) I utilized peer coding, (6) I stored code-related data accessibly through the use of Microsoft Word, and (7) I maintained a clear chain of evidence of the data collection process.

Researcher Bias

According to Seidman (1991), no interviewer can enter into the study of interview data as a blank slate. All reactions and responses to any text are the result of mental and emotional interactions between reader and text. Throughout my teaching career, I have been a teacher of predominantly low-performing African-American students. I am dedicated to the improvement of African American student achievement and have strong

opinions about the effects of teacher care, as well as the influence of school, community, and parenting, upon the educational achievement of African American students. My experiences have resulted in my own perceptions of outcomes and solutions related to the subject of this study.

> "Given the world in which we live, I am sensitive to the way in which issues of class, race, and gender play out in individual lives, and the way hierarchy and power affect people. I do not however, come to a transcript looking for these. When they are there, these and other passages of interest speak to me and I bracket them" (Seidman, 1991 p. 90).

As an African American woman I, like Seidman, am sensitive to issues of class, race and gender. However, in alignment with Seidman's actions, I did not come to the interview transcripts looking for cultural relevance, critical pedagogy, or teacher care. Instead I attempted to remain cognizant of the potential effects of my own opinions and experiences on this work and, though it was filtered through my own lens, I allowed existing phenomena to emerge from my participants. I diligently self-checked through the use of a researcher journal, consistently identified and discussed my bias with interviewees, and sustained a close relationship with interview materials through repeated multi-staged analysis. I also enlisted fellow graduate students and others to cross-check my coding.

Data Storage and Retrieval System

All data were systematically catalogued, labeled, and stored in an easily accessible location. I maintained a file for each participant, labeled with his/her name and pseudonym in a locked file cabinet. The file contained the following materials: (1) a copy of the informed consent agreement, (2) field notes made during or after each

interview, (3) any notes, sketches, artifacts or writings provided by the participant during the interview, (4) any miscellaneous information or communication offered by the participant or others, (5) the transcript of the interview, (6) any notes made during the data analysis process, and (7) any commentary about or corrections made to the narratives by participants. The created narratives or counter stories of each participant, a digital copy of transcripts, and any audio recordings were stored on a password protected laptop computer and backed up by a travel drive kept in a secure location.

Chain of Evidence. Chain of evidence refers to the trail of research activities that will authenticate the findings of a study if it is traced by an outside researcher. The chain of evidence in this study was created by documentation of data sources, data collection, derivation of codes, and other decisions that guided this research.

Validity

According to Seidman (1991), in-depth interviewers create the ability to respond affirmatively to the question, "are the participants' comments valid?" due to features inherent in the three-tier interview process. My use of this process placed the participants' comments in context and, by its building-block nature, encouraged participants to check for the internal consistency of their comments. Furthermore, by interviewing a number of participants, I was able to connect experiences and check the comments of one participant against those of others.

I addressed internal validity - which is the question of whether researchers are observing and measuring what they think they are - through the use of member checks, triangulation of data sources, and peer examination. Some researchers may argue that the external validity of this study, which involves the extent to which the results of a study are generalizable, cannot be determined. I, however, support the position of Joseph

Maxwell, who discusses theoretical generalizability. I established this type of validity by providing a lens through which observers and other researchers are able to see to what extent my settings may be like others through the use of rich, thick description (Geertz, 1973); similarity of geographical region; and similarity of ethnicity across certain school populations.

Findings

The purpose of this dissertation study was to examine the phenomenon of teacher care for Black students by exploring the reported attitudes and behaviors of "successful" African American and European American teachers. Specifically, this study sought to examine the ways in which reported behaviors differed based on ethnicity and school setting, to understand the rationale that explained reported teacher behavior, and to examine the relationship of the reported behaviors to the extant literature on teacher caring, culturally relevant pedagogy, and critical race theory. Findings are presented in five sections; the first, places each of the schools in its own context. The next, shares the stories of four teachers selected as representative of each school. The final three sections reflect data sought through the research questions. These sections include, (a) *teacher care definitions and behaviors* – which addresses research question one and two by providing explanations of the ways successful African American and European American teachers defined teacher care for African American students and shares examples of teachers' care behaviors and attitudes; (b) *explanations for teacher care* – which addresses research question three by presenting explanations that Black and White teachers provided for their caring behaviors toward, or on the behalf of, Black students; and (c) *teacher care, culturally relevant pedagogy (CRP), and critical race theory (CRT)* – which attends to research question four by addressing parallels between the examples

of African American and European American teacher care provided in this study, and CRP/CRT.

School Settings

As discussed earlier in the methodology section of this paper, participants in this study taught in one of four schools in a large urban/suburban school system in the Southeast called Montgomery County Schools (pseudonym). Two of the schools, River's Edge and Wood Ridge (pseudonyms), were in the northern section of Montgomery County. The other two schools, Marvin Konnor and Jefferson (pseudonyms), were located in the southern section of the county.

Rivers Edge

The spirit of Rivers Edge seemed to be reflected in the surrounding community. Local churches encouraged the sports teams to achieve on large outdoor marquees and many vehicles in the area sported bumper stickers indicating school spirit. The local Chick-fil-a, a fast-food restaurant, even offered a free chicken sandwich to those who could show a ticket from the Rivers Edge football game on Fridays. The visibility of the school in the larger community implied a great deal of parental support.

At the time of the interviews, the school appeared comfortably aged but not dilapidated. Rivers Edge seemed to be a school well entrenched in its surroundings; fronted by an area of mature trees and picnic tables, where students often gathered to eat. The hallways were wide and clean of debris. Classrooms seemed comfortably sized yet aged. Student overflow trailers, a common way of housing students in this school system, were not evident from the front of the school, but were instead huddled in the rear left corner of the school's footprint.

Scores above three on the Advanced Placement (AP) Exam were attained by 51.3% of the 769 River's Edge students who took the test and the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) average score was 1587. Similar to other schools in Montgomery County, Sixty-three (70%) of this school's certified teachers possessed a masters degree or above. Unlike many of the schools in Montgomery County, this school had a 46% White and 23% Black population of 1,567 students, was not a Title I school, and met AYP criteria in nine out of nine areas.

In an effort to gain a sense of the schools' culture and commitment to African American students, I closely examined the schools' website for examples of the involvement of these students in various clubs and activities. In this case, if one was not previously aware of the 23% African American student population at Rivers Edge, a perusal of the welcome page on the schools website would not enlighten. This page, which celebrates the current year's seniors, shows a collage-style grouping of a large number of European American students and includes a small group of Black females in the lower left corner. This page, along with the majority of the website, seems to suggest that very few, if any; African Americans are involved in school activities.

The majority of pictures on a deeper page in the site, the "Spirit of River's Edge" section of the website, celebrate activities such as the soccer team's state championship, various senior celebrations, career day, a jazz band performance, the Miss Rivers Edge competition, the Jane Austin festival, a poetry café, the academic team's championship, and a gym dedication; however, a miniscule number of Black students are visible in these pictures. A smaller number of photos on this page, which highlight homecoming, are more representative of the Black student population, showing a representative number of

African American cheerleaders performing and a representative number of African American students seated in the rear of the bleachers during a homecoming pep rally.

Conversely, an even smaller number of photos on this page show activities such as a talent show, Black history month celebration, and a celebration of student/athlete signees; only here are black students dominant in number. Upon first glance, visual indicators provided by the school itself suggest differences based on ethnicity at River's Edge such as the number of African American students involved in activities outside of sports, Black history month, and the annual talent show.

As a potential confirmation of the evidence of ethnic differences at River's Edge, it seems pertinent to note that during the time of this study the school, previously led by a European American male, underwent a great deal of racial tension in which various charges of racism were made. Minority parents created their own parents association to address issues they felt were not being met, and the school was given a new African American female principal (Gutierrez, 2007). Ironically, in spite or perhaps because of the racial tensions, European American teachers were very open to my research while African American teachers at Rivers Edge seemed reluctant to meet with me. Three European American teachers, John Perkins, Grover Sturkin, and Nellie Bushmore, were interviewed for the purposes of this study, and one teacher, Betty James, was the only African American participant willing to share her story.

Wood Ridge

At the time of the interviews Woodridge, like Rivers Edge, had been a part of its suburban bedroom community for many years and this was evident in visual indications of community school connection such as a local dry cleaner who offered "10% off for

Woodridge faculty and staff" or the marquee of a local a car wash, which indicated, "go Woodravens!," the school's mascot.

The school was aged yet well maintained. While it was not the only multi-level school in this study, it was the only school with an elevator. No student overflow trailers were evident from the front of the school which had several mature trees and a parking area for visitors and administration. The hallways of the school were wide, clean, but not well lit. Classrooms seemed large and airy.

In a perusal of the schools website, a commitment to African American culture and/or students was not visually evident. There were no pictures of various clubs and activities, only a listing of such in an electronic document. Indeed, the only pictures of students available seemed to be sports-related. In looking for African American student representation, only three groups had accessible photos. These included cheerleading, in which two out of 18 varsity cheerleaders appeared African American, and cross country with zero out of eight runners appearing African American. The pictures, like some of River's Edge photos, seemed to mask the actual percentage of Black students who attended the school. In a further example of skewed representation, 40 out of 60 football players appeared African American, and this number, again, was inconsistent with the school's actual population of Black students.

Woodridge, which was not a Title I school, had a 44% White, 34% Black population of 1,390 students. The school met AYP criteria in nine out of nine areas and scores above three on the AP test were attained by 74.1% of the 297 students who took the test. The average SAT score was 1526. Forty-six (54.7%) of Woodridge's 84 teachers possessed a masters degree or above.

At the time of this study, the school's African American female principal had been active for at least five years and seemed popular with parents and staff. The nominated European American teachers were very open and willing to be interviewed; yet, scheduling concerns prevented access and, similar to Rivers Edge, African American teachers at Woodridge seemed reluctant to meet with me. Thus, my final list of participants from Woodridge was much smaller than I intended. Only two teachers were interviewed for the purposes of this study, one Black teacher, Alice Jerkins, and one White teacher, Marylou St. Claire.

Marvin Konner

Marvin Konner was a large campus located in the southern end of Montgomery County. The surrounding community did not provide much evidence of the schools' presence. In fact, due to the school's placement at the end of a long drive, which was only marked by a small sign on a busy state highway, a visitor could drive by the school without knowing it existed.

At the time of the interviews, Marvin Konner was only five years old. The landscape of the schools' face primarily consisted of red dirt with occasional patches of greenery. Despite its newness, a student overflow "trailer park" was visible on the front right-side of the school. This area held what Marvin Konnor referred to as the 9th grade academy. Hallways were wide, clean, and classrooms were well lit. Unlike River's Edge, Marvin Konnor provided no shaded, outside area for lunch. Students were required to eat inside.

During the two year span of these interviews, Marvin Konnor was under the leadership of a new principal each year. The school, which was not a Title I school, did not meet AYP during the time of these interviews but did meet criteria in six out of eight

areas. Scores above three on the AP test were attained by 9.8% of the 153 students who took the test and the average SAT score was 1262. Sixty-nine (57.5%) of Marvin Konnor's 120 teachers possessed a masters degree or above. The school had a 96% African American student population of 2,206.

A perusal of the "clubs and activities" section of Marvin Konnor's website did not visually reveal the ethnicity of their students as each club was instead represented by a symbol. A commitment to African American culture and/or students was not visually evident. However, this school, which had a 96% Black population, did provide symbols of academically-based clubs such as chess club, beta club and literary magazine in addition to sports teams and other diversions and it would not be a stretch to assume that Black students participated in these activities. Nevertheless, the only student photos accessible on the website were those of the football team and marching band.

During the time of these interviews, Marvin Konner replaced their African American male principal with another African American male for reasons unknown to this researcher. When individuals connected with Marvin Konner were requested to nominate White teachers for this study, many seemed unable to do so or had difficulty with the request. The scope of principal recommendations of European American teachers was limited, and he attributed this to the fact that he may be unaware of them because he was relatively new to the school and the number of White teachers at the school was small. Thus, five Black teachers, Ellen Dotson, Fran Carter, Ann Hope, Farah Delano and Julius Armstrong, and one White teacher, Dr. Teddy Stubbins from Marvin Konner were interviewed for the purposes of this study.

Jefferson

Jefferson High School was located in the southern end of Montgomery County. The school had been a fixture in the neighborhood for many years and had a few alumni of note; yet, a commitment to the school from the community was not visually evident. In order to determine community commitment, I looked for signs of outside involvement like local signs celebrating the school or its accomplishments, local cars displaying bumper stickers in support of the school, or any visual evidence of school-local community business partnerships. At the time of my visits to the area, no local signs or bumper stickers celebrating the school or its accomplishments were evident. The neighborhood surrounding the school was in the early throes of gentrification but remained primarily urban, low SES, and African American.

At the time of two of the five interviews, the previously dilapidated urban school had received a facelift providing some needed classroom space and limited new technology. Yet, despite its alleged Title I resources, further financial investments and physical improvements were clearly needed. The campus was often barren of grass but full of debris, and student overflow trailers were bunched in the rear of the school in a cluttered fashion indicating a need for more classroom space in spite of the new construction.

Jefferson was a Title I school that did not meet Adequate Yearly Progress (AYP) but met criteria in four out of seven areas. Scores above three on the Advanced Placement (AP) Exam were attained by 7.7% of the 238 students who took the test and the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) average score was 1263. Sixty-one (71.7%) of Jefferson's 85 teachers possessed a masters degree or above. Jefferson had a 98% Black population of 1,371 students.

When examining the school's website, the only evident demonstration of commitment to African American culture and/or students was the link to a "Black History Month quiz bowl" on the home page. No exigent link to clubs or activities other than sports, which displayed only a schedule of games, was evident.

During the two year span of these interviews, Jefferson was under the leadership of a new principal each year. Five teachers from Jefferson were interviewed for the purposes of this study, three Black teachers, Kevnie Green, Marge Simpson, and Francina Irvine, and two White teachers Ann Hunter and Linda Ortiz. A chart providing further details about study participants can be found in Appendix E.

Teachers

In order to allow voice, an integral part of phenomenological inquiry, to arise and take precedent in this work; this section will speak to issues and concerns raised by individual teachers that address the research questions in this study. In this case, stories of representative teachers will either provide a collective picture of a majority of the teacher sample or share perspectives particularly unique to individual teachers. To that end, the stories of teachers who provide representative samples of both races, genders, and school populations, were selected for this section: Julius Armstrong, an African American male teacher from Marvin Konnor High School; Ann Hunter, a European American female teacher from Jefferson High School; John Perkins, a White male teacher from Rivers' Edge High School; and Alice Jerkins, a Black female teacher from Woodridge High School.

Research questions addressed will examine; how "successful" African American and European American secondary teachers define teacher care for their African American students; specific behaviors/attitudes/critical incidents that successful African

American and European American secondary teachers share as examples of their care for African American students; explanations that successful African American and European American teachers provide for their reported care behaviors; and the relationship between teacher perceptions of care, culturally relevant pedagogy and critical race theory.

Julius Armstrong

"I don't coach football anymore, but a lot of the way I teach does come from football. I always tell my linebackers, I never coach your half-ass effort. Either give me 110 percent or just go elsewhere." Mr. Armstrong; made these statements flatly as he looked me directly in the eye. A 32 year-old 12th grade economics teacher who identifies as African American and has been teaching for 10 years, Mr. Armstrong is a teacher with many responsibilities. In addition to the work with his students, he is also an entrepreneur who owns a night janitorial service and is in the process of opening an after school center for teens. Mr. Armstrong finds it important to give time to charitable causes and dedicates some of his time to running a homeless shelter where he and some of his students from Marvin Konner volunteer weekly. An ex-football coach with a strong love of the game, at the time of our interview in his trailer beside the school, he had re-tooled his interest in football and was serving Marvin Konner as its girl's golf coach.

One of only a few male teachers interviewed, Mr. Armstrong seemed to have a firm belief in the power of teaching from an Afrocentric perspective and an equally emphatic position on the need for student accountability. When discussing his teaching philosophy, he emphasized the need for African American students to be financially aware, and he defended his Afrocentric leanings saying, "I do talk a lot of self pride, self love. Telling them more - like, it's okay to love yourself. That doesn't mean you hate

anyone else. Then, it's the Economics, and it's Marvin Konner High School, and we all Black. I talk to them [students] a lot about economic equality".

Mr. Armstrong made several significant statements addressing his teacher care and appeared to be a strong believer in students being accountable and demonstrating some type of effort in the classroom. He stated that his requirement that students do such was his answer to research question one – his definition of care.

Interviewer: For my research records, just give me your definition of teacher care.

Interviewee: Holding a child accountable. Holding a student accountable.

When asked how pivotal his care was to his teaching he responded with the following: "I think if you didn't care, you wouldn't teach. I think you have to care for them and that's why you would teach."

Discussing his commitment to African American students more candidly than most teachers in this study, Mr. Armstrong eagerly provided many details that addressed research question two by explaining the definitive care behaviors he employed specifically for his African American students. Although he admitted that his "allegiance" to African American students could be perceived as prejudiced, he defended that allegiance stating, "Not against anyone else, but you have to have allegiance with your own. I mean, that's throughout the Bible. Everybody has their people."

He made numerous additional statements detailing caring actions that referenced African American students in numerous ways. In these statements, he discussed teaching self pride, self love, and economic independence to his African American students. He also believed that his students must be made to understand that testing was a very important concern. He remarked upon this by saying, "I push the tests because I don't

want to go to a meeting where they're talking about White kids and a bell curve and all that crap."

Although he provided many examples of the type of support he offers Black students, some of the more powerful dealt with combating negative stereotypes perpetrated by Black Entertainment Television and others.

> I tell these kids, a little bit, especially towards the end of class, "We need to give a new image of y'all, because BET –" if you ever get a business, you go overseas and you want to get into this global economy and these people have only seen African American stuff on TV, when they see you, that's the only thing going through their minds . . .And ladies (demonstrates talking to female students), them Asians, they have a funny way of doing business. You don't want to be looked at as no sexual creature. You want to be taken serious. Blacks, when we say companies discriminate, how can IBM or Compaq, these big companies, send you overseas to help close an account when the only image of African Americans is negative? You've got to fit a certain mode. I'm not saying that they don't discriminate, but we've got to at least be part of the solution.

He also talked about his teaching style, mentioning that it was directed specifically to Black students.

> All my teaching style is lecture. The reason why I only lecture is because Africans learn through tradition . . . I started thinking, "Why are they telling us to teach these kids opposite than the way I learned?" . . . . The Koreans, and the Jews, they teach their kids the way that they learn. They take their

> culture as part of the way they learn and they teach towards their culture, but for some reason, the African American school system, we kind of forget.

He furthermore expressed a special concern for the African American family structure.

> I do that kind of intentionally, bring her (his young daughter) around a lot, so they can see, okay, all right. You take care of your kids . . . A lot of us that have girls, we bring them around. You want the girls to see. You deserve to be a wife. You don't have to be a baby mamma. And then you start – what the boys have to understand that it's okay to be married, man. It's not going to be perfect. And that's another thing, I always tell them the part – what kills Africans in America is that we don't have a family structure. If you don't have a family, you're just lost.

In addressing research question three, which examined reasons behind his teacher care, Mr. Armstrong mentioned issues like a need to compensate for ineffective parenting styles. In a finding unique to Mr. Armstrong, he described his first year teaching in what he called a "segregated African American school, E.E. Smith." He gave credit for the caring behaviors he implements on the behalf of African American students to things learned from an influential principal in that school. These included acknowledging his responsibility to help students achieve so they could have "options in life."

As previously mentioned, Armstrong's responses to the research questions were somewhat unique in that he emphatically acknowledged care provided specifically on the behalf of Black students. As a result, the presence of themes pertinent to the literature on caring, culturally relevant pedagogy, and critical race theory were woven throughout his interviews.

When one reads Mr. Armstrong's story of teacher care, it becomes clear that his teacher care is inextricably linked to preparing African American students for the present and the future. He expressed a need to help students with immediate concerns such as test prep and curriculum infused with cultural relevance, but he also tried to prepare students for the business and economic world they would face after high school. For Mr. Armstrong, the responsibility of caring for African American students was an illuminating experience.

> I don't know, it was just like a light bulb went off in me. I can't think of what it was about, but how do you expect them (African American students) to know if they don't – you know, if they knew better, they'd do better. How would they know unless they have a teacher? How would they have a teacher unless the teacher is sent?

Ann Hunter

Due to floating teachers utilizing her classroom space, Ann Hunter and I found ourselves in a book supply closet for our first interview. As she leaned back in a hard plastic chair and propped her feet on a cardboard box of ninth grade social studies texts, she defined her basic understanding of teacher care. Her definition addressed research question one and included such concerns as providing aid, being what students need, and providing them with knowledge about how to behave.

Despite a mere three years of experience at Jefferson, and six years total, Ann was a trainer of teachers for Montgomery County, social studies department chair, the girl's soccer coach, and a 10^{th} grade AP world history teacher. She explained that she felt uncomfortable holding such an important position not only because of her youth, but also because of her race and connected that statement to teacher care.

> I know people are saying "why is the department chair at a Black school a White girl," but, I hate to say it – I don't mean to point fingers, but sometimes it seems like the White teachers are the ones who are actually doing what they are supposed to do around here. Graduation is supposed to be mandatory but when I look around I see Amanda, and David, [other European American teachers] and myself, but I don't see all of them (other Black teachers). It's like they don't care.

The only teacher in this study that self identified as homosexual, Ms. Hunter talked about facing extreme prejudice in a previous school, which served as a catalyst for her move to Jefferson, but when asked if that experience helped her to identify with the plight of her Black students. She felt it did not.

> Interviewer: Do you think there's been anything in your experience of living as a marginalized minority that has helped you to identify with the marginalized minorities you teach?
>
> Interviewee: Ok, so the question again is – Oh, Being gay?
>
> Interviewer: Mmm-hmm
>
> Interviewee: I honestly didn't experience a whole lot of – I mean, these kids don't wake up one day and their parents go "Oh my God, you're black. I didn't know. How could you!" You know, it's a little different. I really didn't experience a whole lot of discrimination early on. It was really more when I became a teacher.

The issue of discrimination against her sexuality arose again under the guise of research question two, which examines behaviors that demonstrate caring for African American students. In this case, she described a school-based organization she created to care for

homosexual Black students. She mentioned that these students seemed drawn to her despite the fact that she "didn't necessarily advertise her sexuality."

> Yeah, well I started the Women and Men of Diversity club here, because I ain't startin' a Gay/Straight Alliance (laughs), because I like my job, you know? Schools that have a high African American population tend to be ultra-conservative and, interestingly enough, when I started the club, it was because there were a lot of gay students here who had no outlet and they were getting picked on a lot . . . I wanted them to have a safe place where they could come in and ask what to do about parents . . . girlfriends . . . boyfriends, what you do if people pick on you and the women – the girls – had actually formed a lesbian mafia to get back at people and I was like Whoa! Let's do this instead.

Despite many comments to the contrary, when asked directly, Ms. Hunter denied any need to care specifically for Black students claiming class instead of race affected students most. To reiterate this position, she quoted from a conference she attended led by Ruby Payne, a researcher who talks about "the culture of poverty" and who has often been criticized for oversimplifying and stereotyping lower class students. Ms. Hunter mentioned that Ruby Payne's workshop was "one of the best workshops I've been to explaining the behavior and thought processes of middle class and lower-class socio-economically disadvantaged kids."

> "I think it's more of a class issue than a color issue, and it's some of the stuff we usually talk about in class too. A lot of the – not that racism doesn't exist, because, you know, the best trick the devil ever played was to make people believe he doesn't exist, but, I think a lot of the behaviors that people often

attribute to Black students are behaviors of socially and economically disadvantaged students."

Like several of the teachers in this study, Ms. Hunter, although denying caring specifically for African American students, made several statements that demonstrated a belief in specific differences between Black and White students and at times explained her caring for them based in these beliefs.

> Interviewee: HS [a large local HS with a large White population] asked me to come there last year and I was talking to friends and I was like "you know, I don't know who I'd talk to. I'm not sure I can teach White kids." I don't, I don't relate to their – when I was at [large White HS] I was like "what's wrong with you people?" . . . So when she [an individual a the large White HS who said Hunter belonged in Jefferson] said that, I was like, "that's why I don't teach at [large White HS]" and I – you know. I went to [another predominately White HS] I was – teaching those kids, you know, and part of them were asleep, and some of them weren't paying attention, and others were doing math homework, and I'm like – "I am telling you how to pass the AP world history exam!" but its that whole – entitlement thing. It's the "I don't need you." You know kids here [indicates her school] appreciate what you do, and these Black kids understand that, at least for the 90 minutes the're with me, that education is important, and you [teachers] don't get that at other places.

In addition to the acknowledgement of difference above, she made specific reference to a belief in providing specific care for African American students.

> So – and these kids don't ask for help. They don't – they want – they just want you to think whatever you think [about them], but unless you come and ask them, "Hey, what's going on here?" they'll tell you, but they won't come to you. You have to ask and that's part of the whole care thing. Do you care or *do* you now? If you are willing to ask, and you take the time to ask, and if they know you care, and if they know you care, then they'll perform better, because you're giving them what they need.

In addressing research question three, which examined reasons behind teacher care, Ms. Hunter mentioned "loving kids" and claimed that a YMCA program she attended at 12 had a large impact on her desire to teach. She also mentioned that she always had an interest in African Americans and Black culture because "honestly, my family are big, old, White racists. I love them. I love them in my own special way." In a finding similar to over half of the study population, Ms. Hunter did not see teacher education as a factor in her current relationships with her Black students or as having an impact on her pedagogy.

When one reads Ms. Hunter's story of teacher care, it seems that her teacher care was linked both to her sexual identity and to her desire to address the educational needs of Black students. She often discussed her desire to individualize instruction and willingness to "work with" students by re-grading papers, allowing students to re-do work, and slowing down the curriculum to take the time to make sure students understood because "the important point is for them to gain the knowledge." She concluded one of our interviews by discussing the import of caring for students by teaching them the appropriate way to interact with other adults and the world around them.

> I'm a hearing officer too . . . My goal is to get them [students] not to get written up. You know . . . teach them how to address the situation and not the person, per se. They are always quick to say, Mrs. So and so doesn't care about me. I won't give them that out. I make them explain it. "What do *you* do? Then what happened?" you know, help them learn how to deal with things and realize that someone doing something you don't like once doesn't always mean they don't care about you.

Mrs. Hunter, like other teachers in this sample, had a confounding view of teacher care. While she clearly provided care specifically for African American students and made many statements that were illustrative of this fact, when asked, she claimed that it was class, not culture, which generated her care. As with many of the other respondents, the issue becomes whether we listen to how she responds when asked this question, or listen to everything else she says when she is not. This issue became an important factor in the consideration of research question four.

John Perkins

> On the day of the OJ Simpson verdict, the school was locked down, nobody can move, teachers were forbidden to have a TV set or a radio on. The kids from all over the school of both races were sneaking into my room. I had a roomful and were all watching the trial because they knew that with me it would be okay no matter which way it went.

Mr. Perkins, a 56 year-old male teacher, made this exclamation matter-of-factly as he and I enjoyed cigars on his back patio. When asked, he identified as White but made sure to stress to me that his students see him differently.

> I've had many black kids who are very interested in my racial makeup and they want me to be black. They ask me about my heritage and I tell them that, well, my father came from Italy and my mother, her background, is German, Dutch, English, Irish, Scottish, and they go, "Oh, mixed." So then I become black. So, to them, I'm okay.

He has been teaching for 33 years. The past several years of his experience have been at Rivers Edge High School where he teaches AP psychology and general level economics. After some prompting, he mentioned that early in his career he had been teacher of the year twice. Later on, he revealed that he was recently selected as a Star Teacher; a program honoring students in the top 10% of their class who earned the highest SAT scores at their schools and the teachers who inspired them.

When asked to define teacher care, thus addressing research question one, Mr. Perkins seemed somewhat flummoxed, dryly insisting that "caring for kids? I don't know. It's like air. It's just there or I guess it's not." In a further discussion of teacher care as he perceived it, he gave a rather sensitive response, which betrayed his sarcastic, straight-to-the-point demeanor.

> I treasure the looks that I see on my kids' faces when they come through the door and they smile and sigh. It's like they've made it to free parking in Monopoly. It's not free, but this is a place where we know it'll be okay. They trust me not to be completely insane, nothing real bad is going to happen. I am ultimately predictable and what we do, on some level, makes sense because in a lot of classes that shit doesn't make sense.

Making his class relevant, making it "make sense," seemed an important part of Perkins' care. Many times as we spoke, he expressed frustration with the status quo in public

education, talked about its negative outcomes for African American students, and expressed a desire for the use of common sense by decision and policy makers.

> I like to greet each kid as they come in the door, make eye contact, say hello to them. Then I play music, usually pretty loud - and that's for me. Once I get ready to teach, I turn off the music and that's their sign to be quiet. Then I welcome them to another day of public education or another exciting day of public education and I say I want them to be aware that anything that they happen to learn today is not because the government wants them to, it's just because I've chosen to teach them and it may be just a complete accident. We go over what the government does well, and we decide that it's usually deliver the mail, kill people and break things - and that's the organization that they're entrusting their education with. So, they can't expect much. So, they know the sarcasm in that statement. Then I tell them to call roll.

More examples of care for African American students emerged with this European American teacher as he addressed research question two. He gave examples of his behavior, claiming that some of it seemed to raise students' self esteem. Like many African American teachers in this study, Perkins mentioned "making" these students achieve academically, and also described being what he called being "real" with them. He calmly recounted a critical incident in which he held a discussion with his students about what they could achieve.

> And it's not just one kid and I've told them, "If your other teachers realized what you are capable of learning, school would be much, much different, wouldn't it?" And I told them, "I won't share the secret." I said, "You've convinced these people that you're stupid and they bought it." That's true

with public education in general. Now, is it uniquely so with black kids?

Yeah, probably. It's probably even more so. They have convinced others that they're stupid and they know they're not - well, in some cases -

Mr. Perkins had a dry wit exacerbated by a quick tongue and, during our communication, he implied that most teachers did not like him because of his difficult nature. I however, found him pleasant, open, and amusing. He made many statements that clearly imparted his passion for and deep thought about his teaching and when asked to provide explanations for his care behaviors, which addressed research question three, he was no less forthcoming.

Akin to many other teachers in this study, Mr. Perkins made statements about extant negative influences in the lives of African American students. He did not directly state that his caring was influenced by needs his students had due to this type of influence. Yet he mentioned areas of lack in Black students' lives, lamenting that a picture of this lack was being painted through media imagery, and expressed a fear that students were trying to replicate, or live up to that image.

The tragedy that we're seeing that's been sold to us, in part through the media, is these poor parents have worked all of their lives and struggled to get out of the ghetto. They take great pride that they've made it, that they've moved out, and their kids are doing everything they can to go back in. It's got to be heartbreaking. It's got to be heart-wrenching. And that somehow getting back to the ghetto and poverty and all that goes with it is now linked with being Black. You're not Black enough if you don't want this. When you top that off with the breakdown of even the Black church and what I think is

probably most important is that women are giving up their role as being in charge.

He went on to imply that due to the previously mentioned issues, he had to do all he could to encourage Black students to think critically and seemed to feel this was part of his care. I also noted in surprise, that, similar to some of the African American teachers in this study, this European American teacher mentioned the demise of the Black church as large part of his concern for Black students. In discussing another theme similar to many African American respondents, he described teaching as a "calling" and claimed that he was "guided into teaching," his explanations, as the ones previous, directly related to question three.

> Interviewee: This is going to sound crazy. I have religious beliefs and I believe in God, but I don't know him well and I don't know exactly what we're here for and I don't know why I'm here. But I know that I was guided into teaching and I figure that part of the reason why I'm here is to teach, that it's got something to do with teaching.
>
> Now, I don't know what it is that I'm supposed to do and what I'm afraid of is that I'm here to teach one lesson to one kid. It might be that my whole purpose in life has been to gather enough knowledge to give you whatever information I'm about to give you, but that might not be it at all. But what that requires of me is to always do the very best that I can all the time because I don't want to screw that up and come back as a salamander.

Perkins also frequently expressed ideas that particularly resonated with the literatures addressed in research question four. When examining the respondent's

significant statements, care for African American students was present but confounded with denial of care for African American students. In this, he provides an example of themes present in critical race theory. For example, Mr. Perkins talked about previously teaching at a predominately African American school and his willingness to engage in colortalk with his students at that time. He also mentioned a belief that this type of conversation may no longer be necessary. However, other statements belayed his denial of the need to continue conversations about race.

> Interviewee: Yeah. I used to tell them [African American students] that they had to work harder, be smarter, be better, but I'm not sure that's actually true anymore. I do tell the black kids that I teach that it is - I ask them about stereotypes and about being stereotyped and how important it is for them to make sure that those stereotypes don't apply to them because they are constantly teaching others. What they do in their actions will speak far louder than anything that they can say or what anybody else can say, and that they will change hearts and minds simply by how they carry themselves and how they act.
>
> Interviewer: Do you think black students need that personal relationship more so than others?
>
> Interviewee: From me, they do. I can't generalize more than that, but they want to know that somebody cares and that somebody's interested in them and how they're doing. They will also, once they have that - you want the kid to succeed for themselves, but those kids will succeed for you. And once they're yours, then they are yours.

When we discussed the historical premise of many African Americans that Black students or Black people in general, have to work twice as hard as Whites to get ahead; this educator mentioned addressing this type of race issue in the classroom but insisted that "for a bright, young, Black male who communicates well, I think the world's open to him." He also definitively stated that Black men did not have to try harder, but Black women may have more struggle.

In statements, which further addressed question four, Mr. Perkins recounted expectations and experiences in which Whiteness became an unspoken "law" which governed his care behaviors toward African American students. Some of Perkins' statements demonstrated an awareness of race, racism, and difficulties of living as a Black person. "I guess we can talk about the truth. Being black is not easy and being successful and black also carries a huge price." This type of statement conveyed his knowledge and acceptance of the existence of this "law." In addressing the law, he also made statements that condemned the commonly negative media image of African Americans. Yet, in a completely different demonstration of his acceptance of Whiteness as property, he also made generalizations about African Americans such as, "these poor parents have worked all their lives and struggled to get out of the ghetto." This type of statement showed that he unconsciously embraced some of the same stereotypical images of African Americans he previously condemned, thus, reifying the 'law" of Whiteness as property.

Dovetailing with the whiteness as property examples above, this teachers' identification of racial differentiations between Gifted/AP students and General level students also displayed a germane relationship to CRT. Following national patterns, the

AP/Gifted courses of this teacher were predominately European American while his General level courses were predominately African American.

> Interviewee: They're sucking the life and the joy out of it [education] and if they suck the life and the joy out of the teacher, what do they have to give to the kids? That's heartbreaking. We are screwing up on a massive scale. Now, bright kids are resilient, they will learn and they will succeed in spite of us.
>
> The fact that I'm teaching AP classes is a hideous mistake on the part of anyone who understands education. You see, I'm capable of taking the bottom of the barrel student and raising them up to mediocrity. Now, that is an enormous achievement, but it is not recognized or rewarded in any way. "Oh, I'm a great teacher, my kids get good numbers on the AP test. What a great teacher" . . . But I had a class where two-thirds of them scored in the bottom 1 percent of the PSAT. This was truly the bottom of the barrel. I got all of those kids through the social studies basic skills test except for one kid who was profoundly retarded and another kid who didn't speak any English. That's an enormous achievement. It is way beyond whatever I've done with an AP class, but nobody pins a metal on my chest and goes, "Oh, what a great teacher."

Like many other teachers in this study, this teacher's statements are not a definitive black or white, positive or negative, representation of racial positioning. While this teacher did not mention the race of his students in the statements above, the previously discussed racial makeup of AP versus general level classes, make his statements speak for themselves in racial terms. Whether specifically outlined or not,

"Bright kids are resilient. They will learn in spite of us," and "I'm able to take a bottom of the barrel kid and raise them up to mediocrity," speaks to a predetermination of the success of primarily European American students and the failure or underperformance of African American and Latino students.

Conversely, this teacher's impassioned call for classroom autonomy, strong teachers in general level classes, and recognition of successful general level teaching as more important and beneficial than AP teaching is, in essence, the verbalization of a fight for the fair treatment of African American and Latino students. This juxtaposition of opinions creates a conundrum that is not easily rectified or placed into a nicely labeled box. When one reads Mr. Perkins' profile, it reveals a story of teacher care where a conceptual belief in teacher care for African American students and the implementation of culturally-relevant teacher care, is evident. Yet, a complete willingness to acknowledge the current existence of a need for these teaching behaviors is not.

Alice Jerkins

"Care to me is getting to know the kid. Understanding what kind of learner that child is. That's really important. I wish I could show you what I did earlier. I had little smiley faces on some papers and I saw some of the guys even smile." This statement may seem unremarkable until I explain that Mrs. Jerkins taught 12th grade Literature and Composition. While 18 year-olds are not normally found showing any kind of reaction to smiley faces on their papers, Mrs. Jerkins' class seemed as if it often brought out that kind of emotion in her students. An African American teacher with a 32-year career, 20 of those years at Woodridge, her dedication to excellence in education was great and her students relief in knowing they had performed up to her standards often seemed equally so. She was nominated for teacher of the year several times over the years and received

the award in 1991. She was also nominated as Star teacher for many students with high SAT scores over the years, the most recent nomination being in the school year prior to our interviews.

As we spoke on a Friday at the end of a long school week, she sat at her desk, looked around her colorful room filled with grammar posters, student work, and dictionaries, and confidently addressed research question one. In this, she defined her teacher care as, knowing students, contacting parents, "spending the extra time that a kid needs," and "loving what you do." She reminisced about what she alluded to as her "calling" to teach; a concept often referred to by some of the interview population as she said, "I knew in the sixth grade [she was called], by the eighth grade it was *on*, I knew for sure I wanted to be a teacher."

In discussing her care for African American students, Mrs. Jerkins made some interesting statements about the impact of teaching at a school with a primarily European American student population. Like all other teachers at schools with White student populations, she acknowledged foremost that she normally taught AP classes and mentioned that these classes were composed of very few Black students.

> Normally, in AP, and I've taught it for 19 years over here I believe. Normally very few African Americans. This year there are ten kids; One African American, three Asian. Asian kids always take Advanced Placement. And one Asian girl. This year I'm her star teacher.

However, she also taught a few general level classes which she said were more diverse. In discussing these, she made an interesting statement in which she implied that some White students took General level classes because they did not want to take advanced classes, not because they were unqualified.

> General level, from all walks of life. All social economic groups. You have a majority of the African Americans in this school, in the general level classes. Majority of the Hispanic, then of course some Asian. Some Whites. Some of the White kids take general because advance might not fit in their schedule. Or by the time they get to 12th grade they've decided "Oh, well I don't want to do as much work as an advanced class might require." Or they'll try to go to Georgia Perimeter and there's no room. They don't find out until too late and then where they may have been in an advanced class, they'll end up in a general level class. So you just have a little bit of everything. General is exactly what it says: General.

Like Perkins, who was also at a school with a predominately White population, and despite her statements, which seemed to lean toward European American students academically, Jerkins made many comments that indicated a dedication to and concern for Black students. In these, she addressed research question two by providing examples of her care behaviors. For example, when asked if she had any special commitment to or caring for African American students, she mentioned that most African American teachers at Woodridge "look out" for Black students and indicated that if she and others did not, these students may "fall through the cracks." However, she also shared this information with an interesting caveat, "and I have to be very careful answering that question." She went on to explain that claiming to care for Black students in particular, may make others think that she did not intend to care for those of other races.

She made numerous additional statements detailing caring actions that referenced African American students in numerous ways. In these statements, she discussed "getting really real" with students, mentoring students, treating other Black students as

she would want her own children to be treated, and she also claimed that more recently she had to show care by ameliorating her high expectations in order to address the needs of modern-day students. She remarked upon this by saying,

> Well, I know as I've taught over this thirty year period, those very high expectations back in the day where I'd take off five points for a misspelled word, or wouldn't take a paper if it were late, or wouldn't do this or wouldn't do that, today in dealing with these kids, you're dealing with so many issues. . . . So how can I, if a little girl says, "Ms. Jerkins, my printer broke," She brought a note from her mother, "my printer broke last night. I didn't get a chance to save my essay on a disk." So what am I supposed to do, say, "well I'm not taking it." I'm not like that.

Overall, this African American teacher, among other respondents who made statements similar to hers, was a confounding factor in my evaluation of her care for African American students. While there were times, as shared above, when she clearly claimed to have these students' best interests in mind, there were other times when she seemed to criticize them harshly or make untoward assumptions about their abilities or family situations. Many of these statements provided answers to research question three because she explained that some of her care behaviors were generated by the issues she addressed. She made a statement that was illustrative of this point as we concluded our final interview, in which, she addressed her beliefs about the achievement gap between African American and European American students in her school.

> Well, number one is, black kids come from L. City, Clay Mountain, and the outskirts of D. The parents are not able to come to the school as often or, if ever, they do some of them, to check on the child. And number two, with their living

> so far, it may take them an hour or longer on the bus. Many of them work, single parent homes, a lot of personal issues that might keep them from being able to come after school although there are activity buses. So I think the problem might rest with the parents not being able, not accessible to these kids. Some of the problem . . . I've had some students whose parents haven't been available. You know, they'll give you all kinds of addresses, all kinds of numbers, you'll call the numbers and this is not that person's father or mother. I called a kid who hadn't been here for two weeks and I found out that he lives by himself. Well, that's not supposed to happen in high school. So, it just depends on the situation. It really does. And we're talking about the Black kid mostly. Because the White parents are here in this community and they work in this school and they'll come up here during the day; very accessible. But you know we've gotten away from your kid attending a school in a community.

While a statement of concern for Black student achievement predicated this statement, it still seemed a very critical statement from a teacher who claims to care for Black students and work hard to see them succeed.

In identifying themes pertinent to the literatures in research question four, I noted that Mrs. Jerkins, like some of the other respondents, made disconcerting statements concerning the abilities of her Black students; nevertheless, like the other three teachers in this section, she was definitive about her belief that Black students needed different types of care than others. In this, she revealed themes present in culturally relevant pedagogy such as developing relationship. She illustrated this belief by reminding me of a student that came to her for academic help during our time together. "For the most part. It's different teaching a black kid over an Asian or White kid, even Hispanic kids need

that caring a little bit more. A little bit more. As you saw that young lady, Janea, that hung around." She also talked about the importance of creating a comfortable environment for African American students within a predominately white campus.

> A lot of the black kids like to hang around a black teacher. Like, they'll come in here and sit in the morning, depending upon the…. It has happened many times, but not as much this year. I should say, maybe because I started late. But they would always come in here and sit. And I knew they needed somewhere to come, so I would hang around. And even during lunch . . . and when you see kids coming into your room, you know they need that or need you or something. You know they're not comfortable somewhere else, so I'm pretty open. Takes away a lot of my free time, but I really don't mind.

The examination of voice, in this small segment of the study's population, provides a glimpse of certain emergent concepts that underlie the findings of this study. There seem to be many similar overarching themes in the ways that teachers defined and perceived their care behaviors. However, while some teachers were like Mr. Armstrong, willing to emphatically acknowledge caring for African American students, these numbers were small. Many others, both Black and White, were like the other three teachers in this section. They were willing to acknowledge the possibility of a difference in the needs of Black students but not equally as willing to admit caring specifically for these students, which they seemed to do despite their denials. There were also certain racalized differences in the ways teachers perceived and defined care for Black students. However, the story of teacher caring does not end here. These aforementioned concepts, along with others, will be explicated in the sections that follow.

Teacher Care Definitions and Behaviors

Analysis of data yielded seven categories of themes related to teacher care definitions and behaviors. Because respondents did not make a clear delineation between the two, I have decided to condense the discussion of research question one and two. This complies with the choices of other researchers such as Cooper (2003) who, in the process of exploring Black and White teacher behaviors, have also found difficulty in differentiating between teacher beliefs and practices.

Teacher care definitions and behaviors were inferred from participant statements regarding their care for African American students and revealed findings, which suggest that overall, the phenomenon of teacher care specifically for, or on behalf of, these students, was acknowledged or implied somewhat equally across most themes by teachers of both races. Nevertheless, codes that make up themes regarding teachers' caring were represented more often by either White or Black teachers and by teachers in schools with predominately African American or European American student populations. All themes derived from an analysis of teachers' responses regarding their definitions of care for African American students.

Theme Definitions

Analysis of data yielded seven categories of themes (a) uplift – in which teachers addressed academic, emotional, or social support and encouragement provided to students; (b) relationship – which addressed aspects of personal interaction such as talking to students, touching students, making connections with students and/or parents, or being present in student's lives; (c) temperance – which involved being firm but fair with students, giving students second chances, and having compassion for student situations and concerns; (d) clarity and consistency – which involved being clear and

consistent with students about rules and expectations, discipline, and boundaries; (e) environment – which involved creating a safe environment for students or an environment conducive for teaching and learning; (f) individualization of instruction – which involved differentiating instruction to address student academic, personal, or cultural interests; and (g) academics – which involved a desire for, expression of, or effort to improve student academic achievement.

When demonstrating the theme of "uplift," teachers often mentioned the fact that they encouraged African American students to succeed. Ms. Ortiz, a European American teacher at predominately Black Jefferson HS said, "All I know is that I want my students to be as successful as they possibly can. And I try in a lot of different ways to get them to believe they can be successful." Additionally included in uplift were statements teachers made about mentoring and holding extremely high expectations for students. They additionally discussed their attempts to raise student self esteem through things like praise for student successes, disallowing negative language between or among students, encouraging students, and providing support beyond failure. Ms. Grate, an African American teacher at Jefferson HS recounted a critical incident in which she encouraged a student, who stated that he had no dreams of the future, by telling him that she was "going to give him her dream."

> I said, *my* dream is that you're going to graduate from high school and you're going to do something phenomenal with your life. You're going to graduate high school". I said, "I don't care whether your family graduated or not". In five generations, if he graduates from high school, he'll be the first to graduate, in five generations. I said, "You're going to do it. I believe you can do it".

Also included in the theme of student uplift, were the voices of teachers, such as Mr. Armstrong mentioned earlier, who stressed intrinsic motivation and insisted that students had to learn how to give 100 percent. The largest representation of teachers in the theme of uplift made statements that were coded as “Make Them” and “Be Real With Them” both of these will be discussed in more depth in the next section which addresses differentiated codes.

Indicative of the theme of “temperance,” teachers mentioned having compassion for students by allowing time for make up work and giving students chances by re-grading papers until students achieved mastery. They also mentioned being firm but fair with students. An excellent example of this theme is found in the words of Ms. Delano, a African American teacher at predominately Black Marvin Konnor HS when she mentions her efforts to be consistent, yet, provide a sense of flexibility in the relationship between she and her students.

> I try to be consistent and fair, and that's one of the best ways that they [students] know that if I tell you something, I'm going to follow-through. Even though there is flexibility, it's sticking to the guns and saying, "If you did this, you're going to suffer with the consequences". That shows them I do care about you but we have to follow the rules. That's just me. I'm sorry. I try to be fair with you and give you all the opportunities to excel and do well, and they know – they'll even tell me, "Ms. Delano, you're a totally different person after school than what you are in your classroom. You smile at us and you do that – ". I say, "We've got business when we're in the classroom and I want you to do what has to be done. I have rules to follow. So do you. That's just life".

In representing the theme of "clarity and consistency," teachers stressed the need to be extremely clear with their students about rules and expectations. They stated that this was necessary to care appropriately for students and help them be successful. In an example of this theme, Mr. Stubbins, a European American teacher at predominately Black Marvin Konnor HS, reminded me that although instilling fear in students was sometimes necessary, the more important concern was starting a class with clear rules and expectations.

> The other thing is at the beginning you've gotta lay – laying the ground rules with them that what's this whole thing all about. I mean why are you here, you know. . . So I think when you paint the picture for them, I think that's another key thing that in being successful with them. And then, just being able to get in there into their brain. You gotta get in their brain because you can only, I think with a teenager fear only does so much.

All respondents made statements which coalesced under the theme of "relationship." This theme most often arose as teachers discussed behaviors that were coded as touching students, talking/listening to students, and being present in student lives. These will be discussed in more detail in the differentiated codes section. Other issues related to this theme dealt with teachers making connections with students by sharing themselves, discussing personal beliefs, and providing personal details about teachers' lives. This behavior often included addressing racial concerns in various ways. Mr. Stubbins shared a critical incident about how he shares personal stories with his students to help them "understand and analyze situations."

> And so I tell them all kind of stories, all kind of experiences. And not only stories from the past, but just what happened on the weekend. "Let me tell you what went

down this weekend," you know. And so, helping them to analyze things and analyze situations.

I give my examples, give my examples. This old Cuban guy when I lived in Miami, he needed help with a bed with a truck. I took him over there and it's all Spanish, you know. "We need somebody to help put the bed in the back of my truck." I asked another Cuban guy, and he said, "How much money?" I said, "Zero."

Well, the old Cuban man, he turned to the other Cuban guy that said that and he said to him, "I hope one day I don't find you in an accident laying on the side of the street 'cause I'm gonna ask you how much money you're gonna pay me to call the ambulance." So I tell them that story. I use stories, stories, okay. Use stories from real life. That motivates, that motivates right there, you know.

Further issues addressed in this theme emerged when teachers discussed the importance of establishing a familial relationship with students, and keeping parents connected with what happens in the classroom.

The theme of "environment" arose as teachers described how their care for students involved attempts to provide spaces where students felt comfortable and safe. Ms. Clark African American teacher at Marvin Konnor HS mused about some of the ways she tried to create a comfortable environment.

I try to make my environment in the classroom conducive to learning. Um – I have several big – live plants – large live plants in the classroom um – you know a lot of times – I have – no – just instrumental music going. Um – I have candles lit – now um the fire department – the candles – don't want candles lit in the classroom because candles because of the smoke detectors and all of that. But

anything I can do to relax that child and have them debrief when they come to me that's – that's my job.

Teachers also talked about providing a place for students that was conducive to learning. "My students *know*" Ms. Clark effused.

> My students know, all of em, that "she's crazy, don't *clown* in her classroom cause shell go there with you." So that kind of thing that they have to know – if you're not going to allow, a student to come in here and be disruptive because you've got all of these other kids you have to care for all these other babies now, you don't have the right to do what you *think* you are going to come in here and do. And so they need no explanation, come in here and sit down!

In sharing this information, Ms. Clark made it clear that she expected her students to help her provide a conducive learning environment.

The final emergent themes addressing research question one and two dealt with "academics" and "individualization of instruction." The theme of individualization, coalesced around instances of teachers claiming to care by differentiating instruction in various ways to facilitate the learning of individual students. While these described teacher behaviors seem related to academics, and were most likely demonstrated in an effort to improve academic achievement, statements actually coded as academics, specifically discussed a concern for, desire, or effort to improve each Black student's academic achievement. As examples of individualization of instruction, teachers often discussed their efforts to address students' varied learning styles. Ms. Hunter, a European American teacher at Jefferson HS, passionately explained her attempts to address individual student needs. She compared individualizing for students to encouraging her Soccer team, who had just experienced a somewhat unsuccessful season.

> Today we only lost two to nothing. Yesterday you had 15 saves. Today you had 24. You scored today. You know, those are all successes, so you have to look at each child individually and determine what means success for them . . . Not everybody fits in a cookie cutter. Not everybody fits on the standard, normal scale, you know, and you've got to – and, you know, that's why you can't just divide the class up and say, "Oh, well, you're the smart kids. You get As." Well, the smart kids need to perform to their potential, and their potential could be a lot higher than another child's, but you've got to maximize their abilities in the classroom, and you've got to push them, and so, you know, success means something different, and you just have to know what you want to end up with to figure out how you're gonna get there.

Statements made by Ms. Dotson, an African American teacher at Marvin Konnor who discussed using test results to improve her teaching, demonstrated the theme of academics. This theme emerged as she explained actions she took to address her concern for African American student academic achievement.

> The only thing I can say is that I try to do my best to help my students. Right now, right now, we [teachers] are in the process of gathering data to assist us in that effort. We are using a new system where we do benchmark tests every three weeks and um – I am using that data to help me to help my students to do better.

Overarching Themes

As table one below demonstrates, an overarching look across all teachers provided themes, which show that a majority of teachers interviewed clearly espoused an ethos of caring for African American students. Five of the representative themes, uplift, temperance, relationship, individualization, and academics, were addressed or implied by

at least 75% of all teachers interviewed and only one theme, environment, was represented by fewer than half of the interview population at 47%.

Table 1
*Care Definitions – Main Themes – Representation across All Teachers**

Name	School	Uplift	Temperance	Clarity and Consistency	Relation Ship	Environ ment	Individual ization	Academics
Perkins	Rivers Edge	P	P		P	P		P
Sturken	Rivers Edge		P	P	P	P	P	
Bushmore	Rivers Edge	P	P	P	P		P	P
James	Rivers Edge	P	P		P		P	P
Jerkins	Wood Ridge	P	P	P	P	P	P	P
St. Claire	Wood Ridge	P	P		P		P	P
Dotson	Martin Konner	P	P	P	P		P	P
Carter	Martin Konner	P	P	P	P	P	P	P
Hope	Martin Konner	P		P	P			P
Delano	Martin Konner	P	P	P	P		P	P
Armstrong	Martin Konner	P			P			P
Stubins	Marvin Konner	P	P	P	P	P	P	
Hunter	Jefferson	P	P	P	P	P	P	P
Ortiz	Jefferson	P			P	P	P	P
Green	Jefferson	P	P		P	P	P	P
Irvine	Jefferson	P		P	P		P	P
Simpson	Jefferson	P		P	P			P
Ratio		**(16/17) 94%**	**(12/17) 76%**	**(11/17) 64%**	**(17/17) 100%**	**(8/17) 47%**	**(13/17) 76%**	**(15/17) 88%**

*P – Theme was present in teacher's significant statements, * European American teachers are represented in gray.*

As table two and three below demonstrate, an examination of overarching themes as represented by race showed little clear differentiation between the responses of African American or European American teachers or schools. Due to the small number of subjects in this study, when examining care definitions, a "clear differentiation" was determined by a rough margin of 30 percentage points. Themes of environment and academics however, did demonstrate clear differentiation showing a difference of 41% favoring European American teachers and 29.6% favoring African American teachers respectively.

Table two below shows that while 75% of European American teachers discussed the theme of environment as part of their definitions and perceptions of care for African American students, only 30% of African American teachers did the same. When discussing environment, Both Black and White teachers mentioned that they wanted students to feel safe with them, that they tried to make their classrooms comfortable for students, and that they wanted to protect the integrity of the learning environment. Three White teachers mentioned making jokes about race or culture to make students feel comfortable. While 100% of Black teachers discussed the theme of academics as part of their definitions and perceptions of care for Black students, 71% of White teachers discussed this concept. In sharing data that coalesced under the theme of academics, both Black and White teachers mentioned a desire to improve student academic achievement, yet Black teachers more often mentioned making content relevant to student lives as a piece of improving student academic performance.

Table 2
Care Definitions – Main Themes – Representation across African American (AA) and European American (EA) Teachers

Theme	Teachers Represented		Total	Not Represented	
	AA	EA		AA	EA
Uplift	10 (100%)	6 (85%)	16	0	1
Temperance	6 (60%)	6 (85%)	12	4	1
Clarity and Consistency	7 (70%)	4 (57%)	11	3	3
Relationship	10 (100%)	7(100%)	17	*	*
Environment	3 (30%)	5 (71%)	8	7	2
Individualization	7 (70%)	6 (85%)	13	3	1
Academics	10 (100%)	5 (71%)	15	0	2

When examining differences in the responses of teachers from schools with a majority population of African American students or schools with a majority population of European American students, findings, illustrated in table three below, only show a clear differentiation in the theme of temperance. This theme showed a 46% difference favoring European American teachers. While 100% of teachers from schools with a

majority population of European American students discussed the theme of temperance as part of their definitions and perceptions of care for Black students, only 54% of teachers from schools with a majority population of African American students did the same. When demonstrating the theme of temperance, teachers spoke of things like giving students second chances, the benefit of the doubt, extra credit, and allowing students to re-do failing or insufficient school work.

Table 3
Care Definitions – Main Themes – Representation across Teachers in Schools with Primarily African American (AAS) and European American (EAS) Populations

Theme	Teachers Represented		Total	Not Represented	
	AAS	EAS		AAS	EAS
Uplift	11 (100%)	5 (83%)	16	0	1
Temperance	6 (54%)	6 (100%)	12	5	0
Clarity and Consistency	8 (72%)	3 (50%)	11	3	3
Relationship	11 (100%)	6 (100%)	17	*	*
Environment	5 (45%)	3 (50%)	8	6	3
Individualization	8 (72%)	5 (83%)	13	3	1
Academics	10 (90%)	5 (83%)	15	1	1

Differentiated Codes

As shown above, when examining the overarching themes in these findings, only a few racialized differences seem to emerge. Overall, the phenomenon of teacher care specifically for, or on behalf of, Black students was either directly addressed or implied somewhat equally across a majority of themes by teachers of both races. Thus, it seems as if any other discussion of findings would end here. However, when one looks more deeply into each theme at the codes upon which the theme is constructed, some intriguing racialized differentiations emerge. These will be discussed below as they emerged in the development of their representative theme.

Uplift. Teachers discussed their care for African American students in ways that communicated a belief that these students should be uplifted. When more than four teachers made this type of statement, those statements were coded and analyzed as part of

the theme of uplift. Table four below shows that more than half of the respondents mentioned doing things for students to cause them to perform academically. Mentioning that they would "make students" do various things to ensure their success, and hold high expectations of student outcomes; these teachers seemed to define caring for students as "making" success happen. Smaller numbers of teachers mentioned that they viewed caring for Black students as raising their self esteem, encouraging them to succeed, teaching them intrinsic motivation, and mentoring them. While others mentioned a need to care through a certain type of communication in which they were respectful of students and were "real" with them. Some teachers explained being "real" as telling the truth, being straight forward and honest, and relating what they taught students to "real life".

Table 4
Uplift – Codes – Representation across All Teachers

Theme	Teachers Represented	Not Represented	Total
Respect	4 (23%)	13	17
Have High Expectations	9 (52%)	8	17
Raise Self Esteem	8 (47%)	9	17
Encourage to Succeed	8 (47%)	9	17
Teach Intrinsic Motivation	5 (29%)	12	17
Provide Tools for Success	7 (41%)	10	17
"Make Them"	9 (52%)	8	17
Be Real With Them	6 (35%)	11	17
Mentor	6 (35%)	11	17

In a comparison of teacher responses, as seen in table five below, the explanations of caring by "making them [students]" succeed and "being real with them" demonstrated a clear differentiation between African American and European American teachers. While 70% of the African American teachers made statements referring to the importance of "making" Black students succeed, only 28% of White teachers did the same. Also, 50% of Black teachers included "being real" with African American students as a part of their care while only 14% of European American teachers discussed this concept. Other

codes in this theme did not show a clear differentiation and in fact, most often demonstrated similar responses from teachers of both races.

Table 5
Uplift – Codes – Representation across African American (AA) and European American (EA) Teachers

Code	Teachers Represented		Total	Not Represented	
	AA	EA		AA	EA
Respect	3 (30%)	1 (14%)	4	7	6
Have High Expectations	6 (60%)	3 (42%)	9	4	4
Raise Self Esteem	5 (50%)	3 (42%)	8	5	4
Encourage to Succeed	5 (50%)	3(42%)	8	5	4
Teach Intrinsic Motivation	3 (30%)	2 (28%)	5	7	5
Provide Tools for Success	4 (40%)	3 (42%)	7	6	4
"Make Them"	7 (70%)	2 (28%)	9	3	5
Be Real With Them	5 (50%)	1 (14%)	6	5	6
Mentor	4 (40%)	2 (28%)	6	6	5

While there was little difference found in an examination of codes between teachers of each race, a very consistent differentiation appeared when a comparison was made between schools with majority populations of Black and White students. As table six below demonstrates, with the exception of the code "mentor," codes supporting the theme of uplift were more often emergent in the conversations of teachers in schools with majority African American student populations than in European American schools. A clear differentiation was found in the codes "have high expectations", "encourage to succeed", "teach intrinsic motivation", "provide tools for success", and "make them". Conversely, the only code more widely represented by teachers at European American schools was "mentor" and that code was not clearly differentiated.

Table 6
Uplift – Codes – Representation across Teachers in Schools with Primarily African American (AAS) and European American (EAS) Populations

Code	Teachers Represented		Total	Not Represented	
	AAS	EAS		AAS	EAS
Respect	3 (27%)	1 (16%)	4	8	5
Have High	7 (63%)	2 (33%)	9	4	4

Expectations					
Raise Self Esteem	6 (54%)	2 (33%)	8	5	4
Encourage to Succeed	8 (72%)	0 (0%)	8	3	7
Teach Intrinsic Motivation	5 (45%)	0 (0%)	5	6	7
Provide Tools for Success	6 (54%)	1 (16%)	7	5	6
"Make Them"	7 (63%)	2 (33%)	9	4	4
Be Real With Them	5 (45%)	1 (16%)	6	6	6
Mentor	3 (27%)	3 (50%)	6	8	3

Relationship. As table one demonstrates, 100% of teachers interviewed defined their care for African American students in ways that communicated a belief in the necessity of establishing a relationship with these students. When more than four teachers made this type of statement, those statements were coded and analyzed as part of the theme of relationship. As part of these statements, the emergent code represented most frequently across teachers was touch. As table seven shows below, 64% of all teachers mentioned touching students, in appropriate ways that students could be comfortable with, as an important aspect of their care for African American students. Nellie Bushmore, a White teacher at Woodridge HS confirmed this.

> Interviewee: Oh, I'm very – I'm probably too much that [a teacher who wants to touch]. I'll walk by and touch you on your shoulder to encourage you and of course I don't understand the kids who their first response is don't touch me. And it makes me think, well gosh, have you never had a gentle touch? . . . So, yeah, I do. I'll put my hand on a shoulder, on an arm, yes.
>
> Interviewer: In the climate that we have today, every time you turn on the TV there's a different teacher being accused of doing something with different students somewhere, there's a really uncomfortable climate out there about touching right now. But a lot of teachers seem to feel that, regardless, it's

important to do that. Do you feel like even in the face of this, that it's important to continue?

Interviewee: Well, I'm going to do it anyway and I guess that should tell me that I think it's important.

Teachers claimed they thought touch was an important part of caring for students, because positive relationships were established in this way, even though they understood that action could be a potential threat to their job. Other codes, which represented smaller numbers of teachers, mentioned that they viewed caring for Black students as establishing relationship through talking with students, listening to students, being present in students lives, making connections with students, sharing themselves with students, establishing a feeling of family between students and themselves, and contacting parents.

Table 7
Relationship – Codes – Representation across All Teachers

Theme	Teachers Represented	Not Represented	Total
Talk With/Listen	8 (47%)	13	17
Presence	5 (29%)	8	17
Make Connections	8 (47%)	9	17
Share Yourself	4 (23%)	9	17
Establish Family	4 (23%)	12	17
Parental Contact	7 (41%)	10	17
Touch	11 (64%)	8	17

However, when one compares teacher responses by race, as seen in table eight below, examples of caring by establishing relationship through talking with students, listening to students, and being present in student lives were all emergent codes that demonstrated clear differentiation between the views of African American and European American teachers. While 60% of Black teachers made statements such as, "I kind of just try to shave off at least 20 – 10-15 minutes of my class where I can just talk to them and

we have dialogue", referring to the importance of talking with or listening to Black students, only 14% of White teachers did the same. In addition, 40% of Black teachers discussed the necessity of being present in students' lives as a part of their care. Teachers described presence as "being able to connect," to "be there," and to "take time to know the student." Only 14% of European American teachers discussed this concept. Other codes in this theme did not show clear differentiation.

Table 8
Relationship – Codes – Representation across African American (AA) and European American (EA) Teachers

Code	Teachers Represented		Total	Not Represented	
	AA	EA		AA	EA
Talk With/Listen	6 (60%)	1 (14%)	7	4	6
Presence	4 (40%)	1 (14%)	5	6	6
Make Connections	5 (50%)	3 (42%)	8	5	4
Share Yourself	2 (20%)	2 (28%)	4	8	5
Establish Family	3 (30%)	1 (14%)	4	7	6
Parental Contact	3 (30%)	3 (42%)	6	7	4
Touch	7 (70%)	4 (57%)	11	3	3

Unlike the theme of uplift, a comparison of the theme of relationship showed little differentiation between teachers in schools with predominately Black and White student populations with the exception of the codes for "presence" and "touch", which showed clear differentiation. As table nine below demonstrates, while 45% of teachers in Black schools saw being present in students' lives as a part of establishing relationship with African American students 0% of teachers in European American schools felt the same. Conversely, 83% of teachers in European American schools mentioned touch as part of establishing relationship in their care behaviors toward African American students while only 54% of teachers in African American schools responded in a similar fashion.

Table 9
Relationship – Codes – Representation across Teachers in Schools with Primarily African American (AAS) and European American (EAS) Populations

Code	Teachers Represented		Total	Not Represented	
	AAS	EAS		AAS	EAS
Talk With/Listen	6 (54%)	2 (33%)	8	5	4
Presence	5 (45%)	0 (0%)	5	6	6
Make Connections	5 (45%)	3 (50%)	8	6	3
Share Yourself	3 (27%)	1 (16%)	4	9	4
Establish Family	3 (27%)	1 (16%)	4	8	5
Parental Contact	4 (36%)	2 (33%)	6	8	3
Touch	6 (54%)	5 (83%)	11	4	2

Temperance, Clarity and Consistency, Environment, Ind. of Instruction. In discussing these themes, teachers explained their care for African American students in ways that communicated a belief in the necessity of having compassion for students, being firm but fair with students, and giving students second chances. Many teachers also discussed care exemplified through being clear and consistent about rules and expectations. Others described providing a safe environment for students and making sure to individualize their instruction to fit student needs, as caring. When more than four teachers made these statements, they were coded and analyzed as part of the themes of "temperance," "clarity and consistency," "environment," and "individualization of instruction." In a comparison of African American and European American teacher responses, only one code under the theme of temperance, "have compassion", emerged as clearly differentiated at 39% in favor of White teachers; no differentiation in any code was found in a comparison of teachers in schools with predominately Black or White student populations. When discussing compassion, teachers, such as John Perkins, often mentioned giving students second chances to do homework or classwork.

> If I come into a ninth grade classroom and the racial makeup doesn't matter, but let's say it's low level black kids, and I tell them to go home tonight, read the first chapter, take notes. I'll come back the next day and

> maybe a third of the class will have done it. Maybe. The rest of the kids will just sit there. And so, one thing I do in that case is, we start out by giving them time to read in class.

Charts illustrating more detailed findings for the specific themes and codes in this section are found in Appendix H.

Academics. Teachers discussed their care for African American students in ways that communicated academic concern for these students. When more than four teachers made this type of statement, those statements were coded and analyzed as part of the theme of academics. Table 10 shows that 88% of teachers mentioned academic concerns as an important aspect of their care for African American students. Teachers said that things like developing a base of knowledge, creating critical thinkers, preparing students to succeed with standardized tests, showing the difference between "passing and learning," and working with students outside of class to provide academic support were important aspects of their care for Black students.

Table 10
Academics – Codes – Representation across All Teachers

Code	Teachers Represented	Not Represented	Total
Academics	15 (88%)	2	17

**Note. - Code and theme are the same*

In a comparison of teacher responses by race, as seen in table 11 below, the theme of "academics," which was also the code used to identify this theme, provided a clear differentiation between African American and European American teachers. While 100% of African American teachers made statements or implications referring to the importance of academic concern for Black students when defining teacher care, only 71% of White teachers did the same.

Table 11
Academics – Codes – Representation across African American (AA) and European American (EA) Teachers

Code	Teachers Represented		Total	Not Represented	
	AA	EA		AA	EA
*Academics	10 (100%)	5 (71%)	15	0	2

**Note. - Code and theme are the same*

Like the theme of uplift, a comparison of the theme of academics showed little differentiation between teachers in schools with Black or White student populations. As table 12 below demonstrates, 90% of teachers in African American schools saw academic concern for Black students as part of their care and 83% of teachers in European American schools felt the same. Thus, a majority of teachers in both types of schools stated or implied that academic concerns were a factor in their care for African American students.

Table 12
Academics – Codes – Representation across Teachers in African American (AAS) and European American Schools (EAS)

Code	Teachers Represented		Total	Not Represented	
	AAS	EAS		AAS	EAS
*Academics	10 (90%)	5 (83%)	15	1	1

**Note – Code and theme are the same*

Just as looking at an organism through a microscope provides a more clearly detailed picture, so here too, the defining picture of African American and European American teacher care should not end on a macro level. When we drill down past surface themes, and look closely at underlying codes on which the themes have been based, we find a picture of Black and White teacher care in vibrant relief. In answering research question one and two, both Black and White teachers discussed broad notions that coalesced around thematic ideals such as affective relationships with their students, supporting or encouraging students, being firm but fair with students, and communicating with students clearly and with consistency. Nevertheless, in the case of these particular research questions, a closer, code-driven comparison of Black and White teachers, or

teachers in schools with primarily European American or African American student populations, demonstrated many clearly differentiated distinctions between each group's definitions and behaviors regarding teacher care for Black students.

Explanations for Teacher Care

Findings from research question three, what explanations do Black and White teachers provide for their teacher care behaviors, indicated that individualistic inspiration, altruistic inspiration, and influential inspiration influenced teachers' care. Further findings of this question revealed that over half of the respondents did not find teacher education to be an influential factor in their care pedagogy.

Findings, which provided explanations for teachers' care, were inferred from significant participant statements regarding their care for African American students. Significant findings were identified when clearly differentiated from others. Due to the small number of subjects in this study, a "clear differentiation" was determined by a margin of roughly 30 percentage points. These findings suggest that here, teachers of both races provided overall explanations for teacher care that seemed to represent all three themes somewhat equally. Nevertheless, like the previous findings of question one and two, certain codes within the themes that provide the answers to question three were again represented more often by either White or Black teachers and by teachers in schools with predominately African American or European American populations. Thus, while all teachers seemed to provide somewhat consistent overarching explanations for teacher caring, the details of their explanations differed in very interesting ways.

Theme Definitions

Analysis of data yielded three categories of themes: (a) individualistic inspiration – care inspired by a feeling of purpose, destiny, or responsibility; (b) altruistic inspiration

– care inspired by concern for the welfare of others, or, inspired by an attempt to fulfill perceived deficits in the lives of others; and (c) influential inspiration – care inspired by the influence of others. All themes derived from an analysis of teachers' responses regarding their definitions of care for African American students.

When demonstrating the theme of individualistic inspiration, teachers often mentioned that they were inspired to care for their Black students because caring was just "part of them" and it "made them feel good." When I asked if she would still be an effective teacher if she cut care out of her student interactions, Fran Carter, an African American teachers at Marvin Konnor, exclaimed, "No! Because it's part of me, it's just who I am." Like Mr. Perkins, one of the teachers highlighted in a previous section of these findings, a number of teachers talked about caring for students as being something they were "called" to do and said that they felt responsible for their students. More in-depth information about these themes is provided in the differentiated codes section to follow.

Indicative of the theme of altruistic inspiration, teachers discussed a desire to help African American boys or girls and often claimed that their caring actions were exacerbated by a need to act in place of parents who were not meeting teacher expectations. Similar to Ms. Jerkins, an African American teacher highlighted in a previous section of these findings, Ms. St Claire, a European American teacher also from Woodridge, explained that her care was predicated by a desire to help because academic success seemed difficult for Black students to achieve.

Interviewer: Why is it so difficult for Black kids versus Asian kids or versus White kids?

> *Interviewee:* I don't know like if every school's different because it's the community itself. I think that plays its part. I would think maybe single parents and even though the parent is very dedicated and wants, but they're - if you have to work, you have to work. And I don't know. I don't know. . . and I think if you somehow can go into the community and pull not just the teachers and the students, but the whole community in, then that would make a huge impact. But I don't think it would just be for one - I mean I would be thinking for the whole group, not just, you know.

In the final part of the statement above, St. Clair insists that she is not making this claim for Black students alone and instead states that the problems she describes are problems "for the whole group."

In representing the final theme that addresses research question three, influential inspiration, teachers often reminisced about K-12 teachers who were pivotal influences in their lives. One of the more powerful examples of this type of recollection came from Ms. James, a Black teacher at River's Edge HS who said she patterned her teaching and her care after her high school teachers.

> I had excellent teachers as a high school student. I imitate them all the time and I just don't mean to be sacrilegious here, but I thought they could walk on water. When I see them in the grocery store, I go, "Do they really eat?" You know, I just have always loved teachers and they've been good teachers for me.

Teachers also mentioned parents or other unrelated things such as travel, experience with racism, or church upbringing as explanations for their caring behaviors. A small number of teachers mentioned teacher education as an explanation of their caring for Black

students, but even then, teachers more often gave credit to student teaching experiences than teacher educators or teacher education courses.

Overarching Themes

As table 13 below demonstrates, an overarching look at themes across all teachers shows that a majority of teachers made or implied significant statements that coalesced into similar themes in explanations of their care for African American students. All three of the representative themes, "individualistic inspiration", "altruistic inspiration", and "influential inspiration", were espoused by at least 70% of all teachers interviewed and one theme, influential inspiration, was represented by even more of the interview population at 82%.

Table 13
*Care Explanations – Main Themes – Representation across All Teachers**

Name	School	Individualistic Inspiration	Altruistic Inspiration	Influential Inspiration
J. Perkins	Rivers Edge	P	P	
G. Sturken	Rivers Edge			
N. Bushmore	Rivers Edge			P
B. James	Rivers Edge	P	P	P
A. Jerkins	Wood Ridge	P	P	P
M. St. Claire	Wood Ridge	P	P	P
E. Dotson	Martin Konner	P	P	P
F. Carter	Martin Konner	P	P	P
A. Hope	Martin Konner	P		
F. Delano	Martin Konner		P	P
J. Armstrong	Martin Konner	P	P	P
T.Stubbins	Marvin Konner	P		P
K. Green	Jefferson	P	P	P
A. Hunter	Jefferson		P	P
F. Irvine	Jefferson	P		P
L. Ortiz	Jefferson		P	P
M. Simpson	Jefferson	P	P	P
Ratio		**(12/17) 70%**	**(12/17) 70%**	**(14/17) 82%**

P – Theme present in teacher's significant statements; *European American teachers are represented in gray.

As table 14 and 15 below demonstrate, an examination of overarching themes of altruistic and influential inspiration, as represented by race, showed very little clear differentiation between the responses of African American or European American

teachers or schools. The theme of individualistic inspiration however, did demonstrate clear differentiation in a comparison of Black and White teachers showing a difference of 48% favoring African American teachers.

Table 14 below illustrates that while 90% of Black teachers discussed or implied the theme of individualistic inspiration as part of their definitions and perceptions of care for Black students, only 42% of White teachers addressed this concept. When sharing data that coalesced under this theme, teachers of both colors mentioned care inspired by a feeling of purpose, destiny, or responsibility. However, more often African American teachers would explain that they were "called" to teach African American students, that caring was just "part of me, who I am," and claimed their care for Black students as a personal responsibility.

Table 14
Care Explanations – Main Themes – Representation across African American (AA) and European American (EA) Teachers

Theme	Teachers Represented		Total	Not Represented	
	AA	EA		AA	EA
Individualistic inspiration	9 (90%)	3 (42%)	12	1	4
Altruistic Inspiration	8 (80%)	4 (57%)	12	2	3
Influential Inspiration	9 (90%)	5 (71%)	14	1	2

When examining differences in the responses of teachers from schools with a majority population of African American students or schools with a majority population of European American students, findings, illustrated in table 16 below, showed no clear differentiation in any of the three themes.

Table 16
Care Explanations – Main Themes – Representation across Teachers in Schools with Primarily African American (AAS) and European American (EAS) Populations

Theme	Teachers Represented		Total	Not Represented	
	AAS	EAS		AAS	EAS
Individualistic inspiration	8 (72%)	4 (66%)	12	3	2
Altruistic Inspiration	8 (72%)	4 (66%)	12	3	2
Influential Inspiration	10 (90%)	4 (66%)	14	1	2

Differentiated Codes

As mentioned during the explication of research question one and two, when examining the overarching themes in these findings, very few racialized differences seemed to emerge. Overall, explanations of teacher care specifically for, or on behalf of, Black students were either given or implied somewhat equally across a majority of themes by teachers of both races. Thus, it seems there should be no further discussion of findings because research question three has been answered. However, as with question one and two, when one looks more deeply into each theme at the codes upon which the theme is constructed, many intriguing racialized differentiations emerge. These differentiations will be discussed below as they emerged, in the development of each representative theme.

Altruistic Inspiration. As table thirteen demonstrates, 70% of teachers interviewed explained their care for African American students in ways that communicated caring for the welfare of others. When more than four teachers made this type of statement, those statements were coded and analyzed as part of the theme of altruistic inspiration.

Many of the explanations given did not emerge as codes due to the non-relational nature of the information. Statements that did coalesce, were discussed by small numbers of teachers and were somewhat evenly distributed across that small number. As seen in table 17 below, twenty-three percent of teachers explained or implied that they were

caring because they loved children, wanted to help African American boys and girls, and wanted to help because they perceived students' lives outside of school to be "hard". One said, "I've had a pregnant girl, she's Black. Both times they've been black . . . I'm extra caring with her because she seems so diligent and I think she made a mistake." Twenty-nine percent of teachers claimed to be caring because they felt they had to act in lieu of parents who were not fulfilling students' needs. Another teacher said, "Once the student comes to high school, I think so many adults have the belief that 'they're in high school, they're grown up now, and they let them go. You can't do that. They're not ready. So I have to step in."

Table 17
Altruistic Inspiration – Codes – Representation across All Teachers

Theme	Teachers Represented	Not Represented	Total
Love Kids	4 (23%)	13	17
Help AA Boys/Girls	4 (23%)	13	17
Student Environment	4 (23%)	13	17
In Loco Parentis	5 (29%)	12	17

When one compares teacher responses by race, as seen in table 18 below, the code "helping African American boys and girls" demonstrated the only clearly differentiated explanation for teacher caring between the significant statements of African American and European American teachers. Black teachers exclusively indicated a need to help Black students and explained that they cared because of this fact, "I do think that in Woodridge, if I didn't look out for them (Black students), or if another Black teacher didn't, that some of them would fall between the cracks . . . And I have to be careful answering that question." Other codes in this theme did not show clear differentiation. This seems to imply that, while African American teachers explained or implied that they employed caring behaviors specifically because they wanted to help African American

students, no European American teachers did the same. However, this belief was only found with 40% of the Black teaching population in this study.

Table 18
Altruistic Inspiration – Codes – Representation across African American (AA) and European American (EA) Teachers

Code	Teachers Represented		Total	Not Represented	
	AA	EA		AA	EA
Love Kids	3 (30%)	1 (14%)	4	7	6
Help AA Boys/Girls	4 (40%)	0 (0%)	4	6	7
Student Environment	2 (20%)	2 (28%)	4	8	5
In Loco Parentis	4 (40%)	1 (14%)	5	6	6

While there was little difference found in the examination of codes between teachers of each race, two interesting differentiations appeared when a comparison was made between schools with majority populations of Black and White students. As table 19 below demonstrates, a clear differentiation was found in two codes, "student environment" and "in loco parentis." A 32% difference in favor of teachers in European American schools showed that more of these teachers stated or implied they cared for students because of troubled student environments. The 50% difference in favor of teachers in African American schools demonstrated that these teachers exclusively stated or implied they cared for students in place of parents who, in the teachers' opinions, were not meeting appropriate expectations. However, these particular codes were reflected by smaller margins of teachers than overarching themes. Other codes were not clearly differentiated.

Table 19
Altruistic Inspiration – Codes – Representation across Teachers in Schools with Primarily African American (AAS) and European American (EAS) Populations

Code	Teachers Represented		Total	Not Represented	
	AAS	EAS		AAS	EAS
Love Kids	2 (20%)	2 (28%)	4	9	4
Help AA Boys/Girls	2 (20%)	2 (28%)	4	9	4
Student Environment	1 (10%)	3 (42%)	4	10	3

In Loco Parentis	5 (50%)	0 (0%)	5	6	6

Individualistic Inspiration. As table thirteen demonstrates, 70% of all teachers interviewed explained their care for African American students in ways that communicated feelings of individual purpose, destiny, and responsibility to care for these students. When more than four teachers made this type of statement those statements were coded and analyzed as part of the theme, "individualistic inspiration." As seen in table 20 below, 64% of teachers explained or implied that they were caring because care was a part of their nature. One said, "Um, for me it's (care is) a central part of my teaching. You know – because that's who I am." Smaller numbers of teachers claimed to be caring because it made them feel good, they felt responsible for students, or they felt as if they had been "called" to assist their students.

Table 20
Individualistic Inspiration – Codes – Representation across All Teachers

Theme	Teachers Represented	Not Represented	Total
Part of Me	11 (64%)	6	17
Makes Me Feel Good	4 (23%)	13	17
I'm Responsible	6 (35%)	11	17
A Calling	7 (41%)	10	17

When one compares teacher responses by race, as seen in table 21 below, all four codes show clearly differentiated explanations for teacher caring between the views of African American and European American teachers. Each code demonstrated a clear differentiation between Black and White teachers with Black teachers representing each of the four codes more often than their White counterparts, and, in the case of such codes as "makes me feel good" and "I'm responsible," exclusively. This demonstrated that African American teachers more often expressed or implied that their caring was influenced by feelings of individual purpose, destiny, and/or responsibility for African American students.

Table 21
Individualistic Inspiration – Codes – Representation across African American (AA) and European American (EA) Teachers

Code	Teachers Represented		Total	Not Represented	
	AA	EA		AA	EA
Part of Me	8 (80%)	3 (42%)	11	2	4
Makes Me Feel Good	4 (40%)	0 (0%)	4	6	7
I'm Responsible	6 (60%)	0 (0%)	6	4	7
A Calling	6 (60%)	1 (14%)	7	4	6

While there was a great deal of difference found in emergent codes, between teachers of each race, two clear differentiations, "makes me feel good" and "part of me," appeared when a comparison was made between schools with majority populations of Black and White students. As table 22 below demonstrates, a 36% difference in favor of teachers in African American schools showed that these teachers exclusively felt or implied they cared for students because caring made them feel good about themselves or just feel good in general. Other codes were not clearly differentiated.

Table 22
Individualistic Inspiration – Codes – Representation across Teachers in Schools with Primarily African American (AAS) and European American (EAS) Populations

Code	Teachers Represented		Total	Not Represented	
	AAS	EAS		AAS	EAS
Part of Me	8 (72%)	3 (50%)	11	3	3
Makes Me Feel Good	4 (36%)	0 (0%)	4	7	6
I'm Responsible	4 (40%)	2 (33%)	6	7	4
A Calling	5 (50%)	2 (33%)	7	6	4

Influential Inspiration. As table thirteen demonstrates, 82% of all teachers interviewed explained their care for African American students in ways that communicated caring inspired by the influence of others. When more than four teachers made this type of statement, those statements were coded and analyzed as part of the theme of influential inspiration.

As seen in table 23 below, 41% of all teachers explained or implied that they were caring because of the influence of their parents or K-12 teachers. Alice Jerkins said, "I

had a sixth grade teacher, English teacher, that I absolutely worshipped . . . And I believe a lot of what I've done in my life, I've imitated her." Another teacher, in discussing her comfort with Black students, discussed the influence of her mother, mentioning that "she kind of exposed us (she and her siblings) to the real world," and explaining that her mother's influence helped her to be aware of how she looks at those that may be different. A smaller numbers of teachers (29%) claimed that their caring was influenced by teacher education experiences, most of these attributed the influence to student teaching experiences, but a majority stated that teacher education had little influence in their caring behaviors. A code of "other" was created for teachers who provided care explanations that did not evolve toward any specific theme. The significant statements of teachers who attributed their caring for Black students to things such as travel outside the US, family racism, and/or the national board certification process were all coded as "other".

Table 23
Influential Inspiration – Codes – Representation across All Teachers

Theme	Teachers Represented	Not Represented	Total
Parents	7 (41%)	10	17
K-12 Teachers	7 (41%)	10	17
Teacher Ed.	5 (29%)	12	17
*Other	7 (41%)	10	17

*Details of "other" may be found in Appendix I

Interestingly, when teacher responses were compared by race, as seen in table 24 below, only one code, "K-12 teachers", showed a clearly differentiated explanation for teacher caring. This code demonstrated a 70% difference favoring Black teachers. This difference demonstrates that although 70% of African American teachers expressed or implied that teachers they experienced in their own K-12 education influenced their caring, no European American teacher made this type of statement or implication.

Table 24
Influential Inspiration – Codes – Representation across African American (AA) and European American (EA) Teachers

Code	Teachers Represented		Total	Not Represented	
	AA	EA		AA	EA
Parents	5 (50%)	2 (28%)	7	5	5
K-12 Teachers	7 (70%)	0 (0%)	7	3	7
Teacher Ed.	2 (20%)	3 (42%)	5	8	4
**Other	4 (40%)	3 (42%)	7	6	4

** Details of "other" may be found in Appendix I

As seen in table 25 below, and consistent with some earlier themes, codes found in influential inspiration showed no clear differentiation between Black and White schools. Teachers in schools with predominately African American and European American student populations seemed to provide somewhat similar statements or implications concerning influential inspiration.

Table 25
Influential Inspiration – Codes – Representation across Teachers in Schools with Primarily African American (AAS) and European American (EAS) Populations

Code	Teachers Represented		Total	Not Represented	
	AAS	EAS		AAS	EAS
Parents	5 (45%)	2 (33%)	7	6	4
K-12 Teachers	5 (45%)	2 (33%)	7	6	4
Teacher Ed.	3 (27%)	2 (33%)	5	8	4
**Other	5 (45%)	2 (33%)	7	6	4

** Details of "other" may be found in Appendix I

As with research question one and two, research question three seems benignly similar on its face. Two of the three themes showed no clear differentiation between Black and White teachers or schools with primarily African American or European American populations. Only one theme, individualistic inspiration, was clearly differentiated by 48% on the behalf of African American teachers. While this in itself is a finding worthy of note, research question three once again seems to provide a deeper, more diverse story that can be told by examining individual codes within larger themes. When this examination is done, we see clear differentiation between White and Black teachers' representations of codes such as, Helping African American Boys and Girls,

Part of Me, Makes Me Feel Good, I'm Responsible, A Calling, and K-12 Teachers. We also see clear differentiation between teachers' representations of codes in schools with primarily Black or White student populations; these codes were, Student Environment, In Loco Parentis, and Makes Me Feel Good. What these differences may mean will be discussed in the final section of this paper.

Culturally Relevant Pedagogy and Critical Race Theory in Teacher Care

Findings from research question four, which examines the relationship between teacher perceptions of care, culturally relevant pedagogy (CRP), and critical race theory (CRT), indicated an extant relationship between the two theoretical constructs and the respondents' perceptions of their care for Black students. Findings were inferred from significant participant statements regarding care for African American students. When looking for the representation of each theoretical construct, if at least four of the 17 teachers (roughly 25%) made similar significant statements, these statements were coded and coalesced under a single theme.

Findings suggest that teachers of both races made statements regarding teacher care that represented both theoretical constructs. However, the presence of CRT in teachers' significant statements emerged more often than the presence of CRP. Furthermore, unlike the previous findings of questions one through three, several of the *themes* that provided the answers to question four were represented more often by either White or Black teachers and by teachers in schools with predominately African American or European American student populations. Thus, certain themes, representing culturally relevant pedagogy (CRP) and critical race theory (CRT) in statements or implications defining teacher caring for African American students, emerged in very interesting ways.

Culturally Relevant Pedagogy

African American and European American teachers' significant statements regarding care for Black students were compared to Irvine and Fraser's (1998) explanation of Culturally Relevant Pedagogy (CRP). From this comparison, eight specific themes emerged: (a) parental surrogate – in which teachers thought of and treated their students like an extension of their family often using kinship terms and acting parental when admonishing or praising students; (b) advocate – in which teachers discussed working on the behalf of students with administrators, community members, or others; (c) culturally relevant teaching style – in which teachers discussed teaching with high emotional involvement, call and response techniques, creative analogies, lively spontaneous discussion, or symbolism; (d) link to prior knowledge – where teachers acknowledged the value or use of previous student knowledge in disseminating content (e) change curriculum – in which teachers discussed making pre-determined curriculum culturally relevant by adding content matter or utilizing culturally relevant pedagogical techniques; (f) establish relationship – in which teachers discussed the importance of having a relationship with students in- and out side of the classroom; (g) develop relationship – where teachers mentioned teasing or joking with students or using colloquialisms or slang to better relate; and (h) teach with authority – in which teachers discussed being considered "mean" by students, limiting disruptions, and running their classes in ways that contributed to student achievement. When more than four teachers made significant statements that somehow aligned with themes represented in the Irvine and Fraser article, those statements were coded and analyzed.

Theme Definitions. In explaining her caring for Black students, Kevnie Green from Jefferson HS mentioned behaviors such as using creative analogies to make content

relevant to students, encouraging lively and spontaneous discussions between students and herself, and having a high level of emotional involvement in her teaching. Irvine and Fraser mention all of these actions as expressions of a "culturally relevant teaching style." Francina Irvine from Jefferson HS discussed using, "A lot of the old tactics like the looks. You look at them a certain way and they *know* [students know to behave appropriately]." Irvine and Fraser describe this type of interaction between teacher and student as, "teaching with authority" and many respondents addressed this theme as part of their discussion of caring.

When demonstrating the theme of "parental surrogate," teachers often mentioned caring for Black students by acting as a parent and treating students as they would want their own children to be treated. Ms. Jerkins, an African American teacher at Woodridge HS, recounted a critical incident in which her own child was allowed to languish unchallenged and unsuccessful in certain White teachers' classrooms.

> It was watching those teachers, and my children went to a school in Bulkhead, mostly white at the time. It wasn't until I began to watch those teachers and how they treated that child, that I made sure as I began to teach more and more black kids, and that that black child wouldn't be like my child falling in the cracks around here. You know? So, it has a lot to do with it. An extreme amount of my teaching has to do with what I've seen go on in the schools that my children attended. I make sure that I'm not like that. I work real hard to be successful. The teacher that they want in a class that they want to take.

Most indicative of the theme of advocate, was the claim made by Ms. Delano, in which she explained how teachers and the whole school "team" should "meet one another for the betterment of the child."

> [Teachers should] Interact with the administrators and the principals to let them know of any situations or concerns that need to be addressed to make the school better. Ah, to make the situations better for the students at the school because there is a total need for the whole team; administrators, and instruction, discipline, ah the teachers, custodians, nutritionists, the whole team has to work together in order for the children to succeed.

In representing this theme, teachers often talked of working on the behalf of their African American students and interacting with the community by soliciting funds, procuring aid, or bringing in outside speakers to make sure student needs were fulfilled.

The themes, "link to prior knowledge" and "change curriculum," emerged from statements in which teachers claimed to care through integrating various cultural concerns and issues in their teaching and utilizing students' prior knowledge of various events as a basis for instruction. I found these themes most often embedded in teacher discussions of caring for Black students through changing standardized curriculum. Mr. Armstrong, mentioned in an earlier section of these findings, claimed to change classroom curriculum in an effort to "teach from an Afrocentric perspective" and Ms. Delano, a Black teacher at Marvin Konnor, reminded me of some of the ways she tries to access her Black students' prior knowledge and make curriculum relevant to their concerns.

> Interviewer: Let me talk to you a little bit about your curriculum. I know that IB and AP are very challenging curriculums, very rigorous curriculums because you're preparing your students for tests. Given that, as an African American teacher, are there things that you introduce to your class or in your classroom that

are specific to the African American community or to your children as African Americans? And is that care?

Interviewee: Yes. For example, we do nutrition and diet, you know, with the high blood pressure. I'm telling them the cholesterol and the olive oil versus the lard or the Crisco, all those other foods that we eat, fried foods versus good foods. So, that's a number of things that are related. Diseases; sickle cell anemia. That's always brought out. We're talking about different types of proteins. They have an analysis of the proteins, genetic mutations and things like that. So, even talking about inheritance, polygenic inheritance with skin color and even hair color and explaining that skin color is controlled by not just one pair of genes, but several pairs of different genes and that's why we have the different combinations of the black with the variations in our community. So, there are several links that we can use as far as our culture.

Admittedly, the themes "establish relationship" and "develop relationship" seem similar. However, differences between the two emerge in a consideration of location versus action. Examples of establishing relationship arose when teachers, such as Ms. Delano, conveyed the importance of being physically and mentally available, in an accessible location, so her students could interact with her "before, during, and after class." Alternately, the theme "develop relationship" was displayed when Ms. Hunter, a European American teacher at Jefferson HS, explained certain teasing or joking behaviors she implemented. These were actions that she believed established a closer relationship with her African American students.

I don't tell. I teach world history, and their first questions are, "What's your religion? What's your race?" and I make a lot of jokes about race and ethnicity in

> the class, because I want them to feel really comfortable, and we talk about every culture, every ethnicity, every religion in the world, and you don't know – I want them to get in their heads that you don't know anything about someone until you ask . . . One of my kids – I told you I joke about race all the time in the classroom. So one of my kids goes into another class. See, like I'll say – they'll say, "Can you hand me that white sheet of paper?" and I'll say, "Did you just call me white?" you know, stuff like that all the time, and they get into it . . . Well, you know, it's teaching them really just to think about what they're saying and think about the words that they're saying and how people can imply things.

Mr. Stubbins also provided examples of using slang when interacting with students. He mentioned that he often calls students "homeboy" because, "they know what I mean, I'm using their language." I found this attempt at relationship slightly amusing because, this very sincere individual was making a genuine attempt to establish relationship with his African American students in 2008, by utilizing a slang term at least a decade old.

Overarching Themes. An overarching look across teachers and themes, provided in table 26 below, demonstrates that many of the primary themes mentioned in the article were represented by roughly 25% or more of all teachers interviewed. Two themes however, "culturally relevant teaching style" and "teach with authority", were discussed or implied by a majority (64%) of the interview population. This indicates that while CRP was present in teachers' understandings of their care for African American students, certain themes present in the CRP literature emerged more frequently than others.

Table 26

*CRP – Main Themes – Representation across All Teachers**

Name	School	Parental Surrogate	Advocate	Culturally Relevant Teaching Style	Link to Prior Knowledge	Change Curriculum	Establish Relationship	Develop Relationship	Teach with Authority
J. Perkins	Rivers Edge			P			P	P	
G.Sturken	Rivers Edge				P			P	
N.Bushmore	Rivers Edge						P		P
B. James	Rivers Edge	P		P	P		P		P
A. Jerkins	Wood Ridge		P	P	P		P		P
M. St.Claire	Wood Ridge			P	P				
E. Dotson	Martin Konner		P	P		P			P
F. Carter	Martin Konner	P	P			P			P
A. Hope	Martin Konner								P
F. Delano	Martin Konner	P				P		P	P
J. Armstrong	Martin Konner			P	P	P			P
T. Stubbins	Marvin Konner			P	P	P		P	P
K. Green	Jefferson	P		P		P		P	
A. Hunter	Jefferson		P	P		P		P	
F. Irvine	Jefferson	P							P
L. Ortiz	Jefferson	P		P					
M. Simpson	Jefferson			P	P				P
Ratio		**(6/17) 35%**	**(4/17) 23%**	**(11/17) 64%**	**(7/17) 41%**	**(7/17) 41%**	**(4/17) 23%**	**(6/17) 35%**	**(11/17) 64%**

P – Theme present in teacher's significant statements; *European American teachers are represented in gray.

Further findings, represented in table 27, suggested that most themes showed no clear differentiation between White and Black teachers. However, the themes of "parental surrogate" and "teach with authority" did provide a clear differentiation of 49% and 62% respectively on behalf of African American teachers. Most frequently, when discussing or implying the theme of parental surrogate, teachers mentioned feeling as if they were their students' parents or at least a parent for the time a student was in their class. Many teachers also said they treated students like their own children or as they would want their biological child to be treated.

The theme "develop relationship" provided a clear differentiation of 55% on behalf of European American teachers. Here, teachers often discussed or implied the importance of doing things to demonstrate that a relationship was desired between themselves and Black students or to make Black students comfortable. Ann Hunter from Jefferson HS said, "I make a lot of jokes about race and ethnicity in the class, because I want them to feel really comfortable, and we talk about every culture, every ethnicity." All three themes seemed to imply that Black teachers more often thought of acting as a parent and keeping a classroom under firm control when defining care for Black students while White teachers more often explained or implied care for Black students as establishing a relationship between themselves and these students. Other themes were not clearly differentiated.

Table 27
CRP – Main Themes – Representation across African American (AA) and European American (EA) Teachers

Theme	Teachers Represented		Total	Not Represented	
	AA	EA		AA	EA
Parental Surrogate	5 (50%)	1 (14%)	6	5	6
Advocate	3 (30%)	1 (14%)	4	7	6
Culturally Relevant Teaching Style	6 (60%)	5 (71%)	11	4	2
Link to Prior Knowledge	4 (40%)	3 (42%)	7	6	4
Change Curriculum	5 (50%)	2 (28%)	7	5	5
Establish Relationship	2 (20%)	2 (28%)	4	8	5
Develop Relationship	2 (20%)	4 (57%)	6	8	3
Teach With Authority	9 (90%)	2 (28%)	11	1	5

Table 28 illustrates an interesting finding which shows that while 70% of teachers in schools with predominately African American student populations saw changing curriculum to include or address African Americans, which is part of the Irvine and Fraser description of CRP, as part of their care, teachers in European American schools did not address this theme. Conversely, 66% of teachers in schools with predominately European American student populations found establishing relationship with African American students, again part of the Irvine and Fraser article, to be part of their

understandings of care. This theme did not emerge in schools with predominately Black student populations.

Table 28
CRP – Main Themes – Representation across Teachers in Schools with Primarily African American (AAS) and European American (EAS) Populations

Theme	Teachers Represented		Total	Not Represented	
	AAS	EAS		AAS	EAS
Parental Surrogate	5 (45%)	1 (16%)	6	6	5
Advocate	3 (27%)	1 (16%)	4	8	5
Culturally Relevant Teaching Style	7 (63%)	4 (66%)	11	4	2
Link to Prior Knowledge	3 (27%)	4 (66%)	7	8	2
Change Curriculum	7 (63%)	0 (0%)	7	4	6
Establish Relationship	0 (0%)	4 (66%)	4	11	2
Develop Relationship	4 (36%)	2 (33%)	6	7	4
Teach With Authority	8 (72%)	3 (50%)	11	3	3

Because this research question dealt with the existence of CRP in teacher definitions and perceptions of care, a thematic comparison was made to identify existing aspects of the theory in teachers' significant statements. In doing so, various aspects of CRP emerged but not with an overwhelming majority. Only two aspects of CRP as discussed in the Irvine and Fraser (1998) article, Culturally Relevant Teaching Style and Teach With Authority, were represented by a majority of teachers interviewed. Other aspects, while present, were only represented by 23 - 41% of teachers. When a thematic comparison was made by race, three themes, Parental Surrogate, Develop Relationship, and Teach with Authority, were clearly differentiated by at least 30 percentage points. Parental Surrogate and Teach With authority on the behalf of Black teachers, and Develop Relationship on the behalf of White teachers. This appears to mean that acting as a parent and effectively controlling the classroom emerged more often as part of African American teacher care while tactics such as teasing or joking to better relate to students, was more frequently emergent with European American teachers. In addition, establishing relationship with African American students was more frequently emergent with teachers in schools with predominately European American student populations but

this theme did not emerge with teachers in schools with predominately African American student populations.

Critical Race Theory

Significant statements addressing teachers' caring beliefs/actions were compared to the exigent literature concerning Critical Race Theory (CRT) and CRT in education. Six themes emerged from this comparison: (a) political clarity/colortalk – which involved teachers discussing racism and race openly with students or mentioning actions which attempted to address racism and race directly with students; (b) colorblindness – in which teachers claimed not to "see color" or not to notice the ethnicity of their students; (c) whiteness as property – in which teachers expressed concern for Black student futures in society, espoused awareness of racism as endemic to society, or, implied that African American students were somehow "less than" or lacking something that other students possess; (d) acknowledgement/ denial – in which teachers either directly acknowledged or denied caring specifically for Black students; (e) counterstory - where teachers discussed a need for an alternate (positive) story by or about Black students or black people to become part of the dominant discourse; and (f) gifted/AP vs. general – which involved primarily negative comments or assumptions about deficits in educational capacity or ability of general-level students, who were largely African American students, and Advanced Placement or gifted students, who were predominately White students. In all cases but that of counterstory, when more than four teachers made significant statements somehow aligned with themes represented in the CRT literature, those statements were coded and analyzed.

Theme Definitions. When discussing care for Black students, teachers such as Julius Armstrong described teaching in powerful ways that made room for open

discussions of racism and racial issues. These descriptions of teacher behavior directly resonated with the theme of “political clarity.”

> When it comes to the end of course test, just like coaching football, when it gets to game day, you give your speeches. You put a whole other mood on. You get into their psyche then. You get them focused. "Hey man. You think they expect you do to better than [Truett HS] here?” A couple of years ago, I had a group of a lot of my football players in the class and I said, "Man, you think them bowtie niggers in the county office think you're going do better [on the end-of-course test] than Lakeside?" Just be straight up, especially around tests. Now, I turn into a whole n'other person. I said, "Man, they think you're all some stupid niggers over here", and I pull the test scores out, and I run it; and I say, "Look at Jefferson. Look at Southwest Montgomery. Look at us and look at them. So, when I go to a meeting this summer, they're going to say, 'What's wrong with those dumb niggers at Marvin Konnor?' You mean to tell me the same white boys we beat up and down the football field, the same white boys we beat on the basketball court, they're smarter than y'all? We're just some type of animal? We're physically more –"
>
> Interviewer: Because that's what they're [the county office people are] trying to say.
>
> Interviewee: I explain the bell curve to them [his students], all that mess. That makes them mad.
>
> Interviewer: I'll bet. It should.
>
> Interviewee: This is what they think. I say, "Now, I don't believe we're superior, but I definitely don't believe we're at no bottom of no curve now", and

> we do a lot of test-taking strategies and practice tests and just like the fine-tuning the day before a game when you go to practice, it's all fine-tuning and I do that. Actually, we go into that mode for a week.

While the appropriate nature of Armstrong's use of the "N-word" is definitely debatable, the fact that this teacher was having an honest conversation about realities of race and racism, as he perceived them, with his students - is not.

Many teachers, such as Ann Hope from Marvin Konnor, reflected the theme of "Whiteness as property" when expressing concern for her Black students' futures. Ann acknowledged a need to care differently for Black students by preparing them to face a potentially discriminatory world when she explained, "I spend a little time talking with them about careers . . . as an African American, what does this mean for you?"

It is important to note that throughout this study, many respondents' perceptions of care for Black and White students provided a unique twist on more traditional explanations of CRT provided earlier in the theoretical frame of this paper. These perceptions expressed concern for Black student futures in society, espoused awareness of racism as endemic to society, or implied that African American students are somehow "less than" or lacking something that other students possess. This type of perception is, for the purposes of this inquiry, considered a demonstration of the theme "Whiteness as property." The definition of this theme somewhat differs from the Whiteness as property view of traditional CRT scholars which examines through a legal lens, property ownership, law creation, and their inequitable negative impact on minority groups. While different on its face, this twist on Whiteness as property is similar underneath. Its validity comes from respondents' statements demonstrating educational expectations and experiences in which Whiteness became an unspoken "law" or an actual "property right,"

expressed by teachers of both races, which governed respondents' care behaviors toward their African American students. Although there were other codes undergirding Whiteness as property that have not been discussed here, they will be explicated in a later discussion of the racialized differences found in this theme.

Teachers, such as Kevnie Green, provided the theme of "acknowledgement/denial" and demonstrated Whiteness as property in a different way when they denied caring differently for students because of color. Kevnie said, "I would say no [she does not provide care for Black students specifically] simply because we are all trying really hard especially when you teach at this type of school, to not look at color because we want out children to be globally competitive." However, this same teacher previously made other statements and implications to the contrary, "certainly, if I was teaching at a more diverse school I would still try to make it (curriculum) relevant and on their level, but since this is predominately Black, you have to – you know, that comes with a certain amount of issues." This theme of denial/acknowledgement was found with 58% of the study population.

Although there are only three teachers represented, I include the theme of "counterstory" as part of this narrative because the conceptualization of it as a whole is so central in interpreting this research. Although counterstory has been used previously to explain the desired presence of stories about African American teacher definitions and perceptions of caring, which are rarely, if ever, heard; in this case, counterstory becomes a theme espoused by a small number of teachers who expressed a need to provide a story about African American students that differed from hegemonic perspectives. Ms. James, while claiming that counterstory was for both White and Black students, provided an example of counterstory as a theme when she expressed a desire for students to hear a

different story about herself as a Black teacher. She also expressed a desire to hear a different story about Black students themselves.

> *Interviewee:* It's [conveying counterstory is] not [just] for my black students because I think that my white students can benefit as much as my black students . . . I have to be - I have to show them that I know what I'm talking about. I want them to know how learned I am and if they know that I know my stuff, I think that, I'm encouraging other African Americans to feel that they too can know their stuff. . . So and also I wouldn't be - this is not a primary concern of mine, but I would not be an embarrassment to the African American students because they are conscious of the fact that they don't, that sometimes - well, I don't want to say that. Anyway, I want them to know that and trust that I know what I'm talking about . . . But there are still racial undertones. There's still discrimination in the classroom. I don't know if I want you to print that or not. There are still, I have to think about it. When you're doing the profile, if you put that in there I'll think about it.
>
> *Interviewer:* Okay.
>
> *Interviewee:* There are people who still believe black children are inherently lazy, black children are inherently disruptive. And black children do all they can to support that.
>
> *Interviewer:* It's almost like they're proud of it.
>
> *Interviewee:* Exactly, it is. So as I said before, I believe they can do. That's the first big step, expecting that they can do.

The theme of "colorblindness," emerged when teachers mentioned that they did not notice the color of their students or claimed that a students' racial identification was

irrelevant. This claim was frequently made in conjunction with the prior theme of denial of care for African American students. An exceptionally relevant demonstration of this was found in the words of Kevnie Green mentioned earlier in this section. As this teacher denied a caring pedagogy that was dedicated specifically to Black students, she also mentioned that this care should not be offered to Black students because, "we [teachers] are trying to make them [Black students] globally competitive." In this, she claims that not noting the color of students when caring for them helps to prepare them for the world.

In a final explication of CRT themes, I would like to note that many teachers mentioned a perception of extant difference in their duties to "Advanced Placement (AP), gifted or advanced students versus general level students." Some teachers like Ms. Bushmore, a White teacher at Rivers Edge HS, used this perceived difference to generate positive action on the behalf of students in general level classes, who were usually majority Black.

> I do treat some of those kids who are not passing the graduation test, I treat them a little different because I'm having to go the extra mile for them. The gifted kids, you can give them so much and they'll take the ball and run with it. But with these kids you've got to do a little bit more . . . And it's not because of their color, it's because of their situation. Because I did the same thing with the two white kids that were in there, but you have to treat them a little different because their focus is different. And once you can get them past the test, then things are different. But I find I had 11 kids in the class, six of them passed the graduation test in September. Of course, we didn't find out until like middle of October. So then they started working on SAT stuff. Two or three of them are the biggest bunch of slackers. I mean, it's like well no wonder you didn't pass the test . . .

> And then what happened was they took the class [graduation test preparation class] away. So I started doing it during my planning period because I feel very strongly that these kids need the extra help.

Despite the expression of positive intentions on the behalf of students in general level classes, a large number of the respondents were consistent in providing a critique of general-level students which was primarily negative and stratified student abilities along both racial and academics lines. Furthermore, of note, as you will see in a later chart, the majority of teachers espousing this type of sentiment taught in schools with majority European American student populations.

Overarching Themes

An overarching look across teachers and themes, provided in table 29a below, demonstrates that with the exception of "counterstory," "colorblindness," and "gifted/AP vs. general," four out of seven themes mentioned in the CRT literature were also represented by a majority (at least 64%) of all teachers interviewed. This indicates that CRT was clearly present in teachers' definitions and perceptions of their care for African American students.

Table 29a
*CRT – Main Themes – Representation across All Teachers**

Name	School	Political Clarity/ Colortalk	Espousing Color-Blindness	Whiteness as Property	Counter-story	Acknowledge-ment of Caring for AAS	Denial of Caring for AAS	Gifted/AP vs. General Level
J. Perkins	Rivers Edge	P		P		P		P
G. Sturken	Rivers Edge		P	P			P	P
N. Bushmore	Rivers Edge			P		P	P	P
B.James	Rivers Edge	P	P	P	P	P	P	P
A. Jerkins	Wood Ridge			P		P	P	P
M. St. Claire	Wood Ridge		P	P		P	P	P
E. Dotson	Martin Konner	P		P		P	P	

F. Carter	Martin Konner	P		P		P		
A. Hope	Martin Konner	P		P		P		
F. Delano	Martin Konner	P		P	P	P		
J. Armstrong	Martin Konner	P		P	P	P	P	
T. Stubbins	Marvin Konner	P	P	P				
K. Green	Jefferson	P	P	P		P	P	
A Hunter	Jefferson	P	P	P		P	P	
F. Irvine	Jefferson			P		P	P	
L. Ortiz	Jefferson		P	P			P	
M. Simpson	Jefferson	P		P		P		
Ratio		**(11/17) 64%**	**(7/17) 41%**	**(17/17) 100%**	**(3/17) 17%**	**(14/17) 82%**	**(11/17) 64%**	**(6/17) 35%**

P – Theme present in teacher's significant statements; *European American teachers are represented in gray.

Overarching Themes – Categories. Like 29a, table 29b provides an overarching look across themes. This table, however, also demonstrates the finding of a categorical separation of CRT themes into two categories, "CRT helpful intent" and "CRT non-helpful intent." All seven themes fell into one of these two categories. CRT helpful intent, demonstrates instances in which espoused or implied caring beliefs/actions of teachers seemed to come from a place of positive intent to aid or support Black students, and CRT non-helpful intent, demonstrates instances in which espoused or implied caring beliefs/actions of teachers seemed to come from a place of denial, unwillingness, or negative assumptions about African American students.

Similar to 29a, 29b shows that a majority of themes mentioned in the CRT literature were represented by a majority (at least 64%) of all teachers interviewed. However, unlike 29a, 29b shows that the themes of "whiteness as property" and "acknowledgement/denial" emerged through teacher statements that demonstrated both helpful and non-helpful intent. Despite the separation of these themes by category, both themes were still represented by a majority (at least 64%) of teachers interviewed. As we

continue, aforementioned categorizations of CRT helpful and non-helpful intent, will be used to discuss comparisons of themes between African American and European American teachers and schools with predominately African American or European American student populations.

Table 29b
CRT – Main Themes – Representation across All Teachers - by Category

Categories	Themes	Teachers Represented	Not Represented	Total
CRT Helpful Intent	Political Clarity/Colortalk	11 (64%)	6	17
	Whiteness as Property (concern, awareness, conspiratorial encouragement of code switching)	15 (88%)	2	17
	Acknowledgement/Denial (Acknowledgement of Caring for AAS)	14 (82%)	3	17
	Counterstory	3 (17%)	14	17
CRT Non-Helpful Intent	Colorblindness (espousing)	7 (41%)	10	17
	Whiteness as Property (critique as "less than")	11 (64%)	6	17
	Acknowledgement/Denial (Denial of Caring for AAS)	11 (64%)	6	17
	Gifted/AP vs. General (critique)	6 (35%)	11	17

With the exception of "denial of caring for Black students" and "Whiteness as property (concern, awareness, conspiratorial encouragement of code switching)," further findings of CRT themes suggest clear differentiation between the significant statements of White and Black teachers. As table 30 below demonstrates, themes in the category of CRT helpful intent, "political clarity/colortalk", "acknowledgement of caring for African American students", and "counterstory", were differentiated by 38%, 43%, and 30% respectively on the behalf of African American teachers. Here, teachers mentioned discussing and addressing racism and race with students, admitted or implied that they did provide a special care on the behalf of African American students, and discussed the necessity of offering a "story" for and about Black students that would differ from the dominant negative discourse about Black people.

Themes in the category of CRT non-helpful intent, "espousing colorblindness", "whiteness as property (critique as less than)", and "gifted/AP vs. general", were differentiated by 51%, 35%, and 37% respectively on behalf of European American teachers. Here teachers discussed or implied that they saw no difference in children's color, commented or implied that Black students were somehow lacking something that other students possessed, or critiqued Black students harshly. In addition, here, teachers in schools with predominately European American populations made negative comments about deficits in educational capacity or ability between students in Advanced Placement classes and general-level classes. Other themes did not show clear differentiation.

Table 30
CRT – Main Themes – Representation across African American (AA) and European American (EA) Teachers

Categories	Themes	Teachers Represented		Total	Not Represented	
		AA	EA		AA	EA
CRT Helpful Intent	Political Clarity/Colortalk	8 (80%)	3 (42%)	11	2	4
	Whiteness as Property (concern, awareness, or conspiratorial encouragement of code switching)	9 (90%)	6 (85%)	15	1	1
	Acknowledgement/Denial (Acknowledgement of Caring for AAS)	10 (100%)	4 (57%)	14	0	3
	Counterstory	3 (30%)	0 (0%)	3	7	7
CRT Non-Helpful Intent	Colorblindness (espousing)	2 (20%)	5 (71%)	7	8	2
	Whiteness as Property (critique as "less than")	5 (50%)	6 (85%)	11	5	1
	Acknowledgement/Denial (Denial of Caring for AAS)	6 (60%)	5 (71%)	11	4	2
	Gifted/AP vs. General (critique)	2 (20%)	4 (57%)	6	8	3

As illustrated by table 31 below, when examining emergent themes that arose from teachers in schools with primarily African American or European American student populations, only a few clear differentiations emerge. Interestingly, when existent, differentiations are divided between the categories of CRT helpful intent, on the behalf of teachers in schools with primarily African American student populations, and CRT non-

helpful intent, on the behalf of teachers in schools with primarily European American student populations.

The only clearly differentiated theme in the category of CRT helpful intent was political clarity/colortalk, which showed a 48% difference on the behalf of teachers in schools with predominately African American student populations. Here, as above, teachers mentioned discussing and addressing racism and race with students. Farah Delano demonstrated this theme when she discussed racism with her students in an attempt to address racism by preparing her African American seniors to work harder.

> I tell them, "Look, it's difficult out there and even though you might have the degree, the ability, the bottom line is you still have to work harder. Look at the things going on around you. Look at Barak Obama. Do you think it's going to be easier for him just because he's Black? No. He probably has to work twice as hard as Hillary Clinton, because even though this is 2007 – even though a lot of things have changed, it always goes back to – it's always a racial situation."

Themes in the category of CRT non-helpful intent, denial of care for African American students and gifted/AP vs. general, were differentiated by 29% and 100% respectively on the behalf of teachers in schools with predominately European American student populations. In this category, teachers made statements about deficits between gifted/AP and general level students like the one by Nellie Bushmore at Rivers Edge.

> Interviewer – but even though you believe that is so (there will always be predjuice in the world); you don't really address it with you students?
> Interviewee: - The gifted kids, that's not really an issue because I mean, I'll talk to them individually if they're not doing well, but like this

graduation test class . . .I do treat that class different from my gifted classes because it's a different situation. Those (gifted) kids are going to graduate from high school unless something horrible happens."

In making this type of comment, this teacher implied that her graduation test class students would not be as likely to graduate as her gifted students were. However, when one considers that gifted students are often under motivated, underachieving, and as likely to struggle with academic achievement as their general level peers, one must wonder what thought process fuels this type of implication.

Teachers in schools with African American student populations mentioned holding conversations about race or racism more often than teachers in schools with predominately European American populations. When discussing care for Black students, only teachers in European American schools made negative comparisons between their AP classes, which were predominately White, and their general level classes, which were predominately Black. Other themes did not show clear differentiation.

Table 31
CRT – Main Themes – Representation across Teachers in Schools with Primarily African American (AAS) and European American (EAS) Populations

Categories	Themes	Teachers Represented		Total	Not Represented	
		AAS	EAS		AAS	EAS
CRT Helpful Intent	Political Clarity/Colortalk	9 (81%)	2 (33%)	11	2	4
	Whiteness as Property (concern, awareness, conspiratorial encouragement of code switching)	9 (81%)	6 (100%)	15	2	0
	Acknowledgement/Denial (Acknowledgement of Caring for AAS)	9 (81%)	5 (83%)	14	2	1
	Counterstory	2 (18%)	1 (16%)	3	9	5
CRT Non-Helpful Intent	Colorblindness (espousing)	4 (36%)	3 (50%)	7	7	3
	Whiteness as Property (critique as "less than")	6 (54%)	4 (66%)	10	5	2
	Acknowledgement/Denial (Denial of Caring for AAS)	6 (54%)	5 (83%)	11	5	1
	Gifted/AP vs. General (critique)	0 (0%)	6 (100%)	6	11	0

Consequently, when discussing care for Black students, a comparison of emergent CRT themes shows clear differentiation between the significant statements of African American and European American teachers. Furthermore, the clear differentiation seems stratified between categories of CRT helpful intent, on the behalf of Black teachers, and CRT non-helpful intent, on the behalf of White teachers. When examining emergent themes that arose from teachers in schools with primarily African American or European American student populations, only a few clear differentiations emerged. However, here again, all existing differentiations were divided between the categories of CRT helpful intent, on the behalf of teachers in schools with primarily African American student populations, and CRT non-helpful intent, on the behalf of teachers in schools with primarily European American student populations. This similar categorization of emergent CRT themes between Black and White teachers, and teachers in schools with predominately Black and White student populations, is a disconcerting finding, which raises the question of whether race of teachers, race of students, or school environment has more influence in teacher care for African American students.

Summary of Findings

To conclude this section, I acknowledge that the data seem to provide valid answers to each of the research questions. Question one, how do "successful" African American and European American secondary teachers define teacher care for their African American students, and two, what specific behaviors/attitudes/critical incidents do successful African American and European American secondary teachers perceive are examples of their care for African American students (if any), were collapsed. Data regarding these questions revealed that teachers define care for African American

students through themes of uplift, temperance, clarity and consistency, relationship, environment, individualization, and academics.

Data regarding question three, what explanations do successful African American and European American teachers provide for their reported caring behaviors, revealed that teachers explained or implied that their care was predicated by reasons of individualistic inspiration, altruistic inspiration, or influential inspiration. Data regarding question four, what is the relationship (if any) between teacher perceptions of care, culturally relevant pedagogy and critical race theory, revealed an extant relationship between teachers' descriptions of care for their African American students and culturally relevant pedagogy. Data also revealed a stronger, relationship with critical race theory.

All four research questions revealed intriguing differentiations between African American and European American teachers and teachers in schools with predominately Black or White student populations. The existence of differentiation in both methods of comparison raises questions about the understanding of, implications of, and meaning of teacher caring for African American students.

Discussion

This study represents an exploration of the phenomenon of Black and White secondary teacher care for Black students. Beauboeuf-Lafontant (2002); Gomez, Allen, and Clinton (2004); Irvine (2001); Siddle Walker and Snarey (2004); Thompson (2007); Valenzuela (1999); and others have been pioneers in addressing the convergence of cultural relevance and care. Yet, a full conversation in the moral development literature addressing the salience and existence of the intersection of cultural relevance and care has not taken place and, as Irvine (2001) says, we must do further work to understand

"the complexity of a term that seems so simple – *care*" (pg. 8). This study begins to examine that intersection and finds, like others, that the idea of care is indeed complex and multifaceted.

This study confirms Noddings (2002) and others who contend that perspectives of care can differ by individual or situation. However, these findings also show that perceptions and definitions of teacher care for African American students can differ by environment (in this case schools with both majority White or Black student populations) and race of teacher. Throughout this study, these differences have converged in one of four ways that I have labeled "caring responsibly," "caring through relationship and real relationship," "caring with rigor," and "caring and race." These categories wend their way throughout all four research questions.

Caring Responsibly

The historical literature on African American teachers and segregated schools often reveals an underlying theme in which a responsibility to care for Black students was displayed. The responsibility to care was often cyclical, rotating between teacher, student, school and community. This cyclical caring is much like the reciprocal ideals of caring that exist in the moral development literature. Siddle Walker (1993) illuminates this theme when she discusses the "interpersonal caring" between teachers in her study and their African American students. Siddle Walker's participants mentioned an overarching school climate in which they felt cared for by administrators, teachers, and staff members. Often, teachers took responsibility for students as if they were parents, admonishing students for acting up, providing them with needed items, and considering themselves personally responsible for student academic, social, and future success. This

section explores teacher care for students through expressions of teacher responsibility and examines it by research question as it emerges in various themes and codes.

The first and second research questions revealed interesting findings which addressed teacher responsibility and were clearly differentiated between Black and White teachers and/or schools with majority Black or White student populations. When present, the theme of responsibility discussed above appeared through various emergent themes and codes. Findings of this study support contentions about teacher responsibility made by researchers such as Knight (2004) who found African American teachers after desegregation explaining that they exhibited a special type of care for Black students in which teachers felt and addressed certain responsibilities.

"Uplift" was a particular theme in the findings of research question one and two that seemed to reflect teachers' caring through responsibility. In this, 70% of African American teachers expressed caring for Black students through "making" students succeed and holding high expectations. Only 28% of European American teachers also addressed this theme. These reported behaviors demonstrate teachers' feelings of responsibility toward the academic and social success of their Black students.

Another demonstration of responsibility that emerged from the findings showed racial difference. While 100% of the Black teachers in this study addressed the theme of "academics" as part of their responsibility in caring for Black students, only 71% of White teachers did the same. Both Black and White teachers mentioned the importance of addressing academic achievement. Yet, Black teachers more often verbalized a feeling of responsibility for addressing academic achievement by making content relevant to the lives of their African American students.

In an interesting twist to current and historical research on African American teachers, these findings show that Black *and* White teachers in schools with predominately African American populations espoused certain responsibilities to Black students. Thus, in some ways, segregated schools, now segregated by geography and SES instead of law, still embraced the responsibility of engineering the success of African American students. However, it is also important to note that, though responsibility was clearly a key theme with teachers in these schools, the ways in which responsibility was addressed were at times stratified by race.

Similar to Black teachers mentioned above, in a comparison of teachers in majority Black and White populated schools the former more often mentioned "making" students do various things to succeed and holding high expectations for students along with other aspects of the theme of "uplift." Teachers in Black schools insisted that they should encourage students to succeed, teach intrinsic motivation to students, and provide students with tools for success. While teachers in majority European American schools did discuss some of the same ideas, in every instance schools with majority Black student populations demonstrated clear differentiation, notably addressing these topics and thus the idea of responsibility, more often.

In research question three, findings were clearly differentiated in the themes of "individualistic inspiration," "altruistic inspiration," and "influential inspiration" and these themes also reflected the idea of teacher responsibility to care for African American students in specific ways. When sharing data that coalesced under the theme of individualistic inspiration, both Black and White teachers mentioned care inspired by a feeling of purpose, destiny, or responsibility. However, African American teachers addressed these ideas more frequently. Ninety percent of Black teachers made significant

statements that related to this theme while only 42% of white teachers discussed this concept. Furthermore, more often Black teachers would explain that they were "called" to teach and claimed their care for Black students was a personal responsibility. This reflects the findings of Irvine (2002) and others who document African American teachers' responsibility to care for Black students as a spiritual "calling."

Examining the theme of 'individualistic inspiration" by race of teacher shows that all four codes that supported this theme were represented more often by African American teachers and these representations were clearly differentiated. Black teachers made significant statements that indicated the idea of responsibility for caring for African American students by verbalizing their responsibility to care for Black students, mentioning that caring for Black students was a calling, and claiming care was a just a part of who they were. Overall, more than White teachers, African American teachers claimed a personal responsibility to care for Black students and demonstrated that this care was inspired by none other than themselves.

For more Black than White teachers in this study, one result of fulfilling the responsibility to care for Black students was expressed in the clearly differentiated code, "Makes me feel good." A comparison of school populations also revealed that the code "makes me feel good," was clearly differentiated on the behalf of teachers in schools with predominately African American student populations. This example also dovetails with the literature on segregated schools where teachers or administrators, would proudly proclaim the good feeling that ensued from their school fulfilling its responsibilities to its students (Jones, 1981; Walker, 1993).

A comparison of European American and African American teachers provided the only clearly differentiated code from which theme of "altruistic inspiration" emerged;

this code was, “helping African American boys or girls.” Although only 40% of Black teachers discussed this code, Black teachers exclusively indicated that they cared because of their responsibility to help Black students.

As evident above, very little difference was found in the examination of White and Black teachers’ regarding altruistic inspiration; however, a clear differentiation was found in two codes as expressed by teachers in predominately Black and White populated schools. Forty-five percent of teachers in predominately Black schools exclusively explained or implied that they cared for Black students by acting in place of parents who, they felt, were not meeting appropriate expectations and fifty percent of teachers in predominately White schools felt they needed to care for Black students because of what they perceived as troubled home environments. In both cases, teachers based their care for students in the “responsibility” they felt for them; White teachers, because they felt students were troubled, Black teachers, because they thought some parents were not meeting expectations. This display of beliefs replicates the findings of Foster (1993), whose teachers also described themselves as “doing their job” *in-loco parentis*. While the desire to take responsibility for these students can be perceived as admirable, teachers sometimes appeared to make unfounded assumptions and generalizations about students’ home situations.

Examining the theme of ‘influential inspiration” by race of teacher, shows one code, “K-12 teachers,” as clearly differentiated. Seventy percent of African American teachers credited their K-12 teachers with having an influence on their current care for African American students. No European American teacher made or implied this type of statement.

A final example of caring responsibility for African American students emerges in research question four with the theme "parental surrogate." This theme surfaced when teachers discussed their responsibility to establish a family in the classroom and/or treat students as they would their own children. Like those discussed above, this theme was also clearly differentiated on the behalf of Black teachers.

In sum, both Black and White teachers in this study addressed the research questions by discussing concepts and ideals that fit within a category of "caring responsibly" for African American students. However the category of responsibility was addressed in different ways that were stratified by race of teacher or racial makeup of school. The same type of race-based difference emerges in the next category.

Caring Through Relationship and "Real" Relationship

Many researchers discuss the idea of "relationship" in caring theory. Gilligan (1982) mentions that included in the ethic of care are the "ideals of human relationship, the vision that the self and the other will be treated as of equal worth, that despite differences in power, things will be fair" (p.63). Noddings (1984) and Tarlow (1996) discuss "engrossment" as part of the caring relationship and stress that caring is embedded in reciprocal relationships. The idea of caring through relationship emerges in these findings but seems stratified between a more mainstream, care theory-based definition of "relationship," expressed primarily by European American teachers or teachers in schools with predominately European American populations, and a more culturally relevant type of "real relationship," more often mentioned by African American teachers or teachers in schools with predominately African American populations. Again, many extant pieces of this "real" relationship are present in the literature on African American teaching pedagogy before and after desegregation as well

as the extant literature on CRP. Various themes and codes representing "relationship and real relationship" are found throughout three research questions.

In research question one and two European American teachers discussed their care for black students in ways that were classified as both "relationship" and "real relationship." For example, 71% of European American teachers discussed the theme of "environment" by stressing that they wanted students to have a comfortable environment and safe relationship with them. Some discussed their attempts to create this type of student/teacher relationship by making jokes about race or culture to make students feel comfortable. This described behavior also emerged in the Irvine and Fraser (1998) CRP discussion of the themes "tease or joke." These statements provide examples of cultural relevance and establishing "real" relationship. Only 30% of African American teachers discussed this theme.

Conversely, African American teachers demonstrated the category of "relationship" in question one and two, but primarily demonstrated this theme through a vehicle I call "real relationship," which discusses teacher/student relationship in ways that strongly coincide with Irvine and Frasier's (1998) understanding of CRP. In supporting the theme of "relationship," 60% of these teachers discussed things like the importance of talking with or listening to Black students. Fourteen percent of White teachers did the same. Forty percent of Black teachers mentioned being present in student's lives as part of their care. Many said they needed to "be there" and "take time to know the student." Again, 14% of European American teachers made similar statements. These behaviors can be found in the classical caring literature described as relationship in terms such as engrossment, receptivity, and confirmation, but can also be found in the Irvine and Fraser text described as establishing or developing "real" relationship.

In a further demonstration of culturally relevant "real" relationship, 50% of African American teachers discussed the need to "be real with them [Black students]" as part of their care. In this, they explained that being "real" was telling the truth, being straight forward and honest, and relating what they taught students to "real life." Often when espousing these beliefs about how to relate to students, teachers implied the need to "be real" with students through: communicating clearly about race and race-based issues, and talking to students about things outside the classroom in the "real world." This method of establishing relationship is again present in the literature on African American teaching pedagogy but is seldom defined as caring and is often submerged in a broader discussion of cultural relevance (Foster, 1993, 1997; King, 1993; Knight, 2004). Only 14% of European American teachers discussed "being real" with their African American students. This fact supports the findings of Cooper (2001), who lamented the lack of direct race-based discussion between her European American respondents, and their Black students.

One hundred percent of teachers in predominately White schools also addressed the idea of "relationship" by making significant statements that emerged under the theme of "temperance." In this, teachers talked about caring for African American students by exhibiting compassion, giving students second chances, giving the benefit of the doubt, and providing extra credit. Through this type of behavior, these teachers aligned themselves with mainstream care theory, caring through relationship by making sure that "despite differences in power, things will be fair" (Gilligan, 1982, p.63).

Touch was also an emergent theme that represented caring through establishing relationship by 83% of teachers in predominately White schools. Significant statements demonstrating the theme of "touch" were mentioned by only 54% of teachers in African

American schools. Engrossment, receptivity, and confirmation are classical terms often used in the literature on caring and by researchers such as Parsons (2008) to describe many of the behaviors I have discussed in the paragraph above and, for the purposes of this study, themes like temperance and touch have been categorized as "relationship." Of course, a compelling unanswered question is why teachers felt more need to reach out to Black students at White schools with physical manifestations of care.

Ideas supporting teacher/student relationship were not discussed in research question three but, in question four; relationship again emerged as part of culturally relevant pedagogy. The theme "develop relationship" provides a particularly appropriate example. Here, European American teachers at 57%, discussed making African American students comfortable as part of their efforts to create relationship, while only 20% of African American teachers did the same. Perhaps Black teachers felt they were able to give less importance to issues surrounding this theme due to shared ethnicity.

The theme "establish relationship" was displayed exclusively by teachers in schools with primarily European American populations. This provides further evidence that the influence of predominant Whiteness may somehow make teachers believe they are separated from "Blackness" and therefore, must make a concerted effort to overcome that separation. Perhaps respondents in schools with primarily European American populations were like "Teacher A" in Parson's (2005) work, who felt she had to equalize access to classroom experiences by disrupting dominance and creating space for Black students.

Caring With Rigor

The literature on African American teacher pedagogy addresses the idea of teacher centered classrooms led by individuals who were firm in their classroom

management (Foster, 1993; Irvine, 1999; Noblit, 1993), held unrelenting high expectations (Johnson & Prom-Jackson, 1986), and were dedicated to creating a demanding learning environment in which Black students were expected to have success (Foster, 1993; Siddle Walker, 2003; Wilder, 2000). This type of teacher cares for his/her students in ways that create a rigorous learning environment. Furthermore, researchers such as Cooper (2001), who have identified successful pedagogical practices of European American teachers of African American children, in many cases identify the effective execution of an authoritative discipline style as one of the most impressive connections between successful teachers of both Black and White racial backgrounds. The aforementioned teacher beliefs and behaviors coalesced as the idea of "caring with rigor" in these findings. Most often, this categorization emerged with African American teachers or teachers in schools with predominately African American populations. Various themes and codes representing "caring with rigor" can be found throughout three research questions.

The first and second research questions revealed interesting findings that were clearly differentiated between Black and White teachers but not between schools with majority Black or White student populations. When examining the first two research questions, the concept of caring with rigor appears in the findings through one emergent theme, "academics." Findings of this study support claims of academic rigor made by researchers about successful African American and European American teachers of Black students (Cooper, 2000; Knight, 2004).

Within the theme "academics," most respondents (88%) discussed expressing caring for Black students through various methods like, developing a strong base of knowledge, preparing students to succeed with standardized tests, and working with

students outside of class to provide academic support. However, when the data were disaggregated by race, results demonstrated clearly that although 100% of African American teachers espoused these sentiments, only 71% of European American teachers also addressed this theme. Although both Black and White teachers mentioned the importance of addressing academic achievement, Black teachers more often mentioned a desire for students to know how to be critical thinkers and to understand the difference between passing and learning. Although caring about academic achievement across the board is an important factor in student success, I contend that creating critical thinkers and helping students discover an intrinsic motivation for learning, takes simple academic encouragement one step farther into the realm of lessons needed to experience success in life. The literature on African American teaching pedagogy again confirms the same types of pedagogy in which Black teachers cared for their Black students by encouraging and implementing academic rigor.

Research question four provided a further demonstration of the category "caring with rigor." The idea emerged in an examination of one theme present in Irvine and Fraser's conceptualization of CRP, "teach with authority." In this, teachers expressed how they cared for students by keeping firm control of their classroom, often to the point where they were seen as "mean" by students. Here again, we see a reflection of Black teaching pedagogy pre- and post-desegregation, where researchers have documented that many successful classroom environments were perceived as authoritative and teacher centered (Irvine, 2002; Noblit, 1993). In this case, this theme provided a clear differentiation on the behalf of Black teachers who represented this theme at 92% while White teachers represented only 28%.

A final example of the category "caring with rigor" also emerged during the examination of research question four with the theme, "change curriculum." Here teachers discussed a rigorous adherence to the ideals of changing standard curriculum to include or address issues and concerns that touch the lives of their African American students. Interestingly, this theme was not clearly differentiated between Black and White teachers but, instead, in a comparison of the perceptions of teachers in schools with predominately European American or African American populations. Sixty-three percent of teachers in African American schools made or implied significant statements regarding this theme; yet, no teachers in European American schools mentioned this idea. One could dismiss the absence of statements regarding curriculum change for Black students as, "out of sight out of mind," thus implying that since African American students in the schools were not predominant in number, little thought was given to changing standard curriculum to meet their needs. In answer to this type of justification, I would like to point out that with the exception of one teacher, Grover Sturken, all teachers at predominately European American schools taught at least one general level class. Many of these teachers also mentioned, and various national statistics demonstrate, that their general level classes had a very high representation of African American students, thus, rendering the aforementioned point irrelevant.

Caring and Race

I have reserved this section to address some of the most intriguing findings that emerged in my examination of research question four, specifically, the piece of this question that examines critical race theory and caring as represented by race. If anything, findings of this study regarding CRT only convince me that I need to know more. I have many intriguing facts, several questions, but few answers. Nevertheless, the contentions I

have been able to make, hint at a heretofore un-examined conceptualization of care for African American students that involves care and cultural relevance, but goes beyond each of these to integrate issues of racism, Whiteness, colorblindness, concern, awareness, critique, and counterstory among others.

Findings of this study reveal both positive and negative aspects of CRT in teacher caring. Examining teacher caring with a lens of critical race theory calls for a consideration of intent and ponders the possible influence of intent on student academic achievement, and the way caring is received. Interestingly, the positive and negative implications of CRT in teacher caring are similar to other key themes in this study, in that they seem to stratify along lines of race. The extant division between positive and negative aspects of CRT by race is a troubling one that seems to be consistent with King's (1991) conceptualization of dysconcious racism. This correlation can be made because Black teachers more often expressed "CRT helpful intent" while White teachers more often expressed "CRT non-helpful intent."

An interesting finding also emerges when the data are disaggregated by an examination of teachers in schools with predominately African American and European American student populations. In this, emerges an inherent connection between CRT non-helpful intent, White teachers, *and* Black teachers in schools with predominately European American student populations. In this section, I will examine the division between the positive and negative aspects of CRT.

CRT Helpful Intent

This category discusses instances when emergent CRT themes seemed to come from a place of positive intent to aid or support Black students. The findings show that three out of four present themes, political clarity/colortalk, acknowledgement of caring

for African American students, and counterstory, were clearly differentiated between the views of African American and European American teachers. A greater number of African American teachers represented all three themes.

Looking for the presence of CRT in the definitions and perceptions of my respondents showed that some Black teachers, and to a much lesser extent White teachers, are engaging in "political clarity/colortalk." In this, teachers are still holding realistic conversations with Black students about issues of race and racism. This contention supports historical and current literature on African American teaching pedagogy (Beauboeuf-Lafontant, 2002; Rolón-Dow 2005; Thompson, 2004; Wilder, 2000) and is encouraging in the face of other research, which mentions that this type of teacher/student communication may be diminishing.

Others, even in this study, claim a diminished need for racialized conversations between teachers and students; particularly after the election of the country's first African American president (CNN.com). Despite the encouraging symbol this election represents, the reality and effects of institutionalized racism still influence the experiences of Black students. This is evidenced by the persistent achievement gap present in the standardized test scores of various ethnic groups and the extant discrimination in job, housing, and mortgage markets. Therefore, Black students still need to be prepared to meet and to exceed challenges put in place by a system that often works against their best interests.

This research also shows Black teachers, more so than their White counterparts, acknowledging that some of their care behaviors were particularly intended for African American students. In some cases, teachers explained or implied that their purpose in expressing this type of care went beyond an immediate responsibility to student academic achievement, extended into a responsibility to the community, and culminated in

preparing students for college, the workplace, or life. This theme is found once again in the previously discussed literature on African American teacher pedagogy. Importantly, this theme was emergent with European American *and* African American teachers in schools with majority Black student populations. In fact, this was the only theme, in the category of CRT positive intent, clearly differentiated in a comparison of teachers in schools with White and Black student populations.

Although an actual concrete representation of the theme "counterstory" was only present with a small number of African American teachers, I believe an overarching conceptualization of counterstory permeates this work. In fact, the existence of this work provides a counterstory of the pre-established, color-neutral understanding of teacher caring which permeates the moral development literature. Furthermore, I sensed, in these respondent's self-described behaviors and beliefs, the desire for a story to be told about African Americans and African American students that differs from current hegemonic perceptions. Yet, admittedly, this desire was rarely verbalized or directly implied by Black teachers and was completely without mention by White teachers.

CRT Non-Helpful Intent

This category discusses instances when emergent CRT themes seemed to emerge as a result of denial, unwillingness, or negative assumptions about Black students. Here, findings show that three out of four present themes, "colorblindness," "denial of caring for African American students," and "gifted/AP vs. general," were clearly differentiated between the views of African American and European American teachers. A greater number of European American teachers represented all three themes.

There is an extant danger in often well-meaning teachers who claim not to "see color" in their students. First because, unless teachers are color-blind, the statement is

patently untrue. Growing up in the United States, which is often divided geographically by race and definitively divided economically, socially, and culturally, inherently exposes one to issues of color. Pretending not to see or acknowledge this fact will not make it untrue. Second, because attempting to remain colorblind may result in ignoring cultural differences and a lack of affirmation for the prior knowledge and understandings of students, it is an unwise and potentially injurious practice. Failing to prepare students for clear challenges and issues they will most likely face during and beyond their K-12 years does a disservice to the very students teachers are trying to help.

Although the theme of "denial of caring specifically for African American students" was found with both White and Black teachers, a clearly differentiated number of European American teachers made significant statements regarding this theme. Despite the denial, I found teachers of both races describing behaviors that were relevant to caring for Black students. However I feel that it is important to note that, with two European American and one African American teacher who denied caring, these teachers, true to their claim, actually described and implied few, if any, caring behaviors towards Black students. Because both European American teachers worked in schools with majority European American populations and the African American teacher worked in a school with a predominately African American population I, at first, had difficulty seeing why this actual lack of care may exist. However, a possible explanation emerged as another theme when I found that all three teachers taught primarily Advanced Placement and/or gifted classes.

In 100% of my conversations with teachers in schools with majority White student populations, conversations about student desire and ability were couched in a language of educational hierarchies. In defining this theme, I labeled it "AP/gifted vs.

General." Teachers made many significant statements about how "the gifted students will get it [education]" regardless of whether they are given extra help, assistance, or encouragement. At the same time, these teachers made disparaging statements about the abilities and motivation of their general level students. Like many of the themes in this work, on its face, this seems like a racially benign issue. However, a closer examination reveals a more complex picture.

In each case with advanced level classes in predominately European American schools, teachers reported that the majority of their students in these classes were of European American or Asian decent. In fact, many teachers claimed that the number of African American students in these classes was below 10%. In each case with general level classes, these same teachers reported an African American presence of 50% or higher. Although many teachers I interviewed at majority Black and white schools taught general level and gifted, Advanced Placement, or Advanced classes, *only teachers at predominately European American schools made negative comparisons between the two*. To be clear, teachers in White schools made disparaging comments about their general level classes, which were primarily Black, vs. their advanced level classes, which were overwhelmingly White and Asian. Thus, a racialized conversation was couched in the language of educational hierarchies. Furthermore, the casual way in which teachers made these statements indicated to me that they believed the differences between these two types of classes were commonly understood. Research shows us that student performance is often linked to teacher expectations (Lee, 1999; Vasquez, 1988). Thus, one must question the potential influence of this type of assumption on student academic achievement and teacher expectations.

Limitations

Five limitations were germane to this dissertation study. First, although teachers were nominated for this work because counselors, principals, or PTA members believed they had experienced academic success with African American students, the actuality of this "success" is unsubstantiated. Without including student opinions or perspectives of teachers' care or evaluating the "success" of the nominated teachers through some type of pre-determined measure, the ability to determine the actual impact of the care discussed by my participants, the influence of the claimed care on student achievement, or the level of students' belief that they are cared for by respondents does not exist.

Second, this study utilizes teacher perceptions and definitions of care for Black students. In such, there are limitations inherent in descriptions of behaviors or the effects of behaviors which are only affirmed by self-report. This limitation is influenced by the fact that teachers asked to describe care for students may feel led to say things that reflect positively rather than negatively on their pedagogy. However, by utilizing the three-tier process of in-depth interviewing, teacher comments were examined for continuity and while all participants were given the chance to recount or correct statements, even those that seemed negative, only one opted to do so. Further limitations of this study surround sampling concerns.

The narrowness of the sample serves as a third limitation which may have unduly influenced the findings of this work. This was addressed, in part between the pilot and dissertation study, through changes in number and type of participants. Nevertheless, it remains important to acknowledge that more may be learned from a larger or different sample of teachers, or a sample of students. Teacher perceptions and definitions of care are important and rarely examined, yet, student perspectives are equally as important

(Howard, 2003b). Examining only the views of teachers decontextualizes our understandings of their care. Many times teachers might believe they are being caring, or demonstrating care, yet students may not perceive their actions as caring (Thompson, 2007). This creates a disconnect that should be closely examined through student interviews and observations in order to develop a deeper understanding of teacher care.

Fourth, sampling concerns affect the inter-generalizability of this study. As discussed earlier, getting participants for this research was difficult, particularly in the case of African American teachers or schools. At Marvin Konnor, only one European American participant was nominated to share his perceptions of teacher care for African American students. At River's Edge, only one African American participant was willing to share her perceptions of teacher care for African American students. Although there were a number of European American teachers willing to participate, only one African American participant at Wood Ridge was willing to be interviewed. This experience influenced my decision to make the subject pool at Wood Ridge equal, thus, I interviewed only a single White teacher. The imbalance of subjects from school to school is a factor that can unduly skew these findings. However, I attempted to account for that by imposing the 30% clear differentiation standard.

Finally, because so many African American teachers were unwilling to participate in this work, I wondered, "What then of those who were willing?" Because my approach in garnering participants was similar with each circumstance, I find myself asking whether there was something else, something different in the work, opinions, or attitudes of my African American participants that made them feel as if talking with me was acceptable. Because the answer to this question could possibly be "yes," the sample proffered in this research may not be representative of the whole. Difficulty in attaining

access has been an experience documented by researchers, such as Cooper (2002) and others, while investigating issues of race and education.

The ability to attain "real engagement" and participation by African American teachers in this context seems essential to a more comprehensive understanding of this type of subject matter. To be direct, a teacher caught saying the "wrong thing" when it comes to issues of race, may likely experience job loss, censure, or other negative repercussions. The topic of race tends to be fraught with unseen pitfalls and preconceived assumptions and beliefs; therefore, perhaps a more longitudinal experience is needed to establish willingness and trust on the behalf of participants.

Implications for Policy and Teacher Education

An underlying message of The Elementary and Secondary Schools Act (NCLB) suggests that teacher/student relationship is insignificant. This becomes evident when one considers the definition of a "highly qualified teacher," as set out by the legislation. The bill suggests that, "to be deemed highly qualified, teachers must have: 1) a bachelor's degree, 2) full state certification or licensure, and 3) prove that they know each subject they teach." Furthermore, as a "demonstration of competency, "teachers (in middle and high school) must prove that they know the subject they teach with: 1) a major in the subject they teach, 2) credits equivalent to a major in the subject, 3) passage of a state-developed test, 4) an advanced certification from the state, or 5) a graduate degree (www.ed.gov). Indeed, there appears to be much national and state attention given to ensure that students are receiving the best possible teachers in their classroom. However, germane to this study is the unfortunate fact that none of the evaluative measures discussed in the determination of which teacher is more "qualified," have anything to do

with affective relationships, cultural relevance, or teacher care. The legislation totally ignores affect in its evaluation processes.

This glaring omission takes place because, as evidenced in the regulations above, policymakers often assume that the primary problem exacerbating the poor academic performance of students is lack of academic preparedness and competence on the behalf of teachers. Conversely, results of this study, as well as other literature that addresses teacher care and African American student success, imply that a large piece of the academic achievement puzzle, at least for African American students, is relational (Honora, 2003; Howard, 2002, 2003b; Lee, 1999; Parsons, 2005; Vasquez, 1988).

Affective concerns have consistently proven to be an important part of the academic achievement puzzle for students of all racial backgrounds. Furthermore, researchers have shown us that African American students view teacher-student relations as the most important part of school climate and these researchers remind us that students themselves have identified teacher apathy, lack of caring, and low expectations as reasons for underachievement (Howard, 2003a, 2003b; Lee, 1999). Thus, the reason caring teacher relationships continue to be primarily un- or under-addressed in pre- and in-service teacher education remains a mystery (Lee, 1999).

Like NCLB, departments of teacher education also perpetuate the undervaluing of affective teaching concerns. Their priorities become evident when we identify the actual coursework that teacher education students undergo. Departments of teacher education tend to have courses in anything from psychology and philosophy to methodology, but few, if any, courses in personal counseling, developing relationships, or care.

Unfortunately, the lack of importance dedicated to relational concerns seems to exist on every level of the educational ladder. What of elementary, middle, and high

school teachers who "burn out" and express feelings of frustration with student/teacher relationships? Why are there so few staff development or continuing education courses to help return these teachers to the classroom refreshed and renewed of spirit? The answer, provided by recent educational policy and practice, seems to be that *teachers' feelings just do not matter*. Thus, as Noddings (2002b) says, teachers themselves do not feel cared about, and there is no wonder that they convey a similar feeling to their students.

Researchers, policymakers, and others have promoted and supported a host of programs to improve academic outcomes for African American students, yet, met with little success. Meanwhile, ideas that have shown positive academic outcomes for students, such as smaller class sizes or caring teacher behaviors, continue to languish without the enthusiastic support that less successful programs receive. Recognizing, re-examining, and re-inspiring teacher caring, and caring for teachers, should be a key factor in today's teacher education curriculum, educational policy, and particularly in pre- and in-service teacher education programs.

Implications for Research

As I stated in the beginning of this discussion, this research creates many more questions than answers. Therefore, implications for future research of emergent issues in this research are numerous. I find that the most frequently emergent questions address the denial of caring for Black students, the existence of theoretical pieces such as CRP and CRT in teacher care, the emergence of dysconcious racism, and the influence, or lack thereof, of teacher education and K-12 teachers on teacher caring.

This study supports Foster (1993) in her findings that, even when teachers did not espouse the presence of an African American ethos in their teaching, evidence of one still existed. Foster's seminal work regarding African American teaching pedagogy was

published over 15 years ago. Much time has elapsed between her original work with African American teachers and this work, which talks to Black and White teachers about definitions and perceptions of care for African American students. At that time, Foster recounted experiences with some teachers who did not respond to interview requests and/or denied any existence of pedagogy specifically slanted in favor or on behalf of African American students. Although uttered over twenty years ago, this work only serves to confirm the proclamations of Foster's teachers. Many teachers in this study also denied providing specific care geared to or in favor of African American students. However, despite protestations to the contrary, most respondents in this study also, through word or implication, confirmed the existence of an African American ethos in their teacher care pedagogy.

On the surface, some findings of this study would suggest that indeed, many teachers have ceased talking honestly with their Black students about race or ceased doing anything on behalf of Black students in order to assist their success. Yet underneath, teachers are holding convoluted conversations fraught with caring contradictions. Many say that racial concerns for students and racialized conversations with students are no longer necessary, yet, most self-described definitions, behaviors, and explanations concerning teacher care tell a somewhat different story. However, regardless of its presence, many teachers denied any specific African American ethos in their teaching. More research is needed to answer a bevy of questions regarding this phenomenon such as: What is this denial all about? What has changed in the climate since segregation that leaves teachers afraid or unwilling to acknowledge acting in behalf of Black students? Do teachers fear that acknowledging this care will somehow result in

censure on their behalf? Or, are teachers honestly unaware of their behaviors, thus, caring for African American students as some type of “auto pilot” response to perceived needs?

Some of the answers to the questions posed above can be found in Critical Race Theory. For example, as I think about the color blind approach taken by several of the respondents, I think CRT would say that there is no clear interest convergence which would cause teachers, particularly European American teachers, to implement racialized pedagogy. Our current national climate doesn't encourage such, teachers are not evaluated on their capability to do such, and society instead, encourages the filtering out of racial reality, thus, providing one explanation of the respondents’ denials of the relevance of race to teacher pedagogy. Furthermore, I think CRT's acknowledgement of the experience of racism as part of our everyday reality, highlights the conceptualization of a racism so ingrained in our everyday experience that the idea (or actuality) of addressing it, is often not even a conscious thought. In fact, those struggling against it consider their struggle to just be a part of everyday life - thus those teachers who said that caring specifically for African American students was "just what they did" or "just who they were."

The existence of theoretical pieces such as CRP and CRT in teacher caring is something that deserves more examination in the moral development literature. What is the influence of the existence of these systems? Is the existence of CRT in care the same type of finding that critical race scholars of the 80’s experienced; a separate heretofore unexplored part of caring theory? Or, is this much ado about nothing - a self-reported phenomenon that has little, if any, influence on our overarching goal of student academic achievement? Are these theoretical pieces more often represented by African American teachers because of a shared racial background? If so, what is the impact of a shared

understanding of marginalization on care? Why is this phenomena more present in the pedagogy of both Black and White teachers in schools with predominately African American student populations? Do White and Black teachers in Black schools simply care more about Black students?

As an African American teacher myself, the emergence of King's (1991) dysconcious racism in the perceptions and definitions of *African American* teachers in this study raises troubling questions. Although the phenomenon is not as extensively present as with European American teachers, researchers have found Black teachers making negative assumptions and statements about African American students (Siddle Walker, 1993; Rist, 2002). I do not intend to suggest that a shared racial, ethnic, or cultural background should preclude teachers from having their own opinions of students. Nevertheless, there may be issues of internalized racism that impact teacher perceptions, and there are also researchers who would say that social class differences exacerbate dysconsiousness and racist beliefs (Kunjufu, 2002). Furthermore, one wonders about the impact of negative statements, and assumptions, made by someone who looks just like you or someone in your family, on Black student self-efficacy or educational success.

The final area for continued research in this vein involves the influence, or lack thereof, of teacher education and K-12 teachers. Teacher education was only mentioned by a small number of teachers as having any influence on their care pedagogy. Even when teacher education was mentioned, more credit was often given to the student teaching experience than any specific content classes. This leaves me to ask whether teacher education is influential in the development of something as important as teacher/student relationship or culturally relevant care. If so, why is it not perceived as such? Furthermore, K-12 teachers were mentioned by 70% of Black teachers as an

inspirational influence in their care, while 0% of White teachers mentioned this influence. This leads one to ask, what in the K-12 schooling experiences of African American teachers leads or inspires them to teach and care for black students, and why that influential element seems to be missing in the K-12 education of European American teachers. These and other areas shall inform the foundation of future inquiry.

References

Agne, K. (1999). Caring: The expert teacher's edge. In R. Lipka & T. Brinthaupt (Eds.), *The role of self in teacher development* (pp.165-188). Albany: State University of New York.

Agne, K; Greenwood, G. & Miller, L. (1994). Relationships between teacher belief systems and teacher effectiveness among teachers of the year. *Journal of Research and Development in Education, 27,* 141-152.

Alder, N. (2002). Interpretations of the meaning of care: Creating caring relationships in urban middle school classrooms. *Urban Education*, *37*(2), 241-266.

Arriaza, G. (2003). Schools, social capital and children of color. *Race, Ethnicity and Education 6*(1), 71-94.

Aspy, D. N., & Roebuck, F. N. (1977). *Kids don't learn from people they don't like*. Amherst: Human Resources Development Press.

Beauboeuf-Lafontant, T. (2002). A womanist experience of caring: Understanding the pedagogy of exemplary black women teachers. *The Urban Review*, *34*(1), 71-86.

Bender, D. (1978). Adolescent's perceptions of teachers' caring and achievement press related to sex, track, program, and achievement. Paper presented at the Northeastern Educational Research Association annual meeting, New York.

Bogdan, R. C., & Biklen, S. K. (2003). *Qualitative research for education: An introduction to theories and methods* (4th ed.). Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Bowers, C. A. and Flinders, D. J. (1990). *Responsive teaching: An ecological approach to classroom practices of language, culture, and thought.* New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

Bulach, C., Brown, C., & Potter, L. (1998). Behaviors that create a caring learning community. *Journal for a Just and Caring Education, 4*(4), 441-453.

CNN.com (2008). *Alvin Poussaint - Commentary: Obama, Cosby, King and the mountaintop*. Retrieved 12/29/2008 from: http://www.cnn.com/2008/POLITICS/11/12/poussaint.obama/

Collier, M. (2005). An ethic of caring: The fuel for high teacher efficacy. *The Urban Review*, 37(4), 351-359.

Cooper, P. M. (2002). Does race matter? A comparison of effective Black and White teachers of African American students. In J. J. Irvine (Ed.), *In search of wholeness: African American teachers and their culturally specific classroom practices* (pp. 33-45). New York: Palgrave.

Cothran, D. J., & Ennis, C. D. (2000). Building bridges to student engagement: Communicating respect and care for students in urban high schools. *Journal of Research and Development in Education, 33*(2), 107-117.

Cochran-Smith, M. (1997). Knowledge, skills, and experiences for teaching culturally diverse learners: A perspective for practicing teachers. In. J. J. Irvine (Ed.), *Critical knowledge for diverse teachers and learners*, pp. 27-87. Washington, D.C.: American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education.

Colaizzi, P. F. (1978). Psychological research as the phenomenologist views it. In R. Vaile and M. King (Eds.), *Existential phenomenological alternatives for psychology, pp.* 48-71. New York: Oxford University Press.

Collins, M. & Tamarkin, C. (1982). *Marva Collins' Way.* New York: Putnam.

Cornelius-White, J. (2007). Learner-Centered Teacher-Student Relationships Are Effective: A Meta-Analysis. *Review of Educational Research*, 77(1), 113-

131.Creswell, J. W. (1998). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among the five traditions*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Cutforth, N. J. (1999). Reconciling the moral and technical dimensions of teaching: Moving beyond notions of good and bad pedagogy. *Journal for a Just and Caring Education, 5*(4), 386-405.

Darling-Hammond, L. (1997). *The right to learn: A blueprint for creating schools that work.* San Francisco: Jossey Bass.

Delpit, L. (1995). *Other people's children: Cultural conflict in the classroom*. New York: New Press.

DeCuir, J. T. and Dixson, A. D. (2004). So when it comes out they aren't that surprised that it is there: Using critical race theory as a tool of analysis of race and racism in education. *Educational Researcher, 33*(5), 26-30.

Denbo, S. J., & Beaulieu, L. M. (Eds.), (2002). *Improving schools for African American students: A reader for educational leaders*. Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas.

Derrida, J. (1978). Genesis and structure and phenomenology, In A. Bass (Ed.). *Writing and Difference,* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Dillon, D. R. (1989). Showing them that I want them to learn and that I care about who they are: A microethnography of the social organization of a secondary low-track English reading classroom. *American Education Research Journal, 26*(2), 227-259.

Donaldson, K. B. (1996). *Through students' eyes: Combating racism in United States schools.* Westport, CN: Praeger.

Eaker-Rich, D., & Van Galen, J. (Eds.). (1996). *Caring in an unjust world: Negotiating borders and barriers in schools*. New York: State University of New York Press.

Ed.Gov (2004). New no child left behind flexibility: Highly qualified teachers. *Ed.gov Fact Sheet.* March. Retrieved from: http://www.ed.gov/nclb/methods/teachers/hqtflexibility.html. Jan 29, 2009.

Emerson, R.M. (2001) *Contemporary Field Research: Perspectives and Formulations*, 2nd edn. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press.

Errante, A. (2000). But sometimes you're not part of the story: Oral histories and ways of remembering and telling. *Educational Researcher, 29*(2), 16-27.

Fajet, W; Bello, M; Leftwich, S. A.; Messler, J. L; and Shaver, A. N. (2005). Pre service teachers' perceptions in beginning education classes. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 21*(6), 717-727.

Ferreira, M. M., Smith, G. R., & Bosworth (2002). Critical dimensions of the caring culture of an urban middle school. *International Electronic Journal for Leadership in Learning, 6*(2), 1-14.

Flowers, D. A. (2000). Codeswitching and ebonics in urban adult basic education classrooms. *Education and Urban Society, 32*(2), 221-236.

Foster, M. (1990). The politics of race through the eyes of African American teachers. *Journal of Education, 172*(3), 123-141.

Foster, M. (1993). Educating for competence in community and culture: Exploring the views of exemplary African-American teachers. *Urban Education, 27*(4), 370-394.

Foster, M. (1997). *Black teachers on teaching*. New York: New Press.

Gay, G. (Ed.). (2000). *Culturally responsive teaching: Theory, research, and practice*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Gay, G. (2003). Developing cultural critical consciousness and self-reflection in preservice teacher education. *Theory into Practice. 42*(3), pp 181-187.

Geertz, C. (1973). Thick description: Toward an interpretative theory of culture. In *The Interpretation of Cultures*, New York: Basic Books.

Gilligan, C. (1982). *In a different voice*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Gomez, M. L. Allen, A. R. & Clinton C. (2004). Cultural models of care in teaching: A case study of one pre-service secondary teacher. Teaching and Teacher Education: An International Journal of Research and Studies. *20*(5) pp.473-488.

Grieco, E. M., & Cassidy, R. C. (2001). *Overview of race and Hispanic origin: Census 2000 brief.* Retrieved May 8, 2005, from www.census.gov/population/www/cen2000/briefs.html.

Groenewald, T. (2004). A phenomenological research design illustrated. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods, 3*(1), 1-26.

Gutierrez, B. (2007). The difference a principal makes. *AJC.com, April 2, 2007.* Retrieved June 20, 2008, from http://www.city-data.com/forum/atlanta/111551-lakeside-hs-versus-druid-hills-hs.html.

Hale, J. (2001). *Learning while Black: Creating educational excellence for African American children.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Honora, D. (2003). Urban African American adolescents and school identification. *Urban Education, 38*(1), 58-76.

Howard, T. C. (2001a). Powerful pedagogy for African American students: A case of four teachers. *Urban Education*, *36*(2), 179-202.

Howard, T. C. (2001b). Telling their side of the story: African American students' perceptions of culturally relevant teaching. *The Urban Review*, *33*(2), 131-149.

Howard, T. C. (2002). Hearing footsteps in the dark: African American students' descriptions of effective teachers*, Journal of Education for Students Placed at Risk*, *7*(4), 425-444.

Howard, T. C. (2003a). Culturally relevant pedagogy: Ingredients for critical teacher reflection. *Theory Into Practice, 42*(3), 195-202.

Howard, T. C. (2003b). A tug of war for our minds: African American high school students' perceptions of their academic identities and college aspirations. *High School Journal, 87*(1), 4-17.

Irvine, J. J. (1990). *Black students and school failure*. Westport, CT: Praeger.

Irvine, J. J. (1999). The education of children whose nightmares come both day and night. *The Journal of Negro Education*, *68*(3), 244-254.

Irvine, J. J. (2001). Caring, competent teachers in complex classrooms. Charles W. Hunt memorial lecture AACTE 53rd Annual Meeting in Dallas Texas. Washington D.C: AACTE Publications.

Irvine, J. J. (Ed.). (2002). *In search of wholeness: African American teachers and their culturally specific classroom practices.* New York: Palgrave.

Irvine, J. J., & Fraser, J. W. (1998). Warm demanders: Do national certification standards leave room for the culturally responsive pedagogy of African-American teachers? *Education Week, 17*(35), 56-57.

Irvine, R. W., & Irvine, J. J. (1983). The impact of the desegregation process on the education of black students: Key variables. *The Journal of Negro Education*, *52*(4), 410-422.

Jones, F. C. (1982). Dunbar high school of Little Rock: A model of educational excellence. *Phi Delta Kappan*, April, 540-542.

Jones-Wilson, F. C. & Davis, E. G. (2003). *Paul Laurence Dunbar High School of Little Rock, Arkansas: Take from Our Lips a Song, Dunbar, to Thee*. Virginia Beach, VA : Donning Co.

Johnson, S., & Prom-Jackson, S. (1986). The memorable teacher. *The Journal of Negro Education*, *55*, 272-283.

Katz, S. R. (1999). Teaching in tensions: Latino immigrant youth, their teachers, and the structures of schooling. *Teachers College Record*, *100* (4), 809-840.

King, J. E. (1991). Dysconscious racism: Ideology, identity, and the miseducation of teachers. *The Journal of Negro Education*, *60*(2), 133-146.

King, S. (1993). The limited presence of African American teachers. *Review of Educational Research*, *63*(2), 115-149.

Knight, M. G. (2004). Sensing the urgency: Envisioning a black humanist vision of care in teacher education. *Race Ethnicity and Education, 7*(3), 211-227.

Kohlberg, L. (1984). Essays on Moral Development, Vol. II: The Psychology of Moral Development. New York: Harper & Row.

Kozol, J. (2005). *The shame of the nation.* New York, NY: Three Rivers Press.

Kunjufu, J. (2002). *Black students – Middle class teachers*. Chicago: African American Images.

Ladson-Billings, G. (1992a). Culturally relevant teaching: The key to making multicultural education work. In C. A. Grant (Ed.), *Research and multicultural education,* (pp. 106-121). Washington, DC: Falmer Press.

Ladson-Billings, G. (1992b). Libratory consequences of literacy: A case of culturally relevant instruction for African American students. *The Journal of Negro Education*, *61*(3), 378-390.

Ladson-Billings, G. (1994). *The dreamkeepers: Successful teachers of African American children*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Ladson-Billings, G. (1995a). Toward a theory of culturally relevant pedagogy. *American Education Research Journal*, *32*(3), 465-491.

Ladson-Billings, G. (1995b). But that's just good teaching! The case for culturally relevant pedagogy. In S. J. Denbo & L. M. Beaulieu (Eds.), *Improving schools for African American students* (pp. 95-102). Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas.

Ladson-Billings, G. (1998). Just what is critical race theory and what's it doing in a nice field like education? *Qualitative Studies in Education*, *11*(1), 7-24

Ladson-Billings, G. (2000). Fighting for our lives: Preparing teachers to teach African American students. *Journal of Teacher Education*, *51*(3), 206-214.

Ladson-Billings, G and Tate, W. F. (1995). Toward a critical race theory of education. *Teachers College Record,* 97(1), 47-68.

Lee, P. W. (1999). In their own voices: An ethnographic study of low-achieving students within the context of school reform. *Urban Education, 34*(2), 214-244.

Lewis, A.E. (2001). There is no "race" in the schoolyard: Color blind ideology in an (almost) all-white school. *American Education Research Journal*, 38(4), 781-811.

Lipka, R. P. & Brinthaupt, T. M. (Eds). (1999). *The Role of Self in Teacher Development.* New York: SUNY Press.

Lipman, P. (1998). *Race, class, and power in school restructuring*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Lopez, G.R. (2003). The (racially neutral) politics of education: A critical race theory perspective. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, 39(1), 68-94.

Maso, I. (2001) 'Phenomenology and Ethnography', in P. Atkinson, S. Delamont, J. Lofland and L. Lofland (eds) *Handbook of Ethnography*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

McAllister, G. & Irvine, J. J. (2002). The role of empathy in teaching culturally diverse students: A qualitative study of teachers' beliefs. *Journal of Teacher Education, 53*(5), 433-443.

McCullough-Garrett, A. (1993). Reclaiming the African American vision for teaching: Toward an educational conversation. *The Journal of Negro Education, 62*(4), 433-440.

Merriam, S. (1988). *Case Study Research in Education: A Qualitative Approach*. San Francisco: Jossey Bass.

Monroe, C., & Obidah, J. E. (2003). The influence of cultural synchronization on a teacher's perceptions of disruption. *Journal of Teacher Education, 10*(10), 1-13.

Morris, V. G., & Morris, C. L. (2000). *Creating caring and nurturing educational environments for African American children.* Westport, CN: Bergin and Garvey.

Morris, V. G., & Morris, C. L. (2002). Caring – The missing "C" in teacher education. *Journal of Teacher Education, 53*(2), 120-122.

Moustakas, C. (1994). *Phenomenological Research Methods,* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP). (2002a). National/Public reading composite grade 12 1992, 1994, 1998, and 2002: Gaps and changes in gaps for selected subgroups. *Nation's Report Card*. Retrieved May 20, 2005, from http://nces.ed.gov/nations reportcard/naepdata/getdata.asp

National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP). (2002b). National/Public writing composite grade 12 1992, 1994, 1998, and 2002: Gaps and changes in gaps for

selected subgroups. *Nations Report Card*. Retrieved May 20, 2005 from http://nces.ed.gov/nations reportcard/naepdata/getdata.asp

National Center for Educational Statistics (NCES). (2004). Percent of high school dropouts (status dropouts) among persons 16 to 24 years old, by sex and race/ethnicity: Selected years April 1960 to October 2001. *Digest of Education Statistics*. Retrieved June 4, 2005 from http://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d03/tables/dt107.asp

National Educational Association (NEA). (2003). Status of the American public school teacher: Race – all teachers 1971-2001: Washington, DC. *NEA Research*. Retrieved March 4, 2008 from http://www.nea.org/edstats/images/status.pdf

Nieto, S. (1996). Foreword. In K.B. Donaldson (Ed.), *Through students' eyes: Combating racism in United States schools,* (pp. vii-ix). Westport, CN: Praeger.

Noblit, G.W. (1993). Power and caring. *American Education Research Journal, 30*(1), 23-28.

Noblit, G. W., Rogers, D. L., & McCadden (1995). In the meantime: The possibilities of caring. *Phi Delta Kappan, 76*(9), 680-696.

Noddings, N. (1984). *Caring: A feminine approach to ethics and education.* Berkley: University of California Press.

Noddings, N. (1988). An ethic of caring and its implications for instructional arrangements. *American Journal of Education*, *96*(2), 215-230.

Noddings, N. (1989). *Developing Models of Caring in the Professions*. Paper presented at AERA San Francisco, CA March 27-31.

Noddings, N. (1992). *The challenge to care in schools: An alternative approach to education*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Noddings, N. (1995). Teaching themes of care. *Phi Delta Kappan*, *76*(9), 675-680.

Noddings, N. (2002a). *Educating moral people: A caring alternative to character education.* New York: Teachers College Press.

Noddings, N. (2002b). *Starting at home caring and social policy.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Noddings, N. (2006). *Critical Lessons: What our Schools Should Teach.* New York: Cambridge Univ Press.

Noddings, N. (2007). *When school reform goes wrong.* New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

Oakes, J. & Lipton, M. (1999). *Teaching to change the world.* Boston: McGraw-Hill.

Owens, L. M. & Ennis, C. D. (2005). The ethic of care in teaching: An overview of supportive literature. *Quest the National Association for Kinesiology and Physical Education in Higher Education, 57,* 392-425.

Palmer, P. J. (2003). Teaching with heart and soul: Reflections on spirituality in teacher education. *Journal of Teacher Education*, *54*(5), 376-385.

Parker, L. Deyhle, D. & Villenas, S. (Eds). (1999). Race Is Race Isn't: Critical Race Theory and Qualitative Studies in Education. Boulder: Westview Press

Parker, L. Deyhle, D. Villenas, S. & Nebeker, K. C. (1998). Guest editor's introduction: Critical race theory and qualitative studies in education. *Qualitative Studies in Education, 11*(1), 5-6.

Parsons, E. C. (2005). From caring as a relation to culturally relevant caring: A White teacher's bridge to Black students. *Equity & Excellence in Education, (38),* 25-34.

Peart, N. A., & Campbell, F. A. (1999). At-risk students' perceptions of teacher effectiveness. *Journal for a Just and Caring Education, 5*(3), 269-284.

Perry, T; Steele, C; & Hilliard, A. G. (2003). *Young, Gifted, and Black: Promoting High Achievement among African-American Students*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Rist, R. (2002). HER Classic: Student social class and teacher expectations: The self-fulfilling prophecy in ghetto education. *Harvard Educational Review*, *70*(3), 257-301.

Roderick, M. (2003). What's happening to the boys? Early high school experiences and school outcomes among African American male adolescents in Chicago. *Urban Education, 38*(5), 538-607.

Rogers, D., & Webb, J. (1991). The ethic of caring in teacher education. *Journal of Teacher Education, 42*(3), 173-181.

Rolón-Dow, R. (2005). Critical care: A color(full) analysis of care narratives in the schooling experiences of Puerto Rican girls. *American Education Research Journal,* 42(1), pp. 77-111.

Russell, D. Purkey, W. & Siegel, B. L. (1982). The artfully inviting teacher: A hierarchy of strategies. *Education, 103*(1), 35-38.

Sartre, J. P. (1956). *Being and Nothingness.* New York: Washington Square Press.

Schussler, D. L. & Collins, A. (2006). An empirical examination of the who, what, and how of school care. *Teachers College Record. 108*(7), 1460-1495.

Seidman, I. E. (1991). *Interviewing as qualitative research*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Siddle-Walker, V. (1993). Interpersonal caring in the "good" segregated schooling of African American children: Evidence from the case of Caswell County Training School. *The Urban Review, 25*(1), 63-77.

Siddle Walker V. (1996). Can institutions care? Evidence from the segregated schooling of African American children. In M. Shujaa (Ed.), *Beyond desegregation: the politics of quality in African American schooling* (pp. 209-226). Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press.

Siddle Walker V. (2000). Valued segregated schools for African American children in the south 1935-1969: A review of common themes and characteristics. *Review of Educational Research*, *70*, 253-285.

Siddle-Walker, V. (2001). African American teaching in the South 1940-1960. *American Education Research Journal, 38*(4), 755.

Siddle-Walker, V. & Archung, K. N. (2003). The segregated schooling of Blacks in the Southern US and South Africa. *Comparative Education Review, 47*(1), 21-40.

Siddle Walker, V., & Snarey, J. (Eds.). (2004). *Race-ing moral formation African American perspectives on care and justice.* New York: Teachers College Press.

Sizemore, R. W. (1981). Do Black and White students look for the same characteristics in teachers? *Journal of Negro Education, 50*, 48-53.

Slaughter-Defoe, D. T. & Carlson K. G. (1996). Young African American and Latino children in high poverty urban schools: How they perceive school climate. *The Journal of Negro Education, 65*(1), 60-70.

Smith, M. L. & Fey, P. (2000). Validity and accountability in high-stakes testing. Journal of Teacher Education, *51*(5), 334-344.

Solorzano, D. K. & Yosso, T. J. (2000). Toward a critical race theory of Chicana and Chicano education. In C. Tejeda, C. Martinez, Z. Learnado, & P. McLaren (Eds.), Charting new terrains of Chicana(o)/Latina(o) education (pp. 35-65).

Sowell, T. (1976). Patterns of Black excellence. *The Public Interest, 43,* 26-58.

Steele, C. M. (1992). Race and the schooling of Black Americans. *The Atlantic Monthly*, *269*(4), 68-78.

Talbert-Johnson, C. (2004). Structural inequality and the achievement gap in urban schools. *Education and Urban Society*, *37*(1), 22-36.

Tarlow, B. (1996). Caring: A negotiated process that varies. In S. Gordon; P. Brenner; & N. Noddings (Eds.), *Caregiving: Readings in knowledge, practice, ethics, and politics.* (pp. 56-82). Philadelphia: U. Penn Press

Thompson, A. (2004). Caring and colortalk. In V. Siddle Walker & J. Snarey (Eds.), *Race-ing moral formation African American perspectives on care and justice* (pp. 23-37). New York: Teachers College Press.

Thompson, G.L. (2004). *Through ebony eyes: What teachers need to know but are afraid to ask about African American students.* San Fransisco: Jossey Bass.

Thompson, G.L. (2007). *Up Where We Belong: Helping African American and Latino Students Rise in School and in Life.* San Fransisco: Jossey Bass.

Tillman, L. C. (2006). Researching and writing from an African American perspective: Reflective notes on three research studies. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, *19*(3), 265-287.

Toldson, I. A. (2008). *Breaking Barriers: Plotting the Path to Academic Success for School-age African-American Males*. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Black Caucus Foundation, Inc.

Uhlenberg, J. & Brown, K. B. (2002). Racial gap in teachers' perceptions of the achievement gap. *Education and Urban Society, 34*(4), 493-530.

Valenzuela, A. (1999). *Subtractive schooling: US – Mexican youth and the politics of caring.* New York: State University of New York Press.

Vasquez, J. A. (1988). Contexts of learning for minority students. *The Educational Forum, 52*(3), 243-253.

Villegas, A.M. (1991). *Culturally Responsive Pedagogy.* Washington D. C: Eric Clearinghouse on Teacher Education.

Ward, J. V. (1995). Cultivating a morality of care in African American adolescents: A culture-based model of violence prevention. *Harvard Educational Review, 65*(2), 175-189.

Ware, F. (2002a). *Warm Demanders: A Comparative and Generational Case Study of Two African American Urban Teachers.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Emory University, Atlanta, GA.

Ware, F. (2002b). Black teachers' perceptions of their professional roles and practices. In J. J. Irvine (Ed.), *In search of wholeness: African American teachers and their culturally specific classroom practices* (pp. 33-45). New York: Palgrave.

Ware, F. (2006). Warm demander pedagogy: Culturally responsive teaching that supports a culture of achievement for African American students. *Urban Education, 41*(4), 427-456.

Wentzel, K. (1997). Student motivation in middle school: The role of perceived pedagogical caring. *Journal of Educational Psychology, 89*(3), 411-419.

Wilder, M. (2000). Increasing African American teachers' presence in American schools: Voices of students who care. *Urban Education, 35*(2), 205-220.

Yin, R. (1994). *Case study research: Design and methods.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Appendices

Appendix A: Interview Guide - Information Gathering

1. Personal Demographic Questions (for classification purposes):
    a. Name, age, gender, race/cultural identification
2. Employment Related Demographic Questions (for classification purposes):
    a. Degree(s), certification(s) (what and where), number of years teaching, in this school, subjects currently teaching, awards or honors, cultural demographics of school.
3. You have been nominated by parents or administrators in this community as a teacher who is particularly successful with helping students achieve academically. Can you describe some of the things you do as a teacher that may explain why you were selected?
4. Do you believe that the way you care for students has anything to do with your nomination?
5. How would you characterize your philosophy of teaching, your approach, what would you call it?
6. In your opinion, what are the characteristics of a caring teacher?
7. Can you give examples of how teacher care operates in your classroom?
    a. Probes: academic, interpersonal, disciplinary, others? [probe for stories]
8. Do you think caring operates successfully in your classroom? Probe: why?
9. (Do ***not*** ask male teachers until after male questions have been asked) How do you feel about touch/proximity (hugs, back pats) as a way of showing care?
10. Compared to the point about teaching you made earlier, how central would you say caring is – does it matter?
11. For my research records, can you give me your own definition of care?

12. Do you think your capacity to raise achievement is a fair characterization of yourself? (Were people correct when they said you could do this?)
    a. Based on what evidence?
13. Suppose you cut care out of your interactions with students, do you think you would still be effective? Why or why not?
14. In your mind, how do discipline and care interact – or do they?
15. (If applicable) So, being African American yourself, is there any special type of caring obligation, or role, that you feel you should play for your Black students, or in their lives?
16. (If applicable) Because you are European American, is there any special type of caring obligation, or role, that you feel you should play for your Black students, or in their lives?
17. I am going to read you a teacher's comments and then ask you to respond to some question regarding them ok?
    a. Society has changed. Everything has changed from when I first started teaching because the parenting has changed. The school boards have changed. Everything has changed. I think hip-hop has really had a negative influence on our black children. And materialism, certain things in society that they're just engulfed with, has made a huge difference. My students don't perform as well now as they use to. And I don't know whether it's me or them, but they have so many outside influences today that they didn't have back then and there's so much more permissiveness from the parents, and the society, and the courts, and everywhere else that they have so many

distractions that – and they don't even understand that these are distractions and that it could be hurting them.

b. Do these types of issues affect your teacher care for AAS in any way? If so how? If not, why not?

18. Historical literature, talks about the fact that Black teachers often felt a responsibility to help their Black students understand the concept of, "Because you are African American you have to work twice as hard, and do twice as much, to be equally as successful". A, do you believe this? And B, if so, how do you prepare your students for that?
19. Since you teach at a predominately African American/European American school, are there different things you find yourself doing to care for your African American students than you would if this was not a predominately African American/European American school?
20. If applicable. When I asked if you provide a different type of care for your AAS. You told me no, but you have shared things with me like _____ that show you do. How do you make sense of that?

Questions for Male Teachers only

21. Does being a male teacher impact the way you care for your students in any way?
22. I am going to read you a teacher's comments and then ask you to respond to some questions regarding them ok?

a. I think there is a difference, especially in our school because you have kids that are being raised by step-parents, step-dads or no dads and if you're not wise or careful with it, or your strict on a girl but you're not mean to her, because you're just helping her better herself, and she doesn't get that

from a male any other time, she thinks she has a crush on you and because she's she's 17, 16. She doesn't know that it's not a crush. It's just what she's missing in her life. So, you have to be real careful with that. Now, a lot of people have mothers. So, the motherly type of love is accepted but it's different for male teachers.

a. Do these types of issues affect your teacher care for AAS in any way? If so how? If not, why not?

Closing Questions

1. Is there anything you would like to add to the information we have discussed today?
2. I am going to create a profile of you based on the information you have given me. Once I have completed that, I would like to present it to you and ask what you think about it. Would it be ok for me to contact you at another time to do that and to clear up anything I did not understand? (Get contact info).
3. Thank you for your time!

Appendix: B Interview Guide – Member Checking

1. Now that you have seen your profile, please take a second to think about how you have been presented and the examples of teacher care you have given me.
2. Are there any places where I misrepresented your words?
3. Looking back on these things in retrospect, is there anything else you would like to say about your teacher care for your African American students?

Appendix C: Interview Guide - Clarification

1. Is there anything else you would like to add to any of the information you have given me?

I will additionally address any final questions I may have, member check profiles and developed codes, and thank the participant for their time.

Appendix D: Review of Literature Table

Teacher Care			
Author(s)	**Method**	**Grade Level/Sample**	**Findings**
Agne, Greenwood, & Miller (1994)	Quantitative Questionnaire Study	✎ Various Grades ✎ Teachers-of-the-year and in-service teachers	✎ Found differences in teacher effectiveness as a result of teacher beliefs. Stress that the essential part of teacher beliefs is teacher care. ✎ Also found that TOTY held more caring beliefs about students than other classroom teachers in their study.
Alder (2002)	Interpretive Qualitative Study with interviews and observations	✎ Middle School ✎ Two teachers identified as "particularly caring," 12 of their 50 students, team members, counselors, administrators and others	✎ Students were not uniform on the subject of whether teachers are caring but clearly felt it was important for teachers to care.
Cornelius-White (2007)	Meta-analysis	✎ 1,000 articles ✎ 119 studies from 1948 to 2004. ✎ Over 355,325 students, 14,851 teachers and 2,439 schools. ✎ Students included were in grades one through 12	✎ "learner-centered teacher variables" such as empathy, warmth, positive relationships, and encouraging thinking and learning had above-average associations with positive student outcomes such as participation, critical thinking, satisfaction, self-esteem, math achievement, verbal achievement, IQ, grades, attendance, and reduction in disruptive behavior.
Wentzel (1997)	Quantitative Questionnaire Study	✎ Middle School ✎ 248 6^{th} -8^{th} grade students	✎ Study showed a strong instance in which perceived caring from teachers predicted motivational outcomes for students even when levels of personal psychological distress or previous motivation were considered.

Teacher Care and African American Students			
Author(s)	**Method**	**Sample**	**Findings**
Howard (2003b)	Qualitative Interview Study	✎ High School ✎ 20 African American students in two schools	✎ Students felt a lack of teacher-student relationship and said this lack impacted classroom environment, resulted in overall lack of teacher care, and caused teacher apathy. ✎ Students mentioned that a lack of teacher care affected their motivation in the classroom and beyond.
Lee (1999)	Qualitative Ethnography Study	✎ High School ✎ 40 – 10th through 12th grade "low performing students of color"	✎ African American students identified teacher apathy, lack of caring, and low expectations as reasons for their underachievement.
Slaughter Defoe & Carlson (1996)	Quantitative Survey Study	✎ Elementary ✎ 1,000 African American and 260 Latino 3rd grade children	✎ African American children in the study viewed teacher-student relations as the most important dimension of school climate ✎ Researchers affirmed that affective, nurturing, teachers are consistently found to be of key importance in the early development and learning of African American children.
Vasquez (1988)	Lit Review	✎ Various Grades ✎ Classroom atmospheres that are commonly found in American schools and implications for the instruction of minority students	✎ Teacher care is an important part of a successful classroom environment for minority students because student perceptions concerning teacher care seem to have meaningful impact on student performance and behavior. ✎ "Warm Demander" a type of teacher that demonstrates traits often defined as caring and has success with minority students. ✎ A direct relationship between academic achievement and a caring classroom has not been identified but a caring classroom environment is nevertheless an important variable in student success.

African American Teacher Care for African American Students			
Author(s)	**Method**	**Sample**	**Findings**
Siddle-Walker (1993)	Qualitative (Case Study)	✎ Caswell county Training School ✎ School identified as "good" by the AA community surrounding it. ✎ Former students, teachers, administrators, and parents	✎ A constant finding in the research on good segregated schools is the importance of caring relationships in the educational environment. ✓ Compared Foster (1990, 1991) to Irvine and Irvine (1984) Sewell (1976) Jones (1981) and others and determines that these studies provide an assertion that within African American segregated school environments that, "an attribute called caring was a dominant factor in defining the goodness of the school." This "caring" seems to have been associated with the following: (a) The creation of a "homelike environment, (b) Teachers and students interacting in a personal, familial way, © An environment of support and encouragement, (d) A place where teachers were committed to helping children excel and expressed confidence in their abilities, (e) A place where teachers "pushed children" to learn in their classes, (f) Have conversations and give advice about personal matters, (g) Were sensitive to the feelings of students who were "having difficulty" academically by not embarrassing them in front of others, (h) Treated each student differently, (i) Provided clothes for children, (j)Acted as counselors, (k) Participated in what we now refer to as colortalk or sociopolitical critique by advising children of the importance of being "better than good" if they were going to "make it in life" ✎ Students interviewed (through unsolicited reflections) confirm that they did receive the type of individual help and personal inspiration from their teachers that made them successful ✎ There were a small amount of interviews that suggested that students perceived differences in how they were treated by their teachers based on: proximity to town, skin color, academic competence, and familial relationships with teachers.

Foster (1993)	Qualitative Ethnographic Study	✎ Secondary, Elementary and Junior High ✎ 17 Experienced, exemplary, Black teachers	✎ African American teachers say they purposely demonstrate a special culturally-relevant care for their students ✎ African American teachers' decisions to care in particularly culturally relevant ways has resulted in many positive outcomes for African American students ✎ African American teachers are able to communicate with African American students about the power, value and consequences of choosing to achieve academically. ✎ There are an ever diminishing number of Black teachers that talk honestly with African American students and parents. ✎ The result of the diminishing African American teaching population is an increasing passivity in how Black students view school and academic achievement
King (1993)	Lit Review	✎ Various Grades ✎ What is known from the research literature about why African American teachers are important as well as what overall demographic, entry and retention trends are influencing the limited presence of these teachers	✎ Often African American teachers see themselves caring about African American youth and education as one step in improving the quality of life for all ✎ Much can be learned from the successful pedagogical practices of African American teachers in terms of the successful education of African American and all students. ✎ Many African American teachers relate to students and parents of color in ways that are culturally congruent and pedagogically responsive. ✎ Future research should explore how the experiences of African American teachers compare and/or differ from those of Euro American teachers. ✎ A myriad of reports depict a crisis related to the limited presence of African American teachers and the low numbers of all teachers of color.
Wilder (2000)	Qualitative Interview Study	✎ College Freshmen ✎ 12 African American respondents ages 18 and 19	✎ Many students discussed not having African American secondary teachers but remembered and expressed appreciation for culturally-specific things done by African American teachers in earlier years such as teaching about

			Africa, engaging in sociopolitical critique, and encouraging academic success. ✎ Students said that African American teachers: increase student confidence, introduce the African American culture, and focus on connections between education and global awareness. ✎ Other student respondents who had not experienced African American teachers did not express specific concern over the lack.

1
2

1
2

European American Teacher Care for African American Students

Author(s)	Method	Sample	Findings
Cooper (2000)	Qualitative Case Study	✎ Primary School ✎ 3 White teachers of black children	✎ Cooper found that her teachers' actions were similar to those described in the literature on effective Black teachers of African American students ✎ She found a divergence with the literature in where each teacher placed the locus of judgment about their behaviors and in a lack of direct race based discussion
Parsons (2005)	Qualitative Inquiry Study	✎ Elementary School ✎ One White female teacher of black children	✎ Parsons found that her single white respondent was able to establish a community of care in the classroom ✎ She referred to this teacher as a freedom fighter, demonstrating care through social justice ✎ Parsons' teacher also demonstrated a lack of racial consciousness by not addressing the realities of life outside her classroom for her Black students.
Cothran & Ennis (2000)	Qualitative Study	✎ High School ✎ Four White physical education teachers	✎ Examined how students and teachers perceived their current levels of engagement with one another ✎ Teacher/student data showed that barriers to student engagement were felt but also showed that these barriers were flexible and responsive to teachers' actions. ✎ Student respondents reported that they were more willing to engage if they felt teachers cared. ✎ The primarily Black student population of the study designated the teachers of interest as caring.
Dillion (1989)	Qualitative	✎ Elementary School ✎ One White male teacher	✎ Examined the establishment of social organization in one teachers' classroom. ✎ Students commented that this teacher's caring actions were important to them and contributed to their learning and attitude toward reading ✎ Students discussed other positive responses to care such as attending class, participating during class, and completing assignments. ✎ The teacher stated that he wanted students to know they were cared about.
King (1991)	Opinion Piece	✎ Pre-Service Teachers	✎ Researcher found examples of a dysconscious racism"

		✎ African American teacher educator	existing in the beliefs and behaviors of some pre- and in-service White teachers that supports dominant White norms and privileges and focuses on negative rather than positive characteristics of African Americans. ✎ Recommends that prospective teachers reconstruct their social knowledge and self-identities and be made aware of oppression

Appendix *E: Participant Table*

Name	Gender	Age	Years of Exp.	Courses Taught	Awards Won	School
John Perkins	EA/Male	56	33	• Social Studies • AP Psychology • Econ – Gen Level	• Star Teacher • Teacher of the Year	Rivers Edge
Grover Sturken	EA/Male	47	11	• Four British Lit advanced • One AP Brit Lit	• TOTY 07-08	Rivers Edge
Nellie Bushmore	EA/Female	43	17	• This year four gifted Chemistries • 4th period graduation test tutorial class	• NBC Teacher only AYA science NBC in county • TOTY 5 or 6 years ago	Rivers Edge
Betty James	AA/Female	56	23	• General level Brit Lit. 12th • Impact (gifted) World Lit 10th • AP Lit.	• TOTY 07-08, 92-94 • Star Teacher • Won a grant to study @ Oxford for a month over this summer	Rivers Edge
*Ellen Dotson	AA/Female	54	3½	✓ US History 11th Grade ✓ World History 10th Grade Advanced	✓ Teacher of the Year 2006-07 ✓ Star Rising Teacher 2005-06 ✓ Whose Who in Teaching in America ✓ National Honor Roll Award	Martin Konner
*Fran Carter	AA/Female	45	18	✓ Family and Consumer Science 9th -12th grade	✓ Teacher of the Year ✓ Student Special Need Services Award	Martin Konner
*Ann Hope	AA/Female	42	20	✓ AP Calculus ✓ Pre Calculus	✓ n/a	Martin Konner
*Farah Delano	AA/Female	52	28	✓ IB Biology ✓ AP Human Anatomy ✓ Physiology	✓ Teacher of the Year	Martin Konner
*Julius Armstrong	AA/Male	32	10	✓ 12th Grade Economics	✓ Nominated for Teacher of the Year	Martin Konner

Name	Gender	Age	Years of Exp.	Courses Taught	Awards Won	School
Teddy Stubbins	EA/Male	58	30-35	• Civics • Adv. World Geography (9^{th} grade)	• The Atlanta Braves Foundation Award • Presidential Leadership Award from KSU • Medal of Honor from the country of Peru	Marvin Konner
*Kevnie Green	Female	42	3	• Chemistry • Physical Science	• Returning Students	Jefferson
*Ann Hunter	EA/Female	32	6	• World Hst 10^{th} AP this Semester	• Star Teacher (P. College) • TOTY Finalist 2007-08 • Gifted and AP Certified	Jefferson
*Francina Irvine	Female	58	36	• Algebra III • Algebra II • Basic Math	• Teacher of the Year 1999-2000	Jefferson
Linda Ortiz	EA/Female	39	15	• 9^{th} Grade Lit/comp • 9^{th} grade magnet adv gifted • 12^{th} AP lit/comp	• Scholarships • Prior students have become teachers • Returning students	Jefferson
*Marge Simpson	Female	35	7	• American Literature • AP American Literature	• Returning Students	Jefferson
Alice Jerkins	AA/Female	53	32	✓ AP English ✓ General Brit Lit/Comp	✓ Star Teacher	Wood Ridge
Marylou St. Claire	EA/Female	41	18	✓ Algebra I ✓ Trig Advanced ✓ AP Calculus.	✓ TOTY Civic Org. ✓ Yearbook dedication	Wood Ridge

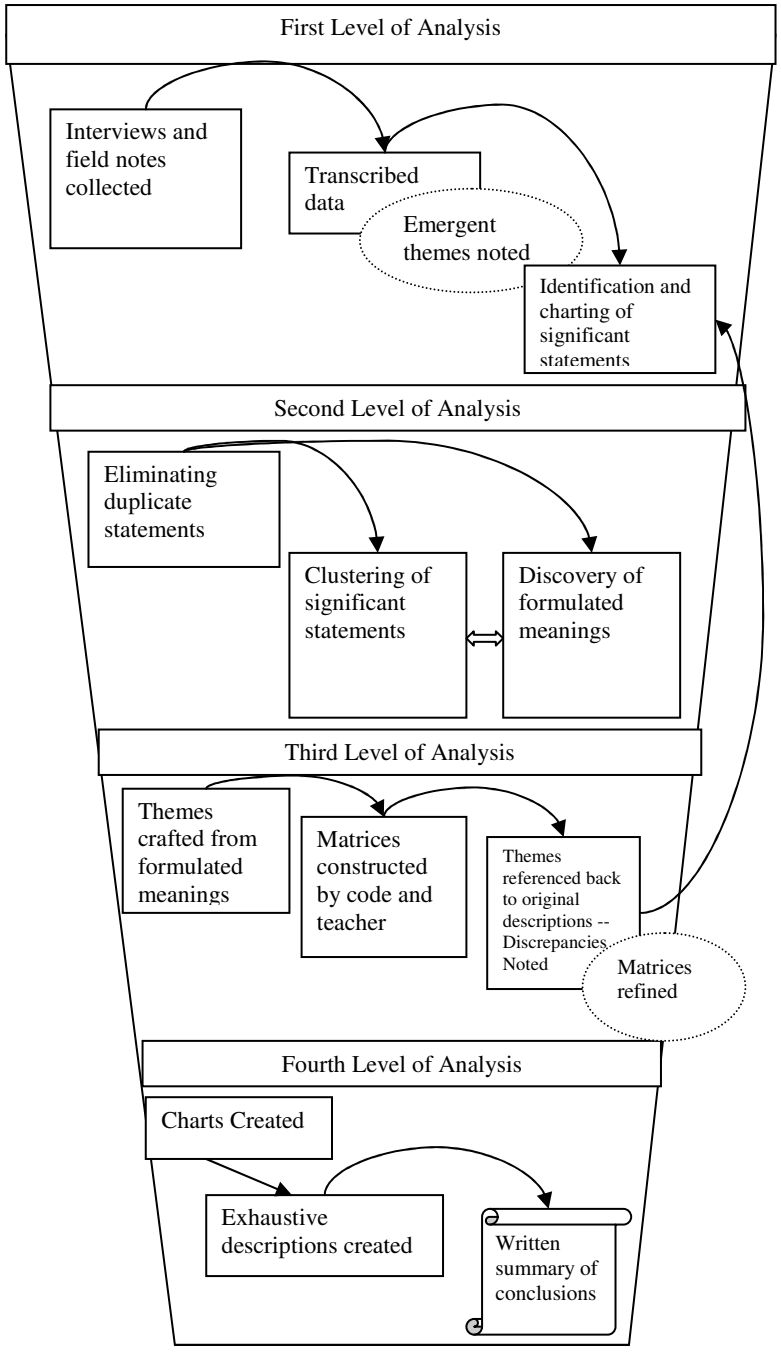
1 * *Interview originally gathered for pilot.*

2

Appendix F: Access Memo

Three nominees in the dissertation pool, one Black two White, claimed that their schedules were extremely heavy but after consistent contact between October and February, eventually made time for an interview. Five other African American nominees would, could, or did not participate and seemed somewhat resistant. For example, one of the African American nominees flatly refused to participate by e-mail before even speaking with me. After many unanswered letters and e-mails, I hastened to introduce myself to another Black male nominee sure, that I would finally get a response when he spoke directly with me and saw our shared ethnicity. Much to my surprise he looked directly at me and said, "yeah, I know who you are," before casually walking away without addressing the fact that he *knew* an interview was the purpose of my visit. One female agreed to an interview early in November but never responded to my many attempts to schedule. Another agreed but then said her schedule grew too heavy because "I am in school like you are and things are just rough." A final nominee, put me off during a visit with the promise of scheduling an interview, and then never returned any other contact. When procuring nominations of White teachers, I also experienced an intentional lack of response from the three African American counselors at Marvin Konnor, which concluded with one of them e-mailing me to tell me that all three of them were too busy, and "would not be able to help me."

Appendix G: Summary of Qualitative Data Analysis



Appendix H:Codes - Temperance, Clarity and Consistency, Environment, and Individualization of Instruction

Temperance – Codes – Representation across African American (AA) and European American (EA) Teachers

Code	Teachers Represented		Total	Not Represented	
	AA	EA		AA	EA
Have Compassion	4 (40%)	3 (42%)	7	6	4
Be Firm but Fair	3 (30%)	2 (28%)	5	7	5
Give Chances	4 (40%)	3 (42%)	7	6	4

Temperance – Codes – Representation across Teachers in Primarily African American (AAS) and European American (EAS) School Populations

Code	Teachers Represented		Total	Not Represented	
	AAS	EAS		AAS	EAS
Have Compassion	3 (27%)	4 (66%)	7	8	2
Be Firm but Fair	3 (27%)	2 (33%)	5	8	4
Give Chances	4 (36%)	3 (50%)	7	7	3

Clarity and Consistency – Codes – Representation across African American (AA) and European American (EA) Teachers

Code	Teachers Represented		Total	Not Represented	
	AA	EA		AA	EA
Of Rules	3 (30%)	3 (42%)	6	7	4
Of Expectations	6 (60%)	3 (42%)	9	4	4

Clarity and Consistency – Codes – Representation across Teachers in Primarily African American (AAS) and European American (EAS) School Populations

Code	Teachers Represented		Total	Not Represented	
	AAS	EAS		AAS	EAS
Of Rules	4 (36%)	2 (33%)	6	7	4
Of Expectations	6 (54%)	3 (50%)	9	5	3

Environment – Codes – Representation across African American (AA) and European American (EA) Teachers

Code	Teachers Represented		Total	Not Represented	
	AA	EA		AA	EA
Safe Environment	2 (20%)	2 (28%)	4	8	5
Comfortable Environment	2 (20%)	1 (14%)	3	8	6

Environment – Codes – Representation across Teachers in Primarily African American (AAS) and European American (EAS) School Populations

Code	Teachers Represented		Total	Not Represented	
	AAS	EAS		AAS	EAS
Safe Environment	3 (27%)	1 (16%)	4	8	5
Comfortable Environment	1 (9%)	2 (33%)	3	10	4

Individualization of Instruction – Codes – Representation across African American (AA) and European American (EA) Teachers

Code	Teachers Represented		Total	Not Represented	
	AA	EA		AA	EA
*	7 (70%)	6 (85%)	13	3	1

**Note. - Code and theme are the same*

Individualization of Instruction – Codes – Representation across Teachers in Primarily African American (AAS) and European American (EAS) School Populations

Code	Teachers Represented		Total	Not Represented	
	AAS	EAS		AAS	EAS
*	8 (72%)	5 (83%)	13	3	1

**Note. - Code and theme are the same*

Appendix I: Codes – Influential Inspiration - with Details of "Other" Category

Name	School	Influential Inspiration				
		Parents	K-12 Teachers	Teacher Ed.	Other	*Details of Other*
John Perkins	Rivers Edge					
Grover Sturken	Rivers Edge					
Nellie Bushmore	Rivers Edge			2	1	National Board Certification process
Betty James	Rivers Edge		1	2		
Alice Jerkins	Wood Ridge	2	1		2	Teaching Black kids, Having children
Marylou St. Claire	Wood Ridge	1				
*Ellen Dotson	Martin Konner	1	1		1	Church upbringing
*Fran Carter	Martin Konner		1			
*Ann Hope	Martin Konner					
*Farah Delano	Martin Konner	2	2		1	College Science Professor
*Julius Armstrong	Martin Konner		1		2	1st Year teaching experience at segregated high school
Teddy Stubbins	Marvin Konner			1	2	Travel outside US Staff Development
*Kevnie Green	Jefferson			1		
*Ann Hunter	Jefferson			4	2	YMCA, Family Racism
*Francina Irvine	Jefferson	1				
Linda Ortiz	Jefferson	1				
*Marge Simpson	Jefferson	1	1			
Ratio		50% B 28% W	70% B 0% W	20% B 42% W	40% B 42% W	