

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:

Jennifer Nelson

Date

Nonsymmetrical Effects of Racial Diversity on Organizational Minority Members:
Evidence from the Teaching Profession

By

Jennifer Lauren Nelson

Doctor of Philosophy

Sociology

Richard Rubinson

Advisor

James Ainsworth

Committee Member

Karen Hegtvedt

Committee Member

Beth Bechky

Committee Member

Ellen Idler

Committee Member

Accepted:

Lisa A. Tedesco, Ph.D.

Dean of the James T. Laney School of Graduate Studies

Date

Nonsymmetrical Effects of Racial Diversity on Organizational Minority Members:
Evidence from the Teaching Profession

By

Jennifer Lauren Nelson

B.A., Columbia University, 2008

M.A., Emory University, 2013

Advisor: Richard Rubinson, Ph.D.

An abstract of

A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the
James T. Laney School of Graduate Studies of Emory University

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in Sociology

2018

Abstract

Nonsymmetrical Effects of Racial Diversity on Organizational Minority Members: Evidence from the Teaching Profession

By Jennifer L. Nelson

Whom does diversity benefit? Previous quantitative studies of the effect of demographic composition on worker outcomes find that job satisfaction, commitment, and psychological attachment to the workgroup are lower for whites who work among larger numbers of nonwhite colleagues. However, these outcomes are positively or not affected for nonwhites working among a majority of whites. In contrast, qualitative studies on composition effects have historically focused on high-status occupations in which previously underrepresented groups have gained representation in the workplace, finding that these groups' experiences are more negative than the incumbent groups'. This dissertation makes a new contribution to organizational demography research by examining diversity effects using mixed data drawn from a mid-status but largely racially segregated occupation, teaching. I argue that because measures of demographic difference used in prior research typically do not gauge actual contact in the workplace, and because relational dynamics in teaching differ from those found in empirical contexts of extant research, the expected direction of the nonsymmetrical effects of diversity will differ.

Chapter 1 reviews organizational and sociological literature on the effects of demographic difference in the workplace. I describe the organizational problems that stem from ignoring diversity – either the presence or absence of it – as they appeared in the research sites selected for this study. The subsequent chapters all rely on data I collected over one year in five public high schools in one metropolitan area in the Southeastern United States: surveys, 118 interviews with teachers and staff, and 600 hours of ethnographic fieldwork. Using survey and interview data, Chapter 2 shows nonsymmetrical effects of diversity on black and white teachers' coworker support and job satisfaction outcomes, being significant for blacks but not for whites. Using ethnographic data, Chapters 3 and 4 examine cross-race and same-race interactions among teachers, finding that organizational cultures shaped distinct types of black-white work partnerships while organizational processes shaped different types of "token ties" and resource outcomes for black teachers in the minority as compared to white teachers in the minority. Chapters 5 and 6 use ethnographic data to challenge the "Cellular Model" of teaching, which holds that teachers do not interact much beyond their classrooms. Chapter 7 integrates the findings on coworker support and links them to turnover outcomes, while also outlining practical applications for workers in high-contact occupations and organizations in human service industries.

Nonsymmetrical Effects of Racial Diversity on Organizational Minority Members:
Evidence from the Teaching Profession

By

Jennifer Lauren Nelson

B.A., Columbia University, 2008

M.A., Emory University, 2013

Advisor: Richard Rubinson, Ph.D.

A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the
James T. Laney School of Graduate Studies of Emory University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
in Sociology

2018

Acknowledgments

“This place is like our house. Just like when you have guests in the house, we’ll clean up a little bit. But you know from when you were a teacher, there are going to be messes. I just ask that you not expose those parts in your study, making the school look bad.” This was the request of one of the principals in this study, the first day I came to ask permission to do research in his school. He asked for cautiousness and confidentiality in my reporting, which I promised him. His request reveals an astute and accurate fact of how organizations work, and of the nature of ethnographic inquiry. One, acknowledging that there are messes and that these can’t be hidden or stopped, and two, assuming that research is bound to expose those, the researcher needs to treat with special care the people and reputations connected to these findings.

Over the course of collecting the data for this study, and even more after leaving the field and while analyzing the data from a geographic and interpersonal distance, I was overflowing with gratitude that each of these principals and teachers opened up their schools and their work lives to me. Indeed, they opened their homes. Indeed, there were messes found along the way. But in bringing up how the preconditions of an organizational ethnography are analogous to those of a prolonged or regular visit to a friend’s house, I can’t help but point out that those friends whose homes I feel most at home in are the ones where the messes are not covered up. The bathroom is not spotless. Neither are the floors. This is the utmost delight and privilege of ethnography: to be allowed to observe things as they really are. Of course, it is its exceptional danger, as well. The ethnographer as an empiricist and scientist is bound to present facts accurately, without vital omissions or reductions which would compromise the analysis. But the researcher is bound within human relationships, too, which implicates the necessities of trust and keeping to one’s word to protect anonymity and confidentiality and in some cases the requests of the participant for extended protections in each area.

Also, being human, the researcher naturally sympathizes with some people and organizations more than others; this is part and parcel of Weber’s *verstehen*. To these liabilities, I respond with what I hope is a balanced awareness of my ethical commitments and the assumptions informed by my own experiences that I bring to the research. Before graduate school, I used to be an urban schoolteacher, and I enjoyed the work very much. At the same time, in my own schooling, I attended suburban k12 and elite higher educational institutions – which again, I enjoyed very much. Familiarity with the occupation and its different institutional contexts (and the fact that I am in different ways products of both contexts) provided a measure of balance to the task of understanding my respondents. This balance is guided by the imperatives of professional responsibility and the emotional commitment to the participants and gatekeepers toward whom I am extremely thankful for this opportunity to learn from real people in real organizations doing real work with real consequences.

Intellectual undertakings are never something we do or accomplish on our own. I am thankful to my dissertation committee; faculty members at several institutions; the help of institutional resources at Emory, New York University, and the University of Michigan; and loyal and supportive family and friends for making the completion of this dissertation project possible.

Rick Rubinson, my advisor, has consistently been my academic advocate and let me follow my own academic interests. He has read countless, often loquacious drafts, providing helpful comments and conversations on each iteration. (I won’t forget the time I gave him a short draft and he said, “Did you write this?”) As his last advisee, I have the privilege of

seeing firsthand that I belong to a long and impressive lineage of accomplished sociologists he has advised. Like some of them have said, it is my experience too that Rick has taught me to think broadly and theoretically, equipping me to relate my work to many subfields of sociology.

Through many phone calls leading up to, during, and following the fieldwork, Beth Bechky has imparted an ethnographic sensibility that I now carry confidently with me into the field and in my qualitative analyses. Her expertise in research in work and occupations has been invaluable. She has mentored me to set my sights high in what I can do in my research, encouraged me when the road felt very long, and reminded me to be patient in my analyses and writing process. I could not ask for a better methodological teacher and professional mentor. Karen Hegtvedt has been a source of energy and motivation to me in all stages of the research process: asking good questions, preparing strong research instruments and designs, and crafting an argument. I have enjoyed coauthoring with her on another project using this data. Ellen Idler has left her mark on my graduate career, starting with the Woodruff Fellowship for which she nominated me, continuing with laying a foundation for my quantitative training in graduate school through her Religion and Public Health seminar. Jim Ainsworth has been a significant help in guiding the theoretical basis for the quantitative analyses that appear in Chapter 2. Having his sociological expertise in both race and education has been key as I sought him out as a sounding board for my different findings.

Other faculty have had an important role in supporting my work. Amanda Lewis provided consistent methodological and professional advice and support through all stages of this dissertation project. Vanessa Siddle Walker has encouraged my work, taught me how to build rapport with informants, and set aside time for a conversation about my work that was a turning point for me. Jennifer Jennings also set aside time for many conversations during the semester I visited NYU, which have been fruitful for strengthening my arguments by anticipating and addressing the counter-arguments. Linda Renzulli met with me before I went in the field and provided important suggestions for my teacher survey instrument; her 2011 *Sociology of Education* article (with Parrott and Beattie) largely inspired this project. Sabino Kornrich and Irene Browne were open to questions and conversations as I thought through different parts of my analyses. Maria Abascal, Emily Bianchi, Jill Perry-Smith, Daniel Hirschman, Melissa Wooten, the MIT Sloan Economic Sociology group, John Reynolds, Anne-Laure Fayard, Eric Grodsky, and Lisa Nunn have provided helpful feedback to different chapters.

Many offices and programs at Emory, and the people that run them, have made this project much more manageable. The Emory Professional Development Support Funds made providing survey incentives and additional training in quantitative methods at ICPSR workshops possible. The Emory IRB office was extremely helpful in answering my questions for completing necessary paperwork. Rob O'Reilly in the Emory Center for Digital Scholarship taught me how to create visualizations in Stata. Norbert Bull and Tarshae Neal, two sociology undergraduates participating in Research in Sociology at Emory (RISE) program, were outstanding research assistants, helping with the transcription of interviews and inputting survey data that was on paper. Other institutions have been a critical support to me in my dissertation process as well. I thank Tracy Scott for coordinating the RISE program and allowing me to participate in it so often. I thank my graduate student colleagues who attended presentations of Chapter 2 and Chapter 4, one talk sponsored by the Coalition of Graduate Sociologists at Emory (COGS).

Outside of Emory, I am indebted to Meredith House and Donnalee Grey-Farquharson at the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan. They reviewed my survey instrument before I distributed it, helping me think through measurement and scaling issues,

and they provided vital tips to improve my survey response rates while I was in the field. I am also indebted to Beth Bechky and Anne-Laure Fayard at NYU. They made arrangements for me to visit for a semester, which was an incredibly productive time. I thank the department of Technology Management and Innovation at NYU Tandon School of Engineering for providing me desk space. I also thank the Qualitative Research Workshop at Stern for their careful readings and insightful comments of Chapter 4. Especially the multiple readings provided by Julia DiBenigno and Beth Bechky have been significant in the development of that chapter.

The personal support I have received during the years I conducted and wrote the dissertation has made me able to engage in the research fully. Kelsey Mayo provided moral support from afar during our regular “Qualitative Researcher Buddy” phone calls. The Hoekstra family – Valerie and Marten as well as Sy and Gabrielle – welcomed me into their home and their lives during my semester in New York City. Anand Swaminathan has been a guiding light throughout; he fills my life with fun and joy.

I dedicate this dissertation to my Dad, Dennis L. Nelson. He instilled curiosity, bravery, persistence, a love for people, and a love for learning that has carried me through every day of my life.

Table of Contents

Chapter 1. Introduction	1
Chapter 2. Diversity Tipping Points for Coworker Support and Job Satisfaction in Workplace Subgroups	20
Chapter 3. Cross-Race Coworker Support: Integrating Organizational Demography and Intergroup Relations Approaches	62
Chapter 4. How Tokens Form and Use Social Ties	99
Chapter 5. Corridors of Frustration: The Socialization and Boundary-Drawing Functions of Venting and Informal Peer Evaluations in Public Workspaces	159
Chapter 6. Popping in: How Individual Status and Organizational Attributes Influence Teachers' Classroom Consultations	223
Chapter 7. Coworker Support and Ultimate Outcomes: Turnover within the Organization	267
Appendix	293
Works Cited	302

List of Tables and Figures

<i>Table 1.1. Teacher Racial Demographics, by School</i>	14
<i>Table 2.1. Descriptive Statistics (means, SD) of Variables by Teacher Race</i>	49
<i>Table 2.2. Distributions across Race Distance Quartiles, by School</i>	52
<i>Table 2.3. Regressions of Racial Distance on Teacher Relational Outcomes, Full Model (White Teachers)</i>	53
<i>Table 2.4. Regressions of Racial Distance on Teacher Relational Outcomes, Full Model (Black Teachers)</i>	54
<i>Table 2.5. Effects of Racial Distance on Job Satisfaction (White Teachers)</i>	55
<i>Table 2.6. Effects of Racial Distance on Job Satisfaction (Black Teachers)</i>	56
<i>Table 2.7. Themes in interviews, by distance quartile (White Teachers)</i>	57
<i>Figure 2.1. Probability of Highest Global Job Satisfaction, by Quartile of Racial Distance (White Teachers Only, with individual controls [Model 2])</i>	60
<i>Figure 2.2. Probability of Highest Global Job Satisfaction, by Quartile of Racial Distance (Black Teachers Only, with individual controls [Model 2])</i>	61
<i>Table 3.1. Positive cross-race interactions as percent of total positive interactions</i>	97
<i>Figure 3.1. A Pathway model connecting organizational conditions and cross-race support outcomes</i>	98
<i>Table 4.1. Description of Size, Composition, and Structural Conditions of Research Sites</i>	154
<i>Table 4.2. Positive same-race interactions as percent of total positive interactions</i>	155
<i>Table 4.3. Types of Resources Accessed through Social Ties</i>	156
<i>Figure 4.1. Schematic representation of focal cases</i>	157
<i>Figure 4.2. A Pathway model connecting tie formation, tie use, and resource outcomes</i>	158
<i>Figure 5.1. Conceptual relationships between structural attributes, teachers' social use of public spaces, and occupational community attributes</i>	220
<i>Figure 5.2. A Conceptual Diagram of Public and Private Space in the School</i>	221
<i>Figure 5.3. Professional artifacts spruce up the copy room at Mt. Summit (Martin District). ...</i>	222
<i>Table 6.1. Number of Classroom Observations, by School</i>	263
<i>Table 6.2. Types of Resources Transmitted in Extended Classroom Visits, by School</i>	264
<i>Table 6.3. Frequencies of resources transmitted in classroom visits overall, and properties of the visit, by race</i>	265
<i>Figure 6.1. The Teacher Status Structure within Schools</i>	266
<i>Table 7.1. Teacher Turnover by School, 2014-2015 School Year</i>	291
<i>Figure 7.1. Pathways to Turnover in Pine Grove High School</i>	292
<i>Figure 7.2. Pathways to Turnover in Crest Point High School</i>	292

Appendix	293
<i>Table A1. Conditions of Same-Race Tie Formation in Majority- and Minority-Group Settings.</i>	293
<i>Table A2. Types of Support Outcomes from Same-Race Ties in Majority- and Minority-Group Settings</i>	295
<i>Table A3a: Respondents' Positive Social Interactions with Same-Race Colleagues: Pine Grove (Majority-Black Faculty)</i>	297
<i>Table A3b: Respondents' Positive Social Interactions with Same-Race Colleagues: Larksfeld (Majority-Black Faculty)</i>	298
<i>Table A3c: Respondents' Positive Social Interactions with Same-Race Colleagues: Crest Point (Majority-White Faculty)</i>	299
<i>Table A3d: Respondents' Positive Social Interactions with Same-Race Colleagues: Surrey Ridge (Majority-White Faculty)</i>	300
<i>Table A3e: Respondents' Positive Social Interactions with Same-Race Colleagues: Mt. Summit (Majority-White Faculty)</i>	301

Chapter 1. Introduction

The Problem

It's nearing the end of the school day at Pine Grove High School, a school with majority-black faculty and majority-black students. When the afternoon announcements come on the intercom, I wrap up my guest lesson and look out of the door of the classroom. I notice that the long-term substitute who is assigned to this room and the teacher next door are talking out in the hall. Ms. Persons, a black teacher, and Ms. Anderson, a white teacher, talk about the 10 boys who are running the halls. Anderson haggles them as they pass, trying to figure out which teachers had let them out of their classes. Because I could, I leave the classroom and follow one student passing by down the hall, asking him as I'd seen other teachers do, "Whose class are you supposed to be in?" During this fruitless chasing in the hallway, a couple kids, teachers, and one staff person again ask me, "Are you OK?" I guess my face is showing a lot more than I let on. I must look so disturbed!

At that point, an administrator and a hall monitor are down by the buses with me. While the administrator pays me no attention, the black hall monitor, Mr. Sims, asks what had happened. The dismissal bell rings and the teachers come out with the rest of the students. While required to be there to supervise students, the teachers form circles with one another and verbally debrief their days. I join a circle with Dr. Eckert, Ms. Lowndes, and Ms. Anderson – all white teachers. Ms. Anderson, the teacher next door to the classroom I was in and who knew I went out chasing the loose student, asks me how it went. I told her, not well. In an attempt to be comforting, she jokingly says, "I'm going to break him!"

Within minutes, a student fight breaks out down by the buses. As we stand still in our group, two other white teachers, Ms. Cousins and Mr. Solomon, sprint down the grassy hill.

Mr. Solomon drops his lunch pail on the sidewalk and runs. The principal, a black woman, quickly appears as well, not running but using her walkie-talkie to get the situation under control.

In the course of the conversation, a white male teacher joins our group and says, “I’m glad I’m off in my own little hole, and only have six ninth graders, [so I don’t have to deal with all that].” “I need a margarita!” Dr. Eckert announces, stating that she had all the ingredients at home. Ms. Anderson says she will join her.

When Mrs. Nova, a young white woman, first came to teach at Surrey Ridge High School, a school with majority-white faculty serving a majority-white student population, she did not find it easy to find her place among faculty. She felt isolated, and the woman across the hall from her was “really nitpicky. Not only nitpicky, but just not very nice to begin with. While I’m sure she was a good teacher, she also made it difficult [for me], more so than what it needed to be.” That teacher has since moved schools, and Mrs. Nova has found fun and a sense of belonging among a group of science teacher-gamers who play Dungeons and Dragons together outside of school.

Even though Mrs. Nova says she likes being on the back hallway of the school where nothing ever happens, she still notes that there is an overarching pecking-order among teachers that makes the workplace feel like high school all over again. She says, “I don’t really know what goes on in that front hallway (where the English and history group is). I just know there’s a lot of bickering that goes on up there. There is a group of teachers that the rest of us kind of, I don’t know that we avoid but we always, we’ve got a consensus that it feels like high school when we’re around this one particular group who kind of isolate. ...It’s like they don’t really care about you as a person, unlike some of the other groups of teachers.”

During her first year at Mt. Summit, Mrs. Yeurick was inundated by a number of obstacles presented by the incumbents in her own department. Coming to Mt. Summit High, a school with majority-white faculty serving majority-white students, with almost a decade of experience teaching in schools with majority-black faculty, this was her first experience in a majority-white faculty. After encountering a cold initial reception by many of her department members, she started asking questions. She heard that “The last [black] lady that was [here in this classroom], they ran her off, you know. And after I heard that from a few people, I just started asking questions. I'm sitting here feeling it. I'm seeing my department in a circle and talking and I walk up and they stop talking. I'm seeing this happen. I'm like, is this a game we're playing? Because I don't know how to play. Tell me the rules. What do I do here?”

One colleague, Mrs. Renwick, was that person to provide direction. Mrs. Renwick, a white teacher, told Mrs. Yeurick that the others resented Mrs. Yeurick for getting to teach honors students during her first year, when teachers are supposed to “get the lowest of the low [ability students] and work [their way] up.” Mrs. Renwick also shared with Mrs. Yeurick her own prior experience of being socially excluded by the same colleagues, which Mrs. Renwick believed was rooted in their envy of Mrs. Renwick’s other part-time profession as a private-practice therapist. Having given Mrs. Yeurick a social lay-of-the-land, Mrs. Renwick continued to field Mrs. Yeurick’s questions through multiple instances of what Mrs. Yeurick called “sabotage” from her other colleagues. These included: not inviting her to lunch; “forgetting” to tell her about deadlines until they arrived; telling her she had to teach certain books she’d never read; and not giving her the answer key for premade tests and then indicating to the principal that she did not know her material.

These teachers work in different schools with different client populations and organizational attributes. These teachers are different ages, teach different subjects, have

different training and certification backgrounds. But they share the experience at work of challenging – and saving – relationships with colleagues. While Ms. Anderson and her colleagues feel the strain of too much teacher-student interaction during the day, and this is aggravated by unknown colleagues who are delinquent in keeping students inside their classrooms, Mrs. Nova has to navigate a social terrain of exclusion, gossip, and unkind colleagues. She finds a shelter in her own teacher clique. Similarly, Mrs. Yeurick finds her way out of a maze created by resentful colleagues with the help of one coworker, but her experience at work is imprinted early and permanently with the message that some of her colleagues' intent is to run her out. Additionally, race plays a role in many coworker relationships either through the starkness of voluntary racial segregation among teachers in the organization, or through teachers themselves identifying race as a central cause of being singled out. These and a myriad of other social obstacles – as well as the opportunities for coworker support they afforded – emerged in my interviews and participant observation as a central part of teacher's work.

These snippets from fieldnotes on everyday life in teaching raise questions about the role of coworkers in performing the work. In the first situation, do the connections between people (teachers and teachers, teachers and students) make the job more or less bearable? And what role does race play in getting through the day? The second scenario raises questions about fitting in, such as what dictates the timing of finding one's "group," and whether outside-of-work connections translate into inside-of-work instrumental benefits. The third case raises questions about the complexities of demographic difference at work. How can difference catalyze sabotage from others while at the same time prompt protection from others? Are positive and negative coworker relationships always tangled together (i.e., interrelated) like this? This dissertation explores these questions.

The teacher workforce has been steadily changing in demographic composition over the past twenty years, making it more diverse in terms of race, certification, age, and experience than ever before (Constantine et al. 2009; Feistritzer 2010; Ingersoll and Merrill 2010; Ingersoll, Merrill, and Stuckey 2014; Headden 2014). High-poverty city schools tend to employ especially diverse¹ teaching faculty on these characteristics (NCES 2008, 2012). Although diverse teaching faculties² offer the potential for fresh ideas and the increased ability to reach a growingly diverse k-12 student population (Flores 2011), “demographic tensions” and “demographic divides” between teachers are an enduring characteristic of the lived experience of the occupation (Milner and Self 2014:7; Banks 2003; Gay and Howard 2000; Zumwalt and Craig 2005). These tensions and divides need to be addressed in studies of inequality in student achievement, as such divides can impede academic and social success (for both students and teachers) in the classroom and school functioning (Milner and Self 2014; Irvine 2003).

There are varying explanations in the literature for why demographic differences among members of an organization – especially the representation of different worker status backgrounds – should have an impact on workers’ experiences and outcomes. A few studies on teachers link demographic composition to teacher job dissatisfaction and turnover (Mueller et al. 1999; Renzulli et al. 2011; Stearns et al. 2014). These studies show that teaching in school environments where one is a “racial mismatch” with the majority of one’s students has a negative effect on the teacher, but only for white teachers. With the exception of Mueller et al. (1999), however, previous studies in the sociology of education generally do

¹ I define “diverse” in terms of school faculties where the minority group represented in the organization – be that by race, certificate, age, or experience – comprises at least 15% and up to ~30% of the overall faculty. (See Bryk et al. [2010:277] for application of this conceptualization.)

² In this study, “faculty” refers primarily to teachers, but the perspectives of other certified professionals (i.e., librarians, counselors, administrators) are included.

not account for teacher composition in estimating teacher work outcomes (see Bryk and Schneider 2002; Ingersoll et al. 2014; Renzulli et al. 2011; Stearns et al. 2014). This is true even though a review of the literature on teacher turnover shows that social conditions of the workplace, specifically collegial relationships, strongly predict teacher satisfaction and retention, *controlling for student demographics* (Simon and Johnson 2013; see also Price and Collett 2012). Quantitative studies that do account for teacher demographics rely upon explanations of role conflict and group threat to explain the negative effect of diversity on white teachers, whereby white teachers in the minority receive conflicting messages on how to teach from their opposite-race colleagues, or feel a sense of competition for resources once they are in the minority.

Researchers of other industries, however, regularly take demographic composition into account in studying workers. Early work in the field of organizational demography found that the demographic makeup of an organization's employees can explain up to 50% of variation in turnover (McCain 1983; see also Pfeffer 1983; Stewman 1988). These studies draw heavily upon the concept of *homophily*, the tendency of individuals towards interaction patterns with others similar to self (Blau and Schwartz 1984; McPherson et al. 2001), to explain why homogeneous faculties can be expected to have better satisfaction and commitment outcomes. In-group social ties carry the benefit of emotional support for members, for both white and black workers in their same-race work relationships (Sloan et al. 2013). Moreover, employees are easier to manage and coordinate when they share a sense of oneness, cohesion, cooperation, and liking amongst themselves (McNeil and Thompson 1971). Thus, the quality of coworker relationships benefits when members are increasingly similar (Schneider 1987). The inverse holds that heterogeneous staff will, by comparison, tend not to interact voluntarily; will hold divergent beliefs; experience a lower quality of

attachment and emotional support in their relationships; and cooperate with others less, making them harder to manage (e.g., see Gusfield 1957; Connerton et al. 1979).

Gravitation towards one's own group is explained by the correlation between some psychological characteristics, such as attitudes, beliefs, and values, or life experiences, with several demographic variables, such as sex, race, educational background (i.e., certifications), age, and tenure (Jackson 1991; Reagans 2011). Sharing neighborhood backgrounds, prior institutional experiences, similar family upbringings, or group (e.g., ethnic) histories are other platforms of similarity that facilitate trust and community building in an in-group (Burt 2001; Kornblum 1974; Smith and Moore 2000).

Another explanation for how demographic representation among workers affects work outcomes focuses on the unique social context produced by the proportions of each demographic group present. These include studies of numeric tokens by gender (Kanter 1977; Williams 1992) or race (Wingfield 2010), or both (Wingfield 2009; Turco 2010), as well as studies of demographic faultlines (Lau and Murnighan 1998) and racial segregation and segmentation (Forman 2003; Vallas 2003). The first group of studies focuses mostly on the interactional disadvantages that intensify for lower-status organization members who are in the numeric minority – such as increased performance pressures, cultural exclusion, and role stereotyping. The second group of studies shows how settings with lopsided numbers along multiple, compounded status characteristics (e.g., age and gender) will have prolonged conflicts since the latent opinions of numeric minorities do not come to the surface, whereas in a setting with balanced groups, conflicts are shorter as diverging views are openly stated and acknowledged. The third group of studies highlights how placement of workers within organizational spaces that are removed from other demographic groups can affect worker well-being and chances of advancement.

A fourth explanation focuses on how demographic composition of certain occupations that have majority-non-white workers is correlated with less desirable working conditions. Rather than inter- or intra-group relations driving job satisfaction, job characteristics such as close supervision, a lack of task variety and complexity, and a lack of learning and promotion opportunities may themselves drive worse work outcomes, or hinder friendship formation in the workplace (Maume and Sebastian 2007; Sloan et al 2013).

Efforts to Increase Collegial Contact and Respond to Diversity

While education scholars have paid increasing attention to social relationships between teachers since Lortie's (2002[1975]) seminal study, most of these studies are framed around how practically to increase collaboration (e.g., Bryk and Schneider 2002; Little 1982) – especially through consultation networks (e.g., Borgatti and Ofem 2010; Bridwell-Mitchell and Cooc 2016) or collegial responses to school reforms (e.g. Coburn 2001; Diamond 2007; Ford and Youngs 2017) – or around describing racial differences in pedagogical philosophies and practices (Delpit 2006[1995]; Flores 2011; Fordham 1996). This dissertation differs from existing studies as it details how teachers go about finding and giving coworker support, conceiving of coworker support as a *process* for each of many groups of teachers in different settings (e.g., new teachers; alternate-route teachers; black teachers in majority-white faculties; white teachers in majority-black faculties). By comparing processes of different groups and settings, this study directly examines social inequality among teachers within and across organizations.

Given consensus that teacher relationships marked by trust, cohesion, and frequent interaction benefit school functioning and teachers' professional growth (Bryk and Schneider 2002; Bridwell-Mitchell and Cooc 2016; Grossman et al. 2001), it is important to build our understanding of how teachers make choices in their work communities (i.e., with whom to

interact, how and how much to interact) and the role of organizational practices in facilitating or impeding coworker support. One popular intervention to this end in education is *professional learning communities (PLCs)*, which were implemented in three of the five high schools in this study. While in one school PLCs never occurred after the first teacher work day of the year, in another, PLC meetings were ill-defined by management and were replaced with ad-hoc technology training meetings or self-directed meetings of two or more faculty, of which teachers kept a log and turned in. However, in the third school, PLCs were weekly and departments were given ample time to develop long-lasting, accountable teacher relationships. Previous research documents the efficacy of PLCs (e.g., Stearns et al. 2014; Stoll et al. 2006) to enhance teacher interaction and job satisfaction. However, since gains in collaboration tend to wane once interventions such as these stop – and depend on the degree of implementation – the present research has the potential to inform how to sustain the effects of organizational practices and policies that build teacher interaction and trust (e.g., Coburn et al. 2010).

The fragility of genuine collaborative ties between teachers can further be understood in part as stemming from relational dynamics unique to the demographic composition of faculty environments. In diverse faculty, where information exchange between dissimilar members is potentially more likely, relational ties between dissimilar individuals dissolve the most quickly (McPherson et al. 2001). In faculty lacking demographic diversity, social ties based on homophily may be durable but dampen innovative problem-solving, high-quality decision-making, as well as adaptability to a changing work environments (Jackson 1991; Pfeffer 1983).

The repercussions of not tending to issues related to diversity (i.e., rising diversity or not enough diversity) in teaching faculty have made it too costly for school districts to ignore. In the case of schools and school districts that tend to have highly diverse teaching faculty –

urban schools – these schools also face the highest levels of turnover (Ingersoll and Merrill 2010; Ingersoll et al. 2014).³ As extant literature suggests, these organizational attributes are correlated. Younger and beginning teachers and non-white teachers are significantly more likely to leave than other teachers (Ingersoll 2001; Ingersoll et al. 2014). This turnover is costly to districts: in midsize school districts, the cost per leaver (i.e., teacher who exits teaching or moves to another school district) is projected to be between 10,000 to 15,000 dollars (Barnes et al. 2007). The costs are more than monetary: teachers' satisfaction and turnover decisions impact the quality of instruction and learning environment that students receive (Entwisle et al. 1998; Ronfeldt et al. 2013). Attention to teacher shortages began in the 1980s with the National Commission on Excellence in Education's *A Nation at Risk* report, and inequitable teacher turnover across school types is documented in reports such as the letter from the Commissioner of the National Center of Education Statistics in 2015, which uses data collected by the Department of Education (i.e., the Schools and Staffing Survey).

In the Southeastern US state studied in this dissertation, the legislature has been responsive to problems of teacher shortages, especially in “critical-needs” school districts that have the most teacher vacancies and the least qualified teachers. In 2010, the state legislature created a task force to study strategies to recruit and retain teachers, including expanding emergency certification opportunities and meetings with stakeholders to talk about

³ Compared to other occupations, teachers have a 7.73 percent chance per year of leaving teaching – a rate higher than nurses (approximately 6 percent) and lower than accountants and social workers (8 percent and 15 percent, respectively) (Harris and Adams 2007). Another study finds that teaching has less attrition than child care, secretarial, and paralegal occupations; similar attrition to police officers; and higher attrition than professions in law, engineering, architecture and academia (Ingersoll and Perda, forthcoming). However, teachers in urban school settings have a higher chance of leaving than 7.73 percent per year; whereas 30% of new teachers nationally leave the profession in five years, this rate is twice as high in schools serving minority, high-poverty students (Darling-Hammond and Sykes 2003).

how to improve school working conditions. Still, the urban district under study here had chronic teacher shortages. Local news articles announced 206 teacher vacancies in the urban district at the beginning of the 2014-2015 school year, the year of this study. But this was business as usual, according to the director of human resources. At the school board meeting in May 2015, she told the board that 35 teachers were retiring or resigning in one school. A board member said to this news, “What’s going on?” The director of HR defended, “It’s not unusual this time of year to see a large number of resignations and retirements because we gave out contracts earlier this year. Right now we have 180 teacher vacancies for next year (of 1,900 spots), and that may sound bad, but that’s actually low.”

In schools lacking demographic diversity in teaching faculty, explicit attention to issues of racial representation in these schools began following the *Brown vs. Board of Education* Supreme Court case in 1954. Mandates for school desegregation included mandates for teacher redistribution across schools (Dworkin 1987). These mandates failed to secure more diverse faculty across schools, as they more often displaced black teachers out of the profession, and teaching remains a highly racially-segregated occupation across workplace settings to this day (Frankenberg 2009). Not only displacement and segregation, but also the qualitative experience of black teachers has received attention in praxis-based research. As explored in a recent report by the Education Trust (Griffin and Tackie 2016), difficulties faced by black teachers working in both urban and suburban schools involve being overtaxed with disciplinary roles – to the exclusion of “higher caliber” educator roles – and having their efforts overlooked by both colleagues and administrators.

Three schools in this study have minimal diversity in teaching faculty, and this has been a source of contention reflected in two local court cases since *Brown v. Board of*

Education. The three schools each belong to Martin School District,⁴ a suburban district known in the metropolitan area as having good public schools. In response to these cases, the district promised (in the more recent case, within the past fifteen years) to increase its hiring of black educators, administrators, and staff so that no school varied more than 15% in its black:white teacher ratio from the district average, and provided evidence to the state of increased recruitment efforts. Many teachers in the schools I studied knew about this case – whether they were white or black, hired before or after the mandate. They discussed it voluntarily in their interviews, which is where I first learned about it. Even with this mandate, representation of black faculty remained low: schools with faculty sizes of 39, 68, and 97 each had 4, 10, and 10 black teachers, respectively – in a state where more than 25 percent of the teaching workforce is nonwhite (Learning Policy Institute 2012, 2013, 2014).

Despite recent efforts by these school districts to enhance teachers' collegial interaction, and efforts by the state to address the organizational causes of teacher shortages on the one hand and underrepresentation of black teachers in hiring on the other, problems remain in each of these areas. For many faculty, social interactions with other teachers remain superficial, infrequent, or closed from out-group members; teacher retention remains elusive in critical-needs schools; and black token teachers continue to experience performance pressures, role stereotyping, and exclusion from their white colleagues. This study shows that teacher work outcomes vary depending on the quality of their coworker relations. While other factors contribute to frequency of interaction (i.e., strength of ties), turnover decisions, and differential treatment, my data indicate that the role of coworkers in producing these outcomes is central. Coworker relations carry the impact of these “other

⁴ This and all names hereafter are pseudonyms.

factors” – such as organizational practices and organizational attributes – from the macro-level to the individual-level.

This dissertation is about the importance of getting along at work: specifically, how coworker social ties develop, what workers get from them, and how they are consequential for social inequality in the institution where members spend an enormous portion of their waking hours— the workplace. While I study teachers as an excellent case, the contributions of this study lie beyond improving educational organizations. Not only in teaching, but workers in similar highly social occupations that entail “constant contact” with both the public and colleagues – such as physical therapists, pilots, police detectives, advertising sales agents, patient representatives, social workers, and legal assistants, to name a few (Occupational Information Network [O*Net] 2016) – are likely to rely heavily on coworkers for obtaining resources needed for doing their jobs. In these occupations, the structure of coworker relationships thus deserves closer examination. This study focuses on the impact of racial composition, organizational and managerial practices, and organizational attributes on coworker relations, and through the relations, their impact on workers’ outcomes.

Background on the Research Sites

Because this study examines the effects of different teaching contexts, I strategically selected multiple school sites with different faculty compositions in one metropolitan area in the Southeastern U.S., and carried out qualitative methods in the same fashion across all schools. Two schools are in an urban school district, Davenport District, and have faculty that is majority-black (i.e., 57% and 68% black). The other three school sites are in a neighboring suburban district, Martin District, and their majority-white faculty are each 10%, 15%, and 15% black. Teacher racial demographics are summarized in Table 1.1 below.

Table 1.1. Teacher Racial Demographics, by School

	<u>Davenport District</u> <u>Majority-Black Faculty</u>		<u>Martin District</u> <u>Majority-White Faculty</u>		
	Pine Grove	Larksfield	Crest Point	Surrey Ridge	Mt. Summit
White	25 (28%)	35 (37%)	55 (81%)	86 (90%)	35 (88%)
Black	60 (68%)	54 (57%)	10 (15%)	10 (10%)	4 (10%)
Asian	1 (1%)	2 (2%)	1 (1%)	0	0
Latino/a	<u>2 (2%)</u>	<u>3 (3%)</u>	<u>2 (3%)</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1 (2%)</u>
N=	88	94	68	96	40

Student demographics at the schools somewhat parallel faculty demographics. The urban schools serve a majority-black (97-99%), high-poverty (62-75%) student population. Two of the suburban schools serve a majority-white (75% white) and affluent student population. A third suburban school, Crest Point, is different, as it serves a majority-black (60% black) student population that is about half low-income. Below, I provide a qualitative description of how the schools differ in terms of their histories, resources, and community reputations.

Pine Grove High School. Sixty of the 88 teachers (68%) in this school are black, and the principal is a black female woman in her second year; prior to this she was the assistant principal there for five years. She worked under the shadow of continual public scrutiny and the pressure from superintendents to offset negative images. The year before and during this study, local newspapers ran articles about internal controversies among teachers in Pine Grove about district mandates with which some teachers disagreed. One such issue was a credit recovery system allowing failing seniors to graduate with the completion of an online program. A second issue was the district's involvement in a lawsuit with multiple public legal advocacy groups over disproportionate suspensions of students compared to other districts, especially children with special education designations. During the fieldwork for

this study, the district had implemented a suspension-reduction policy which required teachers to take several more steps before recommending a student for an office referral (leading to further disciplinary action). In practice, this meant that formal supports for student discipline at the school level were abridged. Another public specter had to do with the way Pine Grove (and the entire school district) were treated and depicted by the state department of education. After this study was completed, the district was placed on probation for its accreditation status by the state department of education for failing to comply with more than two-thirds of requirements for running safe schools and following graduation credit-hour requirements. Many of these shortcomings were directly tied to physical and human resource shortages the school and the school district faced, including building disrepairs and there being 100 teacher vacancies across the district during the school year.

Larksfield High School. At the other urban school in the same district as Pine Grove, 54 of the 94 teaching faculty (57%) are black. The principal is a black male in his second year, and the three other assistant principals are also black, two of them with long tenure. In comparison to Pine Grove, Larksfield was held in high regard by the immediate community. Historically, Larksfield had a track record of having a high-profile academic honors program and the highest-performing students, from the most “two-parent households” (as teachers called them), of any in the district. Even so, the school contended with the same general social stigma attributed to the district, due to negative media coverage, accreditation problems, district pressure to reduce disciplinary suspensions, and the physical conditions of the building being about the same level as Pine Grove.

Surrey Ridge and Mt. Summit High Schools. These two schools together served a 9-12th grade student population. The teaching faculty at both is 10% black (10/96 and 4/40, respectively). The schools shared visible elements of the organizational culture that included expansive, well-maintained school grounds and buildings; long-time recognition for

producing the most National Merit Scholars in the state; and the reputation among teachers of being the so-called “sunshine school” where nothing bad happens. The principals were middle aged, male, and white (except for one white woman assistant), and each school had one black assistant principal (one woman, one man).

Crest Point. This school, part of the same suburban district as Surrey Ridge and Mt. Summit, was unique in that its student population was not majority-white nor majority-affluent. It wasn't always that way; over time, its student demographics shifted from being majority-white and parents being homeowners to most of their students being black and their parents being apartment-dwelling renters. The demographics of its leadership also differed from the other suburban schools; a black male head principal replaced a black female principal at the beginning of the year of study, supported by a large team of assistant administrators (one black, three white).

Situated on the cusp of the residential dividing line between the city and the suburbs, teachers knew and remarked often about what this meant for the identity of their school. White teachers coming from the urban district, which was also majority-black but higher-poverty, called Crest Point “heaven” to work in. Black teachers at Crest Point, of whom there were ten in a faculty of 68 teachers (15%), also felt it was the perfect place to work because they still felt needed by their black students, but, as they said, they also got to enjoy nicer physical working conditions and more orderly management than they had experienced in their prior, majority-black, urban or rural workplaces. Nevertheless, in local public perception, Crest Point compared less favorably with Surrey Ridge, and teachers and administrators said their school was treated by the district and community like the “stepchild.”

Outline of the Dissertation

This dissertation is a comparative study of teachers' work experiences across schools in two different school districts, schools with racially diverse or comparatively more homogeneous teaching faculty. A series of guiding research questions are examined in the dissertation pertaining to the emergence, content, function, and consequences of coworker support, each question being addressed in detail in each chapter.

In chapter 2, I provide an overarching view of the influence of diversity on the quality of coworker interactions across the full population of teachers in the five schools. Using survey data, I show that diversity affected black and white teachers differently. Whereas diversity exerted almost no significant effects for white teachers on their reports of trust, collective responsibility taken by colleagues, teacher dialogue, interpersonal justice among teachers, or their individual job satisfaction, it did for black teachers'. I draw on qualitative responses from a representative subsample to support these findings. White teachers, no matter their demographic context, report in interviews that race does not play a big role in the social dimension of their work, or that inclusion among in-groups as well as out-groups is easily achieved. Qualitative data show that black teachers have better experiences in their coworker relations in the middle of diversity distributions, rather than at the extreme ends.

In chapters 3 and 4, I turn to interview and ethnographic data to understand how cross-race and within-race coworker support is established between teachers. This is a natural follow-up analysis to the findings in chapter 2, as these chapters describe differences in white and black teachers' practices of helping one another across racial boundaries, as well as how their in-group tie types and uses differ. While the first analysis integrates inter-group relations scholarship with organizational demography literature in a new way by drawing on meso-level concepts of organizational and departmental culture, the second analysis makes a unique contribution to token literature which to date has not incorporated insights from networks literature to understand why some token groups experience resource advantages

relative to others. Together, these chapters inform and extend the findings from chapter 2 of nonsymmetrical effects of diversity on two demographic groups.

Chapter 5 is informed by the findings in previous chapters regarding the ways that local relational dynamics within a department as well as organizational practices as whole (e.g., how teachers are assigned their teaching schedules and room locations) impact teacher interactions. Using ethnographic data on how teachers interact in “public spaces” in the school, such as hallways, cafeterias, and copy rooms, I find that teachers use these spaces to vent to their colleagues – about students, principals, and other teachers. The data shows that the venting serves a triple function by: delineating boundaries between what they evaluate to be professional and unprofessional workers; bonding workers into affiliative groups, or cliques, that interact on a regular basis at regular times; and aiding in producing the racially segregated teacher groupings observed in the field. The venting and segregation are voluntary and have implications for service provision to client groups. The students can freely observe teachers’ social behaviors and content of their communication in public spaces.

In chapter 6, I turn to examining the distribution of coworker support that occurs inside the classroom. As a private setting within the organization where the technical core of the work and the majority of a teacher’s work hours occur, the physical structure of classrooms themselves have been argued to be the root cause of the isolated and conservative nature of work life in the teaching profession (Lortie [1975]2002). However, my time in the field, particularly during classroom observations of teaching, revealed a surprisingly high frequency of teacher consulting within classrooms, depending on the teacher and the school. I call these “pop ins” and “extended visits.” By focusing on the case of how teachers new to the school assimilate over the school year, I argue that collegial visits inside of classrooms are the micro-foundation of the observed informal power structure within the school and can thus be negotiated and re-negotiated through ongoing interactions. This chapter updates

classic organizational theory on the structure of teachers' work by providing evidence that teachers do interact a great deal during the workday during their shared activities (Small 2009).

In chapter 7, I link the different manifestations of coworker support documented in each prior chapter – ranging from the nonsymmetrical effects of diversity, the filtering down of organizational culture into inter-group relations, social tie types and uses among racial tokens, public expressions of worker clique membership through venting and voluntary segregation, and pop-in and extended visit consultations – to the ultimate downstream outcome of turnover. Using process tracing to compare stayers and leavers' experiences, I find that racial mismatch primarily plays a role in turnover through negative relationships with students for white token teachers, and through negative or diminishing relationships with managers and coworkers for black token teachers. I end by discussing how my findings contribute to the study of semi-professionals who work in highly social settings, and how my findings highlight important new considerations for token theory, intergroup relations, and organizational demography. I conclude by exploring practical implications of the findings for schools and workplaces.

Chapter 2. Diversity Tipping Points for Coworker Support and Job Satisfaction in Workplace Subgroups

Most studies of workplace relations find that workers who are demographically “mismatched” to the majority of colleagues in their workplaces are less satisfied and more likely to leave; this is especially the case for whites. However, none of these studies examine the sub-organizational context of workplaces. Applying insights from research on team dynamics on individual outcomes, this paper pays attention to the sub-organizational context on workers’ relational and satisfaction outcomes. Unique survey data of 333 high school teachers across two school districts at the beginning and end of one school year, triangulated with 95 interviews, are analyzed to investigate the effects of collegial composition on relational outcomes of trust, collective responsibility, frequency of dialogue, interpersonal justice, and overall job satisfaction. Findings show different patterns for whites and blacks. A spline regression analysis reveals that black workers’ reactions to being in the demographic majority or minority do not follow a linear pattern. Rather, the effect of diversity on job satisfaction for black teachers mostly follows a traditional Schelling model, where the effect of diverse composition is positive until a tipping point. In contrast, composition effects on whites’ job satisfaction were not statistically significant. Triangulating findings with interview data from the same sample showed that blacks in the majority benefited from what they perceived to be interactional advantages compared to whites until the tipping point of 70% black representation. Interviews showed that whites, however, had no real limiting case and were relatively unaffected by their representation. These findings contribute to bodies of literature in organizational demography and intergroup relations by illustrating that tipping points of minority/majority status in an organization may affect one demographic group, but not another.

Introduction

Since the Civil Rights Act of 1964, employing organizations have been legally required to tend to issues of hiring and maintaining diverse workforces (Tomaskovic-Devey et al. 2006). Much can be learned about the effects of diversity in the organization generally from looking at the case of teachers in schools specifically. The teacher workforce has been steadily changing in demographic composition over the past twenty years, making it more diverse in terms of race than ever before (Ingersoll and Merrill 2010; Ingersoll, Merrill, and Stuckey 2014; Headden 2014). Although diverse teaching faculty offer the potential for fresh ideas and the increased ability to reach a growingly diverse k-12 student population (Flores 2011) and to increase instructional innovation (Bridwell-Mitchell 2015), managing intergroup relations between colleagues is difficult in human service occupations such as teaching, in which most work time is spent with clients (Hackman 1990). Previous qualitative work reveals how intergroup relations among racially dissimilar school staff⁵ are often fraught with tension rather than interdependence (Fordham 1996; Lewis 2003; Flores 2011; Holland 2016). However, previous quantitative work on the effect of faculty composition on teachers' job satisfaction and commitment finds nonsymmetrical effects of diversity (Mueller et al. 1999). While white workers who are "mismatched" – that is, demographically different from their colleagues by race – are less satisfied with their jobs than whites who are demographically "matched" to majority-white faculty, previous research indicates there is no negative effect of mismatch for black workers (Mueller et al. 1999; see also Maume and Sebastian 2007; Tsui et al. 1992).⁶ Explanations for this divergence include culture shock, which whites in the minority experience but not blacks in the minority (Dworkin 1987), and

⁵ Previous research has examined relationships between teachers, office staff, teaching assistants, and counselors. In this study I focus on teachers.

⁶ Nonsymmetrical effects align with findings about diversity in other social domains, such as neighborhoods (e.g., Abascal and Baldassarri 2015).

the correlation of poorer structural conditions with black-dominated jobs (Maume and Sebastian 2007).

What remains unclear in these studies at the organizational level is whether racial composition effects accurately reflect the micro-level racial dynamics created by segregation within the workplace. Such aggregated analyses conceal the actual opportunity for same-race racial contact in specific organizational settings (see Tomaskovic-Devey 1993). The present study uses group-level and mixed types of data that can speak to the teachers' lived experiences in the workplace. By measuring race as a group-level characteristic rather than only as an individual-level or organization-level characteristic, and by supplementing survey findings with interview data highlighting workers' own understandings of race, findings can be expected to at least add nuance or at most challenge previous findings. With a theoretical focus on the effects of workplace diversity, this study also looks at diversity in different arenas (i.e., teacher-teacher vs. teacher-student), whereas prior studies generally treat the workplace as a uniform whole (e.g., Renzulli, Parrott and Beattie 2011; Stearns et al. 2014).

The findings in this study highlight the need to consider composition effects in subgroups within a workplace, instead of at the organizational level. By considering groupings of workers, fine-grained comparisons can be made between social settings akin to Kanter's (1977) classification of numeric token, demographically "tilted," majority/minority, and balanced settings. Further, these findings contribute to our understanding of how organizational demography theories apply to "immersed" occupations, such as teaching, where workers spend most of their workday surrounded by clients, but still have significant interaction with colleagues; moreover, much of that interaction is centered around students. Thinking of human service workplaces as different from more insular workplaces requires that organizational demography explanations consider how the presence of a whole different set of people on the job – i.e., clients – alters coworker relations and their consequences.

Understanding how workplace composition impacts workers' relational experiences and job satisfaction is both theoretically and practically important. By exploring possible mediators between teacher-teacher match and work outcomes, the importance of particular aspects of intergroup relations are emphasized, providing guidance for practitioners seeking to improve teacher collaboration and retention for the sake of better achievement outcomes and school experiences for both students and teachers (Bryk and Schneider 2002; Ronfeldt et al. 2013). Moreover, studying prek-12 teachers as an occupational group can provide helpful guidance in how to acknowledge both clients and colleagues as interlocking predictors of satisfaction in other human service sectors (e.g., see Leidner 1993; Perkins and Abramis 1990).

Using original, longitudinal survey data on a group of 333 public high school teachers across two school districts in a metropolitan area in the southeastern U.S., the present study examines the impact of collegial demographic matching on teachers' coworker support and job satisfaction. Conceptualizing racial "match" between colleagues as low percent out-group (i.e., low mean racial distance), the research questions follow: What effect does a teacher's race distance from other teachers in his/her work group have on coworker support? What effect does work group racial distance have on teachers' outcomes of job satisfaction? And, Do these effects differ for black and white teachers? Findings show that for white teachers in work groups with the highest levels of teacher-teacher mismatch, mismatch is positively associated with most relational outcomes, and is associated in an S-curve pattern with satisfaction for this group. That is, white teachers are most satisfied at moderate levels of mismatch. For black teachers in work groups with the highest levels of teacher-teacher mismatch, mismatch is negatively related to three of four relational outcomes and satisfaction. For blacks, the tipping points from positive to negative vary and sometimes

there are two tipping points – that is, proportions of mismatch after which outcomes turn negative. These findings go against previous findings and theoretical expectations, but as this analysis will demonstrate, this is because of the different data and design employed here.

Intergroup Process and its Impact on Coworker Support and Job Satisfaction

To connect demographic context to the interactional dynamics that affect satisfaction, organizational scholars draw on concepts from demography and social psychology. Schelling models, realistic conflict, relational demography, and status characteristics/expectation states theories each identify different processes to explain why the representation and proportion of different worker status backgrounds (e.g., race) have an impact on workers' experiences. I compare mediators according to each theory below, and evaluate the ability of each to consider different social domains within the same organization.

First, explanations for demographic tipping points at which one racial group no longer prefers or tolerates their diverse work group draw from a Schelling model, which was originally used to identify thresholds of neighborhood segregation (Schelling 1971). The Schelling model posits that there is no positive effect stemming from homogenous representation on its own (Schelling 1971; Sorensen 2004). Rather, only a decline in satisfaction is predicted if composition of one's group tips below a certain point. A strength of the explanation is that it assumes no mechanism of liking to drive intergroup preferences; the absence of significant mediators or significant, positive composition effects paired with a clear threshold at which outcomes diminish would constitute evidence of a Schelling point.

Second, Campbell's (1965) realistic conflict theory emphasizes that goal and interest incompatibility are a source of intergroup hostility that stem from competition for resources – both material (such as equipment) and non-material (such as autonomy) – in the workplace. Muller et al. (1999) instead use Blalock's (1967) Group Threat theory to capture how inter-

group dynamics of perceived threat to resources jeopardize job satisfaction. However, Realistic Conflict theory is better suited for explaining organization-level (as opposed to societal-level) dynamics of competition and conflict. Insofar as different teacher groups – often by their demographic background – have different beliefs about what teachers’ work entails and how it should be done (Delpit 2006[1995]), conflicts between teachers are likely to arise. Both reduced resource availability and lower levels of collective effort towards a shared goal may indicate a process of realistic conflict is taking place, in turn reducing satisfaction. However, this theory relies on reports at the organization-level and does not readily apply to explaining effects of diversity between teacher-student.

Third, relational demography theory uses the concept of homophily, the tendency of individuals towards interaction patterns with others similar to self (Blau and Schwartz 1984), to explain why racially homogeneous faculty can be expected to have better coworker support and satisfaction outcomes (Mueller et al. 1999). Frequent interaction with others similar to themselves increases positive identification with their in-group (Tajfel and Turner 1979). Mediating factors between composition and satisfaction would thus be measures of coworker support that indicate frequency of interaction, as this would facilitate and itself represent both the extent of identification and strength of ties with the group (Reagans 2011; Tajfel and Turner 1979). This theory can account for differences in different sub-groups of teachers within an organization, especially since much collegial dialogue takes place within groups of teachers who have their scheduled breaks at the same time (see Reagans 2011). Drawbacks include that it cannot assist in understanding the role of student demographics on teacher-teacher interactions. It also assumes same-race colleagues will be supportive of one another.

A fourth and final theoretical mechanism through which the racial demographic context of teaching may impact teachers’ coworker support and satisfaction is through status

processes that occur between members of the work group, both among colleagues (i.e., other teachers) and towards their clients (i.e., students) (Mueller et al. 1999). Status processes involve placing people in positions that are “rank-ordered by a standard of value” particular to that context (Ridgeway and Walker 1995: 281). Owing to the racially segregated nature of most schools and/or classrooms, race is a salient status characteristic in the context of teaching (see Frankenberg 2009; Griffin and Tackie 2016; Ispa-Landa and Conwell 2015). Performance expectations for colleagues and clients under these conditions will likely be formed through the cognitive pairing of *states* of a diffuse status characteristic (e.g., white or black) as understood by broader society, and general competence beliefs (Berger et al. 1977; Hegtvedt and Johnson forthcoming). Associating states with competence beliefs is a stereotyping process. High caliber perceptions of colleagues and perceptions of student motivation would address separate domains of social evaluations (i.e., teachers and students), but these are measured at different levels (i.e., the school- or classroom-level, respectively). An added problem is disentangling teacher stereotypes of student performance versus objective reports of student behaviors (Renzulli et al. 2011).

Beyond these theories, other theories endeavor to account for nonsymmetrical effects of diversity (i.e., lacking homogeneity) across different racial groups and different settings. First, it has been found that white teachers’ satisfaction levels are conditional upon working with racially similar students and/or colleagues, but black teachers’ satisfaction levels are not affected by similar mismatches (Mueller et al. 1999). Research on teams similarly shows that individual team members can differ on outcomes such as how they perceive each other in their peer evaluations, or how productive individuals are in a team, as other forms of nonsymmetry. Joshi’s (2014) research shows that actor gender and target gender significantly predict evaluations of expertise, and gender composition of the team moderates the effects of gender and educational status on individual women’s productivity levels. Some explanations

for the discrepancy between group reports in the same organization include: (1) critiques that diversity indices serve only as an artifact of a-priori sorting (e.g., see Abascal and Baldassari 2015)⁷; (2) the culture shock argument (Dworkin 1987), which states that societal minorities are accustomed to operating in white-dominated social settings, but whites are not; and (3) arguments that whites' lower satisfaction is due to poorer structural conditions of black-dominated jobs, not the colleagues themselves (Maume and Sebastian 2007; see also Hodson 2002; Wilk and Makarius 2015).

A fourth (4) possible explanation for nonsymmetry is due to organizational conditions that do not facilitate positive intergroup contact. These conditions include a lack of repeated exposure and contact across racial lines; a lack of whites and blacks holding equal status in the organization; a lack of shared, common goals; the presence of competitive circumstances; and a manager/employer that does not actively support cross-group relations (Allport 1954). In addition, especially for the majority group, settings that do not support affective orientations toward the outgroup will see more negative outcomes than settings that do (Pettigrew et al. 2011). These kinds of settings are bound to produce inequitable outcomes by group.

Hypotheses

Based on the theoretical literature and prior studies of teachers, the hypotheses for the two outcomes of coworker support and job satisfaction are as follows:

Coworker support

H₁: Respondents in the minority in their workgroups, as captured by having higher racial distance between themselves and their colleagues, will report less trust,

⁷ For example, diversity is associated with lower trust for Whites and not blacks because diversity means fewer in-group members for Whites, but more in-group members for blacks.

collective responsibility of, frequent dialogue with, and interpersonal justice from their colleagues.

Job satisfaction

H_{2a}: White teachers in the minority in their workgroups will report lower job satisfaction than whites in the majority.

H_{2b}: Black teachers in the minority in their workgroups will not differ statistically in their reports of job satisfaction from black colleagues in the majority in their workgroups (i.e., with higher racial distances).

H₃: The role of teacher-student relationships in shaping teacher job satisfaction will demonstrate a positive, significant relationship for white teachers, but will not be significant for black teachers.

While satisfaction outcomes are predicted to be asymmetrical across racial groups following prior literature, there is no precedent in prior literature informing whether coworker support outcomes will also be asymmetric. Since Schelling model, realistic conflict, and relational demography each predict that support flows primarily within the in-group, Hypothesis one predicts symmetric findings across whites and blacks.

Data and Methods

Data Sources. To address the research questions, which concern the relationship between racial distance and coworker support and racial distance and job satisfaction, I used data from an original survey coupled with in-depth interviews. Survey items measured teachers' demographic characteristics, perceptions of their working conditions, and reports of coworker support and job satisfaction, consistent with the concepts represented in the research questions, theory, and hypotheses.

Because this study examines the impact of faculty composition on teachers' work outcomes, I strategically selected five school sites – all public high schools – with different faculty compositions. Two high schools are drawn from an urban district, and three high schools are drawn from a suburban district. The districts are located in the same metro area of

a city in the southeastern U.S., and they represent cases of extreme contrast, which can be useful in comparative case studies (Britton and Logan 2008). In the urban district, 99% of the students identify as black and 100% receive free or reduced-price lunch; between 28-38% of teachers in the urban sites are white. In the suburban district, student composition varies. In two of the schools, a quarter of students are black and less than 20% receive free or reduced lunch; in the other school, more than half of students are black and more than half receive free or reduced lunch. In the suburban school sites, about 90% of teachers are white. In all schools, the race of the head principal matches the predominant race of the student population.

The surveys were distributed electronically, with a paper option, across all five schools at two time points: once at the beginning of the academic school year in fall 2014 and once again at the end of the year in spring 2015. The researcher recruited participants at teacher faculty meetings, offering a \$10 incentive for completing each survey. The survey asked questions about the teacher's demographic information, perceptions of his/her working conditions, and his/her self-reported interactional behaviors within the workplace. In constructing the survey, the researcher used items verbatim from the Schools and Staffing survey, Stride et al.'s (2008) benchmarking manual, Bryk and Schneider's (2002) relational trust scales, and Greenberg and Colquitt's (2005) handbook of organizational justice.

Survey responses were merged with personnel data provided by the state department of education as well as information on teachers' daily schedules provided by school personnel (i.e., guidance counselors, office attendants) at each school. State-level administrative data provided the opportunity to verify demographic-related survey responses and to have basic demographic data on the full population. In total, 313 teachers responded at time 1, and 327 at time 2, with 355 unique respondents turning in at least one survey, out of the total population of 369. Of these, 333 were retained in the analysis, the others dropped

due to their non-white, non-black racial backgrounds or not having a work group. The response rates per school ranged from 80-84% in the urban schools, and 69-92% in the suburban schools. The resulting sample is 63% female, 65% white, and 57% traditionally certified. The average years of teaching experience in the sample is 10.9 years (see Table 2.1).

The interviews came from the same sample of respondents and were similarly conducted by the researcher. Each interview lasted between 60-90 minutes and was audio recorded and transcribed. Respondents were selected using a case-pair matching method which ensured a balanced sample across schools and demographic groups (Nielsen 2014). The resulting interview sample was 35% black with an average of 4-9 years of experience in their school, which mirrored the sample population overall.

The following description of variables applies to the survey data. See Table 2.1 for a complete list of variable items, descriptive means, and standard deviations.

Dependent variables. There are two main outcomes of interest in this study: coworker support and job satisfaction. For both measures, I use reports at Time two.

Coworker Support. For measuring different dimensions of coworker support, I first combine Likert scale survey items that share underlying concepts into index variables using confirmatory factor analysis (Principal Components). Factor analysis identified teacher trust (5-item), collective responsibility (3-item), teacher dialogue (5-item), and teacher interpersonal justice (5-item) as four distinct dimensions within the coworker support concept. The items in each factor, which each share the same response scale, are averaged. See Table 2.1 for a listing of these variables, item wording, scaling, and alpha scores. In order to be used as dependent variables in a logistic regression analysis that allows incremental values, index averages are rescaled between a 0 to 1 range.

Job Satisfaction. Global measures of satisfaction, as the one item used in this study, are closely related to multi-dimensional measures of job satisfaction and avoid the pitfalls of omitting or inappropriately weighting the facets in an index (Clark 1998:2 in Kalleberg and Vaisey 2005). In addition, global measures are better predictors of intentions to turnover and have better face validity than index measures (Nagy 2002; Wanous et al. 1997).

Independent variables. All independent and control variables used in the models are from the previous time period, Time 1, chronologically prior to the outcomes reported at Time 2.

Racial Distance. The measure of a respondent's status similarity by race to teacher colleagues in his/her work group is calculated using an absolute mean status difference (McPherson and Smith-Lovin 1987) as represented by one minus the proportion of same-race group members:

$$D_{\text{white}} = 1 - W/N, \text{ and}$$

$$D_{\text{black}} = 1 - B/N$$

Where D = absolute mean distance by race; W = the number of white teachers in the work group; B = the number of black teachers in the work group; and N = total number of teachers in the work group. The distance calculation is tabulated separately for each work group within each school. The distance concept measures the same thing as percent out-group, but the terminology is helpful conceptually as it imagines groups in relational space.

In this analysis, work group is conceptualized as those teachers with whom the teacher is most likely to interact during the workday: those who share his/her planning periods (i.e., 90- to 120-minute time blocks during which teachers do not have a class). Low distances indicate closer racial matching between teachers. There are eight groups per school, and thus forty groups in total. I use the "planning periods" to which teachers are administratively assigned – the two times of day during which the teacher is assigned time

off from having a class and is thus free to move around the school building and meet informally with other teachers – as the operationalization of work group. Since each teacher has two planning periods, I average the racial distance in each of their work groups.⁸ This conceptualization should capture the real opportunities workers have for same- and cross-race contact, and be minimally correlated with other causes of affiliation (e.g., proximity, departments).

A sample illustration of how this measure reflects the concept of racial distance, whereby shorter distances denote majority status within the group and greater distances denote minority status in the group, is as follows. For example, Ms. Anderson, a white teacher in Pine Grove High School, a school with majority-black teachers in this sample, is one of seven white teachers in her work group of $N=28$ total teachers. In her second planning block, she is one of five white teachers in a work group of $N=17$ total. Her race distance score, then, is

$$D = [(1 - W_1/N_1) + (1 - W_2/N_2)] / 2$$

$$D = [(1 - 7/28) + (1 - 5/17)] / 2$$

$$D = (0.75 + 0.71) / 2 = 0.730$$

In other words, Ms. Anderson “travels” an average distance of 0.730 race units in order to interact with any given colleague. In comparison, a black teacher who shares her two planning periods travels only 0.305.⁹ Distances for Non-white Hispanic and Asian teachers were also calculated, and they are included in the N of the distance calculation, but other-race

⁸ All schools used an alternating block schedule, such that teachers had the same time off every other day.

⁹ While work group distance was correlated with the faculty composition at each school, there were still work groups in urban schools where black teachers had high racial distance (e.g., $D=0.53$) and where white teachers had middle-high distance (e.g., $D=0.46$). The same holds for white teachers in majority-white faculty schools, some of whom were classified by spline analysis into the middle-high distance range (Quartile 3). Moreover, the regression models to follow use school fixed effects to account for this fact.

respondents are not included in the models because there were too few of them to analyze separately ($n=9$).

Racial distance is used as a measure of composition rather than dummy variables capturing teacher race interacted with dominant faculty or student race, as previous studies have used (Mueller et al. 1999; Renzulli et al. 2011; Stearns et al. 2014), because such a measure reduces the variation of social dynamics between organizations. In other words, a distance measure accounts for demographic dynamics specific to a school with a faculty ratio of 68% black and 28% white versus a school with faculty 57% black and 38% white. These represent actual cases of schools included in this dataset. While a dummy variable that selects a cut-point on somewhat arbitrary grounds might assign both of these as majority-black or only one of them as majority-black,¹⁰ the use of racial distance better captures the experience of racial contact experienced by each group in the workplace than dummy variables. A further difficulty of the dummy approach is that it creates a small category for black teachers who teach with dominantly white faculty and dominantly black or white students ($n=9$ and $n=14$, respectively), which is avoided with a continuous racial distance measure that focuses on subgroups rather than the organization-level only. Nevertheless, sensitivity analyses were conducted using dummy variable measures of composition, with differences reported.

Individual-level characteristics. Other individual-level factors have been shown to affect job satisfaction, especially with social dimensions of the job, aside from racial matching and coworker relational factors. Alternatively certified teachers (i.e., those with a non-Education Bachelor's degree) are less satisfied than traditionally certified teachers with school-wide aspects of the job, such as influencing school policies and the professional

¹⁰ Previous research selects a 60% threshold as appropriate for capturing the experience of being an organizational minority (Mueller et al. 1999; Renzulli et al. 2011; Stearns et al. 2014); others set it higher depending on the particular status background and geographic context (Kanter 1977; Tomaskovic-Devey 1993; Bryk et al. 2010; Sloan et al. 2013).

caliber of colleagues, perhaps because these programs attract young people from selective colleges (Clark et al. 2013). In the job satisfaction literature more generally, female workers have higher job satisfaction than males (Banerjee and Perucci 2010). Advanced degree holders may be less satisfied if there is no promotion structure (Renzulli et al. 2011). As a political resource, union membership may increase workers' control over their work and thus increase satisfaction with some aspects of the job (Hipp and Givan 2015). Longer tenured members in an organization report lower satisfaction than later cohorts (Dobrow Riza et al. 2015; Stride et al. 2007).

School-level characteristics. School-level factors shown to affect teacher job satisfaction (and subsequent turnover decisions) include minority status of student population, student discipline problems, and inadequate administrator support (e.g., see Guarino et al. 2006; Hanushek et al. 2004; Lankford et al. 2002). School size may also affect the kinds of educational interactions that take place within and the climate of the school (Blatchford et al. 2009), and resources supporting individual schools may result in different teaching experiences (Ballantine and Spade 2009). Fixed effects models were used to control for organization-level variables that have been shown to affect job satisfaction, such as number of students enrolled in the school (which in this sample, ranges from 435 to 1,554 pupils with a mean of 1,138), the demographics of the student population (including both by social class and race), and district-specific policies and school budgets.

Mediating variables. There are three groups of mediating variables that could explain direct effects between composition and the outcomes of interest, listed below.

Perceptions of Workplace. One survey item measures teachers' perceptions of the availability of resources for their classroom. Three index variables measure teachers' perceptions about three different dimensions of administrative support: distribution of rewards (such as money, recognition, or facilities); the consistency of the principal's

procedures; and the principal's treatment of teachers with Interpersonal Justice. School Autonomy is an index variable relating to how much influence a teacher perceives having in such matters as setting discipline policy in the school and setting student performance standards. Classroom autonomy is another index variable relating to teacher's control in selecting things such as textbooks, content, and teaching techniques.

Perceptions of Coworkers and Clients. Perceptions of the competence of colleagues is measured by one survey item, "how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the professional caliber of your colleagues?"¹¹ Perceptions of student competence are measured using a 6-item index variable, containing teacher evaluations of student attendance, apathy, motivation, preparedness to learn, and behavior.¹²

Coworker Support. The measures of the four dimensions of coworker support – trust, collective responsibility, dialogue, and interpersonal justice – are the same as discussed above when used as a dependent variable, but kept in their raw values, and using reports at Time 1 to predict job satisfaction at Time 2.

Analytic strategies. To estimate the effect of racial distance on coworker support and job satisfaction outcomes, fractional and ordered logistical regression techniques are used, respectively. Whereas Ordinary Least Squares regressions assume a Gaussian distribution of the dependent variable across a continuous number line, the dependent variables of interest in this study (i.e., coworker support, satisfaction) are not normally distributed. In the case of coworker support outcomes, when they are represented as indexed variables, they follow a

¹¹ Although this is a facet of satisfaction being used to predict global satisfaction, as Banerjee and Perrucci (2010) and Kalleberg and Vaisey (2005) also do, the correlation of the items is low ($r=0.44$) and caliber does not map onto the other facets of job satisfaction in a factor analysis.

¹² Previous research calls a similar index a measure of "student quality." The claim that these items additionally represent the concept of competence is founded upon whether students competently fulfill behavioral and academic aspects of the student role.

fractional, or proportion- or rate-like, response model.¹³ While this is a more statistically appropriate method considering the nature of the data, sensitivity analyses were conducted using OLS measures of composition, with any differences reported. For the single-item satisfaction outcome, ordered logistic regression is used. Because data were collected over two waves, models are estimated as panels.

Because the effect of the variable of interest, racial distance, varies over the range from 0-1, spline curves were used in the regression models. Spline models are used where independent variables demonstrate non-linear effects on the outcome, such that the direction of the effect (i.e., slope) changes at different intervals or “knots.” Thus, using splines in this analysis is not a theoretically motivated choice; rather, it is used to fit the curve over the range. Linear spline regressions are piece-wise functions, such that no segment is a left-out category. Rather, each linear segment is a straight line that estimates the unique relationship between x and y over that range. I use the percentile specification, which places knots over approximately equal sub-groupings of data rather than being spaced at consistent increments over a range (StataCorp 2013). Quartiles were selected based on their relative better fit to other percentile splits; usually, even poorer-fitting cubic splits made no difference in results. In the split sample of white respondents, the quartile ranges fell at 0 through 0.085 (Q1), 0.145 (Q2), 0.46 (Q3), and above (Q4). Thus, in the example of Ms. Anderson given above, her value of $D=0.73$ falls in Q4. For black respondents, the ranges were 0.29 (Q1), 0.425

¹³ For example, a respondent who replies “some” (2,2,2) to all three questions contained in the collective responsibility index, which ranges from 1 to 5, will have an average of 2 for that item. The maximum response possible would have been an average of 5 (5,5,5). If rescaled to a fractional value, this respondent scores a 0.25 on collective responsibility, after rescaling between 0 and 4 and dividing by 4. One can think of this proportional value as representing a teacher who perceives that the collective responsibility shown among his/her faculty is only a quarter of what the maximum amount could potentially be.

(Q2), 0.50 (Q3), and above (Q4). See Table 2.2 for a summary of the distribution of respondents across quartiles, by school.

Given the size of the survey sample, the most parsimonious model possible is desired. A myriad of other individual-level variables were included in preliminary models to check for significant effects on the dependent variable, and removed if they consistently demonstrated no significance on the outcome variable or reduced model fit compared to a variable reflecting a similar concept. These variables included teacher age, teacher salary, and teacher social class, measured as an average of mother and father's highest level of education.

Interview transcripts were analyzed using a combination of line-by-line coding to track themes emerging from the data (Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw 1995) and protocol coding (Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña 2014). The author used MAXQDA software to manage all coded transcripts simultaneously and to make comparisons across race groups and subgroups.

Results

Survey data. Using survey data, Hypothesis 1 was partly confirmed for white teachers, but consistently only for those in the lowest racial distance quartile, Quartile 1 (i.e., lowest percent out-group) (see Table 2.3). Only the effect on interpersonal justice was significant, meaning that as distance increased, perceived justice diminished. Again, H₁ was partly confirmed for black teachers, where diversity had a significantly negative effect on collective responsibility in Quartile 4. In the other quartiles, the direction of the effect was positive about as often as it was negative. Indeed, the up-and-down nature of the relationship

between distance and interpersonal interaction is seen in the changing direction of the composition effect at almost every spline knot (see Table 2.4).¹⁴

Hypotheses 2a and 2b were both refuted. Non-significant effects of racial distance in a fairly flat pattern were observed for white teachers across the quartile splines (see Table 2.5, Figure 2.1). Significant effects in a positive direction were observed for black teachers (i.e, increased distance was associated with higher satisfaction) until the second quartile knot, at which point they became significantly negative for the second through fourth quartiles as a whole (Table 2.6; Figure 2.2).¹⁵ These composition effects held until mediators of perception of workplace were introduced in Model 3.¹⁶ Taken together, these findings suggest that white teachers seem subject to neither the benefits nor the drawbacks of specific ranges of diversity. Hypothesis 3 was confirmed, using teacher's reports of their perceptions of student motivation and behavior as an indicator of the quality of the teacher-student relationship. Model 4 in Tables 2.5 and 2.6 show a significant, positive effect on job satisfaction for white teachers at the $p < .001$ level, and a non-significant effect for black teachers.

Interview Data. For white respondents, the prevailing themes to emerge from each quartile varied. The responses help show how there is no real limiting case altering white teachers' relational outcomes or satisfaction. Even at the most extreme possible distance

¹⁴ A regression model showing only direct associations between distance and the four coworker support outcomes is not shown here (available from author). For whites, none of the associations were significant. For blacks, two additional associations were significant in Q1 and one in Q4. These were mediated by the full model, but three new significant associations emerged which appear in Table 4.

¹⁵ A follow-up analysis for the black teacher sample in which I grouped quartiles 2, 3 and 4 together and compared them to quartile one showed a positive, significant slope for Q1 and a negative, significant slope for Q2-4.

¹⁶ A sensitivity analysis using OLS instead of fractional logistic regression on the same models shown in Tables 3 through 6 gave similar results. In addition, the analyses in Tables 5 and 6 were also run using dummy variables instead of race distance, for "matched," "black," and "matched*black." Not surprisingly, since the dummies are largely organization-level variables, these dummies were not significant in linear, fixed effects models.

values – that is, very diverse or very homogenous environments – whites talked about all sorts of reasons to remain satisfied.

As Table 2.7 shows, 10 out of 13 teachers in mostly homogeneous settings (Q1) reported that race did not have a big role in their day-to-day work. The lack of talk about race is a welcome escape from prior work settings where talk of race among teachers and students alike was ever-present. Ms. Ingles states that in her homogenous setting, “I feel like we value diversity even if we ourselves aren’t very diverse.” For teachers in this quartile, “race is irrelevant” and racial “tensions” are nonexistent. In contrast, teachers in the medium quartiles (Q2 and Q3) overwhelmingly tended to note that race *did* play a role in how colleagues interacted (85%). These respondents felt that the effects of race could be seen in the voluntary racial segregation that occurred between teachers, or at minimum, as one teacher noted: “The black/white thing is always there.” Even so, most of these teachers (15 of 26) were optimistic about positive interracial relations, feeling that interracial inclusion was feasible to accomplish in their workplace. In the most racially mixed quartile (Q4), 15 of 17 respondents explained how it was easy to feel a sense of belonging or balance in their faculty setting, either by identifying with black colleagues or by not having to depend on black colleagues for social or instructional support because they had white colleagues to whom they could turn.

In contrast, interviews with black teachers showed clear evidence of improving race relations within the lowest-distance, most homogenous quartile (Q1) and diminishing race relations with increasing diversity in the higher quartiles (Q2 through Q4). Black respondents who worked in the most homogeneous workgroups – that is, those on the lower end of Q1 – noted that their fellow affluent colleagues did not relate to their black students and were not committed to their schools. The respondents indicated this was a problem among affluent black and white colleagues alike, and “bothered” the respondents because it communicated a

lack of commitment. Respondents on the upper end of Quartile 1, however, talked about feeling that they had an interactional advantage compared to white teachers, while at the same time enjoying a “comfortable” social environment among their mostly-black colleagues.

Ten of 11 black teachers in workgroups with a medium level of diversity (Q2 and Q3) espoused the view that getting along with colleagues was a necessity for survival in their jobs. They kept their encounters with white teachers cordial, but noted that a lack of depth of relationship or agreement between black and white teachers on such topics as whether white teachers cared less about their black students or devalued black institutions (such as HBCUs).

Black teachers who were in the minority (Q4) gave mixed reports of their experiences of race in collegial relations. Four respondents on the lower end of the quartile described how administrators interfered with teacher-teacher social relations or even student-teacher relationships through disadvantageous disciplinary and placement procedures for students. One example of this code is Ms. Nemeč’s account of how principals would ask black teachers not to sit together at faculty meetings (Table 2.8). On the upper end of the quartile, for respondents in the extreme minority, five black teachers described how they kept their relationships with white teachers on the surface to avoid further problems. This differs from cordial interactions because respondents gave concrete examples of conflict that they knew of with their white colleagues, but avoided addressing or confronting them.

Taken together, the data types show clear differences between race groups. While race played a minimal role for most white respondents in shaping their relationships or satisfaction at work, regardless of subgroup composition, nearly all black respondents acknowledged that race played a role in how satisfied they were at work, for better or for worse. There were benefits to diversity when black teachers could see their interactional advantages with both students and other teachers, as compared to their white colleagues’

relational experiences. The benefits of diversity tapered off as soon as those status advantages disappeared. After the first quartile, these advantages ceased to be mentioned in the qualitative data. Above the first quartile, increasing diversity (i.e., more white representation) had negative effects on black teachers because these environments featured more fragile relations with white colleagues. Either relationships were kept cordial and not developed beyond basic cooperation, or administrators actively impeded black teachers' relationships with other black faculty and students. In the case of black teachers with the highest racial distances, black teachers had concrete negative experiences with white teachers which propelled them to limit their interactions with them. Quantitative and qualitative data suggest that these kinds of diversity experiences in particular had the most negative impact on black teachers.

In the discussion that follows, I turn to the theoretical implications of these findings for literature about nonsymmetrical effects of diversity and Schelling tipping points as they apply to diversity in the work context.

Discussion

Overall, the findings reveal that there are racial composition effects on teachers' relational outcomes and job satisfaction outcomes, but that these are specific to racial groups as well as subgroup composition. Many of the findings contest previous findings, such as those on nonsymmetry which predict that there will be significant and negative effects of demographic heterogeneity for whites but not for racial minorities (Tsui et al. 1992; Mueller et al. 1999; Maume and Sebastian 2007). The results in this study show the opposite: no significant effect of composition on white teachers' job satisfaction, but a significant positive effect of diversity for black teachers in workgroups with a large black representation (Q1). Contrary to expectations from demography-based and social psychological approaches, some

forms of coworker support were significant but did not mediate the composition effects (Mueller et al. 1999). Below, I revisit the theoretical implications of these findings and suggest new directions for studying effects of racial composition in the workplace.

Schelling Models. Schelling's (1971) "tipping" model holds that composition has negative effects on individual attitudes and behavior in response to decreases in homophily, but that there is no positive effect of homophily on these outcomes in and of itself. The results follow a Schelling pattern in part. While the positive effect of diversity prior to Quartile 2 is not explained by Schelling models, the significantly negative effect of diversity thereafter is consistent with Schelling model predictions. In this data, that tipping point occurred between Quartile 1 and Quartile 2 (as shown in Table 2.6) at around 70% black representation.

Realistic Conflict Theory. Looking to the role of mediating variables in the analyses, the results offer support for the role of resource inadequacy in affecting social relations and satisfaction (Blalock 1967). However, this support is specific to subgroups. Tables 2.5 and 2.6 show that resources were significantly associated with both black and white teachers' satisfaction, mediating the effects of racial distance for black teachers in the lower quartiles (Q1 and Q2). In addition, autonomy as a resource was significantly associated with satisfaction for whites (Table 2.5). As a secondary indicator of intensified feelings of hostility or competition between groups related to their incompatible goals and interests, collective responsibility diminished for blacks in the minority (Q4), but otherwise was nonsignificant for all subgroups and both whites and blacks (Campbell 1965).

The interview data provide some insight into why competition and feelings of hostility between colleagues should vary on a sub-group level rather than on an organizational level. Access to resources depends on feeling a part of a community: as Ms. Bennett (Q2, Table 2.8), a black teacher in an urban school, stated, "Do I know that this is

my school community and any resource here should be available to me? I do believe that. And because I believe that, I act that way. ... I'm going to talk to whoever I need to talk to [to get the rooms, projectors, or desks I need]." In contrast, mention of dynamics of interpersonal competition were part of the negative experiences unique to being a black token (Q4), such as in Ms. Nemeč's comment (Q4, Table 2.8):

Oh, it's [race is] a big factor here. It's huge. ... And let me tell you. It was shell-shocking for me. Because I went through this district. And being on one side as a student and then the other side as a teacher, I was just – I'm shocked. ... I didn't know anything about competition, I enjoyed learning. But boy, did being an African-American change for me when I became the teacher.

Relational Demography and Contact Theories. Based on relational demography explanations, being similar demographically to more of one's colleagues and interacting frequently should increase one's opportunities to identify with one's own group. The results in Table 2.6 suggest that a mechanism of homophily ("love of same") could be driving satisfaction for black teachers, but again this was subgroup-specific; a positive association existed only for the lower race distance segment (Q1). However, there was no evidence of dialogue mediating the association (Table 2.6), and no evidence of homophily working as a mechanism for white teachers' outcomes.

Perhaps some of the most illuminating evidence to explain the lack of homophily evident in the surveys comes from white respondents in the most racially balanced workgroups (Q4). In this setting, there are fewer whites present, but enough for them to band together if they wished. However, about one-third of these respondents (6 of 17) noted that white teachers were not necessarily supportive of them. For example, Ms. Elkins (white) stated that a white teacher in her work-group helped her less with classroom management than another black colleague in her work-group:

Ms. Valdosta (white) is very helpful with content. Not so much with behavior management because she just has great behavior management. So, I don't think it

occurs to her. She'd probably just tell me just to yell more, but I'm not really a yeller. So, I think she realizes we just don't have the same thinking about it or strategies. So, she doesn't give me so much advice on that. ... I think my kids can probably ritually sacrifice me and no one would come in. ... [Whereas at an orientation at the beginning of the year,] Ms. Costa (black), I sat next to her in the training. She was my partner for the activity and she said just right away, 'I got you, don't you worry.'

This teacher describes how white colleagues sometimes helped less than opposite-race colleagues. Moreover, it shows the positive affect (e.g., reduced worry, becoming partners) underlying positive outcomes of intergroup contact (Pettigrew et al. 2011). While some behavior management methods diverged across racial groups, so that having a racially balanced staff works better “for the kids and everybody” (see Table 2.7), white teachers frequently noted diversity among white teachers' own work practices themselves. This finding – that white teachers find they have more in common with black colleagues than those in their own in-group – helps explain why white teachers may not be sensitive to environments with declining homophily (Table 2.3). The affective attitudes about race seen in responses in Q2, Q3, and Q4 (e.g., “my white sister,” “Here it's just a big ole mishmash”) contrast with the racial attitudes about valuing diversity in an abstract sense, as expressed by many whites in the lowest quartile (Q1). These latter kinds of tolerant post-Civil Rights attitudes have been linked with the remaining reluctance on the part of whites to be emotionally close with blacks (Bobo et al. 2012). Thus, subgroup context appears to be related to the affective dimensions of white teachers' race relations, which points to possibly different underlying structural conditions in each of these subgroups that either facilitate or prevent positive intergroup contact. With or without positive intergroup contact, however, whites do not appear to be significantly impacted by the racial composition of their workgroups.

Status Characteristics/Expectation States Theory. Looking to another group of mediating variables in the analyses, one thing that emerges very clearly from the findings in

Tables 5 and 6 is the different effect teachers' perceptions of their students' behavior and motivation has on teacher job satisfaction, by teacher race. While perceptions of collegial caliber are significantly associated with satisfaction for both whites and blacks, the perception of students is highly significant for white teachers in Models 4 and 5, but not for black teachers. Supplemental t-tests showed that white teachers tended to give significantly lower evaluations of their students' competence than black teachers, no matter what the predominant race of the student body.¹⁷ This means that the proposed mechanism of racialized expectations states working in concert with racialized cultural status beliefs about competence are not solely driving white teachers' overall job satisfaction. However, it could be that expectation states are still working as a mechanism to produce lower student evaluations, except by some other status characteristic than student race.

Conclusion

This study brings many surprising and nuanced findings to light in the study of composition effects in workplaces, most importantly that these effects vary by race, but also by diversity level of one's subgroup within an organization. Unique findings to emerge from this study compared to previous studies of racial mismatch among teachers or white workers in the minority should be understood as the result of the design and measures used, which are suited to examining sub-group effects within an organization. By design, the data used in this paper can provide rich insights into meso- and micro-level dynamics otherwise unavailable in national datasets with one or two employees per organization represented and no qualitative data to complement them. In this study, I have instead drawn on several data points on a large number of employees within a few organizations. Moreover, the measure of racial

¹⁷ This comparison was based on t-tests of the two urban schools with majority-black students and the two suburban schools with majority-white students. There was no difference in the fifth school.

composition used here is sensitive to the actual contact employees within an organization are likely to have, and will thus capture differences within race groups and within workplaces that would otherwise go unobserved with a dummy variable measure of composition.

The findings depart from those of previous organization-level studies in three respects. First, the findings here show no significant negative effects of racial distance on whites' relational outcomes. This is counter to research findings in relational demography on the negative relationship between group heterogeneity and attachment to the group (Williams and O'Reilly 1998). Second, findings also challenge previous findings of nonsymmetry which state that white workers are more sensitive to diversity in the workplace than blacks (Mueller et al. 1999; Tsui et al. 1992). I find nonsymmetry of the opposite sort: no significant effect of composition on whites' job satisfaction, but significant effects for blacks' satisfaction. Third, contrary to some social psychological explanations for how racial composition in the workplace affects work outcomes such as satisfaction (Mueller et al. 1999), I find little evidence of mediation by coworker dynamics.

More broadly, this study makes contributions to the organizational demography literature in three ways. First, this study shows how interactional dynamics play out in a non-insular work context, such as the human service occupation of teaching. In such an occupation, where workers are "immersed" in continual contact with their clients, these third parties have a strong influence on white workers' job satisfaction, but not black workers'. Future studies should explore whether these interpersonal dynamics with clients are similar in other comparable human service occupations, such as retail, restaurant servers, law enforcement, prison guards, nursing, and mental health and social work professions.

Second, this study accounts for four distinct dimensions of coworker support, which has not been done before in similar studies (e.g., Mueller et al. 1999; Renzulli et al. 2011). The results suggest that forms of coworker support involving teacher trust and teacher

interpersonal justice are more predictive of job satisfaction than forms such as collegial dialogue about work practices or collective effort on the job. Furthermore, the fact that none of these dimensions fully mediate composition effects, in addition to one result in the opposite direction than coworker support literature would expect, suggests that coworker support is less predictive of job satisfaction than social psychological approaches to organizational demography have suggested to date.

Third, by utilizing a continuous measure of racial composition – race distance – rather than interaction dummy variables, as previous research on teachers has done, these findings are better able to capture specific contextual effects for gradients of “match” and “mismatch.” Important variation based on finer-grained measures of composition at the level of the work group rather than at the level of the organization was also demonstrated. As a result, some of these findings refine previous findings concerning nonsymmetry and the influence of perceptions of clients on worker satisfaction. To further highlight the value of the racial distance measure, future research should use such measures to predict teacher job satisfaction in surveys drawn from a much larger sample of schools, especially schools with sizeable representation of more than two racial groups.

The findings also highlight implications for school improvement efforts, if these are inclusive of goals to improve job design for public schoolteachers as an end in itself. As a means to an end, increased job satisfaction could have other benefits for teacher retention and potentially improving student achievement (e.g., see Entwisle et al. 1998). Perhaps because the product of human service occupations is the client’s performance, collegial collaboration and control are de-emphasized in comparison to other professions that are not client-centered (Mueller et al. 1999). These findings show, however, that some forms of coworker support in an “immersed” occupation such as teaching significantly impact job satisfaction. Finding ways to increase opportunities for coworker support in the daily structure of school life could

include policies that promote making schools sites of group decision-making and normative control by teachers themselves. This could increase school-level autonomy, and perhaps also trust and collective responsibility as teachers are held accountable to reciprocal helping norms by one another. The findings also have implications for principal and administrative management of schools. Supporting district-level policies that ensure resource availability and fair distribution of rewards to teachers, as well as procedures at the building-level in how teachers are treated and evaluated by principals, are another priority underscored in the findings. Finally, addressing teacher perceptions of student motivation and behavior would be a valuable topic for professional development that may help improve white teachers' job satisfaction.

Some limitations to this research include respondent bias that commonly enters into survey methods, such as social desirability effects, which may inflate workers' reports of their working conditions. Because the researcher provided repeated assurances of confidentiality and anonymity, these effects were minimized as much as possible. Also, these data only reflect what was observed in two public school districts in one city, and therefore should not be generalized to teaching jobs in other contexts, such as rural areas, non-Southern metropolitan areas, or private schools, or even to urban and suburban schools more broadly. Missing data from non-respondents and incomplete survey questions is another source of bias, to which the relatively high response rates provide reasonable protection. These limitations do not diminish the theoretical contribution of the project, which has helped reveal inconsistencies in composition effects by operationalizing homophily with a more precise and micro-level measure. The findings complicate previous theoretical explanations and pave the way for new approaches to studying diversity in an increasingly diverse profession.

Table 2.1. Descriptive Statistics (means, SD) of Variables by Teacher Race

Variable	Variable description	Whites	Blacks
<i>Dependent Variables</i>			
Coworker support			
Teacher Trust	Combination of 5 questions: How much teachers in this school (1) trust each other, (2) feel it's OK to discuss feelings, worries, and frustrations with other teachers; (3) respect teachers who daily lead teacher-teacher interactions; (4) respect teachers who are experts at their craft; (5) feels respected by other teachers Scale: Unstandardized range 1-5, 5 = <i>strongly agree</i> ; alpha=0.89 (time 2)	3.89 (0.78)	3.66 (0.80)
Collective Responsibility	Combination of 3 questions: Amount of teachers who (1) Really care about each other, (2) Collective responsibility felt when students fail, (3) Collective responsibility taken in maintaining discipline school-wide Scale: Unstandardized range 1-5, 5= <i>nearly all teachers</i> ; alpha=0.83	3.45 (0.84)	3.22 (0.87)
Teacher Dialogue	Combination of 5 questions: How often has teacher (1) had conversations with colleagues about what helps students learn best; (2) talked about instruction in the teachers' lounge; (3) talked about instruction at faculty, department, or other teacher meetings; (4) talked about instruction with other teachers before or after school; (5) designed instructional programs together. Scale: Unstandardized range 1-4, 4 = <i>almost daily</i> ; alpha=0.83	2.61 (0.77)	2.50 (0.75)
Teacher Interpersonal Justice	Combination of 5 questions: How much teachers in this school (1) consider your viewpoint, (2) treat you without bias, (3) treat you with kindness and consideration, (4) show concern for your rights as an employee, (5) take steps to deal with you in a truthful manner. Scale: Unstandardized range 1-5, 5= <i>strongly agree</i> ; alpha=0.91	4.09 (0.65)	3.96 (0.77)
Job Satisfaction	Your general level of satisfaction overall as a teacher at this school, Scale: Unstandardized range 1-4, 4= <i>very satisfied</i>	3.39 (0.75)	3.15 (0.80)
<i>Independent Variables</i>			
<i>Racial Composition</i>			
Race Distance Q1 (low)	Absolute mean status difference as represented by teacher race multiplied by the proportion of teachers in the work group not of that race; average of two groups taken. The lowest quartile of race distance	0.06 (0.03)	0.26 (0.02)
Race Distance Q2 (low-med)	The low-medium quartile of race distance	0.11 (0.02)	0.34 (0.04)
Race Distance Q3 (med-high)	The medium-high quartile of race distance	0.24 (0.09)	0.44 (0.02)
Race Distance Q4 (high)	The highest quartile of race distance	0.64 (0.09)	0.77 (0.15)

Controls

Alternate route	Dummy variable = 1 if teacher is alternate route	0.37 (0.48)	0.55 (0.50)
Female	Dummy variable = 1 if female	0.64 (0.48)	0.61 (0.49)
Advanced degree	Dummy variable = 1 if teacher has advanced degree	0.41 (0.49)	0.50 (0.50)
Union	Teacher membership status, Dummy variable=1 if teacher currently a member of a union	0.25 (0.43)	0.36 (0.48)
First year teaching	Dummy variable = 1 if first year teaching in this school	0.19 (0.39)	0.29 (0.45)
2-4 years teaching	Dummy variable = 1 if 2-4 years teaching in this school	0.32 (0.47)	0.38 (0.49)
5-9 years teaching	Dummy variable = 1 if 5-9 years teaching in this school	0.22 (0.41)	0.19 (0.39)
10+ years teaching	Dummy variable = 1 if 10 or more years teaching in this school	0.28 (0.45)	0.16 (0.37)

Teacher perception of workplace

Resources	How satisfied teacher is with the availability of resources for his/her classroom Scale: Unstandardized range 1-4, 4= <i>very satisfied</i>	3.21 (0.89)	2.86 (1.01)
Principal's distribution of rewards	Combination of 7 questions: how fairly teachers feel rewarded with money, recognition, or facilities for their level of (1) responsibilities, (2) experience, (3) training, (4) effort, (5) accomplishments, and (6) stresses, and (7) whether all faculty and staff are rewarded fairly. Scale: Unstandardized range 1-5, 5= <i>very fairly</i> ; alpha=0.96	2.87 (1.09)	2.80 (1.14)
Principal's procedures consistent	Combination of 7 questions: (1) Principal uses consistent standards to evaluate teachers, (2) Principal gives teacher helpful feedback, (3) Principal took into account factors beyond teacher's control, (4) Principal allowed teacher to respond before evaluation was made, (5) Principal made expectations clear to teachers, (6) Principal obtained accurate information about teacher performance, (7) Principal observed teacher frequently Scale: Unstandardized range 1-5, 5= <i>very much</i> ; alpha=0.95	3.68 (1.06)	3.77 (1.14)
Principal's Interpersonal Justice	Combination of 6 questions: how much the head principal (1) considers the teacher's viewpoint, (2) treats the teacher without bias, (3) treats the teacher with consideration, (4) shows concern for the teacher's rights as an employee, (5) deals with the teacher in a truthful manner, and (6) provides timely feedback about decisions and their implications. Scale: Unstandardized range 1-5, 5= <i>strongly agree</i> , alpha=0.96	4.10 (0.94)	4.08 (0.98)
School autonomy	Combination of 7 questions relating to teacher's influence in: (1) Setting discipline policy, (2) Determining content of PD, (3) Hiring new teachers, (4) Deciding how school budget spent, (5) Evaluating	2.18 (0.89)	2.03 (0.98)

	teachers, (6) Establishing curriculum, (7) Setting student performance standards Scale: Unstandardized range 1-5, 5= <i>a great deal of influence</i> ; alpha=0.88		
Classroom autonomy	Combination of 5 questions relating to teacher's control in: (1) Selecting textbooks, (2) Selecting content, (3) Selecting teaching techniques, (4) Grading students, (5) Determining homework Scale: Unstandardized range 1-5, 5= <i>complete control</i> ; alpha= 0.76	3.91 (0.78)	3.70 (0.87)
Perception of Coworkers	How satisfied teacher is with the professional caliber of colleagues Scale: Unstandardized range 1-4, 4= <i>very satisfied</i>	3.31 (0.72)	3.07 (0.79)
Perception of Clients	Combination of 6 questions about severity of student problems: (1) Student absenteeism, (2) Cutting class, (3) Disrespect for teachers, (4) Student apathy, (5) Students unprepared to learn, (6) Disruptions due to discipline. Scale: Unstandardized range 1-4, 4= <i>fewest problems/ best quality students</i> ; alpha=0.90	2.57 (0.77)	2.19 (0.82)

Table 2.2. Distributions across Race Distance Quartiles, by School

Knot	Distance range	Pine Grove	Larksfield	Crest Point	Surrey Ridge	Mt. Summit	Total
White teachers							
Q1	Low	0	0	0	29	19	48
Q2	Low-medium	0	0	11	38	10	59
Q3	Medium-high	0	5	40	2	4	51
Q4	High	23	27	0	0	0	50
		23	32	51	69	33	208
Black teachers							
Q1	Low	28	0	0	0	0	28
Q2	Low-medium	25	13	0	0	0	38
Q3	Medium-high	3	27	0	0	0	30
Q4	High	0	7	9	9	4	29
		56	47	9	9	4	<u>125</u>
<i>Total</i>							333

Table 2.3. Regressions of Racial Distance on Teacher Relational Outcomes, Full Model (White Teachers)

	<u>Trust</u>	<u>Collective Responsibility</u>	<u>Teacher Dialogue</u>	<u>Teacher Int. Justice</u>
<i>Composition variables (by Quartile)</i>				
Race Distance Q1 (low)	-2.26 (4.80)	-4.60 (4.12)	-5.50 (5.99)	-9.76 (4.12)*
Race Distance Q2 (low-medium)	-3.06 (2.94)	0.63 (3.61)	-1.33 (5.25)	1.79 (3.32)
Race Distance Q3 (medium-high)	1.38 (1.33)	-0.07 (1.09)	1.98 (2.04)	-0.06 (1.38)
Race Distance Q4 (high)	-1.27 (1.04)	1.11 (1.18)	1.16 (1.78)	1.44 (1.16)
<i>Controls</i>				
Alternate route	0.14 (0.11)	-0.04 (0.09)	0.06 (0.14)	0.05 (0.11)
Female	0.01 (0.10)	0.16 (0.09) [°]	0.39 (0.14)**	0.25 (0.10)*
Advanced degree	0.11 (0.10)	0.01 (0.09)	-0.04 (0.13)	0.00 (0.09)
Union	0.00 (0.11)	0.04 (0.10)	0.18 (0.17)	-0.08 (0.11)
Years in this school				
First year teaching	-0.21 (0.12) [°]	0.11 (0.14)	-0.04 (0.23)	-0.03 (0.15)
2-4 years teaching	-0.07 (0.12)	0.03 (0.11)	-0.08 (0.17)	-0.16 (0.13)
5-9 years teaching	-0.15 (0.14)	0.07 (0.14)	-0.13 (0.18)	0.05 (0.14)
10+ years (ref omitted)				
<i>Perceptions of Workplace</i>				
Resources	0.15 (0.07)*	0.06 (0.05)	0.14 (0.08) [°]	-0.07 (0.07)
Distribution of rewards	0.12 (0.06)*	0.16 (0.05)**	-0.06 (0.07)	0.10 (0.05) [°]
Principal's Procedures consistent	-0.01 (0.06)	0.07 (0.06)	0.18 (0.08)*	-0.11 (0.07) [°]
Principal's Interpersonal Justice	0.11 (0.08)	0.14 (0.08) [°]	0.09 (0.09)	0.29 (0.08)**
School Autonomy	0.14 (0.06)*	-0.01 (0.06)	0.17 (0.07)*	0.12 (0.07) [°]
Classroom Autonomy	0.21 (0.06)***	0.03 (0.06)	-0.07 (0.09)	0.06 (0.06)
<i>Perceptions of Coworkers/Clients</i>				
Colleagues: Professional Caliber	0.39 (0.07)***	0.42 (0.07)***	0.08 (0.09)	0.43 (0.07)***
Students: Behavior and Motivation	-0.05 (0.11)	0.11 (0.08)	-0.15 (0.12)	0.01 (0.10)
School Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Time Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Intercept	-2.21 (0.65)**	-2.80 (0.62)***	-1.77 (1.02) [°]	-1.34 (0.70) [°]
chi square (df)	211.95 (26)	249.60 (26)	87.95 (26)	185.94 (26)
N	208	208	208	208

Fractional log-odds regression coefficients reported, standard error in parentheses. Observations are clustered by teacher across two time points.

Table 2.4. Regressions of Racial Distance on Teacher Relational Outcomes, Full Model (Black Teachers)

	<u>Trust</u>	<u>Collective Responsibility</u>	<u>Teacher Dialogue</u>	<u>Teacher Int. Justice</u>
<i>Composition variables (by Quartile)</i>				
Race Distance Q1 (low)	6.81 (4.62)	6.22 (5.18)	-3.53 (8.60)	3.47 (5.28)
Race Distance Q2 (low-medium)	-3.62 (2.08) [°]	0.47 (1.80)	4.84 (2.79) [°]	-4.43 (1.73)*
Race Distance Q3 (medium-high)	7.00 (3.37)*	-2.54 (4.75)	-6.34 (5.41)	10.80 (5.02)*
Race Distance Q4 (high)	-2.86 (1.93)	-4.21 (1.90)*	0.55 (2.90)	-3.61 (2.46)
<i>Controls</i>				
Alternate route	-0.09 (0.15)	-0.02 (0.13)	0.15(0.18)	-0.14 (0.17)
Female	0.01 (0.14)	0.02 (0.13)	-0.34 (0.18) [°]	-0.42 (0.16)**
Advanced degree	-0.02 (0.12)	0.12 (0.11)	0.21 (0.16)	0.35 (0.14)*
Union	0.17 (0.17)	-0.23 (0.15)	0.20 (0.21)	-0.25 (0.18)
Years in this school				
First year teaching	-0.17 (0.24)	-0.41 (0.23) [°]	0.46 (0.31)	-0.44 (0.27)
2-4 years teaching	-0.22 (0.23)	-0.16 (0.21)	0.27 (0.27)	-0.75 (0.27)**
5-9 years teaching	-0.05 (0.26)	-0.42 (0.22) [°]	0.54 (0.28) [°]	-0.47 (0.27) [°]
10+ years (ref omitted)				
<i>Perceptions of Workplace</i>				
Resources	-0.04 (0.08)	0.04 (0.07)	0.16 (0.09) [°]	-0.20 (0.08)*
Distribution of rewards	0.02 (0.09)	-0.04 (0.06)	-0.26 (0.09)**	0.04 (0.09)
Principal's Procedures consistent	-0.13 (0.09)	0.12 (0.08)	0.36 (0.10)***	-0.32 (0.10)**
Principal's Interpersonal Justice	0.31 (0.09)***	0.08 (0.10)	-0.19 (0.12)	0.58 (0.13)***
School Autonomy	0.01 (0.11)	0.01 (0.09)	0.35 (0.11)**	0.21 (0.10)*
Classroom Autonomy	0.12 (0.07) [°]	0.11 (0.07)	0.00 (0.09)	-0.01 (0.08)
<i>Perceptions of Coworkers/Clients</i>				
Colleagues: Professional Caliber	0.60 (0.10)***	0.42 (0.09)***	-0.24 (0.14) [°]	0.52 (0.13)***
Students: Behavior and Motivation	0.06 (0.14)	0.09 (0.13)	0.23 (0.17)	0.05 (0.13)
School Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Time Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Intercept	-3.90 (1.24)**	-4.11 (1.42)**	-0.05 (2.35)	-1.78 (1.47)
chi square (df)	139.86 (26)	237.24 (26)	80.37 (26)	101.60 (26)
N	125	125	125	125

Fractional log-odds regression coefficients reported, standard error in parentheses. Observations are clustered by teacher across two time points.

Table 2.5. Effects of Racial Distance on Job Satisfaction (White Teachers)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
<i>Composition variables (by Quartile)</i>					
Race Distance Q1 (low)	-4.75 (17.08)	-5.99 (17.46)	-0.85 (0.40)	-31.07 (25.49)	-27.80 (30.98)
Race Distance Q2 (low-medium)	-7.83 (16.19)	-11.79 (16.38)	16.66 (21.45)	18.87 (22.48)	21.76 (26.47)
Race Distance Q3 (medium-high)	9.10 (8.25)	10.21 (8.84)	15.98 (12.66)	17.84 (12.53)	17.11 (14.29)
Race Distance Q4 (high)	-5.90 (4.88)	-3.31 (5.08)	-8.83 (6.50)	-9.87 (6.60)	-9.87 (8.09)
<i>Controls</i>					
Alternate route		-0.49 (0.42)	0.22 (0.57)	0.26 (0.58)	-0.02 (0.69)
Female		0.38 (0.44)	0.27 (0.58)	0.33 (0.61)	0.15 (0.73)
Advanced degree		-0.44 (0.37)	-0.56 (0.48)	-0.58 (0.50)	-0.84 (0.59)
Union		-0.31 (0.47)	0.013 (0.61)	0.013 (0.63)	0.00 (0.75)
Years in this school					
First year teaching		-0.01 (0.63)	-0.96 (0.84)	-1.53 (0.91) ^o	-1.67 (1.09)
2-4 years teaching		-0.74 (0.55)	-0.28 (0.70)	-0.00 (0.71)	-0.03 (0.85)
5-9 years teaching		-0.50 (0.58)	-0.48 (0.76)	-0.61 (0.78)	-0.48 (0.95)
10+ years (ref omitted)					
<i>Perceptions of Workplace</i>					
Resources			0.79 (0.33)*	0.57 (0.34) ^o	0.26 (0.39)
Distribution of rewards			0.91 (0.32)**	0.81 (0.33)*	0.79 (0.38)*
Principal's Procedures consistent			0.80 (0.33)*	0.86 (0.38)*	0.87 (0.44) ^o
Principal's Interpersonal Justice			0.44 (0.34)	0.26 (0.36)	0.00 (0.41)
School Autonomy			0.57 (0.34) ^o	0.36 (0.35)	0.15 (0.40)
Classroom Autonomy			0.81 (0.32)*	0.77 (0.34)*	0.64 (0.39)
<i>Perceptions of Coworkers/Clients</i>					
Colleagues: Professional Caliber				1.57 (0.43)***	1.25 (0.50)*
Students: Behavior and Motivation				2.43 (0.66)***	3.10 (0.87)***
<i>Coworker Support</i>					
Teacher Trust					1.37 (0.60)*
Teacher Dialogue frequency					0.61 (0.44)
Collective Responsibility					0.55 (0.53)
Teacher Interpersonal Justice					0.33 (0.55)
School Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Time Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
chi square (df)	59.77 (9)	61.12 (16)	40.23 (22)	32.70 (24)	25.59 (28)
N	208	206	200	196	194

Ordered log-odds regression coefficients reported, standard error in parentheses. ^op<0.10 *p<0.05 **p<0.01 ***p<0.001

Table 2.6. Effects of Racial Distance on Job Satisfaction (Black Teachers)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
<i>Composition variables (by Quartile)</i>					
Race Distance Q1 (low)	42.86 (14.52)**	45.60 (14.41)**	23.14 (14.74)	22.18 (19.50)	19.21 (16.24)
Race Distance Q2 (low-medium)	-9.47 (5.29) ^o	-9.51 (5.16) ^o	2.27 (6.31)	4.28 (8.60)	2.84 (7.27)
Race Distance Q3 (medium-high)	12.06 (11.63)	6.96 (11.83)	11.86 (13.18)	10.74 (16.73)	5.31 (13.36)
Race Distance Q4 (high)	-18.56 (9.68) ^o	-16.21 (9.46) ^o	-12.86 (9.56)	-22.46 (15.75)	-18.30 (17.67)
<i>Controls</i>					
Alternate route		-0.36 (0.42)	0.042 (0.47)	0.40 (0.62)	0.04 (0.54)
Female		-0.13 (0.39)	0.19 (0.43)	0.49 (0.57)	0.95 (0.51) ^o
Advanced degree		0.17 (0.36)	0.41 (0.40)	0.90 (0.55) ^o	0.44 (0.48)
Union		0.42 (0.39)	0.64 (0.45)	0.58 (0.58)	0.99 (0.50)*
Years in this school					
First year teaching		-1.20 (0.70) ^o	-0.64 (0.76)	-1.07 (1.02)	-0.55 (0.85)
2-4 years teaching		-0.77 (0.63)	-0.24 (0.69)	-0.49 (0.92)	0.20 (0.75)
5-9 years teaching		-0.48 (0.66)	0.20 (0.71)	0.42 (0.91)	0.59 (0.76)
10+ years (ref omitted)					
<i>Perceptions of Workplace</i>					
Resources			0.63 (0.25)*	0.91 (0.34)**	0.78 (0.34)*
Distribution of rewards			-0.01 (0.23)	-0.28 (0.30)	-0.22 (0.27)
Principal's Procedures consistent			0.52 (0.28) ^o	0.71 (0.37) ^o	0.82 (0.37)*
Principal's Interpersonal Justice			0.31 (0.32)	0.43 (0.40)	0.12 (0.37)
School Autonomy			0.44 (0.27)	0.43 (0.39)	0.10 (0.34)
Classroom Autonomy			-0.10 (0.23)	-0.07 (0.29)	0.13 (0.25)
<i>Perceptions of Coworkers/Clients</i>					
Colleagues: Professional Caliber				1.31 (0.45)**	1.30 (0.46)**
Students: Behavior and Motivation				0.46 (0.52)	0.50 (0.42)
<i>Coworker Support</i>					
Teacher Trust					-0.76 (0.36)*
Teacher Dialogue frequency					0.28 (0.32)
Collective Responsibility					-0.42 (0.36)
Teacher Interpersonal Justice					1.05 (0.45)*
School Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Time Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
chi square (df)	27.62 (9)	31.54 (16)	35.21 (22)	22.83 (24)	26.78 (28)
N	125	122	114	111	110

Ordered log-odds regression coefficients reported, standard error in parentheses. ^o $p < 0.10$ * $p < 0.05$ ** $p < 0.01$ *** $p < 0.001$

Table 2.7. Themes in interviews, by distance quartile (White Teachers)

Knot	Themes (number of cases*)	Sample quote
<i>Q1</i>	<p>13 interviews</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Race does not have a big role (10) – Race issues can be ugly and should be avoided (3) 	<p>INGLES: I don't hear any negative talk about any group of kids [here]. ... I feel like we value diversity even if we [teachers] ourselves aren't very diverse. [JENNIFER: So race actually does get discussed?] No, we don't talk a whole lot about race. ... [When] I taught in [the urban district] the year President Obama got elected, I was one of maybe five Caucasian teachers in the whole school building... I felt there was a lot of ethnic discussion. A lot. And I had to stop it because my kids would try to discuss things that I wasn't comfortable discussing. ... It was very heated.</p>
<i>Q2</i>	<p>10 interviews</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Interracial inclusion possible to achieve (6) – Segregation due to different cultures, comfort levels (4) 	<p>ROCKCLIFFE: No [race doesn't affect how we work together], but it is – it gets brought up a lot, because it's a – it's a joke between all of us, because like, you know, one of the assistants down there, Mrs. Ware, she calls me her white sister, and so it's always there –the black/white thing is always there. We get together outside of school for Christmas at somebody's house, and you know, eat and do a little present thing. And we eat lunch together every day, because we eat with our kids, and she'll say, 'What are you eating, that must be white people food,' you know, stuff like that. So it doesn't make anybody uncomfortable, but we talk about it. I don't think [most of] my kids recognize it.</p>
<i>Q3</i>	<p>16 interviews</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Interracial inclusion easy to achieve (9) – Exceptionalism (3) – Segregation happens, district does nothing about it (2) – Segregation happens, but it's not race (2) – Accorded status (1) 	<p>NEWSOME: Here I haven't run into any [way that race plays a role]. I mean, we're all just kinda buds, doesn't really matter. I think other places [i.e., schools] that may be an issue, just depending on the culture of the city, you form cliques based off your race. But here it's just a big ole mishmash, we don't [<i>both laugh</i>] I don't think we, I don't think it matters to us. Which is really cool, to be in that kind of environment.</p>
<i>Q4</i>	<p>17 interviews</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Belonging with white in-group or avoiding colleagues one dislikes easy to achieve (15) – Fondness of/familiarity with black culture (8) – white teachers not necessarily supportive (6) – Accorded status (2) 	<p>YEOMANS: I told [the principal] one time, I said the reason I like Larksfield is the ratio of teachers, of black and white. I forgot how we got into the conversation but I told him one of the reasons I like it is because the ratio is, is, uh... [JENNIFER: It's balanced, or it's..?] Yeah, it's close to balanced. Where if you had a, I was at Refren Middle School and it was 99% black teachers [and] I might've been the only white teacher, maybe one more. I didn't have any problem, but I think it, I think for the kids and everybody I think it works better when there's a larger percentage or a more equal percentage of the staff. ... So if you have a mixture. The way [I] look at education, I see some of the black teachers hollering at the kids getting down on their level and I don't like that. It works for them but it wouldn't work for me.</p>

*Some quotes were coded with more than one code.

Table 2.8. Themes in interviews, by distance quartile (Black Teachers)

Knot	Theme (number of cases*)	Sample quote
<i>Q1</i> Lower	<i>10 interviews total</i> Affluent black teachers don't relate to their black students (5)	COSBEN: We have teachers, they're not invested into the children. They're not vested into the school because they don't live in the neighborhood. And when you don't live in the neighborhood and you don't live around the kids you're not vested so technically you do not care; because it's technically not bothering you your own children are not even in the same district where you're teaching. And I think if you teach, your children need to go [to school] in the area where you teach. You need to be vested. I mean, you see it around the country now that, um, police stations and even, you know, congressional people— you have to live where you represent. And I, I don't think that a person who lives in Surrey Ridge in a big old fancy house has-- they can't come to Davenport and teach. They have no clue what these kids have to deal with no clue. None! And that bothers me.
Upper	Feels an interactional advantage compared to white teachers (5)	REAGAN: I feel like different races have different ways of communication and are comfortable different ways, so most of the teachers here, we have some white teachers... I guess a few... but for the most part, it's mostly African-American, black teachers. ... I think it's fairly easy because most, most races come from the same background, it's just, that's just proven. Like, most, especially in Southern areas, like you either grew up, or it's a culture thing. So it's kinda like a lot of things in common, so it's easy for us to communicate I would say. ... [And having gone] to an HBCU [Historically Black College or University], I learned how to deal with pretty much any type of African-American (laughs): Mellow, rowdy. Sweet. Nice. Sneaky. (laughs) I think that was a huge benefit [for classroom management].
<i>Q2</i>	<i>5 interviews total</i> Cross-race experiences limited to cordial encounters (4)	BENNETT: Heavens no [race doesn't matter between teachers]. Again, we here, are here to survive, I promise you! I can promise you. And when I say that, I'm not saying, oh we all love each other, we're just holding hands singing kumbaya. I'm not telling you that, that's a tale, that's a story that's not true. What I'm telling you is that, that is the farthest thing from our mind between the hours of 7:30 and 3:30.
<i>Q3</i>	<i>6 interviews total</i> Some black teachers believe that white teachers don't care for black students (5)	CARSEN: I think sometimes there is an idea that some of the white teachers are here for [a paycheck] – don't really care as deeply for the black kids as the black teachers. ...[But] I don't think that's all the way true. I think, you know, it can go either way.
<i>Q4</i> Lower	<i>15 interviews total</i> Administrative interference makes social aspect of work more difficult (4/4)	NEMEC: [laughs] Oh, it's [race is] a big factor here. It's huge. ... And let me tell you. It was shell-shocking for me. Because I went through this district. And being on one side as a student and then the other side as a teacher, I was just – I'm shocked. ... I didn't know anything about competition, I enjoyed learning. But boy, did being an African-American change for me when I became the teacher. It's a factor in student-to-teacher relationships. It's a factor from teacher to teacher. (pause) Umm, y'know, umm, [sighs] ... The minorities generally, it's a problem if we all get together. ... I've had several situations

where it's like "Why are y'all all sitting together? Spread out." Why? They don't have to! ... [And] they [white teachers] definitely talk about race ... when distinguishing a kid, specifically. ... I would like to say usually when race is used as an indicator, it's to kind of give you a visualization of what kind of family history or background that you're dealing with. Can it be sometimes in a negative tone? Definitely.

Upper Keep black-white relationships on the surface, avoid problems (5/6)

Being the "Lonely only" black person in department (2/4)

LOWRY: We've had teachers that leave because of the culture change [when the school population went from being 70/30 white/black to 65/15/20 black/white/other]. They said it in a way where you know we've had teachers that leave due to that. They ain't going to come out and say, 'Well, I'm leaving because the school's become black.' They don't say that or they'll probably piss me off. Saying that would probably not be the best thing to say to me, me being a black person. ... Well, when they get friends, friends feel like they can say anything to you. They said, "Things are different. We don't do things like we used to and this, that." They blame it on the administration and all that but it's not administration. We haven't had a bad principal at Crest Point High School ever.

*Some quotes did not fit any categories (N=1 for black teachers).

Figure 2.1. Probability of Highest Global Job Satisfaction, by Quartile of Racial Distance (White Teachers Only, with individual controls [Model 2])

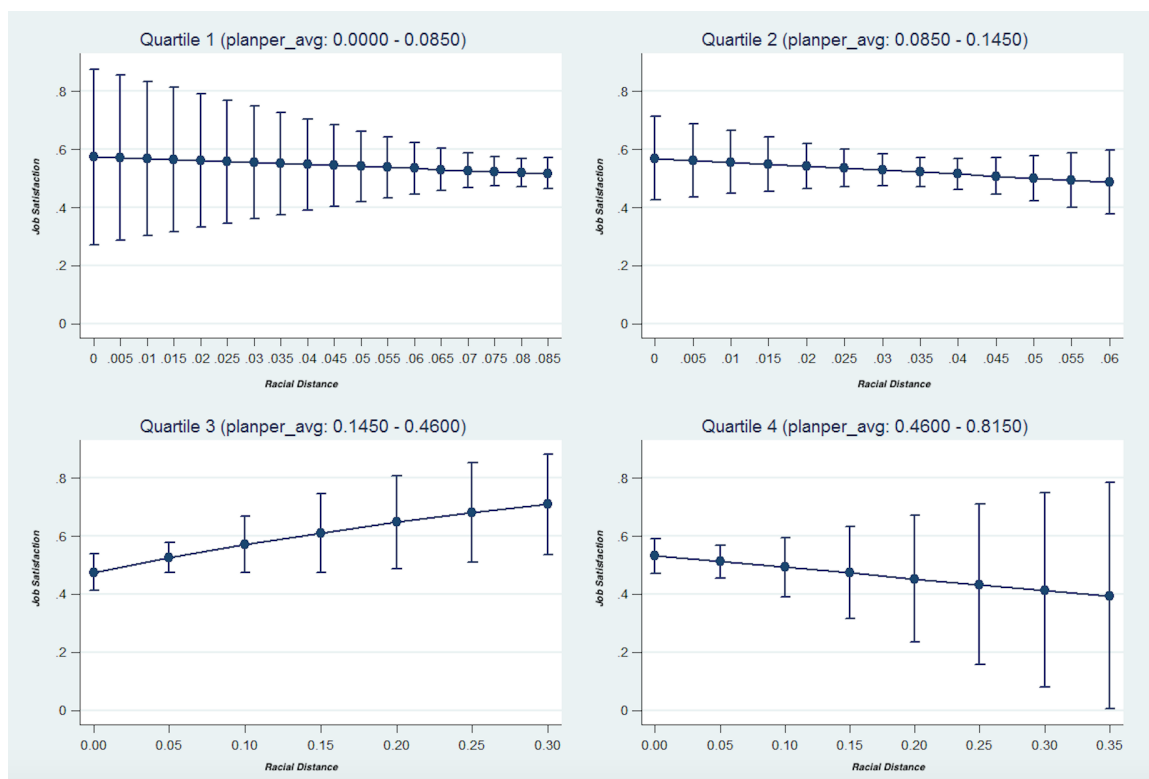
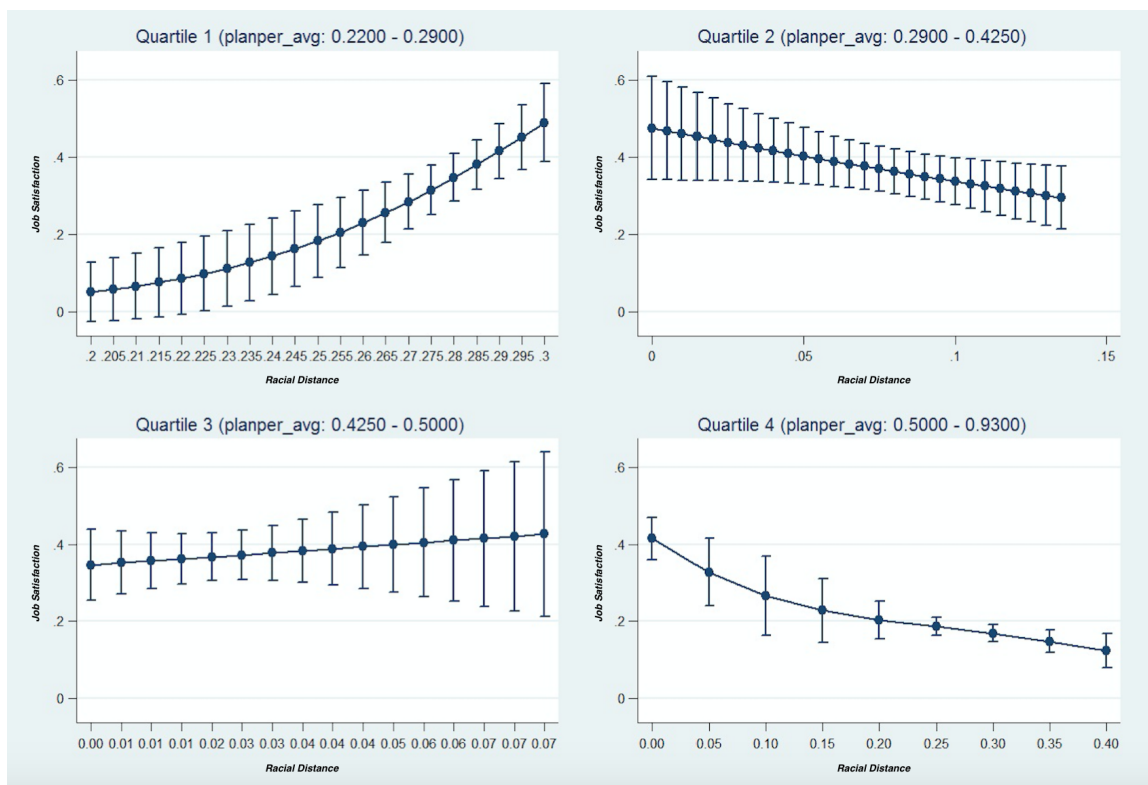


Figure 2.2. Probability of Highest Global Job Satisfaction, by Quartile of Racial Distance (Black Teachers Only, with individual controls [Model 2])



Chapter 3. Cross-Race Coworker Support: Integrating Organizational Demography and Intergroup Relations Approaches

In the previous chapter, I explored the ways that diversity uniquely affected black and white teachers, controlling for differences between schools. Using mixed data types and methods, I found evidence that increasing diversity had a tipping point after which blacks' job satisfaction was significantly and negatively affected. In contrast, there were no significant effects of diversity on white teachers' job satisfaction. Part of the qualitative findings highlighted how cross-race interactions tended to be more challenging for black teachers than for white teachers, as they were more often offended, bothered, or felt vicariously devalued by the comments and actions of their white colleagues.

In the present chapter, I explore whether workplace composition itself in the school sites I studied facilitated cross-race interactions in different ways. That is, is there something unique about majority-black compared to majority-white faculty contexts that can inform why blacks in the majority benefited from diversity to a point, why those benefits tapered off quickly, and why whites' outcomes did not seem to be affected by diversity?

This chapter builds on a new line of research that questions the trajectory of "consequences of diversity" scholarship, which tends to focus on the negative outcomes associated with living or working alongside people with different racial backgrounds than oneself. Using qualitative data to make organizational comparisons, I draw on a sample of 446 positive social interactions observed between teachers, 169 of which were between teachers of opposite races. Three emergent types of cross-race coworker support emerged from the analysis: acquiring racial fit, avoiding trouble, and avoiding sabotage. While avoiding trouble was common to both majority-black and majority-white faculty settings, the other types of support were each unique to one of the demographic settings. This chapter contributes to both intergroup relations literature and organizational demography literature by

examining how organizational culture, relational dynamics created by teacher turnover, and varying forms of conflict in the organization filter down into intergroup teacher interactions, shaping their form and affecting which party primarily benefits.

Introduction

Some classical social theorists (Burawoy 1979; Hughes 1951; Marx 1848; Collins 1979) and contemporary organizational behavior scholars (Blau 1977; Jackson 1991; Lau and Murnighan 1998; Pfeffer 1983; Williams and O'Reilly 1998) alike privilege the workplace as a critical setting for understanding how group and inter-group relations develop, especially how they contribute to the power dynamics, struggles for resources, and group prejudices that are evident in broader society. Other theorists see the workplace as a place with great potential for societal restoration, placing a premium on positive group relations in accomplishing this end (Durkheim 1893; Hodson 2001). I extend this second line of theory and research by searching for the “building blocks” motivating positive intergroup relations (Abascal and Baldassari 2015: 724) among teachers in schools. Especially in the context of teaching, where extrinsic rewards as well as worker control over working conditions are relatively low (Lortie 2002[1975]; Ingersoll 2009), coworker support should play a particularly important role in addressing problems that occur on the job. Studying the dynamics of coworker relations in teaching, which belongs to the sixth-largest occupational group in the U.S. (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2014), should also provide a starting point for theorizing about coworker relations in other client-intensive jobs in which workers spend the majority of their workday with clients instead of peers.

This chapter uses qualitative data from my year-long study of teachers' social lives at work in five different high schools. Findings from the teacher interviews and field observations show that the outcomes of intergroup relations, defined here as social

interactions between two different-race individuals, differed in majority-black and majority-white faculty schools. Using the profession of teaching in the organizational context of public high schools as an instance of work involving regular intergroup contact, I explore how black and white teachers – as well as other-race teachers – each experience the social atmosphere of their workplaces, focusing on their reported and observed instances of positive cross-race interactions. Specifically, I examine how intergroup relations along the lines of race served to support, enhance, or protect teachers’ work experiences. The research question guiding this chapter is, *how does the overall racial demographic of the organization shape the particular types of positive cross-race teacher interactions observed in that setting?*

I begin with a review of literature on intergroup contact and organizational demography, highlighting the application of these theories to studies investigating coworker support. I then separate the analyses in terms of racial majority within the school. First, I describe the prevailing organizational and work-group cultures that emerged in the field in the majority-black faculty settings.¹⁸ Following this, I present counts and excerpts from the interview and field data on positive social interactions, providing a sense of both prevalence and concrete examples of common types of coworker support that emerged between opposite-race dyads. In the second half of the chapter, I use the same format to present findings from respondents in majority-white faculty settings.¹⁹ Finally, I conclude by synthesizing findings on the organizational- and interactional-levels, in this way advancing both intergroup relations and organizational demography literatures.

¹⁸ The two majority-black schools in this study have 57% and 68% black teaching faculty.

¹⁹ The three majority-white schools in this study have 90% white (2) and 85% white (1) teaching faculty.

Theoretical Approaches

Intergroup Relations

Different kinds of people coming together in organizations is increasingly common as recruitment strategies for new employees have historically moved away from coming purely from within-network groups (Collins 1979). However, being in proximity alone is not enough to facilitate positive inter-group interactions (DiBenigno 2017). Allport (1954) and Pettigrew and Tropp (2011) outline several factors that facilitate positive intergroup contact: (1) institutional settings where members of two different groups hold equal status, (2) share common goals, (3) engage in interaction voluntarily, (4) experience substantive and not superficial interactions, and (5) authority figures support cross-group interactions. By developing or enhancing these conditions, the organizational context itself can influence the way people behave towards, think about, and perceive people from status backgrounds different than their own. For instance, facilitating factors could make individuals identify less strongly with people only from their own group, so that one does not have an elevated sense of one's group's positive distinctiveness vis-à-vis other groups, as suggested by self-categorization theory (Turner et al. 1987) and social identity theory (Tajfel and Turner 1979). Or, facilitating factors could alter the structural positioning of a group to differ from its situation in broader society by allocating the level of resources or benefits to be equal across groups.

A challenge for the classic and contemporary versions of Contact Theory and the tenets of facilitating factors to ameliorate prejudice, however, is that social situations – and organizational conditions, more specifically – rarely conform to such circumstances. One contemporary perspective acknowledges that voluntary and non-superficial contact in intergroup encounters is made difficult by the anxiety it invokes for subordinates who have previous experiences of discrimination or rejection with outgroups, or anxiety for both

members if they lack prior intergroup social experiences together and are uncertain how the interaction will go (Stephan and Stephan 1985; Tropp and Molina 2012). Another perspective suggests that it is *friendships* rather than *equal contact* per se that mitigate in-group bias and increase identification with the out-group (Pettigrew 1997, 1998). By one definition, cross-group friendships result from reciprocal self-disclosure between both parties (Davies et al. 2011). A third perspective suggests that prejudice is reduced depending on the quality of intergroup contact; when this contact allows each group to recognize, maintain, and respect group differences, these interactions are generalizable beyond an isolated friendship or exchange (Browne and Hewstone 2005).

Such emphasis on quality contact is reminiscent of Durkheim's theory of organic solidarity (1893), in which cooperation and interdependence among members of a heterogeneous group exists precisely because members of the collectivity provide one another with different perspectives and skills for the benefit of the group, and in turn benefit from the others' contributions. While not explicitly about intergroup relations, Becker et al's (1961) ethnography of student culture in a medical school showed how, as students progressed through the institution, their initial affiliations with different fraternities faded as members increasingly interacted across these affiliations in order to come to a shared perspective for how to solve their shared problems (i.e., of how to manage time and how to study in medical school). In other words, latent cultures that the students brought in played a role in social life in the institution in the beginning, but a peer socialization process to assimilate into the culture of medical school became more powerful than these divisions.

Intergroup relations should be thought about not only from a social-psychological perspective, but also from a networks perspective. A slightly different approach to explaining how a sense of one's group develops is Simmel's work on the social structure of triads (1950). This approach accounts for how third parties affect dyadic relations. In the context of

teaching, triads could form in a variety of ways. A dyad of teachers could be united as allies against a common third-party enemy of another coworker. Or, a dyad of teachers could function in relationship with its third party, students, in the background. Alternatively, teachers and students in a classroom setting could be the dyad, with other teachers outside the classroom as the third party in the background. In any of these scenarios, this third party can act as mediator, bringing the dyad together, or can create conflict by pitting one against the other, to the third party's own benefit. Thus an anticipated pattern of some positive intergroup relations in teaching will involve administrators or students as a third party – “an outside against their inside” (Collins 2010) – that acts to unite coworkers. The third party may function as an external threat motivating internal solidarity.

An example of a triad-shaped intergroup relationship is represented by coworker sabotage. Sabotage is a form of resistance to control at work which comes in many forms: machine, procedure, and social sabotage. In his review of 108 workplace ethnographies, Hodson (2001) shows that instances of social sabotage, such as an employee embarrassing a manager through a joke at his expense in front of all the coworkers, are second-most prominent to procedure sabotage, such as blatantly disregarding workplace rules. Social sabotage in the reviewed ethnographies usually occurred between employees and management. Nevertheless, sabotage can occur between coworkers, appearing in two forms: “outright interference” versus passive non-assistance (Hodson 2001:211).

Organizational Demography

While approaches to intergroup relations focus on ways to ameliorate prejudice and discrimination between people who identify with different groups, organizational demography perspectives attempt to explain the impact of demographic representation on an organizational level on an individual's work-related attitudes, perceptions, and behaviors. The bulk of prior research on the effects of diversity in the workplace focuses on the negative

impact of being an organizational minority on job satisfaction and experiences in the workplace (e.g., Kanter 1977; Maume and Sebastian 2007; Mueller et al. 1999; Wingfield 2009). Although social support provided by colleagues in the workplace benefits workers' job satisfaction, the quantity and quality of supportive interpersonal relations varies by worker race (Roscigno 2007; Sloan et al. 2013; Vallas 2003; Wingfield 2010). As discussed in the previous chapter, such racial variation and nonsymmetry in outcomes may reflect structural or social psychological factors.

At the structural level, black workers may report lower support owing to placement in lower-status, lower-quality jobs that hinder social interaction (Barnett, Baron, and Stuart 2000). Similarly, white workers may report lower satisfaction in majority-black workplaces not because of actual interactions with their black colleagues, but because "black workers reduce the status of the job" (Maume and Sebastian 2007 in Renzulli et al. 2011: 28). On the organizational level of analysis, organizations themselves may have policies and practices that, though they appear racially neutral on the surface, actually use bureaucratic and other structural elements to privilege specific race groups in the organization more than others (Acker 2006; see also Meyers and Vallas 2016). Approaches that acknowledge status characteristics operating on a supra-individual level help explain some nonsymmetrical effects of diversity, such that some minorities benefit from interactional advantages while other minority groups do not (e.g., see Turco 2010). When one demographic group dominates both numeric representation and decision-making in an organization (or work group), especially when the group demographics are consolidated with multiple status characteristics (e.g., white and male), this may lead to the masking and prolonging of latent disagreements between groups. Conversely, the surfacing of different perspectives during conversation within mixed-race work groups, as compared to near-homogenous work groups, is consistent with faultline research (Lau and Murnighan 1998). Thus organizations with

more equal numbers of different race groups should feature more open expression and resolution of conflicts between groups, providing an opportunity for intergroup solidarity (Lau and Murnighan 1998; Simmel 1950).

Social psychological accounts draw attention beyond the meaning of status levels of jobs to include consideration of the meaning of the racial composition of the work group. Black teachers may feel more isolated in work settings where their access to “matched” (i.e., same race) social ties is lower due to the majority-white composition of the workplace (Forman 2003). Similarly, white teachers may perceive lower support from their colleagues in a setting where they are not the dominant race (Mueller et al. 1999). Social psychological explanations suggest that being racially “mismatched” lowers one’s job satisfaction through the mechanism of *homophily*, or the preference to interact with similar others (Blau and Schwartz 1984). When the opportunity to do so is limited by the demographic makeup of the faculty, seeking coworker social ties and support will require workers either to “hunker down” and forego cooperative effort (Putnam 2007:137), or else learn new, perhaps uncomfortable, ways of relating with members of other racial status groups (Stephan and Stephan 1985).

In this chapter, I aim to specify further the organizational conditions under which intergroup contact leads to favorable outcomes for both parties, comparing organizations with different faculty demographics by how well and in what ways they supported this kind of contact.

Data and Methods

Data Sources

This chapter draws on 98 ethnographic interviews (Spradley 1979) of teachers in five public high schools over 11 months, from 2014-2015. All interviews were audio recorded

and transcribed. The typical interview lasted between 60-90 minutes and took place in the teacher's room during his/her break with the door closed. The interview protocol asked teachers questions about their work histories; teacher preparation experiences; daily work routines; social experiences at work including the process of making friends, who they are close to, what they talk about, who they avoid; viewpoints of the impact of race in shaping interactions among teachers and school personnel; perception of their own level of involvement in the school compared to the average colleague; their perceptions of which colleagues are school leaders and instructional leaders, and which collegial behaviors are problematic for the school; and questions about their instructional and consultative practices. Interviews were complemented by shadowing the informant during his/her typical workday in the classroom and around the school, in common areas such as the front office, cafeteria, hallway, and teacher meetings. Shadowing was the primary mode of ethnographic data collection, which generated around 1,100 pages of field notes detailing about 600 hours of observation in total.

The interactions described by teachers in the interviews and in the course of fieldwork were not in response to any specific question soliciting "positive experiences" with colleagues; rather, I used examples of *actual interactions* recounted by teachers or that I observed firsthand to compare the quality of their collegial contact. Rather than ask respondents directly, "What are some positive experiences you have had with your coworkers," I solicited anecdotes about collegial interactions and exchanges through questions such as, "Which of your colleagues are you close to, and why do you think you get along?" "Name teachers you see as supportive or involved among faculty;" "How would you compare/contrast the levels of teacher interactions at this school compared to your previous school?" and even "What kinds of things do you find to be useful in building rapport with your students?"

The sample of participants who were interviewed and shadowed (N=46 teachers in the majority-black schools and N=52 in the majority-white schools) is 35% black, 25% male, and has an average teaching experience of 4 years in the school and 9 years in total. This is representative of the teacher population of all five schools overall (N=392), which is 35% black, 40% male, and has modal values of 2-4 years of teaching experience in the school and 10-15 years in teaching total. The samples across schools are mostly balanced in demographics, except that the majority-black school interview samples are more black (47%) with lower total teaching experience (7 years) than the majority-white samples, which together are 25% black and have an average 10 years of total teaching experience. To determine whom to recruit for interviews, I used the innovative method of case-pair matching (Nielsen 2014). The State Department of Education provided a complete list of teacher names and teacher demographics. From this list, I identified teachers across schools who were identical in their race, certification backgrounds, age, and years of experience to teachers in the other schools, so that I could compare their experiences. The caseMatch package in R narrowed down potential matches who I then recruited to participate based their willingness and openness to the study. Ideally, this sampling method lends itself to the analytic strategy of clear ideal-type comparisons using concrete cases (Weiss 1995) and process tracing.

Analytic Strategy

For interpreting interview transcripts and field notes, I used a combination of process, theoretical, and emotion coding strategies as described by Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña (2014) and progressive coding strategies described by Strauss (1987). Process codes examined spatial and chronological patterns by which interactions unfolded. Theoretical codes examined aspects of organizational culture, including artifacts, espoused values, leadership, and assumptions representing the norms governing teachers' behavior and beliefs (Schein 2010). Coding was accompanied by memoing (Lofland et al. 2006), through which

preliminary analyses took shape. I coded all qualitative data in MAXQDA software, and created a summary spreadsheet in the form of a data comparison matrix. This analytic strategy sharpened contrasts between participant groups and between schools, and highlighted exceptional cases (Calarco 2011). Using these tools to identify cases of positive cross-race interactions, a close analysis of 44 cases of positive cross-race interactions involved mapping the dimensions of these relationships: under what conditions they formed and what kind of support they provided one another.

Results

In the findings presented below, I start with patterns of culture and interaction found in the majority-black settings and follow those with patterns found majority-white faculty settings. I first give an overview of the different organizational cultures that accompany the demographic composition of school faculty. I then examine the emerging, prevalent types of coworker support observed in the settings. In the discussion I synthesize the organizational-level findings with the findings on support types at the micro-interactional level.

Results: Majority-Black Faculty

Organizational Cultures

Pine Grove. Social norms guiding teacher interaction in Pine Grove were generally permissive and inclusive, until a teacher gave colleagues reasons not to welcome him/her. Teachers participated in both faculty and department meetings in a lively and verbal manner, the majority of teachers openly expressing, in earnest and in humor, their dismay with student behavior, district announcements, other teachers, or a combination of the three. During meetings, teachers found themselves in mixed-race work groups that induced communication across racial lines. For example, in this English department meeting, several teachers

displayed public, direct verbal exchanges that exposed conflicts between different teacher factions.

At the English department meeting, Ms. Costa (B2)²⁰ and Mrs. Eckert (W6) argue about scoring a particular essay a 1 versus a 0, Eckert advocating for a 1. Eckert says, “In AP, you give a zero if they did not address the prompt. If they wrote something about the prompt, they get a [score of] one.” Then, Anderson (W2) shouts at Raleigh (B1) about how he only has 75 students, and how he only took a handful of Albertson’s (W2), who quit her job, because Anderson still has her 109 plus about a 100 of Albertson’s. Without a response from Raleigh, Anderson goes on to say to the group, “Our lesson plans are out the window between now and Monday, because we are giving the next test on Monday.” Costa and Anderson overlap in their talking to one another, Costa now advocating for the group to use the Step Up to Writing program.

Pine Grove, majority-black school, fieldnotes, 12-2-14

In the Pine Grove department meeting there were multiple disagreements between colleagues being directly discussed at one time. However, even though there was shouting and talking over one another, the conflicts did not appear to impede the group from completing their task on-time. Following the meeting, cross-racial relationships were strengthened as members made voluntary consultations with one another across racial lines in each other’s classrooms.

While there was not a status hierarchy of teachers, there was a pervasive cultural schema of two “pockets” of teachers in Pine Grove High School: the good teachers and the bad teachers. The common phrase deployed by the principal in faculty meetings was “that’s an adult problem” or “that’s a teacher issue.” This was the narrative used by the principal that explained the school’s problems of student discipline in both classroom management and

²⁰ Hereafter, this notation system is used to signify teachers’ race or ethnicity when pertinent (W=white, B=black, A=Asian, L=Latino/a) and years of experience in the school. For example, Ms. Costa is a black teacher with 2 years of experience in the school (“B2”). “L” denotes a teacher who left before the year of this study. In addition, while I usually refer to teachers by their title and surname (“Ms. Costa”), sometimes I refer to them simply by their surname (“Costa”), if that is how teachers in the setting called one another, or alternatively by their first names, if that was how teachers called one another.

keeping orderly hallways in the school, and teachers repeated this narrative to one another. As a result, teachers would exchange harsh words with one another publicly over emails if they felt one teacher or teacher group was responsible for not setting appropriate standards for student behavior. Alternatively, an accepted response to the “bad teachers” was to distance themselves from and not interact with them.

Larksfield. Due to the school’s positive reputation in the community and its students’ achievements, most teachers were proud to work at Larksfield. But some teachers were thoroughly demoralized with the condition of the district and formed a strong constituency in the local teachers’ union. The teachers did have some level of status differences between them based on such attributes as their tenure, whether or not they taught honors courses, and their level of participation in school activities. The better-off teachers (i.e., those allocated more physical resources, better classrooms, schedules, and course assignments) were generally held in high regard by most of their colleagues due to their observed service and commitment to the school.

Similar to Pine Grove, the faculty maintained a highly interactive social environment with one another. Around holidays, they organized potlucks at the school. Venting, storytelling, and speculating about teachers’ successes and struggles in the open were all within the social norms, as was skipping faculty meetings if one decided not to attend. However, the accepted mode of coping with stresses and strains of daily work for teachers was to complain about district rules for paperwork, protocol for student discipline, and grading, rather than about “bad teachers” in the building.

Counts from Interview Data

Teachers working in schools with a majority-black faculty composition (N=46) had between 38-51% percent of their overall supportive interactions with colleagues across racial lines (Table 3.1). These proportions reflect total positive interactions from the interview and

fieldnotes combined; on an individual-level, most respondents of both races in the majority-black setting reported at least one positive collegial interaction.²¹

Counting cases where half or more of a teacher's positive exchanges occur with a teacher of opposite race, 42% of black teachers fall in this category, compared to 70% of white teachers. For example, Ms. Daly (B1), a black teacher, reports 2 of her 10 positive collegial exchanges as happening across racial lines; in contrast, Ms. Richardson (W1), a white teacher in the same school, reports 6 of 11 of her positive exchanges as occurring across racial lines. These differences could, for the black teachers, simply be reflecting induced homophily (McPherson and Smith-Lovin 1987), as opposed to choice homophily. The simple fact of availability of having more "matched" colleagues to go to means that, for black teachers, there are fewer opportunities, numerically, to have positive interactions with white teachers since more black teachers are present. For black teachers, there is comparably less structural diversity (Park 2013) with which to forge cross-race social exchanges than there is for white teachers.

Thus, the simple availability of opposite-race colleagues with whom to interact is part of the process of cross-race social interactions. Much like the propensity to intermarry has to take into account the demographic composition in one's area of residence (Blau, Blum, and Schwartz 1982), the propensity to have cross racial interactions in the workplace is higher for groups with a smaller relative size in that setting. However, the myriad forms of interaction captured in the interview data (i.e., positive, close, regular, or consultative) suggest that opportunity to interact itself does not prevent teachers in the majority group from experiencing supportive cross-racial interactions. Indeed, of the 205 total cases of positive

²¹ 81% of black teachers who work in majority-black faculty settings described having had positive interracial collegial contact (N=17 of 21); in comparison, 80% of white teachers working among majority-black faculty report the same (N=16 of 20).

interactions described by interview respondents in majority-black environments, 103 of those were cross-race cases.

Of the 103 observed cross-race interactions total, 21 cases were counted as “deep” interaction. Deep interactions are those that arose not from necessity alone (such as being a department chair managing one’s charges, or sharing a room) or from convenience alone (such as spatial proximity or knowing them from outside of school). Rather, these interactions involved some element of choice and followed a consistent, sustained pattern of support. For example, the white teacher in the interracial dyad could have collaborated with a white colleague with identical structural positioning (e.g., tenure, teaching assignment), but chose instead to work with the black colleague. Or the teachers could have divided their work and thereafter worked separately, but instead chose to work closely together, sharing all their materials or co-teaching over repeated instances throughout the school year.

Interviews and Fieldwork: Types of Coworker Support

Acquiring Racial Fit. White teachers who worked in majority-black faculty, especially when they were in departments with fewer black teachers than in the school as a whole, often talked about their black colleagues being “cool” and having a superior ability to teach some subjects and maintain high standards for students, compared to white teachers. White teachers with these beliefs felt they needed their black colleagues to bridge them to their black students or to the social life of the faculty as a whole. Some other white teachers additionally or alternatively wanted to distance themselves from other white teachers who made racist remarks about teaching black students. Either driven by their positive views of black teachers or negative views of fellow white teachers, twelve white teachers in the majority-black school sample were *acquiring fit* by seeking to develop the knowledge,

expertise, and cultural resources that they saw black teachers had as they taught black students.²² The different pathways to acquiring fit are depicted in Figure 3.1.

The way that the school culture facilitated this type of cross-race support was twofold. First, the espoused value of the school of “we’re in this together” was reflected in the way meetings were used as open spaces for socializing and resolving conflicts with coworkers. Second, the school culture was diffuse enough to reach teachers whose immediate surroundings were demographically different from the school. Being surrounded with fewer black teachers in their departmental environments motivated these white teachers to secure bridges to the organization as a whole through cross-race relationships. In addition, the regular occurrence of disrupted prior relationships within a department, either due to turnover or to disbanded relationships with others, also acted to motivate white and black teachers to establish bridges to work together. While white teachers initiated these relationships and were their primary beneficiaries, in about half of the cases (N=6) white teachers reciprocated the assistance by sharing other resources or completing other shared tasks with black teachers.²³

For example, Ms. Richardson (W1) at Larksfield High School belonged to a department that was heavily white. Though she relied on her white department colleagues regularly for professional resources, she saw her relationship to Ms. Hedley (B2) as critical

²² In stark contrast, only a couple of white teachers in majority-white faculty settings said they would hypothetically feel comfortable going to a black colleague to ask if something they did or said in class directly about race was appropriate, and in fact, only three actually did. This was true even in Crest Point High, where the student population was majority-black.

²³ For example, one division of labor arrangement between a white and black teacher involved a routine where the white teacher would ask the black teacher questions about things her students said that she did not understand or know how to respond to, or help in avoiding writing office referrals as a mode of student discipline, while the white teacher did the extra clerical work for state testing and handled student grades for the class whose teacher quit mid-semester.

for developing an understanding of how she as a white teacher was perceived by both students and colleagues.

RICHARDSON: Our kids always talk about ‘Ms. Richardson and Ms. Hedley, always together, always talking, always telling.’ Like her bad kids know that if I see them cutting [skipping class], I’m going to tell her. And they’re like, ‘Oh my god...’ I’ve had her bad kids run away from me in fear. [They know their] world is about to be rocked by Ms. Hedley.

Not only students, but other black colleagues widely remarked that the two were a dynamic duo. Ms. Richardson liked being associated with a teacher students respected, but also by working closely with Ms. Hedley, Ms. Richardson learned through comparisons the way students saw her.

RICHARDSON: [Ms. Hedley’s] kids don’t see me in the classroom, but they still think I’m easy, and I think it’s just – the reason I think that is, is because it’s the same way with Ms. Norse [a black English teacher] and Ms. Saab [a white English teacher]. They teach the same thing the same way, but they – everybody’s – people literally beg to get out of Ms. Norse’s class and get in Ms. Saab’s class because they have this perception that she’s easy.

JENNIFER: In terms of classroom management or –

RICHARDSON: I don’t know.

JENNIFER: Or everything?

RICHARDSON: Everything. Classroom management and everything – which that was the weirdest part because they [the students] were like, ‘Your work is so much easier,’ and I’m like, ‘Y’all, we teach the same thing. We make copies together. There’s nothing that we do that she doesn’t.’

In this instance, the students’ involvement in teacher-teacher relationships is crystal clear.

Having learned that students saw her as an easy teacher, Ms. Richardson worked toward establishing a social identity for herself in the school to be known as a member of many black teacher groups, rather than settling into segmented solidarity within her department.

Instead, Ms. Richardson sought out cross-racial collaborations outside of her classroom and department.

RICHARDSON: I mean, I think a lot of teachers think that, because most of the English department is white women who are my age, I think they often feel like we just want to hang out with each other and nobody else. And so that was something

that I wanted to make sure when I came in, that I wasn't only like trying to be in the little clique. Which is hard, because those were the teachers that I knew the best. But that's why I've tried so hard to form relationships with Bennett [B8] and Dean [B4] and try to help them with whatever they're doing, from prom to homecoming, or try to help them with their stuff so that they can see that I don't want to just be a part of the white girls on the English hall. I want to help with the stuff that they're doing, too.

Interestingly, these kinds of cross-race partnerships remained fairly instrumental, as opposed to personal, in the eyes of black teachers. While Ms. Richardson notes that Mrs. Dean, Ms. Bennett, and another black teacher, Ms. Nylund (B4), are fun to be around because they are helpful, welcoming, and have a positive attitude about the school, neither Mrs. Dean nor Ms. Bennett mentions interactions with Ms. Richardson in their interviews – though they did ask her to take over their Student Council sponsorship the following year (which Richardson accepted). The interactions had more salience and meaning for Ms. Richardson, since she initiated them and felt she needed them in order to do well in her job.

In summary, the diffuse organizational culture which valued a socially cooperative and egalitarian atmosphere among teachers (“we’re all in this together”), as well as stating one’s views and attempting to address conflicting perspectives and problems out in the open, made an environment for white teachers where they felt welcomed to approach black teachers for help in their teaching. Additionally, being able to compare the quality of many black teachers’ relationships with students with their own drew white teachers’ attention to their felt need for black teachers’ assistance.

Avoiding trouble. In majority-black settings, some sub-group, meso-level demographic contexts within the school added a unique subculture of exclusion and competition. This was in large part due to departments adhering to stricter social norms or falling under greater enforcement of district policies. For example, the science department at Pine Grove had “data meetings” in which teachers’ students’ scores were compared. New

teachers of varying racial backgrounds said they felt nervous attending these meetings. One new teacher said of his department chair in the meetings, “You’re my bullet proof vest. There’s cross-fire in these meetings and I want to be out of the way [when it hits].” Indicating the stressful nature of the meetings, another first-year teacher hung her head and cried when her work publicly came under scrutiny from principals. In meeting settings, cross-race partnerships helped teachers avoid this kind of trouble. White, Asian, and black teachers benefited from protections afforded them by opposite-race colleagues.

Helping a colleague avoid getting in trouble took two forms: a colleague issuing a preventative sanction so that the teacher could correct his/her practices, or a colleague standing up in defense of another colleague in a meeting setting when coming under an administrator’s questioning. First, in Ms. Elkins’ (W1) case, she received direct intervention exclusively from Dr. Labelle (B9) across the hall, but not from the two white veteran teachers neighboring her.

ELKINS: Um, Doc Labelle has the best classroom management I’ve ever seen. And she’s the only one that, you know, she came to me one day after a particularly loud, rowdy day and she’s like ‘Look, this is how you punish an entire class’ (laughs). I said, no one told me! I don’t know what to do, they’re all--. And she’s like ‘No, you make them outline the article in the textbook.’ I said, ‘You can do that?!’ She’s like ‘Yes, that’s what you do if a whole class is acting a fool.’ So, I was thankful for that and she’ll tell me sometimes like your class was pretty loud walking to lunch, which I appreciate because everything is relative. Right. So, yes I know my class is making noise, it’s not as bad as some, it’s not as good as others. I don’t know if that means it’s sufficient or just we’re all slacking. I don’t know. So, she’ll tell me things like that and that’s really helpful.

JENNIFER: At what point in the school year or has it been throughout?

ELKINS: Throughout. She’s been pretty consistent throughout. If there’s a problem, she’ll let me know. Um, but she came at the beginning of the school year to tell me. Which made her available in a sense, because I knew that since she was willing to help. I could ask her if I needed anything.

As Elkins notes, Labelle was the only teacher in close proximity to check on her and warn

her that her classroom management strategies were a problem that needed fixing, and how to fix them.

Another form of protecting colleagues from trouble included instances of teachers standing up for their colleagues in formal settings. In faculty meetings and in “data meetings” especially, administrators often attempted to control and monitor quality in teachers’ instruction and interventions, asking specific teachers publicly why their students’ test scores were poor. In these settings, white senior colleagues would vouch for their junior colleagues, most frequently across racial lines. For example, in a data meeting with administrators and teachers, Ms. Valdosta (W6), the chair of the Biology department at Pine Grove, selectively shielded her colleagues Mr. Urie (B1), Mr. Ulson (B2), and Ms. Adams (B1), but not Ms. Elkins (W1) or Mr. Ott (WL). Responding to the assistant principal, Mr. Orpington’s, questions, Mr. Urie explained how tutoring was not working effectively as an intervention. Valdosta defended Urie on this. This led Orpington (B1) to accept the explanation and move on to questioning the next teacher.

Orpington: So these kids are just failing?

Urie: Yes.

Orpington: What about tutoring?

Urie: Yes, on days after school with no football practices. But no one comes.

Orpington: Ms. Valdosta, how reasonable would it be to have reviews during the day and pull students?

Valdosta: We do that closer to test time. It’s just not fair to expect teachers to do it right now, because we don’t have time and we have lots to do. And if we did pull them they would just do to us what they do to Mrs. Horne [the part time tutor]—they’d just put their heads down.

Olson: Oh, they do that with Mrs. Horne?

Urie: One thing I’ve started to do is more frequent binder checks. They’re required to carry that. I put it on them.

Valdosta: We require all Biology I students to have binders. The good kids are huddled up front, the rest are in back not paying attention. And most of those (good ones) are Ulson’s and Erickson’s (WL) babies.

Ulson (interjecting): Bless their little hearts.

Valdosta: I feel if we pull them [for tutoring], they’ll do the same thing they do in class.

Olson: Right. Mr. Ulson?

Ulson: I had (*gives his numbers*)...

Pine Grove field notes 11-13-14

Valdosta confirms that tutoring is not a good solution for the problems Urie faces with some of his students, just as he said. She also validates Urie's use of binder checks as the legitimate strategy the department is using to increase student accountability. Further, she explains Urie's struggle by noting that he was assigned tougher kids to his student roster than Ulson or Erickson were. Later in the meeting, when Ms. Elkins (W1) gave her report, Mrs. Olson (B1), the other assistant principal, pointed out that Elkins' report wasn't submitted on time. Valdosta remained silent as the principals continued their line of questioning until Ms. Elkins cried. This shows that department chairs are selective in who they protect, a pattern regularly observed in the field.

In summary, even within school contexts that allowed for the open expression of conflict, teachers often found themselves in department settings that were competitive, driving them to rely on the intervention of colleagues to shelter them from administrative discipline. In seven of eight cases in the data from majority-black faculty, this protection was extended across racial lines.

Next we turn to Surrey Ridge, Mt. Summit, and Crest Point High Schools, workplaces with white-“skewed” faculty.

Results: Majority-White Faculty

The majority-white settings of Crest Point, Surrey Ridge, and Mt. Summit High Schools are demographically “skewed,” meaning that the racial minority group (i.e., blacks) comprises 15% or less of the teacher population (Kanter's [1977] definition). This contrasts with the racial minority group (i.e., white) representation in the majority-black schools, which was 35% or less, and termed “tilted.” This is Kanter's (1977:209) term, and it refers to “less extreme distributions and less exaggerated effects.” Thus the social experience of being

in the minority working in demographically “skewed” faculty setting is expected to be more extreme, though both types of minorities (i.e., skewed and tilted) have distinguishable experiences from the majority (see also Bacharach et al. 2005; Sloan et al. 2013; Tomaskovic-Devey 1993).

Organizational Cultures

Surrey Ridge and Mt. Summit. Three readily observable norms governed social life among faculty at these two interconnected high schools. First, the informal rules of conduct that guided teachers’ interactions with one another included a culture of exclusion. Many teachers described it being hard to “break in” to social life in the school (e.g., befriending colleagues, maintaining favorable relational standing, and finding ways to participate in school life). There was a group of legendary teachers in the school, however: one was perceived as the popular group of middle-aged white women who carried the non-academic aspects of school life, while the other was a group of older, veteran white women who, faculty believed, carried and were responsible for the academic legacy of the school. A second important norm teachers noted was not to vent or complain too much and not to talk about “personnel matters” out in the open; these could only be discussed in private settings. Third, an assumption held by many faculty concerned the group of rural students who attended the school who were all black and high-poverty. Teachers, including some black teachers, felt that these students would not do as well in school as their white counterparts from the suburbs due to their family and neighborhood backgrounds.

Crest Point. White teachers with longer tenure at Crest Point carried a proud but nostalgic organizational history which they talked about often in the daily life of the school. The founding principal was an older white man who they said everyone loved, and who created a family atmosphere in the school. The succeeding principal was a black woman who many teachers thought was a micromanager and who was dismissed in the aftermath of a

scandal surrounding unprofessional teacher conduct. The current principal during this study was a black male with whom teachers were happy at first, but some of whom became less enthusiastic about as time passed. These teachers felt the rules for student and parent conduct were neither clear nor consistently or strictly upheld.

A value held by current administrators (a large team of five, mixed in race and gender) was to pass students who were underperforming and not to discipline them too harshly. Teachers were divided about what was the appropriate level of student responsibility, and these beliefs did not fall on race lines. By their own accounts, teachers' beliefs strongly influenced their choice of friends among faculty as well as their strategies of how to interact with teachers with whom they disagreed. These disagreements were rarely expressed in faculty meetings, which were usually brief, nor even in department meetings, which were weekly and required but which often involved one group of teachers running the meeting and the bridled participation of other teachers. As Ms. Travis (B4) reflects, at meetings she kept herself busy rather than made her views known.

TRAVIS: [By holding the department meetings,] we are doing what we are told. And so at those times I have to contribute to conversation just for the sake of having the meeting. If there is something that I need to say specifically, then I will say that. But just chiming in, chitter chatter? I'll grade papers or I will do something else. I don't know if they may perceive that as a race thing. Because I'm the only black person on the staff right now in the English department. I don't know if it's just a 'Gloria is not participating or doesn't care to be here' or 'the black lady doesn't care to be here.' Which for them, it may be mixed. I don't know. But I can't make myself just start talking about the same thing again. If I don't think it's a big deal, nothing significant, then I am certainly not going to say, 'well, this is not a big deal,' if they are talking about it and if it's important to them. So I will just keep myself busy.

The prevailing culture at Crest Point, then, was similar to Surrey Ridge and Mt. Summit in that some teachers' voices were not included in agenda-setting or decision-making. This form of exclusion persists in part because minorities in the school feel it is overall a great place to work and belong, and they do not wish to rock the boat. Ms. Travis goes on to describe how,

even with these kinds of non-engaging, uninviting meetings, the school's quality and reputation make it one where she is proud to send her son.

Counts from Interview Data

Teachers working in schools with majority-white faculty settings (N=53) had between 10-66% percent of their overall supportive interactions with colleagues across racial lines (Table 3.1). These very different proportions reflect the fact that 26 out of the 38 white respondents reported not having a single positive cross-race interaction, while all 14 black teachers did. In the interviews with teachers at the majority-white schools, black respondents described how cross-race teacher interaction pervaded (and usually dominated, in all cases but three) their positive coworker interactions at work. Structural opportunities for intergroup relations are simply lower for white teachers in these majority-white schools. Thus my analytic goal here is not to explain how black teachers initiate supportive interactions and relationships with their white colleagues, and/or vice versa, since this is bound to happen for all black colleagues for lack of other choices of work partners. Rather, my goal is to compare the range of positive interactions among the token-status black teachers, paying special attention to those cases of cross-racial teacher interactions that emerge as deeper and as partly the result of choice, compared to similar conditions in other majority-white faculty sites where these relationships did not happen.

Of the 66 cases of positive cross-racial teacher interactions in the majority-white faculty interview data, the vast majority of these arose from necessity (such as being a department chair managing one's charges, or sharing a room) or from convenience (such as spatial proximity or knowing them from outside of school). I include acquaintance-like interactions (such as attending after-hours social events in large groups) in the convenience category, as they are not consistent or sustained forms of coworker support. The remaining 23 cases I categorize as "deep" interaction: they each involve some element of choice.

Interviews and Fieldwork: Types of Coworker Support Processes

The interview and ethnographic data for the teachers in majority-white faculty revealed two major ways that positive cross-racial interactions developed and consequently supported teachers. Each type of support is shaped by organizational factors, as represented in Figure 3.1.

Avoiding sabotage

Within departments that mirrored the majority-white demographic composition of the school and reflected its diffuse organizational culture of competition and exclusion, one of the ways that opposite-race colleagues supported one another was by providing guidance to dodge traps set by others, primarily by other colleagues.²⁴ This particular form of coworker support, *avoiding sabotage*, exemplifies how positive relations with one coworker can stem from negative relations with another.

For example, during her first year at Mt. Summit, Mrs. Yeurick (B3) was inundated by a number of obstacles presented by the incumbents in her own department. Coming to Mt. Summit with almost a decade of experience teaching in schools with majority-black faculty, this was her first experience in a majority-white faculty. After encountering a cold initial reception by many of her department members, she started asking questions.

YEURICK: The last [black] lady that was [here in this classroom], they ran her off, you know. And after I heard that from a few people, I just started asking questions. I'm sitting here feeling it. I'm seeing my department in a circle and talking and I walk up and they stop talking. I'm seeing this happen. I'm like, is this a game we're playing? Because I don't know how to play. Tell me the rules. What do I do here? ... I asked one of the ladies I thought I could ask. And the more Christian someone is, the more likely you can get something. Some people can't look at you and lie, you know."

²⁴ In two cases, the sabotage came from parents or a combination of administrators and teachers.

Mrs. Renwick (W7) was that person. Mrs. Renwick told Mrs. Yeurick that the others resented Mrs. Yeurick for getting to teach honors students during her first year, when teachers are supposed to “get the lowest of the low [ability students] and work [their way] up.” Mrs. Renwick also shared with Mrs. Yeurick her own prior experience of being socially excluded by the same colleagues, which Mrs. Renwick believed was rooted in their envy of Mrs. Renwick’s other part-time profession as a private-practice therapist. Having given Mrs. Yeurick a social lay-of-the-land, Mrs. Renwick continued to field Mrs. Yeurick’s questions through multiple instances of what Mrs. Yeurick called “sabotage” from her colleagues. These included: not inviting her to lunch; “forgetting” to tell her about deadlines until they arrived; telling her she had to teach certain books she’d never read; and not giving her the answer key for premade tests and then indicating to the principal that she did not know her material.

YEURICK: So when I got here, when all of that was going on, [Mrs. Renwick] was the one that would call [me] and say, ‘I don't know if you know, but we're supposed to blah blah blah.’ Or she would send me something, ‘I don't know if you know that we're supposed to...’ I was like okay. I'm like, this lady is not even assigned to be my mentor, but she's always somebody that's trying to help me. So, and we just became good friends. And I would ask, like, ‘This seems like so and so.’ She said it probably is. I said why? I don't know. Let's just roll with it. Like I don't know why people act the way they do, but got to keep moving, so.

As Mrs. Yeurick notes, through the process of protecting her and explaining underlying social tensions at work, Mrs. Renwick became Mrs. Yeurick’s “good friend,” helping Mrs. Yeurick acclimate to her first majority-white faculty in her teaching career.

In summary, in cases where the racial demographic composition of the department mirrored that of the organization, the organizational culture of competition and exclusion filtered down affecting group members of both races. Especially when a white and a black colleague both experienced exclusion first-hand from another colleague, this shared

experience formed the basis of their supportive relationship. Black and white teachers benefited equally from this form of support; it provided both parties not only friendship, allowing commiseration and a sense of belonging, but also mutually developed strategies to navigate or counter exclusion in the workplace.²⁵

Avoiding trouble

In majority-white schools, a diffuse organizational culture of exclusion and excellence pervaded department settings regardless of whether or not they demographically mirrored the organization. The orderly external presentation of the functioning of the school, added to subconscious assumptions about exclusivity in teacher interactions, remained even in departments with more than one black token “lonely only.” Usually black tokens benefited from interactions that helped them avoid trouble through mentoring relationships with white teachers. For example, Mrs. Levett (B8) recalls how she clung tightly to her white mentor’s advice under the leadership of a micromanaging white woman principal.

LEVETT: My mentor now is gone. He's Ned Shane (WL). He's teaching over at Marsh [Junior College] now. But he was my mentor. Although I had the [11 years of teaching] experience, being in a new environment, a new school, they do things different. So it really helped having that mentor tell me, okay, well, this is how we do this, or we don't do this, or if I'm – if I was in my room and I was just totally lost about something, you know, which it was like – because Mrs. Thompson was here at that time, and I definitely wanted to get it right. I picked that up immediately, that hey, we have to get this thing right, you know, or Mrs. Thompson, you know, she won't like this. So I was so glad that I had a mentor, and he would come in at times and be like, ‘Okay, well this is the end of the first term, we need to do this, do this, do this, did you do this, did you do that?’ ... I've seen some mentors that was a mentor but they wasn't a mentor, and the teachers were just totally lost. ... As far as me, my mentor did his job and he went beyond doing his job.

²⁵ Similar to findings in the black-tilted schools, where black teachers were less likely to mention their ties to white teachers in the interviews, whites in white-skewed faculty were less likely to mention their social ties to black teachers in my interviews with them. This pattern suggests that these cross-race interactions play a more prominent role in organizational minorities’ experiences of social support.

Although Ned had since turned over, Mrs. Levett continues to first consult white veteran teachers whenever she is unsure what to do or how to follow school procedures closely. This is true for Ms. Ruscoe (B2) as well, who consults a white colleague with seniority first. Her comment makes clear, however, that asking for help is a rarer occurrence, done only when she has a “dying question.”

RUSCOE: Most of the time, I kinda figure out things on my own. But, if there is a dying question that I have, then the first person here I would ask is Mrs. Ainsley (W12), who’s our team leader. But me being a team leader at my old school for six years? I pretty much know the answers to things, the SPED [Special Education] questions. So I don’t have to ask them. I just figure it out myself. I did talk to some former vocational track teachers that I knew from Davenport. And they helped me with the questions that I had.

Because black teachers in majority-white schools *all* brought previous teaching experience from elsewhere, they commonly looked to white colleagues with seniority to clear up procedural questions, as opposed to instructional or content-related questions. White teachers they deemed as trustworthy, experienced, and willing to help were seen by most black teachers as important carriers and sources of this institutional, district-specific, procedural knowledge. Black teachers noted in their interviews cases of other black teachers from the past who they knew or heard about who did not survive in the majority-white school settings. By respondents’ accounts, these teachers failed to adhere to the school’s procedures or to secure faculty backing. They served as cautionary tales to black teachers underscoring the importance of abiding by narrow organizational rules and social norms, some of which were applied especially strongly to black teachers.

In summary, the diffuse organizational culture that upheld an image of orderliness and excellence, coupled with expectations of white management, drove black teachers to seek guidance from senior white colleagues regarding procedural norms and the often-unspoken expectations of teacher behavior in their schools.

Summary

Taken together with findings from the majority-black settings, the findings as a whole show that the types of positive intergroup interaction are specific to the faculty context. The one type of support that was found in common in both settings – i.e., *avoiding trouble* – still had different effects in each context, benefitting receiving participants from both racial groups symmetrically in one setting (majority-black) but asymmetrically in the other (majority-white). These findings suggest that the context surrounding group relations, at both the macro- and meso-organizational levels, led to different forms of support. In majority-black contexts, cross-race support is shaped by the meso-level organizational settings such as: having more white representation than the teacher demographics overall; having disrupted prior teacher relationships; or having a departmental culture defined by competition, exclusion, and narrower policies for teacher performance than the school overall. In majority-white faculty, the types of cross-race support emerge primarily from meso-level social settings that mirrored the demographics of the faculty overall.

Discussion

In this chapter, I explored how organizational minorities (i.e., white teachers in majority-black faculty and black teachers in majority-white faculty) experience the social atmosphere of their workplaces, focusing on instances of positive interactions between colleagues of dissimilar (i.e., “mismatched”) racial status backgrounds. Results show that the overall racial demographic of the organizational setting shapes the particular types of intergroup support through organizational cultures. While organizational cultures in the majority-black faculty encouraged open dialogue between teachers which made disagreements plainly observable, organizational culture in the majority-white faculty hinged on established social orders of teacher hierarchies which created exclusion and competition among teachers. Beyond these school-level cultural distinctions and the overall demographic

context with which they were associated, this analysis found that meso-level demographic settings within the organization also mattered. The smaller environments within the school were important especially for teachers in majority-black environments, as they tended to intensify white (or non-black) *and* black teachers' felt need for support that they believed they could only get from one another. For white or non-black teachers, this support had to do with acquiring racial fit. For black teachers, this support often had to do with gaining the backing of senior white colleagues, who often held positions of authority (e.g., department chair) which effectively protected them from trouble with administrators. In majority-white settings, conversely, the dynamics of cross-race partnerships emerged wherever meso-level settings mirrored that of the organization as a whole. This means that in departments with much greater black representation, these particular forms of cross-race support (i.e., avoiding sabotage and avoiding trouble) did not appear, in part because cross-race interactions in those settings were not fully voluntary (e.g., assigned co-coaching or co-teaching).

The main contribution of this study to previous work on composition effects in the workplace is that the present study synthesizes organizational demography approaches with intergroup relations approaches. Most previous studies offer explanations using one of these perspectives, but not both. Below I outline two major areas of theoretical extension: first, I link networks literature on triads (an intergroup approach) to literature on organizational culture, clientele demographics, and employee turnover (an organizational demography approach). Second, I highlight how conflict as a feature of the organizational culture can take different forms, filtering down into dyadic relationships by loosening in-group loyalties or joining parties of opposite races who occupy similar status positions in the organization.

The role of triads in fostering cross-race support

In cases where a teacher stepped in to offer help to a teacher struggling with satisfying their administrators or managing their students, Simmel's (1950) idea of the triad illustrates how "outside parties" can pose an external threat that drives teachers to seek out or be open to receiving help from one another. For example, in schools with adversarial teacher-administrator relations, as indicated by "cross-fire" in data meetings in majority-black settings, or with organizational cultures featuring strict procedural norms in the majority-white settings, structural opportunities for coworker support in the form of *avoiding trouble* were expanded. Furthermore, when teacher formal authority or tacit knowledge was correlated with one racial group in the workplace more than the other, as was the case in both majority-black and majority-white schools, this made cross-race partnerships necessary for the other race group. While the interaction remained voluntary, the structurally-informed incentive to consult coworkers across race lines was in place. In this study, both white and black teachers benefited from support in the form of avoiding trouble in majority-black schools, depending on the type of social, human, or cultural capital that was needed in that context, and who was in the position to extend it. In majority-white schools, conversely, primarily black teachers benefitted from the cross-race interaction to avoid trouble.

Students can also be a third party bringing teachers together. Unique to majority-black schools was the finding that many white teachers believed that black teachers were naturally better classroom managers. This belief, which is consistent with previous research that contends that white teachers who teach black children need the training of their black teacher colleagues (e.g., see Walker 2015), drew white teachers to black teachers with students representing the mediating "third party." Especially when white teachers taught a nearly 100% black student population but were in meso-level environments with fewer black teachers to turn to, they voiced their awareness of their need to associate themselves with members of their outgroup (that is, black colleagues) as much as possible. This was the case

for Ms. Richardson at Larksfield high school, as well as 12 other white teachers (out of N=21). Ms. Richardson was making conscious self-categorizations (Turner et al. 1987). That is, she attempted to build a social identity for herself apart from her white woman identity, which she hoped would differentiate her from and diminish the negative stereotypes of white teachers held by her black students. In *acquiring racial fit*, white teachers sought the assistance of black colleagues. White teachers intentionally built relationships with black colleagues, as white teachers hoped to develop similar attitudes, practices, and behaviors towards their shared students that black teachers had. White teachers were the main benefactors of this received support.

Another form of triadic intergroup relations which were a direct result of the demographic setting was found in cases of disrupted relationships in majority-black schools. With higher teacher turnover and quit rates than the majority-white schools in this study, disrupted relationships functioned as a regular feature of the meso-level environment of the workplace. In several cases of disrupted relationships, the elimination of a same-race tie by way of turnover facilitated cross-race collaboration. In other words, a disappearing third party acted to rearrange social ties, modifying theoretically expected in-group/out-group (i.e., cross race) relations by bringing the remaining two parties together. The next section, which examines how conflict can bring parties together across racial lines, sometimes through sabotage, also involves a triadic relation where a shared coworker “enemy” brings two victimized coworkers together.

The role of conflict and competition in fostering cross-race support

This chapter has highlighted the usefulness of conflict in fostering inter-group relations. At the organizational level, the presence of conflict in the faculty culture prompted cross-race support for teachers via avoiding trouble in majority-black faculty, versus avoiding

sabotage in the majority-white faculty. While in the former demographic context, consistent with faultline research (Lau and Murnighan 1998), the organizational culture welcomed open discussion and externalized conflict, in the latter context, interpersonal conflicts were situated more covertly within a widespread culture of competition and exclusion.

On the one hand, the ever-present possibility of externalized conflict in a public setting such as a faculty meeting, where school problems and disagreements were likely to be addressed, made teachers desire to avoid trouble. It also made it possible for coethnics to “switch sides” on their positions on different issues, after hearing the arguments and reasoning made in an open debate. For example, this happened in the English department meeting at Pine Grove where Ms. Anderson (W2) sympathized with Ms. Costa (B2) and Mr. Raleigh (B2) rather than Ms. Eckert (W6) as they debated how to do their grading. The culture of externalized conflict refines and extends one of Allport’s (1954) and Pettigrew and Tropp’s (2011) facilitating factors to positive intergroup relations: the role of authority figures (e.g., administrators) in promoting cross-race cooperation by encouraging open dialogue. Not all teachers ended up agreeing, of course, but the dialogue cultivated some cross-group support in the process. Moreover, allowing conflict in the form of expressed disagreement between groups refines our understanding of the forms another facilitating factor can take: non-superficial interaction.

On the other hand, a diffuse culture of competition fostered social sabotage between colleagues, in turn prompting targeted teachers to team up with sympathetic colleagues. In this case, equal status between teachers who team-up facilitates the inter-group relation, as a direct outgrowth of organization-level social structure. This happened in the case of Mrs. Renwick (W7) helping Mrs. Yeurick (B3) navigate the hostile traps set by their departmental colleagues. In this type of supportive interaction, coworkers represented an important resource for solving a challenge created by coworkers themselves. As Hodson (2001)

explains, coworkers can be the greatest allies and the greatest enemies of securing dignity at work. By locating the roots of sabotage within organizational culture, and showing how positive social relations can occur in an interlocking system with negative social relations, this analysis has advanced the study of lateral relations at work by giving more dimensions to the concept of coworker support. These findings further help explain how both parties in a cross-race partnership become motivated to work together to recover from or respond to shared negative experiences with other colleagues.

Limitations and Future Directions

In this chapter, I find three emerging and prevalent forms of positive, cross-race interactions in majority-black and majority-white workplaces: relying on colleagues to help them *acquire fit* in a context of “racial mismatch;” *avoid trouble*; or *avoid sabotage*. Teachers mutually benefited across racial lines in two types of cross-race support especially: avoiding trouble (in majority-black settings) and avoiding sabotage (in majority-white settings). This mutual benefit calls into question previous work on nonsymmetrical effects of composition whereby whites are negatively affected by diversity and black workers are not significantly affected by diversity. Further research that joins ethnographic, interview, and survey approaches in workplace settings outside of education, or in a wider sample of schools, may help clarify the robustness of this contrary finding and compare disparate findings by method and level of analysis (i.e., qualitative versus quantitative methods; individual versus workplace-level data).

Moreover, the present chapter’s focus on cases of positive cross-race relations should not be interpreted as evidence that negative cross-race relations did not occur in these settings. Indeed, data analysis in this study focused on a sub-set of coded as positive. Nevertheless, the findings intimated the tangled nature of positive and negative social

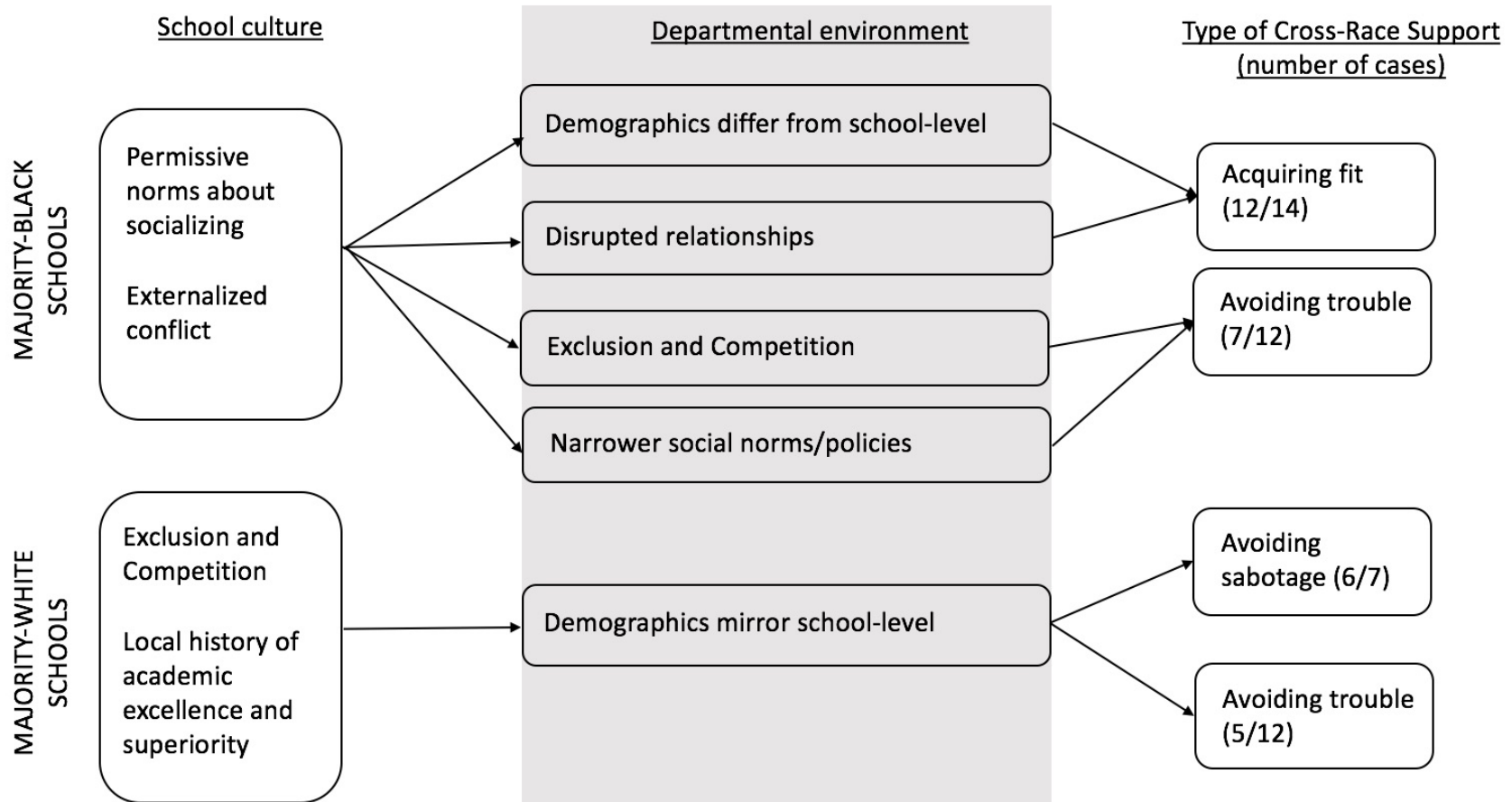
relations, in that positive interactions often happened in the aftermath of a negative interaction with another colleague. Thus, the take-away from this chapter is not that cross-race interactions are always cheery, but rather that current theories about composition effects in the workplace are underdeveloped and assume homogeneity in experiences within and across organizations of similar demographics. This chapter has shown, rather, that a variety of cross-race relations on the micro level are formed and shaped by organizational contextual factors, such as organizational culture at the organization-level, as well as specific social norms and interactional dynamics at the meso-level within the broader organization.

Table 3.1. Positive cross-race interactions as percent of total positive interactions

	<u>Majority-black environments</u>			<u>Majority-white environments*</u>	
	White teachers (N=21)	Black teachers (N=21)	Asian (2) or Non-White Hispanic (2) Teachers (N=4)	White teachers (N=38)	Black teachers (N=14)
Number of positive cross-race social interactions	45	35	23	16	48
Total number positive social interactions	89	93	23	166	73
Percentage of interactions occurring cross-race	51%	38%	100%	10%	66%

*There was also one Asian (N=1) teacher with 2 cross-race interactions out of a total of 2, not reflected in this chart.

Figure 3.1. A Pathway model connecting organizational conditions and cross-race support outcomes



Chapter 4. How Tokens Form and Use Social Ties

In the previous chapter, I explored how the values and norms of organizations influence the types of supportive cross-race interactions that occur in different demographic settings. I found that in majority-black schools, white teachers benefitted from cross-race support that helped them to acquire fit with their black students and black colleagues. In majority-white schools, cross-race support helped black teachers avoid sabotage from their colleagues. In both school contexts, teachers avoided trouble with administrators or students by turning to their opposite-race colleagues. These three types of support were rooted in the relational dynamics of the school as a whole, such as cultures of open debate (majority-black schools) or of competition and exclusion (majority-white schools). In addition, particular cultures within departments moderated the effects of the school-level cultures in majority-black schools.

To come to a comprehensive understanding of group relations, a comparison of inter-group with in-group relations is necessary. In this chapter, I examine the ways in which same-race ties provided support to teachers. Here I conceptualize “support” as the acquisition of professional, political, and emotional resources at work through one’s colleagues. I focus especially on same-race ties among organizational minorities, or “tokens,” as extant literature suggests that these workers need the most support to overcome organizational obstacles to performance and retention. Confirming the nonsymmetrical effects of diversity found in the survey data (in Chapter 2), the analysis of observational and interview data in this chapter finds that, when they were both in the minority in their respective schools, black teachers’ within-race ties yielded fewer resources than did white teachers’ within-race ties. By drawing an additional comparison to majority group outcomes, I found that whites fared about the same in their resources no matter their representation, but blacks fared better when they were

in the majority.

The following analysis shows that having social capital in the form of ties, as well as the forms the ties took (i.e., quick, group, teaming, spillover, or cross-occupational ties), were important for acquiring advantages or managing disadvantages particular to one's social position in the workplace. I found that white teachers felt free to form social ties in same-race groups and that their ties formed quickly regardless of whether they were in the majority or minority in their schools. In contrast, black teachers did not feel free to form their social ties in groups when they were minorities in their faculty context, and they proceeded to acquire their same-race ties slowly. I also found that teaming ties were more characteristic of whites' social ties across contexts, while cross-occupational, same-race ties were more characteristic of blacks' social ties in majority-white contexts. For both groups, the ties were also shaped by organizational practices such as classroom assignment, managerial practices of distributing resources, and organizational conditions such as level of turnover. In general, white token teachers secured all resource types through same-race ties, while black token teachers secured primarily emotional resources from theirs. Given these observed differences, I show how both white and black teachers accomplish resource acquisition within the organization by the strategic formation of social ties that fit the constraints of their racial environment.

Introduction

Even though we know that social capital in the form of ties to coworkers is critical for accessing the professional, political, and emotional resources necessary for career success (e.g., Blair-Loy 2001; Castilla et al. 2013; Fernandez et al. 2000; Lutter 2015), we know less about how racial tokens and racial majority members establish their ties. An extensive line of sociological literature has been concerned with the effects of diversity in the workplace on individual work outcomes, especially token literatures that identify numeric, status-based,

and cultural sources of inequality for workers in the minority (Kanter 1977; Turco 2010; Williams 1992). Recent sociological literature focusing on the effects of diversity more generally has called for a better understanding of the “building blocks” of organic (i.e., inter-group) solidarity by examining how they compare to the mechanisms generating mechanical (i.e., in-group) solidarity (Abascal and Baldassarri 2015:724).

Long-standing findings of token disadvantage in most settings generally rely on explanatory mechanisms that imply, but do not directly marshal, concepts from social network analysis to explain why majority groups generally maintain advantages in resource access within these settings. An area of token theory receiving attention recently by Turco (2010) highlights shortcomings of traditional token theory in explaining why some token groups fare better than other token groups in the same organization. A remaining puzzle for token theory relates to explaining “nonsymmetrical effects” among demographic minorities in one setting reporting worse work outcomes than a token from another demographic group in a demographically opposite setting (Tsui et al. 1992:549). For example, whites and men report more negative effects on their organizational attachment when they are outnumbered than do women or non-whites when they are outnumbered (e.g., Tsui et al. 1992; see also Mueller et al. 1999; Sloan et al. 2013).

Nonsymmetrical effects of being a token, especially in cases where higher-status tokens are not better-off than lower-status majority members, could be better understood by incorporating insights from social network analysis. Applied to social dynamics among tokens, network concepts state that the quality of the ties between co-tokens as well as among the community of tokens as a whole will impact the amount of professional, political, and emotional supports that flow through those ties. In efforts to synthesize social networks theoretical approaches with token theory, developing an understanding of the kinds of ties

that exist between tokens and the way they are activated (or not) would be illustrative for explaining the case of nonsymmetrical token experiences.

The social networks literatures across multiple fields of sociology are relevant to augmenting token theory. For example, the sociology of education literature has used concepts from social network analysis to explain teacher outcomes resulting from the distribution of power and resources among workers in the school organization (Atteberry and Bryk 2010; Bridwell-Mitchell and Cooc 2016; Spillane et al. 2003). This literature documents factors and conditions that predict whether and how much teachers may impart capital to one another through their social ties. Bridwell-Mitchell and Cooc (2016) find that cohesive networks (i.e., groups with frequent interaction between all members) predict the maintenance of teacher ties more than individual attributes or school-context variables. However, the education literature says less about *how* ties are established and *how* resources are imparted through them (e.g., through what kinds of social ties, and whether the capital flow is across racial lines). A second example, coming from advances in the status attainment literature, emphasizes that understanding unequal returns to social capital depends upon understanding the concept of tie *activation* (Smith 2005). The idea of activation underscores that having access and proximity to social ties alone does not guarantee that resources will be forthcoming from them; rather, the social context must be taken into account. In the case of token theory, this “social context” pertains to disproportionate demographic representation in the organization. A third example comes from the stratification literature. Recent work on concentrated disadvantage in poor renters’ social networks shows that social actors who face financial emergencies will forge ties with neighbors of similar economic means based on venting relationships. In these ties, individuals establish intimacy rapidly and feel comfortable asking their contact for material help. This is followed by the tie quickly disbanding (Desmond 2012). This work advances social network theory by widening the

repertoire of kinds of social ties based on tie formation and content rather than only on tie structure, and by using qualitative data to show the process by which actors use the ties in instrumental ways.

The present chapter endeavors to elucidate how demographic composition enables or limits the process of forming particular types of social ties and an understanding of how these ties work. My research questions are: *How do social ties among white “tokens” compare to social ties among black tokens, and how do these ties influence minority workers’ access to resources in the workplace?* To answer these questions, I studied public high school teachers to compare white and black teachers’ work experiences when they were each in the demographic majority or minority in their schools. Teaching is a desirable case study for examining token effects at work as it is a highly racially-segregated occupation across workplace settings (Frankenberg 2009). Thus, race surfaces as a salient status characteristic differentiating faculty environments. This analysis treats race as an important status characteristic for both minority and majority groups, across settings and for both same-race and cross-race interactions. Similar to Lewis-McCoy’s (2014) relational resource perspective, I investigate how interactions turn into social ties, and ties into networks, which are consequential for both/each racial group(s). Moreover, the structure of the teaching profession – i.e., having a weak formal socialization structure, being vulnerable to external political pressures, and its relative dearth of extrinsic rewards – make teaching a fertile context in which to study the importance of informal modes of acquiring professional resources and control (Lortie 2002[1975]).

This analysis primarily examines what the within-race ties look like—whether or not they are quickly formed, dyadic, teaming-related, spill over, and/or status discordant. The primary comparison being made is white groups versus black groups, not majority-white contexts versus majority-black contexts. I find that white tokens behave no differently in

shaping and enacting their social ties than whites in a majority context. Whites rapidly form "quick ties" and "group ties," which help them quickly integrate into the school and gain access to plentiful professional, political, and emotional resources from such ties. This is true even accounting for the fact that these were the more poorly-resourced schools with other structural constraints on same-race interaction. In contrast, black tokens act very differently than blacks who work in black majority contexts; in the former, they form "slow ties" and are actively prevented from forming "group ties." Instead, they form dyadic ties and cross-occupational ties with lower status, same-race others (e.g. janitor, teaching assistant) who cannot provide as many or any political and professional resources, though they do provide emotional resources to cope with their token status.

In the sections that follow, further background literature is followed by an overview of the research setting and methods. Qualitative findings are followed by a discussion which brings together streams of token theory with concepts from social networks literature. The conclusion explores implications of findings for adjustments to theory and suggests areas of future research.

Tokens in the Workplace

To date, token literature takes three different approaches to explaining the effects of demographic composition of the organization on minorities. First, traditional theories of tokenism, extending from Simmel's (1950) work on the importance of numbers on group organization and the individual, hold that numeric minorities in a workplace will be treated and will act differently than those in the majority group. Numeric tokens will experience performance pressures, out-group exclusion, and constricted role expectations (Kanter 1977). These stresses are directly related to the minority group's numbers of representation. As Kanter (1977:238) notes, "A mere shift in numbers, then, as from one to two tokens, could potentially reduce stresses in a token's situation." In response to the stresses tokens face, they

may strive to minimize attention to themselves by conforming, or finding a co-token with whom to share the burden. As tokens' numbers increase, however, a negative relationship can emerge as they begin to compete with one another (Kanter 1977; see also Reagans 2005).

While Kanter's seminal work focused on gender tokens in a majority-male corporation, research since has expanded to include work on racialized tokens. This work, such as Wingfield's (2010) on black professionals in majority-white firms, finds that minorities in the workplace seek to resist role encapsulation by acting in ways that will minimize negative racial stereotypes colleagues hold about their race group. A main strategy tokens use to do so is to stifle their expression of emotions at work. Flores' (2011) study on Latina teachers in majority-white schools finds that Latina tokens faced performance pressures that lead to overwork, as white teachers often asked Latina teachers to carry large instructional burdens for teaching diversity while not reciprocating this help. A strategy Latina token teachers used in response was to self-segregate. Turning to other Latina teacher aides and office workers in the school both brought assistance to do the work and provided the comfort and safety of a like-minded group. However, other research on racial minorities' experiences in predominately white or racially-mixed organizations finds that both scheduling structures and administrators' preferences to avoid self-segregation of racial minorities physically limited minority members' opportunities to connect with one another (Davis and Watson 1982; Holland 2012; Tatum 1997). Drawing on data from an intervention in a desegregation program that bused black students into a majority-white school, Tatum (1997:102) concludes that abbreviated periods of self-segregated settings within such organizations – including work organizations for adults – is important for black tokens to impart information to one another; otherwise, they will “flounder” without it. This information includes cultural information on one's own group as well as gaining knowledge from others' prior experiences.

One insight extending from numeric token theory that characterizes the organizations in which they work is that tokenism perpetuates itself in the organization. Some numeric minorities cope by leaving the organization (Kanter 1977), which sets the attraction-selection-attrition model (Schneider 1987) into motion: similar folks are attracted to other similar folks; organizations select for similar others who match the existing demographic; and those who do not match are weeded out through voluntary turnover. Over time, the organization becomes increasingly homogeneous (see also Sorenson 2004).

A second approach to tokenism, the social psychological approach, emphasizes that it is not only numeric representation, but the occupying of a lower-status position in society at-large, that creates interactional disadvantages at work (Ridgeway 2011). Such an approach improves upon numeric approaches as it can account for exceptions to negative token treatment, as in the case of white male nurses who instead benefit from interactional advantages in a majority-female occupation (Williams 1992). This approach also helps explain some aspects of nonsymmetry – that is, when a token in an organization who belongs to the higher-status group in wider society reports worse outcomes than do lower-status tokens – better than numeric approaches. Whereas minority groups who have historically been minorities in society are accustomed to experiencing stresses of tokenism, and so may react without dismay or “culture shock” when facing token experiences, tokens from majority or higher-status groups are not accustomed and lack strategies to cope (Dworkin 1987:12; Maume and Sebastian 2007; Renzulli et al. 2011). Extensive research demonstrates how societal minorities who are lower-status tokens often behave in ways to divert spotlight on their differences. They stay out of trouble by “playing the game” of the majority (Flores 2011: 327), or exhibit in-group distancing by avoiding their co-ethnics or fellow female colleagues (Davis and Watson 1982; Derks et al. 2011). Members of societal majority or

dominant groups who are tokens will likely respond to stresses they face by using other strategies, although the current literature does not articulate what those strategies are.

Recently scholars have advanced a third approach, arguing that neither being a numeric minority nor being of low-status is sufficient to explain variations in token experiences. Rather, they argue that the local cultural context and access to its resources and schemas more fully explain token experiences (Turco 2010). Exclusion from the majority group at work is predicated not only upon being demographically different, but upon the degree to which the token meets criteria of the image of the ideal worker in that particular occupational context. For example, in the case of the leveraged buyout industry which is majority white and majority male, African-American male tokens meet this image by not being mothers and more easily display valued cultural resources, such as knowledge of professional sports, than do white female tokens in the same setting (Turco 2010).

I bring in a new perspective to augment each of these approaches, which draws from social networks analysis to examine how tokens form ties with similar others in their organizations, and with what consequences. That is, I do not adjudicate between the existing token literatures, but provide conceptual tools useful to each of them. Numeric approaches could benefit from the imagery of dense networks contrasted with network isolates to visually represent how tokens are structurally disconnected from the relational system of resource exchange. Social psychological approaches could benefit from pairing concepts about racial group status with concepts of social closure to show how societal minority members (i.e., blacks) who are tokens use coping strategies of self-segregating and leaning on their co-tokens, and that these strategies will lead them to fare worse in extrinsic outcomes. In contrast, societal majority members' (i.e., whites') strategies when they are tokens may involve reserving valuable resources for one's own group (DiTomaso 2013; Tilly 1998) paired with prioritizing individual gain (Higgenbotham and Weber 1992). Lastly,

cultural approaches to tokenism could benefit from tracking how cultural resources flow through majority-group ties but not as well through tokens' ties with majority members or with one another, helping explain the disparate outcomes of performance and longevity in the firm some numeric and lower-status tokens experience and not others.

By highlighting the role of social ties in providing or excluding tokens from resource access, in this chapter I develop a more general explanation for nonsymmetrical token experiences based on the types of ties among co-workers. My data suggest that both status-based and cultural explanations are special cases of the tie-based theory I develop here.

Social Networks at Work

Social networks are a group-level concept that refer to the total set of relationships, or *ties*, that connect members of a group – in the present study, that connect colleagues within a workplace. Networks characterize the enduring patterns of relationships among individuals in that group, capturing aspects of the group's structure such as how densely members are connected to one another (i.e., number of overall ties), the appearance of cliques or gaps between different groups (i.e., structural holes), and its degree of embeddedness (i.e., social and economic mixing (Granovetter 1985; Uzzi 1997)). Moreover, networks elucidate the quality of the ties that compose the network, such as whether the ties are symmetrical, strong (featuring repeated, successful exchanges (Blau 1964; see also Reagans 2011)), or have range (i.e., span different groups, such as cross-departmental ties (Burt 1992)).

Social network analysis works well to reveal how the ties themselves are social capital, connecting people to outcomes such as job information, emotional support, assistance during problem times, job satisfaction, and other resources (Bridwell-Mitchell and Cooc 2016; Renzulli and Aldrich 2005). Social capital is “the different kinds of resources embedded in social networks” (Small 2009:18). Many of these resources are opportunities to advance one's own standing or advance the standing of others (Burt 1992). Different types of

social capital help individuals attain status (Lin 2001). In addition to opportunities afforded through tie referrals, norms of behavior and reciprocity act as social capital, as they ensure resources get delivered and sanction behaviors detrimental to others in the group (Coleman and Hoffer 1987).

Recent advances in social network approaches use qualitative approaches to widen the terminology used to describe the form, functioning, and foundation of social ties. One study found a unique kind of relationship overlooked by network analysts – “disposable ties” (e.g., Desmond 2012). Another study coined the term of *activation* to explain why resource access problems in some networks were not due to deficiencies in connectedness, but rather to functional deficiencies of the networks that people already have – such as not being willing to share known opportunities (Smith 2005). A third study identified the platforms of shared social identities, or “dyadic toolkits,” that workers from different occupational groups built upon to accomplish collaboration in their work tasks (DiBenigno and Kellogg 2014).

A key insight of a social networks approach to understanding social interactions among employees in a workplace is that these interactions follow patterns that are the result of both structural constraints (e.g., limits of available alters; physical proximity within the building (Reagans 2011; Spillane et al. 2017)) and the social actors’ own choices and individual strategies (Ibarra 1995; see also McPherson and Smith-Lovin 1987). This interplay of structure and agency means that even identical network structures may provide members with different benefits, if the members have different views about how best to utilize their networks. Similarly, strategies for network participation, such as brokers who bridge structural holes, can look similar in practice, but yield different kinds of social capital: individual or communal (see Lingo and O’Mahony 2010 for a review). In addition, sometimes “weaker” network features are associated with better individual outcomes, such as the finding that weak ties often yield more job information than strong ties (Granovetter

1973) and that lower-density networks that lack social closure can provide richer, varied, non-redundant information.

Because social network analysis is interested in the social attributes of nodes in a network, this approach has much to offer token theory as network approaches identify patterns in how people sort themselves (or are sorted by other social forces) into groups based on their shared demographics. Some research shows that race affects networks the same way across racial groups. In racially diverse workplaces, the quantity of reported social ties with fellow colleagues is lower for the racially mismatched members, both for blacks who work in majority-white settings, and whites who work in majority-non-white settings (Sloan et al. 2013). Relatedly, network density is expected to be lower in diverse than in homogeneous work organizations (Borgatti et al. 2013). Other research offers mixed findings regarding the influence of race on and through networks at work. Findings about perceptions of coworker support in mismatched settings differ; while Sloan et al. (2013) find that staff composition does not influence perceived support for white or black state employee workers, Mueller et al. (1999) find that lower support perceptions emerge for white teachers in mismatched settings, but not black teachers in mismatched settings. These are surprising findings, considering other research that suggests that blacks are regularly excluded from informal social networks in workplace settings (Vallas 2003).

In this chapter, network terminology, especially research on the level of ties, is used to expand understandings of different token experiences in workplace settings.

Research settings

Because this chapter examines the effects of different teaching contexts on teachers' majority- and token experiences, I strategically selected multiple school sites with different faculty compositions. Pseudonyms for, demographics of, and important structural attributes of the five sites are as shown in Table 4.1.

---- TABLE 4.1 ABOUT HERE ----

Pine Grove and Larksfield High Schools are part of the Davenport School District (DPS). They each serve a majority-black (97-99%), high-poverty (62-75%) student population. Crest Point, Surrey Ridge, and Mt. Summit High Schools are part of a neighboring district, Martin School District. These schools vary in student demographics. Crest Point students are 60% black and about half low-income, while Surrey Ridge and Mt. Summit students are majority-white (25%) and affluent.

The context of the teaching profession offers a unique and potentially fruitful case for examining demographic composition effects in the workplace. Classic theories about the structure of teachers' work proffer that teachers work mostly in isolation from one another and enjoy and protect a relatively high level of autonomy (Lortie 2002). In the schools studied here, a typical teacher workday involved 4.5 hours of instruction in the classroom, but the remainder of the workday offered ample opportunity for collegial interaction: 2 hours of independent planning time, 20 minutes of lunch break, and at least 30 minutes of supervisory duty outside of one's classroom (e.g., in the hallway before school). In addition, teacher meetings often took place before or after the official school day, but their frequency ranged from once weekly to almost never – depending on the school, the department, and the individual teacher. The amount of participation depended on how active a given department was in scheduling meetings and how strictly norms for teacher attendance were enforced.

The context of teaching also is apt for exploring token theory as it is dominated by white females: 83% of teachers nationally are white and 76% are female (NCES 2011-2012; NCES 2007-2008). However, white teachers tend to work in schools with majority-white student populations, whereas black teachers tend to work in schools with majority-black student populations (Frankenberg 2009). This creates workplace environments where white

teachers are the societal mode but may at the same time be a local numeric token,²⁶ and where black teachers are the societal minority but may at the same time be in the majority in their particular school. These profession characteristics make teaching an ideal setting for examining how token and majority experiences vary depending on racial group membership.

Data and Methods

This project draws on an 11-month ethnography in five public high schools in a metropolitan area in the Southeastern U.S. conducted between July 2014 and June 2015, with intermittent follow-up visits over four additional months. It combines observations of classroom instruction, teacher meetings, teacher interactions in hallways and during lunch, as well as teacher gatherings outside of the workplace. I gathered observations in-person, myself, primarily through shadowing 98 interview respondents. Shadowing was the primary mode of ethnographic data collection, which generated around 1,100 typed pages of field notes detailing about 600 hours of observation in total. The typical interview lasted between 60-90 minutes and was complemented by my spending up to half a day with the respondents while they worked. The sample of participants who were interviewed and shadowed (N=46 teachers working in majority-black faculty and N=52 teachers working in majority-white faculty) is 35% black, 25% male, and has an average teaching experience of 4 years in the school and 9 years in total. This is representative of the teacher population of all five schools overall (N=392), which is 35% black, 40% male, and has modal values of 2-4 years of teaching experience in the school and 10-15 years in teaching total. Moreover, because I used

²⁶ In this chapter, I use the term ‘token’ to refer to any racial minority in their organizational setting. A stricter use of the term applies only to minorities with group representation below 15% (Kanter 1977); in this chapter, I include as “tokens” white minorities whose representation is up to 43% in their organizational setting. This adjustment is fitting when accounting for population distributions as well as the regional labor force composition, which are both 78% white in the American South (Tomaskovic-Devey 1993). Thus a job with 57% black employees represents a “fairly dramatic level of racially based sorting” (Tomaskovic-Devey 1993: 29). Moreover, being demographically outnumbered in these settings is reinforced by a 97-99% black client (i.e. student) population.

case-pair matching based on the full list of respondents to a survey (also part of my data collection, but not included in this chapter) as a sampling strategy, the sample demographics of interview respondents are balanced across schools (see Nielsen 2014 for more on this method of case selection).

For my analysis in this chapter, I used interview and ethnographic data on strong ties²⁷ to diagram and reconstruct the chronological progression of these positive teacher interactions into relationships. In the data preparation, I merged interview responses with fieldwork observations, which most often was confirmatory, but in some cases served to make up for missing data generated by underreporting in interviews.²⁸ Within this data, I use same-race ties as focal cases; Figure 4.1 shows a schematic representation of these cases. Due to small numbers of other-race respondents (two non-white Hispanic, four Asian), the analysis focuses on comparing white and black teachers.²⁹ Table 4.2 shows the percent of

²⁷ I determined which dyads or groups in the data had “strong ties” based on whether it/they demonstrated a high frequency of reciprocated consultation or other reciprocated social interactions in the workplace over a long duration.

²⁸ In interviews, teachers tended to underreport the friendship contacts that I observed in the field. I would see teachers visit one another on a daily basis before or after school or eat lunch together, and the respondent sometimes did not mention these in their answers regarding who they saw daily or to whom they were close. For example, in the interviews, half of black teachers in the majority-white faculty sample (N=7) did not report having positive within-race interactions, but drawing on fieldnotes, all but two had at least one same-race tie with a faculty member. This combined amount is similar to the proportion of same-race ties among white teachers: only one of the 38 white teachers did not report having a positive within-race teacher interaction. Possible reasons for underreporting could be that teachers themselves did not perceive some informal interaction as important enough or relevant to the purpose of the interview, which I explained to participants as being about exploring the different working conditions, coworker interactions, and experience backgrounds of teachers in a variety of different high school workplace settings, and how these influence their work satisfaction, work commitment, and work performance. Another reason could be that teachers did not want their associations with some teachers to be recognized or known by me.

²⁹ There were 98 interview and shadow respondents overall. Five of these were other-race (i.e., not white, not black) and thus excluded from the present analysis. One white teacher was employed at and split her time across two of the majority-white schools. I administered the full interview protocol to her for both schools, and thus included her responses as two separate, unique workplace experiences.

positive social interactions that were between teachers of the same race, out of the total positive interactions reported and observed.

--- Figure 4.1 about here ---

--- Table 4.2 about here ---

I first coded all data in MAXQDA software using an open coding approach, which resulted in the development of four major codes (work practices, teacher talk, leadership displays, and emotions) with 33 subcodes (e.g., teaming; positive talk about other teachers; defending colleagues; venting). In my analysis, I used the coding to orient me to general trends in same-race ties by school context, constructing a condensed data comparison matrix from the fully coded cases to do so. I also visually mapped mechanisms that appeared to connect token status to outcomes of resource access, following a qualitative pathway analytical approach which involves “building knowledge of what causes the mechanisms, the number of mechanisms, and how (if at all) they interact with one another” (Weller and Barnes 2014: 75). Each diagram examined a particular group of cases (i.e., documented respondent relationships) that exhibited similar tie types and resource outcomes; in this way I made horizontal comparisons between cases with similar resource outcomes, or vertical comparisons across cases that exhibited different resource outcomes. The diagrams helped me track and connect how the dimensions of the teacher relationship (i.e., quick, group, etc. tie types) and outcomes (i.e., types of resulting coworker support given or received) were related, and whether the tie types operated on their own or in combination with other tie types. In this analysis, tie types are treated as potential mechanisms connecting token status to resource access.

In coding the qualitative field notes and interview transcripts, prominent aspects of teachers’ relationships emerged. I coded instances of strong ties by many properties, including the ecological dimension of the relationship (i.e., were teachers in close proximity

or distantly located from one another in the school building), whether the tie formed quickly, was a dyadic or a group tie, whether it involved teaming, whether the tie spilled over from work to non-work domains, and whether it formed across departmental or occupational lines.

I also coded the properties of the kinds of resources that seemed to result from these bonds: intrinsic rewards included social resources that fulfilled teachers' psychological need for autonomy and competence and fostered teachers' sense of belonging (Deci and Ryan 1985; Nelson 2017). Extrinsic rewards included material resources (tangible ones such as nice classrooms, quiet hallways, answer keys and teachers' edition books, as well as intangible ones such as longer off-block during lunch time or smaller or advanced classes) or rewards that position one for promotion or professional development. Thus, the workplace resources that can be transmitted through colleagues can be thought of as having three dimensions, and were conceptualized as such here: professional, political, and social. While intrinsic rewards are primarily social and extrinsic rewards primarily professional and political, there was some overlap and thus a three-category system better captured the different resources observed in the field.

In the professional resources category I include human capital, i.e., the transmission of knowledge, skills, and information about how to do technical aspects of the job, including instruction, discipline, and organizational procedures. In the political resources category I include forms of support that either have the potential to elevate workers to better work outcomes, thereby making them look good to administrators, or buffer them from the authority and control of administrators or other colleagues. Political resources obtained through colleagues thus could include being defended from trouble, receiving positive attention from the administration, gaining advantages in the form of access to material resources (e.g., classroom equipment including technology, sufficient desks, bigger or cleaner classrooms) and better course schedules and assignments (e.g., smaller class sizes,

higher-level courses). In the social category, I include socio-emotional resources such as having someone to whom one can vent, friendship that encompasses non-work related conversation topics, and/or a feeling of belonging or personal closeness to colleagues. I term these social aspects *reciprocal emotion management*, *extensive friendship*, and *doing life together*, respectively. These might be conceived of as gradually increasing levels of personal support. Lively (2000) defines reciprocal emotion management as the mutual effort of and supportive exchange between similar others in a workplace to manage one another's emotions. These emotions usually arise from interpersonal stressors at work, but can include non-work related emotions. Going a step further, extensive friendship refers to the development of personal relationships at work that encompass knowing things about one another's outside-of-work lives, such as their family situations and current life problems. The outcome of extensive friendship emerged across groups and contexts (and characterized some cross-race relationships as well, as described in Chapter 3). *Doing life together* is a form of extensive friendship, but further signifies cases where workers' entire social lives in and outside of the workplace involve their coworkers.

Findings

In the findings presented below, I compare the experiences of white token teachers as they formed same-race ties with white colleagues ("white-white ties") with black token teachers as they formed same-race ties with their black colleagues ("black-black ties"). I contrast them in each of the following dimensions of their ties: Quick Ties, Group Ties, Teaming Ties, Spillover Ties, and Status-Discordant Ties. Following a descriptive account of the tie types and findings on resource differences observed in each token group, in the next sections I examine differences in tokens' practices of using their ties, turning to an analysis of *how* the groups each used their ties as an explanation for these resource differences. I then have two sections at the end that talk about how the experience of tie formation and resource

attainment for white tokens was similar when they were in a white majority context, as well as the experience of black teachers in a majority context. I then account for the role of organizational conditions in shaping these tie types. I conclude the findings by examining the role of organizational practices (i.e., managerial actions) that influenced teachers' practices of tie usage.

Token Differences in Quick Ties

Without previously knowing people from their schools, white teachers in majority-black schools described having an easy time making friends with at least one same-race colleague from the first day of reporting to work. Some came to the school with previous teaching experiences, and attributed the easiness of breaking in to the fewer pre-established teacher cliques they found in the majority-black school upon entry. As Mrs. Ragland explained, this might have been the case because of higher turnover in the majority-black school:

MRS. RAGLAND: Well, you know, I was only at Leo [a majority-white High School for] a year, so I have to say that Leo's kind of cliquey. They did stuff, but they were just with their group. [...] And I think because they didn't know me, they weren't sure what they could say and what they couldn't say, too. And when I came to Larksfield, it was a little less so because I think we had a whole bunch of new teachers, and then they – I was a new teacher, they were new teachers, so we – you know, we could say whatever we wanted because, you know, we were, you know –

JENNIFER: All in the same boat?

MRS. RAGLAND: Yeah.

Other white tokens explained that they clicked effortlessly with their white colleagues due to having “the same sensibilities: likes, dislikes, personalities, and ways of looking at things.” Still others, usually the first-time and younger white teachers, recounted knowing colleagues before they got to the school, either through having a job referral from a residential neighbor who presently also worked there, or from preservice teaching at the school the prior year. This was usually followed by continued social contact with those same teachers within the

school building on a regular basis, no matter if their classrooms were separated by floor levels or whole buildings.

In contrast, black teachers in majority-white workplaces stepped into schools where finding similar others made interaction a challenge, as Ms. Ruscoe describes.

JENNIFER: How would you compare how teacher interactions [were at your previous school to here]?

RUSCOE: Well everybody there is black. Everybody there is from similar backgrounds, everybody there pretty much went to Davenport State [the local HBCU]. So everybody know, like, knew each other prior to working there. We just have certain things that we do. Everybody understands that. Which is different from working in Surrey County where you have a more diverse setting and you have to get to learn, you know, different people coming from different backgrounds and things like that. So I would say that the teacher interaction was better there. Because people had more things in common than here, where you don't have a lot in common with people from different backgrounds.

Black token teachers partly overcame this steep social curve, but ties did not emerge quickly.

As Ms. Ruscoe (black) describes, she did not meet Mr. Lowry (black) right away.

RUSCOE: We just, we just click. Like, and the thing about it, when I first got here, he didn't even speak to me. He didn't even talk to me.

JENNIFER: Why do you think that – why did it change? Why did he not talk to you, first of all?

RUSCOE: Because, he was just like, this is the new girl and I'm not gonna talk to her. Which is so how I would've been.

JENNIFER: If you were in his position?

RUSCOE: Mhm [affirmative]

JENNIFER: And then, what – how did it change?

RUSCOE: Umm, the custodian that was here [Rory (black)], I remember the first day we met. The custodian was walking me out to my car to get something. And he told me that Mr. Lowry used to play in the NFL or something. And [when I met Mr. Lowry,] I asked if he still had some money. And then we just kinda laughed and that kind of thing. And at the end, umm, he got to talking about golf. And, I asked him did he know my dad, and he knew my dad, they played golf together. And then we just hit it off.

For ties to form between black teachers who were in the minority, often a third party – such as the custodian (black) – had to introduce them. The slowness of their tie formation was due to the cautiousness of minority incumbents to newcomers. Mr. Lowry reiterated to me many times during the year, “I don’t talk to all my colleagues.” He explains how he has learned to be slow to trust colleagues, and this impacts even the formation of same-race ties to be slower.

When we were at lunch today with Rory (black) the custodian, Mr. Lowry just made a passing comment. He said with both coaches of football and the other coaches, he's learned that you can't be open with all of them. He said some of them, everything that comes out of their mouth is a lie. His point was, you learn who you can and can't trust, so he can't trust all his colleagues. He also said at the beginning of the bus ride on the field trip, ‘I don't know all my colleagues.’ He said it multiple times. He said, ‘Unless you come up front to me and need something from me, I'm not going to go find out about you.’ So he doesn't know all the faculty's names.

Crest Point fieldnotes 2-26-15

Token Differences in Group Ties

For white tokens, quick ties became cemented into groups when teachers would work together on many overlapping activities. As Mrs. Holten explains of the white colleagues in her department, “[Mrs.] Libbey and [Ms.] Almond, I think it’s just because we work together, we’ve done a lot of stuff together [such as journalism club field trips], so we’ve kind of gotten close. We worked well together so it just kind of turns into friendship.” Not only did white teachers work together in groups to support school activities, but their groups often had celebrations together at work. Mrs. Oxby and her group (Mrs. Libbey, Mrs. Holten, Ms. Almond) got together for a colleague’s birthday during their off-time during the school day. These gatherings became places where social support, such as urging colleagues to hang in there, was offered.

OXBY: I told Ms. Libbey, I was real open with Libbey about all the stuff that happened [with me being frustrated with how the principal was treating me] and they were just like, 'Please don't [leave], ... Three to five years and then they're [the principals] gone, but we're the people who care and wanna make the school what it is today.' That's what I told Libbey, Renee the other day. It was her birthday, and we got her a little bottle of wine and some chocolate.

JENNIFER: Oh, awesome.

OXBY: and brought it in to her, and the bottle of wine was called Irony, it's a little bottle of pinot noir, it's called Irony, anyway. And we were basically, she was just like, 'I'm so glad that you've decided [to stay].' Because they're gonna go away, y'know? It's not gonna be like this forever, so just remember why you like it. So that helps.

Group ties are important because enacting them in the work setting suggests a certain level of visibility in the school context, which can foster impressions of dominance (e.g., securing desirable course and room assignments, having the freedom to congregate socially within the school) or subtle exclusion of other teachers (e.g., none of the black English teachers were on this particular English hall). Indeed, in the interviews, white and black teachers alike in majority-black schools pointed to the white teacher *groups* as leaders or prominent groups. Interestingly, group ties appeared to be more prominent for white token teachers than they were even for black teachers in majority-black schools (see Tables A1 and A2 in the Appendix).

In contrast, black-black teacher ties in majority-white settings rarely appeared in groups larger than a dyad – even though black teachers often shared bridging ties, such as the custodian who introduced two black teachers. For black token teachers, group ties were off-limits. At faculty meetings, white administrators would ask black teachers not to sit together. As a choice of social affiliation that did not suit the institutional culture, black teachers were being called into account to “do race” in an institutionally acceptable way (West and Zimmerman 1987; Fenstermaker et al. 2002). The message here for Ms. Nemeč (black) was,

NEMEC: But when we come together as a whole group? [*laughs*] Umm, [*laughs again*] we don't, we tried, we can't. I say 'we,' [I mean] the minorities generally, it's a problem if we all get together.

JENNIFER: It's a problem? Why is it a problem?

NEMEC: It's, I think, in all honesty, I'll tell you this. I've had several situations where it's like [we get asked] "Why are y'all all sitting together? Spread out." Why? They [whites] don't have to! Y'know, the majority doesn't have to. Why is it initially an issue when all of the minorities come together in a group as if we're planning an uprising?

As Ms. Nemeč's comment shows, the race performance of all black teachers sitting together came under questioning, in turn shaping institutional routines of how black teachers should sit when they attended a regular faculty meeting. Indeed, at the 16 formal faculty meetings I attended at all three majority-white schools, black teachers almost never sat in groups of larger than two. (White teachers in majority-black schools, on the other hand, routinely sat in groups of three or four in faculty meetings.)

Token Differences in Teaming Ties

Not only the quick formation and groupness of ties, but also teaming is an important property of ties. Teaming signifies that teachers voluntarily coordinate their work by agreeing upon the arrangements and terms of their working together, identifying a common goal, and pursuing it by joining forces (see Lortie 2005). Both white and black token teachers had teaming ties, but white teachers had them much more often (67% of white respondents, compared to 30% of black respondents). For white tokens, a typical teaming tie involved visiting a colleague's room to complete a shared project together. For example, Mrs. O'Brian's and Ms. Lear, who regularly work together to split errands or vertically align their art curriculum around the new Common Core standards, sat together in Mrs. O'Brian's room during their lunch break to draft a letter to the administrators. They were considering the best wording to write a formal petition to the principal for new textbooks. For white teachers who

teamed across departments, other examples included coaching athletic teams and organizing teacher union activities.

In contrast, most black tokens did not often engage in teaming with their black colleagues. Rather, they were in partnerships to share the work with other white teachers to deliver instruction and extracurricular activities. Mr. Russell, a JROTC teacher, describes how closely he worked with a single white colleague on a daily basis.

RUSSELL: Some days we [Mr. Otdoerfer (white) and I] will finish up things at Mt. Summit, but nine times out of 10, yes, we're coming right back over here. And I'll leave before Mr. Otdoerfer do, to get things started, because we've got something going on every day. Football season, every Friday, oh man, we're here every Friday from 6:30, 7 in the morning until the game is over. So we're responsible for the color guards and drill teams and all that too. So we have a long day. Very long day. But I enjoy it. It goes so fast.

Token Differences in Spillover Ties

A spillover tie refers to ties where teachers' interactions spill over from work into their non-work lives, or the teacher brings their life outside of work into the workplace. For white token teachers, a major factor that influenced the preponderance of spillover ties was the teachers' own residential status. Shared neighborhoods of residence with colleagues hosted their outside-of-school hang-outs. Residing in the same neighborhood was widely mentioned by white teachers in interviews and came up often in their interactions and conversations (and others' comments about them) in the field. Ms. Trunnell (white) and Ms. Richardson (white) were first-year teachers separated by whole buildings, but Richardson routinely made visits to Trunnell's room. These visits continued into their second year, when the field observation below took place. During this visit in Ms. Trunnell's classroom after school one day, they made plans to socialize that night at a local spot near their neighborhood.

Ms. Richardson visited Ms. Trunnell's room after school. Trunnell asked Richardson, "What are you doing tonight?" Richardson was going to a wedding, but Trunnell invited her to go to a dance thing that night near their neighborhood when she was done with the wedding. After Richardson was gone, the new Spanish teacher down the hall, also a young white female, popped in. She was all packed up with her bags to go home, but was checking in with Trunnell on her way out. Again, Trunnell invited her to hang out with her that weekend, and the teachers said OK and left.

Larksfield fieldnotes 10-23-15

While eight of the white teachers lived in Trunnell and Richardson's neighborhood, most black teachers in their schools did not. This finding emphasizes the importance of neighborhood residence to coworker relations (Kornblum 1974).

For black token teachers, spillover ties did not arise from or form around residential status. Instead, they took place in school when teachers looked to each other to help solve non-work related problems. For Ms. Rose, this support helped her focus on her job and not worry about stress stemming from her life outside of work – such as her family (“the house”) or graduate school.

JENNIFER: Which of your colleagues would you say you are close to? ... People who you are just comfortable going to or you talk to a lot, or you see as friends.

ROSE: I would say Coach Lowry (black), Ms. Ruscoe (black)...I would say they are probably...and even Ms. Banner (white), even though she is fairly new, I would say her as well.

JENNIFER: So what kind of things do you talk about? What's the range of topics?

ROSE: You may talk about your own frustrations. You may talk about something that made you happy, you may talk about what it is you are trying to figure out for next week, you know, kind of like general stuff. Or you may talk about personal issues, you know, from the house and how it may be affecting you here, you know, like, I'm in [graduate] school so there's times when I'm stressed out and I need to vent, so I would go to them in order to vent, because it has nothing to do with my professional job here. So I wouldn't just pick anybody to say that to.

Ms. Rose did not live in the same neighborhood as Lowry, Ruscoe, or Banner, but she felt comfortable talking with them while she was at work about stress from her non-work life.

Token Differences in Status-Discordant Ties

Another attribute of ties which differed across token groups was whether teachers interacted with other school employees who were not teachers. Status discordance occurred in many of these cross-occupational ties, taking two forms: lateral or upward ties with other professionals (e.g., administrators, counselors, librarians) or downward ties with custodians, office staff, and food service staff. Both kinds of cross-occupational ties were more prevalent for black token teachers than white token teachers, partly because very few whites worked in the majority-black schools who were not teachers.

During the regular work day and inside the school building, black teachers intentionally sought out other black workers with whom to socialize, most of whom were not nearby, not in their department, and often not even in their occupational category. Mr. Lowry, for example, sought out Ms. Norma, the cafeteria manager, to include her in the fantasy football competition. Ms. Rose sought out one of the three black custodians to give them money to buy her lunch when they left campus to buy theirs, casually and regularly entering their office (without knocking), which I did not see any other teacher do. The same closeness of interaction was seen in the way black personnel would make frequent pop-in visits to black teachers' classrooms. In the example below, the black assistant principal and the black bookkeeper at Crest Point stop into Ms. Ruscoe's room to deliver her lunch or convey a message. While minorities seeking one another out regardless of role is not necessarily surprising, it was striking that those who stopped by her room were exclusively black.

I found Ms. Ruscoe in her classroom at the end of third block for the interview and then we ended up going through part of fourth block. There were numerous interruptions. Mr. Dillinger (black assistant principal) came and delivered lunch to her at one point. And the bookkeeper, Gloria Raubach (black), came in to return \$65 of education funds for Ms. Ruscoe to use before they expired.

Crest Point fieldnotes 4-4-15

Caring, “sweet” actions by black colleagues in other occupational groups toward black teachers in the majority-white schools were not interpreted similarly by white teachers in the same setting. Rather, the white teachers found interactions with the bookkeeper frustrating, having to report her to and ask for intervention from the principal to resolve issues with funds for fieldtrips and purchase orders. Moreover, no close personal or professional relationships between white teachers and black administrators were observed in these settings.

Token Tie Resource Outcomes

The resources token teachers got out of their same-race ties with co-tokens differed sharply in the areas of political and professional resources. While more than two-thirds of white tokens got or gave professional resources such as technical or academic knowledge, technical skills, organizational knowledge, or assistance in teaching and discipline through their token ties, less than a third of black tokens reported similar professional resources (see Table 4.3).³⁰ In terms of political resources such as elevating a co-token’s status, chances for promotion, autonomy, or course assignments through reporting favorably on their performance to administrators, or providing material resources or increased autonomy directly to the alter, this happened in three out of 14 (21%) black-black token ties, versus in 14 of 21 (67%) of white-white token ties.

Socio-emotional resources gained through token ties, however, were more equally distributed across white ties and black ties. The most basic form of social support, *reciprocal emotion management* (e.g., venting), was accessed by about half of the token ties for both blacks and whites. At the higher levels of social support, white tokens had slightly more access to *extended friendship* (i.e., more embeddedness in colleagues’ non-work lives), and only a few white tokens gained the highest level of social support, *doing life together* (i.e.,

³⁰ The proportion of ties reported in Table 4.3 reflect a conservative estimate. As Table A2 shows in the Appendix, teachers often had multiple same-race ties, but I only counted each respondent once for the presence or absence of a same-race tie.

complete involvement in colleagues' lives). In sum, while social support was accessible to black tokens, access to professional and political resources through black tokens' ties was much less than it was for white tokens through their token ties. In the following sections, how token teachers used their token ties, as well as how organizational practices affected token tie usage, are each explored as explanations for these diverging resource attainment outcomes.

Teacher Practices of Tie Usage

Tokens' use of quick ties

Quick ties presented themselves as important vehicles to accessing a wide range of resources, the resources snowballing one atop the other. After gaining early entry, new white token teachers described three main kinds of support they received through their initial contact(s): professional, political, and social resources. Often, the ties were founded on practical concerns, which lent themselves to tending to professional and political matters first, and social matters second. For instance, Ms. Newman, a brand new teacher who replaced a teacher who quit mid-year, regularly sought the professional guidance of Mrs. Libbey across the hall from her. She also used her informal work time, such as during morning duty in the gym, to stand and chat with Mrs. Libbey. Through these conversations she quickly learned procedures in the school and the social structure of faculty, such as who to go to for what. Ms. Newman asked for and successfully got access, through two white teachers, to material resources such as computers for entering grades – which was a hot commodity in Larksfield's array of available physical resources. Within months, she was considered a “natural teacher” by other faculty. At the end-of-year teacher lunch just a semester later, she was fully incorporated into the high-status English teacher's social group, discussing her plans to join them that evening at the weekly after-work festival held outdoors in their neighborhood.

Slow ties among black token teachers, on the other hand, developed in such a way as a protective measure for teachers who were skeptical of the trustworthiness of many of their current colleagues. Other modes of establishing ties with co-tokens, such as being introduced by a bridging tie, or waiting on it to slowly develop, took time. Given the delay of tie formation, the black tokens did not accumulate the same range of resources. In the one-year window of data collection for this project, slow ties usually brought about nothing beyond a venting relationship of shared confidences.

Tokens' use of group ties

For white token teachers, quick ties between incumbents and newcomers solidified into groups when the incumbents would approach the principal and ask him not to move their rooms year after year, with the justification that they had a cohesive team and were able to share materials and acclimate newcomers on their hall effectively. By having colleagues who would petition the principal to take actions that would maintain the tokens' professional network, white tokens benefited from elevated status and protection of their course assignments. For example, Ms. Almond (white) approached the principal offering to cooperate to meet his goals while at the same time communicating her group's wishes to remain in the same rooms next year amid district plans to overhaul the school's organization. She and Mrs. Libbey and Ms. Richardson were all next door to one another on their own quiet hall, and one of their rooms was the largest room in the school.

Ms. Almond popped her head into Mrs. Libbey's classroom about a minute after I sat down. They had a mini-informal meeting right in front of me. Almond said, 'I got 30 minutes to talk to Mr. Everett [the principal].' She told Libbey she talked to him about a number of issues, one is that testing is going to be from May 11th to 14th, condensing it into a week. And then the premier issue they were talking about was how the Advanced Placement classes are going to be part of all three of the new academies next year, and Everett said to Almond, 'We probably can work it out so you don't move your rooms next year, but just so you know, it's not a guarantee.' And Ms. Almond told him, 'Yeah, well, we'll support you whatever you end up doing.' And then Libbey said to Almond, 'Yeah, kiss his butt.' Libbey said her room

is the biggest room in the whole school, and she and Almond are next door to each other.

Larksfield fieldnotes 4-4-15

The fact that white token teachers preferred to work in proximate groups, and that this preference was supported by black administrators, made their behavior similar to black teachers in the majority-black schools. In other words, white tokens did not act as tokens, but like a majority group.

Tokens' use of teaming ties

Another difference exhibited in the properties and subsequent outcomes of same-race ties for black teachers was that teaming ties between black teachers were more uncommon. For white tokens, teaming was frequently used to split, share, and coordinate departmental work. The strength of white token teacher teams' pooled political resources was most palpable in faculty and "data meetings," where they defended the quality of one another's work to the principal; meanwhile, black teachers in majority-black schools often did not show up for one another, either physically or verbally. They were either not able to show up to meetings due to disparate teaching schedules, or arrived to meetings not organized as a group beforehand. Teaming helped enhance white tokens' performance (or appearance of performance) in evaluative settings, with positive consequences for the group such as political clout in school-level decision making (e.g., "We don't want to do the data cards, we think there are better uses of our time."). Here, as well as in seven other cases among white tokens, teaming resulted in sharing either political or professional resources, or both.

Among black tokens, however, there were only three cases of teaming among the fourteen black tokens. It was not a lack of professional and material resources that kept black tokens from teaming with one another, nor a lack of liking or the utter absence of existing social ties to other black tokens. Being in well-resourced schools, and all of them having

previous teaching experience in other schools, black tokens had these extrinsic resources. But just as they were reluctant to trust any colleague too soon, they were sometimes reluctant to share their extrinsic resources with same-race colleagues. This could be a form of individual-level opportunity hoarding, by which black teachers accrue professional and political advantages to themselves as a strategy for job security or advancement. For example, in the field I saw that Mr. Lort (black) and other black teachers had access to information from the administrators, but they did not share it with one another or with Ms. Travis. Instead, Ms. Travis looked to other means for resource access: the students.

When I asked Ms. Travis about the evaluation process, she told me what happened in hers, and then made comparisons to other teachers. She said she's heard that in Mr. Rezin's class all the kids were sleeping during his evaluation and she said, "I'm smart enough to listen to what the students are talking about." She described eavesdropping as a main way she gets information. Similarly, she said, "You'll hear about what the students' actual problems are from the students themselves and if a student is struggling you might hear it through the peers talking to each other, because the administration won't tell you."

Crest Point fieldnotes 4-1-15

In the majority-white context, the lack of cooperation between most of black token teachers to pool or share their access to extrinsic resources could be explained by the ways in which tokenism breeds competition (Kanter 1977; Walker forthcoming). In nominally desegregated work settings such as these, black teachers may adopt Eurocentric cultural models of competition with their same-race colleagues (Walker forthcoming). These competitive bonds discourage sharing and cooperation and instead encourage withholding vital resources from one another such as advance information, as they vie for the few top spots that they perceive are reserved for faculty of color. While respondents did not pinpoint their collegial relationships with other black teachers specifically as competitive, they did note a "tense" environment among faculty and Ms. Nemeč reflected that "As a student [in this district],

being an African-American didn't matter to me. I just did what I had to do. I didn't know anything about competition – to be honest, I didn't know anything about competition, I enjoyed learning, y'know. But boy, did being an African-American change for me when I became the teacher.”

Tokens' use of spillover ties

White teachers' spillover ties were cultivated often out of being grafted into an existing white teacher group on the basis of their residential status (e.g., living in the white neighborhood on the North side of the city) or family status (e.g., not having kids). With these similarities, their relationships were primed to be built on platforms which used these commonalities outside of work. Childless teachers were free to get drinks after work, which a large group of white tokens in Pine Grove regularly did. White tokens who lived in the same neighborhood spent Sundays grading and lesson planning in the local coffee shop and attending community events.

Black token teachers' spillover ties were formed against the backdrop of a highly embedded network of white teachers' ties with one another, and primarily served to provide much-needed social support in this context. Despite a slower formation and lesser flow of political resources within black-black ties, in workplaces dominated by white colleagues and clients, black teachers most often used their same-race ties to help each other make sense of their white colleagues' words and actions. For example, in her interview Ms. Ruscoe said that she felt that “white [i.e., white teachers] has to do everything right. I mean, sometimes you wanna bend the rules a little bit.” This was in the context of the rules about endless series of paperwork, many of which were district formalities only. In addition, in their interviews, Mr. Lowry and Mrs. Avery (black) both explained how they were bothered by the way white teachers would complain about the principal and the students, both of whom were black. They shared these common views, which Ms. Avery said she would puzzle over together in

conversation with other black colleagues. Indeed, almost without exception, black teachers' conversation topics or reason for getting together with other black teachers, at least while I shadowed them (N=14), was not about students (e.g., talking about students' own social lives, sharing stories of student behavior in their classrooms, etc.).

However, knowing for sure what they talked about when in a purely same-race situation – that is, when I was not around – was out of my purview as a white person.³¹ One of the only occasions where I saw black teachers vent to one another was when I joined Ruscoe and Lowry for dinner one night.

Last night I went to dinner with Ms. Ruscoe, Ms. Ruscoe's son and Mr. Lowry, and some things of interest we talked about is that Gina [Norman] (white) was no longer part of their friend group and Ms. Ruscoe just said, it's a long story, but she's not strong enough to hang with us. She then turned the question to me, asking me, Are you strong enough to hang with us? Are you tough? I said, yeah, I think I am.
Crest Point field notes 4-23-15

The context of “not being strong enough to hang” with Ms. Ruscoe and Mr. Lowry had to do with a temporary fallout the two of them had had with Ms. Norman—not due to work-related conflicts, but to personal conflicts that emerged when they got too close on a friendship level. The deeper ties of friendship marked by black teachers venting, off campus, about teachers who had offended or disappointed them highlighted how attempted spillover ties between

³¹ It should be noted that in general I had a much easier time approaching, feeling welcomed by, and fitting in with black teachers at many of the majority-white schools. In a way, I experienced being an outsider and was initially excluded from quick ties just as black teachers in that setting were. So it may be that black teachers did not make a habit of venting about colleagues while at work, given that other white teachers were almost always in close proximity. Indeed, in social settings such as the faculty holiday party, black teachers were mostly demure compared to the high levels of emotional expression by the white teachers sitting with them.

black tokens and their white colleagues became problematic in ways that same-race ties did not.³²

Tokens' use of status-discordant ties

A final attribute of ties showed unique effects on the kinds of resources black tokens extracted from their same-race ties. Status-discordant ties were not observed for white tokens. However, these kinds of ties were observed for black tokens, and offered varying kinds of resources, depending on whether they were lateral/upward or downward. While lateral/upward cross-occupational ties allowed the flow of some professional and political resources,³³ they most often provided social resources in the form of reciprocal emotion management. Downward ties functioned mostly in this capacity as well, fulfilling normative expectations for fraternal bonds in African culture (Walker forthcoming).

For example, Mrs. Avery (black) describes going to the librarian, Cynthia Grisham (black), to share confidences. Mrs. Grisham provides a safe place to vent for Mrs. Avery as well as other professional black faculty in the school.

GRISHAM: Crest Point High School is majority white [faculty]. As an African-American female, you see it. I just see it. Like [at a faculty meeting,] somebody [who's also black] will give you a look like (gestures a skeptical facial expression), as if to say, 'You heard that, right?' (laughs). ... The counselor (black female) and I, we've had frustrations, as far as her wanting to fit in with the group last year. There were some issues there. Because I was like her, an African-American woman, coming in, I kind of helped her through certain situations, and had to let her know that she's

³² In a few cases of black teachers in these work environments, black teachers related to black faculty and staff in the same way that they related to white teachers at work. For these three cases (of N=14), the same-race ties were "shallow" and did not offer any protection from experiences of frustration when they had trouble coordinating with white teachers' teaching styles or they would see and hear white colleagues apply stereotypes to their black students. "Shallow" same-race ties did little to buffer black teachers from ultimate outcomes of isolation, administrative criticism, dissatisfaction, and in two cases, leaving.

³³ Lateral/upward status-discordant ties were more prevalent and therefore more productive for black token teachers' extrinsic resource outcomes in Crest Point High School, relative to Surrey Ridge and Mt. Summit High Schools, as there were more black professionals (i.e., administrators, counselors, librarian, etc.) in Crest Point than the other two majority-white faculty schools.

gonna have to be a bit more flexible, open to whatever. So she'll come to me and say, 'Cynthia!' I'll say, 'Calm down, this is what you do.'”

In comparison, black tokens used downward cross-occupational ties not for advice or venting as much as for extended friendship, talking with and offering advice to staff on topics not related to school. They also found social support in numbers, feeling free to congregate with black staff in informal gatherings outside of the school building. While black teachers as a general rule did not sit in groups in their majority-white schools, black token teachers sat with black teaching assistants at events such as graduation ceremonies and teacher orientations. They sat with same-race custodial, transportation, and food service workers at the faculty and staff Christmas party and the end-of-year teacher appreciation lunch.

By cultivating and sustaining ties with black staff, black teachers with same-race ties such as Ms. Nemec actually isolated themselves from ties with teachers in higher status positions. Unlike many social ties that white teachers in her school had with one another, she did not have the same degree of extensive friendship ties to teachers with organizational power. That is, she had fewer and less strong ties to teachers in positions that performed “core” technical tasks for school functioning or had more privileges such as autonomy, small class sizes, or advanced students.

Comparing White Tokens with Whites in the Majority

The above descriptions were for twenty of the 58 white teachers in the sample who worked in majority-black schools; I call these token ties “minority-group ties.” The remaining 38 white teachers worked in majority-white schools. The interviews and the fieldwork showed that regardless of in which compositional context a white teacher worked, their same-race ties looked very similar: Tie formation between white teachers proceeded quickly, in groups (not dyads), and through teaming, exhibiting even higher levels of spillover.

The degree of white majority teachers' tie spillover was much higher than white tokens'. For example, Ms. Ewing talked about the culture at Crest Point being a "huge party school" where "We would go out and we would stay out until 1:00 at night, having a ball. We did it regularly." She described Mt. Summit's teacher culture as much tamer, but that they still organized after-school tapas or parties for women's life milestones, such as becoming a grandmother. These kinds of events incorporated white office workers and librarian assistants. At both Mt. Summit and Surrey Ridge, deep spillover ties developed mostly away from school in trips that groups of teachers took together outside of school time. Many times, these ties overcame gaps of generational differences. The ties were strengthened by having motherhood in common, which was a commonality elevated to a higher level by the fact that teachers actually knew one another's children.

LYONS: We used to have teacher get-togethers at Mrs. Cooke's (white) farmhouse and we'd go for the weekend and Hazel [Rife] (white) was part of that and then kind of new friends like Ramona [Rehman] (white) who, you know, hadn't been here that long, as long as – you know [started coming]. [...]

JENNIFER: What kinds of things do you have in common, or why do you think you get along?

LYONS: Some of it may be – I wonder if there's like a, you know, character-type that's drawn to English, do you know what I mean? I mean, really, like that – I don't know. And so that's part of it. Some of it has to do with motherhood or even like, you know, others with grandmotherhood, that kind of stuff. Some of them, I've taught their kids and so that's kind of funny. So there's that connection, like Hazel or Samantha [Naestrom] (white). And so just those kinds of things.

Mrs. Lyons' English department was comprised of 14 teachers, all white, and 11 of them women. But the spillover ties were not particular to the English department, not entirely framed by gender, and were not always expressed only outside of the school. Sometimes, personal lives were brought into and shared within the school walls. Mrs. Lyons also described a number of intensely personal and social expressions of solidarity and friendship

that took place in school, such as holding a weekly teacher prayer group before school together that was led by a white male teacher, but disbanded when that teacher left for another school.

One difference between white token and non-token ties was the extent to which white proximity was a necessary condition supporting the tie. White teachers in the majority tended to draw on both departmental similarity and proximity in forming and sustaining their ties, whereas white teachers in the minority *needed* to have only departmental similarity to support their tie formation and resource exchanges. While proximity often supported the quickness or frequency of interaction, many white tokens traveled far distances to see their co-tokens on a daily basis.

Comparing Black Tokens with Blacks in the Majority

In the sample, N=14 black teachers worked in majority-white schools (i.e., were numeric tokens) and N=21 black teachers worked in majority-black schools. These teachers' experiences at work were very different. Whereas tokens did not tend to have quick, group, or teaming ties, majority-group black teachers did. The nature of spillover of personal life into the workplace and a lower level of status discordant ties also differentiated black majority ties.

Quick ties among black majority group teachers was the norm. Most often, this took shape because teachers already knew each other before coming to work at the school, as Ms. Ruscoe reflected about her prior work experience there (see quote on p. 14). Black teachers went to the majority-black schools themselves, or to the local Historically Black University in the city, which many of them attended together. Sharing schooling experiences was the case for many of Ms. Bennett's (black) ties, which emerged as she listed the colleagues with whom she was close.

BENNETT: Mrs. Nylund (black), Mrs. Clarke (black), Mrs. Dean (black), Mr. Farmer (black), Mr. Wallace (black). Mrs. Eagleton (white)... Mrs. Lacy (black): I have all their cell phone numbers so we text back and forth all day [at work]. ... Mrs. Nylund, Mrs. Clarke, Mrs. Hedley (black), we are close. Closer than most. These are the ones that I will talk to, y'know, that I would go out with on the weekend. ...

JENNIFER: Why do you think you get along with them?

BENNETT: I just, they... our personalities, umm. Mrs. Nylund and I – well Mrs. Clarke also, Mrs. Clarke across the hall, she went to Larkfield when I was here. She was two years behind me. Mrs. Nylund, when I was a junior, she was a senior. So we were all here at the same time, we just didn't know each other at the time. Well I knew [Ms. Clarke] because we were both in the band together. Mrs. Hedley is from Illinois, so I just met her at work [through working] with the cheerleaders.

As Bennett's response shows, many of these ties are group ties and spillover ties, as she will go out with them on the weekend. Ubiquitous social exchanges between black teacher groups in the workplace showed how department affiliation was not necessary for the ties to form, but did result in the ties having a different type of content. Same-race ties among black teachers in majority-black schools were based upon spatial proximity, sharing DPS or HBCU alumni status, or sharing membership in black Greek associations. These foundations of ties primed the tie to emphasize social support and attachment rather than direct technical knowledge sharing.

Even though teaming happened more often for black non-tokens than black tokens, teaming was generally not linked with acquiring professional resources. For example, while Ms. Bennett states that she “has no problem sharing” with colleagues, the form teaming took in her same-race ties was roundabout, at least in terms of accomplishing technical tasks through joint efforts. She described having to get creative to secure resources for her classroom, such as tables that were not broken. She was dismayed to see that other teachers – the same (same-race) neighboring teachers with whom she teamed for school activities – quickly took the new desks that were placed in the hallways at the beginning of the year. Bennett did not know was going to happen, forcing her to have to go classroom to classroom

asking teachers if she could have tables they were not using. In this and other areas of gaining resources from her colleagues, she was more successful when calling upon the weak ties than the strong ones.

Just as it did in token settings, competition between black teachers in majority-black settings played a role. Black teachers with local political power – such as teachers with administrator-appointed special privileges to be what the teachers called “adjunct administrators” – did not team with their black colleagues to bring them improved working conditions, increased voice, or increased professional knowledge. Rather, the black teacher-leader exercised his/her role in a formal manner by not associating with black colleagues in a fraternal way. In contrast, white teacher-leaders in the same schools *did* team with their white colleagues in an informal manner to bring them political and professional resources, in addition to bringing these resources to some of their black colleagues. Black teacher-leaders who stated they were hopeful for promotions to administration did not receive them; instead, people were hired from outside the school. In contrast, white teacher-leaders who aspired to formal leadership roles stated that they explicitly chose to teach in the majority-black district because that was where they found or were told by school officials that they had realistic upward mobility prospects. One of them was promoted to administration the year following this study.

The prevalence of strong, cross-status, downward ties seen among black tokens with black staff in their schools was not as widespread in majority-black schools. Black teachers in majority-black settings did not invite black custodians, food service workers, or transportation workers to their outside-of-school gatherings. In contrast, black staff workers in majority-black settings mostly had social groups of their own and stuck to themselves; here, status was a more salient organizing characteristic than race.

Conditions supporting majority-group black ties versus black token ties were greater, but not comprehensive. For example, black teachers in majority-black faculty contexts could form strong same-race ties by having any one of the following structural supports: being from the same department *or* having spatial proximity *or* knowing the teacher from outside of school.

Organizational Conditions Affecting Token Ties

Having illustrated the ways in which token teachers' ties took on different dimensions in their workplaces, it is important to note that there were other factors at the organizational level that sometimes fed into the way token ties formed, though they were not explanatory at the same level. There were three notable organizational conditions that influenced token same-race tie formation behavior: physical proximity to same-race ties, level of turnover in the school, and the level of resources available in the school. Thus, a direct comparison between black and white token experiences needs to take into account these differences at the organizational level, which can operate as structural supports or constraints to interaction. Table 4.1 features a complete list of the organizational conditions by school.

Physical and temporal proximity. Part of what facilitated white token teachers' congregating in groups had to do with the clustering of white teachers next door to each other in the majority-black schools, but a lack of such clustering of black teachers in majority-white schools. In Larksfield, there were four groups of three or more white teachers who were next door to one another. This made it easy for these teachers to spend passing periods in the hallways talking with one another while they were required to supervise students in the hall. Moreover, white teachers were often clustered together into departments (e.g., Math and

English in Larksfield, Electives and Special Education in Pine Grove).³⁴ Department clustering coupled with physical proximity made it easy for white teachers to interact over academic matters. In addition, departmental affiliation often meant they shared similar class schedules, giving them further opportunities for interaction. However, even when white tokens lacked proximity, they still traveled physical distances in the workplace to cultivate these ties – though they had to do so less often than black tokens did.

In contrast, there were no clusters of black token teachers in the arrangement of classrooms in the majority-white schools. But, they did have opportunity to interact more often during the day due to a different school schedule that allowed teachers to freely interact during more parts of the workday.³⁵ For example, with time allowing for travel to associate with teachers of his choice, Mr. Lowry would traverse the distance from the field house building, where his office and classroom was, to Ms. Ruscoe’s room in the North wing of the main building. Mrs. Avery had no black token near her, but slowly was developing a friendly tie with Ms. Travis on the opposite hall. Mrs. Inman would walk from the annex hall upstairs to the main hall downstairs to visit Ms. Nemec after school. The same applied for many of the cross-occupational ties: Mrs. Orange would go out of her way to visit the detention instructor, Ms. Ould, as would Mr. Lowry when he visited Ms. Norma in the cafeteria kitchen. In sum, proximity was an obstacle only for some white tokens, such as those in Pine

³⁴ It should be noted that in the majority-black schools, no departments were all-white. Rather, a department would have white and black members, but those members would be segregated across space. For example, most of the black math teachers (N=3) were clustered in the North building in Larksfield, and all of the white math teachers (N=4) were clustered on one hall in the South building.

³⁵ At Crest Point and Surrey Ridge, teachers were allowed to have lunch in their classrooms or in other teachers’ classrooms, as compared to the majority-black schools where teachers were required to go to the cafeteria and sit with their students; at Mt. Summit, teachers were required to sit at a “teacher table” in the cafeteria. In addition, all three majority-white schools had a 20- to 30-minute break in the morning, during which they were often not responsible for students and free to socialize with other teachers. The majority-black schools did not have these breaks.

Grove, but it was much more of a structural constraint for black tokens. Nevertheless, it was not a prohibitive condition blocking token ties from forming.

Turnover. The schools had different levels of teacher turnover, which would be expected to influence tie formation patterns as well as human capital resources and organizational knowledge reserves available from incumbents in the school.³⁶ However, this organizational condition was not deterministic of token ties' resource access; white tokens' ties formed in such a way to secure these resources even in settings where turnover was high. This points to the potential interactional advantage in high turnover organizations for token newcomers: the social order is more flexible, less set, and cliques less exclusive, since some new cliques form every year. At the same time, black tokens who worked in a high-turnover environment (i.e., Crest Point) still did not have as much access to these resources.

Resource availability. The majority-black schools in this study were in a district with greater student poverty. While resource differences are not reflected in official teacher-pupil ratios or per-pupil spending, they were evident in qualitative ways. First, serving a greater percentage of students in poverty requires more faculty resources, which means that an equal teacher-pupil ratio is inadequate. Second, the teachers in majority-black schools worked in older school buildings – one 61 years old and the other in a neighborhood with inferior public infrastructure (such as piping and plumbing that would break) – than those found in the suburbs, which were in a county with a luxurious building code that only allowed brick buildings. Majority-black schools featured more student crowding, smaller square footage, and the upkeep of the buildings was deemed inadequate by a state audit the year following this study. In contrast, two of the majority-white school buildings were less than fifteen years

³⁶ The majority-black schools and one majority-white school had turnover rates of 21%, 23%, and 20% during the year of this study, the other two majority-white schools had rates of 10% and 5%.

old, and all of them had well-maintained campuses with very large square footage. As one black token described the differences:

When you come from DPS [the majority-black school district] and come to a school out here, you are like, ‘Man! This is great!’ When I first drove up onto campus, I’m like ‘What the--what is this? Is this a high school? Is this a college? You walk in and you see the big rotunda there, you’re like, ‘Man! This is nice! Like, whatever y’all want me to do, whatever. I’ll do it. Just, just say I can stay. Give me a room. I’ll take it.’

Black tokens and their white colleagues alike called their schools “heaven,” partly for their appearance but also for what they thought were less challenging student interventions required compared to the students in poverty in DPS.

However, even though white tokens worked in more poorly-resourced schools than their black token counterparts, they were often partially buffered from resource inadequacy by belonging to departments with white faculty chairs who had a track record of effective bargaining power with administrators.

JENNIFER: If you needed something – so be it some form of assistance that we haven't talked about, or a physical set of books or something, who would you go to figure out how to get them or where they are?

TRUNELL: Probably Ms. Almond, again, because she's the person who could probably get them if we didn't have them. She's the person who can go talk to them [administrators] and be like, ‘Look, we need these books,’ and they would more than likely listen to her. They want to listen to her.

Organizational Practices

Below, I theorize about the role of organizational practices by managers that helped create differences in token teachers’ practices in forming and using their same-race ties. First, managerial decisions of classroom and department placement produced ecologically-based social relations between teachers. Second, managerial decisions about how to distribute resources and opportunities to teachers, especially when they were scarce, informed the

potency of white token ties as conduits of political resources versus the competition that shaped black token ties.

Ecological placement by managers

Three organizational practices in majority-black schools ensured that all teachers would have fewer departmental colleagues nearby. First, ninth grade teachers were isolated in one building or one hallway, drawing these teachers out of their home departments. Moreover, teachers regarded as strong disciplinarians were placed in specific locations of the school that needed more supervision due to frequent student fights in those hallways. While this practice was used at one of the majority-white schools, it was a much more pervasive organizing schema in majority-black faculty schools based upon the number of teachers whose placement it affected. Again, this drew teachers out of their home departments. Third, a peripheral system of marginal classrooms added to the dispersion of teachers out of proximity to their departments. In one of the majority-black faculty schools with student overcrowding, six classrooms were in portables (i.e., trailers). These were undesirable classroom locations with poor ventilation, dirty, torn carpet, and no door locks that teachers believed were used by administrators for “teacher exile” – to put teachers whose performance was unsatisfactory out of sight, or until a first-year teacher proved his/her worth and earned a classroom in the permanent building. Two white tokens were placed in the trailers in the year of this study, but black teachers occupied the other four.

One of the consequences of these organizational spatial arrangements on teachers’ same-race ties in majority-black schools is that the proximate ties were less likely to be based on shared subject-based teaching content. Unless the cross-department, neighboring teachers discussed interdisciplinary lesson planning or principles of pedagogy abstracted from instruction, then the support exchanged in their relationships was less likely to be based around sharing content knowledge or providing substantive feedback to their colleagues’

teaching materials or teaching. Further, if political resources are transmitted mostly from teachers in formal authority positions (e.g., department chairs) to teachers within their own department, then cross-department ties were also less likely to transmit political resources. Indeed, cross-departmental relationships forged out of the convenience of proximity and the shared platform of race were more likely to be the type of tie to transmit social support.

While these organizational practices should have been independent of the tie usage processes observed above, affecting both white tokens and black non-tokens in similar ways, they did not. In other words, informal organizational practices involved making exceptions to these rules by placing white teachers in proximity to one another and often in department clusters. Some of this was a teacher-generated effect, when they would make requests to principals to have particular spatial arrangements.

For black teachers who were minorities in majority-white faculty, organizational arrangements that discourage technical knowledge sharing had less to do with spatial distributions of teachers than the simple fact that there was rarely more than one black teacher per department, regardless of where they were placed within the school. The two exceptions in the whole sample of teachers – Mr. Isaacs and Ms. Rose in science at Crest Point and Mrs. Levett and Mrs. Inman in math at Surrey Ridge – both had proximity. The former dyad did not share technical knowledge, while the latter did. While the numbers are too small to draw any conclusions, these cases suggest that if there were more than one “lonely only” black teacher per department, black teachers’ same-race professional resource sharing would increase. So again this is an aspect of the organizational arrangements that impacts the form same-race ties take and what resources teachers extract from them.

Resource distribution by managers

A second organizational practice affecting the types of resources tokens shared with one another had to do with how principals decided to distribute material resources across the

teaching faculty. These decisions were largely informed by the principal's hiring practices and how principals placed teachers into formal leadership roles. Subsequently, differences between the resource capacity of black and white teachers' same-race ties *within majority-black schools* emerged largely because of managerial practices which privileged white tokens and paid less attention to black teachers in majority-black schools.

In majority-black schools, a relative overall lack of professional resources in the form of human capital is evident in the much smaller numbers of experienced teachers in the school and the large demand from young teachers for mentorship. However, most white token teachers were successful in navigating around this scarcity. Part of their success had to do with the principal's informal vote of confidence in many young, novice white teachers before their first day of teaching. For example, upon her hiring, Ms. Richardson said the black principal told her, "I know you're going to do a good job, Ms. Richardson." He had already seen her teach the prior year as a student teacher. In contrast, young novice black new hires who had not done student teaching and had not passed their teaching exams yet felt the black principal still believed in them based on knowing them from when they were students in his school in the past, received comments during hiring such as "I feel like you can handle it." By selecting white young teachers who brought in teaching skills the principal already valued, and selecting black young teachers more based on kinship networks but not professional skills, principals created resource dynamics which would encourage professional teaming between new and incumbent white tokens but more unidirectional mentoring relationships for new and incumbent black teachers. Moreover, the absence of a formal mentoring system in the majority-black schools during the year of this study made even these types of professional resource sharing between black teachers less frequent; whereas white incumbent tokens would be intrinsically motivated to learn from the professional skills the

white novices had that the principal spoke highly of, the black incumbents were expected to mentor novice black teachers but without any immediate return on their investments.

Moreover, in majority-black faculty, resource differences among teachers due to formal assignments of select teachers into positions of authority explains why black teachers got fewer extrinsic rewards from their within-race ties even when they were in the majority group. Ms. Cousins, a white teacher in Pine Grove assigned into a teacher-leader, quasi-administrative position, received many consultations from black colleagues about disciplinary problems, possibly indicating three things about her position: she has the political position to address these problems (i.e., increased autonomy in the form of an extra, principal-assigned off-period during her work day); she has the skill to deal effectively with the problem such that teachers find consulting her worthwhile; and she shares these resources. Therefore, black teachers turned to formalized avenues for seeking professional assistance, knowing that being on good terms with Ms. Cousins was a viable way for them to ensure positive recognition from the principal. In other words, black teachers in majority-black schools used a specific tie strategically for professional and political purposes, but not their strong or close same-race ties. Meanwhile, they used their strong ties for professional and political purposes only sparingly, as these ties tended not to yield the professional and political resources that the teachers needed.

In contrast, in majority-white contexts, black tokens noted the objectively better physical resources these schools had than the majority-black schools in DPS. However, they still perceived resource scarcity in their schools in terms of the availability of political resources, leading them to compete for these resources rather than share them with one another. For example, Mr. Lort often commented to his white colleagues in the form of a veiled joke that he was left out of the loop on important information or would not get a promotion into a specialist position because he was black. His white colleagues dismissed

this as overplayed; though they did not offer social support, he turned to them for professional teaming and political information sharing. He did not seek or give these resources in his relationships with other black tokens in his school. This competition expressed itself in a benevolent way, such that black teachers still teamed in non-professional, non-political ways, through which they maintained positive social ties and shared social support. However, even with his strategic use of relational resources, Mr. Lort never did get promoted into a formal administrative position, despite earning his administrator's license and having sat on the school steering committee. He left Crest Point at the end of the year to take an assistant principal position in a majority-black rural district.

Again, it is not that black tokens entirely lacked access to or were all excluded from extrinsic resources. Another hindrance to sharing these resources between black tokens was that the resources were non-transferrable. For example, black token teachers were rarely assigned to teach honors courses or be department chairs, designations that came with political resources such as increased voice and input on the school steering committee or professional resources of co-teaching with other honors teachers. However, black token teachers held more coaching positions than white teachers, which came with political resources of higher salaries and status with the district officials (i.e., school administrators and the superintendent) if their athletic teams performed well. Therefore in cases of black token teachers who had high levels of extrinsic resources, these were limited to a particular type which was non-transmittable to other black tokens who were not involved in athletics.

Alternative explanations

One alternate explanation to why white tokens were able to access greater levels of political and professional resources is that black teachers working in majority-white schools did not conform to images of the "ideal worker" in the teaching profession (e.g., see Acker 1990; William 2001). The occupation's demographics and "the characteristics of people who

have successfully performed the job in the past” (Turco 2010:906; Heilman 1983) can be used to locate the attributes of an ideal worker in that occupation. This logic suggests that in teaching, a white woman is an ideal worker, as 76% of teachers nationally are female and 83% are white (NCES 2011-2012; NCES 2007-2008). However, local constructions of the ideal worker by the respondents themselves evidenced a more conflicted view as to what constituted or who was a good teacher. There were not consistent patterns by race, as whites named blacks and vice versa, as well as teachers within their own race groups, as fitting into this category.

A second alternate explanation is that age or gender is influencing tie forms more than race, or race affects ties only in combination with age or gender. However, two patterns in the data suggest that overall, homogeneous affiliation of teachers by race creates the strongest influence on in-group tie formation (this consistent with previous research, e.g., McPherson et al. 2001). First, almost all teachers, no matter the context, had close or daily positive collegial interactions across age groups, regardless of the distribution of age and experience in the schools (see Tables A3a – A3e in the Appendix). Second, the proportion of positive, same-race interactions within-gender was the same – 40% – for token whites and token blacks. The abundance of cross-age interaction and the lack of differences across race groups by gender strengthen the case for race being the central social category organizing teacher tokens’ tie formation and usage.

A third and related alternate explanation is rooted in the status-based strand of token theory. Two additional comparisons help to rule-out arguments that the differences in token ties by race are due solely or even primarily to white tokens’ higher status vis-à-vis black tokens. First, among white tokens, higher status white tokens did not access more professional and only slightly more political resources than did lower status white tokens. For example, Mr. East, a white male teacher working in a majority-black faculty, secured

comprehensive professional resources from the white teacher next door, Mrs. Rabara, an incumbent, for everything ranging from “where do I get this form, how do I deal with this, How do we submit grades.” Similarly, Ms. Newell, a white female teacher with the same years of experience working in a majority-black faculty, got everything she needed from her white teacher next door, Mrs. Ursline, an incumbent, for everything she needed ranging from tips to manage student behavior to the full binder of curriculum she used. Additionally, a veteran white token Mrs. Eckert could not secure the vital resource of answer keys to tests, while a first-year white token, Ms. Richardson, could.

Another approach to ruling-out status-based mechanisms for diverging token outcomes shows that black tokens generally do not have access to professional or political resources from one another, even when they have high status. For example, Mr. Lort, a male black token with a quasi-administrative role (because he was invited to principals’ meetings and was earning his administrative degree), got advance information from principals. But so did Ms. Ruscoe, a second-year female black token, when she talked to principals informally. While both black tokens had political resources to share, they did not team with one another to share them. In other words, when high-status black tokens got extrinsic resources, it was in the vast majority of cases not from one another, but instead from administrators, staff, or white teachers.

A fourth alternate explanation pertains to tokens’ differential experiences in society prior to entering the workplace. On the one hand, black and white tokens are different populations with different societal experiences. That is, the former is always a minority, inside and outside the organization, and the latter is only a minority in the organization. However, both token groups in my sample were new to their token status in their professional settings, which makes the divergences in their social ties even more surprising. White tokens did not have much or any prior teaching experience prior to being hired at the majority-black

schools; they were new to the token experience. Black tokens were also new to the token experience in the workplace because none of them were hired directly into the majority-white school without first having taught in a majority-black school. They too were new to the token experience. For groups similarly thrust into respective settings where they are newly the racial token, we would expect race to become similarly salient in guiding their social ties towards their in-group. This was the case for white token teachers and not black token teachers, but prior work experiences cannot explain this difference.

Discussion

The Social Networks Aspect of Token Theory

This chapter has argued for augmentation of token theory to include concepts from social network analysis and social capital theory to explain why white tokens fared better in extracting resources from co-tokens than did black token teachers. I extend our understanding of tokenism by uncovering the different pathways white versus black tokens use to build social capital at work. I identify five novel types of ties formed by white tokens versus black tokens—“quick ties”, “group ties,” “teaming ties,” “spillover ties,” and “status discordant ties” — that each help explain why we see this inequality in social capital acquisition between black and white tokens in the same occupation. The relationship between tie forms, tie usage, and resource outcomes for both white and black token groups is represented in Figure 4.2. Finally, I propose a series of material conditions of the workplace (i.e., spatial configurations, resource levels) that affect when we will be more or less likely to see these ties and their effects.

This analysis makes contributions to three literatures. The main contribution of this chapter is to token theory. Using rich qualitative data on token workers across different organizational settings, I illustrate and compare the forms and content of token ties in two contexts with different racial compositions. This chapter sheds light on how co-tokens can be

important disseminators of the stock of resources and rewards available to token workers in their organizations. The analysis examined both the organizational and societal conditions out of which workers' same-race ties developed; the qualities of those ties; and the types of support teachers gained from those ties. Findings showed that teachers applied different practices to "using" their token ties to extract benefits which supported them in their work performance, be they professional, political, or social, or some combination thereof. The findings further showed that organizational processes and resource availability in both majority-black and majority-white workplaces, especially through managerial actions, shaped whites' and blacks' same-race ties in very different ways. The positioning of colleague-induced token effects vis-à-vis effects of workplace demography that are somewhat independent of the colleagues themselves is a secondary but significant contribution this chapter makes to the token literature.

On the networks front, this chapter has added to research that widens and complicates types of human relationships (Desmond 2012). By proposing the concepts of quick, group, teaming, spillover, and status-discordant ties, I extend the repertoire of tie properties that characterize different kinds of tie content (e.g., Desmond's [2012] "disposable ties"). These findings advance this literature especially by showing how tie types combine in sometimes unexpected ways (such as group ties without effective teaming, or group ties that only form when they are also status-discordant). These concepts will be useful for studies of workplace inequalities based not only on differential treatment by the out-group, but on the limitations imposed by the in-groups on their own resource acquisition. This chapter showed that black tokens' dyadic, spillover, and downward status-discordant ties prevented resource flows either due to competition with one another or due to these tie types not being suited for conveying any other kind of resource but social support. White tokens' ties, however, were

primarily built to deliver political and professional resources to one another, with social support serving not as an end but only a means to an end, as it sparked quick tie formation.

In addition, this analysis has helped advance literature that uses social capital theory by showing how (in-)group members form social ties and how effective these ties are in bringing resources and support to the group. Findings show that perceived personality similarity, shared prior experiences in schooling, shared neighborhoods of residence, and similar perspectives on how to function and work in settings dominated by out-groups are each “building blocks” of in-group, mechanical solidarity (Abascal and Baldassarri 2015:724). These building blocks help unpack what is contained within the proxy of race which make it a meaningful platform over which to establish social ties when one has token status in their workplace. Not only the qualities of the building blocks, but the relative power of those building blocks to lay a foundation of pooled political and professional resources for the individual and for group has been traced by connecting token ties with the resources acquired through them. By counting cases of resource attainment by resource type, the power of established mechanical solidarity emerged to differ significantly between white tokens and black tokens, the former group accessing more extrinsic resources through their co-tokens (see Table 4.3).

Organizational conditions and aspects of managerial decision making were additional organizational forces shaping token ties, though not deterministic of them. First, this chapter showed that long physical distances between co-tokens did not impede minority groups from building supportive ties. This finding implies that choice homophily (McPherson and Smith-Lovin 1987) is a powerful pattern among numeric tokens, even in demographic contexts that are expected to induce heterophily. However, the spatial layout of the departments led the content of strong teacher ties to favor either social or professional resource sharing. Second, through their role in determining the spatial ecology inside the workplace, as well as in

distributing resources and authority disparately across the teaching faculty, principals created conditions that influenced token teachers' tie formation and effectiveness. In both school environments, teachers and principals alike actively participated in institutionalizing racial boundaries in the workplace. Teachers made requests to administrators to stay near one another year after year, which I saw both majority and minority groups do.³⁷ These boundaries often become visible in the spatial segregation of teachers within schools as their classrooms were clustered together.

Some limitations of the data used here include the site selection and limits imposed by my positionality as a white researcher studying how race affects the social lives of teachers who are not my race. First, the teachers sampled here and the school sites in which they work are not generalizable to all schools in the U.S. Teaching in the American South brings unique demographic factors into play, including relatively high income inequality and a dense black population. Another limitation pertains to the comparison sites not being equivalent in their racial compositions. That is, I compare three white-skewed faculty contexts with two majority-black contexts, one of which is black-tilted and the other approaching balance. Part of this limitation is imposed by the lack of schools with black-skewed teaching faculty that exist to include in the sample. Second, my own racial identity and race presentation as a white woman in conducting this research at times may have affected the level of openness the respondents had with me. Often, however, I found my cross-race rapport to be better than same-race, such that my rapport with respondents based on race varied. But my access to black teachers' casual talk may have been more limited than my access to white teachers'.

³⁷ With the exception of black teachers in the majority-white schools; they were not spatially near each other to begin with,

Future directions of research include examining how racial boundaries and racial composition affect workers in lower-status occupations, to see how ecology and resource factors affect the token ties of these populations of workers. This would expand a broader line of token theory that more explicitly considers contextual factors that affect meanings and interactions built on those meanings. Comparisons of equivalent racial compositions, as well with other racial groups beyond white and black, would provide important status-related and social class-based clarifications about the numeric, status-based, cultural, and networks aspects of token theory that are advanced in this chapter.

On a broader level, this chapter considered how conditions specific to mid-status occupations such as teaching, with its higher voluntary turnover rates, historic emphasis on intrinsic/internal resources as a mechanism for employee motivation, and uneven incorporation of images of white women as the ideal worker, impact token dynamics in occupation-specific ways not previously seen in token-centered studies of higher-status occupations. In other words, the nature of the data used here asks scholars of tokenism to acknowledge the ways in which composition effects in a workplace are dependent on multiple levels of social capital that extend beyond the organization (e.g., employee's neighborhoods, local educational histories); this approach highlights the heterogeneity of organizations within an occupation, and sometimes in counterintuitive ways. While some organizations with scarcer resources provide highly-resourced shelters for co-tokens, other highly-resourced organizations alternatively foster competition between co-tokens. These differences ultimately impact the lateral flow of resources between tokens in race-specific ways.

Table 4.1. Description of Size, Composition, and Structural Conditions of Research Sites

Pseudonym	Faculty composition	Faculty size	Structural supports to interaction	Structural constraints to interaction
Pine Grove High School	majority-black (68% black)	88	Smaller school square footage Proximate clusters of black teachers	High turnover Scarce physical resources Few proximate clusters of white teachers Departments not clustered
Larksfield High School	majority-black (57% black)	94	Smaller school square footage Proximate clusters of black teachers Proximate clusters of white teachers Departments semi-clustered	High turnover Scarce physical resources
Crest Point High School	majority-white (15% black)	68	More student-free time during workday Abundant physical resources Proximate clusters of white teachers Proximate clusters of black staff Departments clustered	High turnover Large school square footage No proximate clusters of black teachers
Surrey Ridge High School	majority-white (10% black)	97	Low turnover More student-free time during workday Abundant physical resources Proximate clusters of white teachers Proximate clusters of black staff Departments semi-clustered	Large school square footage No proximate clusters of black teachers
Mt. Summit High School	majority-white (10% black)	39	Low turnover More student-free time during workday Abundant physical resources Departments clustered	Large school square footage No proximate clusters of black teachers No proximate clusters of black staff

Table 4.2. Positive same-race interactions as percent of total positive interactions

	<u>White Ties</u>		<u>Black Ties</u>	
	Majority- white environments (N=38)	Majority- black environments (N=21)	Majority- black environments (N=21)	Majority- white environments (N=14)
Number of positive same- race social interactions	150	44	58	25
Total number positive social interactions	166	89	93	73
Percentage of interactions occurring within-race	90%	49%	62%	34%

Table 4.3. Types of Resources Accessed through Social Ties

	<u>Minority (Token) ties</u>		<u>Majority ties</u>	
	White teachers (N=21)	Black teachers (N=14)	White teachers (N=38)	Black teachers (N=21)
<i>Professional resources</i>				
Number of ties	15	4	20	8
Percent of ties with resource access	71%	29%	53%	38%
<i>Political resources</i>				
Number of ties	14	3	11	7
Percent of ties with resource access	67%	21%	28%**	33%
<i>Emotional resources: emotion mgmt.</i>				
Number of ties	10	6	10	11
Percent of ties with resource access	48%	43%	26%	52%
<i>Emotional resources: extensive friendship</i>				
Number of ties	13	6	15	12
Percent of ties with resource access	62%	43%	39%	52%*
<i>Emotional resources: doing life together</i>				
Number of ties	4	0	20	2
Percent of ties with resource access	19%	0%	51%**	10%

Shaded boxes highlight groups with much less resource access than comparable ties among opposite-race.

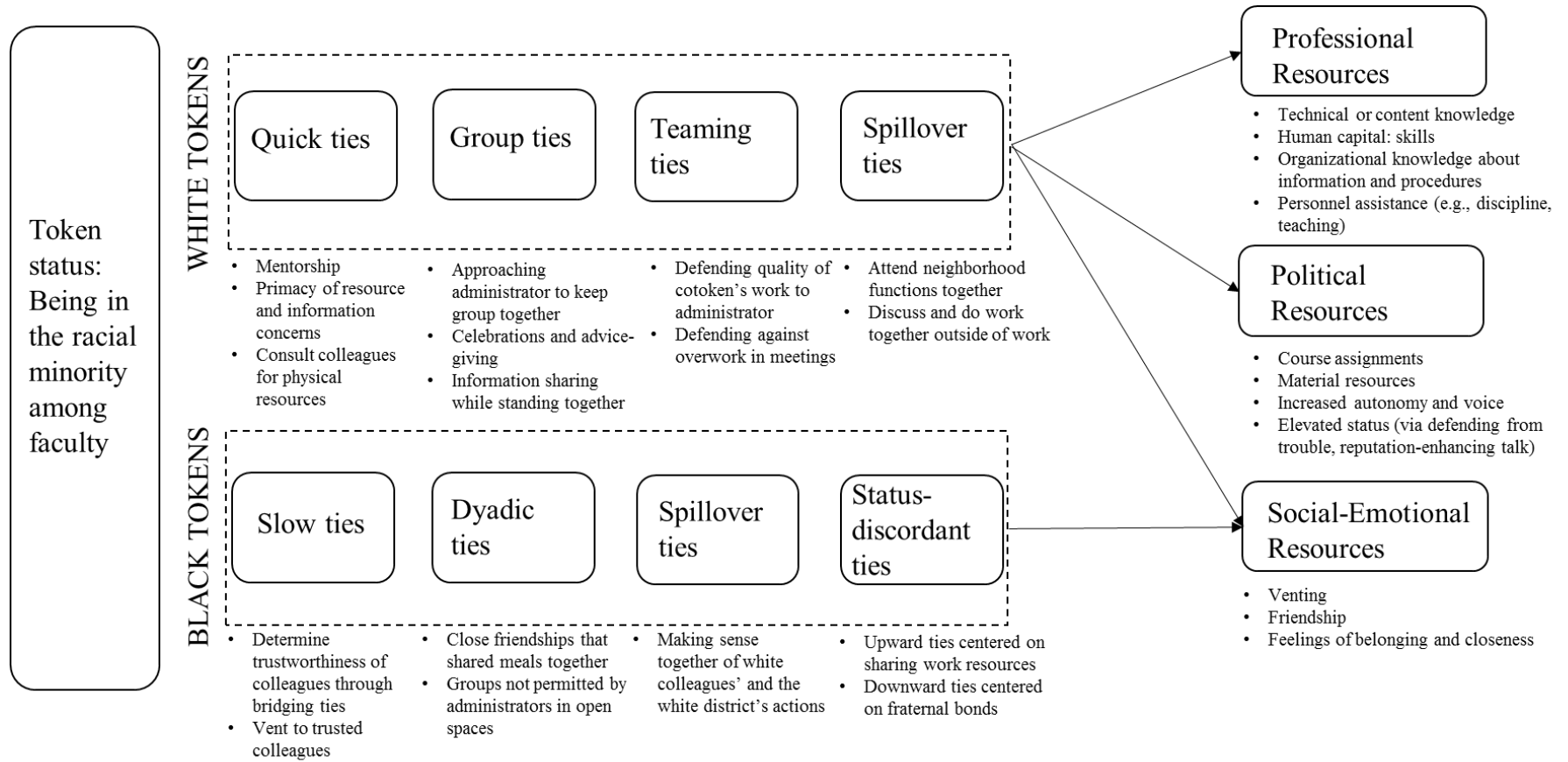
*Two of these ties were from fieldwork only; not formally interviewed. Thus total here is N=23.

**One of these ties was from fieldwork only; not formally interviewed. Thus total here is N=39.

Figure 4.1. Schematic representation of focal cases

		<i>Alter (tie recipient)</i>			
		<i>White in majority</i>	<i>Black in majority</i>	<i>White in minority</i>	<i>Black in minority</i>
<i>Ego (tie origin)</i>	<i>White in majority</i>	<i>X</i>			
	<i>Black in majority</i>		<i>X</i>		
	<i>White in minority</i>			<i>X</i>	
	<i>Black in minority</i>				<i>X</i>

Figure 4.2. A Pathway model connecting tie formation, tie use, and resource outcomes



Chapter 5. Corridors of Frustration: The Socialization and Boundary-Drawing Functions of Venting and Informal Peer Evaluations in Public Workspaces

The previous chapter showed the ways that teachers in same-race groups formed their social ties, and how those ties were connected with different resource access outcomes in the workplace. By using concepts from social network analysis applied to qualitative data, that analysis brought greater understanding to disparate or “nonsymmetrical” token experiences in the workplace between racial groups.

In this chapter, I focus on the process of venting at work as simultaneously a form of social-emotional and professional support (i.e., a resource) and a mechanism driving voluntary teacher segregation within the workplace. Building communities within the organization helps teachers share resources, while dividing communities helps teachers protect resources within their group. I examine the way that public high school teachers conducted venting and other occupational performances in public spaces around their workplace in order to gain affirmation from and secure membership in a teacher clique. These public spaces – such as hallways, bus lines, cafeterias, and copy rooms – afforded less privacy from one’s coworkers than a classroom setting. Teachers, as human service and knowledge workers, provide an interesting case study for what Goffman (1959) calls “front region” versus “back-stage” occupational performances, as they have several constituencies (e.g., students, principals, school personnel/staff, and other teachers) that constitute their primary audience depending on the setting. The public spaces in the school therefore represent transitional areas for occupational performance that are partly front-stage and partly back-stage.

Teachers used the more widely public of these settings to observe their colleagues’ student-handling (i.e., disciplinary) skills and vent about stressful events in the workplace. Conversely, as teacher-only public spaces, copy rooms were used by teachers to break norms

of professionalism, either by making a mess or holding lunch parties where disparaging jokes about colleagues and principals were told. This mixture of evaluative and venting practices in public spaces helped teachers find and give support to one another by building community with teachers who would affirm their own performances. Often, these teacher communities formed distinctly along the lines of race, gender, and age. Accordingly, the analysis in this chapter examines how venting (in the forms of evaluative talk and joking) aids in homophilic sorting into cliques within diverse settings. Teachers' performances in public spaces were important to enable teachers a chance for community-building in the course of a workday mostly spent in private spaces with one's charges. Possible implications of these forms of community-building and how they affect both occupational identity and students are discussed.

Introduction

In each of the schools I studied, regardless of the teacher composition of the school, hallways were significant sites of teacher interaction. A constant and often urgent topic of discussion at faculty meetings, the hallways were a place where teacher cliques became plainly visible and where colleagues often ignored their duties of student supervision. Alternately, hallways were places where teachers had positive interactions with other teachers simultaneously with having negative interactions with students. The constant reference to problems in the halls (and other school-wide "public spaces") at faculty meetings, coupled with my observation of teachers' informal conversations in the hallways on a daily basis, brought to my attention the importance of these spaces to teachers' work experiences and collegial interaction.

In this chapter, by focusing on and analyzing teachers' interactions in public spaces in the school, I show how occupational community gets built and how worker communities get

divided. I define an occupational community as a group of workers with the same job who identify with their work, and share a set of values, norms, and perspectives that they apply to work-related and work-unrelated issues (Van Maanen and Barley 1984). Contrary to some classic applications of organizational theory to the teaching profession (Lortie 2002[1975]), I find that most teachers are not isolated from one another. Rather, they interact outside their classrooms regularly, and these interactions provide the basis for strengthening coworker ties, socializing coworkers into the worker role, and splintering teachers off into distinct groups. First, I show how teacher interactions in these spaces matter for consequences of strengthening group ties within bounded teacher communities. Relatedly, I show how *venting* interactions in public workspaces can be prohibitive to tie formation when done around audiences that see venting as non-normative or the content as offensive. Second, I show how these interactions provide occupational socialization into teacher roles by helping teachers construct understandings of professional behavior based on *evaluations* of (or *speculations* about) their peers' actions in public spaces. Third, I show how teachers used both symbolic and social boundaries related to racial categories during the "teacher talk" that took place in (or referred to what took place in) public spaces – i.e., their venting, evaluation, and/or speculation – which materialized into visible teacher segregation by racial groups. A summary of these arguments is reflected in the conceptual diagram in Figure 5.1. I conclude by exploring possible implications of these consequences for students. Below, I briefly review two inter-related bodies of literature important to interpreting the findings: the effects of spatial arrangements at work, specifically the school workplace; and socialization and social boundaries in the workplace.

--- *Figure 5.1 about here.* ---

The Importance of Space to the Social Side of Teacher's Work

A long line of research on organizations shows how spaces in organizations can operate in some surprising ways. Workers can use their workspace to consult with each other even when formal rules forbid it (Blau 1955). Copyrooms can effectively facilitate information sharing, non-superficial personal conversations, and problem-solving activity between colleagues, depending on the degree of privacy and convenience afforded by the room's degree of openness and proximity to high-traffic areas (Fayard and Weeks 2007). "Backstage" areas – such as hotel kitchens which are out of view of patrons – can function as rare places where high-status and low-status workers break their usual role performances and relate to one another in comfortable and personal ways (Goffman 1959). The front-region versus backstage perspective of workspaces allows for a view of any single occupation as having multiple roles, depending on the location of the worker.

Aside from being used in unintended ways, space in workplaces can also be intentionally used by managers to separate different kinds of workers, or be used strategically by workers to institute norms of interaction within and between status groups. Ethnographic studies show how the spatial arrangement of workers across the worksite both indicates and produces status differences among race, gender, or class groups in the workplace (e.g., Hodson 2001; Hughes 1946; Lan 2006; Meyers and Vallas 2016). For instance, minority workers being assigned to spots that are less visible within workplaces (such as hospitals and restaurants) conveys an organizing principle that limits with whom they can interact, communicates expectations for their role in the organization, and in so doing, contributes to devaluation of their skills (Tomaskovic-Devey 1993; Vallas 2003). In diverse settings with ample opportunities for intergroup contact, formal interaction at the point of production may involve norms about where cross-group (e.g., cross-race) joking, which is used to overcome status disjunctions, is appropriate (Burawoy 1979). Conversely, informal interaction at lunch time is where workers voluntarily choose to sit only with their own race (or other status)

group (Burawoy 1979). Associating with one's own ethnic, residential, or religious groups, rather than on the basis of performing similar jobs, is a hallmark of American community formation (Katznelson 1985), and the workplace ethnographies cited here suggest that this is true inside of the workplace as well.

Within literature that studies schools as workplaces, however, the emphasis on the role of physical space focuses on either how teachers are isolated inside their classrooms or how proximity matters for teacher interaction specifically around instruction. The former approach underscores that the bulk of teachers' work takes place in a private setting: the classroom. In his seminal work *Schoolteacher: A Sociological Study*, Dan Lortie (1975[2002]) offers an organizational analysis of the teaching profession that focuses on aspects of its job design that facilitate its levels of turnover, deprofessionalization, and conservatism (i.e., lack of change). By Lortie's account, socialization into the profession is weak as it relies primarily on one's past experiences in school (i.e., "anticipatory socialization") and a short apprenticeship (i.e., student teaching) that is truncated and loosely implemented. Once the apprentice (i.e., student-teacher) becomes an official teacher, this weak socialization is worsened by the spatial "eggcrate" or "cellular" structure of teaching, where teachers work independently in their classrooms (or "eggcrates"), all but cut off from the school at large. Not only does this spatial set-up foster isolation and prevent most collegial exchange, but it also protects the organization's social fabric from being disrupted if a teacher leaves, in turn rendering teachers highly replaceable parts of the organization.

Several studies and theoretical works in education since Lortie (1975) have adopted and extended his eggcrate model. Hatton (1988) suggests teacher's work is bricolage in that teachers enlarge their repertoire of instructional practices in an "unsophisticated" way, not directed by pedagogy or the end-product but rather by chance encounters to learn and incorporate new practices. It is the teacher's own subjective evaluation of the practices'

quality and usefulness, and not the social organization of schooling or teacher culture, that influence what practices get adopted and implemented by teachers (Hatton 1988; see also Fieman-Nemser 2001). Similarly, Smylie (1988) finds evidence that pressure for teachers to change their instructional practices is not driven by principals' facilitation of staff developments; rather, this decision remained in the hands of the individual teacher. However, Grossman et al. (2001) demonstrate that teacher community can form through frequent teacher meetings towards the collective goal of designing curriculum together over a long period of time (in their study, two and a half years).

Other studies extending Lortie's eggcrate model focus on how an autonomous teacher role impacts students. In their study of "unowned" spaces within school buildings, Astor and colleagues (1999) asked teachers to identify spaces within their schools where incidents of student violence happened most often and the possible reasons for this. Their findings suggest that teachers prioritize their instructional role as central to their professional practice at the expense of their organizational and school/community roles. Thus teachers see hallways as peripheral to their actual job responsibilities, and they suspend the regular teacher norm of taking responsibility for student conduct in these spaces.

While a historically informed, theoretically rich account, Lortie's eggcrate model is built upon empirical evidence of a particular type – interviews with 94 teachers in the Boston metropolitan area and a survey of teachers in a county in Florida – that cannot robustly make a claim to the impact of spatial and temporal arrangements during the workday on teachers' collegial behavior (or lack thereof). Ethnographic data is better suited to analyses about teacher socialization or isolation, or at minimum should complement teachers' reports and accounts. Moreover, the data are dated, being collected in the early 1960's before "the growing collegial mood of teachers" and interest in new instructional formats began (Pederson and Fleming 1979:109). Moreover, the data do not focus on beginning teachers

(Wideen et al. 1998). Given these limitations, researchers should take a more critical stance rather than blindly cite Lortie's idea of apprenticeship by observation (Cohen 1976; Wideen et al. 1998). In his own review of his work, Lortie (2005:138) acknowledges that "the physical properties of the school may be involved, as some buildings foster isolation, others interaction among teachers;" moreover, the culture of the school for sharing information and feelings, having colleagues present who teach similar subjects and share similar daily schedules, and the increasing numbers of non-teaching personnel in schools, will also impact levels of teacher interaction.

A group of studies within the sociology of education literature takes steps to update literature that depicts teachers' work as autonomous and decoupled from institutional factors, such as spatial arrangements in the school. Using detailed surveys on a small group of teachers, Barnett (1984) documents how power dynamics stemming from local resource distribution among teachers do exist within school organizations, contesting Lortie's claim that teachers only derive power outside their work setting through teachers' unions, collective bargaining, and striking. In a teacher interview study, Spillane (1999) compares teachers who recognize opportunities for learning when policy reforms are introduced, and thus have larger cognitive spaces or "zones of enactment" that motivate them to implement changes in their instruction, to teachers who have more individualistic zones of enactment and do not implement changes. His findings suggest that Lortie's eggcrate model, which predicts mostly private enactment zones for teachers, is not always the case. Also in contrast to traditional images of teacher isolation, Coburn (2001) found in her ethnographic case study of teachers in one elementary school that teachers constructed understandings of reading policy through collective sense-making in their professional communities. These communities talked about reading policy not only during formal meetings, but daily during lunchtime and in the hallways. Likewise, Diamond's (2007) study draws on classroom observations and teacher

interviews and finds that teachers mediate and filter policy messages through their collegial interactions. Stevens' (2007) ethnographic study also demonstrates how institutional factors rather than individualistic labeling influence how teachers develop expectations for their pupils.

As a whole, these recent studies find that teachers interact more, and in more significant ways, than Lortie envisioned. Using ethnographic methods, many of these studies show how informal exchanges between colleagues have important cumulative and long-term effects for how teachers do their work. The ways in which actors in the organization fill the in-between spaces and times in the workday may add to, deviate from, contradict, or challenge the formal roles teachers play in school functioning. In addition, an eggcrate approach is prone to miss a “pervasive and regular feature of work life:” conflicts among coworkers (Hodson 2001: 202). According to Hodson, this omission emulates other scholarship on the workplace, which previously has received only secondary attention, lagging behind the study of sociotechnical relations, labor process control, organizational structure, and individual attributes and attitudes. Despite this progress, even recent empirical studies on the effects of space on teacher's work, no one has significantly challenged or updated Lortie's model since 1975. The studies listed above make only a passing reference to Lortie, or do not adjudicate between the eggcrate model and other approaches (e.g., Spillane et al. 2017). While making incremental advances from the eggcrate, they often still locate the impetus for teacher change in individual or within-classroom sources, such as the quality of teacher training and skill or in adjusting instruction based on pupils' reactions to the content (e.g., Blase 1986; Spillane 1999). What is needed is attention to informal teacher interactions not explicitly around instruction (i.e., not solely about technical matters) that have a bearing on the functioning of the school and teacher performance due to differing resource access through informal (i.e., non-technical) social exchanges.

The aim of this chapter is to show the ways that teachers use the time and space outside the classroom to forge communities within which socialization into the workplace occurs. Physical spaces in the workplace can operate in surprising ways because of their unintended role in socializing workers, and their potential to divide rather than unite workers who share the same occupation. Part of building occupational community involves learning the stories, histories, and styles of talking that enable workers to fit in and do well in that organization. This is a kind of soft learning that is critical for gaining and maintaining access to one's social network. Another part of constructing an occupational community involves articulating the terms and bounds of its membership (see Achinstein 2002). The process of bounding a community involves *boundary work*, the relational positioning parties in an interaction do in order to classify themselves and one another into groups (Lan 2006).

Socialization and Boundaries in the Workplace

Through the socialization process, workers learn the skills, abilities, and dispositions they need in order to occupy and become their role. Occupational socialization is continual and ongoing and therefore relevant to all levels of tenure in the organization (Lave and Wenger 1991). Theories of occupational learning and socialization share in common the integral role of the collegial community in the socialization process. Orr (1996) shows how, through sharing stories with fellow colleagues of their narrated experiences on-the-job, Xerox technicians overcome isolation and learn how to problem-solve. Boje's (1991) conversation analysis of workers in an office-supply firm similarly shows how collegial storytelling bonds workers to one another, but in this case it bonds particular sub-communities of workers. Storytelling becomes a way to exclude others if the story contains insufficient details for outsiders to understand or if the story advances an interpretation of events that is advantageous to the storyteller and his/her specific group.

At the same time, learning takes place through communal storytelling by providing a means for reaching a shared understanding. Not just a leader but whole groups participate in the telling of a story; together they speculate as to why some organizational event happened or work towards persuading listeners to take a specific point-of-view. A similar phenomenon of group speculation and attempts at persuasion towards upholding suggested but not directly articulated group norms is found in Becker et al.'s (1961) ethnography of medical school students and Weeks' (2004) ethnography of the corporate culture of a bank.

Building a community requires not only sharing knowledge and information through learning and socialization, but also boundary work to differentiate one's community from others'. The literature on boundary-work broadly investigates relational processes between groups and how groups use boundaries to protect and expand their own resources, or resist boundaries by redrawing their own. As a concept, boundaries are both symbolic (i.e., abstract distinctions) and social (i.e., objectified differences). These two dimensions of boundaries mutually aid the study of relational processes through which collective identities, race/class/gender inequalities, professional distinctions (Abbott 1988), and territorial borders arise (Lamont and Molnar 2002). While symbolic boundaries rely on cognitive distinctions to categorize practices or people – for example, sacred versus profane or science versus non-science (Durkheim 1965; Gieryn 1983) – social boundaries rely on the resources embedded within particular social environments as well as the collective effort of groups to define one another (Blumer 1958; Lan 2006).

Looking to the case of a “nascent occupation,” such as service designers, can be informative for showing how occupational groups exhibit an almost instinctual need for distinction from other groups to survive. Especially when one's occupation is ill-defined to others, members “stress the need to create a community of like-minded others” and differentiate their work values from others' (Fayard et al. 2016: 10). Even within a single

organizational culture and within a single occupation, different sub-groups of workers often have unique styles and reactions when interacting with colleagues which reveal boundaries in the form of status hierarchies, group identities, and subcultures within the firm (Weeks 2004).

Applied to the teaching context, the literature on workplace socialization into collegial communities is helpful for examining how teachers learn implicit and explicit expectations for their role and gain shared understandings that are immediately applicable to their practical work. These understandings could range from explicit knowledge of how to perform technical, formal procedures such as paperwork, to implicit knowledge about how teachers in this school do and do not talk about their students, for example. Teachers' speculations when they interact informally can highlight teachers' own basic assumptions about what it means to be from their given racial/ethnic or gender group, or what it means for them to be serving a specific racial/ethnic group of clients. Moreover, a boundary-work approach to analyzing teachers' informal interactions with one another in public spaces expects that teachers will encounter disagreements within their occupational group, helping forge distinct occupational communities with distinct norms and parameters for acceptable professional conduct among different teacher sub-groups.

Overview of Findings

In the following sections, I examine the types of interactions teachers have in “public” spaces in the school, which I define as those non-classroom areas in the school where teachers share space. However, public spaces should not be seen as the opposite of “private” spaces (i.e., classrooms), as Figure 5.2 depicts. Rather, the spatial boundary between the two is porous, since teachers can see into and often hear what takes place in the classroom, class activity can spill out into the hall, hall activity can interrupt classroom life, and teachers' instructional time can be punctuated by taking brief breaks in the hallway.

Regardless of which public space, through informal time outside the classroom with coworkers, occupational communities get built while at the same time they get divided. Through their informal interactions in public spaces, teachers socialize one another about how to talk about the students and how to identify and evaluate unprofessional teacher behaviors. This ongoing public interaction in turn makes boundaries between teacher groups visible. In the sections that follow, I begin by presenting typical examples of teachers' talk about students and other teachers that exemplify the widespread social practice of venting that teachers demonstrated in public spaces around the school. Next, I consider the role of race, gender, and age in the practice of venting within one's workplace community. In the third section I show how teachers use venting to draw boundaries between their own teacher community and other teacher communities within their school. In the following two sections, I consider the role of race in the creation of symbolic boundaries and then in the creation of social boundaries, that is, visible racial segregation between teachers in public spaces. I conclude by considering the implication of these two related practices – strengthening in-group ties through venting and the drawing of boundaries between occupational communities– on teachers' satisfaction and retention outcomes, as well as students' experiences in school.

--- Figure 5.2 about here. ---

Venting about Students and Colleagues: Some Orienting Examples

In the examples that follow, I first show how teachers interact in public spaces in ways that allow them to vent, and what this venting accomplishes for them socially and professionally. Second, I show examples of how teachers engage in evaluative talk towards other colleagues when students were not occupying the space. I organize results around

differences between school districts, rather than around particular types of public spaces, as the Davenport District Schools (Pine Grove and Larksfield) and Martin District (Crest Point, Surrey Ridge, and Mt. Summit) had organizational differences that produced meaningful interactional differences. The examples show the influence on teacher socialization of different attributes of the schools' public spaces (e.g., size of the space) and different managerial requirements of where teachers were able, allowed, or had to be during their workday.

Teachers in Pine Grove react to disorder in the hallways, outside by the buses, and in copy rooms in ways that become the foundation for teacher socialization and solidarity. In their informal interactions, teachers allude to students being difficult to control, tell each other the strategies they've used in light of this, and speculate about why discipline problems are happening in front of them. For the first and second of these topics, student discipline problems and tactics, teachers tell stories akin to photocopy technicians' "war stories" about how they handle troublesome machines (Orr 1996) and sense-making stories about circumstances facing their colleagues (Boje's 1991). The third of these topics of teacher talk, speculating, includes verbally evaluating other teachers' professional blunders as part of the explanation for current problems in the school environment.

In December, I intermittently substituted for an English teacher who had quit her post at Pine Grove High School in October. Her vacancy had not been filled, and the teacher who quit, the teacher next door, and the principal each asked me to fill in whenever I could. Whenever I did, a substitute teacher was also in the room with me, so I wasn't alone. That day I taught only one of the classes during the last period of the day. As it turned out, that day I would be rattled not by students in my own classroom, but by the behavior of two students who were wandering the hall who I could not get to listen to me, one before class and one after class.

Before class started, as I was walking in the hall between Ms. Osbourne and Ms. Albertson's classrooms around lunchtime, I saw a girl who was breaking rules. She was wandering the halls playing music on her phone out loud all the way down the English hall. Mr. Solomon was bringing his class back from lunch, and after I walked away from his class said "Ms. Nelson!" and I came back and talked to him, and he said, "are you alright?"

Despite the fact that I had worked as a teacher in the past and felt successful at it, today I absolutely did not. I was visibly frazzled because I was failing at my role of being an adult in the building. Many students saw me as a substitute teacher or, without knowing otherwise, assumed I was a teacher or student teacher; teachers did the same. I felt I was being put to the test by a student who would not follow my directions, and failing at it.

To Mr. Solomon, I replied, explaining, "It's just a student, I've been following her around." He said this girl – rephrasing, he said, "boy-girl," as her gender presentation was androgynous – was not his student, but he talks to her every time in the hall, but to no avail. The second time I saw the same student, she was walking the wrong way. There are school-wide rules that students walk the perimeter of the school counter-clockwise, in order to avoid students trampling over one another. Ms. Anderson saw me before 8th block started and asked if I was alright while she showed me what she was doing with her students to teach essay writing. Not only teachers standing in the hall outside their doors during the change of classes, but also staff such as security guards and hall monitors are good colleagues to vent to when overwhelmed by hallway chaos. As I heard Ms. Simpson saying to the security officer, Ms. Mary, as I approached the English hall, "It's a zoo up here. It's an absolute zoo."

Then later in the day when the afternoon announcements came on the intercom, I looked out of the door of the classroom I was in, which was open. I noticed that the long-term substitute and the teacher next door were talking out in the hall. Ms. Persons and Ms. Anderson were talking about the 10 or so boys who were running the halls. Anderson was

haggling them as they passed, trying to figure out which teachers had let them out of their classes. Then I got curious, stepped out of the room, and that resulted in me chasing the male student who is known by students and teachers as “tarantula boy” all the way down to the buses. (I am not completely sure about the origin of this student nickname, but I think Ms. Anderson told me that the students call him that, so some of the teachers do, too.) Because I could, I left my classroom and followed this student, asking him as I’d seen other teachers do, “Whose class are you supposed to be in?” During this fruitless chasing in the hallway, a couple kids, teachers, and one staff person again asked me, “Are you OK?” I guess my face showed a lot more than I let on. I must have looked so disturbed!

At that point, I was outside down by the buses. An administrator and a hall monitor were down by the buses with me. While the administrator paid me no attention, the hall monitor, Mr. Sims, asked what had happened. The dismissal bell rang and the teachers came out with the students. While assigned to be there to supervise students, the teachers formed circles with one another and verbally debriefed their days. I joined a circle with Dr. Eckert, Ms. Lowndes, and Ms. Anderson – all white teachers. Ms. Anderson, the teacher next door to the classroom I was in and who knew I went out chasing the loose student, asked me how it went. I told her, not well. In an attempt to be comforting, she jokingly said, “I’m going to break him!”

And Anderson then told me how she started taking pictures of all the hall-wanderers, as per the principal’s directions, because she said “we can identify them that way.” Endorsing Anderson’s solution, Dr. Eckert said, “As long as the camera isn’t hidden, it’s allowed.” Anderson said it was Ms. Akron who was sending all the kids out into the hall. To add to the list, she brought up the disruptions that Ms. Akron was creating on the hall with her new disciplinary experiment. “I heard a whistle and wondered what it was, where it was coming from. Then I realized it was her. I’m not sure what she’s using it for,” Anderson added.

Eckert said she went to Dr. Reese and asked if Ms. Akron has a certificate to teach, because she and Anderson both said you can go online to the State Department of Education and see that she doesn't. Eckert reported to the group, "[Principal] Reese said that Ms. Akron had a teaching certificate." I asked them how long Akron had been there and they said, "She's been here for the longest" (i.e., a long time, a few years).

In the course of the conversation, Mr. Roberts, a special education teacher, joined our group and said, "I'm glad I'm off in my own little hole, and only have six ninth graders, [so I don't have to deal with all that]." "I need a margarita!" Dr. Eckert announced, stating that she had all the ingredients at home. She and Ms. Anderson, who are literal next-door neighbors in their residences, made plans to do so that evening.

Within minutes of the school day ending and this teacher debriefing, a student fight broke out down by the buses. As we stood still in our group, Ms. Cousins and Mr. Solomon went sprinting down the grassy hill to where the student fight was. Mr. Solomon dropped his lunch pail on the sidewalk and ran. The principal quickly appeared as well, not running but using her walkie-talkie to get the situation under control. Mr. Norton, the JROTC instructor, brought one girl up holding her by the arm. Another girl was brought up by another adult.

This afternoon scene, a typical day at Pine Grove High School, shows many aspects of teacher's social lives that occur outside the classroom in public spaces. Teachers often handle the chaos of student activity in the hallways by talking about what's happening. In the midst of this talk, venting spreads from being about student problems ("It's a zoo up here") to being about teacher problems ("It's Ms. Akron sending all the kids out in the hall."). The progression of their venting session, which began with recounting student misbehavior and ended with reporting and speculating on teacher misdeeds, shows how informal interaction with a set of people familiar with each other runs the risk of losing the ceremony that governs

regular spoken interaction, which usually serves to secure actors into keeping their face. No teacher present lost their face, but they demonstrated a lack of considerateness for those absent (e.g., doubting their colleague Ms. Akron had proper teaching credentials).

In debriefing hallway problems they have experienced, teachers not only vent but also share tips for how to solve the problems in ways that won't interrupt their work, such as taking pictures of truant students who won't tell you their names. Ms. Anderson even displayed a corrective face-saving practice by making a light-hearted joke about my failure to resolve the rule-breaker I was chasing ("I'll break him!"). Even though I came into this fieldwork with experience teaching in a setting like this one, the task of managing students who were not mine – as is similarly the case for most of the students with whom teachers interact in the hall – proved unsuccessful. For me, the experience was a sobering suggestion that I was "out of shape" vocationally – or perhaps that I needed to learn what *not* to do if one wants to sustain their energy for the job and keep an unruffled composure at work.

In the public space of the bus loop outside, where students are present and sometimes persist in causing disciplinary problems, only some teachers take direct action – such as Cousins and Solomon, and this becomes their role. Other teachers speculate as to causes of the problems – such as Ms. Eckert, who thinks part of the problem of the chaotic halls is that her colleague Ms. Akron might not be properly certified to be a teacher, and that is why Akron uses unprofessional tactics of behavior management. And of course, public spaces for teacher debriefing allows them an opportunity to show concern and elicit background stories about why a teacher looks troubled (Solomon asking me, "Ms. Nelson! Are you alright?"), an opportunity to unwind (Anderson's "I need a margarita!"), or simply to state their perspective of the problem with an adult who is witnessing it with them (Simpson's "It's a zoo up here.").

Spaces without Students

In public spaces where students did not go, such as copy rooms, the opportunity for informal interaction with a wider range of faculty often presented itself as a liability for faculty cohesion, as teachers would vent to other colleagues about what happened there. Due to hosting such a large number of people, where one or two rooms served the entire faculty of 85-95 teachers, the copy room in Pine Grove and Larksfield was a place of partial anonymity where teachers who didn't know each other could leave trash strewn around the room and copy machines unattended. When the principal of one of these schools shut down the copy room for a week as punishment to the faculty when it got too messy, no specific teachers bore the blame. Instead all teachers paid for the behavior of a few. As a department chair, Dr. Cosben, told teachers in the department meeting,

Ms. Cosben announced to her department, "The copy room is shut down. Ms. Osbourne, Mr. Rayner, and I went in there and it was a madhouse. People had their coffee cups and had all their copies stacked up, and no one knew who was on what copier." Mr. Rayner interjected, "How are we supposed to make copies of our midterms then?" Cosben replied, "You can ask your colleagues to clean up after themselves."

Pine Grove fieldnotes 9-16-14

Grim scenes like these resulting in the room's lights being turned off (visible through the copy room's interior windows) and the door locked would happen a few more times that school year.

While teachers in Crest Point, Surrey Ridge, and Mt. Summit also used hallways and copy rooms to vent, the content of venting was less influenced by students – whether students were present or not. Rather, teachers mostly spoke in evaluative, speculative, or derogatory ways about what other colleagues had done. Part of this difference was due to less exposure to students through larger public spaces (e.g., hallways were twice as wide and much longer) and comparatively fewer requirements to supervise students in these spaces. Once the school

day ended in these Martin District schools, either bus duty was not required by teachers, and paraprofessionals and select male teachers handled outdoor supervision by themselves, or duty was an infrequent requirement for teachers. Thus, before the morning bell or after the dismissal bell rang, inside the school, the hallways came alive with teacher chatter and socializing. I discovered this one afternoon as I was delivering paper copies of the survey in Surrey Ridge. Teachers congregated around the thresholds of one another's classroom doorways, ate food, and talked casually about things other than their students.

Very much unlike the Davenport District schools, I often I had a hard time inserting myself in these teachers' hallway conversations in the Martin District Schools. Thus, for the most part, finding out what they were talking about wasn't as easy. Having some kind of mission and purpose for being there, such as the surveys, helped tremendously. This was the case when I approached Natalie Oosterhouse and Nancy Leland in the large indoor foyer area, by the front door of the school, to request Nancy's participation in the survey. My thank-you and request brought about some venting for Natalie:

As they stood together in the foyer, Nancy teased Natalie for having completed her survey already, like a dutiful employee. Nancy said, referring to Natalie, "Her name is Snow White around here." But then Natalie turned to Nancy and said, "You know, it would be good for the bad teachers around here to like look at that [list of results on the survey question] and realize, like 'Oh, I don't have any friends. Who would I invite to my retirement party? Like nobody.'" And I said, "Yeah, just kind of like the non-social teachers." And she said, "Yeah, the grouches. I mean, that's a nice way to say that."

Surrey Ridge fieldnotes 4-29-15

Natalie's reaction to one of the questions in the survey, where I asked teachers to check teachers' names who they would invite to an imaginary, small celebratory dinner party, was to highlight how she felt like she was one of the good, socially active teachers in the school, part of a minority group that was doing too much of the work to hold the school together. A

large number of “bad teachers” in the school were not participating socially and needed a wake-up call. Through her venting about and evaluation of other teachers, Natalie acquires more than social-emotional support from Nancy. By discrediting others, Natalie creates a positive public image of herself as a “contrast-case” to the negative image associated with another group of colleagues (Gieryn 1983).

Teachers in Martin District also used copy rooms, as spaces free of both students and administrators, to vent or crack jokes about colleagues and superiors. Unlike hallways where students are usually present and can often hear what teachers are saying, copy rooms presented an opportunity to function as a “backstage” for teachers. As a multi-purpose room containing other amenities such as faculty restrooms, a microwave and refrigerator, and mailboxes, copy rooms had the potential to bring teachers together when the spacious hallways with spread-apart classroom doorways failed to. The social atmosphere of the copy rooms varied dramatically across schools, however. On the one hand, in Davenport District schools, there were only one or two copy rooms for the entire faculty. These rooms had high traffic and use, and the counters and waste bins were more prone to get messy and the copy machines broken. On the other hand, the Martin District schools had three copy rooms each. Therefore the rooms remained more unused, cleaner, and small groups of departments each had a copyroom to themselves. The social consequences of having a shared space designed for a more intimate group were twofold. First, the copyrooms appeared to be better maintained by the community of teachers, who did not leave messes in the copy rooms and even took ownership of the space with personal artifacts. The walls of these rooms were decorated with artifacts about their own families and children, such as wedding announcements, holiday family photo cards, and announcements of Girl Scouts cookie sales. Sometimes teachers even set professional artifacts – such as an academic journal article (about how school leaders should avoid “deficit model” thinking towards urban students) – in

the copy room by the teacher sign-in sheet. The copy room that the foreign language and math department shared had laminated math jokes taped to the cupboards of their copy room (see Figure 5.3), and the copy room near the gym always had local newspapers reporting the school's latest sports victories placed on the table. These decorating and workplace "nesting" efforts were done by teachers themselves in an inclusive and mutually supportive manner (e.g., a foreign language teacher was the one who placed the math jokes on the cabinet). Second, the spontaneous, often anonymous run-ins with unfamiliar faculty from other departments that were frequent in Davenport District copy rooms seldom happened in Martin District copy rooms.

--- *Figure 5.3 about here.* ---

Copy rooms were occupied as teachers came and went doing errands around the school, but they were also used for extended periods for clearly non-work-related purposes. The copy room at Surrey Ridge (Martin District) became a place where teachers conducted pre-planned parties during special times of year, such as to commemorate milestones in a faculty member's life. The example below was to celebrate a young white male teacher's recent engagement. While potlucks did happen for holiday parties at Larksfield, these were only sometimes hosted in a copy room but usually hosted in the library, and teachers came and went throughout the lunch block rather than all convening at one time.

At Surrey Ridge, one such party – to celebrate the recent engagement of a first-year teacher, Mr. Call – was organized for only a select subset of the faculty population: the electives, social studies, and math teachers on his hall. When teachers showed up who were not on the hall, they or their colleagues usually justified their attendance at the party to other teachers. For example, Ms. Tumacder asked why I was there, and I told her that Ms. Rabara

invited me; someone then asked Ms. Tumacder why she was there, and she said this used to be her hall. The norm of needing to belong to a particular copy room to participate in its social life shows how the intimate occupational communities within the school had boundaries that were partly the result of having multiple copy rooms, but also the result of teacher reinforcing community boundaries among themselves.

Those attending the party, who could claim community membership, became an audience for Mrs. Everdell to tell an entertaining story about the group's shared history.

When I got to the engagement party in the copy room, Ms. Everdell and Ms. Tumacder were both setting up a table of sandwiches, croissants, a cheese plate, folded deli cuts, pasta salad, and chips. There was a dessert table with cookies, something else and a tiramisu cake that Ms. Ormston provided from the nearby organic grocery store.

Before the party started, Mrs. Everdell, Ms. Lily, and Mrs. Tumacder were talking, and somebody asked, "How did Mrs. Tumacder get invited here since she's not on the annex hall?" Tumacder answered for herself, "Oh I was here last year." Then Mrs. Everdell joked with her, "But we voted her off." Then Mrs. Tumacder was just kind of looking at her like, "It is kind of strange though, right? Like how me and Mrs. Ormston were switched [room assignments]." And then Mrs. Tumacder got physically very close to Mrs. Everdell and she's like, "You know they're really close, Mrs. West and Mrs. Ormston." She kind of put her hip right up to Everdell's. When it was time for everyone to gather to eat, there were 17 teachers present, three of whom were black. Some sat on the couches, and about half sat on the floor. Most of them were on the annex hall but then there were others who kind of came in.

Later on during the party, when everyone was listening, Mrs. Everdell cracked a joke about how the teachers used to have wheelie chair races down the hall. She impersonated a female voice, "The annex will have no fun next year." This was her explanation for why the administration moved some teachers around and Mr. Wojtak, another male teacher, wasn't on their hall anymore, and thus, the wheelie chair races had stopped. While the teachers were reminiscing and repeating the story, Mr. Wojtak just kind of poked his head in and said, "Someone told me to come and jump this hall" because he knew that the party was going on so he came to grab some food. On his way out he was like, "Who are you impersonating there?" No one explicitly answered, but my guess is it was the former female principal notorious for her over-involvement with and micromanagement of teachers.

Surrey Ridge field notes 3-25-15

This party scene shows many dynamics of teacher's relationships with one another in an informal setting, in a space and during a time set apart from students and administrators. One

is the norm of inclusion by invitation or by merit due to the “guest” teacher’s former proximity or special contribution to the team or to the school. Phrased negatively, this means exclusion based on the spatial and temporal separation of one group of teachers from the rest of the faculty, with some select exceptions made by the teachers themselves. Second is that social gatherings are organized and led by social leaders of the school, and that they are places where updates on personal or professional milestones of particular members are announced to the group, or where stories rehashing a shared past are told in the form of joking. Third is that copy room social gatherings bring about not only large-group interaction organized by teachers, but also teacher dialogue in triads or quartets, rather than just dyads. This was seen in Tumacder’s insinuation that Mrs. West and Mrs. Ormston were like Siamese twins joined at the hip, as she speculated that they got special treatment from administrators by displacing Tumacder out of her former classroom so that West and Ormston could be near one another.

Interestingly, teachers had to fight to acquire this space, which gets a lot of foot traffic daily due to its restrooms. Previously, the copy room was the classroom of one teacher. As Ms. Emry explained, when teachers complained that this room needed to be open for use by all teachers, it was finally granted by administrators.

Mrs. Emry told me about how there was a big blow-up [among the teachers] about how the copy room upstairs actually used to be a teacher's classroom and how there's really no adult bathrooms on that whole side of the building. The only other ones are down by the copy room downstairs and the elevator. These two bathrooms upstairs were just shared between three women who worked there and the faculty was like, "That's not fair. We need restrooms." So [administrators] converted that classroom into the copy room that it is now, which Mrs. Ireson spruced up by donating a sofa from home for the room this year.

Surrey Ridge field notes 2-27-15

In fact, during the wedding shower Mrs. West, the former occupant of the copy room, said to her colleagues, “You know I miss this room, this used to be my classroom but it was worth

giving it up for getting to have times like this.” She paused, then admitted, “Okay, I didn't give it up, it was taken from me.” Teachers’ petitioning for the room and heavy corporate use of it show its central function in teachers’ daily work.

The Role of Race, Class, and Gender in Venting

Who teachers would vent to, as well as the content of their venting, showed interesting patterns. I argue that in-group venting patterns reflected and helped solidify segregated occupational communities among the teachers.

In terms of racial patterns, I found that in the bulk of cases of venting, white initiators tended to vent to white listeners. This was true across school environments. Additionally, black teachers only initiated venting if they worked in Davenport District, among majority-black faculty.³⁸ As for content of venting, teachers did make comments that referenced students’ race, but again most often it would be white teachers venting to white teachers. Sometimes these comments caught their colleagues off-guard. In this example, a white teacher at Larksfield described how one day out by the bus line,

“I was really shocked when my first year I was talking to somebody [a white teacher] and I [had] emailed her [earlier that day] and I was in a bad mood because I'd had some kids who were acting up or something, or we saw some kids acting up in the bus line. And I was really shocked to hear her say, that like – ‘y'know, I thought of it and I hate to say it but a lot of it comes down to race.’”

³⁸ This particular analysis relies on a random sampling of fieldnote data. There were 440 total instances of venting in the data. These included statements to the observer alone and ones directed by the observer, as well as statements made by participants to one another. I used only field observations in which the researcher did not use directed questions (N=266), and a random number generator to select 27 random segments, in proportion to the amount of segments I had for each school setting. This yielded the distribution of cases below.

	Responder white/other	Responder black
Initiator white	15	5
Initiator black/other	4 (all DPS)	3 (all DPS)

This teacher, Mr. East, responded to his colleague by not saying anything to affirm or correct her comment. But he noted that from then onwards, with the more “conservative” teachers, “I just don't even get into some of those conversations.”

Venting about race-related topics in Martin District schools looked different. These schools had different racial composition than the Davenport Schools, with majority-white faculty and between 25% and up to 60% black student composition. When teachers vented about students with indirect reference to their race, it usually took place in more private settings such as inside classrooms when students were not present, or in teacher “huddles” during transition times in the hallways. This way, teachers vented but without the risk of students or other unintended colleagues hearing the topic of their discussion. One example would be the way Mrs. Iron vents about her “bad day” when students are gone to the cafeteria for their lunch. Even though four women colleagues in her area teamed together to help her resolve a student fight the previous day, Mrs. Iron was left with lingering feelings of irritability that she needed to vent.

I found Mrs. Iron, a white veteran Spanish teacher, alone in her room at her desk. The lights were off. She told me right when I came in and we greeted each other that she was not having a good day. She said it's because she was about to have her terrible 4th block class. She said yesterday two of the students in the class, two girls, fought in the hall. “It's four women [teachers] up here, so it was four ladies handling it. The students wouldn't stop fighting,” she told me. There was hitting and it sounds like it was a physically violent fight over something that “started at home,” meaning in the neighborhoods or simply outside-of-school. The two girls are in her class. “They have no business being in Spanish II,” she said twice, maybe three times. They don't do well on tests or classwork, and “they don't even speak English anyway, so you can't teach them,” she said.

Surrey Ridge fieldnotes 10-24-14

Making indirect reference to her students' race, Mrs. Iron mentions that the students can't speak English. This comment is an indirect reference to their being black and speaking with a

different dialect, not to their having an actual status of being English Language Learners. While her surrounding colleagues supported her in the moment of behavior management crises and faithfully ate lunch with her in the hallway each day, Mrs. Iron's venting still took a toll on how they saw her. Teachers in proximity who listened regularly to the venting – two young white teachers and one older white teacher – noted that Mrs. Iron and the way she handled students in her classes “[were] a lot more rigid and, I hate to say it, cold compared to the rest of the department.” The case of Mrs. Iron shows that even when she follows the norm of not venting about students in front of students, venting to adults carries its own liabilities for maintaining a likeable professional demeanor.

Ostensibly, teachers were not supposed to use students' names when talking about them in conversation with other teachers. This was the stated norm that teachers mentioned in interviews. When venting about students to their next-door neighboring teacher, teachers are expected not to reference particular students' names, but rather frame the issue as “what would you do in a quote-unquote situation without using names.” This was the case when white teachers in the hall talked with one another about how they didn't understand why sagging pants – a racially-specific reference to black male students – were still a fad. However, in practice, I frequently saw teachers using students' names to teachers as well as to other students, such as this incident where Mrs. Oosterhouse, a white veteran teacher, stepped out of her classroom momentarily to discipline students passing by in the hall.

During teaching her lesson, Mrs. Oosterhouse stepped out of her micro-economics class to ask a group of boys, many of them black, in the hall that were being loud as they passed her room. She told them, “I'm trying to teach! Where are you all going?” One student said, “Back to class from lunch.” Mrs. Oosterhouse, coming back in the classroom, says to her students, ‘It was Evan and Joel making all that noise.’
Surrey Ridge fieldnotes 4-16-15

Though Mrs. Oosterhouse did not relay this event to a colleague, since it occurred in the middle of class and no colleagues were around, she vented about it to her students. Such venting reinforces racial stereotypes such as black youth being loud (Morris 2007).

Patterns of venting by gender and age of teachers showed patterns with consequences for occupational community. These patterns emerged in schools with the most balanced representation by gender or age. In Larksfield, there was a large group of male teachers who stood together in halls and cafeterias and talked everyday about problematic district policies, often joking about management. This segregation by gender intersected with racial segregation; the all-male group was all-white as well, but it welcomed a range of tenure and age (from first-year teachers to veterans, teachers in their twenties to fifties). The group's social development into an occupational community was enabled through sharing public space: the same hallway and same time in the cafeteria.

For age-based grievances, since teachers vented *about* one another, they did not vent *to* one another but rather within their own groups. In Surrey Ridge and Pine Grove, the large representation of both veteran teachers (in their fifties, sixties, and even some seventies) and young teachers (in their twenties and thirties) precipitated conflicts between the groups, as they disagreed in their classroom management tactics (Pine Grove) and their philosophies about professional development for teachers and their technological abilities (Surrey Ridge). The disparity in discipline and technology skills between these groups led to frequent venting which blamed the other group for the school's or the teacher's own problems. As Ms. Eckert said of her junior colleagues at Pine Grove, they don't mind [i.e., heed] their administrators. Similarly, Mr. Ingebrigtsen said of his junior colleagues at Surrey Ridge, they never asked him for his teaching materials or respected his experience. Young teachers countered that veterans such as Ms. Eckert were "not their favorite" colleagues, and the veterans "were flipping out" when student laptops and Common Core curricula were introduced. As a

second-year teacher at Surrey Ridge said, “It might just be because they vent to the other teachers because they expect that they're going through the same thing, but to me it's just like - well, it's happening either way, might as well not complain about it.”

The next section turns from venting to evaluating peers' professional performances as another process that produced occupational communities and divisions between them. While cases of teacher venting showed how teachers used public spaces as their occupational “backstage,” cases of informal peer evaluations showed how teachers were actually watching and classifying one another carefully in these spaces. Classifying colleagues as professional or unprofessional in turn provided the basis for drawing boundaries between occupational communities.

Drawing Collegial Boundaries and Establishing Occupational Communities

There were five ways that teachers made judgments of other teachers' professional abilities or behaviors. In so doing, they made offending teachers “contrast-cases” to themselves or to teachers who they liked (Gieryn 1983). These judgments were based upon things that happened in public spaces where teachers: (1) directly observed teachers struggling with discipline management in the halls; (2) spread stories among teachers about teacher behaviors witnessed through the door of their classroom; (3) personally experienced another teacher not doing their part in hallway discipline; (4) observed a student breaking rules in the hallway without his/her teacher present; and (5) reacted to teachers' interventions into other teachers' struggles with hallway discipline. Three of these ways were found in all school contexts, but (4) and (5) were unique to Davenport District schools. The difference in districts stems from different rules for how students were supposed to use hallways and different requirements for teachers in enforcing these rules.

(1) Directly observing teachers professionally struggle in the hall. Walking students to and from the cafeteria and addressing student misbehavior during passing period was a major obstacle for many teachers in Davenport District schools. These particular teachers could not seem to keep students under control in the public space. Other teachers took note, such as Ms. Newell, who interpreted these teacher struggles as belonging to inexperienced teachers, especially Teach-for-America-type teachers.

NEWELL: At first when you find out there's a TFA person in the building, you know that they're going to-- they can be a good teacher, obviously they're intelligent enough where they can, you know, teach but you also-- I worry usually about how they're going to handle like the kids. I mean because this is a pretty tough environment or it can be and if you're not from here then you don't know, you know, you don't know what to expect and there's nothing like until you get in the classroom and actually do it. [...]

JENNIFER: When you say tough what do you mean by that in terms of like the--?

NEWELL: The behavior of the kids, yeah.

JENNIFER: How do you know it's tough?

NEWELL: Uh, I don't know. I just see it all the time like in the hallways. The kids. I mean like I said my kids are fine but I also think it takes a certain kind of person to be able to teach here and be successful, so.

Ms. Newell gets a sense of the kind of school she teaches in, and the kind of students it serves, by judging by what happens in the hallway. However, Ms. Newell does not describe her own students as a problem; in this way, she draws a line separating her students from other teachers' students, and thereby her teaching abilities from less successful teachers' abilities.

There were teachers who struggled with being assertive in managing student behavior in Martin District schools as well, though the publicness of the display took a different form. In these cases, asking teachers for help with students, or showing a lack of control or too much negative emotion over one's students, was perceived negatively by colleagues and as a marker of an incompetent or bad teacher. For example, Mrs. Ireson tells the story of a former

teacher who could not handle students in her own classroom, and used the hallway as a reprieve. This proved to be a professional mistake.

When I ask Mrs. Ireson whether there's anyone new to Surrey Ridge in special education this year, she recommends I talk to Mrs. Corea and her assistant, because Ireson doesn't know. Ireson then sings Mrs. Corea's praises. "The teacher there before her, she was plenty nice, but she wouldn't be able to handle the kids in her room. She'd be beside herself and run out [into the hall] asking for help. Teacher training [for those teachers] is not enough. But Mrs. Corea is great with them. And Bubba, her aide [is great]."

Surrey Ridge fieldnotes 2-12-15

The story of Mrs. Corea's predecessor is instructive for showing how managing one's students in "public" places was a critical test a teacher must pass in order to be seen well by her colleagues. Recounting this scene, Mrs. Ireson drew a boundary to differentiate Mrs. Corea from the previous teacher who had a professional deficiency. A similar instance of a teacher stepping out in the hall to cry about an upsetting encounter with a student at Mt. Summit contributed to her next-door colleague, Mr. Ulster, seeing her as a teacher who yelled at her students too much, which he believed was ineffective.

(2) *Teacher problems witnessed through the classroom door.* When teachers noticed something going awry in a colleague's classroom, it quickly became fodder for teacher discussion in public spaces. For instance, one day in the cafeteria at Larkfield, some teachers discussed what they knew was going on with their colleague, Mr. Ritchie. In this instance of storytelling, Mr. Thatcher recounted to Ms. Newton what happened to their department member, Mr. Richie, when he was out one day.

I talked to Mr. Thatcher during lunch. He told me his last day is May 15th, by which point all his seniors will be done. He told me that so far he's told his colleagues Ms. Newton and Mr. Krantz. Ms. Newton came up and talked to Mr. Thatcher about a colleague's classroom being torn apart. I asked them what they were talking about, and it was how their math colleague next door, Mr. Ritchie, had his room torn apart and his students unattended when someone who was supposed to be covering his

class didn't come, and the teacher in the rotation before just left. After Ms. Newton walked away, Thatcher said to me, "My students never would have done something like that to me. You might call it a problem of rapport." It wasn't said in a malicious way, only a matter-of-fact way.

Larksfield Field notes 4-14

Mr. Thatcher's comment about Mr. Ritchie served to bond him and Ms. Newton together as teachers who belonged to the same department and worked on the same hall (they were also all three white). They were acknowledging a sobering event that affected not only Mr. Ritchie, but also them. The story was told with a tone of sympathy but included the important remark that Thatcher's students would never do something like that to him. Mr. Thatcher is drawing a line to differentiate himself from Mr. Ritchie.

Teachers also observed other teachers' lack of control over student misbehavior while it was happening *inside* the classroom. That one snapshot of teacher performance then becomes the image associated with that teacher. Mr. Williams' class was getting out of control one day and he stepped out in the hallway in search of some relief. Although he could temporarily remove himself from a situation in which he would lose credibility in front of his students, he could not successfully maintain credibility with his colleagues. Teachers passing by in the hall were left to put the puzzle pieces together and draw their own conclusions, as Mr. Naylor did in his retelling of the story at a teacher cocktail hour after school:

[As we were sitting at one big table at the restaurant,] Mr. Naylor added to his colleague's telling of what Ms. Cousins saw when she walked by Mr. Williams's room. Ms. Cousins saw a student actually jumping over Mr. Williams inside the classroom. In Mr. Naylor's telling of the story, he saw Mr. Williams standing there outside Ms. Newell's door and "all I know is I saw him covered in chalk all along his side." Mr. Naylor gestures with his hands as he says this to show a 2-foot length on his left side of his body.

Pine Grove fieldnotes 1-30-15

Like Mr. Ritchie, Mr. Williams was struggling to maintain control in his classroom. The events leading to classroom chaos were not fully known to teachers, but were taken as evidence that the students did not respect these teachers. The extreme extent of trouble with student rapport these particular stories showed makes them memorable and often-repeated among teachers, easy and safe for most teachers to contrast themselves. The following field note excerpts show how talk of teacher struggles spread and become engraved in teachers' memories – sometimes even assisted by the principal's practice of visual documentation.

I sat with Mrs. Eckert at lunchtime in the cafeteria. She told me about the problems all the new teachers were having, just as Ms. Leder had informed me. As a prime example, Mrs. Eckert told me what she saw a first-year teacher on her hall, Mr. Urie, doing in his classroom. "Mr. Urie is pitiful, I don't know why he went into teaching," She told me how she walked by one day, and "There were students watching a movie and standing on tables in his room. Standing on the desks! He's lost control so far now that he will never get it back."

Pine Grove fieldnotes 10-28-14

At a faculty meeting, the principal, Ms. Reese, tells teachers about things she's seen and heard that teachers are doing. She explains to faculty how she investigated what she was hearing. "When I catch department chairs when they're not busy, I have them to walk with me [around the school]. I'm not hiding anything. Right, Mr. Unsworth? Right, Ms. Cousins? Right, Ms. Cosben? These are teachers with excellent leadership skills, who have leadership in the building. What'd you see, Ms. Cosben?" Cosben replies, "I saw children standing on tables, children on their phones, a teacher on her cell phone during class, a teacher not noticing that students were leaving the room." Ms. Reese elaborates, "I had my notebook and my iPad." Cosben verifies it: "She was taking pictures."

Pine Grove fieldnotes 10-20-14

At the science department meeting, the department chair, Ms. Valdosta, tells her colleagues, "Don't show movies to your classes when they finish their exams. Don't be the one caught on the principal's iPad with photos of your students watching *Frozen* in your room." Another teacher laughs and says, "Really?" Ms. Valdosta replies in a flat tone, "Really."

Pine Grove fieldnotes 12-17-14

(3) *Teachers not doing their part.* The most prominent topics of teacher venting stemmed from teacher interactions where some teachers were either passive about their responsibilities in public spaces or expected other teachers to take responsibility. These interactions created frustration on the part of the more active or involved teachers, but never

led to attempts of trying to get teachers on the same page. Rather, the frustration led to disassociating psychologically from those who did not do their part.

Ms. Kline, a second-year teacher in Pine Grove, was frustrated when she saw teachers in the hallway let other teachers handle student infractions which they themselves should have been managing. From the bystanding teacher's perspective, teachers who did little to convey that they had their students under control while in full view of their colleagues were shameless, as they seemed to "unfeelingly participate in [their] own defacement" (Goffman 1955:225).

"I really dislike teachers who don't control their classes. Because it breaks down what we're trying to do at this school. That's my pet peeve. Now that I'm not a new teacher, I fixed my mistakes, so when I see veterans, or teachers who have been teaching for five years, not controlling their students, it bothers me. I don't have sympathy for you. Like Lowndes's class, I'll see her in the hallway, and her kids are being loud, they have their headphones in. [Ms.] Cousins had to say something to them, but (I'm thinking,) 'Your teacher is five feet away from you!' It's definitely a teacher thing."

Pine Grove fieldnotes 9-10-15

Ms. Kline interpreted Ms. Lowndes' seeming apathy towards controlling her students as evidence that the school's problems did not lie with the students, but with teachers. She draws a sharp line contrasting herself from teachers who don't control their classes, emphasizing that as a young teacher, "I fixed my mistakes" so "I don't have sympathy for you" as an older teacher who hasn't.

Teachers' frustrations with one another in Pine Grove were known and magnified by the principal, who told her faculty that their colleagues were informing on one another to administrators. In one faculty meeting, the principal told faculty:

"I just don't understand why some of your peers, your colleagues, just can't gel. When issues aren't nipped in the bud, it leads to chaos. Prime example: the cafeteria sounds like a zoo. You all are the teachers. You escort them to the restroom when

you're in the hall, hopefully. We're [referring to teachers] huddled up in groups, not watching our students. ... Some of you only do half your work. Some of you are playing around. ... Some of your colleagues are coming to me, they're mad. They can't teach because it's so loud next door. ... Some of you are not pulling your weight, you are putting it on your colleagues. ... This creates chaos. It creates friction in your department. It creates friction in the hallway."

Pine Grove fieldnotes 10-20-14

Similarly, in Larksfeld faculty meetings, the principal asked teachers almost every week to pay attention to students in the halls. When sitting next to Ms. Trunnell at one morning faculty meeting, looking at the printed meeting agenda, I said to her, "It'd be interesting to collect the meeting agendas over the course of the year and see what stays the same week after week." She replied, imitating the principal's voice, "Monitor the students in the halls, monitor the students in the halls" (Larksfeld Fieldnotes 12-16-14).

Another form of not doing one's part pertained to breaking norms of sharing resources by taking advantage of others' help. Teachers evaluated the worthiness of their colleagues to be teachers based on their level of consideration for other teachers' resources, such as copy paper and supervisory assistance. In the example below, Ms. Osbourne defines unprofessionalism as disregard for colleagues' time, using an account of an interaction with a colleague in the copyroom to illustrate.

OSBOURNE: "What actions make me lose professional respect for my coworkers? OK, I'll give you an example. So I'm in the copy room one day with another teacher. This teacher was making copies and asked me for 15 pages of paper. No big deal. Then he messed them up and said, 'I need to go get some more. I wouldn't ask you for any.' I said to him, 'Well, I didn't offer you any.' Then he said, 'I don't want to go back up because there is someone watching my students right now.' I said, 'What? You've been down here for more time than it's taken me to copy 140 copies and there's someone watching your class?' 'No, Osbourne, don't make me feel bad,' he said. When I got back upstairs, I went to Mr. Laney [the teacher next door to me], and he said to me, shaking his head, 'You know, some people just shouldn't be educators.'" And I said, 'I just was thinking the same thing.'"

Ms. Osbourne further explained that Mr. Laney was the one this offending teacher asked to cover his class while he went to the copy room. Ms. Osbourne and Mr. Laney find it unprofessional because the teacher asked a colleague to use his break time to allow him to do something he should have done on his own break time.

In Martin District schools, teachers would become frustrated when colleagues would expect them to do more work during the supervisory “duty” to which all teachers were assigned. Duty took place in locations around the school both before school and during the mid-morning break. Mr. Russell, a black veteran teacher in the school, noted that when he would do his duty near the entrance to the cafeteria, white teachers – generally older and female – who shared this duty location with him would ask him to do all the disciplinary work.

JENNIFER: Would you say that student behavior is consistently enforced by all teachers in common areas, so the hallway, the commons?

RUSSELL: No.

JENNIFER: What comes to mind first? Like what’s not enforced the same?

RUSSELL: Some teachers are afraid to tell these guys [i.e., students] to pull your pants up or take your hat off. I don’t got a problem with it and all. Some have a problem telling young ladies that dress is too short or you need to go to the front office and let them do something with that dress or whatever. I don’t have a problem with it. But some do. ... Here, as far as other teachers, some are really afraid to address those issues. ... It’s ‘I’m afraid of this because that guy’s a Jolly Green Giant, I’m a little old --.’ But I have seen some say ‘Would you say something to that person?’ [imitating a voice] Why you can’t say to that person? I don’t have no problem with it at all. ‘You as ROTC—’ No. No. You have a job to do. We’re enforcing the rules. The standards. We all are obligated to do that regardless to who you are or what your position here at this school. That policy’s policy. But yeah, I’ve seen a lot of that.

Russell emphasizes that “you have a job to do.” While it is not clear whether he makes this sentiment known to the requesting teacher, he feels strongly that this is a sizeable problem in the faculty, a prominent attitude towards their particular teacher role. His status as a male, and specifically a black male, does not mean student discipline is more his job than the

female white teacher.³⁹ However, a white female teacher made similar complaints about how the male coaches (both black and white) would not supervise students as they were supposed to during lunch; instead she noticed they were looking at their cell phones the whole time. In light of this, she would make a point to pick her students up from the cafeteria herself, which many teachers did not do.

(4) *Indirectly observing teachers break rules.* Issues in the hallway were a constant topic of discussion in formal teacher meetings, and served as a kind of measuring stick of other teachers' lack of professional ability or performance. For example, Ms. Valdosta tells the story to her department of a teacher who let a student out in the hall when she wasn't supposed to. Her colleague, Dr. Labelle, contrasts herself with such unacceptable teacher behavior, as well as re-centers the blame for the disorder off of the students and onto teachers.

Ms. Valdosta said, "We had an issue of a bundle of kids who wouldn't move. They were in [Ms.] Evans's area [of the hall]. Ms. Reese looks at a student out in the hall with a red pass in her hand, and Reese said, 'Honey, where are you going? You might want to go back to class so your teacher doesn't get in trouble.' And it dawned on [the student] that it was 20/20. The morning announcements had just finished." Dr. Labelle replied, "I taught 9th graders for 30 years. And I just wouldn't let them out. They're not conditioned yet. There's just something where they're not ready."

³⁹ Survey results similarly suggest that black teachers in the Martin District schools feel that other teachers in their school do not pull their weight in terms of maintaining discipline and addressing student academic failure on the school-wide level. While similar in levels of reported trust, white teachers in Martin District report significantly higher attitudes about the collective responsibility of their colleagues than do black teachers ($t=2.16$, $p=0.016$). By interacting less across racial lines, white teachers in this context may have more favorable views of the collective responsibility taken by their fellow colleagues than non-white teachers do.

One possible explanation for this difference could be that black (as well as Asian and Hispanic) teachers interact across racial lines with other teachers up to five times more often than whites do (see Appendix Tables A3a-A3e). Flores (2011) and Bridwell-Mitchell (2015) explain that demographically dissimilar teachers can hold disparate views of how discipline and instruction ought to be done, and that minority teachers in Martin District are given disproportionate burden for managing "diversity" issues in their schools. Thus interacting across racial lines for black token teachers may contribute to lower levels of perceived collective responsibility, as they are more exposed to teachers' expectations that are at odds with their own.

Pine Grove fieldnotes 12-17-14

Interestingly, Ms. Valdosta is reporting what happened in an area of the hall that is not near her own room. An unnamed, unknown teacher let a student out in the first twenty minutes of the class period, against the school-wide Pine Grove rule that no students can be in the hallways for the first or last twenty minutes of class (this is the so-called “20/20 rule”). Dr. Labelle uses the story as an opportunity to enhance her own position relative to other teachers by introducing favorable facts about herself.

(5) *Reacting to teacher-teacher interventions.* Teachers who intervened in problems that were occurring in the hallway with other teachers’ students were sometimes approved by their colleagues for doing so, but other times were not appreciated. In the former category is Ms. Upright and in the latter is Mrs. Westin. The two examples serve to highlight how teachers’ practices in the hallway sometimes built occupational communities, and sometimes alienated teachers from any community.

When teachers took responsibility for what happened in hallways, this trait often became a positive marker for some teachers who “did right” – that is, upheld order in the school as a whole. These instances served to bond teachers to one another, similar to what Armenta (2009) documents in her study of Latina nannies who provide collective care for one another’s charges. For example, while I was sitting in a black veteran teacher’s classroom one day, a student fight erupted in the hallway outside her door. Ms. Upright got involved in splitting up the fight right away. Mr. Urie, who many incumbent teachers remarked was a leader in the school because he similarly “did right” and wasn’t afraid to break up fights whenever he could, heard and saw what Ms. Upright did and commended her on her role in stopping the fight from progressing. Their common engagement with the students’ social problems became the basis for conversation and a classroom pop-in. By

taking the conversation into the hall, the teachers were able to conduct some of the venting and debriefing of the hallway action “backstage”—that is, out of earshot of me and the students.

At 1:15, there was a growing student commotion in the hall, then Ms. Upright jumped up and went out into the hall. It was a student fight between two girls, and many students gathered around to watch. (I didn't go look for myself, however; I just watched from the doorway.) “Scuse me,” Ms. Upright said to me, and I moved my chair out of the way. After Upright, Ms. O'Brian, Ms. Izzard, and Ms. Lear came running down the hall, and finally Ms. Cousins. “When Ms. Cousins comes, everybody gets scared,” a black male student says who's not Upright's student, but has drifted into her room by this point. A student of hers with a white shirt goes out into the hall; after the fight is over, and Ms. Cousins takes a tall black male student away, holding him by his arm, and Ms. O'Brian is very upset with him (her face is red), Upright comes back in the room and says, “Was that my student out there watching that fight? I know that wasn't you, Edwin.” The boys are all sitting beside each other at the computers now, carrying on their free computer time from before the fight. They laugh a nervous laugh and look at her. “You done lost your mind,” Upright says. She leans over the computer cart as she verbally reprimands him. Edwin doesn't give her eye contact but continues playing a computer game involving a construction site. Another black male student comes in, and says, “Come on Adam, we've got to go, we've got a dismissal, I don't want to get hung up behind Ms. Reese, she's out there.” Adam leaves with his friend quickly, then comes back and Upright writes him a pass.

At this point, [eight minutes later,] Mr. Urie [black alternate first year] comes in the classroom, pausing in the doorway at first, then entering a step or two. To Ms. Upright, he says, “Did she hit you? You got turn't up.” Ms. Upright replies, “Not me, baby. We only got on tusslin'. She might of hit [the assistant principal though].” (They both laugh.) Urie says, “Alright.” Then they go outside the room and continue talking to one another. When Upright comes back in, she discusses the fight with the students. “That momma is going to get really upset when she comes to the school now. I've seen that momma, you don't want to mess with her.”

Pine Grove fieldnotes 5-28-15

In this episode of successful control of students in the hallway in front of an audience of colleagues, Ms. Upright was secure in her presentation of herself to others, that is, “in face” (Goffman 1955:223). She felt confident and assured in the performance of her routine, and her colleague Mr. Urie affirmed her in it. This contrasts with the way teachers such as Mrs.

Westin felt when other teachers stepped in and interfered with her students in the hallway.

In the scenes Mrs. Westin describes below, she was “out of face” because a positive image of herself as a teacher who could improve her classroom management was threatened. She felt frustrated by other teachers’ actions which made her look and feel inferior to the image she would have liked to achieve and sustain. In one example, the “little bity” black veteran teacher next door heard a commotion with Mrs. Westin’s student and stepped into the situation. The neighbor teacher embarrassed the student by pointing out the fact that he was a 16-year-old in the 9th grade. This turned into an escalating teacher-student conflict with Westin’s student and the black teacher that took place in the hallway. Ultimately, an administrator, other male teachers, and security guards came to the scene, and the boy getting suspended for his language and physical proximity to the teacher. Another time, “the little blonde-headed-ponytail, maybe English, teacher -- Really nice lady, going out of her way to help me get some stuff for State Studies,” stepped in and made things worse for Westin:

WESTIN: [When I had all my students in the hall with me and we were lining up to leave the restrooms to head back to class,] the situation was under control and everything. And then she [the blond English teacher] kind of jumped in and added her two bits after the principal got on the scene. So another kid ended up getting in trouble that really shouldn't have gotten in trouble... At that point it was kind of like, ‘It’s not my call’ because another teacher came into the situation. ... I kind of felt like I needed to defer [to what] she said happened. [She said one of my students was being loud in the hall.] And I thought, that's a kid that I never had any trouble with. I didn't see it, I didn't hear it, and it was one of those situations where [I] felt like, ‘Okay, well, if another teacher steps in and says something, [I] kind of have to let them step in and put in their two cents.’ And then [afterwards when I told other teachers about it, they] would be like, ‘Well, that's when you would tell them, “Just stay in your lane, and this is your class.”’

For Westin, the task of getting her students from the cafeteria back into the classroom was challenging less because of student behavior management, and more because other teachers would intervene and she would feel that she had to defer to their authority. However, she disagreed with their methods of provoking and handling students, especially the methods of

teachers who had been there a long time. She noted that in the halls she had seen some teachers use behavior management strategies such as backing kids up against a wall and cussing them out. She said that while these approaches were effective for managing student behavior, she could never use them because they clashed with her professional ethics, which she brought in from her previous training in a mental health profession. She drew a line of professional conduct, beyond which she discredits and is unwilling to engage.

Through these five ways of evaluating fellow teachers' behaviors in public spaces, teachers drew lines most often differentiating themselves from poor practices and aligning themselves with good practices of how teachers should conduct themselves in public spaces in the school. In the next two sections, I examine patterns of boundary-drawing between teachers' occupational communities that fell specifically on racial lines.

The Role of Race in Shaping Symbolic Boundaries

Symbolic boundaries are the abstract and cognitive distinctions that people make to categorize practices or people (Lamont and Molnar 2002). Through venting and evaluative talk, teachers cast a major symbolic boundary between professional and unprofessional colleagues, where cleaning up after oneself in the copy room, controlling one's students in the hall, and "doing right" in the public eye of colleagues, among other things, marked a teacher as professional. While many of the professional-unprofessional distinctions showed no consistent patterns by the race of the teacher making them or the race of the teacher being talked about, there were a few notable exceptions. One strong pattern to emerge in Davenport District schools were white teachers who vented about white colleagues they felt were racist. Second, in these same schools was a belief that black teachers were naturally better able to reach students in poverty in their school. Third were racial classifications that white teachers in Martin District schools made about schools with majority-black student populations, such

as Davenport District. Fourth, black teachers working in Martin District schools observed their white colleagues applying labels to black students, dominating discussion over their black colleagues, and how their white colleagues often left schools with black student populations to work in schools with majority-white student populations instead. In reaction, the majority of token black teachers (i.e., black teachers who taught in Martin District) withdrew from engaging in an occupational community with white teachers.

Drawing boundaries from racist colleagues. In Davenport District Schools, which had majority-black student and faculty populations, there was an observable fracture between different groups of white teachers. Based upon fear of others' perceptions of their racial identity, or distaste for how a fellow colleague talked about the students, white teachers would purposely avoid other white teachers. The tendency for white teachers to congregate at Pine Grove was noted by one white male teacher, who once told a white teacher group of three women in the hall one day that they were the "white teacher club" and he was going to stay away to avoid people thinking he was racist. This same teacher, though, the white group thought was racist, based on the way he talked about the students. They did not want anything to do with him, either.

NEWELL: I just know there's this one [white] teacher who I just don't want to be around because he's made kind of like racist comments about the kids. Just like, he has this sort of attitude like he just, he's just here-- he's too good for here and he can't wait to leave. That kind of, that kind of attitude I just don't like. So, I avoid people like that, people who complain all the time.

While Ms. Newell and her group of four white colleagues maintained solidarity with their own race which was expressed in public spaces such as hallways and by the buses, their group formation was ultimately influenced by previous experiences they had with other white teachers whose comments, complaints, and venting struck them as unacceptable. Some

examples from other white teachers who detected racism in their white colleagues' words included the following.

On the last day of school, I asked Ms. Trunnell, a first year white teacher, which teachers she knew weren't coming back next year. She listed three teachers, then added, "And I hope Mr. Nagy [an older white teacher in his second year] doesn't come back." I asked, "Why?" She said, "Because he's racist." I asked how she knew. She replied, "A comment he made to me once, he said, 'You don't actually like teaching "these children," do you?' I told him that yes, I did. He said, 'Get out of here as soon as you can and go to Surrey Ridge or someplace.'"

Larksfield field notes 6-4-15

I sat with Mr. Richie, a mid-career white teacher, who was taking a break in the library. We talked about his previous jobs teaching at majority-white schools, including Crest Point, before he came to Larksfield. I brought up how some teachers said they didn't like the former principal there because they did not like being managed by a woman, and that it wasn't about her being black. He replied, "That's not it," and added that when he worked at Crest Point, he worked among a lot of racist white colleagues.

I asked him what kinds of comments are racist. He said he couldn't think of any right then, but it's in the tone in which they're said. He named a particular example, Mrs. Norcross, who he knows and stays in touch with because Richie frequents her husband's nutritional foods store. "It's like their [i.e., racist teachers'] indirect way of communicating with one another, kind of like saying, you know, 'I'm with you. We're in the same boat.' Like whenever someone talks about welfare, they're really talking about more than that. It's not directly a race thing, but it is. Same thing with the Affordable Care Act.

Drawing on these prior work experiences, he made a comparison to his present workplace. "I mean, I can look around here, Larksfield, and I know who is racist by some of the things they say." I commented that a lot of people say that if you choose to teach black kids, wouldn't that make you not a racist? Mr. Richie said, it's different between adults." He gave the example of his grandfather. "He was extremely racist. He was a dentist. About half of his patients were black. Would he turn away business? No! But would he come home and talk about how he thought he was superior to them? Yes."

Larksfield field notes 4-14-15

Both Ms. Trunnell and Mr. Richie socialized regularly with fellow white teachers who did not fit their own descriptions of being racist. Ms. Trunnell's white work friends were vocal about being proud to teach at Larksfield. Mr. Richie's white work friends championed the Affordable Care Act, talking passionately together in the hallway between class transitions about political issues. In other words, diversity within their white teachers' own race group

became meaningful for them as they formed their occupational communities (see also Smith and Moore 2000).

Drawing boundaries around natural teacher-student rapport. In Davenport District schools, many black and white teachers alike believed that black teachers were better able to relate to students in poverty in their school. Some black teachers such as Ms. Ambrose, Dr. Cosben, and Ms. Samuelson, and many others, believed that teachers who lacked personal experiences with poverty could not reach the students or understand their students' struggles. Ms. Samuelson's response to a question about how race affects teacher-student relationships instead answered with differences by class, but conflating affluence with whites and poverty with blacks is consistent with the findings of other literature (e.g., Lewis and Diamond 2015).

JENNIFER: Does race play a part in how teachers relate to their students?

SAMUELSON: I think it does, I think it does. A lot of times, if you've not lived a situation – and when I say lived a situation, a more affluent person, whether they're black or white, does not understand the true struggle of a poor person, whether the child is black or white. If you cannot understand that then you do have a problem making that connection sometimes I believe. I believe some people can make the connection and then some people have a struggle.

White teachers similarly acknowledged black teachers' better ability to work with students in their school, but through different types of comments, such as this one that a white teacher told a black teacher in the hallway during duty one day: "I was wondering whose strong voice that was. You have such a strong voice!" These beliefs about teachers' natural strengths and abilities were reflected in social boundaries among faculty, that is, in the spatial allocation of teachers across the school space, which I discuss in the next section.

Drawing boundaries through racial classifications. About one-third or more of the white teachers who worked in Martin District schools previously worked in schools with majority-black faculty and/or majority-black student populations. This became an axis of similarity that these white teachers used on a regular basis to bond. For instance, Ms.

Norman, a white first-year teacher in Crest Point who previously taught in a Davenport District elementary school for one year, said she and Mrs. Irvine, a white mid-career teacher who also previously taught in Davenport Public Schools (DPS), share that experience in common. At the end of the school day, they will often exchange brief words with each other in the hall about being mutually thankful to be there. Their shared previous work experiences also appear to be the basis for Mrs. Irvine's welcoming actions towards Ms. Norman as a first-year teacher, including sharing resources with her.

JENNIFER: What is it about those [teachers you named as helpful?] Why have you turned to them?

NORMAN: ... Mrs. Irvine, because she's right on the hallway, she's also in math. And she's just, since staff meetings and day one, she's tried to include me in with the general ed kids as far as what they're doing and the resources they're using for math. So. And she came from Davenport, and we share that. We have war stories. Everyday's a day in paradise at Crest Point! [laughs]

JENNIFER: Is that the language you use?

NORMAN: Yeah! Just another day in paradise, mmhmm. She'll ask me how my day is, and I'm like... Good. Like normal. I'm like, how about yours? She's like, you know, I love every day here. So we do not take our jobs for granted here, that's for sure.

Ms. Norman references her workplace as being "paradise;" the endearment "heaven" was the widespread term white teachers used in Larksfield especially. But white teachers in the Martin District schools frequently referenced the opposite – working in warzones with combat pay— to emphasize the contrast in their working conditions. As Mrs. Irvine notes:

IRVINE: [Talking about her previous DPS faculty.] I think the warzone, I mean you're in combat together, does bring people together in a way.

JENNIFER: So this isn't a warzone? What makes this?

IRVINE: Oh, no. Crest Point High? No it's not a warzone at all. The kids aren't combative.

White teachers who reflected on their prior workplaces using this contrasting and metaphorical language were making racial classifications (Ispa-Landa and Conwell 2015) of

schools dissimilar from theirs. They categorized whole schools based on the student populations in them. These classifying terms regularly came up in hallway conversations between teachers. The terms, the teachers explained, captured the fact that in schools with majority-black student demographics, contending with students' behaviors was exhausting, threatening, and adversarial, akin to going to battle, war, and combat on a daily basis.

Drawing boundaries through racial stereotypes. While black token teachers in Martin District schools did forge some deep cross-race ties with their white colleagues (see Chapter 3), these relationships were often unstable because they were either curtailed by teacher turnover,⁴⁰ or rocky due to racial messages the white teacher conveyed that the black teachers found troubling. For instance, black teachers noticed their white colleagues applying stereotypes and labels to black students in poverty; in turn, many black teachers found it difficult to mentor, coordinate, or team with white teachers' teaching styles. Mr. Ulster, one of the three black teachers in his school, stated that he observed other teachers regularly labeling the students from a nearby rural neighborhood, Oak Hill, who attended the school. These students were usually black.

JENNIFER: How, if at all, is race important in your day-to-day work?

ULSTER (B7): I think in a way, it plays a factor. Because I know how certain kids, they come in and how they'll react to other teachers. Like they might [be] calm and have a conversation [and] they're collected with me. And he goes to another teacher that's white, [and it's] 'He's a bad kid, like he does this or he does that.' He gets a referral. But in my class, it's like, he's the model citizen. And sometimes, it means -- like my Oak Hill kids, like I'm from Oak Hill. And it's like when they come in and you know where they come from, you know where they stay, and you know they don't have access to the same resources that a Surrey kid has. The main thing is money. Like doctors are here and the factory workers are in Oak Hill. Or the people with no jobs are in Oak Hill. So it's a big difference. I learned to understand more about the kids here compared to over there. Because I knew about Oak Hill kids' parents not having transportation to certain events and you had your over involved parents at Surrey.

⁴⁰ The teacher turnover rate in Crest Point was much higher than in the other Martin District Schools (see Table 7.1). Many of these teachers left due to demographic changes in the student population. For example, see Mr. Lowry's quote in Table 2.8 in Chapter 2.

[...] JENNIFER: So you actually know what Oak Hill is like, [being from there]. Whereas teachers who don't, they know the kids are from Oak Hill, but they --
 ULSTER: And they all have that stereotype, you know, because [of] one or two kids, all of them are labeled as the Oak Hill kids [laughs]. That's real good athletically, but doesn't have the academics.

The white colleague down the hall from him, Mrs. Litler, recounts the way she and her colleagues would vent about student behavior of the Oak Hill kids:

LITLER (W30): Right, we don't know much [about the students] coming in in those first few weeks, you know. And sometimes it's the good and sometimes -- and it used to be worse, honestly. Before all of our middle school kids started coming to Surrey, I think there was Oak Hill Middle School. You know, there was a definite -- we used to lovingly, jokingly say yep, they know which school they went to, regardless of color as I'm watching them come in the door.

JENNIFER: By how they're dressed or how they talk or?

LITLER: How they dress, the volume of their mouths, their behavior. A lot less controlled, wild, loud.

Even though Mrs. Litler states that it is not race that makes teachers form expectations of their students right away, most teachers who talked about Oak Hill kids were talking about the black students in their schools. "Oak Hill" could serve as proxy for saying rural, less-affluent, or black, as these comments from the teacher interviews below show. But in each case, when teachers talk about Oak Hill, they are talking about race.

PATIL (W15): The majority of our black students seem to be from Oak Hill, which Oak Hill is more rural, which is where I grew up.

JENNIFER: How, if at all, is race important in your day-to-day work?

FREEDMAN (W6): Race? I don't -- I don't know. I mean, it's not really something I think about much. I do know that, you know, we have the students from Oak Hill, which is a little bit different than Surrey. And the majority of them are black. So I do know with some of those students, you do have to be a little bit more helpful with. Those are usually the majority. Those are usually the ones that are in the Transitions [remedial Algebra class].

NIGEL (W16): You can see in the student body that they migrate to their certain cliques... We have a group of Oak Hill kids, the black kids that are from Oak Hill, they kinda stick together more than anybody, and they will even alienate other black kids that aren't from Oak Hill.

JENNIFER: Does race play a part in how teachers relate to their students or students relate to teachers?

YATES (W13): As far as students, hmm, typically the students that I have, because they are advanced students, they're AP kids, even the African-American students I have typically are from, you know, upper middle class families. You know, this other part of Uray County, the kids that are African-American kids from like Oak Hill that are in the -- I mean, typically, not always, but typically aren't the advanced kids. I don't have any of those.

RABENAU (W1): Here [at Surrey Ridge] it's predominantly white students but the only African Americans are from Oak Hill, which is a very poor community in the area, so sometimes I see a racial divide in these classes that I didn't notice at the other schools, because they're from very different backgrounds.

NICKEL (B4): A lot of the black kids - not all - but a lot of the black kids come from Oak Hill. And their home situations there are very dys-- difficult, at times, very testing.

Not only in applying stereotypes to students, but in how white teachers interacted with black teachers, black teachers perceived they were being stereotyped. Ms. Ruscoe, a mid-career black teacher, felt that, by dominating discussion and explaining procedures with little leeway for other approaches, white teachers conveyed to black teachers that they “assume[d] that this person of the other race don't know as much as you because they're from another background. ... [And that whites think] they know everything, it has to be their way, you [as a black person] don't have any ideas. You don't make sense because you're black.” Confirming her perception are comments from white colleagues such as Mrs. Ewing, who used to work at Ms. Ruscoe's school but now works at Mt. Summit.

JENNIFER: So did race ever come up in your conversations with students or faculty?

EWING: Constantly. At Crest Point it was a constant thing.

JENNIFER: Would teachers talk about it too?

EWING: Constant.

JENNIFER: So what are some types of topics?

EWING: OK, we had a black head basketball coach, Mr. Vick. I always assumed he was – he is an idiot. I always thought he was just an idiot. He made race – everything was race. He'd go, “That's a black thing.” And why do you have to say, it's a color? Why can't you just say— everything was race. ... Down here in the South, I guess it is prejudiced. ... It's a lot of racism. But I'm telling you, it's as much racism on black people against white people as white against black. Probably more. At Crest Point if, as a teacher, you would do something, they'd go “Mrs. Ewing, you just don't like me because I'm black.”

JENNIFER: The students say that, but a teacher would never say anything like that?

EWING: Vick would, that idiot basketball coach. Yes. I really believe that. And I think the principal, Mrs. Meeks, was a real pro... anti-white. She hired a lot more blacks than whites.

Proceeding from these kinds of perceived racial messages and contested conversations directly about race, black teachers understood that white teachers' complaints about the black principal who was later fired at Crest Point, Mrs. Meeks, were not really about the principal being a woman and not even about her leadership abilities – these were cover stories – but rather about white teachers' own growing dissatisfaction with a shifting student demographic that was increasingly black. While never confronting their white colleagues about their opaque reasons for complaining or leaving, black teachers could discuss with one another this as well as their concerns about there being too few black teachers to mirror the black student population. As Mrs. Avery said,

JENNIFER: What was the composition of the faculty like at your previous school? Was it more African-American teachers there than there are here?

EVERY (B23): It was about 60-40 at my previous school, so majority African-American. When I first got here, I noticed it was just the opposite. Like 90-10 or maybe 80-20. Let me think... so if I leave out the PE teachers, there's about eight African-American teachers here. So it's a big difference. I can't understand about why because you can't – I don't understand about why. Because you don't find that in other places. You'd think they'd hire closer to the demographics of the school [which is 65% black].

JENNIFER: Do, have other teachers talked about this too?

EVERY: Teachers do talk about that. It's the strangest thing.

The Role of Race in Shaping Social Boundaries: Segregated Groups in Public Spaces

Social boundaries, in contrast to symbolic boundaries, refer to objectified differences that are observed between different groups, such as different positions they occupy, spaces they reside in, or resources they have access to, relative to one another. Social boundaries are built upon symbolic boundaries drawn by in-groups, and become solidified with the collective acknowledgement of group distinctiveness by out-groups. Social boundaries became visible in two ways. One way was when teachers settled into voluntary teacher

groups that were also their occupational communities. In public spaces, they often vented about student behavior and stresses of the workday, but at other points of their workdays, they also helped each other solve technical issues with technology and lesson plans. In Davenport District schools, racial groups voluntarily separated in supervisory spaces, whereas in Martin District schools, racial groups voluntarily separated during lunchtime. A second way segregation emerged was when beliefs about natural teacher abilities (i.e., symbolic boundaries) became imposed on teachers in the way they were assigned to different classroom locations in the school, or when beliefs about negative teacher attitudes became publicly associated with white teacher groups.

Voluntary teacher segregation in public spaces. When teachers in Davenport District schools would vent after school by the buses, they would settle into predictable teacher groups whose members were stable day-by-day. These teacher groups were visibly divided by race. In this way, hallways and supervisory spaces facilitated venting, but usually through homogeneous groups due to the informal social setting where teachers chose their conversation partners. This was true at both Pine Grove and Larksfield, even though administrators had given teachers guidelines about the specific places they should stand to cover the entire space with adult supervision. For example, in my unsuccessful attempt to find out in which class the hall-wandering student belonged, I found myself talking among four other white teachers on the lower part of the steps by the busses after school. Another all-white teacher group of four teachers also typically clustered on the lower level by the buses. Other days, I would stay on the upper part of the steps where black teachers Mrs. Orans, Mrs. Idol, and Mrs. Uddin typically chatted; another, younger black teacher group would materialize on the sidewalk near the gym.

Both white teachers and black teachers in Davenport District remarked about this teacher segregation. Ms. Nylund, a black teacher at Larksfield, told me by the buses one day

that you can see the teachers split up into groups by race on the grassy hill. Her white colleague who was walking over with us, Ms. Trunnell, concurred. In the cafeteria in their school, often the white teachers especially would gather their chairs around one white teacher's table, where his/her students were seated, leaving their own tables unattended. Two groups of white teachers did this daily, one comprised of three white men and a white woman, and the other a dyad of white men. Most of the other teachers stayed at their own tables, using the time to read or make notes, or talk about lesson plan ideas while remaining at their own tables.

In Martin District schools, teacher segregation became visible not so much at the buslines or inside the cafeterias, since most teachers were not required to do this kind of duty. Rather, they became visible in the hallways at lunchtime. Since they were not required to escort or accompany their students to and from the cafeteria, teachers could choose either to stay in their classrooms or to go to the teacher tables just outside the cafeteria to eat. The latter used to be a requirement by the previous principal, but when teachers increasingly voiced their dislike for the requirement, she repealed the rule. Now only some teachers use the teacher tables; most stay in their rooms or in their hallway area. A prime example, and a very visible teacher group that congealed around lunchtime, was in the annex hallway upstairs where two perpendicular hallways intersected. Every lunchtime, they would pull student desks out into the hallway and eat together. Mrs. Iron, a white teacher, would bring a salad from home; Ms. Everdell, another white teacher, would drink a Diet Coke from a convenience store cup plus have a snack while playing on her school-issued laptop; Ms. Rabenau and Ms. Lily, who younger white teachers, would join in, sometimes sitting on the floor. All of these teachers are white, two veteran and two new. Meanwhile, Mrs. Levett, a black veteran teacher whose classroom was five steps away and had the same lunch period, would never come out to join them. Mrs. Inman, a black mid-career teacher at the end of the

hallway, would grab her sack lunch and head into Ms. Ibbotson's, a black study hall teacher's, classroom, passing the white teacher group on her way. She would close the door after entering Ibbotson's room.

This separation between teachers was never commented on by this group, although one white teacher on the hall noted in an interview that she sees segregation among the teachers and staff. From this teacher's view, the two black teachers on this hall "will talk to pretty much anybody" while the other black teachers and staff in the school building seem to stick to themselves.⁴¹ From my own observations, the white and black teachers would exchange vital information at the beginning or end of the 20-minute lunch period as they were passing by each other, such as Mrs. Iron verifying with Ms. Inman what time she was supposed to come into her classroom later that day to watch her students so that Mrs. Inman could go to a dentist appointment. The teachers cooperated with one another on a professional level, doing favors such as this. White and black teachers in this area of the school also would share food set out by some teachers for all to share in the nearby teachers' lounge. But they would not spend their free time together, would not eat this food in each other's presence except on rare occasions, and would not carpool together to professional developments (whereas white teachers would with one another).

When Mrs. Levett, a black teacher on the hall, was injured in a car accident midway through the school year that led to her being in a wheelchair and needing physical therapy for months, this incident brought many aspects of the teachers' social assumptions and involvement with one another to the surface. Mrs. Inman noted that white teachers would come to her to ask how Mrs. Levett was doing, as if they assumed the two black teachers

⁴¹ In Surrey Ridge and Crest Point, there was racial segmentation by occupation as well, whereby almost all the teaching assistants and janitorial staff were black. Whereas in Crest Point these occupational groups would regularly stand and talk with teachers in the hallway, in Surrey Ridge, they hung out in public spaces (halls, copy room) but only among their own occupational group.

would know everything about one another (they didn't). Mrs. Levett, for her part, only felt the interpersonal caring of her white colleagues once an extreme incident such as this happened. Prior to her accident, while she says she's always had a relationship with Mrs. Nesbitt, "I never really realized and appreciated just how special she is until I had my accident, and she did so many things and came to see me in the hospital, and she brings us little – little goodies, valentines."

Social boundaries that are maintained in the regular routines of the workday, such as in segregated seating patterns during lunch, serve the purpose of giving a backstage to each racial group. That is, it could be that white and black teachers minimized certain face-to-face contacts with one another in public spaces in the workplace – expanding relationships only in exceptional circumstances – in order to avoid threats to face. Goffman suggests that racial difference can prompt avoidance in order to protect positive self-evaluations or to defend themselves by "keeping off topics and away from information that would lead to the expression of information inconsistent with the line he is maintaining" (Goffman 1955:228). The occupational performance (i.e., "line") black teachers are maintaining is that race doesn't or shouldn't matter in their school, but when topics come up during lunch in circles of white teachers, such as how black young men on TV news footage "look like criminals" or how the confederate flag should not be removed, this would likely be a hard line to maintain for the black teachers. While these types of race-related topics did not come up every day at lunch, they did come up and there was no predicting when they might. If a black teacher chose to insert herself in such a conversation, the white teachers would likely save their own face by avoiding these topics as well. By separating, each group is free to express themselves more freely and function in a back-stage, where routines can be dropped and the performance standards are different than the front-stage.

Involuntary (assigned or ascribed) Racial Group Positioning. In Davenport District schools, especially Larksfield, beliefs about the different capacities or strengths of teachers by race was actually reflected in the spatial segregation of teachers across two separate buildings. Black administrators, using the principle that ninth grade students needed to have the strongest disciplinarians, would purposely place teachers they believed had strong disciplinary skills in the North building with the 9th grade students. What this meant for both the Math and English departments was that three black teachers from each department ended up in the North building, while five of the white teachers from each department ended up together on the same hallways in the South building. In this way, beliefs about the positive but distinct characteristics of each racial group of teachers became inscribed in the sorting and structuring of teachers across the space of the organization. (Related findings appear in Chapter 4, regarding the proximate clustering of white token teachers in Davenport District schools, which facilitated their quick, group, and teaming ties.)

In fact, my own role in the research setting showed the ways that administrators make assumptions about teachers and how teachers themselves automatically sort one another into categories by racial groups. The black principal of Larksfield, Mr. Everett, told me multiple times – when I came to seek permission to do the study, when I asked ways in which I could help out, and when I did my exit interview with him, that I would fit right in with the English teachers – a department that was glaringly white and female, concentrated in one wing of the school. In addition, in the hallway or in the parking lot, black teachers several times mistook me for Ms. Almond or Mrs. Libbey, both white teachers, saying I looked like them.

Social boundaries between groups of teachers were highlighted by authority figures. By bringing up contentious topics in faculty meetings, and inviting different stakeholders in the topics to speak during the meeting, conflicting views that fell largely along racial lines were formally articulated. Another way that a racial group was articulated formally into the

political structure of the Davenport District schools was when the black administrator at Pine Grove called out a group of teachers who were bringing bad press to the school. She exhorted white teachers in the faculty who were friends with the offending white teacher, who had left last year, not to continue associating with people like her and complaining the way she did.

During the faculty meeting, the principal says in reference to the white teachers who complained and brought bad press to the school, “I know those teachers are gone now, but some of their ‘associates’ are still in the building. Don’t let someone who’s about to leave pull you into that mess.” A black veteran teacher makes a comment that she hasn’t seen the article. The principal says she’ll send it to her. Sitting next to me, a white teacher, Mrs. Eckert, writes, “This is bullshit.” The principal continues, “We’re all professionals here, right?” Ms. Yarlow, a white teacher, shakes her head affirmatively. “Ms. Samuleson, Mr. Elmes, they all came early in the morning to tutor students [who failed]. Ms. Metra – and you know how hard Ms. Metra works. She used to be an English teacher. She read students’ essays in the summer.” All the teachers the principal named are black teachers. At this point, one of the white leavers’ white ‘associates,’ Ms. Cousins, raises her hand and asks a question. Sitting with one foot on her knee, Cousins says, “Thank you for allowing us to voice our concerns. I’m concerned with the students not reading on the tests.” Mrs. Orkin, a black faculty member, answered her concern, saying that not everything is read to them. Ms. Costa, another black teacher sitting next to Orkin, adds, “[The tests we give are] not a joke.”

Pine Grove field notes 8-27-14

In this case, groups of teachers divided mostly on racial lines were being called out in a formal setting by a formal authority figure. The group who had vented brought their complaints outside the school, creating a serious district-level problem that threatened the legitimacy of the school in the eyes of the public. (The principal would later say she got in trouble with her superiors for this newspaper article for this reason.) The principal urged teachers to desist “associating” in an occupational community that used public reporting as a solution to their concerns about how failing students ended up passing at the last minute. To the principal and the black teachers who defended the programs to increase graduation rates, the white teachers’ complaints unjustly brought discredit to the school’s image.

Much like how administrators in Larksfield would send the “strong disciplinarians” – who tended to be black – to the North building, Mr. Nunn, a black teacher in Martin District,

was placed in a particular position within the institutional arrangements of Surrey Ridge. As a black male coach, he was aware that it was for this reason that he was placed in his particular classroom. It was in a strategic location of the school so that he could quickly get to and manage student conflicts that could develop into physical fights in hallways (eight of which happened in Surrey Ridge that year). The message implicit in this placement routine was that black teachers have better control over black students than do white teachers. In response to this institutional arrangement, Mr. Nunn lived up to these expected performances of race. He got altercations between black students under control and redirected black students who were upset about problems with peers or their white teachers by calmly speaking to them one-on-one in impromptu conferences in the hallway. His white colleagues all spoke well of him as standing out as the most diligent worker of his group, the coaches, most of whom were black males. Also on the social front, Mr. Nunn developed deep ties with both white and black colleagues at work; he straddled group affiliations. This meant that he had to be able to talk to white teachers in ways that agreed with, on a basic level, their belief that poor black students' academic and behavioral problems were due to deficient home and neighborhood socialization. In my interview with him and in my observation of his classroom teaching, he presented himself as a strong proponent for poor black students' upward mobility through education, not hesitating to present himself as a real-life example. Dressing more professionally than any of his colleagues, he wore a bow-tie and sport coat every day, and told his students he was pursuing a doctorate and that they could too.

However, the way Mr. Nunn and other black teachers straddled different teacher group affiliations (i.e., belonging to both black and white teacher communities in the school) was not common for white teachers in the Martin District schools. I observed minimal intergroup mixing among white teachers. Especially white teachers tended to stick to their immediate hallway area and not venture out across the school. This "stick to your

department, stick to your area” routine was confirmed by teachers who had experience working in both types of school contexts. Ms. Valdosta, a white teacher at Pine Grove, noticed a big difference in how teachers would not “mix around” in the halls and beyond their departments in the suburban district in which she used to work.

JENNIFER: How would you compare and contrast the levels of teacher interactions here versus Leo High School [in a neighboring suburban district]?

VALDOSTA: At Leo, there were a handful of people that I knew and, and that’s basically how it was.

JENNIFER: Okay. So, you just find your one niche and that’s all?

VALDOSTA: Yeah. I never even saw—there are portions of the building I never even saw.

JENNIFER: But it’s not that much bigger than this is it?

VALDOSTA: Mmh. [No.] You just don’t venture out at Leo. You keep to yourself.

JENNIFER: Okay. That’s just the unwritten rule?

VALDOSTA: Yeah. You just kind of keep to yourself and you keep to your department. And, and, you know, the only interaction you get with, with anybody is if you’re sitting in the faculty lounge during lunch or during your off block and people come in and interact with you.

[...] JENNIFER: So, what’s it like here then? People do venture out or they just...

VALDOSTA: People, people mix around. I don’t know if it’s the design of the building because its, you know, kind of circular, you know, or [like a] block but, you know. I mean people walk around the building, you know, and people really didn’t walk around the building at Leo.

What Valdosta described, I saw at Pine Grove. There were certain teachers who would walk the halls or simply hang out in the halls, such as Mr. Ronald, Mr. Rodriguez, and Ms. Cousins. Teachers in Martin District Schools, in contrast, did not generally use hallways to meet or build new ties with colleagues outside their immediate area. Rather, they used hallways to strengthen already existing ties to their occupational community.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have shown how teachers’ interactions in public spaces in the school are an important medium through which they build occupational communities. Especially through the widespread practices of venting that teachers use in these spaces, and the evaluative talk they do in the aftermath of interactions with peers that take place in public

spaces, teachers demarcate the boundaries of their teacher communities. Thus, collegial interaction outside of the classroom around non-instructional matters is a significant part of teachers' professional socialization. Through hallway interactions, teachers have opportunities to learn how to speculate about organizational events and construct understandings of students; the right and wrong way to vent about student; and that hallways are not true backstage regions where they can let their "face" down. All of these interactions involve learning the teacher role – as well as conflicting versions of the teacher role held by different occupational communities of teachers within the school. The learning is ongoing for all teachers; as they involve themselves in the social interchanges outside the classroom, they are participating in various occupational communities.

One of the main findings of this chapter is that teachers gain an orientation towards their own group through interactions with members of other groups in the hallway, busline, cafeteria, and copy rooms. Teachers make distinctions among the caliber of their colleagues based on directly and observing them struggle with student discipline in the hallways, viewing from the hallway or hearing indirectly about struggles they have had in their classrooms, getting frustrated that others are not doing their part in managing the public spaces, indirectly observing them break school rules, and reacting to teachers who intervene in one another's classes in public spaces. Teachers use these distinctions to draw symbolic boundaries around with which teachers they did and did not want to associate. Most generally boundaries were based on who was professional versus unprofessional, but many of these boundaries alluded to racial differences. Teachers used symbolic boundaries about race to distance themselves from colleagues they felt were racist, from colleagues who were not as natural at relating to students of color in poverty, from prior workplaces that fit racial classifications opposite from the school they presently taught in, or from colleagues who applied racial stereotypes when interacting with black students or black teachers. Teachers

also instantiated tangible social boundaries along racial lines in the way they would associate with their in-group when given a choice of conversation partners in public spaces.

Theoretical Implications. Beyond showing how workers learn their roles by investigating interactions in “transitional” social spaces (Goffman 1959), the theoretical insight offered by this chapter’s findings is that some workers have a secondary audience: not only colleagues of varying occupational community affiliations, but also students; not only in public spaces, but by peering into private spaces within the organization (e.g., classrooms). The constant front-region performance necessary in teaching highlights special work contexts in which there is the constant presence of clients and where colleagues are constantly watching one another’s performances. Other lines of work likely lacking a true backstage are police, nurses/doctors, flight attendants, and retail workers.

The findings also extend theory on occupational communities (Van Maanen and Barley 1984) by providing a finer-grained analysis of the norms and deviance from norms that demarcate community boundaries. Deviance from management is one aspect of occupational community, but deviance from other communities within one’s own occupation is a new aspect highlighted here. On the one hand, the finding that teachers in one of the district settings used public spaces in ways that were decried by managers (and teacher-leaders) highlights how “what is deviant organizationally may be occupationally correct” (Barley and VanMaanan 1984:6). In this district, more organizational rules governed the hallway, copyroom, and busline spaces than the other district, but teachers broke them continually. While on the surface the rampant breaking of rules may look like a classic case of normlessness, where colleagues do not hold one another accountable to stated rules, is actually an occupational group’s proactive use of spaces to institute a function perhaps not originally intended by the space’s designers or managers (see Smiley 2016).

On the other hand, among teachers, there is a right and a wrong way to be deviant and to appropriate the freedoms that come with common space and common time shared with colleagues. The present research identifies how teachers themselves set symbolic boundaries around professional conduct, and sort their colleagues into categories of (or along the spectrum of) professional and unprofessional, accordingly. This sorting materialized into visibly segregated teacher groups in public spaces. Future research on internally fractured communities within one occupation should focus on the group deemed deviant or “unprofessional” by their occupational peers, and how these communities talk about their engagement with, identification with, and norms and values in their work in ways that normalize their behavior.

Practical implications. The fact that teachers contend with a constant audience at work, and have no true backstage in which to gather themselves, helps to explain the risk of burnout in this and related occupations where human service providers cannot complain in front of their clients if they hope to remain professional. The teacher’s comment during the bus-line example, where he says with a tone of relief, “I’m glad I’m off in my own little hole” speaks to the stress of multiple and constant performances that are part of teachers’ daily work. I revisit this implication by analyzing turnover outcomes, and exploring venting as a form of “voice,” as defined by Hirschman (1970) – in Chapter 7.

A second practical implication of teacher behavior in public spaces is that, while the data did not show many instances of clients (i.e., students) acting as interlopers into or reacting to teachers’ interactions, it can be safely assumed that they do hear and see what goes on. Hearing teachers say to one another, “I thought she was one of the good ones” about a student as they spectate a scene of student discipline, or say things to their colleagues in the hall such as “I’m just here just to do my time so I can get my student loan paid off and I’m out of here” would likely have a negative effect on students, in the very least communicating

teachers' views and expectations of their students and how little they value their workplace. And by separating amongst themselves along racial lines, teachers model a social world for students that belies lessons on diversity. Conversely, wherever teachers do the opposite of these things and speak highly about students or tag-team with colleagues to learn about students by engaging with them together in public spaces and associating with colleagues across racial boundaries (e.g., as Nylund and Trunnell did by the bus line), teachers' socialization will benefit students beyond the context of the classroom.

In sum, the findings in this chapter cast doubt on Lortie's eggcrate model of teaching and other rational organizations perspectives (Scott and Davis 2007) which assume that the bulk of the work in organizations takes place in settings designated for formal, technical work, and that spaces not designed for these purposes, such as hallways, do not really matter to the life of the organization, vocational learning, or to the experience of the job. However, I found that opportunities for professional socialization into the teacher role exist outside the technical core (i.e., eggcrate). This non-technical socialization is not so much about needing expert teachers or teachers with resources to show teachers how to do the work; rather, it is about setting norms of professional conduct. Thus, teachers are socialized in significant ways in public spaces and teacher's work is not as circumscribed by the classroom as Lortie suggests. In fact, once the impact of location on teachers' behaviors and teacher interaction is taken into account, the multiple roles that teachers play emerges more clearly. The finding that teachers balance multiple performances during their workday and can find no true backstage suggests that the socialization problem in teaching may instead have more to do with the amount of socialization needed to manage these many roles. Given the demand for socialization in the teaching profession, these findings suggest that one of the main barriers to socialization is not the eggcrate, but rather the internal symbolic and social boundaries that

are established by a combination of organizational attributes and teachers' behaviors. In turn, the boundaries segregate occupational communities which could learn from each other.

Figure 5.1. Conceptual relationships between structural attributes, teachers' social use of public spaces, and occupational community attributes

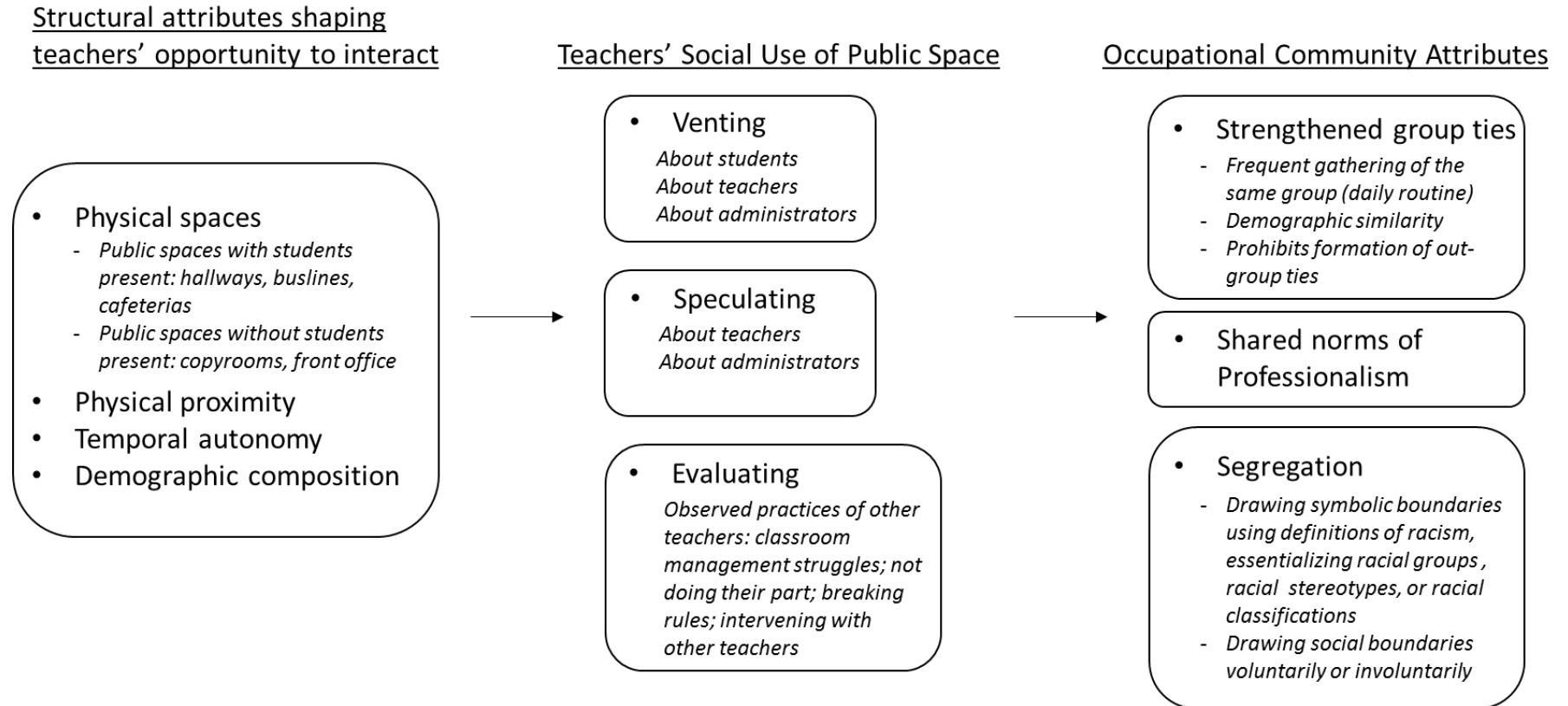


Figure 5.2. A Conceptual Diagram of Public and Private Space in the School

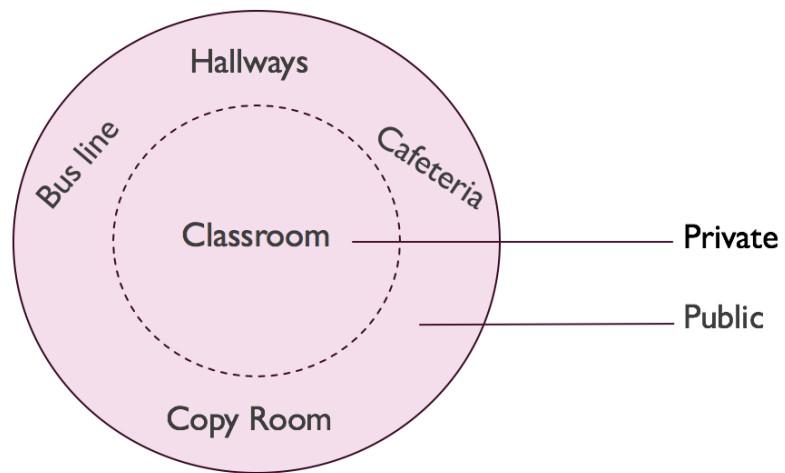




Figure 5.3. Professional artifacts spruce up the copy room at Mt. Summit (Martin District).

Chapter 6. Popping in: How Individual Status and Organizational Attributes Influence Teachers' Classroom Consultations

Introduction

In the previous chapter, I showed that public spaces in the school building – hallways, copy rooms, cafeterias – are important sites for teacher socializing and socialization. As the backstage to teacher's "front-region," spaces outside the classroom provide teachers the opportunity to vent and to learn their roles as teachers. Through venting, teachers draw boundaries between professional and unprofessional teachers, situating themselves within particular occupational communities. In public spaces, teachers also observe the conduct of their colleagues. Observations allowed teachers to make evaluations of their peers, which provided further grounds for drawing boundaries between teacher groups. In turn, boundaries became visibly reflected in segregation between teacher groups. Because the boundaries teachers drew often relied on racial stereotypes or racial classifications, segregation between teacher communities often fell along racial lines. There were some institutional differences between districts that affected the qualitative experience of teachers' backstage spaces (such as smaller or larger physical areas, or reduced exposure to students during the workday). However, the general process by which teachers vented about and evaluated one another supported the way they formed and separated their occupational communities similarly across organizations.

In this chapter, I look inside teachers' classrooms to see how teachers' relationships play out in the "private" setting where the work is done. By showing the wide variation in frequency of classroom visits across teachers, this chapter provides further evidence that calls into question the "eggcrate" model of teaching, which posits that colleagues never or only rarely intervene into the technical core. This finding informs how we think about jobs with

relatively high levels of autonomy such as teaching, where performance is individually-based, sink-or-swim is the assumed socialization structure, and isolation from social contact with colleagues is unavoidable. Rather, I find that teachers actually do interact a great deal during their “actual” work – if not face-to-face, then through their students. Other teachers are a constantly present reality as they carry out their technical work. Also, the findings contest Meyer and Rowan’s (1977) logic of confidence, which expects that members of bureaucratic organizations seek to reduce or avoid evaluation in order to uphold the myth of a rational system that couples policy with practice. Rather, these findings suggest that teachers actually want their performance to be observed, evaluated, and helped by their colleagues. In this analysis, I focus on social dynamics between teachers based on their status in the organization. These dynamics were largely similar across the schools I studied, but organizational differences did matter in some instances. The role of school culture and organizational structure (such as work schedules throughout the day) in facilitating collegial consultations was greatest in two schools, Crest Point and Surrey Ridge. In these schools, teacher consulting and visiting during class time was a regular and more frequent occurrence than the other schools.

The questions driving this chapter are: First, what do classroom visits look like, and what dimensions distinguish different kinds of visits? I find that length of visit was a basic aspect of the consultation that was related to varying kinds of resource exchange. Short “pop-ins” entailed checking up on teachers who were struggling, included social banter in front of students, involved alignment of curriculum, or featured technical problem-solving. Longer “extended visits” involved teaming for mutual resource gain, funneling resources to new teachers, constructing mutual understandings of the goings-on in the school, and crafting disciplinary plans of action. I also found that who initiated the visit – a lower-status teacher, a higher-status teacher, or an equal-status teacher – was a dimension of the visit relating to the

mentoring and acclimation process for novice teachers on the one hand and the information-gathering process for incumbent teachers on the other.

Second, how do individual teachers gain support and resources through these visits? In other words, who secures ties with the well-resourced, well-connected, high-status teachers in the school, and how? I find that in some schools, low-status teachers assimilate through downward visits paid to them by higher-status teachers. But in schools with a dearth of downward visits, either due to a lack of available mentors or because of social norms of independence, upward consultations initiated by the lower-status teacher (i.e., novices and/or struggling teachers) were helpful for their mobility prospects, but that only some novices and strugglers initiated these visits. For those who did not, the few downward visits they did receive were not helpful for gaining resources. I also find evidence that a significant amount of teacher visits and accompanying resource-transmission occurs only between status-equals (i.e., not upwardly or downwardly). These findings have implications for the success of novice teachers and the level of cohesion among faculty in their professional beliefs and goals.

Literature and Theory

The analysis in this chapter builds on two literatures: studies of teacher interaction and coworker support, and studies about inequality between workers in organizations. In the first group are studies that focus on how teachers impart forms of capital – human, social, physical – to one another (Spillane et al. 2003). These studies often use network analyses to trace who consults with whom, and whether the exchange of resources through network ties is reciprocal or done within a group (e.g., Bridwell-Mitchell and Cooc 2016; Atteberry and Bryk 2010). Ethnographic studies on teachers help further uncover what flows through those ties: for example, reflective dialogue about instruction (Bryk and Schneider 2002), peer

learning (Bridwell-Mitchell 2015), a sense of ethnic community (Flores 2011), and gossip (Hallett et al. 2009). These studies show that teachers' social lives at work are consequential for school-level outcomes of improved teaching practices and institutional change, as well as individual-level outcomes, such as teachers' well-being and emotion management at work.

The second group of studies to which this chapter contributes concern the distribution of resources among the staff of an organization. These studies show that being connected to incumbents leads to the better productivity of new hires (Castilla 2005); and that having both "large, sparse" networks as well as "small, dense" networks with coworkers increase one's upward mobility outcomes in the organization (Podolny and Baron 1997). While large networks provide resource and information access, small networks provide clear role expectations which enhance performance. Most of the work concerning resource distribution in education research focus on school-level resource disparities (e.g., Kozol 1991), or on how school district administrators distribute resources such as course assignments unequally to teachers (e.g., Kalogrides et al. 2013). Other work underscores the role of individual differences in shaping resource distribution among teachers within a school. Everitt's (2012) work on "arsenals of teaching practice" emphasizes that teachers accumulate rewards and experience-based knowledge for making instructional decisions as they progress in their careers; by this approach, tenure is a major axis of difference informing the kind and amount of resources teachers have to do their work.

Drawing on these literatures, in my analysis I examine the causes and consequences of nine emerging types of classroom visits observed in the field. I analyze patterns of the in-class consultations, such as the times of day as well as demographics of teachers who visit one another, to better understand how individual teachers gain the support of their coworkers. Based on theories of homophily and group identity, I expect that teachers will tend to visit other teachers of their same status positioning and same race. When teachers visit one

another will likely vary by school context as a result of school culture differences (e.g., in some schools, teachers can spend lunch in their classrooms, and/or it is the norm for teachers to leave their classes unattended briefly in order to speak with colleagues). In terms of consequences of some of the types of visits, I expect that consultations could lead to the consulting teacher having advance information, positive informal performance ratings (i.e., peer evaluations) by other teachers, and greater retention.

Data Sources

Table 6.1 shows the number of classroom observations by school. I used case-pair matching to ensure a balanced sample of teachers by race, certification, tenure, and age in each school. Overall, the sample of participants who were interviewed and shadowed (N=46 Davenport District teachers and N=52 Martin District teachers) is 35% black, 25% male, and has an average teaching experience of 4 years in the school and 9 years in total. This is representative of the teacher population of all five schools overall (N=392), which is 35% black, 40% male, and has modal values of 2-4 years of teaching experience in the school and 10-15 years in teaching total. The way in which participants were selected ensures at minimum a broad exposure to visits received by teachers of different demographic backgrounds and locations in the school. While most visits used as cases in the data were observed first-hand by the researcher, some cases are derived from teachers' accounts of visits from teachers, whether during the interview, during informal interviews, or amid teachers' conversations with one another.

--- Table 6.1 about here ---

Coding schemes and descriptives: Defining teacher status, visit types, and resource types

Status. This analysis is interested in how individual workers' statuses impact resource sharing with coworkers within an organization. Traditional definitions of status in sociology include Weber's (1958) definition of status as a position of honor and higher rank in a particular setting or organizational structure. Another definition of status is rooted in resources (e.g., Blau and Duncan 1967). An example of a concatenation of definitions is Owen-Smith's (2001) typology of status rankings.⁴² The precedent for using an observational approach to constructing the status hierarchy observed in a workplace setting has a long history, spanning from Blau (1955) to recent organizational scholars such as Owen-Smith (2001).

To execute an analysis that examined the role of status in consultation interactions, I constructed a status ranking among teachers that drew upon teachers' own understandings of which teachers had status in the school. In interviews, teachers alluded consistently to some teachers as the ones they went to when they needed help or approval for a course of action: often, these were teachers in positions of formal authority with a specified title, such as department chairs and teacher-leaders on the school leadership team. Others were informal leaders who teachers named as veteran experts, or as being highly invested in the neighborhood, or as being highly-connected to the school through their club sponsorship. Still others were recognized by teachers not as ones they would approach, but as ones who wielded respect and popularity from the wider school community; teachers routinely called these teachers "mean girls" or "the elite." The resulting status ranking appears in Figure 6.1 below.

⁴² Constructed using two dimensions, criticality and autonomy, the typology of status determines where scientists in a lab were positioned in terms of their relative power. Criticality pertained to formal authority, being a permanent organizational member, having stable resources, and being involved in multiple projects (i.e., authority and input spanning domains within the organization). Autonomy pertained to whether the worker controlled his/her own resources, had work experience, and possessed specific skills not held by others.

Other considerations in constructing the rankings were to use markers of status as clues to teacher positioning. In some schools, status differences within the school exists between different geographic areas of the school. In the majority-black schools, being on the freshman hallway was considered by others in the school to be “the zoo,” i.e., the most undesirable location. In Larksville, the large, sunlit rooms off on their own wing were on a quiet hall and the teachers there did not want to be moved, and weren’t year after year. In one of the majority-white schools, Surrey Ridge, a hallway called the annex was deemed by a science teacher as the place where no one ever visits. It is far away from the rest of the school, and other teachers have no reason to venture there. In contrast, the 200s hallway upstairs in this school was considered the main hall, where two of the three teachers in the so-called “Elite” clique had their classrooms, as well as three of the four veteran teachers considered to be pillars of the school establishment and its legacy of excellence. These were the teachers on every committee supporting the social life of the school, such as the steering committee with the principal which controlled the academic trajectory of the school (e.g., decisions affecting departments, scheduling, hiring, or school activities).

--- Figure 6.1 about here ---

Visit types. When teachers are visited in the form of a pop-in, it happened either as part of a quick errand, asking a specific question or giving a specific update, or more spontaneously as a teacher was passing by the classroom of another teacher and decided to say something briefly to them. Four types of pop-ins emerged as important to shaping teacher’s experiences of received support at different levels in the status structure of the school. First, checking in out of concern included downward visits in which a teacher with experience would step into a novice and/or struggling teacher’s classroom to address classroom management problems, as well as upward visits where the novice teacher would

ask veterans for a check-in. Second, teachers of all experience levels paid one another brief social visits during class time. While these visits had no or little academic content, they conveyed collegial closeness to the students as well as teaming to hold mutual students to high standards. Third, teachers would pop in to inform another teacher about upcoming curriculum in order to achieve vertical alignment with them (e.g., a 10th grade teacher visiting a 9th grade teacher's class to make an announcement to rising 10th graders and give materials to the 9th grade teacher). Sometimes, these informative pop-ins were for horizontal alignment between departments of the same grade level. Fourth, the uncertainty presented by using technology in teaching created many occasions for teachers to consult and problem-solve with nearby teachers while they carried out their technical work (i.e., teaching).

Sometimes, teachers' visits were not bound by short time limits or a brief purpose. When teachers made lengthy visits to one another's classrooms (i.e., for 10 or more minutes), I called these *extended visits*. Most extended visits happened during the teachers' mutual planning time and therefore they were usually not directly in front of students. The visits were routine and spontaneous, starting without much lead-in and without needing an invitation. Extended visits were overwhelmingly used for giving or seeking social support or informal knowledge helpful to performing their job. The content of extended visits overall did not vary much by school context, as Table 6.2 shows. In other words, the same kinds of things happened during extended visits in each school, and with similar frequencies. The transmission of information looked the same whether a teacher was in a majority-black or majority-white faculty school. Social visits commonly involved sharing food; sharing organizational information regularly featured talking about school policies and other faculty, sometimes in the form of gossip or venting. In addition, sharing technical knowledge during extended visits was also evenly spread across schools, with the sharing of professional

resources highest in Crest Point, the one school in the sample with weekly Professional Learning Community (PLC) meetings.⁴³

--- Table 6.2 about here ---

Resources. I coded instances in classroom visits where teachers gave or exchanged the materials or personnel needed to meet organizational goals as “resources.” This included instances in which teachers would divide labor with one another or provide disciplinary assistance to manage the other teacher’s students. I coded instances of teachers giving technical tips, feedback, or guidance to one another to enhance effectiveness “professional support” (see also Laschinger 1996; Nedd 2006). Examples of formal knowledge included in this category would be knowing and telling colleagues how daily procedures work, such as submitting attendance, going to lunch with one’s class, and teacher requirements for parent contact. As professional support also included lending one’s own or additional personnel support to achieve another teacher’s goals (which the giving teacher may share in common), this code category further included teachers’ efforts to coordinate their services to students (e.g., by holding mutual students accountable for their behavior, disciplining another teacher’s student, or teaming to procure teaching resources for communal use).

I coded teacher visits in which the interaction was on topics not related to work, such as talk of their own families and children, as “social support,” but this also included when teachers would vent about work-related stress. But even in these instances, the teachers involved in the visit made many repeat visits that contained informational or other resources. Even purely social visits, then, can be understood as undergirding the exchange of information, building supportive channels for communication about work-related matters and conveying work-related resources.

⁴³ PLC meetings took place in teachers’ classrooms without administrators present.

Finally, I coded the giving/seeking/exchanging of technical and/or organizational knowledge as “informal support.” Examples of informal organizational knowledge included in this category are knowing to which assistant principal teachers should go to get their questions answered or requests granted, knowing which tasks are most highly valued and rewarded by administrators and which ones are less crucial to complete, and knowing the underlying structure of teacher affiliations (i.e., cliques, hierarchy, etc.). It is worth noting that in 46 cases of the 154 in this study (30%), more than one type of support was given within a single classroom visit. Thus, the analysis itself showed how disentangling resource types can be an arduous task, but it also is informative in itself as it shows the multi-faceted nature of these kinds of workplace interactions. It follows that if teachers are not part of these interactions, they are prone to miss out on multiple resources.

Findings

In the following sections, I present various categories of classroom visits that had effects on the wellbeing and success of lower-status (i.e., novice) teachers. In the first kind, *downward visits*, veteran teachers initiated the visit in the novice teacher’s room. In the second kind, *upward visits*, novice teachers initiated the consultation with incumbent or veteran teachers in their rooms. Downward and upward visits emerge as a crucial part of the mentoring process for lower-status teachers, for the better or for the worse. In a following section, I explore egalitarian teacher support through informal sharing rather than mentoring. These visits occur between status-equals.

Downward and Upward Visits

Below, I give examples of three forms of downward visits and one form of upward visit that were prominent in the data: checking-in during classroom mismanagement;

funneling resources; vertical or horizontal alignment; and asking for a check-in. Incumbent or veteran teachers initiated downward visits, and gave or withheld support in accordance with their estimation of the novice teacher's worthiness. The downward check-ins show that if veteran teachers do not respect a novice teacher's classroom management or if they perceive the novices as free loaders, those veteran teachers treat the novice teacher with a sink-or-swim mentality by limiting or withholding resources and subsequent classroom visits. Conversely, if a veteran pops in for reasons besides mismanagement, and especially if the novice makes an upward visit to the veteran asking for help, then the veteran is forthcoming with resources.

Checking in during classroom mismanagement

Ms. Elkins, a first year white teacher in Pine Grove, had many classroom management problems. Her next door neighbors, however, did little to help her even as they saw her struggle. While Elkins did not experience many pop-ins from her neighbors in her first year teaching, other first year teachers who struggled less than she did received many such supportive check-ins. One exception she recalled was a visit from Ms. Cousins, a teacher-leader in the school, whose classroom was two hallways away from hers. Walking by Ms. Elkins' room one day, Ms. Cousins popped her head in when a student broke a glass flask and she heard it.

JENNIFER: Do teachers pop into your classroom often?

ELKINS: No. Sometimes I wish they would. Like up here [referring to freshman hall] they're very, um, personal. And they come and they help each other out and stuff. And like I think my kids can probably ritually sacrifice me and no one would come in. Coach Cousins popped in on Wednesday, and it was shocking. Because no one ever does and no one ever has. One of my kids had thrown something and it shattered. And so, she came in and he wasn't-- he was having a hard time 'cause he couldn't read the final. She's like, 'What's going on?' And he looked at me and I kind of looked at him. I was like, 'I think he dropped something.' She's like, 'No, he threw something.' That's the only time. She looked at me and she looked at him.

JENNIFER: Did she take him [out of the classroom]?

ELKINS: No. . . . I was worried she'd take him if I pointed out who it was. So no one - she's like, 'who did it?' and no one said anything. And so, she's kind of-- I guess she realized there was nothing to be done because everyone was doing what they're supposed to be except for him. And then he sat down.

This scene shows how dynamics of coworker support in classrooms can take place where a novice's immediate needs are acknowledged by a veteran teacher, the veteran initiates the visit, but the visit does not result in gains in professional support or feedback. Cousins has a semi-formalized role as a teacher leader, where doing her daily rounds in the hallway to ensure everything was under control made classroom assistance part of her job. Even with teachers in the building holding these roles, the visit is a rare occurrence for Ms. Elkins. Elkins seems to decline Cousin's disciplinary help, even though Elkins was struggling to implement it herself. Because Elkins was shocked by the visit and it came from a teacher-leader, it felt more like being caught than an opportunity to receive support. Elkins also wished to protect her student ("I was worried she'd take him") and the image that she had the situation under control (e.g., "he dropped something" versus "he threw something").

Elkins is aware that check-ins were not rare for other novice teachers on another hall in the school, and assumes that she suffers from collegial neglect specific to her hallway. However, the more successful check-ins stemmed not from location in the school, but from the lower-status teacher initiating contact. These were upward visits where the struggling teacher asked for help from incumbent or veteran teachers. Other novice teachers on her hall on the first floor as well as the hallway on the second floor did them. As Mr. Ronald, a first year teacher on the 9th grade hallway above Ms. Elkins said: "As far as helping me with like classroom management issues and things like that, I know anything push comes to shove, I can knock on Coach Simpson's door. She has no problem coming in and snapping [on the students]."

As the example below will show, funneling material resources *downward* from mentor to mentee through extended visits was common in Martin District Schools.

Funneling resources

In some schools, novice teachers who had much to learn professionally, needed to be connected to organizational resources, and knew nothing about the existing social order in the school were fortunate to have veteran experts to provide, connect, and inform them about all of these things. These were visits in which a wealth of resources was shared, demonstrating also the lengths to which some formal or informal teacher-leaders would go to help a new teacher, pulling on all her ties and resources to transmit resources to the new teacher. This was the case between Mrs. Ireson (veteran) and Mrs. Eames (novice) below.

Mrs. Ireson brought me with her to visit a veteran colleague's classroom so we could grab a piece of cake. The substitute, Mrs. Eames, was sitting in the teacher's desk in the back of the room and not engaging with the group of kids. Mrs. Eames at first called Mrs. Ireson over to her and said, "Can I talk to you for a minute?" Mrs. Ireson approached Mrs. Eames, and we learn that Eames had just been hired that afternoon to replace a black male teacher who had resigned. Ireson immediately launched into sharing pertinent information about the school, the teachers, and professional resources. "That's not a premier group of students [you're inheriting], but that's OK!" Ireson then immediately left the classroom to go get an administrator to help locate the textbooks Eames needed. Ireson also got her laptop from her own classroom to bring back and coach Eames in the first stages of using an assignment- and grade-tracking program called Canvas on the school-issued MacBook computers.

Surrey Ridge fieldnotes 2-12-15

This example shows how Mrs. Ireson was prepared to help teachers with fewer resources than she, seemingly at the drop of a hat. Indeed, several new as well as less-veteran teachers cited Mrs. Ireson as the one who gave them and continued to give them everything that helped them to acclimate to their new workplace. Ireson's reaction to finding a colleague in need also shows how visits could evolve in purpose and often involved multiple forms of resource sharing. The visit started off as a social pop-in to get a piece of cake, and turned into

an extended visit involving gathering and transmitting technical knowledge (e.g., showing how to use the computer program for teaching), physical and political resources (access to textbooks, having administrators see you associated with a teacher they esteem), and organizational information resources (knowing who to ask for help and what to expect from them, as well as where your own students' ability falls relative to the student body) for another teacher. The example shows how vital understandings of the job and how to solve practical problems are imparted through the course of interpersonal interaction, rather than through formal means such as a new employee orientation or the lesser-resourced teachers' having to track down the resources through formal avenues (i.e., going to the principal).

An additionally important aspect to “funneling resources” visits is that they did not happen in Pine Grove or Mt. Summit. Indeed, more extended visits were made “downwardly” at the other three schools – Larksfield, Crest Point, and Surrey Ridge – that is, from a teacher with higher formal authority or informal status, such as department chair, veteran expert, or coach, to a teacher of lower status, such as one who struggled with classroom management or was a novice teacher (see Figure 6.1). This difference indicates a greater amount of mentor-initiated professional assistance in those schools than the others, stemming faculty composition (e.g., ratio of support staff to teachers, or veterans to novices) or school culture differences. Larksfield had more longer-tenured teachers (24%) than Pine Grove (17%), which meant that there were more teachers available to act in the capacity of a mentor. Surrey Ridge had the most veteran teachers of any school in the sample (43%). Crest Point had a unique culture that enabled and encouraged teacher consultations, which meant there were more classroom visits during class overall than any of the other schools.

The organization-level difference of available mentors and how thinly spread they were across the teacher population in the school became clear when comparing veteran experts in different schools, and the visits they made to other teachers or visits that teachers

made to them. For example, it is instructive to compare Mrs. Ireson to a veteran expert in a school without funneling resources: Ms. Samuelson in Pine Grove. Mrs. Ireson and Ms. Samuelson each share their resources with colleagues in different ways. While Ms. Samuelson made classroom visits to fellow veteran teachers to assist with student-related discipline issues,⁴⁴ Mrs. Ireson made *both* these kinds of visits to veteran peers *as well as* many “downward” extended visits to new teachers where she provided them with professional, social, and informal resources. In addition, while Ms. Samuelson received many upward visits to her classroom from younger colleagues, Mrs. Ireson does not receive intentional visits from younger teachers. Rather, Mrs. Ireson routinely initiates the funneling of resources to novices for which they did not originally ask. As the example here shows, the novice teacher became like a project to Mrs. Ireson. Visits that funneled resources to novice teachers were helpful to novice teachers such as Mrs. Eames because they rapidly closed the gaps they faced in organizational knowledge, tacit knowledge, and access to teaching materials, compared to colleagues with more tenure.

The next kind of pop-in combines professional support with informal knowledge. Alignment visits also can occur with or without students present, but if students are present they are incorporated into the visit in a formal rather than informal capacity.

Vertical or horizontal alignment

In vertical alignment pop-ins, a teacher from the same department, but who teaches a grade level above the visited teacher, comes to the classroom while instruction is taking place. The visiting teacher delivers a message and sometimes materials directly to the students, not relying on another teacher to convey the message. Another form of alignment

⁴⁴ These incidents of disciplinary assistance do not denote that the colleagues are struggling with maintaining discipline, but that the teachers both want to coordinate their efforts to get that child back on track.

visit (i.e., “horizontal”) can occur between teachers who teach the same subject level within or across departments. Some of these visits are pre-planned, but most are spontaneous. The visits combine professional support with either informal knowledge or a student-centered purpose. In the example below, the department chair and 10th grade English teacher, Ms. Almond, visits Ms. Carsen, a 9th grade English teacher with two years of teaching experience, who is teaching Ms. Almond’s future students.

When I arrive to Ms. Carsen’s class, teachers are mostly out in the hallway talking to one another, receiving students to their classes. In Carsen’s room, Ms. Almond is talking to the 9th graders about their 10th grade summer reading. The students are all sitting or standing on the right side of the room by the window, as she stands and checks out copies of Fahrenheit 451 and Gathering of Old Men. Ms. Almond leaves at 8:40, talking to Carsen briefly on her way out about the details she told the students. Carsen told me the visit was spur of the moment, but she said to Almond that sure, she could speak to her students.

Larksfield fieldnotes 5-22-15

While this example shows teachers aligning their curriculum on a basic level such that the next year’s curriculum is provided within the context of the current teacher’s classroom, other examples featured horizontal alignment and had more immediate consequences on the visited teacher’s own performance. For example, Ms. Almond kept a novice teacher colleague who taught tenth graders, Ms. Richardson, constantly informed about the approaching state test dates. Ms. Almond would pop into Ms. Richardson’s classroom sometimes before school to give updates about testing, and ask for updates about how testing was going. The year in which this field work took place, the district implemented PARCC tests⁴⁵ which involved two separate parts and a long strand of practice tests leading up to them. These test dates were not always formally announced by principals; indeed, sometimes only Ms. Almond knew the details and principals did not. Whereas Ms.

⁴⁵ The Partnership for Assessment of Readiness for College and Careers is a consortium founded in 2010 which at one time had 24 state members and involved administering a standardized test that met Common Core State Standards.

Richardson was informed, Ms. Ryan in the math department in the same school was not. Ms. Richardson describes Ms. Ryan's lack of visits and information as a serious problem for Ms. Ryan, and speculates that it occurred because her department chair and members did not care whether she sank or swam:

JENNIFER: [So there's] not unity around just being in a department.

RICHARDSON: No, no. Like for example, Miss Ryan had literally no idea that the PBA [project-based assessment] was this upcoming week because that's how little she talks to her department. Like they just won't talk to her. Like they don't plan together. Because they like –

JENNIFER: Do they just do their own thing?

RICHARDSON: Yeah, and I mean, it's math, so it's not like you're like coming – like you're not reinventing math. You're not finding new units. You're teaching the book and you're teaching planning for the test. Like they know to teach. They've been doing – Miss Lacy and Mr. Allred, they've been doing this forever, and they do not – they'll tell her where they are in the unit, but that's it. ... She hates it. I mean, how much would it suck? I've known about the PBA since December, and she did not know. Our leadership coach in our TFA program [outside of the school] had to tell her about it.

By Ms. Richardson's account – a friend of Ms. Ryan's – her math department colleagues knew what she needed to know, but did not bother to tell her. Moreover, Ms. Ryan was not isolated from colleagues, but the teachers who visited her room on a regular basis (and who she was comfortable visiting) were either new teachers or not in her department; thus they lacked this knowledge. This scenario, of being connected but lacking important information, suggests that Ryan lacks direct ties, where two of the math teachers had the tie but they did not have one to Ryan, so she did not receive the information. So unless Ryan chose to consult these teachers, she would not know. Even then, without a direct tie, her access to information remained precarious because they had no mutual times off and the other two were coaches and therefore gone at the end of the day. Ms. Ryan did not appear comfortable interrupting their teaching and only visited their rooms when required to by administrators (in order to learn disciplinary techniques from them). Ms. Ryan's case shows how status differences between novices and expert veterans/athletic coaches remain intact if the higher-status party

does not visit the lower-status party's room to convey professional resources and/or informal knowledge. That is, Ms. Richardson's status as a novice teacher is elevated by being the beneficiary of a knowledge-sharing veteran teacher. Her role is made more equivalent to teachers in the English department with longer tenure because she receives similar information. In contrast, the three math teachers have roles that were not equivalent in the organizational structure, and remained so by not sharing information.

Next, I turn from cases of status-discordant teacher visits to visits between status-equals.

Visits between Status-Equals

Whereas upward and downward classroom visits were a vital part of professional mentoring, including induction for new teachers and support for struggling teachers (or both), egalitarian visits helped incumbent teachers transmit information and other resources through strong ties with coworkers similar to themselves in tenure and appointed position. Status-equal visits accomplished acquisition of material resources for the team; shared interpretations of workplace events; problem-solving for both discipline and technology glitches; and social acceptance, validation, and belonging within a teacher group. In the first type of visit, teachers teamed to increase resources through extended, impromptu meetings, such as between a club sponsor and veteran expert in the example that follows.

Teaming to increase mutual material resources

Ms. Lear, a third-year art teacher at Pine Grove, was getting the hang of her teaching craft by the time her art colleague, Mrs. O'Brian, started working at the school the year of this study. Ms. Lear had proven her commitment to the school and to developing her students' art talent by starting a successful extracurricular art program which got positive

coverage in the local press. Mrs. O'Brian, meanwhile, brought her own knowledge: though a first year teacher to Pine Grove, she had 10 years of teaching experience in private and semi-rural public schools and was on the state's art curriculum council. When Ms. Lear and Mrs. O'Brian came into one another's adjoining classrooms during their planning time, it was often to exchange materials (pop-ins), strategize how to align the art program together (pop-ins), or, as in this example, pool their efforts to write a petition to the administrators to get new textbooks for their subject area (extended).

When I went looking for Mrs. O'Brian in her classroom, I found her sitting next door in Ms. Lear's room at Ms. Lear's desk, typing on her computer. Ms. Lear stood nearby, as they alternated dictating aloud how to word the letter. The object of the letter, addressed to the assistant principal, was to request a specific textbook to replace the outdated, tattered ones that were 15 years old. They have the two new copies they want sitting on Lear's table, and they think it's probably going to happen.
Pine Grove fieldnotes 5-15-15

Like other teacher groups in Larkfield, Crest Point, and Surrey Ridge, these two teachers were demonstrating teaming by having a shared goal and pursuing it together. Such teaming may be an especially important form of coworker support in classrooms in lesser-resourced schools (i.e., schools that serve a high-poverty student population) because it shows that teacher collaboration has some potential to redress or alter resource inadequacies. Perhaps a surprising aspect of these teaming-oriented extended visits is that they were rarer overall than might be expected among teachers who teach the same subjects, and especially when the formally-stated expectation from principals across schools is that same-subject teachers would common plan and engage in professional learning communities with one another. In other words, while using classroom visits to team was obvious in each of the schools among a core group of "collaboration-heavy" teachers— to borrow a teacher's own terminology for these kinds of teachers – it was *not* widespread across all teachers. The lack of more visible teaming implies that autonomous approaches to teacher practice were central

to most people's enactment of the job, and that extended visits were not used between status-equals to enhance their professional (material) resources.

Another way that teachers spent large stretches of time during the workday in one another's classrooms was in a social capacity, such as during a lunch break.

Friendship, lay ethnography, and agreement about workplace expectations

Unlike some pop-in visits where a teacher visits with a specific purpose in mind and leaves promptly, extended visits lend themselves to changing topics over the course of the conversation or social exchange. What starts out as a social visit can become an exposure to and adoption of another teacher's technical skills or teaching resources. What starts out as a visit for mostly non-work reasons – such as eating lunch or spending the last period of the school day watching a TV program together – inevitably incorporates sharing information about what each teacher saw other teachers do that day. Reporting on events of the workday and making interpretations or evaluations from these observations is what Weeks (2004) calls *lay ethnography*, which Ms. Newell and Ms. Yarlow do in the example below. Extended visits between work friends where lay ethnography took place were rampant across all five schools.

In the private setting of the classroom without students present, teachers making social visits often become observers and interpreters of their own social world at work. In this example, an interaction that starts out as an exchange of social resources progresses into also providing resources for informal learning.

I hung out in Ms. Yarlow's room with Ms. Newell during their planning period. They were watching an episode of the TV show *Scrubs*, and Yarlow invited me to stay. Anticipating seeing her, Yarlow had brought Newell fast food from Wendy's and they ate together. They talked about the annoyingly chirpy social worker at the school, a short white woman whose full name they knew and see once per week in the hallway when she asks them (*in a high-pitched voice*), "How are you today?"; and

that they saw Mr. Solomon and Mr. Francis talk for two hours straight in the hall outside Solomon's classroom during his 4th block, when Francis is off but Solomon isn't.

They also talk about Ms. Akron's capri pants being out of dress code. "Even Ms. Ambrose called her out on those!" Yarlow said. "I don't know how she gets away with all that, I really don't," Newell said. Newell then tells about a student who cussed at Ms. Lear today and got suspended for 7 days. But, Newell tells me, what punishment a student receives has to do with how administration feels about you, the teacher. For instance, the kids cuss at the white male teacher next door to her, but this teacher is not supported because he butts heads with the administrators whenever he doesn't agree with them. So they don't support him as much.

Pine Grove fieldnotes 5-20-15

Laden in Ms. Yarlow and Ms. Newell's conversation are not only observations of what teachers and students around them did that day, but also explicit commentary on how appropriate these teacher behaviors were. The teachers also demonstrate understanding of who is friends with whom ("Even Ms. Ambrose called her out on those!") and which teachers are supported by administration (Ms. Lear) and which teachers aren't (the teacher next door), and why.⁴⁶

Thus, for Yarlow and Newell, what began as a social get-together with no formally work-related activities took on work-related activity. On the surface, this is gossip, but it shows how teachers observe one another and make sense of these observations together, learning about things they did not see or did not yet hear about that day and coming to agreements about workplace expectations from those observations. They learn the informal organizational structure, that is, what positions each teacher occupies, verbally providing one another with new or retrospective evidence to accompany their previously formed or shared understandings of different teachers' reputations. This differs from the boundary-work teachers did in the public space of the hallway when they evaluated other teachers because

⁴⁶ My presence had some effect on their conversation, at the point where they explained to me about the teacher next door and why it was different for him. Otherwise, their conversation was between them; I was a listener.

lay ethnography occurred within the context of an interaction for another purpose. Moreover, with increased privacy and temporal affordance for the interaction, the verbal evaluations teachers made inside their classrooms were more thorough and integrated several related, and sometimes sensitive, facts and opinions to the one they were recalling.

The routineness of extended social visits is important because these dyads or groups became visible teacher cliques to the faculty at large; teachers (and I, with time) knew where to find a given teacher if s/he wasn't in his/her own room. For instance, when I asked, "Where is Mrs. Dean?" Ms. Carsen would advise, "Check Ms. Lacy's room, she's usually in there." Besides being perceived as a unit by faculty, the routineness of spending the bulk of one's planning time in one other teacher's room also has implications for how teachers are influenced by their colleagues. On the one hand, choosing to spend most of one's time with one colleague means an accompanying opportunity cost of where, how, and with whom that teacher chooses not to spend his/her free time in the workplace. This choice creates conditions where the influence of other colleagues becomes restricted and potentially less diverse, if the dyad or group that visits each other is already homogeneous. On the other hand, in the context of lengthy social visits, the reach of peer influence is broad, imbuing the strong ties resulting from extensive interaction with a multi-purpose quality. In other words, Ms. Newell goes to Ms. Yarlow not only for social support, but also to learn the most recent transgression of Ms. Akron and to get resources for decorating her own classroom. Ms. Yarlow similarly gets social support from Ms. Newell as she has the chance to laugh with her as well as learn about whose students got suspended today and how they were successful in their discipline report. The social visits strengthen their ties through creating resource interdependence.

Extended visits between status equals that featured venting, as the one below, served a purpose beyond socio-emotional support as well. These social interactions and

conversations delineated socially-approved occupational attitudes and practices, similar to the findings in Chapter 5 about how teachers interacted in public spaces in the school.

Crafting disciplinary plans of action

After school in Pine Grove, Larksfield, and Surrey Ridge, a third to half of the teachers would stay at school and visit colleagues in one another's rooms. In their visits, they would debrief the day. In the example below, two second-year teachers, Ms. Richardson and Ms. Trunnell, talk candidly about Ms. Richardson's difficult day with her students. Ms. Trunnell offers her consolation, redirection, and suggestions for solutions.

At around 3:45, Ms. Richardson came into Trunnell's room, set her stack of photocopies down, sat atop a student desk, and sought advice on a student they had both had. Richardson said, "What did you do with Marquis?" Trunnell said, "You need to just call his mom and tell her the business. There was a time when I had to kick him out last year, and just say 'Bye.'" Richardson proceeded to describe how Marquis was very "combative" in class, getting in girls' faces, holding loud conversations across the room, and her eighth block has a whole bunch of troublemakers.

Richardson asks if Marquis did certain behaviors he was doing in her classroom now. Trunnell responded, "No, he was never like that with me last year. Last year I just laughed a lot, because I ... what they do shouldn't be hilarious to me, but some of it was." Richardson said, "I am going to need to do that too, or else I am just going to end up hating them. Marquis instigates it, and then the class is derailed. They are unbearable."

Larksfield fieldnotes 10-23-15

Although the teachers are geographically separated by quite a distance – a whole building separates them – when the school day is over, Richardson routinely visits Trunnell. They are close in age and teach the same subject, belong to the same high-status, excelling department in the school, and now share students in common. Similar in status, they are both novices but not perceived as strugglers in the school. These similarities appear to draw them to each other. Their visits are almost always extended, often taking the form of social visits. But these kinds of visits – ones focused on students and seeking actionable advice – happen often, too. They offer one another professional guidance drawn from their own limited experiences.

Especially Richardson turns to Trunnell for her assistance navigating the waters of her early career. In turn, Trunnell reciprocates Richardson's self-disclosure by providing details from her own struggles; the relationship is trusting enough that Trunnell is comfortable moderating some of the strong emotional reactions Richardson is having by offering her another perspective (e.g., "Last year I just laughed a lot"). These kinds of exchanges are significant as they build trust *and* they show how teachers who are concerned with professional norms (or how they are perceived professionally) verbalize their perceptions of their students within trusting collegial relationships (see Derlega et al. 1993; Hegtvedt and Johnson forthcoming; Pettigrew 1998; Shelton et al. 2010).

In extended visits in which teachers crafted plans of disciplinary action, they provided a form of support that either was unavailable through administrative channels, such as through securing a disciplinary referral for disruptive students to be removed from class. Extended visits like this one allowed Richardson not simply to vent, but to learn in retrospect from her experiences, to be influenced by a peer of her own choosing who she trusted, and to reshape her professional practices. The fact that trusting relationships tended to be between status-equals suggests that this source of professional learning is constrained within levels of the status structure. Similar to the social visits, the implication is that teachers will form diverging interpretations, attitudes, and practices particular to those with whom they consult, and that the resources attached to those interpretations, attitudes, and practices will remain largely inaccessible to those in different status positions.

In the next type visit, teachers approach a colleague of equal status to help them solve a computer problem while they are teaching. Similar to crafting a disciplinary plan of action, this kind of visit centered on sharing technical knowledge, except it could be accomplished in a pop-in and students were present.

Technical consulting

During the year of this study, both the urban and suburban districts in the sample implemented laptops-for-all programs. Whereas 9th-12th graders received personal laptops in Martin District (majority-white), only 9th graders received them in Davenport District (majority-black). For teachers in both settings, but more so in the majority-white settings, learning to teach with computers posed a learning curve for many teachers. In the pop-in below, Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Lattimore consult with one another while they have students in their classrooms, trying to solve a computer problem together. When their efforts fail, they pull in Mrs. Ewing next door. Mrs. Ewing comes over, listens to the problem, goes back to her room to retrieve a packet of detailed directions she has. These directions fail, so Mrs. Lattimore tells the other two how she knows the other high school does it. She leaves and applies her own solution. Then Mrs. Ewing leaves and calls a technical support person. While consulting colleagues for technical problem-solving during class time was a common practice in Mt. Summit as well as Crest Point and Surrey Ridge, it is interesting to note that Mrs. Ewing regards this pop-in, where each teacher ended up taking a different approach, as a “mess up.” The teacher’s feelings about how computers impact their work shows the struggle of adapting to new resources and learning how to use them in the moment of performance.

When I was sitting with Mrs. Ewing in her room during her off-block, Mrs. Lewis texted her. Mrs. Lewis needed help doing the Smart Track student survey, a required research program the teachers were to administer. I followed Mrs. Ewing into Mrs. Lewis's room, where she and Mrs. Lattimore were trying to figure out how to use the new survey program. Then all three of them were looking at Mrs. Lewis's computer trying to figure out how to do it. Mrs. Lattimore told us, "I'm worried that the students can see each other's stuff, because if they click on 'resume ...' like when I clicked on 'resume,' it brought me to where Mrs. Lewis left off, but it's because they were all using Mrs. Ewing's account here. Mrs. Ewing replied, "Well, that's the way we've always done it."

Afterwards, Mrs. Ewing said to me, "Sorry about that." I was like, "Well, that's good. I get to see teachers helping each other," and she said, "Yeah, this happens. Sometimes these mess-ups happen."

Mt. Summit fieldnotes 3-26-15

This pop-in, which was necessitated by the spontaneous emergence of a problem occurring in the daily flow of the workday, shows how different teachers bring different problem-solving techniques to their shared problem at hand. While Mrs. Lattimore draws on tacit knowledge from her other school, Mrs. Ewing adheres to the traditional logic of “that’s how we’ve always done it” and defers to formal authorities for further directions. Mrs. Lewis follows Mrs. Ewing’s solution, not out of any observed strong view of her own, but perhaps because Mrs. Lattimore leaves and Mrs. Ewing stays behind for a bit longer. The pop-in shows group dynamics, not just dyadic relations, which can bring about a variety of different perspectives that are sufficient for each teacher to proceed. The liability of group problem solving, though is that it can make teachers feel frustrated with the outcome and how the consultation exposed their differences, which they never managed to merge together in the short temporal space of a pop-in visit. Thus, this pop-in shows temporary teaming; it shows problem-solving under time constraints, and the solution itself even emerging tenuously and itself changing over the course of the consulting. They do not display complete uniformity in either their approaches to thinking about or implementing solutions. This example – and other technical consultations like it – are important because they suggest that teachers only get together during class for non-instructional problem-solving. While it involved students and took place during instructional *time*, this is still an administrative problem.

In the next type of visit, another type of quick pop-in in the presence of students, teachers of equal status exchange social resources related to gaining acceptance, validation, and belonging in a teacher group.

Social visit in presence of students

These types of visits – nonacademic in nature, but showing a tight-knit bond between

teachers – happened extremely frequently at two schools in particular: Crest Point (majority-white) and Larksfield (majority-black). The example below, which took place during my observation of Ms. Odell’s teaching, is a pop-in featuring a near-egalitarian exchange between a coach and a club sponsor. Mr. Ruben, a coach and neighboring teacher in her department, visits Ms. Odell during the students’ warm up activity. He teases a student publicly in front of the class, and the social interaction then becomes a three-way conversation in which Ms. Odell shares personal background information about herself and uses humor with this student to send a message about her student expectations.

Mr. Ruben, the baseball coach and geometry teacher, stopped in the doorway of the room shortly after the bell had rung. While students were doing their warm up, Ruben, with sunglasses atop his head, joked around with the black male student near the door, who I learned from their exchange of comments is the student body president. The student got up and got his backpack on, but it was all a humorous act. He was pretending to go to Turner with Mr. Ruben for their baseball game. “You wouldn’t fit in in Turner,” Ms. Odell said, and the boy sat back down and worked on his warm up. She also hounded him in front of Ruben and his classmates for missing the Student Council meeting earlier that morning. His peers said “Oooo” to her playful jabs. “How are you going to be the executive student body president and not show up for the meeting? Folks, I am ready to get you for not being there,” Ms. Odell said. [...] Later in the period, Mr. Ruben was referenced by the students when Ms. Odell said, “You learned something about this [the unit circle and quadrantal angles] in geometry.” “Yes, Mr. Ruben taught us this,” some of the students replied.

Crest Point fieldnotes 8-13-14

Social pop-ins like this one are important because they show how teachers play out their social lives at work in front of their students, and how social support combines seamlessly with professional supports. Teachers incorporate students into their own friendships, and see informal relations as useful to getting the work done (e.g., for calling the student body president into account for his absences). Ms. Odell does not treat Mr. Ruben’s visit as a disruption; rather, it helps her relate to her students and justify her expectations of them in the earshot of another teacher. Moreover, the visit and the comfortable banter between teachers and the welcome reception of the visited convey to students who is in and who is out among

faculty. In other words, a kind of teacher popularity becomes visible to students, to the point that students know which teachers are best friends.

Thus, in visits like these, the kind of resource being given is social inclusion in the higher-status teachers' group. If the one receiving the visit from a higher-status colleague, and the social visit is in front of students, the visit has the potential to be legitimating to the receiving teacher. The teacher's membership in a status group is clarified to students, especially with repeat visits. Over the course of the school year, I returned to Ms. Odell's classroom often, as she was a welcoming to my research efforts and a key informant. Mr. Ruben – as well as another next-door teacher, Mr. Litmer -- would pay her classes a pop-in social visit almost daily. Over time, the accumulation of these visits produced a community of teachers and students familiar with one another, and structured the work process of teaching as rightfully incorporating an element of playful, spontaneous relating.

Given these nine types of classroom visits that occurred between status-discordant and status-similar teachers, which were critical in helping novice teachers to acclimate and perform successfully in their new role and in providing professional and social support to incumbents, below I describe and explain circumstances that inhibited these visits. Drawing from interview data, I explain why teachers opted to withhold resources from their colleagues (both status-equivalent or lower-status) under certain conditions.

The Un-visited and the Anti-visit: Hindrances to teacher interaction in classrooms

Teacher interactions in classroom settings that led to sharing resources were not always automatic or successful. Four social dynamics at the school level worked against the kinds of interaction described above in both pop-ins and extended visits: when incumbents withheld help from struggling first-year teachers; when teachers felt territorial of their classrooms due to past instances where other teachers knowingly or unknowingly reported

them to administrators, when a member of a teacher team (e.g., a group that taught the same subject) created a free-riding problem, or when students carried information about the practices of teachers into another teacher's classroom instruction.

Withholding help. In Pine Grove, several teachers describe the experience where no one was willing to or wanted to help them. Usually these were first year or new white teachers whose classroom management was known by their colleagues to be weak: Mr. Updike, Ms. Elkins, Mrs. Larson, and Mrs. Westin. Mr. Updike and Ms. Elkins both had the experience of never or almost never having any of their colleagues come into their rooms to assist with classroom management. Ms. Elkins was regarded by her neighboring colleague Ms. Valdosta as awful, worse than a sub, and having no sense of classroom management. Although Valdosta and Elkins would stand side-by-side out in the hallway at each change of classes, they did not talk to one another. For Ms. Elkins' part, she said in informal interviews that she felt intimidated by Valdosta. As the year progressed, Elkins would avoid joining in her neighbor teachers' informal meetings in Mr. Ulson's room with Valdosta; Elkins' absence at these impromptu exchanges was noted by Ms. Valdosta, who wondered why Ms. Elkins wouldn't want to be mentored, and this further harmed how she was perceived by her senior colleagues. Their lack of social exchange due to Elkins' reticence to pop-in Ulson's room for informal teacher talk, and Valdosta's avoidance of Elkins' classroom to help problem-solve classroom management issues which arose regularly contributed to their separation whenever teacher interaction was voluntary.

Another teacher in Pine Grove, Mrs. Larson, describes her colleagues as being cold and not interested in helping her. Larson recounts one day when she "spent an entire day walking around the building, before school, during my [off-]block, and after school trying to find a teacher to show [her] how to" use the grade system online to submit grades, which

were due in a few days. She finally found two teachers who would help her – Mr. Laney and Ms. Osbourne – about 10 doors down the hall from hers.

Also at Pine Grove, Mrs. Westin felt that her department chair was less helpful than she expected he would be, and her neighboring colleague, Mrs. Lund, who taught the same subject as her, didn't really want to help Westin. Mrs. Lund did not make herself readily accessible: she rarely initiated planning meetings in her classroom or stopped by Mrs. Westin's room, and Mrs. Westin describes feeling increasingly unwelcome to visit hers. One particular interaction where Mrs. Lund could have saved Westin a lot of work but didn't rubbed Westin the wrong way, and came to exemplify the frustration Mrs. Westin felt about not getting enough coworker support.

WESTIN: Nuh uh, Mrs. -- lady across the hall, Lund. I mean, very friendly on the surface, seemed very helpful and friendly, but almost kind of like maybe she had an attitude towards it, like I had to go through all that in my first couple of years and do everything and I'm not going to just hand it over to them almost kind of attitude about it is the way I perceived it. And Mr. Ronald, too, in some ways. We were like, you know, why reinvent the wheel? We cut so much out on those that we have to do. If this is already available, if it's already done, give it to us. Then don't make me have to ask you five times for it, because then that makes me feel like you don't really want to give it to me, and I feel like I'm bothering you if I have to ask you more than twice for it. (laughs)

JENNIFER: Did she have the same prep [i.e., planning period]?

WESTIN: On A-days, yeah. But we hardly ever got to sit down. It was like maybe two or three times that we actually sat down and talked about trying to prep, because we all taught the same subjects, but she did her own lesson plans for all of her stuff, because she already had been doing it, because she had been teaching it for several years. But then we were doing ours as we go, and I was doing geography and he was doing State Studies, and then Mr. Reagan I guess was doing freshman seminar, and so he would get copies of his lesson plans to us, always late, and then they print them out.

The help Mrs. Westin did receive on a regular basis was not from the veteran in her department, but from other first year teachers, Mr. Ronald and Mr. Reagan. The lack of opportunities to problem-solve with more experienced colleagues – the type of consultation

that Blau (1955) pinpoints as the one that most improves accurate decision making, reduces psychological stress at work, and increases cohesion among coworkers (see also Mizruchi and Stearns 2001) – appears to present a challenge especially to first year white teachers in Pine Grove. While new teachers sometimes felt that incumbents avoided helping them in their classrooms, the fear of what teachers lose by allowing other teachers to visit their room was one reason behind this avoidance.

Organizational differences are relevant to explaining the process by which veteran or incumbent teachers made the decision to withhold help from their lower-status colleagues. Withholding help was not observed in the Martin District schools, and it was also rare at Larksfield. What makes Pine Grove unique is the narrative that the school was struggling academically and in its student discipline track record because of bad teachers in the school. That is, the problem was the adults in the building, not the children. This narrative, advanced by the principal and adopted by many teachers, included exhortations not to associate with teachers critical of the district and permission to point out publicly the poor teaching behaviors of struggling colleagues.

Territorialism. In uncertain environments – i.e., those with a revolving door of new teachers and ill-defined expectations for teacher behavior – teachers become warier of getting in trouble, and more reluctant to direct other teachers in how they should or could do their jobs. Rather, in such environments, the classroom was a refuge for autonomy, a place where teachers generally did not welcome visitors for “peer review,” as Mr. Thatcher explains. Once teachers become sensitive to being judged, the classroom is not a safe place for collegial sharing.

THATCHER: But you know, [department meetings] just don't happen. And it's just – so you have no collegiality here. We're just all in survival mode in our own little siloes and it's horrible because there's so much we could learn from each other and it's all just tightly held and – you know, and people – you know, we're supposed to

be doing peer reviews where we go into each other's classrooms this year, they mandated that. And –

JENNIFER: Whose did you go to? I've heard of the three [observations] that you're supposed to have.

THATCHER: Yeah.

JENNIFER: So who did you choose to go to?

THATCHER: I did Mr. Krantz and I mean, it's been incestuous. I think Newton did him and he did hers, I did his, you know? ... But before [it was required] I asked about that when I was, you know, in my first couple of years and people are kind of weird about it because they're so paranoid. About the only time anyone sits in on you is to make a judgment about you. And so they're so afraid to let anyone in their classroom, that it'll have repercussions. And that's just sad and pathetic, you know, that it's like – I'm your colleague. I can't get you in trouble, you know?

As Thatcher notes, add to the paranoid disposition of teachers in his school the fact of infrequent department meetings, and this means next to no collegial exchange or knowledge sharing. The consensus that visiting others' classrooms was unacceptable emerged most strongly at Larskfield, where Mr. Thatcher, Mr. East, and Mr. Leming worked. Mr. East describes teachers at his school as being very protective of their own teaching environment, defensive enough about it that the only way classroom visits would happen would be if it was required by administrators.

Mr. Leming, a teacher in the same school, explains why teachers fear other teachers visiting their classrooms to get ideas for how to do instruction and discipline. When there is a lack of clearly agreed upon norms of behavior in the workplace, teachers become more likely to blame something that may go wrong with a broken norm by saying that they saw another teacher doing the same thing.

JENNIFER: Do teachers ever observe each other's classes? And it doesn't have to be in a formal -- formal or informal, like actually see what each other is teaching?

LEMING: Not really. You know, we get to do that thing in the faculty meetings where we get up there and give an example or --

JENNIFER: Oh, really?

LEMING: Yeah, a little dog and pony show about what we do in our class, what we do in our class.

JENNIFER: Like the morning meetings?

LEMING: Well, we used to. I mean, we have in the past. But as far as like going into other teachers' classroom, no. I don't know why. I know one reason. One reason why I would be somewhat reluctant to have another teacher come in here is

because if everybody did what I do, what I do wouldn't be different, it would be the norm, and two, if everybody did what I did, well, what I do may not be perfect. 'Well, Leming is doing it.' You get caught up in that whole [principals saying], 'Teachers, we can't be doing this in the class,' because somebody came in and saw me doing it and they thought that maybe, that I had everything right, so they did exactly what I did, and then they found out something is wrong, and then all of a sudden I've got to change because I'm told directly to change. Because if you tell me directly, I'm going to do what you tell me to do. I'm not going to do that unless it's like just an ethical thing.

Leming describes having seen in the past when teachers will “throw other people under the bus” by pointing out what the other one is doing. For Leming, in the past this has meant the loss of small perks in his job, such as the ability to go off campus for lunch. In other words, when teachers get involved in one another's worlds and make their observations known to administrators, this results in loss of teacher autonomy.

The implication for staying out of one another's rooms during instruction is many-fold: reduced visits during class reduce collegial feedback and peer learning about how to do the job. The classroom becomes a space where knowledge sharing is less frequent and less likely – or may still occur, but is achieved without direct observation or only through the students, as Mr. East explains.

EAST: Sometimes I'll hear my students talking about like, what somebody else is doing in that class, especially like, something, often it's like Libbey or Almond. And sometimes if I'm really curious, I would go and ask them, "Ok, so what is this thing that you do?" Or I'll ask kids about 'em and be like ok, that's interesting. Pick up on stuff like that.

As Leming, East, and Thatcher's experiences at Larksfield suggest, teachers are wary of visitors during instructional time. Interestingly, no black teachers in Larksfield expressed being defensive or perceiving defensiveness about the informal evaluation of their work by colleagues. This paranoia and territorialism stems, teachers think, from being afraid of being judged, of having their learning environment compromised, or, in Leming's case, having had experiences in the past where colleagues' involvement in his classroom instruction has led to the loss of his autonomy. Classrooms became spaces to be protected from not only peer

monitoring and reporting, but also from free-riding when visitors would habitually take resources but not contribute any in return.

Free Riding. Another problem that occurred in teacher interactions in classroom settings that led to diminishing interactions was free-riding. This happened when members of departments would take materials and solutions from colleagues, but never contribute any of their own. A certain colleague would show up to voluntary common planning meetings in a teacher's room with no resources to share, take what was given, and gradually stop attending when they started to be held to account for their free riding. Larksfield teacher Ms. Richardson identified Mrs. Holten as a prime suspect in this kind of behavior.

JENNIFER: Okay. And Mrs. Holten teaches it [English], too, right? Or does she only have like one section?

RICHARDSON: She does, but like, [pause] I don't know, this like might be like unhelpful for your research, but like she does not try to help us. [sighs] Like she – I mean, she – she's just over it. I think she's just mad at like the system and just mad at all kinds of things, and she just wants to teach 12th grade at this point.

JENNIFER: Oh, I see. So how many sections [of 10th] does she have?

RICHARDSON: Two.

JENNIFER: Okay.

RICHARDSON: Mhm, and she'll come in sometimes and like get all of our handouts like – and like make copies of them and stuff, but she doesn't – she doesn't usually come to like our planning meetings and stuff.

JENNIFER: So has her participation just kind of dwindled throughout the year?

RICHARDSON: Yeah, mhm, down to nothing.

JENNIFER: Because when I came, it was October, and she was doing what you were doing and taking the unit and – yeah.

RICHARDSON: Yeah, and now she's not, like –

JENNIFER: Does she do some of her own stuff now?

RICHARDSON: Yeah, she does a lot of old stuff but like the problem with that is that a lot of it, I think, is still aligned to like –

JENNIFER: – [The old exam], yeah. ... So do you think it was like disenchantment with Common Core that made Mrs. Holten not participate or was it – or do you think it's an age thing that makes her not participate as much?

RICHARDSON: She does make a lot of like, 'I'm just old and can't hang' comments, which like we – and like Hedley's like no-nonsense as all get-out, and so like when somebody says that to her, like she's going to be like, 'No, you're not.' She's not like the kind of – she's not a warm, fuzzy, let-me-make-you-feel-better kind of person. And it just got to the point where we just – she just kept saying stuff like that and we were like, just help us. It's fine, just help, just be a part of it. We don't care if you're old or if you're not old, it's fine, but – and it just got to the point

where she just stopped showing up. And she has a lot of health issues and so she's gone a lot.

For Richardson, her level of collaboration with Hedley and other English colleagues was satisfactory, so Holten's non-participation was not detrimental. However, Holten's lack of contributions became increasingly obvious to Richardson over time, as her dislike of new curriculum, self-consciousness about her age difference, and health problems combined to lead to free-riding behavior unaccompanied by verbal apologies or explanations to Hedley and Richardson, from whose work she benefitted. The problem was significant and bothersome enough for Richardson that she reported what was happening to her department chair, Ms. Almond. Almond did not take further action but acted as a sounding board for Richardson.

At another school, a teacher described the free-riding problem as manifesting when another teacher would be scarce outside of school hours, and only ever ask for resources and never offer any. For second-year teacher Ms. Kline, the problem of free riding at Pine Grove bothered her because she felt that her first-year colleagues were not paying their dues the way she did as a first-year teacher. She describes how her perceptions of a first-year teacher, Mr. Luckie, developed such that she saw him as lazy.

KLING: "And then at the first few meetings, he [Mr. Luckie] always showed up late and didn't contribute much. That's not a good sign for a first year teacher. He would leech off (of me), and that's not good. But he's smart and resourceful. When I uploaded a powerpoint lesson into the google drive, he said, 'That was good, I'm going to need one of those for everyday.' And he would leave early in the start of the year, right away (at the end of the school day). It makes me think that you're lazy. Mr. Verne leaves too early too. I put a lot of time in my first year. I would stay until 6:00."

Pine Grove field notes, 9-10-15

Thus the problem of free-riding appears to happen both by experienced and first year teachers. The social dynamic becomes problematic between the sharer and the taker because

the exchange is not reciprocal. In both of these instances, the problem occurred across group lines, by age (Richardson-Holten) or gender and race (Kline-Luckie). For Ms. Kline, perceived laziness in another teacher led to withholding help from him, and ultimately a “burned bridge.” Kline eventually stopped offering Luckie her resources when he asked. Kline hear how Luckie burned bridges with other teachers as well. He left his teaching job before the semester was over.

As the next examples will show, the perceived laziness of other teachers stems from not only direct consultative interactions, but also indirect information carried through a mediator: the student.

Invisible Ties: The vicarious presence of other teachers in the students themselves.

While the sum total of the amount of time teachers spend together each workday is far less than the time they spend with their students, students create invisible ties between teachers by serving as ever-present reminders of the activity and influence of other teachers in the school. In their words or behavior, the students communicate to teachers how the teacher’s efforts compare to others’ in the school. Teachers themselves sometimes instigate this information-prying, dropping teachers’ names to their students to start a conversation about them. In my classroom observations, I found that students regularly mentioned other teachers to their teachers; through further analysis, I saw that these mentions formed a “mediated tie” between teachers without the teachers even needing to interact. I called these prevalent cases invisible ties. Sometimes, students spread information that made the teacher look good (“She makes us work too hard!”), but more often, they passed on “the dirt” about a teacher (“We just watch movies in his class everyday”). This negative information was then taken as fact and used by teachers at department meetings with the principal, where they would point to other teachers as part of the student achievement problem. Mrs. Libbey explains that part of why her students lack the stamina to read long passages on exams is due to her colleagues: “My

students say, ‘You’re the only class we work bell-to-bell [i.e., from start to finish] in.’” Ms.

Hedley agrees and elaborates:

Ms. Hedley said, “I had about half of my students to get 1’s [on their test, out of 5 points]. I hold my students accountable. I tell them, you don’t want to be here next year. I don’t know how much more push I need to give them. All I can say is, I’m just gonna have to work twice as hard. Ms. Richardson and I are going to have to attack it like a four-handed dragon. We’ve had a lot of issues, and I’m not trying to point any fingers, but the students are saying, ‘Ms. Hedley, you’re the only class we have to do work in.’”

Larksfield field notes 12-18-14

While the disproportionate burden of student achievement carried by state-tested teachers in this school is largely the byproduct of the principal’s accountability-driven demands on them, the comments show that the teachers locate a portion of the problem in their colleagues, even without ever stepping foot inside those colleagues’ classrooms.

Another expression of an “invisible tie” dynamic that fostered negative views of other teachers can be seen when classroom management problems arose. Both Ms. Valdosta and Mrs. Acker reported how students would cry out, “But so-and-so lets me do it!” This made both Valdosta and Acker view that named teacher in a negative light. “Well, do you see his name on my door?” Acker would smartly reply. In Valdosta and Acker’s view, other teachers’ lax rule-enforcement makes their own jobs harder. Ms. Kline said something similar about how she doesn’t appreciate teachers who set low academic expectations for their students, because when the students come to her they’re oppositional to learning. In this way, teachers place blame for their students’ behavior and motivation on their colleagues. On the other side of the spectrum is the problem of teachers who over-discipline or incite students to increased misbehavior. In these cases, black veteran teachers seem to be students’ trusted go-to’s to advise them. The same holds true, however: the student is conveying information about what goes on in one teacher’s room to another. And, in Mr. Russell and Ms. Samuelson’s cases (one a teacher at majority-white Surrey Ridge and the other at

majority-black Pine Grove, respectively), this creates added work to undo or mitigate the consequences of another teacher's actions.

RUSSELL: I've seen in some of these cases where some of these kids will come talk to me, something not even [about] ROTC. [I'll ask them,] 'Have you talked to your teacher about that?' 'I can't talk to him. I can't talk to her.' But they know I will talk to them the way I want to be talked to. I will treat them the way -- it's imperative that they do it that way. And I know the choir across the way, when they get unruly or whatever, the choir teacher just send them over here to me. I have to stop, 'Oh lady, wait a minute. They're going crazy. Why you sent them to me?' 'They'll listen to you' [she will say]. They should listen to you too. They're human. They're not from Mars. I trust, there are some knuckleheads, who you have to say, you have to thump them upside the head whatever, say, come on man. Get with the program. But other than that, no. I'm firm on that one. I believe in the Golden Rule. But it's true. No one wants to be mistreated. No one wants to be, so treat them like you want to be treated. Talk to them like you want to be talked to.

And another example:

JENNIFER: What are some examples of either common or memorable crises that a student saw you for, sought help for?

SAMUELSON: I've had kids who were upset about another teacher, and we sat down and we talked about what was going on and I showed them how they could go back to the teacher in a calm manner and solve the problem. Then I also tell them if it can't be worked out that way, then we need to bring the parent in. So I generally -- it's a two-step plan. Calm down, go talk to the teacher. If that does not work, *then* have your parent step in.

While Mr. Russell seemed more bothered by other teachers' overreliance on him to handle "problem students" than Ms. Samuelson did, the "invisible tie" linking teachers remains equally important for both of them and their schools. In the absence of actual interaction, teachers are not training one another in how to improve their classroom practices, namely disciplinary practices. This has the potential to have a lasting impact on students. If it were not for the disjointed implementation of rules across teachers, these students probably would not have the same suspension records. Inconsistently enforced rules within a community setting suggest some degree of normlessness.

Below, I examine to what extent the distribution of resources between teachers via classroom visits was influenced by patterns of racial contact.

Differences by Race

Within organizations, resources and opportunities available in social networks are often distributed differentially by race of members (Ibarra 1995). In this analysis, there do not appear to be major differences in professional, social, or informal resources available to white teachers versus black teachers in their same-race classroom visits (see Table 6.3). Two noteworthy differences do emerge, however: the ratio of downward to upward visits is larger in white-white visits (approximately 1:1) than black-black, white-black, or black-white visits (each approximately 1:2). In other words, black teachers initiate visits with higher-status black colleagues twice as much as they do with lower-status black colleagues. If higher-status colleagues have more resources to share, this suggests that black teachers purposively use classroom visits to build their ties to those with resources. Another notable difference is that the majority of observed white-to-black classroom visits happened in school contexts in which black teachers were in the minority—this being the case even with as balanced of a respondent shadowing sample as possible. This finding suggests that black teachers may have been viewed as more vital sources of resources by white colleagues in contexts where black teachers were in the minority. This finding is consistent with studies of teachers of color being overtaxed with mentorship and diversity roles in their majority-white schools (Flores 2011; Griffin and Tackie 2016).

--- Table 6.3 about here ---

Conclusion

This chapter makes two contributions: one to studies of how organizational environments shape worker behaviors, and a second to the sociological study of teaching and related occupations. Within the organizational behavior literature, the findings in this chapter

revisit and expand Blau's (1955) work on consultations in the bureaucratic workplace by showing that there are a variety of types of consultations, and showing that making upward visits in contexts with a large proportion of novices appears to work in the novice's favor, rather than being a liability for his/her own status. The findings also show more equal-status consultations than would be expected based on Blau's study of government agency workers, where most consultations were upward. Additionally, this chapter showed how organizational factors such as school cultures set by principals' narratives about the school and mandates for teacher behavior; the degree of clarity in teacher expectations provided by administrators as well as colleagues; and the proportion of higher- to lower-status teachers in the school (e.g., the veteran-to-novice ratio) all impinge on the quality and frequency of teachers' consultative classroom visits.

With respect to the sociology of education literature, this chapter refines classical theory about the structure of the teachers' work, as put forth by Lortie (2002), and has implications for empirical studies about teacher collaboration and turnover. Whereas Lortie's eggcrate model of teaching tends to represent the classroom/school boundary as impermeable, findings from this chapter, along with Chapter 5, suggest that the eggcrate theory of teaching may exaggerate the level of isolation in teaching and obfuscate the variation of teacher experiences of isolation. In addition, studies of teacher collaboration and turnover often overlook the many forms and dimensions of support teachers provide one another, as shown in this analysis through the nine variations of visit types and myriad of resources transmitted through them. These forms of support are broader than the sharing of formal content and ideas for teaching (e.g., Bridwell-Mitchell 2015) or consistently enforcing rules around student behavior (e.g., Renzulli et al. 2011). Connecting the ways that teachers' social ties with one another, their venting and evaluations of one another, and consultations with one another impact their subsequent turnover decisions is the focus of the next chapter.

Table 6.1. Number of Classroom Observations, by School

School	Number of Classroom Observations	Number of Teachers	Teacher interactions in classrooms (pop-ins)	Teacher interactions in classrooms (extended)	Teacher interactions in classrooms (total)
Pine Grove	17	16	16	13	29
Larksfield	20	20	19	18	37
Crest Point	20	16	25	19	44
Surrey Ridge	24	21	22	14	36
Mt. Summit	13	13	6	2	8
Total	94	86	88	66	154

Table 6.2. Types of Resources Transmitted in Extended Classroom Visits, by School

School	Professional Resources (supplies or personnel)	Professional Feedback/ Guidance (technical knowledge)	Social Support	Information (informal knowledge)	Total cases*
Pine Grove	1	4	5	10	13
Larksfield	4	4	8	10	18
Crest Point	5	3	7	10	19
Surrey Ridge	2	3	8	10	14
Mt. Summit	0	1	0	1	2
Total	12	15	28	41	66

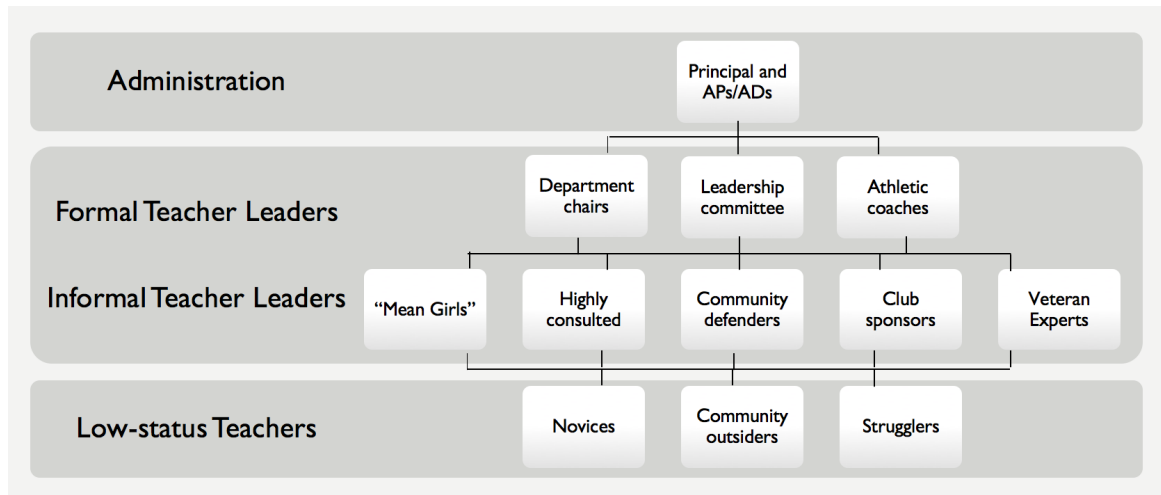
**Totals do not reflect cumulative instances because one given visit could contain multiple forms of support.*

Table 6.3. Frequencies of resources transmitted in classroom visits overall, and properties of the visit, by race

	Black only	White only	Black-to-white	White-to-black	Other race
Professional	12 (46%)	40 (48%)	12 (75%)	13 (62%)	6 (75%)
Social	9 (35%)	29 (35%)	3 (19%)	6 (29%)	3 (38%)
Informal	6 (23%)	32 (39%)	2 (13%)	7 (33%)	2 (25%)
Student-centered	5 (19%)	6 (7%)	2 (13%)	1 (5%)	0 (0%)
Downward/Equal/Upward	7/8/12	24/33/26	3/6/6	6/4/11	3/4/1
Group	7 (30%)	17 (20%)	2 (13%)	4 (19%)	2 (25%)
Students present	14 (54%)	38 (46%)	10 (63%)	13 (62%)	2 (25%)
Majority-black school	21 (81%)	18 (22%)	11 (69%)	8 (38%)	8 (100%)
Total	26	83	16	21	8

If counts do not add up to the total, it is because some cases involved more than two people or more than one kind of resource simultaneously. For example, a dyad who visits a third teacher, one teacher is making an upward visit, while the for the other it was a visit with a status equal.

Figure 6.1. *The Teacher Status Structure within Schools*



Chapter 7. Coworker Support and Ultimate Outcomes: Turnover within the Organization

It's the end of the school year at Pine Grove. Ms. Anderson, the English teacher who last semester comforted me after my failed attempt to catch up with a student who was wandering the halls, is getting her grades together. Her classroom, colorfully decorated with inspirational posters, floorlamps, and smelling of a fragrant candle, is not being packed up. Instead, she is having a student helper paint over her chalkboards with material to convert it to a white-board – with the principal's permission. She is returning next year to her school and her room. Her venting buddies at the busline – Dr. Eckert and Ms. Lowndes– are returning next year as well. Even though Ms. Anderson was continually stressed by having to carry a double student-load in the aftermath of Ms. Albertson quitting mid-year; even though Dr. Eckert was piqued throughout the year with the deficiencies of the first year teachers in Pine Grove who did not follow disciplinary rules; and even though Mrs. Lowndes was ever the target of the principal's tirades in the faculty meeting (though Mrs. Lowndes may not have known it), all three are committed to teach at Pine Grove another year. Two years out from this study, Ms. Anderson and Dr. Eckert are still there.

At a team meeting of nine teachers who taught in the Pre-Engineering Curriculum at Surrey Ridge, Mrs. Nova – who once found her main coworker support from the few who shared her passion for Dungeons and Dragons – has come to occupy a position of voice and esteem.

The fall semester following the study, Mrs. Nova recommends how the Engineering program should be organized. She cracks jokes that bring affirmative comments from a wider range of colleagues than she had ties with the previous school year. Mrs. Blume is her department chair; Mrs. West, one of the technology gurus in the school.

Blume (department chair): We need to common plan more than we did [last year]. We need evidence [that we've planned], so I wanted to give you a heads up. That scaled house project is the perfect direction. They just haven't gotten to CAD yet.

Earl: We've gotten to the house project in the 3rd nine weeks.

Blume: Oh great! So yours is easy.

West: When we observed some schools in Alabama, they were doing that, building it in CAD by the third nine weeks.

Blume: But math is going to be trickier. Then we've got English.

People start talking amongst themselves.

Nova (to Mrs. Lyons, sitting next to her): With science fair we could pull [English skills] in, typically.

Blume (directing faculty to next page of her plan): Flip to page 10. The next piece is professional development. We need to name what we need.

Nova: How about 10 tech hours? *(Everyone laughs, especially Blume and Lattimore.)*

West (jabbing Nova on her side): I love you.

Surrey Ridge fieldnotes 11-19-15

Mrs. Yeurick is still at Mt. Summit, but she no longer teaches honors courses there.

The changes came due to pressure her department members (other than Mrs. Renwick) placed on the principal to make course assignments more fairly based on tenure in the school. Regardless, Mrs. Yeurick remains in her classroom, the same one that she said was cursed because the previous incumbent of it was also a black teacher who the department "ran off." She keeps the poster with a picture of Bernie Mac reading in a library because it belonged to the black assistant principal, and she feels she can't take it down. Her reputation among the faculty at large, and the students, remains positive. As Ms. Noon, a white, first-year, electives teacher, noted in her interview, she hadn't met teachers who were the furthest distance from her classroom, including the English teachers. When Ms. Noon met Mrs. Yeurick for the first time in April, she had already "heard so many great things about her."

The organizational destinations of these three teachers is retention. They encounter a myriad of social obstacles in their workplace, ranging from large student loads to frustration with inexperienced colleagues, from feeling excluded from the high-status teachers in the school to hostile treatment from competitive colleagues. Through various social and

professional supports from their colleagues, they each find reason to stay. Building on Hirschman (1970), when teachers vent about students and colleagues, administrators and district policies, this form of *voice* becomes their alternative to *exit*. Venting establishes occupational communities that see their workplace in similar ways and who share methods of coping with the challenges.

Dr. Eckert explains that teachers leave because they get tired of beating their head up against a “brick wall” that is made of ineffectual principal leadership and disparities in disciplinary procedures between districts. What made the difference for her though, is that she can turn to numerous colleagues for understanding and professional assistance on especially rough days.

JENNIFER: Do they [students] say anything about [the teacher] turnover? Do students ever say anything about that?

ECKERT: They realized a lot of people were gone this year, but this was *mass* turnover.

JENNIFER: So have you heard students or teachers say anything about it?

ECKERT: This year it's been a big deal. A lot of people got upset about that 50% thing last year [*whereby students were automatically given a 50 percent grade for the term if they were failing*].

JENNIFER: That caused people to leave, do you think?

ECKERT: I think the fact that the administration supposedly had their hands tied and couldn't do anything about the bad behavior in some kids, and the teachers who left decided, I'm not doing this anymore. Like in Allport [District], you'd get suspended if you cuss at a teacher. Here, they take [the student] out of the class, and you're lucky if they spend half the period in in-school suspension, and they'll be back tomorrow.

JENNIFER: So those were the types of reasons they left?

ECKERT: I think that's the reason, yeah. I think they just got tired of beating their head up against the brick wall. I get frustrated sometimes too and I cried today. By the time we got back from lunch I was sitting back there having to bite my tongue to keep from crying. Just because I got aggravated with those little girls in the lunchroom, and I'm upset about my son, and I just have a lot of things going on in my life that are very difficult right now.

JENNIFER: Are there teachers in this building who provide support for you on days like that?

ECKERT: There have been in the past, and I'm sure there will be. I feel like I could go next door and tell Mrs. Isaacson if I needed something, I feel close enough to her too. I feel close enough to Ms. Samuelson to say, “I need some help, can you?” I don't have anybody here now that I would say “I need a hug.” But I have had in the

past. Mrs. Ambrose, I could go to her with anything and cry on her shoulder and say, “I need a hug, help me,” and she would listen to what I had to say.

Dr. Eckert goes on to say that one of the drawbacks of building close relationships with colleagues is that a lot of them have gone. And I do have people that I could do that with, but a lot of them have left Pine Grove. “I’ve suffered a lot of heartbreaks with people who’ve gone away and left me,” she said. Indeed, Dr. Eckert works at a high-turnover school. Table 7.1 shows that it had the highest turnover rate of any of the school sites in 2014-2015. The same was true in the year following this study, 2015-2016. The turnover rate in three of the schools studied in this dissertation more than doubles that of the national average, which was 9% in 2008-2009 (Ingersoll et al. 2014).

--- Table 7.1 about here ---

What are the experiential antecedents to turnover among these teachers? Taking into account individual differences, what is the role of coworker support vis-à-vis other causes of turnover? And within processes of coworker support, what is the impact of racial mismatch with colleagues on individuals’ organizational destination of retention or turnover?

I focus in particular on 37 teachers in my ethnographic interview sample, who I shadowed and who later left their schools in either 2015 or 2016, to answer these questions. Using the method of process tracing, I examine the effects of coworker relationships as well as racial mismatch by making two kinds of comparisons. First, the analysis makes comparisons of demographically equivalent respondents across different organizations. Second, it compares demographically similar respondents who differ only on race within the same organization. In both, I find evidence of mismatch effects on turnover outcomes (as compared to matched colleagues), as well as nonsymmetry in the effects of diversity on black and white teachers who leave.

Overview of the analytic strategy

Process tracing, often used in case studies in political science, is a qualitative approach to pathway analysis. It attempts to identify intervening causal processes between independent variables and the dependent variable (George and Bennett 2005). This analytic strategy aims to elucidate causal mechanisms – here, defined as unobserved or unmeasured processes – that connect the key explanatory variable and an outcome across different cases or settings.

Since studies that use qualitative pathway analysis build upon evidence that has already established the effect of X on Y, it is permissible for the researcher to intentionally select on the dependent variable. This is because the researcher here is looking for what connects X to an outcome, and needs to use what is known about the outcome to do so. Other applications of process tracing focus instead on independent variables and emulate quasi-experimental research designs. These studies apply case-pair matching, only varying cases on the key independent variable of interest, to see if that independent variable is associated with different outcomes (Neilsen 2014).

Below, I use process tracing in two systematic comparisons: between respondents of the same racial background from different schools who both left, and between respondents from the same school but with different racial backgrounds who both left. The first comparison should show that mismatch creates difficulties in retention for both white and black teachers who are mismatched, holding all other individual demographic considerations constant. The second should show that mismatch produces disproportionate chances of retention among different organization members, holding all other organizational conditions and individual differences (besides individual race) constant.

Findings

Part I. Comparisons of Leavers of Same background, Different schools

Ms. Evans came to Pine Grove High School in 2014 with seven years of teaching experience. A black 32-year-old woman, Ms. Evans studied biology as her undergraduate major. Her initial career goal was to be an optometrist but to work in a crime lab right out of college. When she couldn't find a job doing that, she found a job through family connections teaching in a majority-black, rural school in her hometown. She enrolled in a Master's in Teaching program to earn her teaching credentials through the alternate route.

Mrs. Orange, also a black 32-year-old woman, was alternatively certified through a Master's in Teaching program. She came to Mt. Summit High in 2014 with five years of prior teaching experience in rural schools. Her initial career goal was to be a dentist. She graduated with a Bachelor's in chemistry and was enrolled in medical school, when she realized she was burnt out from school and was primarily motivated by having a higher-earning occupation. Her husband was already a teacher and she reasoned, "One of us has to make some money." But she concluded this was the wrong reason, withdrew from med school, started working at a bank temporarily, and found a teaching job after that.

Coming into teaching with similar demographics and prior occupational experiences gave Ms. Evans and Mrs. Orange very comparable orientations to the profession of teaching. In other words, their baseline due to individual factors is about as parallel as could be. However, their experiences inside their different school contexts set their trajectories down divergent paths.

As part of the racial majority group in her teaching faculty, Ms. Evans made a quick, deep social tie to Ms. Ambrose (black), a teacher she knew from before where they both attended high school. From this relationship, Ms. Evans received ample social support for personal matters, about which she felt comfortable talking with Ms. Ambrose. Their tie also

gave Ms. Evans valuable information about how to complete school procedures, what things to avoid doing to avoid getting in trouble, and ideas which she applied to her own teaching strategies, even though they were in different academic departments. Ms. Evans felt supported by her department chair, a mid-career white teacher who gave her sufficient advance warning of test dates and defended Ms. Evans' work in meetings with administrators. However, in her first year at Pine Grove, Ms. Evans never established significant ties with teachers beyond these two. She also experienced negative interpersonal relations with some of her students, and was very disappointed that the administrators (all black) did not support her when students cursed at her or attempted to physically fight her.

JENNIFER: So you mentioned the students being stressful. What kinds of things do they do?

EVANS: Oh, I get cussed out like every other day. And I curse them back.

JENNIFER: So did you get in trouble for that?

EVANS: No, I don't write 'em up. For what? Ain't nothing gonna happen. We handle ours in class and keep on moving. ... They [the students] know me, they're getting used to me. You know, I did have a student try to fight me. About three weeks ago, and they, and I asked her to be removed from my class, and --

JENNIFER: And she wasn't?

EVANS: Nope. She was suspended but they made her stay in my class. [...]

JENNIFER: Do you usually – do your referrals get sent to an assistant [principal] usually? Who do they go to?

EVANS: They go to an assistant most of the time. They hand 'em to the person that handles the discipline. The head principal handles some too. But she knew about this situation, yeah. ... And, all that she told the assistant principal that was removing the student from my class, is the girl was having a bad day. And I need to, I could come talk to her to see what was going on. I found out somebody had died. I mean hey, that doesn't give you the reason to try to fight your teacher.

JENNIFER: Did you go follow up with [the principal]?

EVANS: No. For what? It's like you didn't care.

For Ms. Evans, being in the racial majority in her faculty probably increased the chances that there would be someone like Ms. Ambrose on faculty with whom she could forge a quick tie based on prior ties. On the other hand, racially matching her students did not seem to yield any advantages in terms of rapport or resolving problems of rapport, nor did racial match with the administrators yield the amount of disciplinary support she was expecting. She quit

in the middle of fall semester, the first teacher to quit that year. She secured a job working in a school in a youth detention center prior to leaving.

As part of the racial minority in her teaching faculty, Mrs. Orange conversely did not experience a quick tie with any of her colleagues. She identified her department chair, a white woman in her fifties and a veteran educator, as her “work mom,” the one who could show her the ropes in her new school. Mrs. Orange trusted this teacher-leader and would approach her with questions. The department chair also made social visits to Mrs. Orange’s classroom, pop-ins during which the chair would share a tidbit of information about testing or a department update, and sometimes also share food she had baked.

While Mrs. Orange found a friend in her department chair, she still lacked ties with other department members. Ms. Freeman, the white teacher across the hall with one prior year at Mt. Summit, felt frustrated with Mrs. Orange’s perceived lack of receptivity to teaching math the way the department had agreed upon. What resulted over the course of the school year was an ever-widening social and professional gap between Mrs. Orange and Ms. Freeman. Being connected to central players in the teacher social hierarchy – in other words, being popular among incumbent teachers – Ms. Freeman had an advantage in shaping how other faculty viewed Mrs. Orange. While none of the other teachers ever expressed anything negative about Mrs. Orange’s professional abilities, she also never broke into those social circles. Thus Mrs. Orange became increasingly isolated from her peers in her department when she did not embrace or adopt their teaching strategies.

Mrs. Orange’s strong tie for non-mentorship purposes was a teacher in the foreign language department, across the hall from her and new to the school as she was. Aside from within the bounds of this tie, Mrs. Orange never grew out of feeling like venting was not really appropriate in the workplace. She felt the principal, a white male, was approachable and easy to access when she had questions. Her rapport with students appeared effortless

when I visited her classroom the day she was doing a demonstration of velocity with wheelie chairs; she did not have any significant incidents of troubles with students to report, other than their not turning in homework. All these factors taken together, she lasted another year at Mt. Summit, but left at the end of 2016.

Both of these teachers had leaving outcomes, but their reasons differed. While Ms. Evans' primary reasons were lacking support from administrators and conflicts with some students, Mrs. Orange had neither of these overt problems. Rather, relational problems for Mrs. Orange were primarily with her colleagues. Moreover, their experiences of being in the demographic majority versus minority in their schools were quite different. One had classroom management problems, despite coming in with prior experience and success with teaching majority-black student populations in poverty; the other did not have these problems, but only a quarter of her students had this background while the rest came from white and affluent backgrounds. One was disappointed with administrative support, the other felt supported. One fit in among faculty relatively quickly, identified with the respected teacher-leaders in the school who had organizational knowledge, but never established a broad range of social ties with her other colleagues. The other did not fit in quickly or easily with colleagues, establishing only a formal tie with her chair and an informal tie with a member of the organization who lacked organizational capital; she also did not establish broad social ties. This general finding of racially-matched black leavers fitting in but lacking broad social ties at work, while racially-mismatched black leavers found some degree of belonging but still lacked broad social ties at work, was true for 7 of 10 matched black teachers and all three of the mismatched black teachers in the interview sample.

Comparing demographically-equivalent white teachers who left across school contexts shows how coworker conflicts played a much larger role in leaving decisions for white teachers who were racially matched to their schools than for white teachers who were

racially mismatched. The cases of Mr. Thatcher, a white 51-year-old alternate-route teacher at Larksfield in his fourth year, and Mr. Irwin, a white 45-year-old alternate-route teacher in his first year at Mt. Summit but with prior teaching experience, are illuminating. While Mr. Thatcher lamented that he did not get to see his department colleagues outside of his hall very often due to a lack of meetings, Mr. Irwin felt that the level of collegial contact was constant and stifling.

JENNIFER: Yeah, I'll say. How would you compare and contrast the levels of teacher interactions at, let's say Engebretson High School [a rural school with balanced racial composition, black to white], and Mt. Summit?

IRWIN: In Engebretson, there was very little. Everybody kinda did their own thing. And at Mt. Summit, the teachers are in constant communication with one another.

JENNIFER: Mhm, like I just saw this morning.

IRWIN: Yeah, yeah. Almost overkill.

JENNIFER: Really? So do the three of the electives teachers teach the same stuff?

IRWIN: Yeah, teach exactly the same stuff and we stay on Canvas [an online program] and so it's pretty much step-by-step in instruction, which really gets rid of a lot of opportunity to be creative. Little bit stifling is what I have found. It's effective, y'know, and the students get what they want and need, but I think sometimes the teachers become a little bit entrenched in just the day-to-day 'this is what we're gonna do,' and no opportunity to deviate when the mood strikes you. And I think that's part of teaching, is allowing your personal, your personality to come out and do certain things the way you like to do it. And that opportunity's really not present here, but it is so structured.

For Mr. Irwin, a lack of autonomy caused by overbearing colleagues was hard to overcome.

He left at the end of the first semester.

Mr. Thatcher, on the other hand, loved his colleagues "to death," respected all of their teaching practices, but left due to administrative problems.

THATCHER: I have had two principals talk to me because I took my class outside. I think it was like springtime but they just had the air conditioners blowing so hard that it was literally 65 degrees in here and these kids are dressing in shorts and stuff and you go outside, you're sweating and you come in here and they're like we're all going to end up sick. And so I would go outside at a quarter til 3:00 for five minutes [to warm up] and you know, I had the principal and the assistant principal [come talk] fire and brimstone and we came back in. And so

we went back inside and so he brought the principal into my classroom during my planning period the next day to put it on my permanent record or whatever.

Thatcher has seen other colleagues be written up for minor things like showing movies when they had to hold their class for five hours. The largest problems, however, are with the administration's prohibition on writing up or failing students. By using excessive paperwork to achieve either form of student management (behavioral or academic), the district has found how it can "disincentivize behaviors [they] don't want" in order to improve their own statistics of lower suspension and higher graduation rates. In the interview sample overall, coworker dynamics like Mr. Irwin's were found in six of nine cases of matched white leavers, and coworker dynamics like Mr. Thatcher's in six of nine cases of mismatched white leavers.

In the following section, I approach from another angle the effects of racial mismatch on leaving outcomes.

Part II. Comparisons of Leavers from Same school, Different backgrounds

An analysis of leavers by school showed that the effects of racial mismatch for white teachers followed a similar pathway, which contrasted from the pathways of their racially matched black colleagues. The same was true in a demographically reversed setting; racially mismatched black teachers' paths to leaving differed from their matched white colleagues' paths. Using Pine Grove and Crest Point as representative cases for majority-black and majority-white faculty, as they each offered the most cases of leavers, this analysis confirmed the finding in previous chapters (e.g., Chapters 2 and 3) of nonsymmetrical effects of diversity (i.e., racial mismatch) on white and black workers.

In Pine Grove, white mismatched teachers commonly experienced an interpersonal disconnect from their students, which manifested in what the teacher perceived to be student disrespect. White mismatched teachers also described lacking guidance from their colleagues and abuse from management.⁴⁷ Many cases experience all three mechanisms, as reflected in the path diagram in Figure 7.1. This is not a surprising finding in light of research on reward bundling, which shows how various combinations of conditions can all lead to the same outcome (Nelson 2017). How group composition (i.e., being a match or mismatch) “triggers” the mechanisms is fairly straightforward: all of these mechanisms themselves are forms of relational distance, only possible or probable under the condition of status differences between groups. Other variables that may trigger the mechanisms are the other mechanisms themselves (that is, the mechanisms interact, or one is more likely to occur if the other is present).

--- Figure 7.1 about here ---

How the mechanisms each affect the outcomes differs for each group. For black match teachers such as Ms. Evans and Ms. Osbourne, the mechanisms affect the outcome by creating a sense of being angry with management, without enough collegial support to counter it. They feel the school is poorly run and that administrators back up the students

⁴⁷ I use this term following Hodson (2001). It is not mere mismanagement, though it may encompass this too. The way abuse from management is narrated by respondents is with a tone of being personally wronged. In Mrs. Larson’s case, she was ignored by principal on multiple occasions, given empty advice and promises by the principal, not allowed to resign the first time she tried to, and given large class sizes and no resources. In Mrs. Westin’s case, she received no retroactive pay for her first week(s) of teaching. Also, principal put her in stressful situation where she accidentally suspended the wrong student – a “horrible experience.” These contrast with cases of mismanagement in which teachers critique the managerial practices in general, seeing no difference in treatment across teachers. In other words, it is not personal, but rather a widespread problem affecting all teachers.

rather than the teachers. In contrast, for white mismatch teachers such as Mrs. Larsen and Mrs. Westin, the mechanisms affect the outcome by producing both a sense of uncertainty and confusion about the job and how to survive it, the lack of colleagues who will show the way, and helplessness until the teacher feels s/he can't do it anymore. The helplessness is seen in instances such as these:

“There's only so much that I've found that I can connect with [the students] and have that understanding of where they're coming from” (Mr. Francis).

Or the teacher feels alone to face a humanly impossible amount of work and can't keep up with it (Mrs. Larsen); or feels

“Kind of lost. Kind of like there really wasn't a whole lot I could do at that point,” by the time the principal was offering help (Mrs. Westin).

Though seemingly identical in their experiences, Larsen and Westin differ slightly because they each blame primarily management and superficially supportive colleagues, respectively. For Larsen, the personal offense she experienced mostly came from how the principal, students, and parents did not deal with her honestly. For Westin, the offenses stemmed from colleagues: incidents where she watched other teachers do what she disagreed with (as her own style of discipline was decidedly *laissez-faire*), or where teachers neglected her basic needs as a colleague were primary. A respectful conversation Westin had with the principal – where the principal said “I don't want you to quit” – is actually what put the idea in her mind to leave.

Regardless of primacy, however, when there is abuse by management, it interacts with the student disrespect mechanism (as reflected by the arc between lines in Figure 7.1). For example, teachers explained how poor principal leadership causes teachers to have more negative experiences with students. In the words of one white leaver, the “kids get cockier” with teachers once the students see they will not be punished by the principal. Then teachers

over-react, attempting to put students in their place, which riles up the students even more. In another instance, a teacher experienced sabotage from students and parents. She described occasions where students and parents lied to the principal about events that transpired in the classroom in an effort to excuse themselves or their children from discipline, which worked.

A comparison of racially-matched white teachers to racially-mismatched black teachers in Crest Point (see Figure 7.2) shows that white matched teachers, like black matched teachers in Figure 7.1, encounter problems with mismanagement. However, white matched teachers have the unique experience of conflict with colleagues despite their demographic matching – Mr. Irwin’s experience in the previous section is illustrative. This conflict signifies that racial similarity is not a meaningful platform upon which to build relationships in an overly-homogeneous setting (see DiBenigno and Kellogg 2014). Rather, increased contact and heterogeneity within the racial group produce the discovery that perceived similarities on account of shared race are only superficial (Reagans 2011).

--- Figure 7.2 about here ---

Moreover, comparing the pathways of the white mismatched teachers in Figure 7.1 to the black mismatched teachers in Figure 7.2 shows that diversity affects these groups’ leaving decisions differently. Whereas black mismatched teachers (who leave) experience the loss of close colleagues to turnover and dissatisfaction in their remaining non-close ties, white mismatched teachers (who leave) experienced their colleagues ignoring or neglecting them; making fun of them behind their backs; or offending their beliefs about their students. What many mismatched teachers had in common were difficulties with their students (i.e., classroom management) and abuse by management (as opposed to mere mismanagement). This abuse manifested similarly except a lack of promotion despite experience and qualifications was an experience unique to black mismatched teachers. The finding of

different effects of diversity on mismatched workers is a consistent finding in this dissertation, on a range of outcomes including coworker support outcomes, job satisfaction, the formation of social ties, and turnover.

Summary of findings

This dissertation has made a contribution to organization studies that examine the effects of demographic matching, spatial attributes, and organizational practices on social dynamics, and a contribution to studies of work and occupations that examine how social networks, resource distribution, and the presence of clients impact the experiences and outcomes of teachers (and other knowledge and service occupations with similar job characteristics, including physical therapists, pilots, police detectives, advertising sales agents, patient representatives, social workers, and legal assistants).

In Chapter 2, I used teacher survey data and teaching schedules to explore the effects of workgroup diversity on job satisfaction outcomes. Using the group of teachers who shared their off-block to operationalize “work group,” I found that racial distance mattered for black teachers’ job satisfaction outcomes, but not for whites’. This finding is the opposite of the general finding in organizational demography studies, which finds nonsymmetry of diversity effects, but only for the societal majority group (i.e., whites). That is, generally whites report greater dissatisfaction and negative attitudinal outcomes when they are in the minority than do non-whites (Maume and Sebastian 2007; Mueller et al. 1999; Tsui et al. 1992). I turned to interview data to help explain why diversity should impact black teachers negatively after a tipping point of 29% white composition (and above), and not white teachers. The qualitative findings showed how cross-race interactions tended to be more challenging for black teachers than for white teachers, as they faced increasing instances of disagreement with, devaluation, and exclusion from their colleagues.

In Chapter 3, I explored whether workplace composition itself in the school sites I studied facilitated cross-race interactions in different ways. I found that elements of school culture – defined by dimensions of how acceptable open debate among colleagues was, how competitive the teachers were, and how prestigious the school reputation was – did influence the kinds of cross-race support that emerged. In majority-black schools, departmental “mini-cultures” mediated these forms of support. Whereas avoiding trouble was a common form of cross-race support found in all schools, acquiring (racial) fit was unique to Pine Grove and Larksfield, and avoiding sabotage was unique in Crest Point, Surrey Ridge, and Mt. Summit. These findings complement those in Chapter 2 by showing how norms and values at the organizational level can drive employees to interact in ways that adversely affect the organizational minority group only in organizational settings with competitive cultures.

Chapter 4 showed the ways that teachers in same-race groups formed their social ties, and how those ties were connected with different resource access outcomes in the workplace. While white token teachers formed their ties with fellow white tokens quickly, in groups, and using teaming tactics, black token ties looked different. They were slow to form, dyadic (not group), and often cross-occupational. What the tokens had in common was the prevalence of spillover ties. The tie types led to divergent resource outcomes: social-emotional support for both groups, but political and professional resources were the windfall of white token ties. This chapter helped show yet another way that being in the minority did not affect white teachers’ work experiences – but being in the minority *did* affect black teachers’ experiences and resource outcomes.

In Chapter 5, I focused on how teachers socialized in the public spaces in their school. I focused on the functions of venting. What did venting accomplish for teachers? In addition to providing emotional support, venting helped teachers identify who their “home group” was. By additionally using their observations of other teachers’ behavior in these

public spaces, teachers got a sense of who was who, passing professional judgment on some while affirming the behaviors of others. Those they affirmed, and those they vented to became their occupational community. This chapter showed how coworker support is distributed within communities in the workplace, which were often segregated based on professional as well as racial boundaries. Often these two boundaries aligned, but when they conflicted there were bifurcated occupational communities within the race (e.g., some white teachers in majority-black schools who saw the other white teachers in their school as racists).

In Chapter 6, I examined cases of consultation that took place inside teachers' classrooms and found that, contrary to theory about the isolated nature of teaching work, interventions by peers into the technical core were not uncommon. The visits suggest that, contrary to some rational systems perspectives of bureaucratic organizations (such as the classic case of schools), teachers actually want their performance to be observed, evaluated, and helped by their colleagues. In this analysis, I found different kinds of visits between status-discordant (i.e., upward or downward) versus status-equivalent teacher visits. These each highlight crucial aspects of teacher mentoring and induction for new teachers, and informal resource sharing between experienced teachers. The implication of the private setting for mentoring and resource sharing to take place is that it supports inequitable resource distribution in the organization through workers' own informal networks. That is, teachers distribute resources using their own discretion to judge which colleagues should have the resources they have. Through visits, teachers can target which teachers will receive resources – indeed, often *concentrated* resources (i.e., multiple types of resources) during a single visit.

Implications for Policy and Practice

Taken as a whole, the analyses inform our understanding of teachers' work in different demographic settings. Throughout data analysis for this project, I kept an ongoing research memo which I called "rules for functioning." Fashioned after Becker et al.'s (1961) list of norms by which medical school students abided, I derived the following list from my ethnographic observations of teacher interactions. These norms were not spoken by teachers themselves, but their behavior (and the way first-year teachers reflected on what they were learning as they went along) corroborated them. The rules relate to concepts and findings in one or several of the chapters – for instance, the first rule stems from findings in Chapter 5 about how teachers use public spaces such as hallways; the second rule relates to the resource of information shared by teachers avoiding trouble (Chapter 3); within-race ties (Chapter 4); or during an upward or downward classroom consultation (Chapter 6).

Rules of functioning for teachers in majority-black schools

1. Hallway decorum is a priority and of utmost importance. Exhibiting control over student behavior in the hallway will go a long way to building your reputation among coworkers. Discourage teacher encroachment on your area of control by making your time in the hallway (with your students) as short and orderly as possible.
 - a. Among teachers, nobody has a quiet classroom, and nobody has it all together. Therefore, you should not feel inferior when you also do not have these things.
2. Don't attempt to do everything you are told to do by administrators. Understand what is most important, and do that first. Ask another teacher with experience, because this will not be plain or obvious.
3. Don't rely on district structures to support your instruction or discipline. Be creative by finding this support from other sources.
 - a. Don't wait for the school to set up structures to handle discipline. For example, school-run detention often doesn't get set up until the 10th week of school.
 - b. Don't follow the district's rules for discipline, as written. They will exhaust you and make you less credible in students' eyes.
 - c. School-wide testing days will eat up a lot of your instructional time. So think of ways to make up for it (e.g., with after school tutorials).
 - d. If you are a white token, turn to senior white colleagues for professional and political resources. They will likely have voice with the principal themselves and can secure resources for you.
4. Be willing to deviate from formal ways of communicating with students and teachers.

- a. Communicate with students so they will listen to you. This is the way to establish student rapport and respect. Set aside any previous professional training or personal reservations you may have that contradict this mode of building rapport. If you are a white token, realize that your initial reservations may be race-based. Be open to adopting new ways of seeing and relating to your students which are more in line with the way your black colleagues do.
 - b. Find ways to communicate with teachers that don't rely on formal meeting times or on the other teacher to get things done. Otherwise problems will linger and you will become resentful of your colleague(s). Especially for brand new teachers, don't expect experienced teachers to initiate a relationship with you. You need to actively ask for it.
5. If you are thinking about moving schools, realize that you are trading problems. While DPS receives the most negative attention from local media, the majority-white schools in surrounding districts have problems and scandals of their own under the surface.

Rules of functioning for teachers in majority-white schools

1. Maintain an image of control by being careful what stories you tell colleagues in passing. Avoid rookie errors – which experienced teachers often commit – such as letting parents know you are new to teaching this subject this year. And if you make this mistake, do not tell other teachers about it.
2. Let your tenure, gender, and racial background guide the way you talk about and relate to principals.
 - a. If you are a respected veteran in the school, complaining about administrators who are not coordinated, strategic, or who all want to be chiefs is perfectly acceptable in any setting (e.g., with students around, using names).
 - b. If you are a male teacher, relating with male principals on friendly terms around sports, religion, technology, and other common interests is appropriate. There is a chance they will groom you for an administrative position.
 - c. If you are a black male, the friendliness component (of 2b) applies, but the promotion opportunities are less likely. Also, if you are a black teacher relating to a black administrator, do not expect automatic in-group support from him/her. To be regarded well by administrators of any racial background, speak to them in a more formal manner than you see your white teacher colleagues doing.
3. Exercise caution in your communications and meetings with coworkers.
 - a. Don't talk to every teacher, because some of them are jerks and scrooges. If it becomes too much for you, adopt the strategy of helping and talking only to those teachers who come to you.
 - b. For first-year, young teachers: Grow a thick skin to ignore negative comments from veteran teachers who dislike young teachers. Don't allow this to prevent you from seeking help from other veteran teachers. For first-year teachers who moved to this school: Be aware that other veteran colleagues may expect you to follow their directions.

- c. In Surrey Ridge and Mt. Summit: Keep formal meetings short. Do not meet as a department if you don't have to. In Crest Point: Formal department meetings are very important. They are a vestige of the school's history, the place where occupational communities are forged (through venting and evaluating others), and if word gets out that you conduct yours unprofessionally you will be judged negatively by the "more professional" departments.
- 4. Do not feel obligated to implement technology in your teaching if you do not like it or do not wish to learn it. And there is no need to hide this fact from colleagues; you have a right to do this.

These rules of functioning are, no doubt, organization-specific. They can provide guidance to teachers in these schools and school districts. Presenting these research-based "unwritten rules" to new teachers could improve their chances at successfully acclimating to different school cultures and resource structures within schools, improving job satisfaction and retention. Also, the rules apply to different organization members differently; the norms for white tokens, black tokens, experienced and novice teachers are often role-specific. This is consistent with the finding that organizational minorities' (i.e., white and black tokens') experiences were nonsymmetrical with each other.

There are broader practical implications of this research as well, generalizable to teachers and schools across the United States. The findings of this dissertation show that teachers in demographically different settings, with different levels of human and material resources, and different spatial arrangements (all dimensions of the organizational environment shown here to be important), each have unique social challenges to navigate at work, especially ones involving how to relate with colleagues. Below I outline implications for policy and practice for teachers and for principals.

Teachers' professional practices. The findings in this dissertation underscore the important role teachers play in creating values and norms, as well as informal segregation or integration, in their faculty. How teachers interact with each other has important implications for teachers' own work performance, behaviors, and attitudes (e.g., Price and Collett 2012;

Renzulli et al. 2011), as well as students' experiences and achievement outcomes (e.g., Bryk and Schneider 2002; Delpit 2006[1995]). This dissertation makes a unique contribution to educational research by showing ethnographically how teachers' social relations on the one hand, and teacher and student outcomes on the other hand, are connected. Through cross-race social ties, teachers hone cultural and tacit knowledge that helps white teachers build rapport with black students, and helps black teachers navigate white-dominated spaces. For teachers, especially white teachers, to enhance their instructional strategies and increase their respect for their black students, consultations with adults from or familiar with black students' culture and communities is a necessity (Delpit 2006[1995]). Thus, teachers who modify their social practices in the workplace to maximize and sustain cross-race social ties would be engaging in a best practice to support student learning, especially for racial minority students. Minority students need minority advocates no matter the school setting they are in. These students contend with the culture of power which privileges whites not only in majority-white settings, but in majority-black settings as well.

Because white teachers appeared to receive disproportionate resource privileges especially in the majority-black schools (see Chapter 4), an implication of this finding for white teachers' practice is to be more aware of and accountable to their role in hoarding resources within their in-groups. Through a researcher-led Professional Development in-service meeting, a small-scale research exercise may be effective to illustrate this pattern to teachers. The meeting facilitator would first have teachers list the resources they have at work and where they come from. Then the facilitator would share, in an anonymous fashion (but keeping demographic markers such as race and years of experience), their colleagues' responses. Through this exercise, white teachers may become more aware of the structure of power from which they benefit, especially in comparison to their colleagues. In turn, white teachers may choose to broaden their missional orientation to their vocation, which many of

them described as having in the qualitative interviews in this study, beyond the teacher-student relationship to include their teacher-teacher relationships.

Other social practices in which teachers engage at work impinge on their own chances of professional development and retention, as well as directly impact the chances of their colleagues for the same. Incumbent, especially mid-career and veteran teachers, exercise professional authority by choosing which novice teachers to support. In high-turnover school environments, withholding technical and political resources from novice teachers could be a conservation strategy, as the giving of resources with no return for themselves or the school is depleting. In competitive, high-status school environments, where getting hired is perceived as an accomplishment in itself, withholding support from novice teachers until they display cultural fit preserves the school's normative control. The consequence of these behaviors by incumbent teachers is that they adversely impact especially black minority teachers' job satisfaction and the resource-bearing capacity of their social ties. A further practice limiting novice and numerical minorities' access to information is exclusion from informal friendship networks of higher-status incumbents, through which they vent.

In a Professional Development meeting, showing teachers a graphic, anonymized representation of teachers' social networks from these findings, and sharing quotes from the qualitative interviews that show how vital workplace resources are shared primarily within one's clique(s), could get teachers to reflect on how their own social choices in the workplace pose a major obstacle to the performance and retention of their colleagues. By complementing this exercise with a teacher-centered discussion of how poor performance and turnover of colleagues negatively impacts their own working conditions, this may motivate experienced teachers in the school to form more inclusive networks, and novice teachers to initiate these networks. A more effective approach towards this end may be to follow such a meeting with a schoolwide intervention, in which experienced and novice

teachers each are assigned or choose pairs for a school-sanctioned mentorship program. Unlike current models of required mentorship, however, this intervention would harness insights about the importance of organizational practices to teachers' social ties, and assign mentor/mentee pairs to be proximate in space; to be placed in the same academic departments (and if there is a lack of available partners, to hire one or more); to be free to socialize in same-race groups (especially important for minority black teachers); and to alter teachers' daily schedules to accommodate informal social interaction among mentor/mentee matches between, before, or after instructional time.

Another way to increase teacher contact and the flow of resources between teachers would be to situate these mentor/mentee relationships inside of classrooms. By instituting a policy in which new teachers co-teach one section of a course with a more experienced teacher in their first year in the school, upward- and downward-status resource exchange would be organizationally facilitated. This intervention would place minimal constraints on incumbents' autonomy while at the same time providing critical socialization to struggling or isolated novice teachers. Ideally, such a mentoring program would provide new teachers with a variety (i.e., two or more) of mentors, since incumbents have different resources to share and teachers may gain distinctive resources for work success through their same-race and cross-race ties. Ongoing professional developments in which teachers (both incumbent and novice) are guided through taking inventory of their resource sharing and gains, as well as the evolution of their social network in the workplace, would make this intervention more meaningful to teachers.

Principals' practices and school evaluation policies. The findings concerning the influence of organizational practices on shaping teachers' social ties should concern scholars and practitioners interested in school improvement, in terms of the impact of the social context of the school on student achievement. Research in the economics of education about

principal management quality finds that technical dimensions of management quality (i.e., those concerned with supporting instruction) significantly predict higher student achievement (e.g., Bloom, Lemos, Sadun, and Van Reenen 2015). The present study shows how social aspects of management additionally impact minority teachers' ability to gather professional and political resources, which in turn likely impinge on teachers' ability to execute quality instruction (Ferguson and Hirsch 2014). Thus, a practical implication of the findings here is to add social dimensions to the existing dimensions used to evaluate principals. These social aspects can involve active discrimination in the form of using referral networks unevenly, relying on implicit sorting to arrange workers across space, and selectively controlling some workers' informal networks. To tie directly to Bloom et al.'s (2015) framework of management quality, these practices could be additional indicators of people management and monitoring, respectively.

Moreover, by highlighting "the working conditions teachers prize most....[those that] are social in nature" (Simon and Johnson 2015:1), this dissertation has the potential to extend our understanding of social rewards in occupations similar to teaching. These new understandings can inform organizational leaders' and policymakers' efforts for improving working conditions for demographic groups within teaching-type occupations that have less access to social rewards in their work. Some possible improvements include: increasing time and opportunities for informal social interaction with colleagues during the workday; and using systematic procedures for distributing workers in the same functional role across space in the organization. A systematic procedure would mitigate the tendency for managerial decisions to be based on favoritism and implicit sorting, which can foster segregation and the consolidation of power among groups of workers.

Table 7.1. Teacher Turnover by School, 2014-2015 School Year

	Pine Grove	Larksfield	Crest Point	Surrey Ridge	Mt. Summit	TOTAL
Stayer	63	66	50	72	37	288
Leaver	21	20	13	10	3	67
<i>Mover</i>	10	8	7	7	2	34
<i>Exiter</i>	11	12	6	3	1	33
TOTAL	84	86	63	82	40	355
Rate of turnover	25%	23%	21%	12%	8%	19%

Movers left the school and continued teaching at another school. Exiters left the teaching profession. Rate of turnover includes movers and leavers. Does not include cases of teacher firings (N=2).

Figure 7.1. Pathways to Turnover in Pine Grove High School

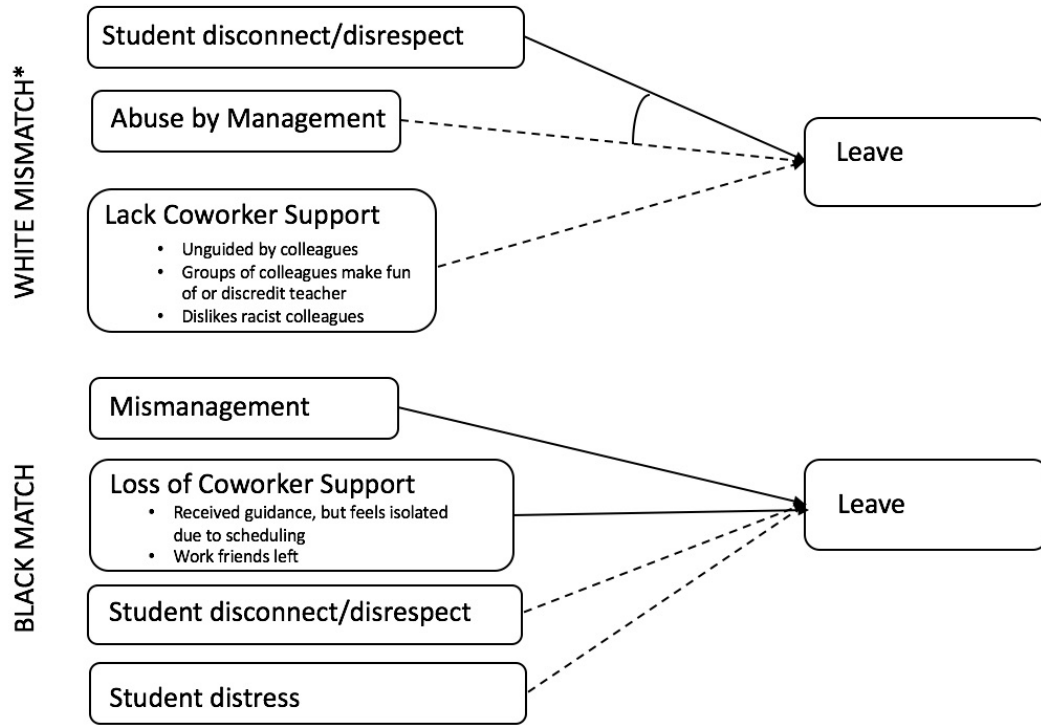
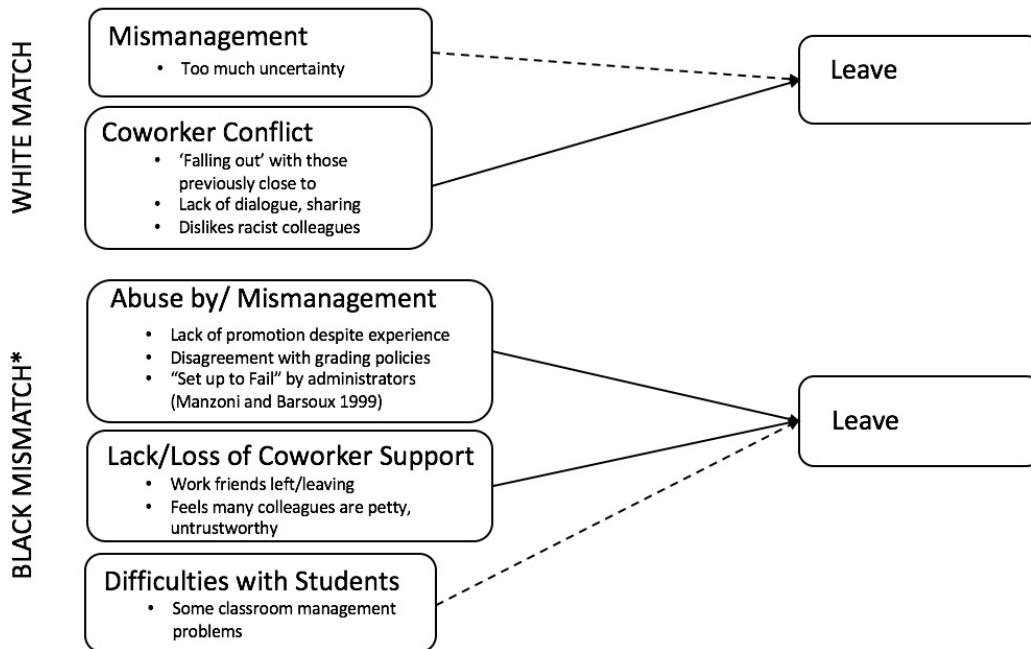


Figure 7.2. Pathways to Turnover in Crest Point High School



*Includes cases of racial mismatch for Asian and Non-white Hispanic respondents. Dotted lines denote that this happened in some but not all cases.

Appendix

Table A1. Conditions of Same-Race Tie Formation in Majority- and Minority-Group Settings

	Majority-group ties	Minority-group ties
	N=38 white teachers (W)	N=14 black teachers
	N=21 black teachers (B)	N=21 white teachers
Conditions	<i>Pseudonyms (race)</i>	<i>Pseudonyms (race)</i>
Proximity+Same Department	Ormston-West (W)	O'Brian-Lear-Cousins (W)
	Rockcliffe-Corea (W)	Thatcher-Terk-Newton (W)
	Freedman-Tamayo (W)	Leming-Ebner-Eldred (W)
	Patil-Nadeau (W)	Ragland-Cart (W)
	Lawrence-Ernst-Capstone (W)	Richardson-Libbey-Almond (W)
	Everdell-Richter-Iron-Rabenau (W)	Levett-Inman (B)
	Noon-Lewis-Ewing (W)	
	Armstrong-Thomas-Toins-Emerson- Lawson (W)	
	Odell-Cox-Litmer-Rubin (W)	
	Acker-Nole (B)	
	Ronald-Lund (B)	
	Ellison-Lambert-Wallace (B)	
	Daly-Ratton-Britton-Seaborg (B)	
Proximity	Lattimore-Linney (W)	Pearson-Larson (W)
	Tumacder-Rabara (W)	Helm-Oelberg (W)
	Oosterhouse-Yeuling-Leland (W)	Libbey-Newman (W)
	Nigel-Everheart-Perdue-Roberts (W)	East-Rabara (W)
	Little-Iams (W)	
	Lyons-Nesbitt (W)	
	Rabenau-Arnold (W)	
	Samuelson-Izzard (B)	
	Cosben-Uddin (B)	
	Cosben-Cepe (B)	
	Ronald-Simpson (B)	
	Trace-Upsteem (B)	
	Bennett-Dean-Farmer-Carsen (B)	
	Samuelson-Long-Salter (B)	
Department	O'Neill-Lily (W)	Richardson-Trunnell (W)
	Nova-Isla (W)	Oxby-Holten/Libbey/Almond (W)
	Yates-Ireson-Birch (W)	Nunn-Atterberry (B)
	Ireson-Nesbitt-Emry-Nadolski (W)	
	Lyons-Naestrom (W)	
	Lyons-Yapp (W)	
	Ingles-Sorensen (W)	
	Litler-Lambert (W)	
	Orans-Akron (B)	
	Holloway-Rayner (B)	
	Ivan-Randle (B)	
	Costa-Raleigh (B)	
Banks-Trece (B)		
Colleague's Negative experience	Lawrence-Capstone (W)*	
	Lattimore-Linney (W)	
	Irwin-Lattimore (W)	
	Urban-Odell (W)*	
	Odell-Cox (W)	

	Nova-Isla (W) Oosterhouse-Yeuling-Leland (W)	
Knew before	Iron-Royce (W) Armstrong-Urban (W) Litmer-Cruse (W) Leaske-Lily (W) Ashton-[math teacher] (W) Arnold-Chambers-Lathrop (W) Freedman-Ewing (W) Orans-Akron (B) Bennett-Nylund (B) Holloway-Rayner (B) Evans-Ambrose (B) Banks-Farmer (B)	Nemec-Inman (B) Inman-Leedham (B)
No proximity and cross- department	Wilson-Gladden (W) Rabenau-Lily-Perry-Lathrop (W)	Francis-Solomon (W) East-Watson-Leming-Oelberg (W) Thatcher-Helm (W) Valdosta-Newell (W) Newell-Lear/Yarlow/Cousins (W) Ruscoe-Lowry (B) Rose-Lowry (B) Rose-Ruscoe (B)
Cross-occupational	Oosterhouse-Chambers-Amanda (W) Sorensen-Ingalls (W) Bennett-Anise-Rogen (B)	Valdosta-Leder (W) Yarlow-Leder (W) Lowry-Rory (B) Lowry-Monique (B) Lowry-Ms. Norma (B) Rose-Rory (B) Ruscoe-Rory (B) Ruscoe-Neal (B) Ruscoe-Raubach (B) Inman-Ibbotson (B) Nemec-Leedham (B) Atterberry-Leedham (B) Avery-Grisham (B) Nickel-Leedham (B)
Live same neighborhood	Lawrence-Capstone (W)	Lear-Cousins-O'Brian-Newell-Albertson (W) Richardson-Trunell-Libbey-Almond-Newman (W) East-Watson (W) Bart-Westin-Larson (W)

Table A2. Types of Support Outcomes from Same-Race Ties in Majority- and Minority-Group Settings

	Majority-group ties	Minority-group ties
	N=38 white teachers (W) N=21 black teachers (B)	N=14 black teachers N=21 white teachers
Resources	<i>Pseudonyms (race)</i>	<i>Pseudonyms (race)</i>
Professional	Toins-Thomas-Emerson-Irby (W)* Perry-Lyons (W) Yapp-Rife (W) Patil-Nadeau (W) Lawrence-Ernst-Capstone (W)* Noon-Lewis-Ewing/Freeman (W) Armstrong-Finley (W) Litler-Lambert/Renwick (W)* Freedman-Tamayo (W) Price-Odell (W) Odell-Cox-Litmer-Ruben (W) Ashton-math teacher (W) Leaske-Everdell-Iron (W) Nova-Blume-Linton (W) Newsome-Atkin (W)* Wilson-Gladden (W) Ronald-Lund/Simpson/Randle (B) Ratton-Britton (B) Upright-Neale (B) Cosben-Gregory (B) Costa-Raleigh (B) Orans-Leap (B) Carsen-Dean-Bennett/Lacy (B) Banks-Trece/Farmer/Dean (B)	Newell-Urslin (W) Larson-Pearson (W) Ragland-Cart (W) Holten-Oxby (W)* Elkins-Lunn/Valdosta- (W) O'Brian-Lear (W) East-Rabara/Helm/Libbey/Almond (W) Thatcher-Newton-Terk/Eppheart (W) Libbey-Almond-Richardson-Trunnell (W)* Leming-Ellershaw-Oelberg (W) Updike-Cousins (W) Tello-Ragland (W) Levett-Inman (B)* Ruscoe-Lowry/Travis (B) Nickel-Atterberry/Norton (B)
Political	Yates-Ireson-Birch-Naestrom (W) Thomas-Toins-Emerson-Irby (W) Lawrence-Ernst (W) Capstone-Yearwood (W) Everdell-Iron-Richter (W) Ormston-West (W) Earl-Freedman-Tomayo (W) Everheart-Nigel (W) Nova-Blume-Linton (W) Odell-Cox-Troka (W) Ronald-Lund/Simpson/Costa/Randle (B) Acker-Nole (B) Lacy-Voight-Rhett (B) Costa-Raleigh (B) Carsen-Dean-Bennett/Lacy (B) Banks-Trece (B) Ellison-Wallace/Dean (B)	Oxby-Almond-Libbey-Holton-Richardson-Trunnell (W)* O'Brian-Lear-Cousins-Yarlow-Newell (W)* Valdosta-Leder (W) ^o Ragland-Cart (W) East-Libbey/Almond (W) Leming-Ellershaw-Oelberg (W) Thatcher-Eppheart (W) Westin-Anderson (W) Tello-East* (W) Ruscoe-Raubach (B) ^o Avery-Grisham (B) ^o Lort-Lowry (B) Ulster-Yeurick* (B)
Reciprocal Emotion Management	Toins-Thomas-Emerson-Irby (W)* Odell-Cox-Litmer-Urban (W)* Perry-Lathrop (W) Lattimore-Linney/Irwin (W) Little-Gladden (W) Ashton-math teacher (W)	Oxby-Libbey-Holten (W)* East-Leming-Watson (W) Thatcher-Helm-Holten/Ritchie (W) Newell-Yarlow-Cousins (W)* Eckert-Anderson-Lowndes/O'Brian (W)*

	Nova-Blume-Linton (W)	Francis-Solomon (W)
	Newsome-Banner (W)	Valdosta-Cousins (W)
	Ronald-Costa/Lund (B)	Lowry-Ruscoe/(Norma/Monique)
	Upright-Neale (B)	(B)*
	Ellison-Wallace-Lambert (B)	Rose-Lowry/Ruscoe (B)
	Daly-Britton-Ratton-Seaborg-Door-	Avery-Grisham (B)
	Drake (B)*	Levett-Inman (B)
	Bennett-Dean (B)*	Orange-Ould (B)
	Evans-Ambrose (B)	Yeurick-Ulster* (B)
	Cosben-Gregory (B)	
	Carsen-Farmer (B)	
	Osbourne-Laney (B)	
Extensive Friendship	Rabenau-Arnold (W)	Libbey-Almond-Holten-Oxby (W)*
	Lawrence-Nagel (W)	East-Leming-Watson (W)*
	Freedman-Tamayo-Lambert (W)	Ebner-Eldred-Leming (W)
	Sorensen-Ingalls (W)*	Westin-Bart (W)
	Urban-Odell (W)	Yarlow-Newell (W)*
	Odell-Ruben/Litmer (W)	Tello-East (W)
	Everheart-Sorensen/Nigel (W)*	Ruscoe-Lowry/Nokes/Raubach
	Little-Abraham (W)	/Grisham (B)
	Irvine-Price (W)	Rose-Lowry/Ruscoe (B)
	O'Neill-Lily (W)	Lowry-Norma-LeBeau (B)
	Newsome-Banner (W)	O'Brian-Lear (W)
	Yates-Ireson (W)	Valdosta-Newell (W)*
	Ellison-Wallace-Lambert-Hedley-	Nemec-Inman (B)
	Carsen (B)*	Inman-Ibbotson (B)
	Daly-Seaborg-Door-Britton (B)	Nickel-Leedham (B)
	Reagan-Idle-Unsworth (B)	
	Ronald-Lund/Simpson/Costa/Randle	
	(B)	
	Lacy-Voight-Rhett (B)	
	Cosben-Uddin (B)	
	Costa-Raleigh (B)	
	Samuelson-Salter-Long-Izzard (B)	
	Ambrose-Akron (B)	
	Orans-Akron (B)	
	Banks-Farmer-Veith (B)	
Doing Life Together	Odell-Troka-Cox (W)	Richardson-Trunnell (W)*
	Lawrence-Capstone (W)*	Newell-Yarlow-Cousins (W)*
	Ewing-Ingalls-Freedman (W)*	
	Lyons-Rehman-Rife-Naestrom (W)	
	Everdell-Iron-Richter-Umbrage (W)	
	Toins-Thomas (W)*	
	Ireson-Nesbitt-Emry (W)	
	Yates-Ireson (W)*	
	Oosterhouse - Yeuling-Rehman (W)	
	Nova-Blume (W)	
	Rabenau-Lily-Leaske-Perry-Lathrop	
	(W)*	
	Ingles-Sorensen (W)*	
	Patil-Nadeau (W)	
	Bennett-Dean-Anise-Rogen (B)	
	Dean-Upsteem-Rhett (B)	

* indicates a reciprocal tie, counted as two or more distinct ties

Table A3a: Respondents' Positive Social Interactions with Same-Race Colleagues: Pine Grove (Majority-Black Faculty)

Pseudonym	Race	Certification (Traditional /Alternate)	Gender	Years experience in this school	Positive experiences with same race	Other status differences (for daily/close ties)
<i>PINE GROVE</i>						
Acker	B	TC	F	Mid *	Yes (2/4)	2 male, 2 older, 2 AC
Ambrose	B	AC	F	Mid *	Yes (3/6)	1 older, 2 TC
Cosben	B	AC	F	Veteran *	Yes (1/6)	2 older, 3 TC
Evans	B	AC	F	First year *	Yes (1/1)	1 male, 1 older
New	B	AC	F	First year	Yes (1/3)	1 younger, 1 TC
Orans	B	TC	F	Mid *	Yes (2/2)	2 older, 2 AC
Osborne	B	AC	F	New	Yes (3/3)	1 male, 3 older, 1 TC
Reagan	B	TC	M	First year	Yes (2/2)	2 female, 2 older, 3 AC
Ronald	B	AC	M	First year	Yes (8/10)	5 female, 3 older, 2 TC
Samuelson	B	TC	F	Veteran	Yes (4/4) ^o	1 older
Upright	B	AC	F	New *	Yes (1/2)	2 male, 6 older, 4 younger, 8 TC
Eckert	W	TC	F	Veteran	No (0/1)	2 younger, 1 AC
Elkins	W	AC	F	First year	Yes (1/5)	2 male, 5 older, 2 TC
Francis	W	TC	M	First year	Yes (1/2)	2 female, 2 older, 3 AC
Larson	W	AC	F	First year	Yes (1/5)	4 younger, 2 TC
Newell	W	AC	F	Mid	Yes (1/3)	2 male, 3 older, 4 TC
O'Brian	W	TC	F	First year *	Yes (3/3)	3 male, 1 older, 1 younger, 5 AC
Updike	W	AC	M	First year	Yes (1/3)	1 female, 2 older, 2 TC
Valdosta	W	AC	F	Mid *	Yes (2/6)	1 male, 1 older, 1 younger, 1 TC
Westin	W	AC	F	First year *	No (0/4)	2 male, 4 younger
Yarlow	W	AC	F	Mid	Yes (5/7)	4 older, 2 TC, 2 staff
Kline	A	AC	F	First year	No (0/6)	2 male, 2 older
Rodriguez	H	AC	M	First year	No (0/2)	4 female, 5 younger, 1 older

* with previous teaching experience

+ with previous veteran teaching experience (10 or more years)

^o includes tie(s) with other school personnel (e.g., custodian, assistant, librarian)

Table A3b: Respondents' Positive Social Interactions with Same-Race Colleagues: Larksfeld (Majority-Black Faculty)

Pseudonym	Race	Certification (Traditional /Alternate)	Gender	Years experience in this school	Positive experiences (same race)	Other status differences (for daily/close ties)
<i>LARKSFIELD</i>						
Banks	B	AC	M	First year	Yes (1/2)	2 female, 3 TC, 2 older
Bennett	B	TC	F	Mid	Yes (4/6)	3 older, 1 younger, 1 AC
Carsen	B	TC	F	New	Yes (8/10)	same
Daly	B	AC	F	First year *	Yes (2/10)	1 older, 1 TC
Dean	B	AC	F	Mid *	Yes (2/2)	1 male, 1 AC, 1 younger
Ellison	B	AC	F	First year	Yes (5/5)	1 male
Ratton	B	TC	F	First year +	Yes (6/8)	1 male, 2 older, 2 AC, 1 staff
Roth	B	AC	F	Mid *	No (0/1)	1 older, 1 younger, 2 TC
Sharpe	B	TC	M	New +	No (0/2)	3 female, 5 younger, 3 AC
Trace	B	AC	F	Mid *	Yes (2/4)	1 male, 2 older, 1 younger, 2 TC
East	W	AC	M	Mid	Yes (4/4)	1 female, 3 older, 4 TC
Holten	W	AC	F	Veteran *	Yes (4/5)	5 younger/1 older, 4 TC
Leming	W	TC	M	Veteran *	Yes (5/6)	1 female, 1 older, 2 AC, 1 staff
Libbey	W	AC	F	Veteran *	Yes (2/4)	1 older, 1 TC
Oxby	W	AC	F	Mid	Yes (4/4)	3 male, 1 older, 2 TC, 1 staff
Ragland	W	TC	F	Mid +	Yes (1/6)	1 male, 1 older/4 younger, 2 AC
Richardson	W	AC/TC	F	First year	Yes (5/11)	1 male, 5 older, 5 TC
Thatcher	W	AC	M	Mid	Yes (3/5)	1 female, 2 younger, 1 TC
Trunell	W	TC	F	First year	Yes (1/3)	1 older, 3 AC
Yeomans	W	TC	M	Mid +	No (0/3)	6 female, 7 younger, 3 AC
Ryan	A	AC	F	First year	No (0/3)	1 male, 2 older, 1 TC
Tello	WH	TC	F	New +	No (0/5)	1 older
Ybarra	H	TC	M	First year	No (0/6)	2 female, 1 older

Table A3c: Respondents' Positive Social Interactions with Same-Race Colleagues: Crest Point (Majority-White Faculty)

Pseudonym	Race	Certification (Traditional /Alternate)	Gender	Years experience in this school	Positive experiences (same race)	Other status differences (for daily/close ties)
<i>CREST POINT</i>						
Avery	B	TC	F	New +	Yes (2/5) ^o	male, 1 older, 1 younger
Lowry	B	AC	M	Veteran *	Yes (4/9) ^o	female, younger
Rose	B	AC	F	Mid +	Yes (3/4) ^o	1 male, 2 TC, all younger
Ruscoe	B	TC	F	New +	Yes (4/5) ^o	2 male, 1 older, 2 younger, 1 AC
Travis	B	AC	F	New *	No (0/6)	1 older, 2 TC
Armstrong	W	TC	M	First year	Yes (4/4)	1 female, 1 AC, 3 older
Atkin	W	AC	F	First year *	Yes (2/2)	3 TC, 1 older
Capstone	W	AC	M	Veteran *	Yes (4/4)	3 female, 3 TC, 1 older
Irvine	W	TC	F	New +	No (0/1)	1 male, 2 younger, 3 AC
Lawrence	W	TC	F	New +	Yes (4/5)	2 male, 1 AC, 3 older, 1 younger
Little	W	TC	F	Mid *	Yes (4/4)	1 older, 1 AC
Marshall	W	AC	F	New *	Yes (12/13)	1 male, 6 older, 7 TC
Newsome	W	AC	F	First year	Yes 6/9	2 older, 1 TC
Odell	W	TC	F	New *	Yes (5/5)	2 older
Price	W	AC	F	New *	Yes (4/6)	1 male, 2 younger, 3 TC
Thomas	W	TC	F	New *	yes (4/4)	1 male, 2 older
Toins	W	TC	F	New *	Yes (4/4)	3 older, 1 AC
Urban	W	AC	F	New *	Yes (1/1)	1 male, 1 older, 3 TC
Wilson	W	TC	M	Veteran +	Yes (1/1)	2 female, 1 younger, 1 older
Lal	I	AC	M	First year*	No (0/2)	2 female, 1 younger, 1 TC

Table A3d: Respondents' Positive Social Interactions with Same-Race Colleagues: Surrey Ridge (Majority-White Faculty)

Pseudonym	Race	Certification (Traditional /Alternate)	Gender	Years experience in this school	Positive experiences (same race)	Other status differences (for daily/close ties)
<i>SURREY RIDGE</i>						
Inman	B	TC	F	Mid *	Yes (3/4) ^o	2 older, 2 AC
Levett	B	TC	F	Mid +	Yes (1/2)	2 older
Nemec	B	AC	F	Veteran*	Yes (2/6) ^o	2 older
Nickel	B	AC	M	Mid*	Yes (2/7) ^o	all female, 2 younger, 3 TC
Nunn	B	AC	M	Mid*	Yes (2/5)	2 female, 1 younger, 2 older, 2 TC
Russell	B	TC	M	Veteran	No (0/3)	1 younger, 1 older, 1 AC
Ashton	W	TC	F	New+	Yes (5/5)	1 male, 3 younger
Everdell	W	TC	F	Veteran*	Yes (1/1)	1 younger
Lattimore	W	AC	F	Mid *	Yes (5/5)	2 older, 3 younger, 4 TC
Leaske	W	AC	F	New	Yes (8/8)	7 older, 7 TC
Little	W	TC	F	Mid *	Yes (1/1)	1 older, 1 AC
Lyons	W	AC	F	Veteran	Yes (3/3)	1 younger, 3 older, 4 TC
Nova	W	TC	F	Mid	Yes (5/6)	3 older, 2 AC
O'Neill	W	TC	F	New	Yes (3/4)	2 male, 3 older, 2 AC
Oosterhouse	W	TC	F	Mid *	Yes (5/6)	4 male, 3 older, 4 younger, 3 AC
Perry	W	AC	F	Mid	Yes (4/4)	1 male, 2 older, 3 TC
Rabenau	W	TC	F	First year	Yes (5/5)	1 male, 2 older, 4 AC
Rockcliffe	W	AC	F	Mid *	Yes (3/3)	2 male, 3 older, 3 TC
Yapp	W	AC	F	New +	Yes (7/7)	2 male, 9 older, 5 younger, 13 TC
Yates	W	AC	M	Mid*	Yes (3/3)	2 female, 2 older, 2 TC

Table A3e: Respondents' Positive Social Interactions with Same-Race Colleagues: Mt. Summit (Majority-White Faculty)

Pseudonym	Race	Certification (Traditional /Alternate)	Gender	Years experience in this school	Positive experiences (same race)	Other status differences (for daily/close ties)
<i>MT. SUMMIT</i>						
Orange	B	AC	F	First year *	Yes (1/6) ^o	3 older, 3 TC
Ulster	B	TC	M	New *	Yes (1/6)	1 older
Yeurick	B	AC	F	New *	No (0/5)	1 younger, 1 TC
Everheart	W	AC	M	New *	Yes (2/3)	3 female, 2 younger, 5 TC
Ewing	W	AC	F	New +	Yes (4/4)	2 younger, 3 TC
Freedman	W	TC	F	New *	Yes (4/4)	4 older, 2 AC
Ingles	W	AC	F	First year *	Yes (4/5)	1 male, 4 older, 3 TC
Irwin	W	AC	M	First year +	Yes (1/1)	all female, 2 older, 1 TC
Litler	W	TC	F	Mid +	Yes (1/1)	1 male, 4 younger, 1 AC
Nigel	W	AC	M	New +	Yes (7/9)	4 female, 1 older, 2 younger, 8 TC
Noon	W	TC	F	First year	Yes (5/5)	2 male, 11 older, 5 AC
Patil	W	TC	F	New +	Yes (1/1)	1 male, 1 younger, 2 older, 1 AC
Sorensen	WH	AC	F	First year *	Yes (8/9)	1 male, 2 older, 1 younger, 1 TC

Works Cited

- Abascal, Maria, and Delia Baldassarri. 2015. "Love Thy Neighbor? Ethnoracial Diversity and Trust Reexamined." *American Journal of Sociology* 121(3): 722-782.
- Abbott, Andrew. 1988. *The System of Professions: An Essay on the Division of Expert Labor*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Abraham, Mabel. 2015. "Explaining unequal returns to social capital among entrepreneurs." *Academy of Management Proceedings*.
- Achinstein, Betty. 2002. "Conflict amid community: The micropolitics of teacher collaboration." *Teachers College Record* 104(3): 421-455.
- Allport, Gordon. 1954. *The Nature of Prejudice*. Basic books.
- Aries, Elizabeth, and Maynard Seider. 2005. "The interactive relationship between class identity and the college experience: The case of lower income students." *Qualitative Sociology* 28(4): 419-443.
- Armenta, Amada. 2009. "Creating community: Latina nannies in a West Los Angeles park." *Qualitative sociology* 32(3): 279-292.
- Astor, Ron Avi, Heather Ann Meyer, and William J. Behre. 1999. "Unowned places and times: Maps and interviews about violence in high schools." *American educational research journal* 36(1): 3-42.
- Atteberry, Allison, and Anthony Bryk. 2010. "Centrality, Connection, and Commitment: The role of social networks in a school-based literacy initiative." In *Social Network Theory and Educational Change*. Ed. Alan J. Daly. Cambridge: Harvard Education Press.
- Bacharach, Samuel B., Peter A. Bamberger, and Dana Vashdi. 2005. "Diversity and Homophily at Work: Supportive Relations among White and African-American Peers." *Academy of Management Journal* 48:619-44.
- Baldassarri, Delia. 2015. "Cooperative Networks: Altruism, Group Solidarity, Reciprocity and Sanctioning in Ugandan Farmer Organizations." *American Journal of Sociology* 121(2).
- Ballantine, Jeanne H., and Joan Z. Spade. 2009. "Social Science Theories on Teachers, Teaching, and Educational Systems." In *International Handbook of Research on Teachers and Teaching*, Lawrence J. Saha and A. Gary Dworkin, Eds. Springer: 81-102.
- Banerjee, Dina, and Carolyn C. Perrucci. 2010. "Job satisfaction: Impact of gender, race, worker qualifications, and work context." *Research in the Sociology of Work* 20: 39-58.
- Banks, James A. 2003. "Teaching Literacy for Social Justice and Global Citizenship." *Language Arts* 81(1): 18-19.
- Barnes, Gary, Edward Crowe, and Benjamin Schaefer. 2007. "The Cost of Teacher Turnover in Five School Districts: A Pilot Study." *National Commission on Teaching and America's Future*.
- Barnett, Bruce G. 1984. "Subordinate teacher power in school organizations." *Sociology of Education*: 43-55.
- Barnett, William P., James N. Baron, and Toby E. Stuart. 2000. "Avenues of Attainment: Occupational Demography and Organizational Careers in the California Civil Service." *American Journal of Sociology* 106:88-144.
- Becker, Howard S., Blanche Greer, Everett C. Hughes, and Anselm L. Strauss. 1961. *Boys in White: Student Culture in Medical School*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Berger, Joseph, M. Hamit Fisek, Robert Z. Norman, and Morris Zelditch. 1977. *Status Characteristics and Social Interaction: An Expectation-States Approach*. New York: Elsevier.
- Blair-Loy, Mary. 2001. "It's not just what you know, it's who you know: technical knowledge, rainmaking and gender among finance executives." *Research in Sociology of Work*: 51-84.
- Blalock, Hubert. 1967. *Toward a theory of minority-group relations*. New York: Wiley.
- Blase, Joseph J. 1986. "Socialization as humanization: One side of becoming a teacher." *Sociology of Education*: 100-113.
- Blatchford, Peter, Anthony Russell, and Penelope Brown. 2009. "Teaching in Large and Small Classes." In *International Handbook of Research on Teachers and Teaching*, Lawrence J. Saha and A. Gary Dworkin, Eds. Springer: 779-790.
- Blau, Peter M. 1977. "A Macrosociological Theory of Social Structure." *American Journal of Sociology* 83(1): 26-54.
- Blau, Peter M. and Joseph E. Schwartz. 1984. *Crosscutting Social Circles*. Orlando: Academic Press.
- Blau, Peter M., and Otis Dudley Duncan. 1967. *The American occupational structure*. New York: Wiley and Sons.
- Blau, Peter M., Terry C. Blum, and Joseph E. Schwartz. 1982. "Heterogeneity and intermarriage." *American Sociological Review*: 45-62.
- Blau, Peter Michael. 1955. *The dynamics of bureaucracy: A study of interpersonal relations in two government agencies*. Chicago UP.
- Blau, Peter. 1964. *Exchange and Power in Social Life*. New York: John Wiley and Sons.
- Bloom, Nicholas, Renata Lemos, Raffaella Sadun, and John Van Reenen. 2015. "Does management matter in schools?" *The Economic Journal* 125(584): 647-674.
- Blumer Herbert. 1958. "Race prejudice as a sense of group position." *Pacific Sociological Review* 1:3-7.
- Bobo, Lawrence D., Camille Z. Charles, Maria Krysan, and Alecia D. Simmons. 2012. "The real record on racial attitudes." *Social trends in American life: Findings from the general social survey since 1972*: 38-83.
- Bobo, Lawrence, and Vincent L. Hutchings. 1996. "Perceptions of racial group competition: extending Blumer's theory of group position to a multiracial social context." *American Sociological Review*. 61:951- 72.
- Boje, David M. "The storytelling organization: A study of story performance in an office-supply firm." *Administrative science quarterly* (1991): 106-126.
- Borgatti, Stephen, and Brandon Ofem. 2010. "Overview: Social Network Theory and Analysis." In *Social Network Theory and Educational Change*. Ed. Alan Daly. Cambridge: Harvard Education Press.
- Borgatti, Steve P, MG Everett, and SC Johnson. 2013. *Analyzing Social Networks*. Sage.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1984. *Distinction*. Translated by R. Nice. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Breen, Richard, Kristian Bernt Karlson, and Anders Holm. 2013. "Total, direct, and indirect effects in logit and probit models." *Sociological Methods & Research* 42(2): 164-191.
- Bridwell-Mitchell, E. N., and North Cooc. 2016. "The Ties That Bind How Social Capital Is Forged and Forfeited in Teacher Communities." *Educational Researcher* 45(1): 7-17.
- Bridwell-Mitchell, Ebony N. 2015. "Theorizing Teacher Agency and Reform How Institutionalized Instructional Practices Change and Persist." *Sociology of Education* 88(2): 140-159.
- Britton, Dana M., and Laura Logan. 2008. "Gendered organizations: Progress and prospects."

- Sociology Compass* 2(1): 107-121.
- Brown, Rupert and Miles Hewstone. 2005. "An Integrative Theory of Intergroup Contact." *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology* 37:255-343.
- Bryk, Anthony, and Barbara Schneider. 2002. *Trust in schools: A core resource for improvement*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Bryk, Anthony, Penny Bender Sebring, Elaine Allensworth, John Q. Easton, and Stuart Luppescu. 2010. *Organizing schools for improvement: Lessons from Chicago*. University of Chicago Press.
- Burawoy, Michael. 1979. *Manufacturing consent: Changes in the labor process under monopoly capitalism*. University of Chicago Press.
- Bureau of Labor Statistics. 2014. "May 2015 National Occupational Employment and Wage Estimates United States." Accessed online 24 June 2017 at https://www.bls.gov/emp/ep_table_101.htm
- Burt, Ronald S. 1992. *Structural Holes: The Social Structure of Competition*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Burt, Ronald S. 2001. "Structural holes versus network closure as social capital." *Social capital: Theory and research*: 31-56.
- Calarco, Jessica. 2011. "'I Need Help!' Social Class and Children's Help-Seeking in Elementary School." *American Sociological Review* 76 (6): 862-882.
- Campbell, Donald T. 1965. "Ethnocentric and other altruistic motives." *Nebraska symposium on motivation*. Vol. 13.
- Castilla, Emilio J. 2005. "Social networks and employee performance in a call center." *American journal of sociology* 110 (5): 1243-1283.
- Castilla, Emilio J., George J. Lan, and Ben A. Rissing. 2013. "Social networks and employment: Outcomes (part 2)." *Sociology Compass* 7(12): 1013-1026.
- Clark, Melissa A., Hanley S. Chiang, Tim Silva, Sheena McConnell, Kathy Sonnenfeld, Anastasia Erbe, and Michael Puma. 2013. "The Effectiveness of Secondary Math Teachers from Teach For America and the Teaching Fellows Programs. NCEE 2013-4015." *National Center for Education Evaluation and Regional Assistance*.
- Coburn, Cynthia E. 2001. "Collective sensemaking about reading: How teachers mediate reading policy in their professional communities." *Educational evaluation and policy analysis* 23(2): 145-170.
- Coburn, Cynthia, Linda Choi, and Willow Mata. 2010. "'I Would Go to Her Because Her Mind is Math:' Network formation in the context of district-based mathematics reform." In *Social Network Theory and Educational Change*. Ed. Alan J. Daly. Cambridge: Harvard Education Press.
- Cohen, Elizabeth G. 1976. "Reviewed works: Schoolteacher: A Sociological Study by Dan C. Lortie." *American Journal of Sociology*.
- Cohen, Susan G. 1990. "Corporate Restructuring Team" and "Hilltop hospital top management group." Pp. 36-55, 56-77 in *Groups that work (and those that don't)*, edited by J. Richard Hackman. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Inc.
- Coleman, James S. 1988. "Social capital in the creation of human capital." *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 94, Supplement: Organizations and Institutions: Sociological and Economic Approaches to the Analysis of Social Structure, pp. S95-S120.
- Coleman, James, and Thomas Hoffer. 1987. *Public and Private High Schools: The Impact of Communities*. New York: Basic Books.

- Collins, Randall. 1979. *The Credential Society: An Historical Sociology of Education and Stratification*. New York: Academic Press.
- Collins, Randall. 2010. "Simmelian Numbers." *The Sociological Eye*. Accessed online 25 August 2016 at <http://sociological-eye.blogspot.com/2010/06/simmelian-numbers.html>.
- Colquitt, Jason A., Brent A. Scott, Jessica B. Rodell, David M. Long, Cindy P. Zapata, Donald E. Conlon, and Michael J. Wesson. 2013. "Justice at the millennium, a decade later: A meta-analytic test of social exchange and affect-based perspectives." *Journal of Applied Psychology* 98(2): 199.
- Connerton, Marie, Richard Freeman, and James Medoff. 1979. "Productivity and Industrial relations: The case of US Bituminous coal." *Unpublished ms.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University.
- Constantine, Jill, Daniel Player, Tim Silva, Kristen Hallgren, Mary Grider, and John Deke. 2009. "An evaluation of teachers trained through different routes to certification." *Final Report for National Center for Education and Regional Assistance* 142.
- Davidson, Martin, and Raymond A. Friedman. 1998. "When excuses don't work: The persistent injustice effect among Black managers." *Administrative Science Quarterly* 43(1).
- Davies, Kristin, Linda R. Tropp, Arthur Aron, Thomas F. Pettigrew, and Stephen C. Wright. 2011. "Cross-group friendships and intergroup attitudes: A meta-analytic review." *Personality and Social Psychology Review* 15(4): 332-351.
- Davis, George, and Glegg Watson. 1982. *Black life in corporate America: Swimming in the mainstream*. Doubleday.
- Delpit, Lisa. 2006[1995]. *Other people's children: Cultural conflict in the classroom*. New York: The New Press.
- Derks, Belle, Colette Van Laar, Naomi Ellemers, and Kim De Groot. 2011. "Gender-bias primes elicit queen-bee responses among senior policewomen." *Psychological Science* 22(10): 1243-1249.
- Derlaga, Valerian J., and John H. Berg (Eds). 2013. *Self-disclosure: Theory, research, and therapy*. Springer Science & Business Media.
- Desmond, Matthew. 2012. "Disposable Ties and the Urban Poor." *American Journal of Sociology* 117(5): 1295-1335.
- Diamond, John B. 2007. "Where the rubber meets the road: Rethinking the connection between high-stakes testing policy and classroom instruction." *Sociology of Education* 80(4): 285-313.
- DiBenigno, Julia, and Katherine C. Kellogg. 2014. "Beyond occupational differences the importance of cross-cutting demographics and dyadic toolkits for collaboration in a US hospital." *Administrative Science Quarterly* 59: 375-408.
- DiBenigno, Julia. 2017. "Anchored Personalization in Managing Goal Conflict between Professional Groups: The Case of U.S. Army Mental Health Care." *Administrative Science Quarterly*.
- Dickerson N, Schur L, Kruse D, Blasi J. 2010. "Worksite segregation and performance-related attitudes." *Work and Occupations* 37(1):45-72.
- DiTomaso, Nancy. 2013. *The American non-dilemma: Racial inequality without racism*. Russell Sage Foundation.
- Dobrow Riza, Shoshana, Yoav Ganzach, and Yihao Liu. 2015. "Time and job satisfaction: a longitudinal study of the differential roles of age and tenure." *Journal of Management*.
- Durkheim, Émile. 1893[1984]. *The Division of Labor in Society*. New York: Free Press.
- Durkheim, Emile. 1965. *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*. New York: Free Press.

- Dworkin, Anthony Gary. 1987. *Teacher burnout in the public schools: Structural causes and consequences for children*. SUNY Press.
- Emerson, Robert M., Rachel I. Fretz, and Linda L. Shaw. 1995. *Writing Ethnographic Fieldnotes*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Entwisle, Doris R., Karl Alexander, and Linda Olsen. 1998. *Children, Schools, & Inequality. Social Inequality Series*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Etzioni, Amitai. 1969. *The Semi-Professions and Their Organisation: Teachers, nurses, social workers*. New York: Free Press.
- Everitt, Judson G. 2012. "Teacher Careers and Inhabited Institutions: Sense-Making and Arsenals of Teaching Practice in Educational Institutions." *Symbolic Interaction* 35(2): 203-220.
- Fayard, Anne-Laure, and John Weeks. 2007. "Photocopiers and water-coolers: The affordances of informal interaction." *Organization studies* 28(5): 605-634.
- Fayard, Anne-Laure, Ileana Stigliani, and Beth A. Bechky. 2016. "How Nascent Occupations Construct a Mandate The Case of Service Designers' Ethos." *Administrative Science Quarterly*.
- Feiman-Nemser, Sharon. 2001. "From preparation to practice: Designing a continuum to strengthen and sustain teaching." *Teachers college record* 103(6): 1013-1055.
- Feistritzer, C. Emily. 2010. *Alternate Route Certification: A State-by-State Analysis*. NCEI.
- Fenstermaker, Sarah, Candace West, and Don Zimmerman. 2002. "Gender inequality: New conceptual terrain." *Doing gender, doing difference*: 25-39.
- Ferguson, Ronald F., and Eric Hirsch. 2014. "How working conditions predict teaching quality and student outcomes." Pp. 332-380 in *Designing teacher evaluation systems*, edited by T. Kane, K. Kerr, and R. Pianta. John Wiley & Sons.
- Fernandez, Roberto M., Emilio J. Castilla, and Paul Moore. 2000. "Social capital at work: Networks and employment at a phone center." *American journal of sociology* 105(5): 1288-1356.
- Flores, Glenda. 2011. "Racialized tokens: Latina teachers negotiating, surviving and thriving in a white woman's profession." *Qualitative Sociology* 34(2): 313-335.
- Ford, Timothy G., and Peter A. Youngs. 2017. "Creating organizational structures to facilitate collegial interaction among teachers: Evidence from a high-performing urban Midwestern US district." *Educational Management Administration & Leadership*.
- Fordham, Signithia. 1996. *Blacked Out: Dilemmas of Race, Identity, and Success at Capital High*. Chicago UP.
- Forman, Tyrone. 2003. "The Social Psychological Costs of Racial Segmentation in the Workplace: A Study of African Americans' Well-Being." *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 44(3): 332-352.
- Frankenberg, Erica. 2009. "The segregation of American teachers." *Education Policy Analysis Archives*: 17(1). Retrieved 5 January 2016 from <http://epaa.asu.edu/epaa/v17n1/>.
- Gay, Geneva, and Tyrone C. Howard. 2000. "Multicultural teacher education for the 21st century." *The Teacher Educator* 36(1): 1-16.
- George, Alexander L., and Andrew Bennett. 2005. *Case studies and theory development in the social sciences*. MIT Press.
- Gieryn, Thomas F. 1983. "Boundary-work and the demarcation of science from non-science: Strains and interests in professional ideologies of scientists." *American sociological review*: 781-795.

- Godsil, Rachel, Linda Tropp, Phillip Atiba Goff, and John Powell. 2014. "Addressing Implicit Bias, Racial Anxiety, and Stereotype Threat in Education and Healthcare." *The Science of Inequality*. Berkeley, CA: The Perception Institute.
- Goffman, Erving. 1955. "On Face-work: An Analysis of Ritual Elements of Social Interaction". *Psychiatry: Journal for the Study of Interpersonal Processes*. 18 (3): 213–231.
- Goffman, Erving. 1959. *The presentation of self in everyday life*. Doubleday.
- Goldstein, Dana. 2014. *The teacher wars: A history of America's most embattled profession*. Doubleday.
- Goodman, Philip. 2014. "Race in California's Prison Fire Camps for Men: Prison Politics, Space, and the Racialization of Everyday Life." *American journal of sociology* 120(2): 352-394.
- Granovetter, Mark S. 1973. "The strength of weak ties." *American journal of sociology*: 1360-1380.
- Granovetter, Mark. 1985. "Economic action and social structure: The problem of embeddedness." *American journal of sociology* 91(3): 481-510.
- Greenberg, Jerald, and Jason A. Colquitt. 2005. *Handbook of Organizational Justice*. Psychology Press.
- Griffin, Ashley and Hilary Tackie. 2016. "Through Our Eyes: Perspectives and Reflections From Black Teachers." The Education Trust.
- Grossman, Pam, Sam Wineburg, and Stephen Woolworth. 2001. "Toward a theory of teacher community." *Teachers College Record* 103: 942-1012.
- Guarino, Cassandra, Lucrecia Santibanez, and Glenn Daley. 2006. "Teacher recruitment and retention: A review of the recent empirical literature." *Review of educational research* 76(2): 173-208.
- Gusfield, Joseph R. 1957. "The problem of generations in an organizational structure." *Social Forces*: 323-330.
- Habyarimana, James, Macartan Humphreys, Daniel N. Posner, and Jeremy M. Weinstein. 2007. "Why Does Ethnic Diversity Undermine Public Goods Provision?" *American Political Science Review* 101: 709–25.
- Hallett, Tim, Brent Harger, and Donna Eder. 2009. "Gossip at work: Unsanctioned evaluative talk in formal school meetings." *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 38(5): 584-618.
- Hallett, Tim. 2007. "Between Deference and Distinction: Interaction Ritual Through Symbolic Power in an Educational Institution." *Social Psychology Quarterly* 70(2): 148-171.
- Hanushek, Eric A., John F. Kain, and Steven G. Rivkin. 2004. "Why public schools lose teachers." *Journal of human resources* 39(2): 326-354.
- Harris, Douglas, and Scott Adams. 2007. "Understanding the level and causes of teacher turnover: A comparison with other professions." *Economics of Education Review* 26(3): 325-337.
- Hatton, Elizabeth J. 1988. "Teachers' work as bricolage: Implications for teacher education." *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 9(3): 337-357.
- Headden, Susan. 2014. "Beginners in the Classroom: What the Changing Demographics of Teaching Mean for Schools, Students, and Society." *Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching Report*.
- Hegtvedt, Karen A. and Cathryn Johnson. Forthcoming. *Social Psychology*. Pine Forge Press: Thousand Oaks, CA.

- Higginbotham, Elizabeth, and Lynn Weber. 1992. "Moving up with kin and community: Upward social mobility for black and white women." *Gender and Society* 6: 416–440.
- Hipp, Lena, and Rebecca Kolins Givan. 2015. "What Do Unions Do? A Cross-National Reexamination of the Relationship between Unionization and Job Satisfaction." *Social Forces* 94(1): 349-377.
- Hirschman, Albert O. 1970. *Exit, voice, and loyalty: Responses to decline in firms, organizations, and states*. Harvard University Press.
- Hochschild, Arlie R. 1983. *The Managed Heart: The Commercialization of Feeling*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Hodson, Randy. 2001. *Dignity at work*. Cambridge University Press.
- Hodson, Randy. 2002. "Demography or respect?: Work group demography versus organizational dynamics as determinants of meaning and satisfaction at work." *The British journal of sociology* 53(2): 291-317.
- Holland, Megan M. 2012. "Only here for the day: The social integration of minority students at a majority white high school." *Sociology of Education* 85(2): 101-120.
- Holland, Megan M. 2015. "Trusting Each Other Student-Counselor Relationships in Diverse High Schools." *Sociology of Education*.
- Hughes, Everett C. 1936. "The ecological aspect of institutions." *American sociological review* 1(2): 180-189.
- Hughes, Everett C. 1951. "Work and the self." Pp. 313-323 in John Rohrer and Muzafer Sherif (eds.), *Social Psychology at the Crossroads*. New York: Harper & Brothers.
- Hughes, Everett. 1946. "The knitting of racial groups in industry." *American sociological review* 11(5): 512-519.
- Ibarra, Herminia. 1995. "Race, opportunity, and diversity of social circles in managerial networks." *Academy of management journal* 38(3): 673-703.
- Ingersoll, Richard M. 2001. "Teacher Turnover and Teacher Shortages: An Organizational Analysis." *American Educational Research Journal* 38: 499-541.
- Ingersoll, Richard M. 2009. *Who controls teachers' work?: Power and accountability in America's schools*. Harvard University Press.
- Ingersoll, Richard, and Lisa Merrill. 2010. "Who's Teaching." *Educational Leadership*.
- Ingersoll, Richard, Lisa Merrill, and Daniel Stuckey. 2014. "Seven trends: the transformation of the teaching force, updated April 2014." *CPRE Report (#RR-80)*. Philadelphia: Consortium for Policy Research in Education, University of Pennsylvania.
- Irvine, Jacqueline Jordan. 2003. *Educating teachers for diversity: Seeing with a cultural eye*. Vol. 15. Teachers College Press.
- Ispa-Landa, Simone, and Jordan Conwell. 2015. "'Once You Go to a White School, You Kind of Adapt' Black Adolescents and the Racial Classification of Schools." *Sociology of Education* 88(1): 1-19.
- Jackson, Susan. 1991. "Team Composition in Organizational Settings: Issues in Managing an Increasingly Diverse Workforce." Pp. 138–73 in *Group Process and Productivity*, edited by S. Worchel, W. Wood, and J. Simpson. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Joshi, Aparna. 2014. "By whom and when is women's expertise recognized? The interactive effects of gender and education in science and engineering teams." *Administrative Science Quarterly* 59(2): 202-239.
- Kalev, Alexandra. 2009. "Cracking the Glass Cages? Restructuring and Ascriptive Inequality at Work." *American Journal of Sociology* 114(6): 1591-1643.

- Kalleberg, Arne L., and Stephen Vaisey. 2005. "Pathways to a good job: Perceived work quality among the machinists in North America." *British Journal of Industrial Relations* 43(3): 431-454.
- Kalogrides, Demetra, Susanna Loeb, and Tara Béteille. 2013. "Systematic sorting: Teacher characteristics and class assignments." *Sociology of Education* 86(2): 103-123.
- Kanter, Rosabeth Moss. 1977. *Men and Women of the Corporation*. Basic books.
- Katznelson, Ira. 1985. "Working class formation and the state: nineteenth-century England in American perspective." In Evans, Peter B., Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol (Eds). *Bringing the state back in*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Kelly, M., Wilkinson, L., Pisciotta, M. and Williams, L.S. 2015. "When Working Hard Is Not Enough for Female and Racial/Ethnic Minority Apprentices in the Highway Trades." *Sociological Forum* 30(2): 415-438.
- Khan, Shamus Rahman. 2011. *Privilege: The making of an adolescent elite at St. Paul's School*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Kohler, Ulrich, Kristian Bernt Karlson, and Anders Holm. 2011. "Comparing coefficients of nested nonlinear probability models." *Stata Journal* 11(3): 420-438.
- Kornblum, W. 1974. *Blue collar community*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Kozol, Jonathan. 1991. *Savage inequalities: Children in America's schools*. Broadway Books.
- Lamont, Michèle, and Virág Molnár. 2002. "The study of boundaries in the social sciences." *Annual review of sociology*: 167-195.
- Lan, Pai C. 2006. *Global Cinderella: Migrant domestic and newly rich employers in Taiwan*. Duke University Press: Durham.
- Lankford, Hamilton, Susanna Loeb, and James Wyckoff. 2002. "Teacher sorting and the plight of urban schools: A descriptive analysis." *Educational evaluation and policy analysis* 24(1): 37-62.
- Laschinger, Heather K. Spence. 1996. "A theoretical approach to studying work empowerment in nursing: a review of studies testing Kanter's theory of structural power in organizations." *Nursing administration quarterly* 20(2): 25-41.
- Lau, Dora, and J. Keith Murnighan. 1998. "Demographic diversity and faultlines: The compositional dynamics of organizational groups." *Academy of Management Review* 23(2): 325-340.
- Lave, Jean and Etienne Wenger. 1991. *Situated Learning: Legitimate Peripheral Participation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lawler, Edward J., and Jeongkoo Yoon. 1996. "Commitment in Exchange Relations: Test of a Theory of Relational Cohesion." *American Sociological Review* 61:89-108.
- Learning Policy Institute. 2012, 2013, 2014. "Understanding Teacher Shortages." <http://learningpolicyinstitute.org/understanding-teacher-shortages-notes-sources>. Accessed online 18 June 2017.
- Leidner, Robin. 1993. *Fast food, fast talk: Service work and the routinization of everyday life*. University of California Press.
- Lewis-McCoy, R. L'Heureux. 2014. *Inequality in the promised land: Race, resources, and suburban schooling*. Stanford University Press.
- Lewis, Amanda E. "What Group?" 2004. "Studying Whites and Whiteness in the Era of "Color-Blindness." *Sociological Theory* 22(4): 623-646.
- Lewis, Amanda E., and John B. Diamond. 2015. *Despite the best intentions: How racial inequality thrives in good schools*. Oxford University Press.

- Lewis, Amanda. 2003. *Race in the schoolyard: Negotiating the color line in classrooms and communities*. Rutgers University Press.
- Lieberson, Stanley. 1981. *A Piece of the Pie: blacks and white Immigrants Since 1880*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Lin, Nan, Walter M. Ensel, and John C. Vaughn. 1981. "Social resources and strength of ties: Structural factors in occupational status attainment." *American sociological review*: 393-405.
- Lin, Nan. 2001. *Social Capital: A Theory of Social Structure and Action*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lingo, Elizabeth Long, and Siobhán O'Mahony. 2010. "Nexus work: Brokerage on creative projects." *Administrative Science Quarterly* 55(1): 47-81.
- Little, Judith Warren. 1982. "Norms of Collegiality and Experimentation: Workplace Conditions of School Success." *American Education Research Journal* 19(3): 325-340.
- Lively, Kathryn J. 2000. "Reciprocal emotion management working together to maintain stratification in private law firms." *Work and Occupations* 27(1): 32-63.
- Lofland, John, David Snow, Leon Anderson, and Lyn H. Lofland. 2006. *Analyzing social settings*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company.
- Lortie, Dan C. 2002[1975]. *Schoolteacher: A sociological study*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lortie, Dan C. 2005. "Unfinished work: reflections on schoolteacher." *The Roots of Educational Change*. Springer Netherlands. 133-150.
- Lutter, Mark. 2015. "Do women suffer from network closure? The moderating effect of social capital on gender inequality in a project-based labor market, 1929 to 2010." *American Sociological Review* 80(2): 329-358.
- Manzoni, Jean-François, and Jean-Louis Barsoux. 1999. "The Set-up-to-fail Syndrome." *Harvard business review*: 32.
- Marx, Karl. 1848[1972]. "The Communist Manifesto." In *The Marx-Engels Reader*. New York: Norton.
- Maume, David J., and Rachel Sebastian. 2007. "Racial composition of workgroups and job satisfaction among whites." *The Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science* 609(1): 85-103.
- McCain, Bruce E., Charles O'Reilly, and Jeffrey Pfeffer. 1983. "The effects of departmental demography on turnover: The case of a university." *Academy of Management Journal* 26(4): 626-641.
- McDermott, Monica. 2006. *Working-class white: The making and unmaking of race relations*. Univ of California Press.
- McNeil, Kenneth, and James D. Thompson. 1971. "The regeneration of social organizations." *American Sociological Review*: 624-637.
- McPherson, J. Miller, and Lynn Smith-Lovin. 1987. "Homophily in voluntary organizations: Status distance and the composition of face-to-face groups." *American Sociological Review*: 370-379.
- McPherson, Miller, Lynn Smith-Lovin, and James M. Cook. 2001. "Birds of a feather: Homophily in social networks." *Annual review of sociology*: 415-444.
- Meyer, John W., and Brian Rowan. 1977. "Institutionalized organizations: Formal structure as myth and ceremony." *American journal of sociology* 83(2): 340-363.
- Meyers, Joan SM, and Steven Peter Vallas. 2016. "Diversity Regimes in Worker Cooperatives: Workplace Inequality under Conditions of Worker Control." *The Sociological Quarterly* 57(1): 98-128.

- Miles, Matthew B., A. Michael Huberman, and Johnny Saldaña. 2014. *Qualitative data analysis: A methods sourcebook*. SAGE Publications, Incorporated.
- Milner, Richard and Elizabeth Self. 2014. "Studying Race in Teacher Education." *Researching Race in Education: Policy, Practice, and Qualitative Research*. Dixon, Adrienne, Ed. Information Age Publishing.
- Mizruchi, Mark S., and Linda Brewster Stearns. 2001. "Getting deals done: The use of social networks in bank decision-making." *American sociological review*: 647-671.
- Moorman, Robert H. 1991. "Relationship between organizational justice and organizational citizenship behaviors: Do fairness perceptions influence employee citizenship?." *Journal of applied psychology* 76(6): 845.
- Morris, Edward W. 2007. "'Ladies' or 'loudies'?" Perceptions and experiences of black girls in classrooms." *Youth & Society* 38(4): 490-515.
- Mueller, Charles W., Ashley Finley, Roderick D. Iverson, and James L. Price. 1999. "The Effects of Group Racial Composition on Job Satisfaction, Organizational Commitment, and Career Commitment: The Case of Teachers." *Work and Occupations* 26(2): 187-219.
- Nagy, M. S. 2002 "Using a single-item approach to measure facet job satisfaction." *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, 75: 77–86.
- National Center for Education Statistics (NCES). 2008 and 2012. U.S. Department of Education. Teacher Trends and Public School Teacher Data Files. <http://nces.ed.gov/fastfacts/display.asp?id=28> and http://nces.ed.gov/pubs2009/2009324/tables/sass0708_2009324_t12n_02.asp. Accessed online 15 Oct. 2015.
- National Center for Education Statistics (NCES). 2007-08, 2011-12. U.S. Department of Education. "Public School Teacher Data Files." http://nces.ed.gov/pubs2009/2009324/tables/sass0708_2009324_t12n_02.asp and http://nces.ed.gov/pubs2009/2009324/tables/sass0708_2009324_t12n_04.asp and https://nces.ed.gov/surveys/sass/tables/sass1112_2014_01_t1n.asp Accessed online 08, 22, 29 Sept. 2015.
- Nedd, Nicole. 2006. "Perceptions of empowerment and intent to stay." *Nursing economics* 24(1): 13.
- Nelson, Jennifer L. 2017. "Pathways to Green(er) Pastures: Reward Bundles and Turnover Decisions in a Semi-Profession." *Qualitative Sociology* 40(1): 23–57.
- Nielsen, Richard A. 2014. "Case selection via matching." *Sociological Methods & Research*. Occupational Information Network [O*Net]. 2016. Department of Labor. "Work Context – Contact With Others." <https://www.onetonline.org/find/descriptor/result/4.C.1.a.4> Accessed online 19 June 2017.
- Orr, Julian. 1996. Talking about machines. Ithaca, NY: ILR/Cornell University Press.
- Owen-Smith, Jason. 2001. "Managing laboratory work through skepticism: Processes of evaluation and control." *American Sociological Review*: 427-452.
- Park, Julie J. 2013. *When diversity drops: Race, religion, and affirmative action in higher education*. Rutgers University Press.
- Park, Robert E., Ernest W. Burgess, and Roderick Duncan McKenzie. 1984[1925]. *The city*. University of Chicago Press.
- Pedersen, K. George and Thomas Fleming. 1979 "Reviewed Work(s): Schoolteacher: A Sociological Study by Dan C. Lortie." *Canadian Journal of Education* 4(4).
- Perkins, A., and D. Abramis. 1990. "Midwest Federal Correctional Institution." *Groups that work and those that don't*. Edited by Richard J. Hackman. Jossey-Bass.

- Pettigrew, Thomas F. 1997. "Generalized Intergroup Contact Effects on Prejudice." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 23:173-85.
- Pettigrew, Thomas F. 1998. "Intergroup Contact Theory." *Annual Review of Psychology* 49:65-85.
- Pettigrew, Thomas F., Linda R. Tropp, Ulrich Wagner, and Oliver Christ. 2011. "Recent advances in intergroup contact theory." *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 35 (3): 271-280.
- Pfeffer, Jeffrey. 1983. "Organizational Demography." In *Research in Organizational Behavior*. Berry Staw and L. Cummings, Eds. Volume 5: 299-357. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.
- Podolny, Joel M., and James N. Baron. 1997. "Resources and relationships: Social networks and mobility in the workplace." *American sociological review*: 673-693.
- Price, Heather E., and Jessica L. Collett. 2012. "The role of exchange and emotion on commitment: A study of teachers." *Social science research* 41(6): 1469-1479.
- Putnam, Robert. 2007. "E Pluribus Unum: Diversity and Community in the Twenty-First Century; The 2006 Johan Skytte Prize Lecture." *Scandinavian Political Studies* 30(2): 137-74.
- Quartz, Karen Hunter, Brad Olsen, Lauren Anderson, and Kimberly Barraza-Lyons. 2009. *Making a difference: Developing meaningful careers in education*. New York: Routledge.
- Reagans, Ray. 2005. "Preferences, identity, and competition: Predicting tie strength from demographic data." *Management Science* 51(9): 1374-1383.
- Reagans, Ray. 2011. "Close encounters: Analyzing how social similarity and propinquity contribute to strong network connections." *Organization Science* 22(4): 835-849.
- Renzulli, Linda A., and Howard Aldrich. 2005. "Who can you turn to? Tie activation within core business discussion networks." *Social Forces* 84(1): 323-341.
- Renzulli, Linda A., Heather Macpherson Parrott, and Irene R. Beattie. 2011. "Racial Mismatch and School Type: Teacher Satisfaction and Retention in Charter and Traditional Public Schools." *Sociology of Education* 84(1): 23-48.
- Reskin, B. 2003. Including mechanisms in our models of ascriptive inequality. *American Sociological Review*, 68, 1-21.
- Ridgeway, Cecilia L. 2011. *Framed by gender: How gender inequality persists in the modern world*. Oxford University Press.
- Ridgeway, Cecilia L. and Henry A. Walker. 1995. "Status Structures." Pp. 281-310 in *Sociological Perspectives on Social Psychology*, edited by K. S. Cook, G. A. Fine, and J. S. House. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.
- Ronfeldt, Matthew, Sussana Loeb, and James Wyckoff. 2013. How teacher turnover harms student achievement. *American Educational Research Journal*, 50(1), 4-36.
- Rosigno, Vincent J. 2007. *The face of discrimination: How race and gender impact work and home lives*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Schein, Edgar H. 2010. *Organizational culture and leadership*. Vol. 2. John Wiley & Sons.
- Schelling, Thomas. 1971. "Dynamic Models of Segregation." *Journal of Mathematical Sociology* 1:143-86.
- Schneider, Benjamin. 1987. "The people make the place." *Personnel psychology* 40(3): 437-453.
- Scott, W. Richard, and Gerald F. Davis. 2007. *Organizations and Organizing: Rational, natural, and open system Perspectives*. New York: Pearson Education.

- Shelton, J. Nicole, Thomas E. Trail, Tessa V. West, and Hilary B. Bergsieker. 2010. "From Strangers to Friends: The Interpersonal Process Model of Intimacy in Developing Interracial Friendships." *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships* 27:71-90.
- Simmel, Georg. 1950. *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*. Trans. Kurt H. Wolff. Simon and Schuster.
- Simon, Nicole, and Susan Moore Johnson. 2015. "Teacher turnover in high-poverty schools: What we know and can do." *Teachers College Record*.
- Sloan, Melissa M. 2004. "The effects of occupational characteristics on the experience and expression of anger in the workplace." *Work and Occupations* 31(1): 38-72.
- Sloan, Melissa M., Ranae J. Evenson Newhouse, and Ashley B. Thompson. 2013. "Counting on coworkers race, social support, and emotional experiences on the job." *Social Psychology Quarterly* 76(4): 343-372.
- Smiley, CalvinJohn. 2016. "Can I Sit?: The Use of Public Space and the Other." *Tijdschrift over Cultuur & Criminaliteit*, 6:1, 66-81.
- Smith, Jeffrey A., Miller McPherson, and Lynn Smith-Lovin. 2014. "Social distance in the United States: Sex, race, religion, age, and education homophily among confidants, 1985 to 2004." *American Sociological Review* 79(3): 432-456.
- Smith, Sandra S., and Mignon R. Moore. 2000. "Intraracial Diversity and Relations among African-Americans: Closeness among Black Students at a Predominantly White University." *American Journal of Sociology* 106(1): 1-39..
- Smith, Sandra Susan. 2005. "'Don't put my name on it': Social Capital Activation and Job-Finding Assistance among the Black Urban Poor." *American Journal of Sociology* 111(1): 1-57.
- Smylie, Mark A. 1988. "The enhancement function of staff development: Organizational and psychological antecedents to individual teacher change." *American educational research journal* 25(1): 1-30.
- Sørensen, Jesper B. 2004. "The Organizational Demography of Racial Employment Segregation." *American Journal of Sociology* 110(3): 626-671.
- Spillane, James P. 1999. "External reform initiatives and teachers' efforts to reconstruct their practice: The mediating role of teachers' zones of enactment." *Journal of curriculum Studies* 31(2): 143-175.
- Spillane, James P., Matthew Shirrell, Tracy M. Sweet. 2017. "The Elephant in the Schoolhouse." *Sociology of Education* 90(2): 149 – 171.
- Spillane, James P., Tim Hallett, and John B. Diamond. 2003. "Forms of capital and the construction of leadership: Instructional leadership in urban elementary schools." *Sociology of Education*: 1-17.
- Spradley, James. 1979. *The Ethnographic Interview*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
- Stainback, Kevin, and Matthew Irvin. 2012. "Workplace racial composition, perceived discrimination, and organizational attachment." *Social science research* 41(3): 657-670.
- StataCorp. 2013. "mkspline — Linear and restricted cubic spline construction." *Stata 13 Base Reference Manual*. College Station, TX: Stata Press.
- Stearns, Elizabeth, Neena Banerjee, Roslyn Mickelson, and Stephanie Moller. 2014. "Collective pedagogical teacher culture, teacher–student ethno-racial mismatch, and teacher job satisfaction." *Social science research* 45: 56-72.
- Stephan, Walter G. and Cookie White Stephan. 1985. "Intergroup Anxiety." *Journal of social issues* 41(3):157–75.
- Stevens, Peter AJ. 2007. "Exploring the importance of teachers' institutional structure on the development of teachers' standards of assessment in Belgium." *Sociology of Education* 80(4): 314-329.

- Stewman, Shelby. 1988. "Organizational demography." *Annual review of sociology*: 173-202.
- Stinchcombe, Arthur L. 1965. "Social Structure and Organizations." Pp. 142-93 in *Handbook of Organizations*, edited by J. G. March. Chicago, IL: Rand McNally.
- Stoll L, Bolam R, McMahon A, Wallace M, Thomas S. 2006. "Professional learning communities: A review of the literature." *Journal of educational change* 7(4): 221-58.
- Strauss, Anselm L. 1987. *Qualitative Analysis for Social Scientists*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.
- Stride, Chris, Toby Wall, Nick Catley. 2008. *Measures of Job Satisfaction, Organisational Commitment, Mental Health and Job Related Well-being: A Benchmarking Manual*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Tajfel, Henri, and John C. Turner. 1979. "An Integrative Theory of Intergroup Conflict." *Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations*, edited by W. G Austin and S. Worchel. Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole.
- Tatum, Beverly Daniel. 1997. *Why are all the Black kids sitting together in the cafeteria*. New York: Basic Books.
- Tilcsik, András. 2014. "Imprint–environment Fit and Performance How Organizational Munificence at the Time of Hire Affects Subsequent Job Performance." *Administrative Science Quarterly* 59(4): 639-668.
- Tilly, Charles. 1998. *Durable Inequality*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Tomaskovic-Devey, Donald, Catherine Zimmer, Kevin Stainback, Corre Robinson, Tiffany Taylor, and Tricia McTague. 2006. "Documenting desegregation: Segregation in American workplaces by race, ethnicity, and sex, 1966–2003." *American sociological review* 71(4): 565-588.
- Tomaskovic-Devey, Donald. 1993. *Gender & racial inequality at work: The sources and consequences of job segregation*. Cornell University Press.
- Tropp, Linda R. and Ludwin E. Molina. 2012. "Intergroup Processes From Prejudice to Positive Relations Between Groups." in *The Oxford Handbook of Personality and Social Psychology*.
- Tsui, Anne S., Terri D. Egan, and Charles A. O'Reilly III. 1992. "Being Different: Relational Demography and Organizational Attachment." *Administrative Science Quarterly* 37(4): 549-579.
- Turco, Catherine J. 2010. "Cultural foundations of tokenism evidence from the leveraged buyout industry." *American sociological review* 75(6): 894-913.
- Turner, John. C., Hogg, Michael. A., Oakes, Penny J., Reicher, Stephen D. & Wetherell, Margaret. S. 1987. *Rediscovering the Social Group: A Self-categorization Theory*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Uzzi, Brian. 1997. "Social structure and competition in interfirm networks: The paradox of embeddedness." *Administrative science quarterly*: 35-67.
- Vallas, Steven P. 2003. "Rediscovering the Color Line within Work Organizations: The Knitting of Racial Groups' Revisited." *Work and Occupations* 30(4): 379-400.
- Van Maanen, John, and Stephen R. Barley. 1984. "Occupational communities: Culture and control in organizations." *Research in organizational behavior* 6: 287-365. Elsevier Science.
- Walker, Vanessa Siddle. Forthcoming. *Hidden Provocateurs*.
- Wanous, J. P., A. E. Reichers, and M. J. Hudy. 1997. "Overall job satisfaction: How good are single-item measures?" *Journal of Applied Psychology* 82: 247–252.
- Waters, Mary C. 1999. *Black Identities: West Indian Immigrant Dreams and American Realities*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Weber, Max. 1958. "Class, Status, Party." In *Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*. Ed. HH Gerth

- and Wright Mills. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Weeks, John. 2004. *Unpopular culture: The ritual of complaint in a British bank*. University of Chicago Press.
- Weiss, Robert S. 1995. *Learning from strangers: The art and method of qualitative interview studies*. Simon and Schuster.
- Weller, Nicholas, and Jeb Barnes. 2014. *Finding pathways: Mixed-method research for studying causal mechanisms*. Cambridge University Press.
- Wenger, Etienne. 1998. *Communities of practice: Learning, meaning, and identity*. Cambridge University Press.
- West, Candace and Don H. Zimmerman. 1987. "Doing Gender." *Gender and Society* 1(2): 125-151.
- Wideen, Marvin, Jolie Mayer-Smith, and Barbara Moon. 1998. "A critical analysis of the research on learning to teach: Making the case for an ecological perspective on inquiry." *Review of educational research* 68(2): 130-178.
- Wilk, Steffanie L., and Erin E. Makarius. 2015. "Choosing the company you keep: Racial relational demography outside and inside of work." *Organization Science* 26(5): 1316-1331.
- Williams, Christine L. 1992. "The Glass Escalator: Hidden Advantages for Men in the 'Female' Professions." *Social Problems*. 39(3): 253-267.
- Williams, K., and Charles O'Reilly. 1998. "The complexity of diversity: A review of forty years of research." *Research in organizational behavior* 21: 77-140.
- Williams, Katherine Y., and Charles A. O'Reilly. 1998. "Demography and diversity in organizations: A review of 40 years of research." *Research in organizational behavior* 20: 77-140.
- Wingfield, Adia Harvey. 2009. "Racializing the Glass Escalator: Reconsidering Men's Experiences with Women's Work." *Gender & Society* 23(1): 5-26.
- Wingfield, Adia Harvey. 2010. "Are some emotions marked" whites only"? Racialized feeling rules in professional workplaces." *Social Problems* 57(2): 251-268.
- Wooten, Melissa E. 2015. *In the face of inequality: How Black colleges adapt*. State University of New York Press.
- Yamagishi, Toshio. 2011. *Trust: The Evolutionary Game of Mind and Society*. Tokyo: Springer.
- Zumwalt, Karen, and Elizabeth Craig. 2005. "Teachers' characteristics: Research on the demographic profile." *Studying teacher education: The report of the AERA panel on research and teacher education*: 111-156.