

What Your Colleagues Are Saying . . .

If there's something that needs to be reimagined with students and teachers in mind, it's "classroom management." Many teachers say they can't focus on other aspects of teaching until they get their "classroom management" down. This book instead asks educators to reflect critically on school discipline as secondary to engaging instruction and student support. Research makes clear that ineffective "classroom management" is a national problem disproportionately punishing students of color—a problem leading to school exclusion, the denial of opportunity to learn, and even prison for too many of our nation's youth. Full of big-picture information, real-world vignettes, reflection questions, and ideas for responsive and restorative alternatives to traditional "discipline," this book can assist teachers' real goal: creating and maintaining caring and engaging classroom environments for young people.

—Mica Pollock

Professor of Education Studies, UC San Diego

Author of *Schooltalk: Rethinking What We Say*

About—and to—Students Every Day

If you are an educator who wants to resist and dismantle the cradle-to-prison pipeline, this is your manifesto. Deeply researched, accessibly written, and powerfully applied, this book demonstrates not just why we need to make justice the goal of our classroom management practices; it also shows us how we get it done. Read this book and you'll know what to do to make our schools and classrooms more hopeful, critical, responsive, and equitable.

—Eric Toshalis

Research Director, Student-Centered Learning Research Collaborative

Author of *Make Me: Understanding & Engaging Student Resistance in School*

"These Kids Are Out of Control" shines light on the importance of classroom management in urban schools while appropriately placing it in the full context of urban education. The authors expertly provide a firm research base upon which they offer evidence-based and practical strategies that can be incorporated by urban educators. They go into detail on how, why, and what these strategies look like to better prepare and support urban teachers in classroom management. As a teacher educator, I know I will definitely incorporate the strategies listed in this book to help my preservice teachers understand how to better manage urban classrooms. Researchers and teacher educators alike will find this book useful for pushing forward the field of classroom management in urban schools while equipping teachers and administrators with the day-to-day skills needed to succeed.

—Andrew Kwok

Assistant Professor, College of Education,
California State University San Bernardino

“These Kids Are Out of Control” prepares educators, like no other text in the field, to engage in justice-oriented classroom management using restorative, culturally responsive approaches to discipline. The authors’ use of practical, yet powerful, vignettes provides real-world illustrations of multicontext classroom scenarios that shift our mindsets about effective classroom management practices; moving away from “what is,” to “what could be!” This book is a timely and relevant contribution to the field of education and a must-read for anyone who currently teaches, or aspires to teach, in a diverse school setting.

—Bettie Ray Butler

Associate Professor of Urban Education and Director of the Student Discipline Joint Taskforce at University of North Carolina, Charlotte, Cato College of Education

Children live in a more dynamic society than ever before, and their experiences are very complex. This book is a must-read for educators in urban schools across the country because it addresses the social and emotional needs of students and provides practical, real solutions to help build climates that positively support students’ learning. The book helps educators understand how to restore rather than punish students.

—Sito Narcisse

Chief of Schools, Metro Nashville Public Schools

Important, timely, and necessary! Harsh discipline practices and oppressive classroom conditions continue to harm countless students; something different is needed. Milner and his team provide a powerful work that exemplifies theory-to practice at its best. Schools can be transformed by this work. This essential book challenges control and punishment in classroom management and offers culturally caring and sustaining ways to create supportive learning classrooms for all students.

—Tyrone C. Howard

Professor, UCLA Graduate School of Education

Today’s educators must meet the daily challenge of providing quality teaching for students from wide, diverse backgrounds, and personal histories. While research on managing classrooms has provided some guidance, significant gaps in our understanding remain, such as the lack of in depth theoretical and foundational knowledge about issues of race, culture, and inequity as they impact schooling. The authors have given us vital insights about these important factors. I believe this book is one of the most significant contributions to research on classroom management in years. It is a MUST-read and belongs in every educator’s library.

—Carolyn M. Evertson

Professor of Education, Emerita
Peabody College, Vanderbilt University

“These Kids Are Out of Control”

“These Kids Are Out of Control”

Why We Must Reimagine “Classroom Management” for Equity

H. Richard Milner IV
Heather B. Cunningham
Lori Delale-O’Connor
Erika Gold Kestenberg



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Program Director and Publisher: Dan Alpert
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Copy Editor: Jim Kelly
Typesetter: C&M Digital (P) Ltd.
Proofreader: Susan Schon
Indexer: Maria Sosnowski
Cover Designer: Michael Dubowe
Marketing Manager: Maura Sullivan

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Printed in the United States of America

ISBN: 978-1-4833-7480-2

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

18 19 20 21 22 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

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ABOUT THE AUTHORS



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K of the American Educational Research Association. His research, teaching, and policy interests include urban teacher education, African American literature, and the social context of education. In particular, Dr. Milner's research examines policies, environments, and practices that support teacher success in urban schools. His research has been recognized by the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education's 2012 Outstanding Book Award and the American Education Studies Association's Critic's Choice Book Award for the widely read book *Start Where You Are but Don't Stay There: Understanding Diversity, Opportunity Gaps, and Teaching in Today's Classrooms* (Harvard Education Press, 2010). He is the author of *Rac(e)ing to Class: Confronting Poverty and Race in Schools and Classrooms* (Harvard Education Press, 2015) and a coeditor of the *Handbook of Urban Education* (Routledge Press, 2014). He consults with schools and districts across the United States and abroad.



Heather B. Cunningham is assistant professor of education at Chatham University in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. There, she teaches undergraduate and graduate-level courses in teacher education and shares her passion for helping new teachers understand how their cultural beliefs and values shape both teaching practices and student experiences. A classroom teacher for 13 years, she is licensed in the areas of social studies and English as a second language (ESL)/bilingual education. Her first teaching position was serving as an ESL

teacher with kindergarten and middle school students at the Nuestros Pequeños Hermanos home for children in rural Honduras. After that, she taught bilingual social studies to immigrant students at Roosevelt Senior High School in Washington, DC, and then joined the founding team of City Charter High School, a nationally ranked school in downtown Pittsburgh. At City High, Heather team-taught social studies as part of a two-person “cultural literacy” team. After her promotion to the position of master teacher, she continued to teach and also served as a coach for other teachers at the school.

Dr. Cunningham’s research and writing focus on preparing teachers to support students in urban spaces. This includes studying the roles race, ethnicity, poverty, and language play in the K–12 classroom and investigating what truly constitutes “effective teaching” in U.S. classrooms today. She enjoys designing and delivering professional development for both in-service teachers and university faculty on these topics. Dr. Cunningham also has a strong interest in the relationship among education, culture, and context on a global scale. In addition to her PhD in instruction and learning from the University of Pittsburgh, she holds a master of arts degree in international training and education from American University and has worked on education projects in Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, and Malawi.



Lori Delale-O'Connor is an assistant professor of urban education at the University of Pittsburgh. She received a PhD in sociology from Northwestern University, where she was a certificate fellow in the Multidisciplinary Program in Education Sciences, a predoctoral training program funded by the Institute of Education Sciences. Dr. Delale-O'Connor also holds an MEd in secondary education from Boston College, where she was a Donovan Urban Scholar and taught secondary social studies in the Boston Public Schools.

Dr. Delale-O'Connor's work has

received support from the National Science Foundation, the Spencer Foundation, and the Institute of Education Sciences. Her scholarly research has appeared in publications including *Teachers College Record*, *Equity and Excellence in Education*, *Education and Urban Society*, and *Theory Into Practice*. Dr. Delale-O'Connor teaches courses to undergraduate and graduate students planning to become teachers in urban schools and to students who want to work in and with urban schools in other ways, including out-of-school time and policy. In addition, she has taught courses on the social contexts of education, as well as the history of and current practice in education reform. Her current teaching, research, and policy interests focus on the social contexts of education, with a focus on caregiver and community engagement. Dr. Delale-O'Connor previously worked as an evaluator to both in- and out-of-school time programs.



Erika Gold Kestenberg is the associate director of educator development and practice for the Center for Urban Education and a visiting assistant professor of urban education at the University of Pittsburgh. Dr. Kestenberg's degrees include a PhD in education, specifically administrative and policy studies with a multidisciplinary self-designed focus on social justice, a master's and teaching certificate in secondary education social studies, and a dual bachelor's in political science and history with a minor in

psychology. She also has a certificate in diversity and inclusion as well as extensive training in transformative intergroup dialogues and conflict mediation, which inform her work. Dr. Kestenberg received a Program Innovation Award, an Outstanding Service Award, and has been recognized twice by the city of Pittsburgh's City Council for her impactful service learning work with youth across the city.

Dr. Kestenberg codesigned a Certificate in Urban Education program and develops and manages the Urban Scholars Program at the University of Pittsburgh. She also teaches undergraduate and graduate students aspiring to become highly effective, culturally responsive teachers in urban schools and in higher education. Her courses include Identity, Power and Privilege; Culturally Relevant and Responsive Teaching; Relationship Building With Students, Families and Communities; Social Foundations of Education; Urban Scholars Seminars; and Becoming a Change Agent, all with a focus on urban contexts grounded in inclusion, equity, and justice. She also trains and coaches in-service educators and leaders around a variety of equity-based issues through multiple methods and approaches. Before working in higher education, Dr. Kestenberg was a teacher, a trainer, a coach, a consultant, a researcher, a program creator, an advocate, and an administrator in traditional and non-traditional urban educational and nonprofit spaces in the United States and Israel. In those spaces, she taught social studies, English language arts, English as a second language, service learning, and cross-cultural communication. She also developed and managed numerous education programs, including large-scale early childhood development centers and an alternative education high school. The most “challenging” students have always been her jam.

INTRODUCTION

The primary title of this book emerged from our collective experiences working with teachers in a variety of schools at the elementary, middle, and high school levels: “These kids are out of control” is a statement we often hear. With the best of intentions, teachers often believe they should be able to “control” students in the classroom and broader school community. But a central goal of this book project is to disrupt such thinking because students are developing human beings, and our goal should not be to attempt to control them or their behaviors. Teachers should be vigilant in their efforts to co-create a classroom environment that is safe, affirming, learning centered, innovative, intellectually challenging, and engaging. Rather than attempting to control students, teachers must work to maximize students’ opportunities to learn in order to enhance their academic and social development. Students rightfully resist adults’ efforts to control them. Thus, we hope this book assists teachers and other educators as they rethink and understand why we must reimagine what “classroom management” is and should be. We must cultivate the type of classroom ethos of which students want to be part. As we wrote this book, we consistently asked ourselves, How can schools be places where students want to be?

In this book, we draw from research (and theory to a lesser degree) about successful and effective classroom management *practices* in urban classrooms and diverse schools to help teachers become more astute in meeting the needs of students in pre-K–12 learning environments. A primary and central focus of this book is to reimagine what “classroom management” is and could be in the lives of students. We provide insights from extant literature while sharing nuanced classroom vignettes to shed light on the complexities of meeting the needs of all students. To be clear, we see teaching and learning as a complex, dynamic, and evolving endeavor, and we believe teachers are learners just as are students. We hope teachers learn from this book to improve their practices and move away from a propensity to control the minds, hearts, and bodies of their students.

We realize that every school and classroom across the United States is inhabited by diverse beings, adults and children alike, and we have attempted to deeply consider a broad range of diversity in this book. Indeed, we hope readers—real school administrators, teachers, counselors, coaches, social workers—will draw insights into ways to improve their practices with students: how they decide what to teach; how they understand the curriculum; how they teach the curriculum; how they build relationships with students,

families, community members, and colleagues; and how they assess student development and learning.

What particular practices, tools, beliefs, dispositions, and mindsets are essential to understand as we work to meet the diverse and complex needs of learners who are placed at the margins of teaching and learning? Some of these students include but are not limited to Black (we use the terms *Black* and *African American* interchangeably throughout this book) and Brown students, students whose first language is not English, Muslim students, immigrant students, students with ability differences, LGBTQIA+ students, and students who live below the poverty line. In addition to addressing what educators need to know and be able to do in the classroom with students, we provide classroom episodic instances and stories drawn from our collective years of experiences in schools and communities to help illuminate what we hope to be improved practices with students. In other words, we draw from our collective experiences to construct a book that teachers find useful—one that not only focuses on theory, full of jargon-laden language, but a book that makes a difference in action for *all* our children. What is clear from established research is that students succeed when mechanisms are in place to support them (Milner, 2010, 2015). Intentionally, as authors of this book, we have worked in collaboration to construct this book because we are very different from each other. We believe that our collective insights, diverse experiences, and combined commitment to equity and social justice will make the book more accessible and potentially transformative for readers. Thus, this was a truly collaborative endeavor. We planned the book’s content together over time. We read, reread, and revised drafts of the book, hoping to make it one educators will take seriously in the push to teach better.

A CLOSER LOOK AT WHO WE ARE AS AUTHORS

Because we draw from our collective experiences as teachers and university professors, it is essential that readers understand who we are and how we position ourselves (Milner, 2007). Milner (the first author) is a Black, cis-gender man and the Cornelius Vanderbilt Endowed Chair of Education and Professor of Education in the Department of Teaching and Learning at Peabody College of Vanderbilt University. He teaches courses to undergraduate and graduate students interested in becoming teachers in elementary, middle, and high schools. Courses he has taught and developed include those on culturally responsive teaching, the social contexts of education, race and racism in education, English education, urban education, and qualitative research methodology. Before working in higher education, Milner was a high school English teacher, teaching English language arts courses to 9th, 10th, and 11th grade students. He is a licensed teacher of English

Language Arts. Almost all of his students were Black, and many lived below the poverty line. He has conducted hundreds of professional development sessions with educators across the United States (U.S.) on many of the issues explored in this book.

Cunningham (the second author) is an assistant professor of education at Chatham University in Pittsburgh. She is a White, cisgender woman who is bilingual in English and Spanish. She has lived and worked in Spanish-speaking communities within the United States and in Latin America. She teaches courses to undergraduate and graduate students interested in becoming teachers in pre-K–12 classrooms. She has taught a variety of methods and foundations courses in teacher education on topics including classroom management and assessment, social studies methods, supporting English language learners, education and society, and understanding student needs. Before her work as a teacher educator, Cunningham was a teacher for 13 years in kindergarten, middle school, and high school classrooms. She worked for public schools in Washington, DC, and Pittsburgh. She is a licensed teacher in the areas of social studies and English as a second language/bilingual education. She has also worked internationally in education in Honduras, the Dominican Republic, and Malawi.

Delale-O'Connor (the third author) is an assistant professor of urban education at the University of Pittsburgh. She is a multiracial, cisgender woman. Delale-O'Connor was born and raised in Pittsburgh and has lived in Boston, Chicago, and Washington, DC. She teaches courses to undergraduate and graduate students planning to become teachers in urban schools and to students who want to work in and with urban schools in other ways, including out-of-school time and policy. She has taught courses on the social contexts of education and the history of and current practice in education reform. Delale-O'Connor previously worked as an evaluator to many in- and out-of-school programs. Before that she was a high school teacher, teaching 9th grade social studies and humanities courses.

Kestenberg (the fourth author) is a White, Jewish, cisgender woman, a graduate of public schools, born and raised in Pittsburgh, with dual citizenship in the United States and Israel. She teaches undergraduate and graduate students interested in becoming teachers in urban schools and in higher education. Courses she has taught have addressed identity, bias, power and privilege; culturally responsive teaching; relationship building with students, families, and communities; social foundations of education; and becoming a change agent. Before working in higher education, Kestenberg was a teacher, a trainer, a coach, a consultant, a program creator, and an administrator in traditional and nontraditional educational and nonprofit spaces in urban communities in the United States and Israel. She has taught social studies, English language arts, English as a second language, service learning, and cross-cultural communication as well as run numerous educational programs

from large-scale early childhood development centers to high school alternative education programs. The foundation and thread throughout Kestenberg’s work is inclusion, equity, and justice from a place of genuine compassion and care.

THIS BOOK

This book is *not* about predetermined rules, how to set up a classroom, or how teachers can build their capacity to control students. This book is about how educators can engage in self-reflection about their own power and privilege; transform their practices as they build cultural knowledge about themselves and others; build on and from assets of students, families, and communities; and co-construct curricula and instructional practices that respond to the humanity of student needs. Our goal in this book is to help educators build knowledge, skills, mindsets, attitudes, dispositions, and practices essential for student success in ways that shepherd them away from traditional classroom management techniques that tend not to be structured in ways that maximize student learning opportunities. Put simply, outlining a set of rules, quick go-to approaches, without a deep understanding of whom teachers are teaching, where they are teaching, why they teach, and the multiple layers of student needs we believe would yield more of the same without real improvements. Instead, we are advancing the reality that teachers are professionals and should be treated as such. We believe that it is essential for us to provide teachers with alternative, more nuanced, and more profound ways of thinking and approaching their work with students that can be the difference-maker regarding “classroom management” with students.

Surely, we believe teachers must have the capacity to organize and co-construct a set of learning opportunities with students in ways that allow all students to succeed. But we argue against a set of predetermined practices that focus only on student behavior. Rather, we stress that when educators possess the kinds of skills, drawn from knowledge and understanding, they have a better chance of optimizing student learning. Thus, “classroom management” should not be viewed as an isolated area of focus. We believe “classroom management” should be reimagined in conjunction with restoration, justice, subject matter being taught and learned, the social context of learning inside and outside of school, in addition to other factors. In other words, when teachers engage students, help them see links and alignment of the curriculum to their lives, build on and from student identity and culture, and recognize the varied ways their instructional practices should shift and be transformed, classroom management takes care of itself. Thus, we stress the importance of teachers’ practices focusing on the development

and convergence of students' cognitive, social, environmental, intellectual, academic, *and* behavioral needs.

CONTENTS OF THE BOOK

With the aim of providing a practical and accessible text, we begin with a discussion of some important findings from the research literature on classroom management and schools. We also situate our discussion in Chapter 1 in what is known as culturally responsive practices, with particular attention placed on implications for how we might rethink classroom management as educators in schools. We detail particular dimensions of what it means to be culturally responsive in urban, rural, and suburban classroom environments and share broad themes from the research literature with important implications for practice. We begin the book in this way to help readers understand the broader context of classroom management while explicitly situating our discussion in conceptions of culturally responsive practices.

We then shift the discussion to focus on the connections between the cradle-to-prison pipeline (CTPP) and classroom management. In particular, we examine the ways in which understanding contributors to the CTPP can help educators see that classroom management is in many ways part of a broader context that has systemic, institutional, and longer-term consequences, reaching far beyond the day-to-day occurrences of the classroom. Chapter 2 provides an overview of recent statistics about the CTPP in the United States and inside- and outside-of-school factors that may contribute to building and maintaining this pipeline.

The next chapter, "Classroom Management Is About Effective Instruction," outlines four teaching practices that improve classroom management in schools. These practices include teacher and student engagement in critical reflective practices, guiding students into high engagement in course content, positively framing students' learning experiences, and building a vibrant classroom community that bridges the wider community and the more local social context of a school. This third chapter provides detailed descriptions of teaching practice and illustrative vignettes that we hope help teachers put what they are reading into practice.

The following chapter builds on previous and additional approaches to classroom management with a focus on creating and maintaining caring classroom environments. We highlight four facets of creating a caring classroom environment in schools. These four approaches include being student centered, high expectations for all and academic rigor, persistent teacher practices that sustain trusting relationships, and partnering with families and communities. Chapter 4 also includes vignettes that demonstrate the four practices

being discussed to help teachers visualize the nuances of the real school environments—dilemmas that can potentially prevent student learning and engagement in schools and classrooms.

In Chapter 5, “Classroom Management Is About Restorative Discipline,” we introduce the concept of restorative discipline, drawing from promising practices. Restorative discipline is an alternative to punitive discipline systems that remove and exclude students from classrooms and may push them toward the cradle-to-prison pipeline. Through restorative discipline, students are supported as they come to terms with how their actions may have affected others, take responsibility for these actions, and continue to learn and grow. This chapter provides detailed descriptions of restorative discipline practices that can be implemented at the classroom or school level. We also discuss some of the challenges and critiques of these practices as teachers are shepherded through situations that must be adapted to the particulars of their classroom context. Illustrative vignettes are included that we hope will help educators understand how to implement restorative discipline practices in their own classrooms and schools, realizing that some practices will work in one environment while others may be more responsive in another.

We conclude the book with some summative, conclusive, and implicative insights. We draw readers’ attention back to the general themes and ideas of the book and detail implications for practices in schools. We also chart a set of recommendations that can help educators transform their practices in ways that teach to the very humanity of students.

Although we believe the book provides essential implications for schools in a wide range of contexts, we have focused especially on urban communities, districts, schools, and classrooms. In the next section, we detail just what we mean by urban education to provide definitional work that should be considered in subsequent chapters of this book. Indeed, as our nation’s schools become increasingly diverse, this discussion will likely prove useful to rural and suburban environments as well.

DEFINING URBAN EDUCATION

As mentioned, we are hopeful that this book will be useful for readers in a wide range of contexts. However, many of the insights we share are focused on practices in urban contexts and those that are highly diverse. When Milner (2012) named an analytic space to think about urban education, he stressed the importance of thinking about what he described as the nouns of urban education: the people, places, things, and ideas of an environment. Thus, when we conceptualize urban education, we must consider the homogeneity of the folks in a community: race, language, cultural preferences, religion, sexual orientation, socioeconomic status, and so forth. The places of urban

education include issues of access and geography: parks, grocery stores, job and housing infrastructure, access to public transportation, and so forth. The things in defining and conceptualizing urban contexts include the resources available to the people in a context: financial systems, funding structures, and access to health care, child care, and so forth.

Milner (2012) stressed three categorical spaces in conceptualizing urban: urban intensive, urban emergent, and urban characteristic. *Urban intensive* might be used to describe school contexts that are concentrated in large, metropolitan cities across the United States, such as New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, and Atlanta. What sets these cities apart from other cities is their sheer size, the density of and number of people in them. These environments would be considered intensive because of the large numbers of people in the cities and consequently schools. In these cities, the infrastructure and large numbers of people can make it difficult to provide necessary and adequate resources (the things) to the large numbers of people who need them. In sum, urban intensive speaks to the size and density of a particular locale; the broader environments, outside of school factors such as housing, poverty, and transportation, are directly connected to what happens inside the school. Urban-intensive environments would be those with 1 million people or more in the city. *Urban emergent* might be used to describe schools and environments that are typically located in large cities, but not as large as the major cities identified in the urban-intensive category. These cities typically have fewer than 1 million people but are relatively large spaces nonetheless in comparison with small towns. While they do not experience the magnitude of challenges the urban-intensive cities face, they do encounter some of the same scarcity of resources, but on a smaller scale. The land mass and per people ratio is not as intense as urban-intensive spaces. In these areas, there are fewer people; the realities of the surrounding communities are not as complex as those in the intensive category. Examples of such cities are Nashville, Tennessee; Austin, Texas; Columbus, Ohio; and Charlotte, North Carolina. *Urban characteristic* could be used to describe schools and contexts that are not located in big or midsize cities but may be starting to experience some of the characteristics and realities that can be associated with urban school contexts in larger areas in the urban-intensive and urban-emergent categories. Examples of such characteristics include an increase of English language learners to a community, more diverse religious preferences (which deeply shape beliefs), and families with broader definitions of marriage (such as same-sex couples). These schools might be located in rural or even suburban districts, but the outside-of-school environments are not as large as those in the urban-intensive and urban-emergent schools. Table 0.1 captures and summarizes some of these conceptual framing and ideas.

TABLE 0.1 ■ Three Categorical Spaces

Category	Definition
Urban intensive	These schools are those that are concentrated in large, metropolitan cities across the United States, such as New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, and Atlanta.
Urban emergent	These schools are those that are typically located in large cities, but not as large as the major cities. They typically have some of the same features and sometimes challenges as urban schools and districts in terms of resources, qualification of teachers, and academic development of students. Examples of such cities are Nashville, Tennessee; Austin, Texas; Columbus, Ohio; and Charlotte, North Carolina.
Urban characteristic	These schools are those that are not located in big cities but may be beginning to experience increases in characteristics and realities that are sometimes associated with urban contexts, such as an increase in English language learners in a community. These schools may be located in what might be considered rural or even suburban areas.

This framework can be useful in helping researchers, theoreticians, and practitioners name and conceptualize the work they do in ways that are consistent with the populations and social contexts studied or theorized about. It also provides practitioners with language to communicate the realities of their contexts in ways that are meaningful and representative of the communities they serve. Throughout this book, we use this framing language to help readers understand and visualize the spaces we are describing. Indeed, our lack of shared understanding, definition, and language usage in education (our schools, districts, communities, and classrooms) can make it difficult for us to advance the work necessary to improve the life experiences and chances of students who need us to *work with* (Freire, 1998) them to improve communities, districts, and schools.

Finally, this book is a call to action. We want educators to change their ineffective practices for the benefit of real children. But we also realize it can be difficult for practicing teachers to make deep, meaningful shifts in their work if structures and systems are not in place to support such change. Thus, this call to action is multifaceted. We realize that it is difficult for teachers to rethink classroom management practices if bureaucracies that create systems and institutions insist that they do business as usual. Our children deserve to experience education in classroom environments that honor and support them—not those that continue to dehumanize them. We know that educators can be difference-makers for our children. But we also know that teaching is hard work. We are hopeful that this book honors the important work

teachers already do every day in the classroom and in their school buildings and also adds to their repertoires to help assist students in realizing and actualizing their potential, dreams, and goals in school and life.

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Readers of this book are invited to engage with the questions posted to our companion website before, during, and after each chapter. We encourage educators to use these questions as the basis of conversations that are focused on ways they can transform their practices into those that honor and support the development and learning of all students.



You can begin by visiting <https://resources.corwin.com/OutOfControl>

1

UNDERSTANDING THE LANDSCAPE OF CLASSROOM MANAGEMENT

A Look at Research, Theory, and Practice

No one educates anyone else nor do we educate ourselves, we educate one another in communion in the context of living in this world.

—Paulo Freire, Author, Activist

I did then what I knew how to do. Now that I know better, I do better.

—Maya Angelou, Author, Activist

The purpose of this chapter is to help readers learn about some of the pervasive themes in the research literature on classroom management to inform their practices and overall understanding of the content of this book. It is difficult to discuss classroom management without deeply understanding the role of context, such as urban, rural, or suburban, in which practices are being enacted. Understanding classroom management in context must be coupled with clear links to issues of justice, equity, inclusion, and diversity. In short, the types of classroom management practices we advance are those that are overtly committed to justice, disrupting and ending years of discriminatory practices that have adversely affected children in school contexts—especially urban schools. These justice-centered aspects as they have emerged from the literature are broad, yet deep, and persistent even in the midst of clear evidence of their harmful consequences for our children. The justice-centered issues that have a real bearing on classroom management practices include, but are not limited to, (a) the disproportionate office referrals of students of color, those with learning differences, and those who live below the poverty line (Girvan, Gion, McIntosh, & Smolkowski, 2017; Skiba et al., 2011); (b) the disproportionate suspension and expulsion of these students (U.S. Department of Education, Office for Civil Rights, 2016); (c) the lack of

effective educational and learning experiences for teachers to understand and respond to the needs of their students (Milner, 2015); (d) the low percentages of Black and Brown students referred to gifted and talented programs (Ford, 2010); and (e) the overreferral of Black and Brown students and those living below the poverty line to special education (Artiles, Harry, Reschly, & Chinn, 2002; Nelson & Roberts, 2000). As we expand upon in later chapters, these same issues closely connect classroom management to the creation and perpetuation of a cradle-to-prison pipeline.

We also center equitable practices as essential to understanding classroom management. Equitable practices among educators demonstrate that rather than students' receiving the exact same resources and tools, students receive what they need as individuals to be successful in a classroom environment. Equity means developing environments and systems in ways that provide students with what they need on the basis of careful and systematic attention to the particulars of their situation, whereas equality is providing them with the same standardized set of resources regardless of circumstances. Thus, equitable practices have deep roots and connections to the place—the contexts of teaching and learning. Our point is that classroom management practices must be equitable and attentive to the particulars of the context. This means, put simply, that practices cannot be developed and enacted synonymously across contexts but should be based on the situational realities of the learning environment. In short, we should be working toward equitable practices that support and cultivate student learning, student development, and student diversity.

In addition, we stress that homogenous communities do not exist, and schools must be astutely aware of and committed to teaching *with* students in ways that are visible to students and in ways that recognize, maximize, and honor the assets and humanity of students. In other words, students bring a broad wealth of knowledge, experiences, insights, perspectives, and expertise into a classroom from which others must learn. In this way, teachers are not the only, or the main, arbiters of knowledge (McCutcheon, 2002; Milner, 2007). Students are the experts of their experiences and should be placed at the center of teaching and learning practices in a classroom. Students are the teachers of their points of view, and teachers should embrace their voices, ways of knowing, and contributions to the classroom environment.

Student diversity is indeed intensifying within the U.S. context. Students' life experiences and cultural practices are diverse as well. Student diversity includes, for instance, race, socioeconomic status (SES), gender identity, and sexual orientation. Students' varied experiences and cultural practices include their religious practices, domestic and international travel, music and video game engagement, and so forth. These matters, in understanding students, are essential aspects in deeply understanding how to cobuild a classroom context with students that is safe, affirming, caring, responsive, relevant, and rigorous (Gay, 2010).

The convergence of classroom management and broad issues of equity and diversity shapes this book. Classroom management and equity are two aspects of teaching that are repeatedly named as areas of concern among teachers, especially new teachers (Melnick & Meister, 2008; Milner, 2006; Milner & Tenore, 2010; Monroe, 2006). The social context of teachers' work—that is, the type of learning environment in which they teach—also can serve as a critical area of concern for teachers. Consequently, teacher concerns about classroom management are sometimes exacerbated in urban settings, where students' languages, experiences, preferences, ethnicities, religions, and abilities may be highly diverse and may or may not be shared by teachers (Milner, 2008). Weinstein, Tomlinson-Clarke, and Curran (2004) reminded us that “the literature on classroom management has paid scant attention to issues of cultural diversity” (p. 26), and the literature on diversity has focused limited attention on classroom management. Our stance is that issues of classroom management, assessment, instruction, learning, and diversity are almost inseparable and should accordingly be considered across their intersections.

Three salient trends emerge in the literature that are essential for readers of this book to ponder:

- the terms and constructs used to elucidate, study, and conceptualize classroom management and diversity vary;
- the populations—that is, the racial and ethnic identities of students studied in this literature extend beyond Black and White to include a range of students; and
- the contexts—that is, the locations in which these studies of classroom management and diversity take place—vary.

With regard to the terms and constructs employed in these studies, Monroe (2006) conceptualized a “discipline gap” (p. 164) in her discussion of classroom management and diversity. She stressed the need for teachers to develop “culturally specific disciplinary techniques” (p. 165), particularly with culturally and linguistically diverse learners. Hammond, Dupoux, and Ingalls (2004) conceptualized what they called “culturally relevant classroom management strategies” (p. 3), while Weinstein, Curran, and Tomlinson-Clarke (2003) termed their construct “culturally responsive classroom management” (p. 269). It is important to note that we describe and discuss aspects of culturally responsive teaching with implications for classroom management in subsequent sections of this book.

Regarding an emphasis on populations (the people), the study of Hammond et al. (2004) focused on American Indian students, and researchers have attempted to capture responsive and effective classroom management strategies with Navajo middle school students (McCarthy & Benally, 2003), as

well as American and Korean students (Shin & Koh, 2007). Researchers have even examined classroom management techniques in prisons with incarcerated adult students (Shobe, 2003). It is important to note that we are strongly against a paradigm that would suggest that a particular strategy is more or less effective with any particular group of students. For instance, we do not believe that teachers should adopt a particular classroom management strategy, approach, or philosophy on the basis of stereotypes of students according to their race, ethnicity, gender, or even geography. Teachers must build repertoires to engage with their students on the basis of the particulars of the people and the places in which they live and learn. We have sometimes been asked by teachers and principals to provide them a list of classroom management practices based on the characteristics of particular groups of students so that teachers are able to develop a generalizable list of stereotypes about students to inform their practice. Indeed, we must reimagine how we think about classroom management if we are to truly build professional practices that are adaptable in classrooms at the appropriate time. We believe that stereotyping is the absolute wrong approach to classroom management and effective teaching in general. Thus, we are hopeful that teachers and educators will read this text and learn about strategies that may be transferable to their practices in diverse spaces on the basis of what they know, come to understand, and are able to learn in their particular locales with their particular students at particular times.

REFERRAL PRACTICES, CONGRUENCE AND DISSONANCE, AND SYSTEMIC BARRIERS

We are suggesting that practices in the classroom should be anchored to increase students' opportunities to learn. We do not believe that student learning should be approached in isolation. We hope readers develop in communion with their students, communities, families, and colleagues a set of learning opportunities in a classroom that creates a culture for students to grow, develop, learn, and feel valued as human beings. Thus, teachers should create the conditions for learning to take place, serve as facilitators who pose good questions, and get out of students' way in the process of their development and learning. When teachers allow students to showcase their strengths, students become more curious, and they take intellectual risks in the classroom. Creating such spaces of learning, where students are able to build their learning identities, means that educators understand (a) punishment referral patterns, (b) teacher and student congruence and dissonance, and (c) institutional and systemic barriers. We focus on these three themes from the literature because they offer an expanded, well-conceptualized link between and among the varying layers at play when addressing classroom management. In other words, transforming practices for the benefit of students requires micro-level shifts

(such as those teachers use when sending students out of the classroom for office referral), meso-level changes (such as those building leaders such as principals can use with suspensions and expulsions), and macro-level changes (such as those in an entire district that promote zero-tolerance policies).

Punishment Referral Patterns

We are using the language of *punishment* referral patterns instead of *disciplinary* referral to stress the important point that discipline and punishment are not the same (Duncan-Andrade, 2016). It is important to note that we discuss issues of subjectivity and disproportionality in Chapter 2. We are not suggesting that teachers should not be concerned about and committed to helping students develop strong disciplinary orientations (Duncan-Andrade, 2016). Our point is that the way in which students are punished needs radical shifting, as the practices are not helping but hurting students.

The findings in the literature are straightforward: Most punishment referrals originate in the classroom, and more times than not, the referrals are for students of color and students from lower socioeconomic backgrounds. The literature suggests that there are some inconsistencies between the rules or the culture of power (Delpit, 1995) and some students' behaviors. Consequences of punishment referrals that originate in the classroom and where students are sent out of the classroom are students' reduced access to opportunities to learn inside of the classroom. In other words, as students are being pushed out (Morris, 2016) of the classroom, they are not experiencing opportunities to learn. Davis and Jordan (1994), for instance, found a direct connection between and among classroom management, the curriculum, and instruction.

Davis and Jordan (1994) analyzed data from the National Education Longitudinal Study of 1988, administered by the National Center for Educational Statistics. The researchers employed a two-stage, stratified, random sample of 25,000 eighth graders in 1,000 schools across the country. Davis and Jordan reported a connection between discipline, classroom management, and Black male achievement in middle schools. The researchers explained that "the time teachers spend handling disciplinary problems is time taken away from instruction" (p. 585), and students' achievement suffers. Instead of spending time on instruction, teachers spend much of their time attempting to punish and "control students." Clearly, when students are not in the classroom because of practices that push them out of the classroom, such as in-school suspension, outside-of-school suspension, and expulsion, students suffer academically.

In another study, Skiba, Michael, Nardo, and Peterson (2002) analyzed disciplinary records of 11,001 students in 19 middle schools in a large, urban

midwestern public school district during the 1994–1995 school year. Skiba et al. reported a “differential pattern of treatment, originating at the classroom level, wherein African American students are referred to the office for infractions that are more subjective in interpretation” (p. 317). In other words, if an African American student “talks back” or “mouths off” to a teacher, the teacher may interpret this behavior as “disrespectful” or “rude,” which is a subjective interpretation. The student may be behaving in this way because of peer pressure, not wanting friends to see him or her as weak. Disrespect or malice may not be the impetus for the student’s actions. Rather, the student may be trying to “survive” and not engender ridicule from his or her classmates. But the behavior can be interpreted in a way that warrants punishment by a teacher who does not understand or get it.

Another example of how teachers’ subjective interpretations can result in students’ punishment referral occurs when a Latinx student jokes with a teacher after the teacher has attempted to correct some behavior; the teacher may misinterpret that behavior as being defiant or rude. The student, on the other hand, may use a joke at home with his or her parents to show that “there are no hard feelings” on this student’s part. The teacher may find such behavior unacceptable and inexcusable; thus, an inaccurate interpretation is applied in the situation, and ultimately the student suffers negative repercussions. Teachers and students do not always ascribe the same meanings and intentions to student behavior, and this inconsistency can contribute to the alarming punishment referral patterns discussed herein. Of central importance is what happens when teachers get it wrong. In other words, how do we create spaces where students and teachers learn and develop over time together in order to construct the kinds of learning communities that propel all in the community to be whole and to reach their full capacity (students and teachers alike)?

The study of Skiba et al. (2002) pointed out that students of color, particularly African American students, overwhelmingly received harsher punishments for the same behaviors and actions compared with their White counterparts. As an example, the authors described a fistfight at a high school football game in Decatur, Illinois, that resulted in the superintendent’s recommendation that all seven of the African American students involved be expelled from school for 2 years. Apparently, in the same district, weapons were used in a fight involving White students, and a less severe punishment was imposed upon those students. Skiba et al. explained that

fear may . . . contribute to over-referral. Teachers who are prone to accepting stereotypes of adolescent African American males as threatening or dangerous may overreact to relatively minor threats to authority, especially if their anxiety is paired with a misunderstanding of cultural norms of social interaction. (p. 336)

Similarly, Skiba, Peterson, and Williams (1997) reported the findings of two studies in two midwestern cities. One study was conducted across several middle schools and the other in a single school. The researchers analyzed archival disciplinary referral data to determine the reasons reported for referrals, the circumstances under which the decisions were made, the various disciplinary responses, and the rate of suspension, in addition to other issues surrounding the disciplinary incidents. In both studies, the results revealed that office referrals were not a consequence of a threat to safety but “those that indicate noncompliance [insubordination] or disrespect . . . about 40% of all students receive at least one office referral in the middle school during the school year” (p. 295). Moreover, these two studies (as reported by Skiba et al., 1997) showed a pattern of disproportionality “in the administration of school discipline based on race, SES, gender and disability” (p. 295).

Students were not referred because they posed a threat to themselves, the teacher, or their classmates. This point is not to suggest that when students are not causing harm or threatening safety that they are not jeopardizing learning opportunities in the classroom. An important point is that so much of the punishment referral is a consequence of noncompliance—students’ not following rules such as dress codes. The noncompliance emphasis is a serious problem for students and the overall ethos of punishment referral. Teachers may readily resort to office referrals for matters they can (and should) be able to handle in the classroom without denying students’ access to learning opportunities because, again, when students are not in the classroom, they are missing important learning opportunities that will undoubtedly influence their academic performance. And teachers may precipitate the misbehavior. Too often students are looked upon as the sole problem, when teachers actually contribute to conflicts that occur in the classroom; consequently, punishment referrals persist. When will we rethink and reimagine who “controls” and “owns” classroom space? To be clear, no one—no human being—deserves to be controlled, and educators’ propensity to attempt to control others is a serious concern that must be reimaged.

Skiba et al. (1997) summed up their findings as follows:

Both of the current studies found overrepresentation of low SES students, males, and special education students in terms of both school referrals and rate of suspension . . . even in a district with a high proportion of African American students, African Americans were referred to the office significantly more frequently than other ethnic groups . . . these data provide further evidence of disproportionality in the administration of school discipline [punishment] based on race, SES, gender, and disability, and raise serious concerns about the use of exclusionary discipline at the middle school level. (pp. 313–314)

In discussing practices in schools, Noguera (2003) described an incredible link between punishment referral practices and those of the broader society, which leads to the incarceration of many Black and Brown bodies:

Disciplinary practices in schools often bear a striking similarity to the strategies used to punish adults in society. Typically, schools rely on some form of exclusion or ostracism to control the behavior of students . . . the assumption is that safety and order can be achieved by removing “bad” individuals and keeping them away from others who are presumed to be “good” and law abiding. Not surprisingly, *those most frequently targeted for punishment in school often look—in terms of race, gender, and socioeconomic status—a lot like smaller versions of the adults who are most likely to be targeted for incarceration in society* [italics added]. (pp. 342–343)

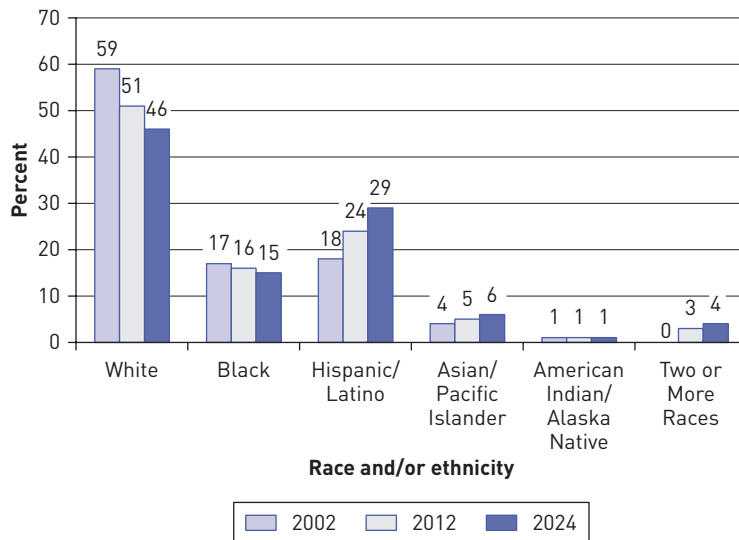
We discuss the connections between classroom management and the cradle-to-prison pipeline in the following chapter. At the core of many of the conflicts that emerge in the classroom that often result in “prisonlike” consequences for students appear to be tensions, incongruence, mismatches, and disconnections between teachers and students—the focus of the next section of this review.

Teacher and Student Congruence and Dissonance

A second theme that emerged from our review was the centrality of relationships between teachers and students. Clearly, teacher-student relationships were outlined in the research literature as one of the most essential elements of classroom cultures that promote student learning (Gay, 2010; Howard, 2010; Ladson-Billings, 2009; Milner, 2010). Teacher-student disconnections have been cited as a major reason for many conflicts that surface in the classroom (Irvine, 2003). Such conflicts are often couched in misinterpretations that seem to be shaped by the socioeconomic, cultural, racial, and ethnic inconsistencies that may exist between teachers and students. For instance, the demographic divide rationale is present in the literature that attempts to explain some of the complexities inherent in the teaching and learning process (Gay & Howard, 2000; Zumwalt & Craig, 2005). These demographic divide data include gender, race, ethnicity, and socioeconomic background. In terms of race, teachers are predominantly White, and students are increasingly non-White: They are more racially and ethnically diverse than ever in the past.

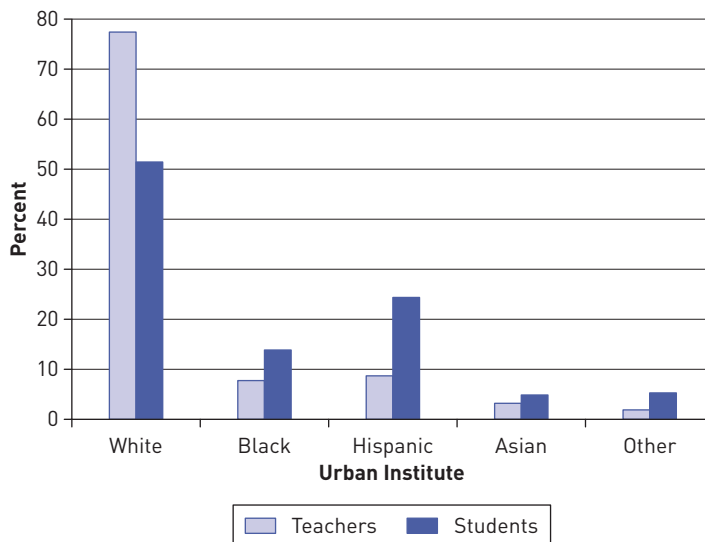
Figure 1.1 details the percentage distribution of students enrolled in public elementary and secondary schools, by race/ethnicity in fall 2002, fall 2012, and fall 2024 (projected).

Figure 1.2 compares teacher and student racial diversity. While not a direct correlation between students’ racial demography and that of teachers, these data point to the fact that teachers remain largely White, while student racial diversity increases.

FIGURE 1.1 ■ Distribution of Students Enrolled in Public Elementary and Secondary Schools

Sources: National Center for Education Statistics, Institute of Education Sciences, Common Core of Data (CCD), "State Nonfiscal Public Elementary/Secondary Education Survey Data," 2002–2003 and 2012–2013 (<https://nces.ed.gov/ccd/stnfis.asp>); and National Elementary and Secondary Enrollment Projection Model, 1972 through 2014. See National Center for Education Statistics, Institute of Education Sciences (2016, Table 203.50).

Note: Adapted from National Center for Education Statistics, Institute of Education Sciences (2015). Race categories exclude persons of Hispanic ethnicity. Prior to 2008, separate data on students of two or more races were not collected. Detail may not sum to totals because of rounding. Data for 2024 are projected.

FIGURE 1.2 ■ How Does Teacher Diversity Compare With Student Diversity?

Source: American Community Survey, 2015.

Note: Students are defined as all individuals ages 5 to 17 years; teachers are defined as individuals ages 25 to 34 years, with a bachelor's degree, who are teachers at the pre-K through high school level.

Because White teachers and students of color possess different racialized and cultural experiences (Milner, 2015), incongruence may serve as a roadblock for academic and social success (Irvine, 2003). However, as Gay (2000) explained, "similar [race and] ethnicity between students and teachers may be potentially beneficial, but it is not a guarantee of pedagogical effectiveness" (p. 205) or, we argue, of classroom management effectiveness. Demographic inconsistencies between teachers and students should not be used as an excuse for ineffective or inequitable classroom management policies, decisions, and practices. Indeed, teachers from any and all ethnic, cultural, and racial backgrounds can and should strive to be successful teachers with any and all groups of students. When teachers possess (or have the skills and opportunities to acquire) the knowledge, attitudes, dispositions, beliefs, and skills necessary to meet the needs of and be responsive to their students, equitable classroom management and learning opportunities for all students are possible. But teachers still must be mindful of the ways in which their race, racialized backgrounds, and racial experiences can influence their practices and connections with students who may be racially and ethnically different from them.

Teachers play enormous roles in how students conduct themselves in classrooms. In her ethnographic study of 31 culturally diverse students identified by the school as potential dropouts, Schlosser (1992) discovered that teachers must avoid distancing themselves from their students by developing knowledge about the students' home lives and cultural backgrounds and by developing knowledge about adolescents' developmental needs. In her words, "the behaviors of marginal students are purposive acts . . . their behaviors are constructed on the basis of their interpretation of school life . . . relationships with teachers are a key factor" (p. 137). Moreover, as Noguera (2003) declared,

Students who get into trouble frequently are typically not passive victims; many of them understand that the consequences for violating school rules can be severe, particularly as they grow older. However, as they internalize the labels that have been affixed to them, and as they begin to realize that the trajectory their education has placed them on is leading to nowhere, many simply lose the incentive to adhere to school norms. (p. 343)

Understanding teacher-student congruence and incongruence allows teachers opportunities to empathize (not sympathize) with their students and attempt to more deeply understand them. Teachers' not giving up on students, regardless of their "misbehavior," is very important. As Schlosser (1992) and Noguera (2003) remind us, the relationships teachers and others in schools establish with students to bridge disconnections are central to academic and social success not only in the classroom but in the larger school community as well. Students recognize when there is unnecessary distance between themselves and their teachers, and such disconnections shape students' actions and

performance (Milner, 2010). Students may ask, “Why should I adhere to this teacher’s expectations when she or he does not really care about me?” In this respect, students see their misbehavior as a way to distance themselves from uncaring and disrespectful teachers, and the cycle seems to continue.

Centering issues of racial incongruence is essential, as subconsciously or implicitly teachers may make decisions that can have negative influences on students. Grossman (1995) explained that

teachers praise African-American students less and criticize them more than European American students. The praise they give them is more likely to be routine, rather than feedback for a particular achievement or behavior. And when teachers praise them for specific behavior, it is more likely to be qualified (“Your work is almost good enough to be put on the board”) or, in the case of females, more likely to be for good behavior than for academic work. (p. 142)

Teachers may exhibit less than ideal practices when working with students in classrooms because they are not aware of their implicit pedagogical, curricular, assessment, and management decisions. Because teachers typically have good intentions, the differential treatment teachers display is located in their subconscious, and they are not able to critically examine these conceptions and consequently behaviors because they are not necessarily aware that they exist. In order to examine these implicit thoughts and consequently moves, teachers must work deliberately to bring them into their consciousness.

Because many teachers adopt color-blind ideologies in their work with students, pretending that they do not “see” or recognize race, they are missing important features and dimensions of students’ identities. As a result, teachers are attempting to codevelop learning communities populated with students whom they perceive in fragmented, disconnected, and incomplete ways. In other words, teachers are not seeing the whole humanity or lived experiences of their students when they adopt color-blind orientations to their practice. As an example, teachers who adopt color-blind ideologies may fail to recognize “ignored discriminatory institutional practices toward students of color such as higher suspension rates for African American males” (Johnson, 2002, p. 154).

Obidah and Teel (2001) described cultural and racial (behavioral) conflicts between a White teacher/researcher (Teel) and students of color, mainly Black students. Initially, Teel characterized the student behavior in her urban classroom as

unfamiliar expressions; the need to save face in front of peers; a demand for respect from peers and the teacher; vocal and honest expressions of dissatisfaction with the class; and a tendency to test [Teel] as a person of authority. (p. 48)

After engaging in critical, reflective, and meaningful dialogues with her colleague, Obidah, the Black teacher/researcher, Teel began to rethink her beliefs about the students in her classes. The researchers, particularly the White researcher, began to realize that the problem was not with the students but mostly with her as the instructor. Obidah was able to help Teel examine some of her management and curricular decisions. For instance, Obidah explained some of the racial and cultural tensions embedded in some of Teel's instructional activities. Obidah was able to also help Teel think deeply about her [Obidah's] connections with students and why such connections with the African American students seemed so profound. Ultimately, Teel changed her expectations and management: Teel explained that she began to really listen to her students, she negotiated and redefined inappropriate behavior, and she learned to investigate the root causes of disruptions. Instead of thinking that she already had everything figured out, Teel actually listened to her students' perspectives on issues, and she worked to change some of her own decisions and practices rather than assuming that the tensions that emerged in the classroom were a direct result of her students' misbehavior. It was only after Teel began to negotiate and balance some of her authority and ways of knowing that her relationship with students improved. Clearly, teachers' being knowledgeable about themselves and their students can serve as a foundation for building connections. In addition to the theme of congruence and incongruence between teachers and students as a cause for conflicts in the classroom, a third theme that emerged from our review was the salience of institutional and systemic barriers.

Institutional and Systemic Barriers

Understanding the complexities of issues of justice, equity, and diversity as they relate to classroom management must involve examining the ways in which structural and systemic—the macro—influence what happens in classrooms. Institutional and systemic barriers can make it difficult for teachers to demonstrate their care for and to connect with students. Teachers are sometimes being pressured and closely monitored by their administrators to follow a set frame of referral, discipline, and management approaches, which can make it difficult for teachers to employ and enact the kinds of practices that support students' maximizing their capacity. For instance, teachers can experience less than ideal support from administrators; consequently, their students may believe that the teachers "forget to care" about them. In reality, teachers may be negotiating "structural conditions within the school, such as tracking and high teacher turnover, that preclude caring relationships with students" (Katz, 1999, p. 809), or teachers appear more concerned about their students' test scores than the students themselves (Milner, 2012).

Ennis (1996) examined issues of confrontation and classroom management at 10 urban high schools that enrolled approximately 110,000 students from lower to middle-class families. Her findings revealed some possible

outcomes when teachers feel unsupported by their administrators. Ennis discovered that some 50% of the teachers in the study reported that they did not teach certain content topics “because of the confrontations that such topics generate with specific students” (p. 145). Because these teachers did not want to experience conflict in their classrooms, students were denied access to certain aspects of the curriculum. Teachers in the study avoided teaching content that “they believed students were disinterested in learning . . . students refused to learn or to participate in learning, or . . . [curriculum that] generated discussions that the teachers felt unprepared to moderate” (p. 146). The teachers in the study were, in a sense, granting students permission to fail (Ladson-Billings, 2002), mainly because the teachers did not possess the knowledge, skills, and ability to acquire the skills to build the kinds of relationships with students that centered a diverse curriculum. Teachers in Ennis’s study reported that a lack of administrative support was a central cause and concern for their avoidance of certain curriculum topics. The teachers did not feel supported and adopted survival mechanisms essentially to get through the day.

In such classrooms, teachers give information (Haberman, 1991), and students have little (if any) voice and perspective in the learning environment. This approach can result in a vicious cycle that is consistent with Freire’s (1998) notion that students are often passive participants in their own learning, with teachers constantly attempting to pour knowledge or information into “empty vessels.” Haberman (1991) explained that student resistance takes many forms: students sometimes interrupt lessons with jokes, fake illness to be removed from the class or excused from assignments, and disagree with teachers just for the sake of disagreement.

The systemic and institutionalized nature of teachers’ work in schools seems to follow several layers. The building or school administration taking its cues from the superintendent, who is interpreting national and state guidelines, for instance, produces a set of policies and expectations about how teachers’ classes ought to run (e.g., quietly, in an orderly fashion), which creates a dilemma for teachers. Optimal learning can and does occur without students seated in silence. Teachers, in turn, in their attempts to meet institutional expectations, develop and implement management strategies that reify systems of oppression and voicelessness among students. Students, in turn, resist these systemic parameters, and chaos, disconnections, and (mis)management result. The desire for order and control (Noguera, 2003) at the classroom level can be connected to teachers’ goals to improve test scores (Milner, 2010). Teachers prepare students to follow directions and to “obey” orders for the world of work (Anyon, 1980). These decisions can be motivated and shaped by institutional and systemic pressures far beyond teachers’ control.

Having discussed three interrelated themes as essential for understanding classroom management from the empirical literature to inform practice (punishment referral patterns, teacher and student congruence and dissonance,

and institutional and systemic barriers), we shift the discussion to some conceptual framing of the book. In the next section, we define and discuss notions of culturally responsive teaching and insights from the literature on culturally responsive classroom management. Although subsequent chapters of this book expand on ideas that follow in this section, it is important to be clear on overarching conceptual framing and tenets that guide the content of the remaining chapters.

CLASSROOM MANAGEMENT IS ABOUT BEING CULTURALLY RESPONSIVE

Grossman (1995) maintained that “classroom management techniques that are designed by White-American middle-class teachers for White-American middle-class students do not meet the needs of many non-middle-class non-European American students” (p. xvii). Moreover, Weinstein et al. (2004) explained that “definitions and expectations of appropriate behavior are culturally influenced, and conflicts are likely to occur when teachers and students come from different cultural backgrounds” (p. 26). Thus, classroom management is about teachers’ ability to develop culturally responsive practices that speak to the very essence of who students are. Culturally responsive practices insist that teachers think carefully and deliberately about what they are teaching, why they are teaching the content, and how they are teaching in a sociopolitical context (Gay, 2010; Howard, 2010; Milner, 2010). Such deep introspections about the what, the why, and the how allow teachers to keep students at the center of the work. Culturally responsive practices insist that teachers understand and draw on the cultural assets and vantage points of students, families, and communities. In short, culturally responsive practices stress that teachers *study their students* (Ladson-Billings, 2009) and use students’ experiences as *cultural data sets* as they model instructional moves (Lee, 2007) to maximize students’ opportunities to learn. A central dimension of culturally responsive practices is that of instruction. To be clear, when students experience instructional and learning opportunities that align with their interests and intellect, teachers tend not to have to worry about classroom management in the traditional sense.

Gay (2010) explained culturally responsive teaching as

using cultural knowledge, prior experiences, frames of reference, and performance styles of ethnically diverse students to make learning encounters more relevant to and effective for them. [Culturally responsive instruction] teaches to and through the strengths of these students . . . [it] is the behavioral expressions of knowledge, beliefs, and values that recognize the importance of racial and cultural diversity in learning. (p. 31)

Culturally responsive teaching situates culture as central, not tangential, to the teaching and learning exchange (Howard, 2010; Irvine, 2003; Ladson-Billings, 2009). It allows students to see themselves as central to how the classroom operates, and it provides students opportunities to participate in the learning environment. Thus, we are stressing that an important aspect of effective classroom management is about teachers' capacity to understand and enact culturally responsive practices in the classroom.

In framing the principles of culturally responsive pedagogy, Gay (2010) outlined several conventions: (a) culture counts—in this way, the idea is that culture should be viewed as essential and complementary to the educational process; (b) conventional reform is inadequate—Gay stressed that current efforts to reform schools have been underwhelming in terms of improvements for some of our most vulnerable students in schools, and thus radical instructional reform (Milner, 2013) is necessary; (c) intention without action is insufficient—there is a strong practice, action, and implementation dimension to the ways in which Gay framed cultural responsiveness; (d) strength and vitality emerge from cultural diversity—the idea is that there is important value in diversity: “cultural diversity is a strength—a persistent, vitalizing force in our personal and civic lives” (Gay, 2010, p. 15); and (e) test scores and grades are symptoms, not causes, of achievement problems—centralizing the reality that culturally responsive pedagogical approaches pose the kinds of questions that address underlying reasons for challenges students face and not look at test scores and grades as the only, or the main, data point in understanding and responding to educational dilemmas.

The following six tenets shape culturally responsive teaching, according to Gay (2010). These principles have real implications for the ways in which we (and we hope teachers) think about classroom management especially in underserved schools and communities.

- *Culturally responsive teaching is validating:* These pedagogical moves affirm and acknowledge the cultural backgrounds, experiences, worldviews, ideas, ideals, and values of students and their families. Validation also means that teachers understand and merge outside of school realities with those inside of school and work *with*, not against, student preferences and interests. A central feature of validation is drawing from the assets and strengths of the communities of students. Drawing from the expertise of students and their families sends a real message to students about who (and what) matter(s) in the space.

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- *Culturally responsive teaching is comprehensive:* This approach and practice to teaching takes a holistic view of student learning and development. Teachers understand and attempt to build on and respond to students “social, emotional, and political learning by using cultural resources to teach knowledge, skills, values, and attitudes” (Gay, 2010, p. 32). In other words, teachers understand that they are teaching complex, multifaceted beings and that must be understood fully in order to respond to and, as Paris (2012) would argue, sustain them.
- *Culturally responsive teaching is multidimensional:* Teachers understand that their work must be designed and redirected to address the multiple modalities of student learning. Teachers understand that responsiveness involves not only a rethinking and reformation of instructional practices but also shifts in culturally centered “curriculum content, learning context, classroom climate, student-teacher relationships, instructional techniques, classroom management, and performance assessments” (Gay, 2010, p. 33).
- *Culturally responsive teaching is empowering:* This approach and stance of teaching enables students to maximize their potential and to work toward excellence personally and with community. It pushes students to excel. In many ways, this approach “grants” students permission to succeed (Ladson-Billings, 2009) and to reach their full capacity.
- *Culturally responsive teaching is transformative:* Instructional practices that are culturally responsive help students see themselves as community contributors—as change agents—capable of helping improve the ethos of their experience inside and outside of school. For example, students are taught to “analyze the effects of inequities on different ethnic individuals and groups, have zero tolerance for these, and become change agents committed to promoting greater equality, justice, and power balances” (Gay, 2010, p. 37).
- *Culturally responsive teaching is emancipatory:* This stance of teaching facilitates a liberatory process of learning and development of students whereby they recognize the power of education and learning beyond satisfying predetermined sets of requirements in a classroom or school, such as passing

a test. In other words, students develop an emancipatory worldview of their experiences that rejects too much schooling (Shujaa, 1998) in favor of education. Indeed, in the journey to work for emancipation in their communities, students come to understand that it is difficult to press toward freedom for others until one is liberated himself or herself (West, 1993).

CULTURALLY RESPONSIVE CLASSROOM MANAGEMENT

Building from the literature on culturally responsive teaching (Gay, 2010; Brown, 2007; Howard, 2010; Milner, 2010), Weinstein et al. (2004) conceptualized several principles that shape what they called culturally responsive classroom management when they introduced the theory in an article published in the *Journal of Teacher Education*: (a) recognition of teachers' own ethnocentrism; (b) knowledge of students' culture; (c) understanding of the broader social, economic, and political systems in education; (d) appropriate management strategies; and (e) development of caring classrooms. Weinstein et al. stressed that developing and implementing culturally responsive classroom management is a *frame of mind more than a set of predetermined skills, actions, ideas, or strategies*, which is why it is so essential that teachers develop a set of understandings, beliefs, and mindsets to advance equitable classroom management strategies. When students develop mindsets that allow them to negotiate power structures, they reject attempts to control students. Culturally responsive management frameworks "incorporate elements of students' home, personal, and community lives into the classroom" (Monroe & Obidah, 2004, p. 259). The teacher in Monroe and Obidah's (2004) study "drew on referents such as speech patterns, voice tones, facial expressions, and word choices that conveyed her behavioral expectations to students in familiar and meaningful ways" (p. 266).

Weinstein et al. (2003) stressed the importance of establishing expectations for student behavior, communicating with students in "culturally consistent ways," (p. 272), creating inclusive and caring classrooms, and working with families to build strong partnerships and relationships.

Bondy, Ross, Galligan, and Hambacher (2007) grounded their research in theories of psychologically supportive classroom environments and building "resistance" among students. Through videotaping and interviewing, the authors studied three effective novice teachers during their first 2 hours of the first day of the academic year. The authors found that the teachers worked to develop positive relationships with their students and developed high expectations. The teachers "insisted" that the students would engage in the classroom, and the

teachers adapted a culturally responsive communication style with their students. In essence, Bondy et al. focused on how the three teachers set the stage for a successful academic year and were able to develop community; the authors explained that the teachers in the study were deliberate in their practices of "earning respect rather than demanding it" (p. 328). Several important features emerged from Bondy et al.'s study. For instance, from the onset, the teachers worked to build relationships, establish expectations, and communicate in culturally responsive ways; the teachers also insisted that students were accountable and would meet the high expectations that were established.

Bondy et al.'s (2007) study extended Brown's (2003, 2004) study by observing and videotaping the teachers along with interviewing them. The results of Brown's study were based solely on interview data. Brown (2004) interviewed 13 urban teachers from Grades 1 to 12 from seven different cities across the United States. The study was designed to understand the relationship between the classroom management strategies teachers employed and culturally responsive teaching. The teachers in Brown's study reflected and revealed several classroom management practices related to culturally responsive teaching:

development of personal relationships with students, creation of caring communities, establishment of business-like learning environments, use of culturally and ethnically congruent communication processes, demonstration of assertiveness, and utilization of clearly stated and enforced expectations. (Brown, 2004, p. 266)

Moreover, in describing some common characteristics of care among the 13 teachers in his study, Brown (2003) reported,

These 13 urban teachers create caring classroom communities by showing a genuine interest in each student. They gain student cooperation by being assertive through the use of explicitly stated expectations for appropriate student behavior and academic growth. And these teachers demonstrate mutual respect for students through the use of congruent communication processes. (p. 282)

Indeed, we are hopeful that readers of this book are able to draw important insights that propel them to become more culturally responsive to the students with whom they are or will be working. To strive for anything less than teaching to the very essence of students is to underexplore the pedagogical possibility of meeting the needs of every student in every classroom in the United States and beyond.

REFLECTING ON THE CHAPTER . . .

We encourage teachers to reflect on the following:

1. What are the essential elements of culturally responsive teaching and culturally responsive classroom management?
2. Why might culturally responsive classroom management better meet the needs of students, especially those who are often underserved in schools?
3. How might teachers' own cultural experiences and backgrounds influence their classroom management practices and their ability to build classroom management practices aligned with students?
4. In what ways might classroom management practices influence students' opportunities to learn?
5. Who should be involved with constructing classroom environments that maximize learning? Why?
6. How do teachers construct classroom settings that build on students' racial and cultural assets?
7. What are some of the patterns of disproportionality that can be linked to classroom management practices?
8. What are some concrete examples of ways teachers can build culturally responsive classroom management approaches in their work with students?

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