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Seeing Through The Racist Smog: With A Reading Curriculum Based On Culturally Responsive Teaching And Warm Demander Pedagogy

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SEEING THROUGH THE RACIST SMOG:

WITH A READING CURRICULUM

BASED ON CULTURALLY RESPONSIVE TEACHING

AND WARM DEMANDER PEDAGOGY

by

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DEDICATION

To my loving husband and daughter, who inspire me every day and bring so much joy

to life. Thank you for all of your smiles, hugs, and love.

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

"What does race have to do with it?" was the question that guided our
professional development one year. A seemingly simple question, yet the answer is
anything but simple. The achievement gap is the "disparities in standardized test
scores between Black and White, Latina/o and White, and recent immigrant and
White students" (Ladson-Billings, 2006, p. 3). If we look beyond a deficit model,
where children are blamed for these gaps; we chart a course for how educators can
make a difference. One essential way to close the achievement gap is developing
positive relationships with every student. I began to focus more intentionally on
building personal relationships with each student and on classroom community. This
led to a more joyful learning environment, but I still wondered: am I still missing
pieces, pieces of an academic curriculum, to ensure the best progress for all students?

While the research is full of reasons for the achievement gap, little of that
research offers great solutions. The three large categories within the achievement gap
literature concern race, socio-economic status and English Language Learners. While
Ruby Payne uses a deficit model to explain the achievement gap (Boucher Jr. and
Helfenbein, 2015, p. 743); Lisa Delpit (2012a) offers good teaching as the solution,
challenging teachers to reject "cultural-deficit" models (p. 7). Gloria Ladson-Billings
asks teachers to "use[] student culture in order to maintain it and transcend the
negative effects of the dominant culture" (Ladson-Billings, 1994, p. 17). In "Warm
Demanders," Delpit (2012a) describes exemplary teachers who use both warmth
(personal relationships) and demand (communicating and enforcing high
expectations) to help minority students succeed. Ladson-Billings describes

"Culturally Relevant Teaching" that "empowers students intellectually, socially, emotionally, and politically by using cultural referents to impart knowledge, skills, and attitudes" (1994, pp. 17-18). Delpit (2012a) and Ladson-Billings (1994) showed the need to develop personal relationships with students and demand academic excellence while maintaining cultural relevance. My research question is: *How can I help to close the achievement gap in my classroom by using warm demander pedagogy and culturally responsive teaching?*

There are two reasons that closing the achievement gap are important to me: my personal values of justice and equity and my personal experiences with highly effective teachers. First, closing the achievement gap is closely connected with my core values of justice and equity. My family discussed matters of social justice on a weekly basis around the dinner table. Once I went away to college and joined the profession of teaching, I had numerous life experiences and history lessons on the current inequities in our educational system. While I was beginning my career in education, I read an influential book on the achievement gap, Johnathan Kozol's *Shame of a Nation: The Restoration of Apartheid Schooling in America* (2005), started substituting in a Midwestern urban school district, took a fabulous class on social justice in education, and most importantly met my husband, who is African American, with whom I had a beautiful daughter. For me closing the achievement gap is not only theoretical, it has become intensely personal. It is now about improving the lives of the beautiful children in my classroom and advocating for my daughter.

Finally, I believe a warm demander educational environment motivates students because it did so for me. Judith Kleinfeld (1975) first wrote of teachers who use warm demander pedagogy, as those teachers who combine "personal warmth" and "active demandingness;" (p. 326) "*after* personal rapport had been established – they

demand a high level of academic work" (pp. 326-327). The two teachers I learned the

most from, worked hard to know me as a person. It is hard to measure the full scope

of my favorite teachers' influence on my life today. They helped me become a better

student, but more importantly how to be a better person. My personal values of justice

and equity and my memories of positive school experiences have helped me to

develop my own teaching style.

Closing the Achievement Gap: A Matter of Social Justice

My passion for social justice was instilled in me by my family and later

strengthened by a few special teachers. Talk around my household was peppered with

talk of current issues and justice. Every night at the dinner table, my dad and stepmom

would share moments from their work day. They are both lawyers and have both

worked for many years of their career at Legal Aid. Legal Aid is a nonprofit

organization that provides legal services to those who cannot afford it (Mid-

Minnesota Legal Aid, 2019). Legal Aid also works in the areas of poverty law,

disability law, and public policy (Mid-Minnesota Legal Aid, 2019). I could tell from

their stories that what fueled them in their careers was seeking justice for their clients.

I kept my parents' values of justice and making the world a better place and decided

on a different career: teaching.

At the beginning of my career in teaching, I read Johnathan Kozol's (2005)

Shame of a Nation: The Restoration of Apartheid Schooling in America. In Kozol's

(2005) book, he describes how the monumental work of the civil rights movement to

desegregate public schools is currently moving backwards: schools are becoming

more and more segregated. I was also substitute teaching in a Midwestern urban

school district. I saw firsthand some of the segregation which Kozol discussed. For

example, there would be times when I would substitute one day in a school that was predominantly Hmong American. The next day, I would go to a school, sometimes less than a mile away, and substitute in a school that was predominantly African American. Kozol's (2005) claims were no longer theoretical for me, I saw the reality every day. I realized I wanted to learn more about desegregation. The ideas in Kozol's book stuck with me and I wanted to do something, but I was not yet sure how to proceed.

Years after reading Kozol's (2005) book, I began my master's program in education and took a fabulous class on equity and social justice in education. Amongst other things, we studied the civil rights movement in depth. It was fascinating to learn more about all of the overlapping protests that comprised the civil rights movement. I read about the experiences of individuals who participated in these protests. I learned about Ruby Bridges walking to school with U.S. Marshalls escorting her to her kindergarten class. I read that Rosa Parks did not stay seated during the bus boycott because she was tired, but rather was tired of being treated as a second-class citizen. When my school district began its trainings with the achievement gap in mind, I reflected on all I had learned about the civil rights movement. I was disappointed that there was not more talk about the historical, societal, and economic context around the achievement gap. My district trainings seemed to focus on what individual teachers could do, while avoiding any mention of the larger systemic inequalities. I knew there were systemic causes that were contributing to the achievement gap and things individual teachers can do to help close the achievement gap.

In my late twenties, I met and fell in love with my husband. He is smart, funny, introspective, kind, thoughtful, hard-working, loving and is African American.

I am smart, funny, kind, talkative, creative and European American. We now have a beautiful, two-year old daughter. My interest in how race and education intersect has become all the more personal and purposeful. I think and worry about how my daughter's teachers will see her. Will they see her uniqueness, her confidence, her intelligence, her sense of humor, or will they prejudge her? How will her teachers' racial consciousness, or lack thereof, affect their interactions with my daughter? While learning how to be an advocate for my daughter, I am also reflecting on the children in my classroom that are the apple of their parents' eyes. How can I examine my biases to become a better teacher? How can I help students from all backgrounds succeed in my class? How can I "become the change I want to see in the world"? How can I help to close the achievement gap in my classroom by using warm demander pedagogy and culturally responsive teaching?

Closing the Achievement Gap by Using Warm Demander Pedagogy and Culturally Responsive Teaching: Personal Experience

I intend to address the achievement gap with relationships and motivation because this is what has made the biggest difference in my education. When I reflect on my favorite teachers, I can visualize the kind of teacher I aim to be. My favorite teachers throughout my studies have been those who shared early, and often how much they cared for me as a person. In these classes, I did my best work. It would take pages to tell you about all of my wonderful teachers, but here I will describe my top two.

My junior high English teacher was warm. I remember her as exuberant, kind, and confident. She loved English Language Arts, but more importantly she loved her students. This teacher developed personal relationships with each student. She also shared details about her own life, and learned about ours. This teacher cared about our

social development and helped mediate our junior high drama, while always including some wise words. It is a rare teacher that can cut through the hormones and self-doubt of her junior high students and get them to do some work.

This same English teacher was also demanding; expecting a lot of work from each student, and always providing the necessary support. My English teacher brought a passion to our discussions of literature and writing. It was clear she loved her subject, but more than that, she loved sharing in our discovery of new ideas. In her class, I felt safe to try new things and was encouraged for all of my efforts. No project was too big, because she was always able to break it down into manageable chunks. She walked us slowly through complicated fiction, making sure we did not miss any of the nuances. And the content was fascinating: we discussed dystopias, poetry and the founding of the United States. More than 20 years later, I remember many details of George Orwell's (1977) work *1984,* and I marvel at the accuracy of George Orwell's predictions, Big Brother really is watching us! She taught for deep understanding of literature. Her class changed my view on the world and elevated my writing. How much of my ability to write this very paper was inspired by this teacher? It is difficult to measure, but very real. This English teacher combined warmth with demandingness, and my literacy grew by leaps and bounds.

My favorite teacher in my undergraduate studies, one of my French professors, was also warm and demanding. I remember her as serious, gentle, and strong. This professor made it clear that she expected hard work, but she was always available for guidance. She was quick to give thoughtful compliments and critiques. This professor also reminded students if they owed her assignments. She treated every student as an individual. As my advisor for my French major, she would regularly check on my academic and personal well-being. When I was coming close to graduation, she made

a point of telling me she thought I was capable of doing anything after graduation. She saw in me a potential that I still aim to fulfill.

This French professor's classes were also culturally responsive, including authors from every walk of life. I learned about Paris, France; French speaking Africa; and modern francophone Caribbean writers. I studied feminists and revolutions. I learned about the different perspectives of people throughout history. We looked at French culture from all angles and I was deeply engaged.

Both these teachers saw me, and in response, I worked very hard. I want students to enter my classroom and feel seen. At its core teaching is a people profession. As a third-grade teacher, I am entrusted with parents' babies, their pride and joy. It is an honor and a responsibility I do not take lightly. When I look over my classroom at the shining faces of my third-grade students, I want to make sure I am helping them to dream big, that I am helping close the achievement gap. The existence of an achievement gap is not my fault, but it is my responsibility. By learning about the history of the achievement gap, and two pedagogies inspired by successful teachers of African American students, I will be able to help. Which brings me back to my research question: *How can I help to close the achievement gap in my classroom by using warm demander pedagogy and culturally responsive teaching?*

In Chapter 2, I will provide a literature review that helps give context to my curricular project, on the following topics: Intelligence and the achievement gap, the history of African American education, and the theories of warm demander pedagogy and culturally responsive teaching. In Chapter 3, I will explain my curricular project and describe the participants. In Chapter 4, I will reflect on the effectiveness of my curricular project, next steps and how this project can benefit the teaching profession.

CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review

Introduction

This literature review has three sections: The achievement gap, standardized testing and intelligence; the African American struggle for formal schooling; and with a summary of culturally responsive teaching (Irvine & Armento, 2001) and warm demander pedagogy (Kleinfeld, 1975). Ultimately, we know there is an achievement gap in education: warm demander pedagogy and culturally responsive teaching offer us concrete solutions to help to close this gap. Gloria Ladson-Billings (1994) defines culturally responsive teaching as "a pedagogy that empowers students intellectually, socially, emotionally, and politically by using cultural referents to impart knowledge, skills and attitudes" (p. 18). Kleinfeld (1975) describes teachers who use warm demander pedagogy as those teachers who combine "personal warmth" and "active demandingness;" (p. 326) "*after* personal rapport had been established – they demand a high level of academic work" (pp. 326-327). The first section of this chapter contrasts intelligence and standardized tests, which are used to measure the achievement gap. The second section of this chapter, focuses on the African American community's struggle for formal schooling; this limited access to formal schooling helps explain the achievement gap. The final section explores two pedagogies, warm demander pedagogy (Kleinfeld, 1975) and culturally responsive teaching (Irvine & Armento, 2001), which offer a framework for changing both what we teach and how we teach students of color. This literature review helps explore current education literature to answer my research question: *How can I help to close the achievement*

gap in my classroom by using warm demander pedagogy and culturally responsive teaching?

The Achievement Gap: Standardized Testing and "Intelligence"

It is important to recognize the distinctions between three seemingly similar concepts: The achievement gap, standardized testing and intelligence, before educators will be able to close the achievement gap. Most states have a battery of standardized tests that they use to measure the achievement of their students. It is in comparing the achievement scores on these tests, that an achievement gap was detected. Gloria Ladson-Billings (2006) defines the achievement gap as the, "disparities in standardized tests between Black and White, Latina/o and White, and recent immigrant and White students" (p. 3). The following section discusses whether these tests do, in fact, accurately measure achievement. It also discusses the sometimes dangerous consequences of conflating intelligence and achievement.

The achievement gap is not an "intelligence gap." It is essential we forever separate the notions of intelligence and achievement (Hilliard III, 2003; Delpit, 2012a). While Hilliard III (2003) and Delpit (2012a) do not dispute the existence of an achievement gap, they are adamant there is no "intelligence gap" (Hilliard III, 2003, p. 135). Hilliard III (2003) warns of the danger of confusing achievement with intelligence, and gives a long list of scholars who have chronicled the "absence of validity evidence for IQ tests," summarizing the work of Rowe (1991); Hilliard 1994, 1995; Houts 1977; Gould 1981; Kamin 1974; Donovan and Cross 2002) (p. 135) Furthermore, Hilliard III (2003) states:

Present science, technology, and mental measurement are fundamentally
incapable of measuring human capacity. Therefore Black and White

differences in that capacity cannot be measured. Intelligence tests are nothing more than a particular kind of "achievement test" that favors students who have a privileged opportunity to be exposed to those things being measured on the tests. Yes, there is a perennial gap in scores on the tests that purport to measure native intelligence. The question is what the scores mean. The scores represent "achievement," not intelligence (pp. 135-136).

Delpit (2012a) adds, "There is no achievement gap at birth" and cites the research of Marcelle Geber in Kenya and Uganda, in 1956 (p. 3), and the research of William Frankenberg and Joe Dodds (Delpit, 2012b) with Black American and White American children, in the mid-1960s (p. 4). Delpit (2012a) summarized Marcelle Gerber's research which found Kenyan and Ugandan infants to be ahead of European infants in development:

Geber found, in her words, the most precocious and advanced infants ever observed anywhere in the world. She saw four-day-old infants who smiled continuously. She published photographs of a forty-eight-hour-old child bolt upright, supported only by his forearms, head in perfect balance, and eyes focused. At six to seven weeks, all the children crawled skillfully and sat up by themselves (pp. 3-4).

In the United States, Frankenberg and Dodds found similar results when comparing Black American children to White American children (Delpit, 2012b). Dodd reported, "There were no items that the White children were doing earlier than the Black children in the first year of life" (as cited in Delpit, 2012b, p. 4). So where do these ideas about racial, intellectual differences come from, if they are scientifically false?

While few scholars and teachers say outright, "I think White children are smarter than Black children," Americans are surrounded by racist messages every day. Delpit (2012a) summarizes the view of author Beverly Tatum, who gives an accurate metaphor for the racist culture Americans experience everyday:

> Author Beverly Tatum talks about how people who live in Los Angeles become smog-breathers. They don't do anything to become smog-breathers, they aren't conscious of being smog-breathers, they just go about their everyday lives as they breathe smog. She then adds that if we live in America, we are racism-breathers, and it doesn't matter what color we are (p. 12).

When we say out loud, "This is false, there is no 'intelligence gap'" (Hilliard III, 2003, p. 135), we begin to chart a course for change.

While achievement tests are often falsely interpreted as intelligence scores (Hilliard III, 2003), there are many different ways to conceive of intelligence. The authors David Weschler and Howard Gardner help to illustrate the wide spectrum of beliefs on intelligence (McCown, Driscoll, & Roop, 1996). While Weschler developed a much-used test to measure intelligence, the Intelligence Quotient (or IQ), Gardner's work challenges the view that intelligence can be measured by a test in favor of a theory of multiple intelligences (McCown et al., 1996). Gardner's (Blythe & Gardner, 1990) holistic view of multiple intelligences aligns with the views of successful teachers of minority students (Irvine & Armento, 2001). When teachers see each child as intelligent, they raise their expectations for each student and students then rise to this potential (Delpit, 2012).

David Wechsler and IQ testing. David Wechsler was not the first to develop an intelligence test (Richardson, 2000). Many credit Sir Francis Galton, in 1869, with

the first intelligence test that gives a numerical score for one's Intelligence Quotient, or IQ (Richardson, 2000). Galton devised many, many tests including, "tests of sensorimotor powers, such as reaction time, speed of hand motion between two points, strength of grip, judgements of length, and so on" (Richardson, 2000, p. 26). Galton's goal was to show that people from the upper class people are smarter than those from the lower class (Richardson, 2000). Unfortunately for him, his test did not prove this (Richardson, 2000).

The next well-known intelligence test was created by Alfred Binet (Richardson, 2000). Binet's goal was to determine which students in the Parisian school system might need special educational services (Richardson, 2000). Binet's test questions were much more academic in nature (Richardson, 2000). He tested "general knowledge, memory, imagination, attention, comprehension of sentences and synonyms, aesthetic judgments, moral judgements, and so on" (Richardson, 2000, p. 28).

David Wechsler is best known for his creation of a standardized intelligence scale that gives a numerical score for intelligence, or "Intelligence Quotient" (IQ) (McCown et al., 1996, p. 139). According to McCown et al. (1996), the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children (WISC-III) is "one of the most respected IQ tests for children" and is still in use today (p. 140). According to Stanley Webster (1958), Wechsler subscribes to a view of intelligence as a general ability. According to Webster (1958), Wechsler saw his IQ score as an accurate representation of overall intelligence, "Wechsler presents and expostulates on his theory of multiple intelligence as being the end-product of a multitude of 'interacting abilities'" (p. 362). Wechsler designed a test for adults, called the Wechsler-Bellevue Intelligence Scale in 1939, and an intelligence test for children, called the Wechsler Intelligence Scale

for Children (WISC), in 1949 (Steve Edelmen, 1996). According to Wecshler (1958), the original Wechsler-Bellevue Scale includes 11 tests: 6 verbal and 5 non-verbal:

> (1) an information test, (2) a general comprehension test, (3) a memory span test (digits forward and backward), (4) an arithmetical reasoning test, (5) a similarities test, (6) a vocabulary test, (7) a picture arrangement test, (8) a picture completion test, (9) a block design test, (10) an object assembly test and (11) a digit symbol test. The grouping of the subtests into Verbal (1-6) and Performance (7-11) (pp. 63-4).

The Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children, is similar to the test for adults; "most of the items represented a downward extension of the Wechsler-Bellevue Intelligence Scale, Form II" (Edelmen, 1996, p. 1).

> Wechsler (1958) designed his test to measure what an "average person" should know. Wechsler (1958) described his intelligence test as follows:

> In general, the items should call for the sort of knowledge that an average individual with average opportunity may be able to acquire for himself. Thus, "What is the height of the average American woman?" is a much better question than "What state produces the most gold?"; "How far is it from New York to Paris?" much better than "What is the distance from the earth to the sun?" (pp. 65-6).

As these tests were written by White, middle class men, their opinions on the knowledge of an *"average person"* are based on their White, male, middle-class experience.

If the IQ test just gave people scores and they shared it with friends at a party, this study would end here. In reality IQ tests have been used for a variety of purposes in society, both historically and today (Richardson, 2000). Ironically, Sir Francis Galton's 1869 vision of using intelligence tests to show the superiority of upper class people, is exactly how David Wechsler's IQ tests have been used. At times, IQ tests have been used to justify even darker actions.

Historical, racist implications of intelligence testing. Society's use of intelligence tests has at times been classist, racist and, at times, even morally bankrupt. The results of IQ tests have been used to exclude immigration and sterilize segments of the population (Richardson, 2000). Fueled by anti-immigrant sentiment, in the early 1900s, Henry H. Goddard started testing immigrants at Ellis Island (Richardson, 2000). Based on his research Goddard claimed, that "87 percent of Hungarians, 79 percent of Italians, and 87 percent of Russians were feeble-minded" (Richardson, 2000, p. 30). In 1924, new immigration limits were set in the United States (Richardson, 2000). Following this trend, certain states in the United States began to sterilize those who were considered "feeble-minded" (Richardson, 2000, p. 30). By the time the campaign was over, tens of thousands of people were sterilized (Richardson, 2000).

While many have incorrectly blamed Alfred Binet for these results, Binet never thought intelligence was as simple as a score that was unchangeable (Bill Lucas & Guy Claxton, 2010). Alfred Binet believed:

Some recent philosophers have given their moral approval to the deplorable verdict that an individual's intelligence is a fixed quantity, one which cannot be augmented. We must protest and act against this brutal pessimism . . . it has

no foundation whatsoever . . . What [slow learners] should learn first is not the subjects ordinarily taught, however important they may be; they should be given lessons of will, of attention, of discipline; before exercises in grammar, they need to be exercised in mental orthopedics; in a word, they must learn how to learn. (as cited in Lucas & Claxton, 2010, p. 33).

When Alfred Binet developed his intelligence test, he wanted to identify which students in Paris's school system needed extra help (Lucas & Claxton, 2010). Surely, he never wanted his tests to be used to justify immigration limits and sterilization. If society misuses testing to rationalize unjust practices, it can be tragic.

Years later, in 1976, researchers Janet B. Hardy, Doris W. Welcher, E. David Mellits and Jerome Kagan reviewed the validity of the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children (WISC) (p. 43) and found some serious issues, especially when testing children who are not middle class. Hardy et al. (1976) re-administered parts of the WISC to 200 "inner-city" Baltimore children ages 6 years 10 months, to 7 years 3 months and asked follow-up questions to determine the thinking behind any incorrect answers (pp. 44-45).

One question on the WISC Information Subtest revealed understandable linguistic confusion, tied to socio-economic status of the participants (Hardy et al., 1976). When students were asked:

"What must you do to make water boil?"…47 of the 200 children made errors…Simple rephrasing of the question to "How do you boil water?" promptly elicited a correct response: "Put it in a pot and put it on the fire." After the probing questions, only 17 of the 200 children continued to obtain no credit (Hardy et al., 1976, p. 47).

Here it is clear that the formal phrasing in the original question masked the comprehension of 30 of the children (Hardy et al., 1976). The children understood the concept, but the wording was confusing (Hardy et al., 1976). It begs the question, how many other questions are children getting wrong, because of the formal language used to administer the test?

Another question on the WISC Comprehension Subtest revealed a lack of flexibility in scoring that affected how many points children earned (Hardy et al., 1976). When children were asked question 3:

> "What would you do if you were sent to buy a loaf of bread, and the grocer said he did not have any more?" Initially, 134 children gave the correct 2-point response, "Go to another store" (Hardy et al., 1976, p. 48).

Anyone who has worked with children knows they are very creative in their responses and may find many different solutions to this problem, which is exactly what Hardy et al. (1976) found. Some children replied they would "go home" and upon further questioning, they informed the test administrator that they needed parental permission to go to a different store (Hardy et al., 1976, pp. 48-49). One interesting discovery was "a few said their mother would bake bread" (Hardy et al. 1976, p. 49). We have to question the validity of a test where "going to another store" is the only correct response to a problem that has many intelligent solutions.

Edelmen (1996) points to revisions being made to the original WISC test in order to correct for gender and racial bias. The revisions seem to correct many of the issues raised in Hardy et al.'s study. According to Edelmen (1996):

The WISC was revised in 1974, with a resulting enhancement of individual

subtest reliability. Wechsler discarded those WISC items that were deemed to

be ambiguous, obsolete, or unfair to specific groups of children. The Wechsler

Intelligence Scale for Children-Revised (WISC-R) included more pictures of

women and African Americans on the Picture Completion subtest (p. 1).

Despite the revisions to the WISC test, Edelman (1996) explains the importance of

using follow-up questions while administering the test. Edelmen (1996) describes test

administration as a "skill and art" (p. 2). For example, when children looked at a

quarter and said, "25 cents," Edelmen (1996) will follow with the question, "what is

the name of this coin?" (p. 3)

While the WISC test is still administered by many professionals, perhaps the

most common standardized test in the United States is the SAT, the Scholastic

Assessment Test, which students often take as part of their entrance requirements for

college. Howard Gardner (1999/2000) points out the similarities between the

intelligence tests and other standardized tests:

Since Galton's time, countless people have avidly pursued the best ways of

defining, measuring, and nurturing intelligence. Intelligence tests represent but

the tip of the cognitive iceberg. In the United States, tests such as the

Scholastic Assessment Test, the Miller Analogies Test, and the various

primary, secondary, graduate, and professional examinations are all based on

technology originally developed to test intelligence" (p. 3).

Indeed, the very existence of the achievement gap is based on the use of standardized

tests. Individual teachers will unlikely be able to change standardized testing trends.

As students take many state mandated standardized tests and standardized tests as part

of entrance requirements for college, we cannot forget the important role they play in formal schooling. Educators need to both help students to get high scores on these tests, and realize that these tests do not fully celebrate the brilliance of the children in our classroom. Gardner (1999/2000) offers an alternate view of intelligence that celebrates human brilliance and beautifully complements warm demander pedagogy and culturally responsive teaching (Irvine & Armento, 2001).

Howard Gardner and multiple intelligences. While Wechsler defines intelligence as a "single mental capacity" (McCown et al, 1996, p. 139), Gardner believes each individual has "multiple intelligences" (Checkly, 1997, p. 12). Gardner has identified eight forms of intelligence: linguistic, logical-mathematical, spatial, bodily kinesthetic, musical, interpersonal, intrapersonal, and naturalist (Checkley, 1997, p. 12). The variety in human intelligence comes from each person's own strengths and weaknesses in these eight intelligences, "the ways in which intelligences combine and blend are as varied as the faces and personalities of individuals." (Blythe & Gardner, 1990, p. 33)

Gardner (1999/ 2000) developed his theory of multiple intelligences while working with stroke victims and "ordinary and gifted" children (pp. 29-31). By studying victims of strokes and other brain damage, Gardner (1999/2000) was able to see the effects of brain injuries to different areas of the brain relating to "speaking, comprehending, reading…writing…spatial orientation, singing a tune, or relating properly to other people" (p. 31). Gardner (1999/2000) recounts:

The daily opportunity to work with children and with brain-damaged adults impressed me with one brute fact of human nature: People have a wide range

of capacities. A person's strength in one area of performance simply does not predict any comparable strengths in other areas (p. 31).

While Blythe and Gardner (1990) argue that schools reward students who are strong in "linguistic and logical-mathematical" thinking, they believe schools need to include all eight intelligences in instruction (p. 33). *Linguistic Intelligence* is the ability to master one or more languages in written and/or spoken form (Gardner, 2011). People who exhibit strong linguistic intelligence have a good foundation of semantics, the meaning of words, syntax, the rules and order in language, phonology, sound of words and the "pragmatic functions, the uses to which language can be put" (Gardner, 2011, p. 81).

Logical Mathematical Intelligence is characterized by the ability to "use logical, mathematical, and scientific thought" (Gardner, 2011, p. 136). Scientists and mathematicians have highly developed logical-mathematical intelligence (Checkley, 1997).

Spatial Intelligence refers to the, "capacities to perceive the visual world accurately, to perform transformations and modifications upon one's initial perceptions, and to be able to re-create aspects of one's visual experience, even in the absence of relevant physical stimuli" (Gardner, 2011, p. 183). Sailors, pilots, chess players, and sculptors use spatial intelligence in the performing of professional tasks (Checkley, 1997). Spatial intelligence is also helpful for everyday tasks, such as parallel parking a car in a tight spot or loading the dishwasher to maximum capacity.

Bodily-Kinesthetic Intelligence refers to the ability to use fine motor or gross motor skills to accomplish a task (Checkley, 1997). Athletes, artisans, actors,

instrumentalists and builders all use bodily-kinesthetic intelligence (Checkley, 1997; Gardner, 2011).

Individuals who have strong *Musical Intelligence* have, "skill in the performance, composition, and appreciation of musical patterns" (Gardner, 2000, p. 42). They have good pitch, rhythm and timbre (Gardner, 2011).

Interpersonal and *Intrapersonal Intelligence* both refer to social intelligences with people (Gardner, 2000). Interpersonal intelligence is the capacity to work well with others and read their feelings and motivations (Checkley, 1997). A person needs to have high interpersonal intelligence in the professions of "teacher, clinician, salesperson and politician" (Checkley, 1997, p. 12). Intrapersonal intelligence is having a good understanding of one's own feelings and thoughts, "to have an effective working model of oneself— including one's own desires, fears, and capacities— and to use such information effectively in regulating one's own life" (Gardner, 2000, p. 43).

Gardner has recently added an eighth intelligence, that of *Naturalist Intelligence* (Checkley, 1997). Someone exhibiting natural intelligence is able to, "recognize patterns in nature and classify objects" (Checkley, 1997, p. 8). This intelligence has been essential throughout human evolution (Checkley, 1997). It has enabled humans to feed themselves, while avoiding poisonous plants and dangerous animals (Checkley, 1997). Gardner asserts that all human beings have all eight of these intelligences, with strengths and weaknesses in each intelligence (Blythe & Gardner, 1990). Teachers can use their knowledge of these intelligences to craft learning experiences in the classroom that build on these different strengths (Checkley, 1997).

When we adjust our thinking from an IQ test and formal schooling that often celebrates "linguistic and logical-mathematical" (Blythe & Gardner, 1990, p. 33) and instead search for Gardner's eight intelligences, we are more able to see the gifts of every child in the classroom. As Marx Wartosfsky so beautifully states about education and human potential:

> The child's capacity for learning, discovering, imagining, and finding out is much richer and more complex than any matrix the adult world can articulate for what has to be learned and what can be taught…The child's construction proceeds from the one feature essential to cognitive development: freedom to learn, which in turn presupposes no upper bound on what can be learned. (as cited in Espinoza, 2014, p. 288)

As we imagine schools based on Gardner's view of multiple intelligences, we imagine schools filled with laughter, creativity, and discovery. These are the types of schools all children deserve. And yet, these are not the kind of schools all children currently attend, or have had access to in the past. Indeed, as we study America's history of public education, we immediately come across the American Government's active, sometimes violent, role in denying African American's any kind of schooling. In the face of enormous resistance, African American's fought to for educational rights and created a school system for their own community.

The History of African American Education in the Midst of Systemic Racism

Historical, generational explanations for an African American achievement gap are easy to find. African American communities have been fighting since the beginning of this country for the right to an education (Perry, 2003). This fight has spanned generations: from the time of slavery, after emancipation, during the civil

rights movement, and today (Espinoza & Vossoughi, 2014). African Americans have fought for every incremental improvement in education for their children. The Supreme Court has both helped and hindered the African American struggle for educational rights and funding. The African American community did not wait for the courts to sanction education ; they have built schools and trained teachers for African American children (Sambol-Tosco, 2004). Ladson-Billing (2006a) challenges us to think about the achievement gap differently, "the focus on the gap is misplaced. Instead we need to look at the 'education debt' that has accumulated over time. This debt comprises historical, economic, sociopolitical, and moral components" (p. 3).

During slavery, it was dangerous and often illegal for African Americans to learn how to read and write (Perry, 2003). Perry (2003) explains the danger slaves were under, when they dared to learn to read and write:

> Law and custom made it a crime for enslaved men and women to learn or teach others to read and write. And yet slave narratives uniformly recount the intensity of the slaves' and ex-slaves' desire for literacy, the barriers they encountered in becoming literate, and what they were willing to endure in order to become literate. Even the threat of beating, amputation, or death did not quell the slaves' desire for literacy (p. 13).

Amidst this constant threat of violence, slaves heroically found ways to literacy (Espinoza & Vossoughi, 2014). Michele Foster (1997) recounts the common ways slaves and ex-slaves learned how to read and write:

> Some were taught by sympathetic Whites; others learned alongside their master's children. But a significant number were taught by free Blacks or by slaves who were literate themselves. Well regarded and respected, these Black

teachers understood both the power and danger associated with literacy (p. XXIV)

While the narrative in many movies is of the "kind" White mistress teaching slaves to learn how to read and write, it is important to realize that this was a skill often shared between African Americans, within the African American community (Foster, 1997).

Literacy for slaves and ex-slaves fulfilled many needs (Espinoza & Vossoughi, 2014; Perry, 2003). Perry (2003) argues, "for the slaves, literacy was more than a symbol of freedom; it *was* freedom. It affirmed their humanity, their personhood" (p. 13). Espinoza and Vossoughi (2014) assert that the African American community's struggle for literacy was about seeking, "educational rights" with "social interactional" and "dignitarian origins" (p. 287). Literacy for slaves was also profoundly practical (Espinoza & Vossoughi, 2014). Reading and writing allowed slaves to read newspapers, read the bible, plan rebellions, forge passes to escape, and learn of wars (Perry, 2003) In addition, slave narratives helped slaves communicate their experiences to the wider community and fuel the abolitionist movement (Espinoza & Vossoughi, 2014). Espinoza and Vossoughi (2014) paraphrase Starling who explains, "[e]numerated at more than six thousand stories and over one hundred book-length chronicles created between the 1700s and the 1940s, the African slave narratives are no meager corpus of information" (p. 294).

Espinoza and Vossoughi (2014) offer a word of caution, as we celebrate the collective success of many slaves toward literacy, we need to remember those who never learned to read. Espinoza and Vossoughi (2014) paraphrase the poet Czeslaw Milosz who stated:

what strengthened some slaves was lethal for others. While our thesis rests on the ways educational negations were collectively overcome, the horrifying character of bondage compels us to contemplate the millions of slave narratives that were never written (p. 296).

After slavery was dismantled, after the American Civil War, "the terror of slavery gave way to the torment of caste and constitutionally permissible segregation" (Espinoza & Vossoughi, 2014, p. 299). During this time, emancipated African Americans worked to set up schools and colleges for African American children, "despite segregation, intimidation, and violent opposition" (Sambol-Tosco, 2004, p. 2). In 1896, the Federal government crystalized this racial segregation into law, with the ruling of the Supreme Court ruling *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896).

Plessy v. Ferguson **(1896).** The Supreme Court case *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) offers a window into America's past attitudes and policy on racial segregation in the late 1800s (Tate, Ladson-Billing & Grant, 1993). Homer Plessy, an African American man, was arrested in New Orleans, Louisiana for buying a ticket and boarding a first-class "Whites only" train car (Tate et al., 1993, p. 258). Homer Plessy's actions were deliberate, protesting the Jim Crow laws that were common in southern states at the time (Tate et al., 1993). In *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), the Supreme Court handed down a decision that "separate but equal" was constitutional (Jon Crawford & Linda O'Neill, 2011, p. 507). In the decision *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), American public schools were cited in support of a "separate but equal" doctrine:

> We cannot say that a law which authorizes or even requires the separation of the two races in public conveyances is unreasonable, or more obnoxious to the

Fourteenth Amendment than the acts of Congress requiring separate schools

for colored children in the District of Columbia, the constitutionality of which

does not seem to have been questioned, or the corresponding acts of state

legislatures. (as cited in Crawford & O'Neill, 2011, p. 508)

Tate et al. (1993) deem the decision in Plessy v. Ferguson to be a "good

cultural fit" with the racial actions and attitudes of the time (p. 258). Carson, Garrow,

Harding, and Hine depict the racial attitudes of the time by listing a few telling

historical events:

Racial and voter violence in Louisiana, the Coushatta Massacre of more than

60 African Americans, also in Louisiana, the refusal of the U.S. attorney

general to send troops to Mississippi to protect African-American voters, the

enactment of the first Jim Crow law, segregated railroad cars in Tennessee,

and the repeal of the Civil Rights Act of 1875 that had given African-

Americans equal access to public accommodations and public amusement (as

cited in Tate et al., 1993, p. 258).

Separate and unequal facilities, including public schools, continued in much of the

United States, until the civil rights movement started gaining momentum and laws

began to change (Crawford & O'Neill, 2011).

Years later, at the beginning of the civil rights movement, influential cases

started chipping away at Plessy v. Ferguson's (1896) claim that "separate" can be

"equal." Espinoza and Vossoughi (2014) summarize the legal strategy of the "legal

defense arm" of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

(NAACP) to show how "the subjective experiences of segregation became legal

evidence for rights claims" (p. 300). Espinoza and Vossoughi (2014) illustrate the

social effects, moral effects, and loss of dignity of a segregated educational system with three plaintiffs' experiences in three separate Supreme Court cases: Ada Louis Sipuel Fisher in *Sipuel v. Board of Regents of Oklahoma* (1948), George McLaurin in *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State of Regents* (1950), and Heman Marion Sweatt in *Sweatt v. Painter,* (1950). Espinoza and Vossoughi (2014) tell of the "aloneness" of Ada Louis Fisher who had to sit in the "colored" chair at the back of class in the University of Oklahoma School of Law, in 1949 (pp. 300-301); the "just outside" of the classroom seating of George McLaurin, where he felt humiliated and could barely see the chalk board, in 1948 (pp. 301-303); and the "refusal" of Heman Marion Sweatt to accept a "collection of rooms…located in a petroleum engineering office" as segregated replacement for the University of Texas Law School at Austin, in 1949 (pp. 303-306). While these cases opened the door to school integration, *Brown v. the Board of Education* (1954) would fling the door wide open!

    ***Brown v. Board of Education* (1954).** The civil rights movement ushered in the beginning of a new social conscience in America and many law reforms. A landmark victory in the civil rights movement, the Supreme Court case of *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) stated quite simply that the "separate but equal" doctrine adopted in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) has no place in the field of public education.

    Brown v. Board of Education (1954) would forever change American's laws on education; and, for a time, have large impacts on the desegregation of America's schools (Eaton & Rivkin, 2010). Rist explains how the Supreme Court ruling of *Brown* would reverse the ruling of Plessy, by declaring that:

    Today, [education] is a principal instrument in awakening the child to cultural

        values, in preparing him for later professional training, and in helping him to

adjust normally to his environment. In these days, it is doubtful that any child

may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity

of an education. Such an opportunity, where the state has undertaken to

provide it, is a right to which must be made available to all on equal terms. (As

cited in Tate et al., 1993, p. 259).

Brown (1954), *The Civil Rights Act* (1964), and federal programs all helped

improve racial integration and equalize school funding (Tate et al., 1993; Harris et al.,

2006). Unfortunately, *Brown* (1954) did not succeed in desegregating all schools

across the country: Tate et al. (1993) argued that the, "de jure or (state-supported dual

systems segregation of the South were changed; by contrast the de facto (after the

fact, by virtue of the housing patterns) segregation of the North was barely affected by

this legislation." (p. 260). McNeal (2009) summarized Orfield and Lee's

characterization of the power of *The Civil Rights Act* (1964): The Civil Rights Act

(1964) gave the courts the legal "teeth" to force desegregation measures, put forth in

Brown (1954):

> Meaningful school desegregation did not begin to occur until after the
>
> enactment of the 1964 *Civil Rights Act* under the Johnson administration,
>
> because it provided an effective enforcement tool through the denial of federal
>
> funds and the active pursuit of lawsuits against school districts that continued
>
> to intentionally segregate by race. (p. 566)

Federal programs in the years following *The Civil Rights Act* (1964) would help

further equalize federal education spending for African American students (Harris &

Herrington, 2006).

In 1966, James Coleman published a report for the U. S. Congress, *Equality of Opportunity*, which would inform the use significant federal resources in the Great Society's War on Poverty programs (Ream, Ryan, & Espinoza, 2012). In his report, Coleman documented the differences between different races/ethnicities on standardized tests and concluded that the disparities in funding between many African American and European American schools did not explain the majority of the measured achievement gap (Ream et al. 2012, p. 37). Ream et al. (2012) credit Coleman with publishing the first large study on the equity of student achievement, while previous researchers tended to focus on the equity of school resources (p. 37) Thus the achievement gap debate was born!

Discussions around educational equity have pivoted from a discussion of equality of resources, during Brown (1954) (Tate et al., 1993), to a discussion of educational outcomes, with the achievement gap. Ream et al. (2012) describe the combination of policy reforms that led to the best reduction of the achievement gap in recent history:

> The combined effects of desegregation efforts and the War on Poverty were transformative at first: school desegregation in the wake of the *Civil Rights Act* (1964) combined with the Great Society's War on Poverty programs (including Head Start, compensatory Title I funding, the Safe Streets Act, the Economic Opportunity Act, and the Model Cities program) helped reduce glaring resource inequities and coincided with nearly twenty years of stead and substantial progress in reducing both the Black-White and Hispanic-White test-score gaps since 1971 (p. 37).

Even as we discuss the achievement gap, current researchers have not forgotten the benefits and challenges of desegregation. Effective desegregation efforts would look very different from those in the 1950s, given the changes in U.S. demographics. Even from the passage of the *Civil Rights Act* (1964) until today, the racial make-up of America's public school population has been going through a "rapid transformation" (Orfield, Frankenberg, & Lee, 2002/2003, p. 16). In any case, Orfield at al. (2002/2003) report that "in 1968, four out of every five students were White" (p. 16). In 2002, the Hispanic public school student population was 16.3 %, African American students accounted for 17.1 %, Asian American students accounted for 4.1 %, and Native American students accounted for slightly more than 1 % (Orfield et al., 2002/2003). Orfield et al. (2002/2003) report that despite these major increases in the populations of minority students, America was the most racially integrated from "the beginning of the 1960s until the late 1980s" (pp.17-18). Orfield et al. (2002/2003) predict that these population trends will continue. Taking into account these new demographics, desegregation strategies need to change from those employed in the 1960s (Orfield et al., 2002/2003).

As many prominent educational researchers have noted, since the late 1980s we have been going through a rapid resegregation (Kozol, 2005; Orfield & Lee, 2007; Smith, 2004). Orfield and Lee (2007) point to the numerous Supreme Court decisions following *Brown* which have significantly limited the power of school districts to work towards desegregation. These three important Supreme Court cases, in the years between 1991-1995, are often referred to as the "Resegregation Trilogy" (Crawford & O'Neill, 2011, p. 513). Eaton and Rivken (2010) argue that, "the rollback started with *Miliken v. Bradley* decision in 1974, which prohibited the incorporation of suburbs into urban desegregation plans" (p. 51). The first case in the Resegregation Trilogy

was *Board v. Dowell*, 1991, where the Supreme Court ruled that "federal oversight [of desegregation decrees] should be temporary." (Crawford & O'Neill, 2011, p. 514). Next, in *Freeman v. Pitts* (1992) the Supreme Court ruled that lower courts could release school districts from the elements of the desegregation decrees that they had remedied, even if all elements of the desegregation decree were not fulfilled (Crawford & O'Neill, 2011, p. 515). Finally, in *Missouri v. Jenkins* (1995), The Supreme Court ruled that:

> The district court had exceeded its authority [in granting salary increases to the majority of instructional and non-instructional employees; and denied partial unitary status to the district based on standardized test scores] and directed the district the district court to remember the overarching goal was to return control of the Kansas City schools to "state and local authorities" (as cited in Crawford & O'Neill, 2011, p. 515).

Crawford & O'Neill (2011) explain that "a school district is deemed to have achieved unitary status when the vestiges of prior discrimination have been eliminated and the school district operates a nonsegregated system for the period of several years." (p. 514). This "Resegregation Trilogy" (Crawford & O'Neill, 2011, p. 513) of Supreme Court cases show a clear change in how courts enforce desegregation efforts, compared with *Brown* (1954) and *The Civil Rights Act* (1964). The pendulum has swung even further away from *Brown*, with *Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District* (*2007)* (Orfield, Frankenberg & Garces, 2008)

In *Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District* (*2007)* which is not considered part of the "Resegregation Trilogy" the Supreme Court makes it very difficult for school districts that want to racially integrate (Orfield et al., 2008).

In *Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District* (*2007)*, the Supreme Court struck down both Seattle and Louisville's voluntary "race-conscious" desegregation plans (Seattle and Louisville's cases were combined in this ruling) (Orfield et al., 2008, p. 96). The implications for further desegregation efforts are that schools can no longer, as written in *Parents Involved* (*2007)* decision, "classify students by race and rely upon that classification in making school assignments" (as cited in Crawford & O'Neill, 2011, p. 517). Now school districts are prohibited from using race as a factor in school placements, making it almost impossible to racially desegregate schools (Crawford & O'Neill, 2011). With the changing racial demographics of America and recent Supreme Court decisions, integration in the 1960s and today would look very different.

While changing the racial make-up of each classroom is still of vital importance, to a vibrant educational system and democracy, we cannot forget to address the quality of the education each student receives. As McNeal (2009) states:

> It must be remembered that because the fight for integrated public schools was designed to provide Black children with the same quality of education as their White peers, integrated schooling per se was merely a means toward that end, quality education (p. 572).

While many history textbooks detail the successes of *Brown* (1954) and *The Civil Rights Act* (1964), one seldom reads about the large-scale firings of African American educators following *Brown* (Hudson & Holmes, 1994). When African American educators lost their jobs, African American students lost some of their strongest advocates, effective teachers, and powerful role models (Hudson & Holmes, 1994).

The dramatic loss of African American educators directly following

Brown. Following *Brown*, the majority of African American segregated schools in the south were closed, tens of thousands of African American teachers were fired, African American school communities were dramatically changed, and the collective experiences of African American students and teachers in integrated schools has largely been ignored (Foster, 1997; Hudson & Holmes, 1994; Tillman, 2004). As Cohen declares that while *Brown* "remains the most important legal decision of the 20th century, perhaps of all time" (as cited in Tillman, 2004, p. 300) "there were (un)intended and (un)anticipated consequences for African Americans" (Tillman, 2004, p. 300). The numbers of African American educators have been declining ever since (Hudson & Holmes, 1994).

Following the Brown decision, when southern school districts were forced to integrate, they typically closed African American schools (Green, 2004; Hudson & Holmes, 1994; Tillman, 2004). Edgar Epps reported that "desegregation, especially in the South, was achieved largely by closing Black schools and busing the students to predominantly White schools" (as cited in Green, 2004, p. 275). Many researchers agree that many African American segregated schools' facilities were inferior to schools attended by predominantly European American students (Foster, 1997; Hudson and Holmes, 1994). Foster (1997), in her case study of skilled African American teachers explains :

> Many of the Southern schools where Black teachers taught were dilapidated; supplies were limited, and books discarded from White schools were sent to Black schoolchildren. Bernadine Morris describes one such school in Hampton, Virginia: "In one of the all-Black schools where I taught whenever

the temperature dropped below thirty degrees or thirty-two degrees, we were cold. There were times when the principal had to move, us from one side of the building and double-up classes because it was so cold. How can you teach in a doubled-up situation?" (p. XXXII)

Delpit (1997) reminds us that the reason the African American community fought for desegregation in the first place was to help gain educational resources for African American students (p. IX).

While many experts agree that the buildings and resources of African American schools were inferior, it is truly tragic that African American teachers began to be seen as inferior as well (Green, 2004; Tillman, 2004). Foster (1997) summarizes the writing of Nick Aaron Ford, who points to the cultural deficit wording in the *Brown* decision itself:

"Part of the problem lay in the *Brown* decision, which rested on the assumption that a school with an all-Black faculty did not provide an education equal to that provided by an all-White faculty even if the buildings and equipment were superior (p. XXXV).

Green (2004) notes that in the *Brown* decision:

The prevailing response by the Courts was that separate schools were obviously inferior not by virtue of the dominant group's purposeful subordination of the minority group, but rather, because the subordinated group was somehow inadequate since Blacks only interacted with other Blacks p. 272).

Decades earlier, in two articles written in the 1920s and 1944, W.E.B. du Bois was already writing about the difficulty of fighting for African American education rights, without attacking African American teachers (Foster, 1997). Foster (1997) summarizes W. E. B. du Bois's thinking on the dilemma of simultaneously "attack[ing] segregated public schools while at the same time trying to honor and appreciate Black teachers" (p. XXVII).

In actuality, the African American teachers that were fired during desegregation were often more experienced and educated than the White faculty that replaced them (Tillman, 2004). According to Orfield, "a small town in Florida fired all of its Black teachers (even though some of the teachers held master's degrees) and the less qualified White teachers retained their jobs" (as cited in Tillman, 2004, p. 287). African American schools were inferior only in material resources and infrastructure (Tillman, 2004).

During integration, when previously segregated African America schools in the south were closed, African American students were reassigned to new schools and tens of thousands of African American educators were fired (Tillman, 2004). Tens of thousands of African American teachers and administrators were fired (Green, 2004; Hudson & Holmes, 1994; Tillman, 2004). Tillman (2004) summarizes Orfield's findings that African American teachers were not considered "when the 1966 Guidelines for Desegregation of Schools were drafted" (p. 287). The widespread firing of African American teachers, principals and superintendents has had far reaching effects on the African American community and the education of African American students (Foster, 1997; Green, 2004; Hudson & Holmes, 1994). Tillman asserts that "the loss of jobs by African American educators after *Brown* affected the

African American community culturally, socially, economically, and academically"
(2004, p. 298).

African American teachers were fired for different reasons, but racism was the real reason (Tillman, 2004). African American teachers were fired when: segregated schools closed, for membership in organizations such as the NAACP and the Urban League, for participation in Voter drives, and even for being registered to vote (Tillman, 2004). Tillman (2004), explains, "States and school districts also "revok[ed] their teaching licenses, eliminat[ed] college and university teacher education certification programs, and evaluat[ed] Black teachers based on standardized tests" (p. 297). Ethridge puts forth "five factors" to explain a "domino effect" of events that lead to the nearly wholesale firings of African American teachers after *Brown*:

> Judges were confronted with the question of inferior schools, and thus Black teachers were perceived to be inferior; judges were reluctant to interfere with segregated policies and practices of local school boards; the courts had no experience responding to the kind of massive resistance to the Brown mandate to desegregate elementary and secondary schools; there was a lack of monitoring and a lack of effective data collection after the court orders; and Brown was more of a civil rights decision than an education decision (as cited in Tillman, 2004, p. 285).

The scale of the loss of African American educators can be best understood from an examination of the data shown in Table 1: The Loss of African American Teachers Following Brown v. Board of Education.

Table 1

The Loss of African American Teachers Following Brown v. Board of Education: A

Snapshot

- Pre-1954:   Approximately 82,000 African American teachers were responsible for the education of 2 million African American children.

- 1954: The Brown v. Board of Education decision was handed down.

- 1954-1965: More than 38,000 African American teachers and administrators in 17 southern and border states lose their jobs.

- 1975-1985: The number of African American students majoring in education declined by 66%

- 1984-1989: An estimated 37,717 minority candidates and teachers – including 21,515 African Americans – were eliminated as a result of newly installed teacher certification and teacher education program admissions requirements.

- By 2000: Only 5% of the teaching force will be of minority background, while 35% of the student population will be people of color

Source: Hudson & Holmes (1994, p. 38)

When African American educators were fired, African American students lost

teachers who were personally invested in their African American students' success.

King (1993) explains that African American teachers brought with them "unique

strengths" and "pedagogy," but they also served as "role models, surrogate parents,

disciplinarians, counselors, and advocates for African American students" (as cited in

Hudson & Holmes, 1994, p. 389). African American teachers also had high

expectations for their African American students (Green, 2004). While the quality of

African American students' educational experiences are harder to measure, we do

have some data on some disturbing educational trends (Hudson & Holmes, 1994).

In some cases, integration may have led to improved funding for African

American students, but educational outcomes for African American students did not always improve (Hudson & Holmes, 1994). Barbara Holmes points to the educational trends, post-1954, including "problems of low self-esteem, decreasing aspirations, ability grouping and tracking, assignments to educable mentally retarded classes and other systematic victimizations of Black youngsters developed" (as cited in Hudson and Holmes, 1994, p. 390). When African American teachers were fired, they were often replaced by White teachers (Hudson & Holmes, 1994). White teachers did not always have high expectations for their African American students:

> The loss of African American teachers in the post-Brown era engendered the rise of a number of troubling questions concerning the intellectual capacity of African American children. There emerged the widespread belief among Black students' new White teachers that they could not learn, and that, if they did learn, they could never master critical thinking skills (Hudson & Holmes, 1994, p. 390).

The resegregation of American public schools and the "Whitening" of the teaching force increase the chances that students of color will be taught "cross-racially" (Hudson & Holmes, 1994, p. 389). There are two obvious remedies: 1) more teachers of color need to be hired (Tillman, 2004) and 2) White teachers need to learn more about how to be effective teachers to students from different racial backgrounds than their own (Kleinfeld, 1975; Ladson-Billings, 1994). King suggests:

> The research on the importance of African American teachers, including the many manifestations of an African American teaching philosophy and pedagogy and the multifaceted roles of African American teachers, points to the need for empirical explorations of the potential benefits of an expanded

presence of African American teachers for all students (as cited in Hudson and

Holmes, 1994, p. 392).

All students benefit from a diverse teaching force that use a wide variety of

communication styles, have diverse views and different pedagogy preferences.

When the teaching force lost a large percentage of African American teachers,

African American students lost advocates and role models (Hudson & Holmes, 1994).

In addition, African American teachers were able to draw on their shared culture to

connect with African American students (Ford & Sassi, 2014; Irvine & Fraser, 1998).

By studying some of the most effective teachers of African American students,

scholars have developed two pedagogies: warm demander pedagogy (Delpit, 2012a;

Kleinfeld, 1975) and culturally responsive teaching (Irvine & Armento, 2001). While

research around warm demander pedagogy and culturally responsive teaching often

centers around effective teachers of color, both of these pedagogies can be adopted by

teachers from any background (Delpit, 2012a)

Culturally Responsive Teaching and Warm Demander Pedagogy

Both culturally responsive teaching and warm demander pedagogy propose

that some of the achievement gap can be explained by the cultural mismatch between

school and home, for low income students and students of color (Delpit, 2012a;

Kleinfeld, 1975; Ladson-Billings, 1994). Culturally responsive teaching and warm

demander pedagogy offer guides for how to change social curriculum and academic

curriculum to help both of these groups of students succeed (Delpit, 2012a; Kleinfeld,

1975; Ladson-Billings, 1994). Ladson-Billings (1994) defines culturally responsive

teaching as "a pedagogy that empowers students intellectually, socially, emotionally,

and politically by using cultural referents to impart knowledge, skills and attitudes"

(p. 18). The term "warm demander" was first used by Judith Kleinfeld (1975) in her study of effective teachers of "rural Athabascan Indian and Eskimo students" (p. 301), and refers to teachers who use "personal warmth" and "active demandingness;" (p. 326) "*after* personal rapport had been established – they demand a high level of academic work" (pp. 326-327). James A. Banks (2000), credits "Kathryn Au, Roland G. Tharp, A. Wade Boykin, Sonia Nieto, Lisa Delpit, Jacqueline Irvine, and Gloria Ladson-Billings [and Geneva Gay]" with the development of "culturally responsive pedagogy" (p. ix). Irvine and Armento (2001) inform us culturally responsive teaching has many names:

> The term *culturally responsive pedagogy* is used interchangeably with several terms such as culturally responsible, culturally appropriate, culturally congruent, culturally compatible, culturally relevant, and multicultural. (p. 4)

For clarity, this literature review will continue with the terms culturally responsive teaching and warm demander pedagogy.

Culturally responsive teaching and warm demander pedagogy are very similar, but culturally responsive teaching offers more guidance around academic curriculum and warm demander pedagogy offers more guidance around social curriculum. Culturally responsive teaching and warm demander pedagogy both describe three things: teacher's beliefs about self and students, how teacher's structure student/teacher interactions, and how teachers approach curriculum (Delpit, 2012a; Irvine & Armento, 2001; Kleinfeld, 1975; Ladson-Billings, 1994). Ladson-Billings (1994) describes culturally responsive teaching in terms of "how such teachers see themselves and others" (1994, p. 26), which is similar to warm demanders' "beliefs about students" (Ware, 2006, p. 441) and "Cultural/Racial Identity" (Ware, 2006, p.

449). Ladson-Billings (1994) also describes "how [teachers who use culturally responsive teaching] structure social interactions" (p. 26) which can be compared with warm demanders as "caregivers" (Ware, 2006, p. 440) and "Warm Demanders as Authority Figures and Disciplinarians" (Ware, 2006, p. 436). Finally, Ladson-Billings (1994) describes how teachers who use culturally responsive teaching "conceive of knowledge" (1994, p. 26), which is similar to "Warm Demanders as Pedagogues" (Ware, 2006, p. 446). While culturally responsive teaching is more explicit when outlining curricular modifications and specific lesson elements for teachers; warm demander pedagogy is more explicit about how teachers should approach classroom interactions.

Culturally responsive teaching and academic curriculum. Irvine and Armento (2001) outline three categories of "Culturally Responsive Curriculum Principles": "Content Principles/Instructional Examples" (p. 23), "Student Engagement Principles" (p.28), and "Learning Assessment Principles" (p. 31). Irvine and Armento's (2001) culturally responsive curriculum principles can be used for any subject area, leave room for a lot of lesson creativity, and are organized around meeting every student's needs (p. 26). Irvine and Armento (2001) show examples of language arts units, a geometry and art unit, a weather unit, and a social studies unit, proving that culturally responsive curriculum can be used for any subject matter.

When making curricular content choices or "Content Principles/Instructional Examples," teachers should consider "inclusiveness, alternative perspectives, commonalities as well as diversity, and student-constructed examples" (Irvine & Armento, 2001, p. 23). Teachers should consider using examples from a variety of cultures, not only those represented in a teacher's individual classroom that year (Irvine & Armento, 2001). Irvine and Armento (2001) suggest that curriculum is more

than reading from a text book and should include "authentic cultural data, literature, music, art, artifacts, primary source materials, and cultural history" (p. 26). Just as important as curricular content, Irvine and Armento (2001) suggest ways to fully engage students in the learning process.

"Student Engagement Principles" guide teachers in planning for different modes of learning (Irvine & Armento, 2001, p. 28). According to Irvine and Armento (2001), teachers use "Student Engagement Principles" to pique the learner's interest by: setting a "*purpose* in learning;" lessons that use a range of "*learning modes*;" allowing for "*comfortable communication patterns*" amongst students; and giving students "*choices and decisions* while learning" (p. 28) "Learning modes" are similar to teaching with Gardner's eight intelligences, as in Irvine and Armento's (2001) words, "learners are different in the ways they like to learn and have certain preferences when it comes to visual, verbal, kinesthetic, interpersonal, or other modes of seeing and doing" (p. 30). In the same way that teachers use a variety of learning styles, teachers should use variety in their assessments as well (Irvine & Armento, 2001).

Teachers should also use "Learning Assessment Principles" to assess students though a variety of tasks (Irvine & Armento, 2001, p. 31). Irvine and Armento (2001) describe:

> Three fundamental learning assessment principals: (1) assessment should be ongoing and should occur in a range of contexts; (2) assessment should provide valuable information to the student and the teacher and should indicate areas for reteaching or refinement; and (3) assessment should be modified for students with special needs (p. 31).

With effective assessments, teachers can both determine how much students learned during a unit and make plans for future instruction (Irvine & Armento, 2001).

While culturally responsive teaching offers a flexible, yet detailed system to approach curriculum planning, warm demander pedagogy is key to improving teachers' relationships with students and how teachers deliver lessons. Both culturally responsive teaching (Ladson-Billings, 1994) and warm demander pedagogy (Delpit, 2012a; Kleinfeld, 1975) describe how to approach relationships with students but warm demander pedagogy's descriptions are both clearer and easier to implement

Warm demander pedagogy and social curriculum. Warm demander pedagogy literature centers around four important themes: warm demander's beliefs about self and students, warm demanders are warm and caring, warm demanders use of assertive discipline and authority, and warm demanders are masters of pedagogy (Cooper, 2003; Ford & Sassi, 2014; Ware, 2006). Teachers that implement warm demander pedagogy help combat the racist "smog" (Tatum as cited in Delpit, 2012a, p. 12) and low expectations society sets for low income students and students of color. Both authors Judith Kleinfeld (1975) and Lisa Delpit (2012a) have found that minority students' school participation suffers when they are confronted by teachers' and fellow students' stereotypes. Judith Kleinfeld (1975) in her study of "Effective Teachers of Eskimo and Indian Students" suggests that both Eskimo and Native American students have a tendency to "respond to a stressful situation, such as a disliked teacher, by withdrawing into silence." (p. 308). Lisa Delpit (2012a) suggests that many African American students have internalized the negative stereotypes in our society; and will withdraw when faced with stressful school settings, or do the opposite and "act out:"

A student teacher at Southern University told me that she didn't know what to say when an African American eighth-grade boy came up to her and said, "They made us the slaves because we were dumb, right, Ms. Summers?" Working with a middle schooler on her math, a tutor was admonished, "Why you trying to teach me to multiply, Ms. L.? Black people don't multiply; Black people just add and subtract. White people multiply." When students doubt their own competence, they typically respond with two behaviors: they either hide (hoods over faces, heads on desks) and try to become invisible, or they act out to prevent a scenario unfolding in which they will not be able to perform and will once again be proved "less than." (p.14)

Successful teachers of minority students learn to recognize this withdrawl, or acting out, for what it is: a defense mechanism. These teachers work to help students who act this way, by conveying high expectations, displaying personal warmth, employing assertive discipline, and becoming masterful teachers (Delpit, 2012a; Kleinfeld, 1975; Ware, 2006).

Kleinfeld (1975) first wrote about a new category of pedagogy, termed "Warm Demander" (p. 335). Now there is a small body of research detailing how teachers, from all racial backgrounds, who are warm demanders, are helping minority students succeed in school (Cooper, 2003; Delpit, 2012a; Ware, 2006). Warm demanders are teachers that combine both "Personal Warmth" and "Active Demandingness" (Kleinfeld, 1975, p. 335). Kleinfeld (1975) rated teachers on two dimensions: "Personal Warmth versus Professional Distance" (p. 318) and "Active Demandingness versus Passive Understanding" (p. 326). Furthermore, Kleinfeld (1975) reported that it is not sufficient to employ either "Active Demandingness" *or* "Personal Warmth," teachers must use both (p. 335). Delpit (2012a) summarized the

findings of Valerie Lee and colleges who recently quantified the success of combining both "warmth" and "demand," or what Lee et al. term "social support" and "academic press," "When both existed, students made four times the yearly growth in math and three times the yearly growth in reading than when neither was present" (p. 82).

Warm demanders must use warmth and demand (Kleinfeld, 1975). Kleinfeld (1975) cautions that those teachers who exhibit only "Personal Warmth," may have low academic expectations of students, as a result of buying into stereotypes and/or being unsure of the value of a high school education for students of color. Kleinfeld (1975) warns that teachers who utilize only "Active Demandingness" (p. 328) may be most concerned with the curriculum or subject matter, and "They ignore the interpersonal dimension of the classroom, which they consider a professionally illegitimate area of concern" (p. 329). Teachers must use "warmth" and "demandingness" to help increase the achievement of students of color (Kleinfeld, 1975, p. 335).

An "Active Demandingness" style, which neglects interpersonal relationships may be a comfortable style for students from the majority culture, and is often part of teacher training programs, couched as "acting professionally" (Kleinfeld, 1975, p. 326). Students who are part of the majority, western culture may have less of an issue with this teaching style, as Kleinfeld (1975) asserts that western:

> Modern industrial societies…attempt to separate the interpersonal aspects of an enterprise from the task dimension so that personal feelings do not interfere with the more important value of task achievement…For White middle-class students, who are more accustomed to differentiating the interpersonal and

task dimensions of a situation, such personalism may be important but not
quite so critical to learning" (p. 305)

Kleinfeld (1975) explains that teacher preparation programs place an emphasis on
professional behavior, or *professional distance*, "secondary school teachers have been
socialized by university training and professional associations to regard impersonal
professionalism as the appropriate mode of relating to students" (p. 318).

While Kleinfeld's (1975) article gives a very vivid description of educational
issues in Alaska, other researchers have explored the effectiveness of warm demander
pedagogy with other groups of minority students (Cooper, 2003; Ford and Sassi,
2014; Ware, 2006). Warm demanders are concerned with different elements of social
curriculum: Warm demander's beliefs about self and students, warm demanders are
warm and caring, warm demanders often use assertive discipline and authority, and
warm demanders are masters of pedagogy (Cooper, 2003; Ford and Sassi, 2014;
Ware, 2006).

Warm demander's beliefs about self and students. Warm demanders are
racially conscious and set high expectations for their students and themselves. Both
warm demanders who are White and African American need a "developing racial
consciousness" (Cooper, 2003, p. 419; Ford & Sassi, 2014; Ware, 2006). While White
teachers may not yet have examined their own White privilege, most African
American teachers are very aware of racial dynamics, as they are part of a racial
minority (Delpit, 1995; Ford & Sassi, 2014). Warm demanders also have high
expectations for themselves and their students (Irvine & Fraser, 1998; Ladson-
Billings, 1994; Ware, 2006). Warm demanders communicate these high expectations

through actions and words (Irvine & Fraser, 1998; Ladson-Billings, 1994; Ware, 2006).

White teachers who are warm demanders need to examine the role White privilege plays in classroom interactions (Boucher & Helfenbein, 2015; Cooper, 2003; Ford & Sassi, 2014). Lewis defines White privilege as "operating as symbolic capital, White privilege – the unearned but accrued advantage from being a member of the dominant racial group (as cited in Ford & Sassi, 2014, p. 45)' – can translate into classroom authority through the embodiment of the teacher" (Ford & Sassi, 2014, p. 45). Delpit (1995) notes that Black and White children view teacher authority differently; White children view authority as given by the institution, while Black children see authority as being earned from the teachers' actions:

> Black children expect an authority figure to act with authority. When the teacher instead acts as a "chum," the message sent is that this adult has no authority, and the children react accordingly. One reason that is so, is that Black people often view issues of power and authority differently than people from mainstream middle-class backgrounds (p. 35)

In addition, Shirley Brice Heath found that White middle-class teachers often give indirect commands to students, such as, "Is this where the scissors belong?" (as cited in Delpit, 1995, p. 34) instead of the more direct commands of many Black teachers, such as, "Put those scissors on that shelf" (as cited in Delpit, 1995, p. 34). The effects of this cultural "mismatch" (Ware, 2006, p. 429) can be serious for Black children: A Black student may misunderstand the indirect commands of a White teacher, and thus be labeled a "behavior problem" by the teacher (Delpit, 1995, p. 34). White, middle-class teachers need to realize that school culture may closely align to their own home

culture, but this is not always the case for their students of color (Ware, 2006). White

teachers need to be explicit in the teaching of expected school behaviors, and not

assume all children have home cultures that match the school culture.

Ford and Sassi (2014) summarize Foster's work, when Foster cautions White

teachers on adopting a direct discourse style that is too harsh with African American

students, "For an African American parent, direct discourse may sound 'a little too

much like slavery' coming from a White teacher" (62). Delpit (2012a) summarizes

Gloria Ladson-Billing, who suggests this direct discourse style only works when

children and teachers share a similar cultural background. It is a fine line for White

teachers, because they also need to be aware of making academic and behavioral

expectations clear: "if you are not already a participant in the culture of power, being

told explicitly the rules of that culture makes acquiring power easier" (Delpit, 1995, p.

24). Perhaps White, middle class teachers need to apply a style characterized as

"gentle directness."

European American teachers, who are warm demanders, possess a

"developing racial consciousness" (Cooper, 2003, p. 419; Ford & Sassi, 2014; Ware,

2006). Delpit (1995) describes the mental disconnect many teachers face while

teaching children they can't identify with, children they perceive as "other people's

children" (p. xiii):

> We all carry worlds in our heads, and those worlds are decidedly different. We
>
> educators set out to teach, but how can we reach the worlds of others when we
>
> don't even know they exist? Indeed, many of us don't even realize that our
>
> own worlds exist only in our heads and in the cultural institutions we have
>
> built to support them. It is as if we are in the middle of a great computer-

generated virtual reality game, but the "realities" displayed in various participants' minds are entirely different terrains. When one player moves right and up a hill, the other player perceives him as moving left and into a river (p. xiv).

Delpit (1995) asserts it remains a choice for many White middle-class people whether they develop a "racial consciousness," as they are already members of the "culture of power" (p. 24). Students of color are not always so lucky, they need to learn the rules to this "culture of power" before they can find success in school (Delpit, 1995, p. 24). Many White middle-class teachers may not be aware of different aspects of their own dominant culture (Delpit, 1995; Kleinfeld, 1975). Kleinfeld (1975 proposes:

cross-cultural training manuals often emphasize that middle-class Americans have trouble in cross-cultural encounters because they plunge into business without bothering to establish the social relationships that members of other cultures may consider a task prerequisite (p. 336).

White, middle-class Americans do have a culture, they are just privileged to have that culture match the school culture (Kleinfeld, 1975). Warm Demander White teachers cannot draw on their cultural similarities when teaching minority students, but instead must ally themselves with their minority students in fighting racism (Cooper, 2003, p. 425; Ford & Sassi, 2014, p. 66) and/or actively challenge minority stereotypes (Kleinfeld, 1975).

African American teachers who are warm demanders also possess a "racial consciousness," (Cooper, 2003, p. 414) and can call on their shared culture to connect with African American students. These African American Warm Demanders often "strongly identify[] with their students" (Irvine & Fraser, 1998, p. 56); and use their

"shared culture, history, and frame of reference" (Ford & Sassi, 2014, p. 39). African American teachers have often developed this racial consciousness, as a necessity of survival as a person of color in America. In addition to a racial consciousness, warm demanders also set high expectations for their students and themselves.

Warm Demanders have high expectations for their students (Delpit, 2012a; Ladson-Billings, 1994; Ware, 2006), and make sure their high expectations for their students are clear (Delpit, 1995; Kleinfeld, 1975). They know that students can (Ladson-Billings, 1994; Ware, 2006) and must succeed (Ware, 2006). In her study of two exemplary warm demander African American teachers, Ware (2006) found:

> Ms. Willis and Mrs. Carter indicated in their interviews and demonstrated in their classrooms that they fully expected their students to learn. For Ms. Willis, these expectations were grounded in the reality that her students lived in an urban, low socioeconomic community. In addition, Ms. Willis taught classes for students with low standardized test scores, who frequently exhibited behavior problems. Mrs. Carter taught students who were from low socioeconomic and middle-class communities. In spite of the conditions, both teachers still expected their students to be successful learners, become readers before they left class (in Ms. Willis's case), and improve their test scores. (pp. 441-442).

Delpit (2012a) argues that warm demanders recognize the challenges of their students, such as poverty, yet find ways to help students succeed and demand excellence (p.78). Delpit (2012a) recounts the story of one teacher she met, who had a homeless student who would regularly fall asleep during reading time. Instead of letting the student nap during reading, this teacher asked the student to stand during

reading, thus helping them stay awake and learn how to read (Delpit, 2012a).

Kleinfeld (1975) notes that many of the Eskimo and Athabascan Indians in her study

had a low opinion of their academic ability, and to help students succeed, teachers

needed to have a higher view of their students' ability, than their students had for

themselves.

In addition to having high expectations for their students, warm demanders

have high expectations for themselves (Irvine & Fraser, 1998; Ladson-Billings, 1994;

Ware, 2006). Warm demanders see themselves as professionals (Ladson-Billings,

1994) and have "high expectations of self…[and] a hard-working, reflective, positive

sense of teaching self" (Cooper, 2003, p. 420). Teachers show this pride through

"dressing the part" (Cooper, 2003, p. 417). In Ladson-Billing's (1994) study of Ms.

Dupree, who dressed "in a style that reminds one of a corporate executive:"

> When one of her students asked her why she was always "so dressed up,"
>
> Dupree replied that she dressed the way she did because she was coming to
>
> work and she worked with very important people, so she wanted to look good
>
> (p. 35).

Warm demanders work hard and ask students to work hard and never give up

Ross, Bondy, Gallingane & Hambacher, 2008). Warm demander teachers not only

have high expectations and show students that they care.

Warm demanders are warm and caring. Kleinfeld (1975) gives concrete

examples of how a teacher exhibits warmth. Kleinfeld (1975) suggests teachers can

display warmth by assuming the role of a "personal friend" or "expert-to-client,"

viewing the classroom as a "little family," and developing "out-of-class friendships"

(p. 318). Kleinfeld (1975) clarifies that teachers can develop "out-of-class

friendships" through sharing personal information about themselves, such as "marital status, [and] when I had last seen my mother," (p. 319), and tutoring (p. 320). Kleinfeld (1975) suggests that teachers can also use nonverbal cues to convey warmth by: smiling, "a reassuring smile when explaining a difficult concept and an expectant smile when asking a student a question before the class" (p. 321); "close body distance," for example lowering their body to eye level when asking questions (p. 322); and "touching" with a pat on the back, or arm around the shoulder. Kleinfeld (1975) cautions that male teachers might have to avoid touching female students because of possible trauma in their students' backgrounds (p. 323).

Teachers who are warm demanders also show caring through: listening to students' stories and problems (Ladson-Billings, 1994; Ware, 2006); taking on the role of "second mother" (Cooper, 2003, p. 414); developing personal relationships with each student, often outside of the classroom (Irvine & Fraser, 1998; Kleinfeld, 1975); fostering a positive classroom community (Ross et al., 2008), and as advocates in the educational system (Delpit, 2012a; Irvine & Fraser, 1998).

Mrs. Carter, in Ware's (2006) case study, discusses the importance of listening to her students:

> One of my students said that there are only three teachers who really listen to the kids, to what is going on, and really try to talk to us. My name was mentioned. I remember growing up when certain things would happen even with my mother. Nobody was really listening to me, and my friends felt like that too. Nobody was really listening to what we were trying to say. So I try to listen. (p. 441).

The caring exhibited by a warm demander teacher is similar to a parenting role (Irvine & Fraser, 1998).

Warm demander teachers also take on the role of "other-mother" (Irvine & Fraser, 1998, p. 56). Cooper (2003) concurs, and defines this role as "those beliefs and practices usually identified with habits of mothering, such as an overt concern for physical safety or bathroom needs. It does not imply the absence of a mother at home" (p. 414). Ford and Sassi (2014) summarize Ware's history of this role, the cultural roots of "other-mothering" have "cultural roots in a West African tradition whereby women care communally for children" (p. 43). Warm demander teachers take on this role of "other-mother" (Irvine & Fraser, 1998, p. 56) and work to know each student individually.

Ladson-Billings (1994) details the way three teachers in her study work on developing personal relationships with students. Julia Devereaux and Patricia Hilliard build personal relationships with students by eating lunch with them in small groups in the classroom, a "lunch bunch," (Ladson-Billings, 1994, pp. 65-66). Margaret Rossi gave students an interest inventory at the beginning of the school year, and in her words, "take[s] the information [the students] give me to heart" (Ladson-Billings, 1994, pp. 66-67). Delpit (2012a) and Kleinfeld (1975) posit that exemplary student achievement is contingent upon these personal relationships. Delpit (2012a) explains:

> It is the quality of a relationship that allows a teacher's push for excellence…
> many of our children of color don't learn from a teacher, as much as for a
> teacher. They don't want to disappoint a teacher who they feel believes in
> them (p. 86).

Teaching and learning are a social enterprise. Teachers set expectations and limits for students in the class, and let students know when they have done well, and need to make improvements.

Warm demanders often use assertive discipline and authority. Teachers who are effective warm demanders use assertive discipline and authority (Cooper, 2003; Irvine and Fraser, 1998; Ware, 2006). Cooper (2003) defines an "authoritative discipline style" as an "overt classroom management technique" (p. 421). Cooper (2003) discusses the distinction between authoritative and authoritarian; she reminds educators that authority should be used only to help students:

> Alfred North Whitehead (1929) wrote that authoritativeness should be an aim of education because of its emphasis on the use of power for the student's good and never as an end in itself or aggrandizement of the teacher's position. Most important, it is sanctioned by the target community (p. 421).

An effective authoritarian discipline style must be both direct and kind (Cooper, 2003).

Cooper (2002) contrasts the way White teachers and Black teachers tend to regard authority: she found that White teachers were often less comfortable than Black teachers assuming authoritative roles. Cooper (2002) quotes one of the White teacher in her case study:

> Listening to students' voices and responding to their interests meant giving up the authoritarian role of teacher. I found myself much more at ease in dialogue with my students than in telling them what to do all the time (p. 58).

In contrast, Cooper (2002) found that effective Black teachers were comfortable in an authoritative role, "effective Black teachers, however, consistently, pointedly, and with tradition on their side, expressed the beliefs that Black children learned best when the teacher's style was not only firm, but demanding and authority based" (p.60). Ross et al. (2008) illustrates the Warm Demander's approach to discipline and authority and remind us that Warm Demanders are, above all, human and imperfect:

> These teachers are not saints, and they are annoyed with student behavior at times. Yet a tone of anger and frustration almost never can be heard in the classroom. In fact, the pervasive tone in each classroom is respect and care. As Hall and Hall (2003) noted, an effective management system is grounded in gentle intervention that is respectful of student dignity and therefore "interrupts" misbehavior. In contrast, they noted, anger escalates inappropriate behavior. (p. 145)

Just as important as the social climate of the classroom, warm demanders are also experts in how to teach.

Warm demanders are masters of pedagogy. Warm demanders are masters of the craft of teaching (Ware, 2006). Irvine and Fraser (1998) explain that African-American teachers who are warm demanders are pedagogues who combine unique style of lesson delivery and adapt curricular content to match their students' cultural backgrounds:

> They employ a teaching style filled with rhythmic language and rapid intonation with many instances of repetition, call and response, high emotional involvement, creative analogies, figurative language, gestures and body movements, symbolism, aphorisms, and lively and often spontaneous

discussions…They use student's everyday cultural and historical experiences in an effort to link new concepts to prior knowledge (p. 56)

Literature on culturally responsive teaching is consistent about curriculum creation. In contrast, Ware (2006) describes four distinct curricular styles for the warm demanders in her case study: "Direct Instruction," "Inquiry Learning," "Culturally Responsive Pedagogy," and "Computer-Enhanced Instruction" (pp. 446 - 451). As culturally responsive pedagogy can be used by warm demander teachers, there is considerable overlap in these two pedagogies. Culturally responsive teaching is more consistent in how to change academic curriculum, while warm demander pedagogy is clearer in how to change social curriculum (Ware, 2006). Used together culturally responsive teaching and warm demander pedagogy can help teachers meet the educational needs of students of color.

Many teachers look across their classrooms and see students who they view as different from themselves, "Other People's Children" (Delpit, 2012a). The reality is that these beautiful children are all of our children. These children in our classroom are intelligent, capable, and full of knowledge. Our country has a sad history, and a current reality, of inequality in public education. While it is no individual teacher's fault, we need to all be a part of the solution. We can make educational changes on a macro and micro level. In the larger educational system, we can be advocates for our students (Delpit, 2012a). In each classroom, we can change our academic and social curriculum to more closely reflect our student's home cultures, and help school be a place where all children belong.

First, Chapter 2 explored the distinctions between the achievement gap, standardized testing and intelligence. Next, Chapter 2 presented a short history of the

African American community's struggle for educational rights and resources to find historical explanations for an achievement gap. Finally, Chapter 2 gave a summary of two new pedagogies; culturally responsive teaching and warm demander pedagogy, that can help us close the achievement gap.

Looking ahead, Chapter 3 will provide a detailed description of my curricular project, which was designed to answer my research question: *How can I help to close the achievement gap in my classroom by using warm demander pedagogy and culturally responsive teaching?* Chapter 3 will be guided by my literature review to describe the steps for creating a curriculum using culturally responsive teaching and warm demander pedagogy.

CHAPTER THREE

Methodology

Overview

Chapter Two reviewed the complexity of human intelligence yet the tendency of the achievement gap literature to overly simplify intelligence as only linguistic and logical-mathematical thinking (Blythe & Gardner, 1990). That literature review also provided a short history of the African American community's struggle for formal schooling. This history both helps explain the existence of the achievement gap and reveals the importance of White teachers learning to become more effective teachers of students of color. Finally, Chapter Two outlined two effective pedagogies: warm demander pedagogy (Delpit, 2012a; Kleinfeld, 1975), and culturally responsive teaching (Ladson-Billing, 1994), that have the capability to improve educational outcomes of minority students and can help close the achievement gap (Irvine & Armento, 2001; Ladson-Billings, 1994). Ladson-Billings (1994) defines culturally responsive teaching as "a pedagogy that empowers students intellectually, socially, emotionally, and politically by using cultural referents to impart knowledge, skills and attitudes" (p. 18). Judith Kleinfeld (1975) describes teachers who use warm demander pedagogy as those teachers who combine "personal warmth" and "active demandingness;" (p. 326) "*after* personal rapport had been established – they demand a high level of academic work" (pp. 326-327). Integrating both culturally responsive teaching and warm demander pedagogy allows for me to design academic curriculum to complement the social curriculum already in use in my classroom.

This chapter presents the methodology used to create my curriculum: educational theories, curricular project description, participants, setting, and timeline.

This curricular project seeks to answer my research question: *How can I help to close the achievement gap in my classroom by using warm demander pedagogy and culturally responsive teaching?* This chapter begins with a summary of the following educational theories: warm demander pedagogy (Delpit; 2012a), culturally responsive teaching (Ladson-Billings, 1994), "backwards design" curriculum writing (Wiggins & Jay McTighe, 2011, p. 4), readers workshop (Calkins, 2019), and Minnesota State Educational Standards. Next, I will describe my curricular project entitled Readers Workshop Activist Book Review Unit that I created for my third-grade students. Finally, I will describe the students who participated in my curricular project, the language immersion elementary school where I teach, and the timeline I followed to complete this project.

Project Rationale

Research shows there is an achievement gap, and that the use of warm demander pedagogy and culturally responsive teaching can help close this gap (Delpit, 2012a; Irvine & Armento, 2001; Ladson-Billings, 1994). However, there are few concrete unit plans that teachers can use when trying these two types of pedagogy for the first time. Good teaching has a statistically stronger positive effect than any statistical gaps in achievement, termed the achievement gap (Delpit, 2012a). Good teaching requires good planning (Delpit, 2012a). Delpit (2012a) summarizes the work of William Sanders and J.C. Rivers in 1994, who, "compared students who had three good teachers in a row as each group took third-, fourth-, and fifth-grade math. The students who had good teachers performed fifty percentile points above those with weaker teachers!" (p. 9). Irvine and Armento's (2001) book *Culturally Responsive Teaching: Lesson Planning for Elementary and Middle Grades* is one of the few texts that translates the ideals of culturally responsive teaching into lesson plans teachers

can easily implement in their classroom. I seek to add to the curriculum on culturally responsive teaching and warm demander pedagogy. My curricular project can serve as a model for teachers who want to develop culturally responsive teaching unit plans to complement a social curriculum of warm demander pedagogy.

In the past, I have been concerned that I do a good job teaching African American History, during Black History month, but other cultures got left out. In my school, we do not always take the time to celebrate Asian Pacific American History Month, Native American Heritage Month, nor Hispanic History Month. I went to a district training this year where they introduced an optional, integrated Social Studies and English Language Arts book review unit based on the book *Separate is Never Equal: Sylvia Mendez and Her Family's Fight for Desegregation* by Duncan Tonatiuh (2014). This optional unit is entitled "Separate is Never Equal: Third Grade Activist Book Review: Social Studies/ Literacy Integration Unit" (Saint Paul Public Schools, 2018). The district's book review unit was based only on Tonatiuh's (2014) book, but I knew of so many other great books about the civil rights movement. I thought this would be a perfect way to teach African American history and include other cultures.

Educational Theories and Frameworks

I combined the theories and frameworks of warm demander pedagogy (Delpit; 2012a), culturally responsive teaching (Ladson-Billings, 1994), *Understanding by Design Guide to: Creating High-Quality Units* by Grant Wiggins and Jay McTighe (2011), readers workshop (Calkins, 2019), and Minnesota State Educational Standards to create a Readers Workshop Activist Book Review Unit. Students listened to read alouds on historical activism, read current events articles about present-day activism, participated in reading comprehension activities, and kept a book log about their

independent reading of activist books. Warm demander pedagogy (Kleinfeld, 1975) offers a guide for how teachers can structure the social curriculum in their classrooms, while culturally responsive teaching instructs teachers on how to choose and present academic curriculum, to help students of color succeed (Irvine & Armento, 2001; Ladson-Billings). My reading curriculum, Readers Workshop Activist Book Review Unit, is part of a readers workshop framework (Calkins, 2019). Calkins (1994) suggests teachers should teach "mini-lessons" and allow students plenty of time to read independently (p. 1). The *Understanding by Design Guide to: Creating High-Quality Units*, instructs teachers to design units with the end goals in mind, with a focus on "long-term understanding" (Wiggins & McTighe, 2011, p. 4). Finally, my curricular project was interdisciplinary and met Minnesota State Educational Standards in both English Language Arts and Social Studies (Minnesota Department of Education, 2018). This project may appear to have too many frameworks and theories, but they complemented, instead of competed, with one another.

Warm demander pedagogy framework. The social curriculum in my classroom is already designed around the following four elements of warm demander pedagogy: warm demander's beliefs about self and students; warm demanders are warm and caring; warm demanders use assertive discipline and authority; and warm demanders are masters of pedagogy (Cooper, 2003; Ford & Sassi, 2014; Kleinfeld, 1975). My "high expectations of self" and "high expectations of children" are represented by my own racial consciousness and communicating clear expectations to students (Cooper, 2003, p. 420). I show my "dedication to students' needs" (Ware, 2006, p. 443) by making sure we have bathroom and water breaks; band aids; a rotating "lunch bunch," (Patricia Hilliard as cited in Ladson-Billings, 1994, p. 66) that eats with me every week; passing out tickets for kind behavior and hard work;

checking in with students regularly; and getting to know each student individually. I use "authoritative discipline style" by communicating expectations with direct language and giving logical consequences for breaking rules (Cooper, 2003). I have also begun to attend more teacher workshops, with my goal of becoming a "workshop junkie" (Ware, 2006, p. 435). Warm demander pedagogy helps create a safe classroom environment, where risk-taking and mistakes are welcome and encouraged. While warm demander pedagogy is explicit in the social curriculum, culturally responsive teaching offers more guidance around the planning of academic curriculum.

Culturally responsive teaching curriculum principles. Successful teachers of minority students both create curriculum that is "Culturally Responsive," or multicultural, "that empowers students intellectually, socially, emotionally, and politically by using cultural referents to impart knowledge, skills and attitudes" (Ladson-Billings, 1994, p. 18). I developed a Readers Workshop Activist Book Review Unit Plan using three distinct principles of "culturally responsive teaching": "Instructional Examples (IE)," "Student Engagement (SE)," and "Assessment (A)" (Irvine & Armento, 2001, p. 26). "Culturally Responsive Curriculum Principles" ensure teachers choose multicultural curriculum, teach content using a variety of learning styles to ensure high "student engagement," and provide ongoing assessments for students that are sensitive to special needs (Irvine & Armento, 2001, p. 26). As I crafted my Readers Workshop Activist Book Review Unit (Calkins, 2019), I included each of the "Culturally Responsive Curriculum Principles" at least once, and most principles multiple times, in my unit (Irvine & Armento, 2001, p. 26). Culturally responsive teaching can be used in combination with a readers workshop model of reading instruction and enriches students' literature choices (Irvine &

Armento, 2001). Table 2 outlines these culturally responsive curriculum principles

(Irvine & Armento, 2001, p. 26)

Table 2

Culturally Responsive Curriculum Principles

Instructional Examples (IE)
IE 1 = Cultural examples used in the curriculum; Inclusion
IE 2 = Alternative perspectives
IE 3 = Diversity and commonalities Student Engagement (SE)
SE 1 = Purpose/ curiosity/ anticipation
SE 2 = Multiple learning preferences
SE 3 = Individual/ unison/ team communications
SE 4 = Cooperative/ competitive/ individual goals
SE 5 = Student choices/ decision making
Assessment (A)
A 1 = On-going assessment, using a range of materials
A 2 = Assessment information to provide feedback and inform instruction.
A 3 = Special accommodations for special learners.

Table Source: (Irvine & Armento, 2001, p. 26)

Readers workshop model. Elementary teachers in my school district teach

readers and writers workshop units that were adapted from the work of Lucy Calkins

(Saint Paul Public Schools, 2016a; 2016b). The readers workshop model for a reading

lesson includes five parts: (a) a "minilesson;" (b) "independent work" time, during

which time the teacher (c) "confers with [students] and leads small groups;" (d) a

"mid-workshop teaching point;" (e) and a group "share" time at the end (Calkins &
TCRWP Colleagues, 2019, p. 1). I have chosen to create readers workshop lessons to
compliment a new, optional writers workshop unit created for my school district
entitled "Separate Is Never Equal: Third Grade Activist Book Review: Social Studies/
Literacy Integration Unit" (Saint Paul Public Schools, 2018, p. 1). Teachers in my
school district are invited to replace our writers workshop book review unit with this
new unit.

I used the same lesson planning format that was provided by my district. Each
lesson provides for planning of lesson goals, activities, and language supports.
Teachers need to plan the following lesson goals: "Key ideas;" "Learning Target;"
"Essential Question;" and "State Standard(s)" (Saint Paul Public Schools, 2018, pp. 3-
4). Teachers plan for read aloud activities in the following order: "Connection
(Introduction Activity);" "Introduce vocabulary and new concepts;" "The Activity;"
"Connect to prior learning" with images and/or questions; "Introduce the book (Front
& Back Covers);" "Explain the Focus" for the read aloud; Plan places to stop in the
read aloud, "to model thinking aloud;" "Explain the Focus for the Turn and Talk,"
plan a moment for students to turn and talk with a neighbor on the carpet; "After
Reading" give students instructions on what to do during independent reading time;
and "Teacher Resource(s)" (Saint Paul Public Schools, 2018, pp. 3-4). There are
many language supports planned into each lesson, which is ideal for students who
speak nonstandard English at home or English Language Learners:: "Essential
Vocabulary;" "Idioms;" "Sentence Frame(s);" "Vocabulary in Context;"; and "Word
Skills Extension" (Saint Paul Public Schools, 2018, pp. 3-4). Finally, teachers are
asked to plan for students with special needs or students who need academic
challenge, with "Scaffolding" and "Extensions." I followed Grant Wiggins and Jay

McTighe's (2011) model for curriculum development and planned my lesson goals, or "core concepts or big ideas," for my readers workshop unit before planning learning activities.

Curriculum writing framework. I used some general curriculum planning concepts from Grant Wiggins and McTighe (2011) to develop my curriculum. Wiggins and McTighe (2011) developed a curriculum writing framework entitled "Understanding by Design (UbD)" (p.1) which is primarily focused on "long-term understanding" (p. 4). Wiggins and McTighe (2011) instruct curriculum writers to plan units:

> "Backward" from long-term desired results through a three-stage design process (Desired Results, Evidence, Learning Plan). This process helps to avoid the twin problems of "textbook coverage" and "activity-oriented teaching" in which no clear priorities and purposes are apparent (p. 4).

I began with the "core concepts or big ideas" and "authentic performance," or project, I wanted my students to produce, before choosing read alouds, and finally planning learning activities (Wiggins & McTighe, 2011, p. 5). In addition to asking students to think deeply about "big ideas" (Wiggins & McTighe, 2011, p. 5), my Readers Workshop Activist Book Review Unit is interdisciplinary and fulfills both Social Studies and English Language Arts Minnesota State Standards (Minnesota Department of Education, 2018a; Minnesota Department of Education, 2018b).

State Standards. As this unit involves many nonfiction read alouds that are about famous activists in history, it fulfills both Minnesota State Standards Reading and Minnesota Social Studies Standards (Minnesota Department of Education, 2018a; Minnesota Department of Education, 2018b). After each read aloud, students chose a

book to read. They were asked to read one book from the "Activist Book Review" collection. If they finished early they could then choose a book from the larger classroom library. The Minnesota Department of Education explains the importance of student choice of reading materials to help increase student motivation in reading:

> To enhance motivation and engagement, students should have daily opportunities to choose topics and text types that interest them, often determine how to undertake and complete literacy tasks, and regularly respond to texts in a variety of ways (Minnesota Department of Education, 2018a, p. 14).

Throughout this unit, students had exposure to both nonfiction and fiction texts, and they chose their own books for independent work time. The following table shows the Minnesota State Reading Standards, Table 3.

Table 3

Minnesota Reading Standards

3. 2. 4. 4. Determine the meaning of general academic and domain specific words and phrases in a text relevant to a grade 3 topic or subject area.
3. 2. 10. 10. By the end of the year, read and comprehend informational texts, including history/social studies, science and technical texts, at the high end of the grades 2-3 text complexity band independently and proficiently. a. self-select texts for personal enjoyment, interest and academic tasks.

Table source: Minnesota Department of Education, 2018a, p. 14

In addition to improving their comprehension of difficult nonfiction texts, students also learned about activism in world history and American history. Students

learned how to be active citizens and fight for social and environmental justice. The following shows Minnesota Social Studies Standards, in table 4.

Table 4

Minnesota Social Studies Standards

3.1.2.3. The United States is based on democratic values and principles that include liberty, individual rights, justice, equality, the rule of law, limited government, common good, popular sovereignty, majority rule and minority rights

Table source: Minnesota Department of Education, 2018b, p. 31

Project Description

I created 10 days of Activist Book Review Reading lessons using children's picture books, primary sources and news articles. My goal was to create 10 readers workshop lessons to complement the writer's workshop unit provided by the district: "Separate is Never Equal: Third Grade Activist Book Review Social Studies/ Literacy Integration Unit" (Saint Paul Public Schools, 2018). I began compiling a list of activist books with an internet search for "activist book lists." I requested almost every book on each of these lists. I found out I have a 100-book limit at my public library, because I got close to my limit by checking out 76 books! When looking at my large collection of books, I started to see some logical categories: books about the civil rights movement, books about feminism, books about labor unions, books about the environment, and general books about helping others.

With my read alouds, I planned my unit "backwards," with the end in mind (Wiggins & McTighe, 2011, p. 5). I wanted to help students understand the following "core concepts or big ideas": why people protest; nonviolent protest; what is

injustice?; racial injustice; the feminist movement; and labor movements (Wiggins & McTighe, 2011, p. 5). We began the Activist Book Unit with *I have a Right to Be a Child* by Alain Serres (2009) to explore the concepts of human rights and how protesting often stems from people wanting better protections for human rights. Next, we explored the history of immigration in the United States with the Statue of Liberty with the book *Her Right Foot* by Dave Eggers (2017) and the Emma Lazarus's famous poem about the Statue of Liberty "The New Colossus" (1883). I wanted to introduce students to the history of welcoming immigrants into this country, especially with the anti-immigration movements encouraged by our current president. These lessons were a continuation of studying human rights, through the lens of immigration rights.

We continued the unit with a study of famous activists throughout history, studying both different non-violent protest techniques and learning that not all protests are nonviolent. We studied Gandhi, Martin Luther King, Jr., César Chavez and Ruth Bader Ginsburg. We also compiled a list of different kinds of protests all of these people helped organize: marches, letter writing, sit-ins, boycotts, and legal battles, to name a few. I included a read aloud on Malcolm X, as Irvine and Armento (2001) recommend including "alternative perspectives" (p. 26) I wanted to discuss the fact that nonviolence is always a choice, and not all leaders throughout history have chosen nonviolence. With the book on Malcolm X, I was careful to be clear with students that I was teaching them how to protest nonviolently, but I wanted them to know violent protests happen. We concluded our unit with the study of present day protest movements.

The end of our unit included reading news articles from a website called newsela.com (Newsela, 2019), choosing one topic of interest, and practicing one

protest technique. The newsela.com website provides news articles of current events, that have been simplified so 2-6 graders can read them (Newsela, 2019). Students chose from six articles from newsela.com: two articles about feminism, two articles about Black Lives Matter, and two articles about environmental activism (Newsela, 2019). The Readers Workshop Activist Book lessons concluded with students choosing one of the three topics and trying one of three nonviolent protest techniques: writing letters to representatives, creating petitions, and planning a protest.

Assessment of Curriculum

My overarching goal for creating this unit was to find a way to increase student engagement in literacy activities as a means to help close the achievement gap. Students in my state do not take statewide standardized tests until the end of third grade (Pearson Education Inc., 2018). As I will not have the data on these standardized assessments until this summer, I am not able to give scientific data on the achievement gap in my classroom. My research shows that an achievement gap will likely appear in the future, amongst my students. My goal is to give students the literacy foundation to help them succeed both on these standardized tests and as students.

My pre-assessment for this unit was subjective, it was based on student engagement during lessons, and time on-task during reading time. It was also based on student responses to questions that were built into the beginning of each lesson. In my school district we give students a reading fluency test developed by FastBridge Learning, LLC. (2019 and most students' reading scores go up gradually during the school year. It was impossible for me to measure whether their scores improved based

on this short reading unit, or due to literacy work at home and their work during their foreign language reading time (as literacy skills transfer between both languages).

My formative assessment for this unit, involved individual student reading logs, group work products, and group discussions. Each student created an Activist Book Review Reading Log, in which they recorded the following information about each book: the date read; the book's title; the book's author; the pages read; and they circled "question," "learned," "surprising," or "notes" followed by one or two sentences to explain their reaction to the book they read (Nelson, 2019). I set a "purpose" for reading and recording thoughts in the book log, as I told the students that I had not read all of the books myself and I was counting on them to find the best ones for me to use next year (Irvine & Armento, 2001, p. 28).

The summative assessment for the reading lessons, involved writing letters to representatives, writing a petition, or planning a protest. Students chose to create one of three work products around the topics of The Women's March, the Black Lives Matter movement, or environmental activism. Students chose to work in small groups, organized around interest in a similar topic, or on their own to complete these work products.

Setting and Participants

The term achievement gap, as a singular noun, is misleading, as there are actually multiple gaps: between English Language Learners and students who speak English at home; between students of high and low socio-economic status; and between African American and Latina/o American students, and European American and Asian American students (Milner IV, 2013). Culturally responsive teaching (Ladson-Billings, 1994) and warm demander pedagogy (Delpit, 2012a; Kleinfeld,

1975) can help us close these achievement gaps. Teachers who implement culturally responsive teaching and warm demander pedagogy must be knowledgeable about their students (Delpit; 2012a; Kleinfeld, 1975; Ladson-Billings, 1994). These teachers know not only their students' cultural backgrounds and home language, but also about each child's hopes and dreams. This section focuses on the setting, timing, and participants in my Readers Workshop Activist Book Review (Saint Paul Public Schools, 2018). While this section focuses on the demographics of the students in my district and classroom, it is an incomplete description of the diversity of the students in my classroom. My students, and students' parents, are from many different countries around the world.

Setting. My Readers Workshop Activist Book Review Unit will be taught in a public language immersion elementary school, in a large urban school district in the Midwest. My school district serves approximately 38,000 students (Saint Paul Public Schools, 2019). My elementary school serves approximately 500 students grades pre-K through 5th grade (Saint Paul Public Schools, 2019). My curricular project will take place in my third-grade classroom, with my 22 students.

Participants. While my school district serves more students of color than most of the other districts in the state, my school is not quite as diverse as the rest of the school district (Saint Paul Public Schools, 2019). My school district as a whole has 78% of third graders who are non-White, 22% of third graders who are White (Saint Paul Public Schools, 2019). My school has a higher percentage of White students than the average elementary school in my district, which is consistent with other language immersion schools in the area (Saint Paul Public Schools, 2019). For the study participant group, my third grade, 54 % of the students are non-White and 46% are White (Saint Paul Public Schools, 2019). The racial statistics for third

graders in my school are: 2 % Am. Indian, 5 % Asian American, 22 % Black/ African American, 17 % Hispanic/ Latino, 46 % White, 0% Hawaiian/ Pacific Islander, and 9 % Multi Racial (Saint Paul Public Schools, 2019).

As stated above, in addition to racial diversity, other factors that commonly affect the achievement gap, are home language and socio-economic status. Our school has 22 % of students who are English Language Learners (Saint Paul Public Schools, 2019). Third grade also has 25 % of students who receive free and reduced-price lunch (Saint Paul Public Schools, 2019).

Project Timeline

My project will take place in my third-grade classroom during English Language Arts time, in the spring of the 2018-2019 school year. While my school district's scope and sequence for writers and readers workshop lessons, places the book review unit both before and after winter break; the timing of units in my school always different, as we teach literacy in two languages (Saint Paul Public Schools, 2016a; Saint Paul Public Schools, 2016b). My school district just added an optional "Third Grade Activist Book Review Unit," which is based on the book Separate is Never Equal, by Duncan Tonatiuh (2014) (Saint Paul Public Schools, 2018). I chose to teach my new Activist Book Review Unit, which includes African American History, in February, during Black History Month. Below is a timeline for implementation of all of my Capstone Curricular Project, in Table 5.

Table 5

Capstone Curricular Project Timeline

Feb 11	Request children's books for Readers Workshop Activist Book Review

	Meet with Capstone Project content advisor
Feb 18	Write lesson plans for Readers Workshop Activist Book Review Unit
Feb 25	Write lesson plans for Readers Workshop Activist Book Review Unit
Mar 4	Teach Readers Workshop Activist Book Review Unit and start writing Chapter 3
Mar 11	Teach Readers Workshop Activist Book Review Unit and finish writing Chapter 3
Mar 18	Collect work samples and analyze
Mar 25	Collect work samples and analyze
April 1	Start Chapter 4
April 8	Finish Chapter 4 and send Chapters 1-4 to Capstone Project content advisor
April 15	Edit Chapters 1-2
April 22	Edit Chapters 3-4
April 29	Present Capstone Project in class
May 11	End of semester

Summary

Chapter 3 explains the steps and rationale for creating my curricular project, a

Readers Workshop Activist Book Review. First, there is a need for more warm

demander pedagogy and culturally responsive teaching unit plans. Also, I used

Minnesota State Standards, the reading curriculum of my district, readers workshop, and Wiggins and McTighe's (2011) unit writing model of *Understanding by Design Guide to: Creating High-Quality Units* to help me construct my unit. Next, I described the setting and participants for my unit plan. A detailed explanation of my curricular project and my unit assessment followed. Finally, I provided a timeline for completion of my project. To write an effective unit plan with culturally responsive teaching and warm demander pedagogy, it is essential to begin with the "core concepts or big ideas"(Wiggins & McTighe, 2011, p. 5), include culturally responsive literature (Irvine & Armento, 2001, p. 26), know your students, and analyze unit assessments. My Readers Workshop Activist Book Review Unit Plan helped me answer my research question: *How can I help to close the achievement gap in my classroom by using warm demander pedagogy and culturally responsive teaching?*

Chapter 4 is the final chapter in my Capstone Project and will include an analysis and reflection on my project as whole. Chapter 4 begins with my reflections on my research and writing process. Next, there is a short summary of my literature review, followed by an explanation of the resources that were essential to answering my research question. After, there is a reflection on the curriculum development process, the curriculum implementation, and the limitations and potential of my curriculum. Finally, chapter 4 concludes with a discussion of my next steps and how this project benefits the profession.

CHAPTER FOUR

Conclusion

Overview

The previous chapter focused on the process I went through to develop my reading curriculum. This chapter will include a reflection on my attempts to answer my research question: *How can I help to close the achievement gap in my classroom by using warm demander pedagogy and culturally responsive teaching?* This chapter will begin with a reflection on my experiences with research and writing. Next, a short literature review follows with an analysis of which resources were the most valuable to this project. Afterwards, there will be a summary of the curriculum: development, implementation, limitations, and potential. Finally, there is a summary of this project's benefit to the profession and this author's next steps.

Reflections

Research reflections. As a researcher, I have learned how to research so much faster and make connections to other texts as I read. In research, I have learned the importance of reading the prologue and introductions, to help me understand the organization of books. This will help me better teach my students how to use the structural features of nonfiction books to help them answer questions (they do not always need to read the whole book, to answer a question). I also started checking the resource list as I read certain articles. The more I read about warm demander pedagogy and culturally responsive teaching, the more I started to see the same

important authors mentioned. My extensive reading for my research project also helped me improve my writing.

Writing reflections. Throughout the writing process, I was gradually able to write so much more clearly, to infuse more of my personality in my writing, and it feels so much easier to write. I actually like writing now. I am shocked. I have never liked writing. I feel I have many more synonyms at my disposal and my vocabulary has improved. When I used the word "conflate" correctly, and checked the definition, I was so pleased!

I like researching and I like writing, but I am not a fan of APA citations. I understand why they exist, it is important to give credit where credit is due, but it is like learning a foreign language. I loved learning French, but I did not love learning APA. I also know no countries where APA is spoken.

Pursuit of knowledge reflections. I learned it is important to be interested in your topic to help sustain a long project. I switched topics midway through my Capstone Project. Originally, I wanted to study "Growth Mindset" (Carol Dweck, 2006) as a means to help close the achievement gap. I never found much of a personal connection with Dweck (2006) as an author, nor did I find any connections between her research and the historical inequities in education. As soon as I read Lisa Delpit's (2012a) book *Multiplication is for White People: Raising Expectations for Other People's Children,* specifically her chapter on *"Warm Demanders,"* my attitude and energy level for my Capstone Project increased dramatically. I found myself so interested in my reading, I had to set limits on how much I could read, so I could still do things like eat, sleep, and parent my toddler.

I found an unexpected remedy for teacher burnout. Although this was not my topic at all, I have found a newfound passion for teaching. My drive to adapt the atmosphere in my class to be more warm and structure my curriculum to be more demanding, has helped me look past much of the frustration of working in a large, slow moving bureaucracy (Kleinfeld, 1975). Now I am more focused on helping students find joy in learning, by having the curriculum match their backgrounds. I see workshops as an opportunity to become a better "Warm Demander" (Kleinfeld, 1975) with a "Culturally Responsive" (Ladson-Billings, 1994) curriculum. Culturally responsive teaching and warm demander pedagogy help me organize all of the learning from these workshops, that can seem contradictory at times. My recipe to counter teacher burnout is this: develop relationships with all of my students and students' families; work to make my curriculum culturally responsive; and use workshop learning to refresh my units.

Closing reflective thoughts. I truly think pushing myself out of my comfort zone and trying something that is academically challenging have made me more sympathetic to my students' academic struggles. When my students get stuck writing, I let them know I also get stuck writing. At one point this year, while many students were stuck while writing fiction stories, we took a couple of days to talk out our ideas with a partner. My research findings and teaching style are forever intertwined. It is impossible to predict all of the scenarios that will unfold in a classroom. I draw on my extensive research on intelligence, history and new pedagogies to help me see classroom scenarios differently.

Summary of the Literature

Two new pedagogy theories, culturally responsive teaching and warm demander pedagogy, can help us close the achievement gap. When we look at the history of intelligence testing, we find the roots of standardized testing. It is within standardized testing that researchers first noticed an achievement gap. All students are intelligent, but their intelligence is not always apparent on standardized test scores. When we view intelligence as more than a test score, students benefit. Culturally responsive teaching and warm demander pedagogy guide us to see the brilliance of the students in our class, and show us how to demand that they succeed.

The achievement gap: Standardized testing and "intelligence."
Standardized testing is not new, nor are the controversies surrounding standardized testing (Richardson, 2000). While state and college entrance standardized testing is likely to continue, educators need to be cognizant of their limitations in measuring intelligence (Gardner, 1999/2000). There is an "achievement gap" but no "intelligence gap" (Hilliard III, 2003, p. 135). While school and standardized achievement tests tend to validate "linguistic" and "logico-mathematical" thinking, Tina Blythe and Howard Gardner (1990) believe humans have multiple intelligences (p. 34).

Gardner (1990) and the multiple intelligences theory offer a much better way to view intelligence. Gardner, in an interview with Kathy Checkley (1997), explains that people have eight intelligences: (1) "[l]inguistic Intelligence;" (2) "logical-mathematical;" (3) "[s]patial intelligence;" (4) "[b]odily kinesthetic;" (5) [m]usical intelligence; (6) "[i]nterpersonal intelligence;" (7) "[i]ntrapersonal intelligence;" and (8) "[n]aturalist intelligence" (p. 12). Teachers can use these eight intelligences to plan lessons that draw on students' strengths and weaknesses in each area of intelligence (Blythe & Gardner, 1990).

The history of African American education in the midst of systemic

racism. Contrary to a deficit model, in Ruby Payne's (1996/2005) well known work

A Framework for Understanding Poverty (as cited in Boucher & Helfenbein, 2015),

the African American community has fought and succeeded in educating African

American children (Foster, 1997). Amidst physical violence and legal roadblocks, the

African American community has worked hard to win education rights and funding

(Perry, 2003). At the beginning of the United States of America as a country, it was

illegal and dangerous for slaves to learn how to read (Espinoza & Vossoughi, 2014).

After emancipation, many African American communities banded together to create

schools for African Americans (Sambol-Tosco, 2004). During the civil rights

movement, African Americans fought for equal funding and access to all schools for

African American students, and other students of color, through desegregation efforts

(Tate et al., 1993). After the many successes in racial desegregation and the

distribution of school resources, following the passage of *The Civil Rights Act* (1964),

we have had three important Supreme Court Cases in 1991-1995, often referred to as

the "Resegregation Trilogy," that have significantly undermined each state's ability to

desegregate their schools (Crawford & O'Neill, 2011, p. 513).

The racial and economic make-up of schools does not match the racial and

economic make-up of the current teaching force (Orfield, Frankenberg & Lee,

2002/2003). This can be partially explained by the firing of tens of thousands of

African American teachers and administrators in the years after *Brown* (1954) (Green,

2004; Hudson & Holmes, 1994; Tillman, 2004). When over 38,000 African American

educators were fired, African American students lost valuable allies and teachers and

the teaching profession lost masters of pedagogy (Hudson & Holmes, 1994; Tillman,

2004). Researchers who have studied successful African American teachers of

African American students, have developed two new pedagogy styles: culturally responsive teaching (Ladson-Billings, 1994) and warm demander pedagogy (Kleinfeld, 1975).

Culturally responsive teaching and warm demander pedagogy. Teachers who use culturally responsive teaching and warm demander pedagogy can help students of color be more successful in school (Delpit, 2012a; Ladson-Billings, 1994). Ladson-Billings (1994) defines culturally responsive teaching as "a pedagogy that empowers students intellectually, socially, emotionally, and politically by using cultural referents to impart knowledge, skills and attitudes" (p. 18). The term "Warm Demander" was first used by Judith Kleinfeld (1975), in her study of effective teachers of rural Athabascan Indian and Eskimo students, and refers to teachers who use "personal warmth" and "active demandingness;" (p.326) "*after* personal rapport had been established – they demand a high level of academic work" (pp. 326-327). By using culturally responsive teaching and warm demander pedagogy, teachers can help adjust the culture of the classroom to more closely match the home culture of low income students and students of color (Delpit, 2012a; Kleinfeld, 1975; Ladson-Billings, 1994). Teachers can change the social climate of the classroom with warm demander pedagogy (Kleinfeld, 1975) and change the academic curriculum with culturally responsive teaching (Ladson-Billings, 1994) to help close the achievement gap.

Essential resources. Lisa Delpit (1995; 2012a), Judith Kleinfeld (1975), and Michele Foster (1997) were essential to answering my research question. When I first read Lisa Delpit's work *Other People's Children: Cultural Conflict in the Classroom* (1995) and *Multiplication is for White People: Raising Expectations for Other People's Children* (2012a), I was inspired to learn more about warm demanders

(Delpit, 2012a). I finally found what I was looking for: something that tied together the achievement gap, with education history, and offered solutions. Judith Kleinfeld's (1975) work offered a very clear definition of warm demander and illustrated how teachers could adopt this teaching style. Michele Foster's (1997) work offered a detailed history of the firings of tens of thousands of teachers following *Brown* (1954) with illuminating teacher interviews.

I discovered my favorite, and most useful, kinds of articles and books included case histories. When authors included parts of teacher or student interviews, or classroom scenarios, it was so much easier for me to understand how to start implementing these teaching techniques in my classroom. I am able to remember these quotes and scenarios, in the midst of teaching, as many different conversations and problems surface in my classroom.

Curriculum Development Process

My curriculum development process was an excellent exercise in slowing down and thinking through all of the aspects in developing a unit. Elementary curriculum planning often seems to go at warp speed, as we are teaching multiple subjects per day, every day for nine months. While Wiggins and McTighe (2011) warn about the danger of thinking only about learning "activities" without a cohesive goal (p. 4), I must admit I am often guilty. While I may not have the time to write out page long lesson plans for every lesson all year long, I plan on improving all of my units gradually. I will begin my units by thinking about the "core concepts or big ideas" I want students to master, and work backwards to align my learning activities with those goals (Wiggins & McTighe, 2011, p. 1). This project has truly helped me learn ways to add demanding to my already warm style.

Curriculum Implementation

All of my students loved this unit. I also noticed higher lesson engagement amongst my nonwhite students. During the whole group lessons, my students of color had their eyes on me, I could see they were thinking about the big ideas in the lessons, and they consistently shared ideas during share time on the carpet. Often my students of color were more engaged than my White students during these lessons. Many of my nonwhite students also shined in the group work format of lessons. As some of my nonwhite students have a tendency to withdraw during independent worktime, during group work time these same students were consistently focused, participating, and often leading the work time activity. I plan on using much more structured group work time in my teaching.

All of my students felt empowered by the nonviolent protest techniques. As children, they often feel powerless to change some of the big problems in society. My students started writing petitions on the class whiteboard on day one of my lessons. They started with a petition of, "Who wants no more homework for the rest of the year?" I used this "teachable moment" explain that protests generally stand for big things.   Later in the unit, when they learned that children around the world are currently protesting their government leaders' slow action on climate change, they were fascinated and wanted to read articles from newsela.com about these protests (Newsela, 2019).

We have been reading articles from newsela.com all year and students generally groan when I ask them to read these articles (Newsela, 2019). That was not the case with this unit. My Readers Workshop Activist Book Review Unit began with read alouds from children's picture books and ended with current events articles from

newsela.com (Newsela, 2019). When we got to the end of the unit, I asked students to sign up for the current events articles they wanted to read. Students were asked to sign up on the whiteboard for two to six articles they wanted to read, out of six choices. I was shocked and very pleased when one student asked, "Can we start a column on the white board for those students who want to read them all?" We added that column and almost every child signed up to read them all. There was a mad dash to the whiteboard to sign-up. When it was time to read the articles with a buddy, students were scattered around the room in cozy spots, and there was almost complete silence.

This project helped increase the engagement of my students of color. We always start out the year with a study of how the government is organized and the importance of voting. The study of government, past and present, still involves a majority of white, male, middle-class leaders. With this unit, students can learn that this is only part of the story. America has been built and shaped by people from all walks of life. When students see people who look like themselves in history it is motivating, empowering and gives literacy a purpose!

Limitations and Potential

There are two limitations in the implementation of my project that may have affected the results. These limitations are due to the nature of a foreign language immersion school and cannot be corrected in such a setting. One limitation concerns time constraints and the other is the inability to teach the English reading and writing sections concurrently. While most schools spend at least 100 minutes on English Language Arts per day, we only have 50 minutes for English Language Arts per day. The second limitation, the inability to teach reading and writing concurrently, is also due to time constraints. As we are a language immersion school, we only have the

time to teach English reading or English writing during the day. In a perfect design, this Activist Review Curriculum, would include reading and writing lessons on the same day for three weeks. I modified the timing of these lessons, by teaching three weeks of readers workshop lessons followed by three weeks of writers workshop lessons (Calkins and TCRWP Colleagues, 2019).

As language immersion teachers, we are always under time constraints. Our school day is the same length as all other schools in our district, yet we need to teach literacy in two languages. To help us accomplish this, we often make our units multidisciplinary in focus. Many of our foreign language and English Language Arts lessons also involve Science and Social Studies content.

Another important limitation is the children's read alouds available to study activism. It is hard to find read alouds that are the appropriate length or reading level for 3rd graders. Some picture books are too simple, and some are too hard and long. My students sometimes lost patience with the length of the read alouds. It worked well to start a read aloud earlier in the day, and finish it during my reading lesson.

My project suggests that there are two important pieces to helping close the achievement gap: policy makers and school district officials need to encourage more people of color to enter the teaching force and White teachers need to learn how to implement new pedagogy styles such as culturally responsive teaching and warm demander pedagogy. Lawmakers need to prioritize policies that will attract people of color to the teaching profession, and support them in their teaching roles. All students benefit from a more diverse teaching force: diverse in race, diverse in socio-economic background and diverse in languages spoken. Given the "Whitening" of the teaching force and the increase in the percentages of non-White students, this may not happen

in the near future. My project also suggests that culture matters and middle-class, White culture is not the only culture. White teachers need to develop a racial consciousness as it plays a role in many classroom interactions. If we as a society, and an educational community, encourage people of color to enter the teaching force, and encourage White teachers to try new pedagogy styles such as culturally responsive teaching and warm demander pedagogy, students of color will benefit.

Next Steps and Benefits to the Profession

I plan on presenting a professional development session and starting a book club on culturally responsive teaching (Ladson-Billings, 1994) and warm demander pedagogy (Delpit, 2012a; Kleinfeld, 1975) next year at my school. My school principal has asked me to do a professional development session during opening week. At the end of this session, I will let teachers know I will be starting up a book club. I envision this book club using some essays from Lisa Delpit's (1995; 2012a) work and some books from successful White teachers of students of color. I would also like to expand this book club to include teachers from other schools.

As teachers we are charged with the awesome task of teaching beautiful children from all backgrounds and walks of life. It is impossible that our own upbringing and culture will match all of the children in our classroom. It is essential teachers develop a racial and socio-economic consciousness, develop personal relationships with each of their students, and think critically about curriculum. Teachers must adapt both how they deliver curriculum and the contents of their curriculum to better serve students of color and low-income students.

My Capstone Project offers a roadmap for rethinking both the social and academic curriculum in a classroom. By using warm demander pedagogy to improve

the social atmosphere of the classroom, and culturally responsive teaching to improve the academic curriculum, teachers can improve the learning outcomes of students of color and students from low-incomes. My curricular project helped me answer my research question: *How can I help to close the achievement gap in my classroom by using warm demander pedagogy and culturally responsive teaching?*

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