

University of Louisville

ThinkIR: The University of Louisville's Institutional Repository

Electronic Theses and Dissertations

8-2016

Teacher bias in elementary school and the factors that aid it.

Camara Uras Douglas

Follow this and additional works at: <https://ir.library.louisville.edu/etd>



Part of the [African American Studies Commons](#), and the [Other Education Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Douglas, Camara Uras, "Teacher bias in elementary school and the factors that aid it." (2016). *Electronic Theses and Dissertations*. Paper 2506.
<https://doi.org/10.18297/etd/2506>

This Master's Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by ThinkIR: The University of Louisville's Institutional Repository. It has been accepted for inclusion in Electronic Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of ThinkIR: The University of Louisville's Institutional Repository. This title appears here courtesy of the author, who has retained all other copyrights. For more information, please contact thinkir@louisville.edu.

TEACHER BIAS IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL AND THE FACTORS THAT AID IT

By

Camara Uras Douglas
B.A., University of Louisville, 2005

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of the
College of Arts and Sciences of the University of Louisville
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of

Master of Arts
in
Pan African Studies

Department of Pan African Studies
University of Louisville
Louisville, Kentucky

August 2016

TEACHER BIAS IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL AND THE FACTORS THAT AID IT

By

Camara Uras Douglas
B.A., University of Louisville, 2005

A Thesis Approved on

July 8, 2016

by the following Thesis Committee:

Dr. Theresa Rajack-Talley

Dr. W. Carson Byrd

Dr. Derrick Brooms

ABSTRACT

TEACHER BIAS IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL AND THE FACTORS THAT AID IT

Camara U. Douglas

July 8, 2016

This thesis examines teacher bias in elementary school through a thorough investigation of prior research focused on this topic, along with historical accounts of African American education. The basic question of the thesis is: To what extent does teacher bias affect the educational experiences of African American students and lead to a persistent educational gap between African Americans and whites? The study found that teacher bias of African American students does exist particularly those from low-income neighborhoods. Moreover, the biases are based on certain assumptions that can be traced to the historical discrimination of African American in education, as well as assumptions about how African American cultural capital and socioeconomic status influence their value of education. In conclusion, the findings suggest that although policies and guidelines exist, there is room where personal biases based on stereotypes impact 5 decision making points and 8 judgement areas that negatively influence disciplinary dispositions and the academic evaluation of African American students. Not addressing racial discrimination and disparities in education reflects institutional racism, the continued subordination of minorities and control of white privilege.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
ABSTRACT.....	iii
CHAPTER	
I. INTRODCTION.....	1
II. HISTORICAL TRENDS IN AFRICAN AMERICAN EDUCATION AND RACIAL BIAS.....	24
III. FINDINGS: TEACHER BIAS IN ITS MANY FORMS.....	47
IV. CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION.....	79
REFERENCES.....	91
CURRICULUM VITAE.....	101

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In American culture, education is regarded as the ticket to a successful career and the key to achieving the American Dream (Johnson 2014). The federal government has instituted numerous guidelines governing education, each state has the ability to regulate those policies, and citizens in every state have the ability to go to primary and secondary schools for free if they choose to do so. Yet, there are differences in the educational experience and the level of educational attainment for students in different neighborhoods and some within the same school (Lewis-McCoy 2014). While children may live in close proximity to other peers they are often worlds apart when it comes to the type of education they receive (Kozol 1991). Although there are many differences a child may experience in their education journey based on school funding, teacher preparation, and school facilities, among other factors, this thesis examines how teacher bias in specific decision-making points in the education system can hinder the educational experiences of African American students and contribute to the persistent educational gap.

Numerous studies have examined the educational gap. While some scholars describe it as being an “achievement” gap (Gillborn 2008, Kao and Thompson 2003), and others as an “opportunity” gap (Milner 2012), in this study the educational gap refers to an all-encompassing notion with multiple facets such as lack of opportunities, minimal

resources, and other components identified in the achievement gap research.

Achievement gap research examines the inability of children to achieve levels of knowledge consistent with their peers. An example of the achievement gap would be two kids in the same grade and in the same school district who are given similar materials, but their level of understanding of the materials are different. From that example there can be potentially several different factors could aid in producing this disparity – including impermissible factors such as discrimination. The opportunity gap speaks to the irregular disbursement of opportunities in side of the school system. An example of the opportunity gap would be kids in the same school with the same academic record who are not offered the same opportunity for advance placement courses. It may also be the failure to provide access to certain school funded tutoring programs to similarly situated students based on discriminatory practices.

Disparities in education as a result of the achievement and opportunity gaps can be observed in the data on school enrollment, descriptions and suspensions by race. For example, according to the Civil Rights Data Estimation¹ the total enrollment (1st through 12th grade) for the school year 2011-2012 consisted of 15.9% African American and 51.7% white students. The same data identified that 8.8% African American and 60.8% white students were gifted and talented. With regards to suspension rates more white students (53%) received some sort of corporal punishment compared to African Americas (34.6%) but more African American students (43%) received more than one out-of-school suspension compared to white students (31.6%). Similarly, more African Americans (41.5%) received expulsions without educational services compared to white

¹ Civil Rights Data set located at (http://ocrdata.ed.gov/StateNationalEstimations/Estimations_2011_12)

students (36.8%). Interestingly, more white students (42.2%) received referrals to law enforcement than African American students (27.4%). In respect to pre-school suspension rates a larger percentage of African American students (53.6%) received one or more out of school suspensions than white students (23%).

The data while not reported proportional to the population by race does highlight the disparities. However, without context one may believe that African American students behave worse and therefore they are subjected to higher suspension rates. Also, if that assumption was the case then there should be higher rates of African Americans being expelled and referred to law enforcement. These statistics raise the questions: Why are African Americans being suspended more if they are not being expelled at the same rate? Why are African Americans students being supplied with educational services after expulsion at a lower rate? Why are African American preschool students being suspended at such a high rate but with a small rate of expulsion?

In many instances it is school teachers who make decisions on suspensions, referrals and other behavioral issues along with the educational outcomes of students. It is within this context that this study examines teacher bias and the impact this can have on educational disparities for African American students and which can help to better understand the statistical data described above

Factors that contribute to educational disparities is important given that the US is a meritocracy society where it is believed that hard work in school allows one to have an occupation that will provide for their family. With discrepancies in our educational system there is leeway for certain groups of students to end up with a lower educational attainment, which in turn can provide them with less than suitable income to provide for

their families. This is already observable in the US Labor Force Report (2011) that show disparities in types of jobs and weekly wages by race (bls.gov/opub/ted/2011/ted_20110914.htm).

The data show that the highest amounts of white workers (34.8% males and 41.5% females) are in management and professional related jobs. The lowest category for white males is service work at 13.6% and lowest category for white women is natural resources, construction and material at 0.9%. On the other hand, the highest category for African American males is production, transport, material and moving at 25.1% and the highest for African American women is management and professional related employment at 33.8% and service work at 28.3%. The lowest category for African Americans is natural resources, construction and material at 11.9% for men, and 0.7% for women.

The impact of these disparities can be observed in the data on poverty where 20.2% of whites live below the poverty line while, 56% earn over \$50,000, 26% above \$100,000, and 5.7% above \$200,000 (ww2.census.gov/programs-surveys/demo/tables/p60/252/table3.pdf). In other words, the majority of whites who because of the types of jobs they have and wages earned are more likely to have a middle class lifestyle and live in middle class neighborhood. Conversely, there are 38.8% of African Americans that live below the poverty, and 35.7% that earn over \$50,000, 11.9% above \$100,000, and 1.8% above \$200,000. These totals relay that a large number of African Americans occupy low paying jobs and live in low income neighborhoods.

Thus, in many instances African Americans cannot opt out of their neighborhood school, or move to a “better neighborhood” for a “better school” (Pattillo, Delale-

O'Connor and Butts 2014, Rhodes and DeLuca 2014). Having less economic mobility limits the ability of any parent to live or move into an area where their child's school will be one that will provide them with an education that can break this cycle. As a result, education as a ticket to the American Dream remains a dream for many African Americans because of the persistence of an educational gap.

As was mentioned before, the term "education gap" is used throughout this thesis to refer to both the achievement and opportunity gaps. Some of the research reviewed support the arguments and rationale that continues to aid in the perpetuation of the education gap. Such studies tend to focus on the student, family, and/or culture as the source of the problem (Ogbu 2008). The use of these non-structural variables to explain the disparities in educational achievement tend to absolve the education institution of any responsibility (Ainsworth-Darnell and Downey 1998). This allows the society to blame the victim rather than address any structural issues that impact educational achievement (Ainsworth-Darnell and Downey 1998).

However, there are other modes of research used to analyze educational achievement which do examine society's failures towards students, including race and racist assumptions, as factors which produce student under achievement (Dee 2004, Diamond 2006, Ladson-Billings 1998, McIntosh, Girvan, Horner et al. 2015). The body of literature included herein examines both structural and non-structural factors that can contribute to the educational gap. However, the research relies heavily on the literature that adopts a more structural approach to explain disparities in educational attainment based on race (Diamond 2006, Irvine and Irvine 1983, Thompson 1997). This body of literature offer a clearer view of why a substantial educational attainment gap persists

inside a country that portrays itself as being on the cutting edge for social justice and diversity. Educational research notes that the educational achievement gap is still prevalent due, in part, to the absence of a true method and practice for addressing the racist foundation upon which America was built. Those racist assumptions, prejudices, and biases have been woven into American society as the norm and exist in the minds of Americans as common beliefs (Thompson 1997).

To understand how societal beliefs shape the educational attributes, and then in turn reaffirm those societal beliefs about African Americans, it is necessary to also examine the history of African American education. The early accounts of African American educational history were dominated by whites' perspectives and has substantial influence in the construction of the formal education system as we know today. Racism, was not an explicit part of the white dominated literature that reported on African Americans and education in the late 19th to early 20th century, it is however part of the larger discussion on the educational disadvantage of African Americans in today's educational institutions.

Negative societal beliefs and stereotypes about African Americans framed educational initiatives undertaken by the government at varying levels, during reconstruction (1865 to 1877). These initiatives, were shaped by the societal views regarding African Americans along with the literary interpretations of dominant white writers (White and Bentley 1956). The dominant view during this era was that African Americans lacked aptitude for formal education (Butchart 1988). This perspective was highly influential in the structuring of the educational system that was provided to African Americans through government support at the time. This biased approach to

African American education can be linked to the current disadvantages that African Americans still face in education today.

Contemporary literature indicates that the history of structuring African American schools and education opportunities, as well as the underlying basis behind school segregation, are overlooked by those who frequently write policies that affect African Americans today. According to this scholarship, it is important to accept the idea that the United States' education system is built around racist assumptions, and to attack that system one must first acknowledge that the institution itself was built on racist foundations (Diamond 2006, Ladson-Billings 1998, Morris 2001, Thompson 1997, Walker 2000, Walker 2001). Further, Thompson (1997) suggest that failure to reeducate society about those racist undertones gives the appearance that our society still agrees with those negative ideas and beliefs. He suggests that reduction can also address teacher bias and the impact on African American students.

An African American child can experience teacher bias as early as primary school, and such experiences can also have lasting effects on how the student views their educational experience and their possible educational outcome (Cooper, Crosnoe, Suizzo et al. 2009, Halvorsen, Lee and Andrade 2008). The racial bias the students experience leads to lower educational attainment when compared to their peers. This study is based on the assumption that racial thinking in U. S. society affects all those living there and that this way of thinking affects actions and decisions knowingly and unknowingly (Mills 1997), including school teachers at all levels of the educational system.

With this understanding, this study specifically focuses on the decision making points of elementary school teachers as plugs where discretion can potentially be used to hinder the educational potential or outcome for African American students. The variables that aid in formulating teacher bias are examined utilizing the definition of race (based in the United States), the historical experiences of African Americans in education, racial thinking and its impact on how cultural capital and socioeconomic status intersects.

Purpose of Study:

The purpose of this study is to better understand how teacher bias towards African Americans can contribute to the existing educational gap based on race. An examination of teacher bias is important because teachers' treatment of their students, particularly at the elementary school level, can have lasting effects on the potential of African American students to achieve a level of education that is consistent with the full potential of their educational ability.

The current thesis is guided by the following research question: does teacher bias affect decision making and hinder the educational experiences of African American students? It specifically looks at teacher bias in elementary schools. Moreover, teacher bias is examined in a historical context showing how the experiences and positions of African American students were shaped in the past as well as today. Teachers can have set, preconceived notions and beliefs regarding the level of possible educational attainment for their African American students including their possible level of performance (Rosenthal and Jacobson 1968). For example, these biases can manifest as

higher rates of school discipline for African American students (Pas, Bradshaw and Mitchell 2011), higher rates of diagnosed learning disorders for African American students (Skiba, Poloni-Staudinger, Simmons et al. 2005), or other forms of discrimination towards the students (Mickelson 2003). Thus, although the current public school system that exists in American society is shaped around the theme that each student has equal opportunity and access to the same education, a prevalent gap still exists regarding the educational level students are able to achieve even within the same school (Begeny, Eckert, Montarello et al. 2008, Clayton 2011, Halvorsen et al. 2008, Michael-Luna and Marri 2010, Posey-Maddox 2014, Tyson 2011).

The current thesis is not simply a result of pursuing a research interest. It is reflective of both a combination of life experiences and research interests. As I acted as a TRiO counselor [government funded counselor who works in schools with a high number of students who receive free and reduced lunch and who are potentially the first family member to attend college] in the public schools in Louisville, Kentucky for close to seven years, I witnessed consistently differential treatment regarding the educational experiences of African American students compared to their white peers many times over. This experience kindled a thirst for what was originally personal knowledge, and eventually lead me to the academic inquiry at hand.

Theoretical Perspectives

The main theoretical perspective used to understand racial bias and institutional racism in the education system is Critical Race Theory. CRT was developed first in the field of legal research and then examined and used to include the field of education

(Ladson-Billings 1998). It is used in this study because it offers a lens through which disparities in education can be analyzed based on race relations, racism, and societal practices and how these factors shapes, informs and operates in the educational system. Critical Race Theory is used in the field of education due to its ability to highlight components of education that speak to the differential treatment that occurs. The addition of Critical Race Theory in education allows for researchers to emphasis how race relations, racism, and societal practices have shaped and informed how our educational system was created and how it currently operates.

Critical Race Theory is based on five core tenants. First, CRT assumes that racism is normal, not aberrant and it appears natural and normal to people in the society. Meaning that racism is embedded in every institution and in the daily social interactions of people in the US. Second, CRT emphasizes the importance of voice or naming one's reality. It insists that reality is socially constructed and that stories provide hidden points of view. Moreover, the passing of these stories can overcome ethnocentrism as well as dysconscious racism. Third, CRT sees a need to critique liberalism, claiming that the sweeping changes needed to overcome racism cannot be handled through liberal laws, policies, and court actions. CRT insists that mere changes or creation of laws is not enough to counter the injustices that took place before them or to help in disturbing the possible ones to come after. Fourth, CRT is adamant that whites are the main beneficiaries of civil right legislation. Civil Right laws on the surface seem to be geared towards aiding non-white members of society, further examination details a different story as to who those laws really aided. For instance, Massey and Mooney (2007)

explain how affirmative action did more to aid white men than African American men and women.

The last and fifth core tenant is the understanding or acceptance that a regime of white supremacy exist and that the privilege of whiteness and the subordination of people of color is maintained in America (Ladson-Billings and Tate IV 1995, Ladson-Billings 1998). Using CRT allows one to accept and understand that racism is prevalent in society rather than attempting to use a form of colorblindness to explain the variations in treatment (Hinnant, O'Brien and Ghazarian 2009, Hoge and Coladarci 1989, Ladd and Linderholm 2008). This perspective also allows one to see the racism in "colorblind" rhetoric (Bonilla-Silva 2006) and the extent to which racism is institutionalizing structured ways.

Critical Race Theory in this study helps to explain how race and racism are embedded in the American education system. Without the acceptance of racism being at the root of the American society and that America was created and maintained to have white control and power over people of color, it may be puzzling and difficult to accept the fabric that has clothed our society and found its way in to our American educational system. Placing racism as a historical problem in American education, which has turned into an institutional problem of racism in the educational system, allows for examination of disparities beyond the assumption that as individual student performing at a lower level, or that a teacher displaying bad judgement may have been having a bad day. Looking beyond those narrow reasons allows one to see that the problem of racial disparities in education can be linked to persistent, ingrained biases and is therefore an institutional problem.

Increasingly, Critical Race Theory is being used to analyze racial disparities in education, and it is a tool which can no longer be ignored by the academy in North America (Gillborn 2006). Upon Critical Race Theory's inception into education it was argued that institutional racism was deeply embedded in American society and that the society was filled with anti-black attitudes of inferiority. Moreover, these attitudes helped institutional racism shape the assumptions of whites even if they themselves did not directly discriminate against African Americans. Understanding institutional racism can help in the process of examining race and ethnic inequalities in various levels of social policy (Phillips 2011), including that related to education.

Institutional racism is said to be found in every societal United States institution at both the macro and micro levels. It should be mandatory for each major institution to examine its policies in order to guard against discriminatory practices. For that to happen, each institution must first accept that institutional racism does, in fact, exist and that it is a part of that institution (Bourne 2001). Just prejudice alone is not the main concern. However, when prejudiced acts turn into engrained social discrimination within an institution which limits choices, outcomes and life possibilities, then institutional racism is present (Bourne 2001).

African Americans have historically faced social, cultural and economic discrimination and given the label of a "disfavored" minority. This label means that all African Americans are judged as members of a group rather than as individuals. This "disfavored" minority label suggests that African Americans are unfavorable for advancement in social situations (Parker 1998). Individuals as racial social actors receive and reconstruct racial biases that build racism inside of institutions. These biases

are developed through group dynamics, and these group dynamics are set up based on the social order of the groups. As these institutions operate with the best interests of whites, through being controlled historically by whites, the racism manifested by such institutions transcends time and place (Lopez 2000).

Institutional racism is not only shaped by overt, outward acts of discrimination, it is also shaped through the lack of effort, or negligence, to develop programs to aid those discriminated against. Various ethnocentric views which constitute distorted images of one race aid in the continuation of institutional racism by the active members of that institution (Baratz and Baratz 1970). For example, the racist structure of the Jim Crow South, where African Americans were socially relegated to an inferior status and where a system of white privilege subjugated African Americans to have second class citizenship with respects to education, access to jobs, and civic status, was the buttress of the structure of institutional racism set in place (Bobo 2011).

It is within these theoretical framework (CRT and Institutional Racism) that this study examines teacher bias and education. It does not set out to prove or disprove that racism exist in the education system, rather it simply assumes that it does and that it impacts African American student experiences and outcomes.

Methods

While Critical Race Theory is used to understand teacher bias based on race and the persistence of institutional racism, an intersectionality is used as the basis of my methodological approach. This allows for the examination of how race is intersected with poverty and cultural capital to formulate and make teacher bias acceptable in the minds of

the teachers. The idea of Intersectionality was originally coined inside of feminist research in 1980s. Intersectionality as a research approach incorporates and includes multi-dimensional explanations for various occurrences that happen in society. This involves the inclusion and interaction of factors such as race, gender, socioeconomic status, cultural relevance, and other social variables to explain various phenomenon (McCall 2005). Prior to the introduction of intersectionality as a research approach, variables that could have multiple connections to other variables were examined on a one dimensional level and not examined with the additional knowledge of how different variables can have an interactive effect.

This study examines how stereotypes and historical beliefs based on race impact perceptions of African American culture capital and socioeconomic status by teachers in the public education system of the US. The data for the thesis was accessed through an examination of a range of multidisciplinary literature on the topic of African American education, including historical texts on the educational history of African Americans, sociological and psychological literature that examines teacher bias, and literature which looked at the importance of a substantial elementary education for the continued benefits of education post elementary school. Specifically, teacher bias in elementary schools are examined within the context of implicit/explicit bias based on stereotypes of African Americans socioeconomic status, parental education, culture, and educational history. While the research literature in each of these categories discusses teacher bias, some of the literature does not explicitly use the term “teacher bias.” Instead the literature may use such terms as “decision making points” to describe how the teacher’s previous notions of the child affect how the teacher treats the student. Along with literature that

explains teacher bias, prior studies that examines the importance of teacher judgement and how that relates to student outcomes are reviewed.

The literature used in this thesis was gathered in two separate manners. First, the historical literature was gathered using the text “The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860 – 1935” by James Anderson (1988). The various literature cited in the book was used to further locate and review other similar studies. The teacher bias literature was therefore gathered using a literature tree beginning with the latest report that examined teacher bias in elementary education and including the research most commonly cited in the teacher bias literature. The literature that specifically focused on bias in American elementary schools was then interrogated around the research purpose and objectives.

Racialized Terms

There are many terms and concepts that are used in the literature on teacher bias in elementary schools. These include stereotypes, bias, and discrimination as they relate to race and racism. This section of the chapter provides readers with a point of reference to further understand the social construction of race and how it is dispersed through society with varied consequences for the out group, or African Americans.

Stereotypes

Stereotypes transcend through what individuals perceive and become one’s actual thoughts when they think about a specific individual or group of people. Years of negative societal beliefs and imagery have aided in the negative stereotypes of African Americans. Banaji, Hardin and Rothman (1993) state that “because stereotyped

judgments simplify and justify social reality, they are among the most fundamental psychological events that determine the course of social relations” (p.272). Stereotypes can be linked to personal judgements whereby a person judges another person or group based on their own personal judgement regarding that individual or that group (Banaji, Hardin and Rothman 1993). Along with this view of stereotypes, the white racist framing of society gives whites space to connect negative images, beliefs, and thoughts about non-white people to all people of color. Those assumed stereotypes aid in their discrimination against that sub-group simply based on what they as whites believe to be true (Picca and Feagin 2007). Stereotypes replicate a mental process involving the ability to predict behaviors based on impressions which influence judgements. Although these behaviors are learned under false pretense from presumed images of non-whites, they are learned very quickly, and they last until a new or positive image takes the place of the negative one (Amodio and Devine 2006).

While individuals can be exposed to a variety of stereotype about other groups throughout their lives, it is only stereotypes that uplift their own racial group that have a lasting imagery affect and influence that individual’s perception of the other group’s social category (Banaji et al. 1993). That is, while stereotyped influences are received unconsciously, individuals are selective regarding which stereotypes they hold onto or retain, and the ones to which they choose to adhere (Banaji et al. 1993). Whites, throughout history have been the ones who have had the ability and power to construct the negative social views of others. The negative stereotypes associated with African Americans are often personified as a threat, hence, causing slim interaction with African Americans as a safety net for whites. Those assumed threatening interactions then go on

to fuel the justifications for their learned, stereotyped images of African Americans (Picca and Feagin 2007) and consequently their actions towards the group.

These stereotypes are linked to the racialized imagery that exists in our society through media outlets and personal observations (Quillian 2006). From these images, which are then translated into stereotypes, it is shown that African Americans are more often associated with being impoverished, delinquents, and have positions of low authority when compared to whites -- all of which are negative social characteristics and biased outcomes when acted upon in discriminatory ways.

Bias

Assumed beliefs or stereotypes usually translate into bias. Similarly, individuals can act on their biases with negative consequences on the stereotyped individual and/or group. Discussion on bias revolves around implicit and explicit manifestations. Interestingly, unconscious personal judgements (implicit) that affect behavior are more frequent than not (Greenwald and Banaji 1993), and bias and personal attitudes can take place unconsciously (Banaji et al. 1993). Explicit forms of bias can be easily associated with stereotypes, but implicit bias can go unnoticed until it is uncovered. Implicit bias can however be revealed at “decision making points”, which is why it is important to understand teacher bias as it relates to the educational outcomes of students. “Indeed, most expressions of race bias reflect a combination of affective and cognitive processes, and the most commonly reported African American stereotypes are negative in valence,” (Amodio and Devine 2006).

Social psychologists have found that people hold onto implicit racial biases that can be unconscious and uncontrollable at the same time (Cameron, Payne and Knobe 2010). An inquiry has developed in race theory concerning how one should deal with bias as a moral issue if it is, in fact, uncontrollable, unconscious, and can be learned unknowingly. That debate revolves around the need to either pardon discrimination when it's done with implicit bias which has been unintentionally performed, or to punish discrimination in any form in which it may manifest itself (Cameron et al. 2010). Some say that if stereotyping and or discrimination occur from unconscious bias then there is no way that one should really be punished for exhibiting such behavior since science shows that such behavior can take place unintentionally (Bargh 1999). On the other side of the debate, the argument is that no matter how the biases are formed they are no less injurious, or deserve no less appraisal or eradication; they still exist and should be punished due to the mere act of expressing the bias (Lane, Kang and Banaji 2007).

While implicit bias can be difficult to recognize and control, it is still associated with discriminatory behavior such as non-verbal negativity towards the out-group (Bargh 1999). Along with individual discrimination, acts of implicit bias can also affect criminal sentencing, and cause one to think that a non-lethal tool is a gun when it is held by a black man (Cameron et al. 2010).

Within the field of psychology there are two tests commonly used to gauge implicit bias: the rapid priming and implicit association tests (IAT). During a rapid priming test individuals will be shown the words "black" or "white," or a black or white face image, but only long enough for them to unconsciously assume what was presented to them. Then the subject is given an action or behavior and asked to judge that action as

threatening or troubling. Respondents who were presented with the black image or word reported higher levels of threatening behavior (Quillian 2008). During an IAT test respondents are gauged on the speed with which they associate white or black with good or bad. During this test black is more often associated with bad, and white is more often associated with good (Quillian 2008). Both of these methods peer into the realm of implicit bias. It is not merely the words, images, or association tests that display levels of bias in the individuals. It is also associated with social imagery that was previously learned and then translated out through the test.

There are two basic strands of research on implicit bias. One strand defines implicit bias primarily as unconscious in nature and notes that it could be developed from past experiences which may cause one to have favorable or unfavorable reactions towards social objects that cause surreptitiously discriminative behavior (Cameron et al. 2010, Greenwald and Banaji 1995). The other strand defines implicit bias as automatic in nature, and as conscious attitudes that are triggered automatically. That is, individuals are aware of their racial bias, but have trouble with controlling them (Cameron et al. 2010). In a society founded on the racial divide and repeated negative imagery of African Americans, it can be assumed, based on these authors conclusions, that there have been numerous layers of implicit bias building in the minds of whites for hundreds of years.

Implicit bias raises concern between virtue and social knowledge. It suggests that knowing a popular stereotype will lead people to then act in a prejudiced way that reflects that stereotype (Madva forthcoming). Madva further expresses that those decisions include, but are not limited to, deciding who to trust, who to hire, who to fire,

and who to lock up. “Merely knowing what is statistically likely about a group leads individuals to act in some respects as if those statistical generalizations were normative, as if members of that group ought to be treated in a certain way,” (Madva forthcoming). These generalizations that Madva is speaking of are what can then cause individuals to act in a discriminatory fashion to other races. The process of racialization, development of racial ideologies, stereotypes, and biases lead to the acts of discrimination. Discrimination would not be plausible without the formation of these other factors.

Discrimination

Discrimination is prevalent in many forms of daily social interactions -- such as employment, housing, credit, consumer interactions, health care, criminal justice system, and the education system. Discrimination that exists today is more covert as opposed to being overt as it was during the pre-civil rights era (Pager and Shepherd 2008). Racial discrimination relates to the unequal treatment of an individual or a group based on their assumed race or ethnicity. There is a disparate impact when two different groups should be treated equally based on a set of rules but one of the groups is given more favor based on its race. Pager and Shepherd (2008) explain that the other component of discrimination is one that encompasses discriminatory elements that may not have an explicit racial undertone with its introduction, but can produce a racialized consequence from that non-explicit undertone. Those include such things as racial disadvantages which develop through individual or group institutional racial discrimination which tramples valued opportunities. They conclude that discrimination, unlike prejudice, or

racism, is an active behavior, although it can be motivated by prejudice, bias and/or racism.

Modern social psychologists believe it is possible for people to implicitly or explicitly discriminate even if that discrimination goes against their own self-interest. With implicit discrimination the actions are based on unconscious mental associations with a sub-group (Bertrand and Mullainathan 2005). That is to say that if one experiences having an African American boss, he would be less likely to discriminate against that African American than if he experienced having an African American co-worker. Having an African American boss would allow an individual to see an African American in a position of power, superiority, and capability. That is not to say that that particular individual will not discriminate against African Americans, but they may be potentially less likely to do so.

Discrimination can go beyond just individual discrimination, or small group level discrimination, and become manifested in large social institutions. This level of discrimination is what is known as institutional discrimination. The institutional discrimination can manifest into any social institution or private institution in our society. Again, it is important to note that without racialization, prejudice, stereotypes, and bias, neither discrimination nor institutional discrimination would exist.

Thesis Outline

Following this Introduction Chapter 1, **CHAPTER 2** examines the historical trends in African American education through a historiography of various historical accounts. These trends are examined to seek their connection to the educational

disparities that exist today. After the discussion on the literary trends, this chapter examines the impact of desegregation, and pulls out instances of teacher bias throughout various historical accounts. This chapter serves to highlight the assumptions that were developed through the use of literature on African American education and how such assumptions, in turn, became societal assumptions. This chapter also details the racist undertones of our American education system and how those themes have changed their outward expression but remained constant over the years. The main purpose of this chapter is to set a stage for reviewing the material on the educational system that exists today, “You can't hate the roots of a tree and not hate the tree” –Malcolm X. This chapter serves as the examination of the roots of the disproportionate education system that exists today in America.

CHAPTER 3 is the findings chapter and first examines the effect of historical race-based stereotypes on African American education. It then discusses teacher bias in contemporary times reported in prior studies and peer reviewed articles. Teacher bias at 5 distinct decision making points is examined. It also looks at how teacher bias is influenced by stereotypes of African Americans’ cultural capital, and socioeconomic status. Further, the impact of bias on teacher judgement and disciplinary differences is explored. This chapter serves to highlight the significance of having a good start in elementary school and how a good start effects one’s potential throughout their educational experience or vice versa.

CHAPTER 4 examines the evolution of teacher bias throughout the span of African American education. This chapter also pays detail to the importance of having a strong elementary school experience as it relates to skill building, and teacher students

relationship. There are three school-based policy areas that are examined from a critical race theory and intersectionality perspective. The three school-based policy areas examined in this concluding chapter are community and school convergence, dress code, and zero-tolerance policies. Chapter four concludes with an explanation of possible solutions to teacher bias as well as ideas for further research.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL TRENDS IN AFRICAN AMERICAN EDUCATION AND RACIAL BIAS

The opportunity for African Americans to receive public education is often seen as a basic right given to them at the end of slavery (1865). However, the education provided to African Americans was quite different from what was offered to their white counterparts. It was also different from the education originally provided by freed slaves -- which they saw the best fit for their education. This loosely constructed educational system provided teaching space that was accommodating to all learning styles, fit the schedules of the teachers and students, and was free of daily acts of overt racism and discrimination (Anderson 1988). However, the educational system constructed by freed slaves did not fit the template of the white schools of the time or comply with the educational opportunities that whites thought fit for newly freed slaves. Therefore, it quickly became co-opted and controlled by whites.

As the actual practice of educating the newly freed slaves emerged, negative societal beliefs regarding the slaves' educational abilities were continuously reinforced through the literature of that time (Reconstruction era 1865-1877). This chapter examines how the literature regarding African American education following slavery to contemporary times reflected and supported societal beliefs or stereotypes about the diminished educational ability of African Americans. Next, various instances throughout the educational history of African Americans where stereotypical beliefs about the

academic ability of African Americans were used in the construction of the US education system is examined. Next, the chapter investigates how historical assumptions, beliefs and stereotypes about African Americans' educational ability have become standard biases used to describe and measure the scholastic learning abilities of all African Americans in today's schools. Collectively, the discussions highlight how racist assumptions and pedagogy were part of the foundation of the American public school system and how they persist in contemporary USA. Equally important, the chapter argues that the same racists' beliefs are used to explain racial disparities in educational achievement.

By examining the various historical and literary trends the chapter assists in understanding how today we are still confronted with disproportionate education outcomes and opportunities for African Americans. Throughout this thesis and in this chapter evidence-based arguments are presented to show that racial disparities in the education system are prevalent today because of the failure to fully address the historical roots of racial discrimination in our educational system. Without proper interrogation of these roots racial and other forms of discrimination have remained and have grown into the massive Methuselahtic tree of the system we currently have.

It can be argued that the early literature which addressed the issues of educating African Americans was built around non-structural arguments. Those early arguments regarding African Americans' lack of educational ability were built on individual and cultural beliefs about the assumed inability of African Americans to learn (Anderson 1988). While some literature was written about the need for a change in such beliefs and the importance of a liberal arts education for African Americans by such authors as

W.E.B Du Bois, this literature and/or argument was over-looked at the time. This was primarily because it did not support the agenda of controlling whites and their views on what kind of education should be permitted for African Americans or reflect the level of their desired achievement for African Americans. The early arguments did not identify the structure of the educational system education as a hindrance to the educational opportunities for African Americans, instead they were based on the negative ideology whites socially constructed about the intellectual ability of African Americans during slavery (Butchart 1988). This ideology supported the belief that African Americans were not 'fit' to be educated, and that they should remain on the plantations to fuel the Southern economy.

In the following sections of this chapter the literature on the history of African American education is examined specifically where bias and discriminatory accounts were displayed. These accounts help in illuminating the biased construction of education in America as it pertains to African Americans.

Literary Trends in the Historical Accounts of African American Education

This section of the chapter examines how various historical documents on the education of African Americans potentially aided in perpetuating the ongoing discriminatory practices we see in America's public schools today. To better understand the context of the historical documents the chapter looks at the history, the epistemological positions of those who wrote and validated these accounts, the emergent trends and purpose of the different perspectives.

African Americans were first educated in public schools established by ex-slaves in their own communities (Anderson 1988). During the antebellum era, 1812 to 1861, it was documented that education for African Americans was held in a certain high esteem, while it was simultaneously outlawed. Any slave found attempting to educate himself/herself or who had an education was forced to suffer various consequences. Among slaves it was believed that education would be the tool to help them get to freedom. Nevertheless, once slaves were freed, education was still held in high regard and schools began to spring up across the former slave states (Alvord 1870). This early school system, however, was soon influenced by whites who began to shape the school system in specific ways such as: offering school classes Monday through Friday with the summer off; limiting the maximum level of education available for African Americans in public schools and funneling African American teachers into the schools to teach only the accepted subject matter that dominant whites saw as the height for educated African Americans (White and Bentley 1956). The white-influenced educational models were then made available to Freed Men and non-slave African Americans in the North during slavery.

In a similar fashion, whites also began to control what was being written about the history of African American education during the early years. Through this white lens, white appropriation of the schools initially established by freed slaves was justified because whites argued that African Americans were unable to produce an ‘adequate’ school system, at least not one justifiable through their white supremacist rhetoric (Anderson 1988, Butchart 1988). A thorough examination of the literature is therefore

important in understanding how ongoing discriminatory practices in America's public schools have been rationalized and continue to affect African American students.

Distinct trends in accounts of the history of African American education can be discerned and organized into three epochs or eras in America's history (Butchart 1988). The first era runs from the turn of the 20th century into the early 1930's around the Great Depression. The second era extends from approximately the great depression to the 1960's (with similar rhetoric being visible in the 1980's). The third era in African American educational literature concerns the post 1960's period. Interestingly, each of the three periods has a specific ideological orientation or focus.

During the first era, literature about African American education focused on two different ideas. Butchart (1988) describes those two areas of scholarship as being one representative of the black historian, with a corrective historian approach, and the other area being the white supremacist views espoused by Southern whites. It is important to note that while there were African American writers who wrote during this time period, their work did not support the views of the white supremacist establishment and was therefore not viewed as valid or substantial.

The African American scholars of this first era spoke of the self-help model of school, laying large claim on the positive impact of the freed slaves who started schools, implying that with education African Americans could change their social position in society (Porter 1936). Also, essential to their claim was that the education system, because of the influence of whites, had been impacted by racism and negative assumptions regarding African Americans' potential in education (Jackson 1930, Swint 1941). Interestingly, while the African American scholars agreed that education was

necessary, there was no consensus on what type of education best suited African Americans. The debate among African American scholars was centered on what type of curriculum was appropriate. Was it industrial, focused on agricultural education, or was it a more liberal arts education focus similar to the European model (de Roulhac Hamilton 1909)? In general, the African American scholars of this era not only wrote to put forth their perspectives on African American education, they also wrote to object to the opposing side and argued against literature coming from the white supremacists (Preston 1943).

On the other hand, white supremacists of this era wrote to justify the lack of support for Negro education based on the racial parameters that were already in place (Peabody 1918). Their discussion was centered on formulating African American education so that African Americans could continue to remain in the same agricultural, slave-like working conditions of the past. As such, white researchers suggested that there was no need to aid African Americans with funds to address overcrowded classrooms and their teachers' lack of experience. The decision to refrain from improving African American education was, therefore, biased and based on the self-interest of wanting to maintain a ready supply of cheap industrial and agricultural labor. Their decision was rationalized by arguing that the Negro was unable to learn beyond a certain educational level (Noble 1918). Suggestions made by African American researchers at the time were not considered valid unless they were linked to industrial type education (i.e. Booker T. Washington). Consequently, black intellectuals such as W.E.B DuBois, who spoke out frequently against the impact of white supremacy on the education of African Americans, were largely ignored during this era by the dominant white researchers (Butchart 1988).

The second phase of literature to emerge on the history of African American education was between the 1930's and 1960's with some of its rhetoric still visible up to the 1980's. During this period the literature on African American education attempted to offer a more conclusive historiography on the educational history of African Americans (Butchart 1988). This concept was not previously completed since prior literature was enthralled with white supremacist thought mainly in the Southern states. What was accomplished in the post 1930's phase was more of a systematic approach through the use of data collection to support arguments made (Knox 1947). Also prevalent during this period were the discussions by African Americans about segregation and Brown v. Board I (1954), once it was decided. There was much discussion revolving around the continued disparities between white and African American education with integration and a return to literature on the influence northern white philanthropists had on African American education in the South (Low 1952).

During this second era, Butchart (1988) explains that some of the white liberals writing about African American education took on a new ideological shift which seemed to have promise for African American scholars of the era. This new ideological shift by white liberals revealed their belief that whites' moral values could help them overcome their biased thoughts against African Americans and allow African Americans to assimilate fully into society through education (Johnson 1935). This moral judgement appeared to reveal that some white researchers were beginning to accept the perspective that the problems in African American education were based on the historic and systematic structuring of an education system which revolved around race and racism.

These few white researchers who shared this view began to drop the biased opinion that African Americans were purely inadequate to be educated. However, this perspective shifted and arguments for miseducation began to focus more on class-based issues rather than racial inclusivity (Leavell 1930). Class rather than race was seen as the main cause for differences in educational attainments. Butchart (1988) asserts that the class-based shift in the focus of the literature was revolved around three major themes. These themes were: (1) interracial cooperation; (2) democratic ideals, and (3) segregation -- which was rooted in topics of integration and liberal progressivism (Haran 1958, Knox 1947).

While white scholars of this time were writing about the integration of educational space being key for African Americans' educational advancements, there was little discussion of racism in education or how racism perpetuated the educational plight of African Americans (Haran 1958, Vaughn 1964). The overall discussions about education in this era were seen as more liberal when compared to the era that came before it, but any discussion of historic connections and existing complications due to slavery were nonexistent in the literary discussions about African American education at this time (Cornelius 1983). With the *Brown v. Board I* (1954) decision and the end of Jim Crow, white and black liberals assumed the gaps and the differences in education would eventually dissolve. This assumption was rooted in white liberals' belief in possible assimilation through education (Brawley 1974, Caliver 1950, Newby and Tyack 1971).

Also discussed during this era was a revisionist approach to older literature on the same topic (Reddick 1947, White and Bentley 1956). The older literature was turned into theories for scholars to use without offering heavy empirical statistical data (Butchart

1980). This happened at a time when the depth and breadth in the field of African American educational history research was increasing. This increase was accomplished by allowing literature that did not completely align with white supremacy or a segregationist mind set to be heard.

With the emergence of the third period, post mid 1960's, there was more scholarship developed relating to the black experience. With this new literature and the development of Black Studies Programs, the research began to examine the possible affects slavery as a system and the unjust treatment of African Americans after slavery had on American society. There was also a connection drawn as to how atrocities during the time of slavery were infused into the field of education (Butchart 1988).

In addition, with the *Brown v. Board I* (1954) decision, literature emerged that supported the decision (Jordan 1955), and literature emerged that was against the ruling (Bell Jr 1979). The literature against Brown examined the educational gap between whites and blacks that still exists, and the broken promises of Brown v. Board (Butchart 1988). The discussions regarding the broken promises of Brown are enriched with discussions of how whites took interracial liberal efforts and produced conservative goals in terms of the levels of educational attainment reached through integration (Butchart 1988). On the other side of the spectrum, with the new influx of reports and examinations of Africans in the American slave culture, literature began to surface that claimed slave culture turned into the culture of African Americans (Moss 1981, Webber 1978). The writers of such reports offered this connection to slave culture as the explanation for the failure of African Americans to excel in the education setting (Moss 1981, Webber 1978). Meaning that

The other, more forward--thinking trends in the literature on the education gap look at poverty, cultural capital, environment, advanced placement testing procedures, school funding, teacher experience and knowledge, and school/class environment (Halvorsen et al. 2008). In each of these subcategories there are instances where teacher bias adversely affects the student's educational experience. While each of these newer trends in research literature may or may not exclusively highlight the nature or existence of teacher bias, they do either indirectly or directly speak of it.

The literary trends observed in the writings on African American educational history allow one to understand why, although such accounts in retrospect may be quite troubling, there was no adaptation or modification to certain stereotypical beliefs and bias practices. In the first two eras signs of the five tenants of CRT can be observed. For example, the early white writers of African American education felt that their view point based on white supremacy was the standpoint all should take. Also, there was limited availability for the voices of the African American writers to be heard or considered to have a valid opinion. The passing of Brown v. Board was supposed to benefit African Americans but it did more for the white students. When African Americans questioned Brown and other civil rights advances they were accused to have liberal positions.

Impact of Desegregation on African American Education

As was mentioned earlier in this chapter, African American education started at the end of slavery and was conducted in a communal setting. School may have taken place on a Saturday or Sunday (Sabbath School) or at various times when someone was available to teach the children and young adults (Alvord 1870, Stinson and Bullock

1970). These original school houses were set up through a community system and were predominantly attended by the recently emancipated African Americans.

To fully examine and assess the positive impact segregated schools had on the African American community, it is important to focus on the interpersonal relationship between the schools and the communities surrounding them (Irvine and Irvine 1983). Doing so highlights an aspect of African American education that is not typically discussed. The literature discusses how the school was the community and the community was the school prior to *Brown v Board I* (1954) and during segregation (Bell Jr 1979, Epperson 2005, Hanushek, Kain and Rivkin 2002). Inside the African American communities, teachers and principals lived among the students, and the segregated African American schools were surrounded by a community consciousness that called for students to attend school (Irvine and Irvine 1983). This level of community involvement was lost with the integration of schools. For example, after the *Brown v. Board I* (1954) decision and the beginning of busing, African American students were not attending schools in their own community, and they were no longer living in the same community among their teachers and/ or principals (Irvine and Irvine 1983).

Thus, prior to school integration African American schools was much part of the African American community. This was seen as a positive value and regarded as good by some African Americans. Other positive aspects of segregated schools were that African Americans students had archetypal teachers and cultural appropriate curriculum and extra-curricular activities. Parents were also more involved with the schools and there was overall visible leadership of the school principals (Walker 2000) .

However, there were some negative aspects. For example, Walker (2000) speaks of the lack of adequate facilities and transportation, shorter school terms, high teacher to student ratio, and poor student attendance, ----but still insists that these segregated schools served as a good environment for African American students. Within this environment, the African American students' culture was accepted and reflected in the curriculum of the school, and the school served as a place for the students to escape from the racism that was prevalent elsewhere in the Jim Crow South (Walker 2000).

White's perception of these schools as seen in the literature only focused on the negative aspects concerning the lack of funding. Funding was set up in a way that these schools remained at low cost functioning levels (Walker 2000). With this interpretation, the literature untangles how a constructed reality becomes the perceived reality. The structured lack of funding for African American schools is then translated into an assumption that African American families and communities choose to poorly fund their schools. It is hastily and easily forgotten that school funding is influenced by whites and the white community's governing forces.

The underfunding of African American schools was also justified because they were established to train African Americans in agriculture and other low paying jobs rather than in a liberal arts education (Anderson 1988, Walker 2000). What is important here in analyzing the debate surrounding segregated schools is the history of underfunding schools for African Americans compared to the level of funding provided to schools for white children of the same era. Historically, white Southerners first created the process denying adequate state aid to certain public schools (Butchart 1988, Diamond 2006, Irvine and Irvine 1983, Walker 2000). Their claim was that the African American

population did not pay enough taxes into the states to get a reward such as state funded educational amenities(Anderson 1988). Due to that under funding decision, all African American segregated schools had to rely on northern philanthropists to provide funds or count on the small amount of federal money that was available (Anderson 1988, Walker 2000).

During Reconstruction, the literature depicts a work system in the South that called for the heavy labor of African Americans. The South was still predominantly an agricultural society with a high demand for field labor (Armstrong 1872, Reddick 1947). With the influence of white philanthropists from the North who donated money for schools, there developed a supply and demand for an African American labor force with limited education for the South (Armstrong 1872). This dichotomy of supply and demand did not resemble the same supply and demand curve one may think of in the 21st century context. Labor was the demand, and the newly freed African Americans were the supply. It was therefore the demand for agricultural workers in the South that fueled the supply of poorly educated African Americans to fill those positions (Anderson 1988).

Education in the South was set up to create a system that would limit the potential of African Americans so they would have to remain in the share cropping Southern system or way of life (Armstrong 1872, Reddick 1947). The African American schools in the South that were influenced and supported by whites served two purposes. One purpose was to establish “colleges” or institutions that would produce teachers, but with only a third grade level of education. Once the teachers were “prepared” to teach they would then go back to their community and train African Americans with the same

emphasis that was taught to them, which was the need and importance of agricultural farm workers (Bond 1934).

This process of the white ruling class taking over the schools was not one that happened overnight. Anderson (1988) shows that Northern white philanthropists came into the existing African American Southern schools and began to influence their structure by financially supporting these schools. Although African Americans had Sabbath schools, they were not considered valid schools because they did not fit the European model of schools meeting Monday through Friday with structured times and were therefore deemed unacceptable. Since the Sabbath schools were not accepted as valid, the education that was taught there was not accredited (Bond 1934). Anderson (1988) goes on to explain that because the African American education system in the South was built on unaccredited Sabbath schools, whites were able to step in and construct an “accredited” system similar to the European model.

The Sabbath schools established by the freed slaves in their own communities incorporated the freed slaves’ own personal concepts of what education was to them. Once these community schools began to have white influence they were restructured in every possible manner. Although the whites who began to influence the structure of the African American Southern schools came from a liberal education background, the purpose of the transformed schools was not to provide a liberal education. It was to reproduce a working class similar to that of the slave class -- but with imagined freedom.

Anderson (1988) suggests that the goal of whites who influenced education for African Americans in the South was to teach to the 3rd grade level only. A 3rd grade level of schooling was enough to impart a false sense of real education and reproduce

agricultural workers who would continue to fuel the Southern plantation economy.

According to Anderson (1988) whites did not merely want to control the education of African Americans, they were also interested in controlling their bodies as well.

Education was discussed as a tool to keep African Americans in the South in order to fuel the Southern economy with plenty of labor (Bond 1934).

When African Americans in the South began to question the educational system, new programs and institutions such as the Rosenwald Foundation (established in late 1910's) were started to ease concern. However, Anderson (1988) argues that these new programs offered false hopes and kept African Americans content with the expectation of receiving a good education. The Rosenwald Foundation came to the South preaching the dream of building new schools. The foundation provided large sums of money to build schools, but the money never equaled the entire cost of the schools. While the Rosenwald Foundation was active, its overall contributions to schools were minimal and caused African Americans to put forth a larger portion of the cost for their children's education.

The Rosenwald Foundation's contributions to schools were as follows: all white schools - 4.27% of the cost; public schools - 63.73% of the cost; black schools - 16.64% of the cost, and Rosenwald designated schools -15.36% of the cost. The bulk of the foundation's money went to public schools which were only occupied by whites at this time due to segregation. In some states the amount of money given by the African American community to African American schools was higher than the amount given by the Rosenwald Foundation. Alabama blacks contributed \$452,968 to African American educational institutions in Alabama during the dominant period of the Rosenwald

Foundation, and the Rosenwald Foundation gave \$248,820 to such schools. Mississippi blacks contributed \$859,688 to African American schools in Mississippi compared to \$539,147 given by the Rosenwald Foundation, and Virginia blacks contributed \$407,969 compared to \$279,650 from Rosenwald.

It is apparent in some instances the Rosenwald Foundation contributed half of the amount of money contributed by African Americans. It is important to note, however, that no matter what amount was contributed by the Rosenwald Foundation, the Foundation controlled all schools where its funds were contributed. In addition, the Foundation did not provide funds to purchase the land on which schools were to be built (Anderson 1988). Instead, the Foundation looked to the community to supply the additional money needed to cover the cost of the land on which the school would be built, or the community would literally be required to provide the land for the school. If a funded school did not perform to the Foundation's standards, the school would then be closed, and any money or land provided by the community would be forfeited.

Also, if a community did not respond to the Rosenwald Foundation by building a school or providing land on which a school could be built, the lack of action was interpreted as an indication the African Americans in that community did not value education (Anderson 1988). In any instance, if the school, parents of students, or those in charge of the school questioned, went against, or rejected the agricultural focus for all educational instruction, then the funds were rescinded, and the school was closed (Anderson 1988). Thus, control of the type of education offered to the community was taken from the African American community in many instances.

This trend of agricultural education in the South for African Americans did not change until the migration of African Americans from the South northward in search of better jobs, education, and better treatment. With this migration Northward, the Southern schools finally decided to offer what resembled a high school education (Krug 1972). Although many African Americans did choose to migrate northward, all did not land in states north of the Mason Dixson line. Some just stopped in cities or states that were farther north than their original location of reference. Either way, the migration northwards aided in this new school transition. Was this increased grade level only a tool to keep African American bodies in the South -- or was it done for the educational benefit of African Americans? Anderson (1988) discusses this change as being more of a tool rather than something done with the intention of providing a beneficial education for African Americans.

As the new system developed offering African Americans a high school education, African Americans were routinely required also to contribute funds to their own public education. They had to supply, in some cases, double the amount of tax dollars required of whites for education (Enck 1970). Such funds were donated willingly by African Americans with the understanding that their money would be invested in their children's education. The funds that were donated, however, went to fund the cost of books and transportation for white school children. Anderson (1988) asserts this was possible due to African American schools being deemed undesirable based on the presence of under educated teachers, a limited curriculum, and poor facilities.

Teacher Bias

With the integration of schools, not only was the African American community's communal focus on the schools lost, the African American school professionals were also displaced. The integration of schools also meant many African American teachers, principals and other school officials were without jobs. Although African American students could be brought to white schools, the white majority did not want African American teachers or principals in their schools due to the same belief that was prevalent during the first half of the 20th century -- that African American teachers were ill equipped and not qualified to teach at certain levels of education. (Irvine and Irvine 1983).

Other challenges that surfaced during the era of integration involved the new relationships between African American students and white teachers. Some African American students were under the false impression they were doing well at school based on the teachers' politeness towards them (Irvine and Irvine 1983). In reality, this air of civility was due to the teacher allowing African American students to fantasize about their achievements. The fantasizing, as discussed by Irvine and Irvine (1983), was possible because white teachers had low expectations for the African American students based on their assumptions correlating with the students' race. Thus, a teacher having pity for her African American students translated into a false assumption on the students' part that they were doing well -- since the teacher seemed pleased with them in class.

This assumption regarding the teacher's level of satisfaction was founded on similar stereotypes of African American intellect carried over from segregated schools and the Jim Crow era. Aside from individual teacher's disregard for their African

American students and their aptitude, there were some counties throughout the South which completely rejected the notion of integration all together. One such account is detailed by Bonastia (2009) who describes the actions taken in Prince Edwards County, Virginia in 1959, and five years after the Brown v. Board I (1954) ruling. Prince Edward County, Virginia still had not integrated its public schools, and had no intention of doing so. After receiving pressure from the government, instead of integrating its schools, Prince Edward County, Virginia decided to close the doors of its public schools for five years. The mere threat of African American students mixing socially with their white students left a stain on the history of Prince Edwards County, Virginia. While these public schools were closed, the county shifted all of its white students who could afford it from public schools to private schools.

This action by the People of Prince Edward County, Virginia revealed the fear, concern, bias, and animosity whites had towards African Americans when it came to the integration of school. They felt as if the mere presence of African Americans sitting along-side their white children in public schools would taint their minds and in some way make their white student education meaningless. The power, choices and actions exercised by the white people in Virginia is illustrative of tenant 5 of CRT. That is, where a regime of white supremacy and the privilege of white is used to subordinate people of color and maintain a white America.

While there is some literature that describes the experiences of African American students' integration into white schools where they were regarded as unfit, there is very little literature that documents the historical experiences of African American teachers before and after segregation. That category is that which details the experiences of the

African American teachers during the process of desegregation (Morris 2001). The question of why this potentially informative aspect is left out of the history is one that can be very troubling. The purpose of integration was to have shared educational opportunities and amenities (same facilities, teachers, and extracurricular activities) for all children, but the purpose of integration has been spun as if it was just to save the African American children from their inadequate schools. Engaging in such rhetoric has alienated the experiences of the African American teachers and the possible impact they had on African American education prior to segregation and in general (Diamond 2006, Morris 2001, Walker 2000).

Information regarding the experiences of African American teachers in segregated schools can speak to how stereotypes and misinformation concerning alleged inferior student experiences were mitigated (Morris 2001, Walker 2000). The African American teachers had a different view of the purpose of segregated schools, which was to maintain white superiority over education (Morris 2001). After Southern African American public schools as a system were co-opted by whites, whites then had the ability to justify and/or invent “real education” --since they controlled the overall institution of education itself (Anderson 1988).

Their control over the educational system allowed whites to input their methods into the new integrated schools across America. Integration served as a mixing of bodies not as a means of creating an equal share of educational amenities, opportunities and experiences in the same building (Walker 2000). This view is largely held by African American teachers present during the transition from segregation to integration and has been silenced (Morris 2001). It is their belief that for integration to have real substance,

the historic issues revolving around segregation need to be addressed. Without having to address the purpose behind segregation, which was maintaining white control, once schools integrated there was no discussion of the power dynamic associated with integration (Morris 2001). Whites continued to have power over education almost like the passing of kingship.

When Southern African American teachers in the segregated system are spoken of inside the field of African American education, they are more often than not labeled as victims of an oppressive circumstance (Walker 2001). This victimization does reference the fact that they had a rough time while teaching in schools with lackadaisical resources, or that they had to work in conditions close to those of servitude due to the lack of federal funding (Walker 2000, Walker 2001). What this labeling lacks is the reasoning behind their victimization. A picture has been painted asserting that their circumstances were due to the fact that they were African Americans in the South alone, and not due to outside white influence which controlled funding and other structural circumstances (Walker 2001).

This portrayal of African American teachers is one that does not speak to their actual championship accomplishments of using the bare minimum which was provided to create a suitable environment wherein African American youth could be educated (Walker 2000, Walker 2001). The white agenda and white control over education were further supported by diminishing the important roles played by African American teachers. The silencing of the African American teachers who taught during segregation is yet another example of the arguments made in CRT, particularly tenant, that is, the freedom and power to tell of one's reality. They actual lived the reality of successfully

teaching African American students. Their opinions were not seen as valid due to the race-based stereotypes that they themselves were subjected to; hence their voices were left out of the literature describing African American education history.

Concluding Thoughts

This chapter examined the construction of the literature on the history of African American education, identified various occurrences throughout the history of African American education which can potentially be linked to the construction of teacher bias, and connected the historical accounts to the more contemporary discourse on educational disparities for African Americans. From an examination of the original influence of white control over the education of African Americans, one can see that white assumptions built around the perceived inabilities of African Americans during slavery were carried over into the educational realm and became the basis of perceived notions regarding African American's inability to be educated (Irvine and Irvine 1983).

The belief that African Americans are not suitable to be educated with white students, or receive the same education as white students has, shifted from an argument about perceived abilities to one that is about accessibility (Johnson 2014). This accessibility, as described by Johnson, looks at how whites' accumulated wealth has allowed them access to the "right" schools, in "good" neighborhoods. Conversely African Americans are perceived negatively when they cannot provide the same opportunities for their children. The shift in argument from ability to access still lays blame on African Americans as they are criticized for their economic shortcomings within a system that was rigged to create such shortcomings. Then they are negatively

judged and labeled because they cannot afford to access a good education for their children. To understand how to adequately deconstruct the new arguments about the disparities of African American education, one must have an understanding of both the roots of racial disparities and its persistence in contemporary arguments. The information presented in this chapter provides the background which will permit one to understand both roots.

CHAPTER III

FINDINGS: TEACHER BIAS IN ITS MANY FORMS

There is large body of literature that examines the disparities that exist in education between African Americans and whites at each level of the education system. Many scholars offer their analysis on the root of the problem as well as ways to look at the disparities and/or the achievement gap to find ways to solve the problem. The varying theories for the causes of the achievement gap include but are not limited to cultural deficiencies of students (Ogbu 2008), levels of student poverty (Skiba et al. 2005), race of student to race of teacher matching (Downey and Pribesh 2004), assumed inherent learning deficiencies (Riegle-Crumb and Humphries 2012), structure of schools (Diamond 2006, Kozol 1991), teacher education level (Matias and Zembylas 2014), teacher/ parent interaction (Cooper et al. 2009), and environmental circumstances the student may face outside of school (Ullucci and Howard 2015). In most of the literature, race itself is downplayed, regarded as being an unbarring factor, or spoken about in arbitrary terms when identifying the reasons why student performance disparities exist (Bonilla-Silva 2006).

Avoiding discussions of race, or speaking about race in non-specific terms allows the blame for student performance disparities to be placed on the individual. Lewis and Diamond (2015) asserts that many researchers today speak of race and its consequences

as just a set of ideas, identities, or attitudes. Thus, they leave out the power and resource relationship that contributes to race distinctions as well as the historical distinctions of race and the barriers that come along with it. Dismissing the true relationship race has with power, resources, and its historical connections allows individuals to assume that race stands alone by itself as a variable, and diminishes its possible connection to individuals' choices or reasoning.

The limited or lack of consideration of how race, resources and educational opportunities contribute to educational disparities corresponds to a broader trend in America of “blaming the victim” for his or her inability to achieve the proverbial American Dream (Johnson 2014). Recent prominent arguments of educational disparities center on a non-structural theory cite “oppositional culture” among African American students as the main reason for the education gap. This oppositional culture is described as an underclass of African American students who oppose dominant white culture in and out of school. As a result differential cultural practices are identified as the reason why African American students are not succeeding in education, or why they do not believe education is what they need to be successful (Ogbu 2008).

In this findings chapter, educational disparities are observed and discussed using an intersectional methodological approach. Education performance disparities are studied by examining the interactive effect of race with socioeconomic status/class and gender on the experiences and outcomes of students in primary schools in the USA. The analyses consider historical and contemporary perceptions of teachers about African American students and their families which can contribute to broader educational disparities. This study did not look at the impact of race on males and females separately,

both genders are examined together. Looking at each gender separately or focusing on a single gender could create the risk of missing some key disparities associated with race. By grouping both genders together, the study was able to openly examine teacher bias as it relates to African American students as a group. Some prior studies do look at the intersection of race with males and females separately but the research that specifically focuses on African American males and educational disparities relies mainly on school punishments and how that affects educational disparities. This study has a broader focus on teacher bias and its impact on both male and female students with the understanding that there can be unique experiences of differential treatment towards African American male and female students. Additionally, given that a large number of teachers in the public school system are white females this study understands that this could have an interactive effect that is important to investigate, however it is beyond the scope of this research.

The main inquiry herein explores how teacher bias can potentially influence teacher decision making points and aid in creating educational performance disparities among African American students. Although there are set rules and policy guidelines in schools that are used by teachers to assess performance and behavior there are at least five key teacher decision making points in a student's educational process where a teacher can use discretion. These include (1) treatment of students, (2) discipline, (3) evaluation of students, (4) rewarding students, and (5) motivating students in the classroom. First, treatment of students refers to how the teacher addresses the student, the teacher-student relationship, and the teacher-parent relationship as well (Hoge and Coladarci 1989). At this decision making point, a teacher's decision can be influenced by

certain assumptions and expectations regarding a student that impacts how that teacher connects with the student. Examples include not calling on students, not valuing a student's input, and assumed negative perceptions of parents.

Second, discipline as a teacher decision making point refers to how a teacher decides to punish students for certain behavior perceived to be offensive. For example, a biased teacher may decide to punish one student for exhibiting the same behavior another student exhibits without reprimand (Lewis and Diamond 2015). Third, evaluation refers to how a teacher assesses a student's academic performance and school behavior.

Teachers have the ability to give positive or negative evaluations based on their personal judgement towards a particular student. In some cases, this judgement the teacher has can be totally based on their own perceived perception and may have nothing to do with the students' actual ability to perform. Within this decision making point, a teacher may elect to accept a student's prior labeling, particularly if the student has been labeled a "trouble maker," rather than conducting their own evaluation (Van den Bergh, Denessen, Hornstra et al. 2010).

Fourth, the concept of reward relates to how a teacher may give or withhold praise in the classroom based on a student's behavior or educational success. Bias may come into play as the teacher decides which student receives praise and what behavior is regarded as favorable. Fifth, motivation comes from the teacher-student relationship. Teachers have the ability to motivate students based on the climate in the classroom (Begeny et al. 2008). If a student does not feel like the classroom is a good environment for them to learn, based on how the teacher may or may not perceive them, that student is

affected by that teacher-student relationship. Motivation also comes from how the teacher rewards their students and which students gets those rewards in class.

Some researchers suggest that it is necessary to change or adapt a different style of teaching to alleviate teacher bias and assist teachers with connecting with their African American students (Emdin 2016, Thompson 1997). All five of the touch points discussed above are examples of typical, everyday decisions teachers make, and each touch point involves the possibility of bias influencing the decision making. Quite often each of these decision making points are linked to a student's performance and outcome. The decision making points are interrelated and the decisions accumulate moving from possible subtle bias to broader patterns of educational disparities.

Teacher bias is less frequently considered when analyzing the achievement gap or educational disparities. However, there are studies that may use the term teacher bias (Riegle-Crumb and Humphries 2012) while others that lean towards that notion talk about bias in terms of teacher choices or preferences when analyzing student achievement (Bailey and Boykin 2001, Dee 2004, Downey and Pribesh 2004, Fan, Williams and Wolters 2012, Riegle-Crumb and Humphries 2012, Speybroeck, Kuppens, Van Damme et al. 2012). In particular, teacher preference or treatment of students refers to how teacher rate students differently based on their own assumptions. These differential ratings have the potential to influence a child's performance in class whereby negative ratings can suggest that a child exhibits negative behaviors while in fact the child may be acting similarly to another child whom has not received prior negative treatment from said teacher. Within this context, a teacher has the potential to influence a child's overall

educational abilities and performance based on preconceived assumptions based on race, class, and gender.

Below are the findings of this research that specifically examined how bias at certain decision making points in the educational system influence teacher judgements and the disposition of disciplinary actions. The study explains how historically developed race-based stereotypes still impact African American education because of racial thinking about individual and group academic abilities as well as the interactive effect of race with the cultural capital and socioeconomic status of African Americans. First the literature on race-based stereotypes provides a detailed description of the historic relationship between race and educational bias. Then, how race is historically linked to educational disparities through teacher bias is discussed. Following, the findings discuss how African American culture is seen as different and possibly not the optimal culture for high achievement in education. A similar argument is then presented to show how teachers' perceptions and assumptions on race and socioeconomic status (poverty) impacts educational attainment. Race is not always identified as a variable in the literature; however, race is implied where low socioeconomic status is often seen as being synonymous with being black.

The second set of findings focus on bias in decision making impacts teachers' judgment and differential disciplinary actions and recommendations for African American students. It is important to note that not all of the literature reviewed explicitly uses the actual term "teacher bias". However, the literature does explain how and where teacher bias-perceptions or choices affects the educational attainment of African American students.

Historical Race-Based Stereotypes Reflected in Education

Bias is both formed and revealed in the way people are viewed and the perceptions placed on an individual or group's actions (Pronin, Gilovich and Ross 2004). The problem with this is that African Americans have historically been stereotyped as less than and not possessing the same morality and intellectual capabilities as whites. While African Americans were the first to develop a well-rounded public education system in this country, the system was quickly co-opted by whites who then shifted the focus of African American education to steer African Americans where whites saw them to be best suited -- as compliant and subservient agricultural workers or teachers to produce a new age of African American youth for this particular labor force (Anderson 1988). This co-option is what Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) describes as the 5th tenant of CRT, that is, the blatant white supremacy structuring of an institution to maintain the power of whiteness and the subordination of people of color.

The perception that African Americans are unable to perform tasks outside of agricultural work or other menial labor jobs has translated into them being regarded as incapable of engaging in rigorous academic work (Anderson 1988, Butchart 1988). Mathematics is considered one of those rigorous academic areas, and is also an educational field that is predominantly composed by white males (Agirdag, Van Avermaet and Van Houtte 2013, Riegle-Crumb and Humphries 2012). This over-representation is to some extent controlled by teachers' expectations of students. African Americans are assumed to have less capabilities in math courses, meaning they are also assumed to be less likely to perform well in math. Thus, teachers do not avidly work

with African American students or consider them to be good candidates to move into more advanced math classes (Riegle-Crumb and Humphries 2012).

Science is another category of learning where white males are overrepresented and African Americans are underrepresented. Again, similar reasoning of student capabilities and performance behind the underrepresentation in math applies. Mutegi (2013) argues it is teachers who decide which students are not capable of doing the work, who gets into the class, and who gets the help necessary to achieve once in the class. Within this context, teacher bias or stereotypes about African American capabilities are linked to racial disparities in the composition of math and science classes and consequently their representation in math and science professions.

This belief among teachers in the differential capabilities and performance of students is not new, and relates to both views of individual efforts and educational opportunities. Schuman 1969 (cited by Bobo, Charles, Krysan, Simmons 2012), was the first to provide systematic evidence that whites believe African Americans were disadvantaged due to their own free will, not lack of opportunity or resources. His findings reveal that whites believe problems occur with integration and there is resentment by whites of the social advances African Americans made and attempt to make; these resentments flow over into all avenues of society where resources and opportunities are competed over (Bobo, Charles, Krysan et al. 2012).

A similar belief was prevalent during and after Reconstruction. During this era, it was believed African Americans had little mental capacity for liberal arts learning and it was best for them to stick to agricultural work, service work, and non-managerial work, or positions lacking authority. In general, any type of educational training that would

give them power or control in the workplace (Anderson 1988). This system of learning and teaching has now shifted from forcing African Americans into actual schools that only produced agricultural workers or menial service jobs (Anderson 1988), to excluding or prohibiting their advancement in areas of study that would produce a STEM career (Mutegi 2013, Riegle-Crumb and Humphries 2012).

With the systematic isolation of the majority of African American students away from the minority of African American teachers, there has been a consistent shift or push of African American students into a realm where they are not viewed in the same developmental light as their white peers (Lewis 2003). Although the view of African Americans as suitable only for agricultural or service work has been somewhat modified, they are still regarded as having a ceiling on their educational possibilities due to racial stereotypes constructed about them long before they entered their first school house.

Unfortunately, historical race-based stereotypes as they relate to African American education, have filtered into several different teacher decision making points in today's schools system where it is assumed that.

African Americans are weak in the areas of STEM. These assumptions can be further explained by Bobo (2012), who argues that it is believed that African American students perform at low levels based on their own free will (similar to the historic race-based stereotypes), or because of the perceived differences in cultural capital and socioeconomic backgrounds.

Bias and Decision Making

Cultural Capital

Cultural capital denotes the amount of good will ascribed to one's culture; the value placed on a group's culture in comparison to the value placed on the dominant culture; or the possibility of social mobility associated with one's culture (Agirdag et al. 2013, Bailey and Boykin 2001, Bates and Glick 2013, Dee 2004, Dee 2005, Downey and Pribesh 2004, Driessen 2015, Irizarry 2015). In this section, I consider how advances or preferences given to a student when a teacher accepts that student's cultural capital or may even, presumably share the same culture as the student is discussed.

Same race teacher/student pairing or have having a teacher who shares similar cultural relevance is a study topic frequently discussed and used to examine how teachers evaluate their students (Agirdag et al. 2013, Bates and Glick 2013, Driessen 2015, Irizarry 2015). The literature on this topic uses the basic question: do same race teacher/student relationships result in better teacher student evaluations? The answers provided for this question, despite varying methodological approaches, come to the same general conclusion that it is not explicitly evident that having the same race teacher will result in good student evaluations, both academically and disciplinary. However, same race teachers are more likely to return positive evaluations on a student when the relationship is between an African American teacher and student as opposed to an African American student paired with a white teacher (Bailey and Boykin 2001, Dee 2004, Dee 2005, Downey and Pribesh 2004)

White teacher ratings of African American students are consistent with societal stereotypes of African American academic performance as being low, and such teacher

ratings include the perception that African Americans are against or opposed to education (Bates and Glick 2013). Minority students not only excel in class when they are paired with a minority teacher, they are also evaluated differently than when paired with a white teacher (Dee 2004). A discussion of oppositional culture versus teacher bias appears frequently in the literature that examines educational disparities through a cultural capital lens. The pairing of an African American student with a teacher from the same race arguably builds a bridge with students around culture similarities that assists with dispelling this false notion of oppositional culture (Downey and Pribesh 2004).

Frequently, African American students of different backgrounds exhibit behaviors in class that are culturally accepted in their homes, but some (White and Bentley) teachers might see those actions as culturally unacceptable in the classroom. This misperception can completely devalue the cultural capital of African Americans of distinct socio-economic groups and/or in general by not accepting differences in culture beyond what is assumed as the cultural norm for their behavior outside of school inside of school (Bailey and Boykin 2001). These behaviors can range from constant movement (walking around the classroom, tapping a pencil/pen, bouncing or shaking legs), speaking loudly, or various facial expressions. These findings indicate teacher bias as a lack of acceptance for a behavior that is only seen as troubling when the student interacts with a white teacher who conveys little consideration of the context of a student's behavior. Also, it shows the absence of any attempt on the teacher's part to understand the culture of African Americans students who live in the neighborhoods in which their schools are located. This could lead to the teacher making assumptions and decisions regarding these

students abilities and behavior based on their own experiences and values (Bailey and Boykin 2001).

Having a teacher who does not understand and/or accepts your cultural background will most likely tend to adopt stereotypes based on their presumed race and can quickly lead to behaviors not only being labeled as wrong, but also as “troubling.” These actions lead to self-fulfilling prophecy of failure for students as teachers solidify a bias for disciplining students from a particular background compared to their peers from other backgrounds (Agirdag et al. 2013). Teacher expectations are also lowered in schools where the majority of students are from working class backgrounds and neighborhoods. This adds another layer of bias that students and their parents of different racial backgrounds face from teachers that can have an impact on educational disparities (Agirdag et al. 2013). Teachers frequently subscribe to the idea of the American dream, with the idea of education being the main driver of social mobility and success (Johnson 2014). Correspondingly, teachers, and Americans in general, believe in a meritocracy, which suggest that success and failure in education, for example, is the result of individual effort and values, not differential resources and opportunities (Johnson 2014).

Driessen (2015) explains that minority teachers are thought to be more racially symmetric, meaning that minority teachers treat students the same way no matter what their race is, which may be a reason they have higher evaluations for minority students. They also have higher evaluations for all students in general. He argues that on the other side of the coin African American teachers are held to a higher standard than white teachers, and that higher standard can force them to have harsher evaluations of their

students so they would not be looked upon as weak, or as if they are not adapting to the school's performance status quo.

Fraser and Fisher (1982) further explain that the dynamics of a teacher's classroom evaluations of African American students, and the differing treatment of students based on their culture alone, are indicative of the climate in the classroom and the treatment of individuals in that classroom who are disadvantaged. They believe that with high levels of disproportionate negative treatment of students based on their culture, the individuals who feel and or see that treatment will begin to act out. For teachers who are there to control the overall climate of the classroom, if they gauge the class to have a lot of students with oppositional culture or who they assume oppose education generally, the teacher's instruction and conduct in the classroom will reflect such presumptions of their students (Fraser and Fisher 1982). Even if a teacher has the students' best interest in mind, they can still differentially influence students' educational trajectories through their presumptions and biases.

Emdin (2016) describes teachers who come to urban schools with high numbers of African Americans, particularly from low-income neighborhoods with the idea that they are there to "save" these children from a confused educational setting. In the minds of these teachers the students are still not capable of learning the same way as whites. The teachers with this mentality tend to teach the students specific test material so they can pass a test -- and not simply teach them broad materials that would enable them to think critically and pass any test. In doing so, the teachers described by Emdin (2016) are arguably stripping specific groups of urban African American students of their cultural capital and assuming that they have limited educational ability.

A related concept, cultural relevance, not only affects the treatment of African American students in the classroom, it also influences the curriculum and teacher's overall pedagogy. For example, Howard (2001) speaks of culturally relevant teaching, which is a teaching strategy that can counteracts the disconnect between African American students and white teachers or any teacher who is not of a similar cultural and/or socio-economic background. He identifies both good and bad examples of culturally relevant teaching and explains that the purpose of culturally relevant teaching is to incorporate aspects of the culture of African Americans from the same neighborhood and African Americans in general into the classroom. Accordingly, classrooms incorporating culturally relevant teaching generally have a community or family feel within the classroom (similar to the community feel during segregated African American schools), and a learning environment that is seen as entertaining and fun. He concludes that these positive, interactive relationships formulate a better environment for African American students because they feel as if the culture they bring from home has a place in the classroom and valued by teachers as well.

Some education scholars believe that certain African American homes have high levels of physical activity or action with increased amounts of various stimulation (Bailey and Boykin 2001). In a culturally relevant teaching classroom there will be traits of this perceived home activity in the classroom, and the teachers will likely not punish kids who seem to be inattentive to the mundane realities of a typical classroom setting (Bailey and Boykin 2001). For culturally relevant teaching to take place, the teacher must be aware that incorporating the student's cultural experiences the right way empowers the

student intellectually, socially, emotionally, and politically through a sense of agency (Ladson-Billings 1994).

On the other hand, when the race and/or cultural background of the teacher and their students are not similar then more likely will there be a lack of cultural relevance in the curricular and teaching methods, as well as assumptions about the students' behavior and academic potential. Having low levels of cultural respective inclusion can lead to the alienation of the students who do not feel as accepted. As a possible remedy to this frequent disconnect between African American students and their teachers, some scholars believe that incorporating music, hand clapping, and visual stimulation, which are perceived to be important aspects of cultural expression within some African American homes, will serve to enhance the intellectual growth of African American students (Allen and Boykin 1992).

In relation to this same trend of thought, Matias (2013) argues that it is important for white teachers to examine their own whiteness and how it affects a child's education, as well as their approach to being a teacher who supports culturally relevant teaching. He suggests when white teachers' co-op culturally relevant teaching they must ask themselves if doing so is genuine, and if they have the ability to focus on other races without interjecting their whiteness. Further, teachers must also think about how their new approach will be taken by the students of color. Examining whiteness in school and teaching is a topic rarely talked about in educational literature. If whiteness and white culture was not seen as the dominant influence in society norms, including education, there would be no need for a term such as oppositional culture that Ogbu discusses.

Having a teacher who is the same race and/or similar cultural background can potentially play a role in the student's evaluations, which means that it can also play a role in how that student is viewed while in school if that same race teacher evaluates the students with engaging terms. Downey and Pribesh (2004) make a point that receiving a good report is crucial, but receiving a bad evaluation does stick with a child longer than receiving a good report. Once a child is labeled as being 'troubled' or a 'troubled student', that characterization holds more value and transitions with the child as they progress through their educational experience (Downey and Pribesh 2004, Okonofua and Eberhardt 2015).

Failing to accept the culture of African American students in the school settings can have varying effects on them. It can strip their cultural capital, while simultaneously highlighting or prioritizing the cultural capital of whites, and causing students to view themselves or their culture as the unexpected or opposed to. Claiming the culture responses or actions of white students are the only responses acceptable in school negates the possibility that any other actions or cultures have a legitimate claim to the educational arena. Stripping cultural capital from African American student may cause them to believe that their culture is not accepted due to their own actions and practices. It potentially negates or diminishes the historical power over their culture and emphasizes the power of whites to decide whose culture is more significant.

Within the realm of the cultural capital discourse, at each teacher decision making point there is the opportunity for assumed beliefs about the culture of African American students, and what teachers expect as normative behavior from students to influence decisions. The discussion of cultural capital herein indicates African American students

have a better rate of academic achievement when they are taught by teachers of their own race or by teacher who share cultural relevance. This is not simply due to the teacher allowing same race students to get away with certain behaviors or actions. It is due to that teacher having cultural respect for that student's behaviors and actions, and not regarding those actions as a threat and labeling the African American student as being "at risk". Cultural relevant teaching strategies is a good example of how a white teachers and non-white teachers who do not share cultural relevance to African American students can relay the message that they accept the culture of African American students. Within the concept of cultural capital, teachers have the ability to decide what they deem as the appropriate way for a student and that student's parents to participate in the educational process.

Socioeconomic Status (SES) and Educational Outcomes

African Americans are not a homogenous group but vary by socio-economic status and other social and cultural factors. However, they are often perceived as belonging to a low-socioeconomic group and/or poverty stricken. The connection between race and poverty is usually discussed in studies on disparities in educational outcomes. Poverty magnifies the existing racial disparities in education (Skiba et al. 2005). The expectations teachers have of African Americans often correspond to expectations of students living in poverty. Teachers tend to have low expectations for minority students in poverty and higher expectations for majority students who are not in poverty (Speybroeck et al. 2012). Here, the belief is that individuals, families and communities are poverty stricken because of their lack of effort and/or because they do

not value education.(Johnson 2014, Kozol 1991, Tyson 2011). Consequently, students who fall into this category are treated as if they do not value education simply because their parents did not have the whereabouts or value system to lift them out of poverty. Teachers have been shown to have low expectations for students based on their low socioeconomic status, and they treat such students as if their educational ability is below average, just because they live below or near the poverty line. The students in turn note the way they are being treated and begin to perform to the teacher's low expectations (Speybroeck et al. 2012).

Additionally, schools located in low income, working class neighborhoods lack educational and recreational facilities, qualified teachers to challenge students, funding to insure adequate educational supplies, and influential voices to speak out against atrocities (Johnson 2014, Kozol 1991, Tyson 2011). Some teachers who teach in these schools or who teach children from low SES backgrounds feel students are poor due to a culture of poverty typified by parents who supposedly do not value education, and therefore, the children themselves do not value education (Gorski 2008, Cooper, Corsone, Suizzo, Pituch 2009, Copper 2010, Fan, Williams, Wolters 2011).

When examining public schools alone, Rhodes and DeLuca (2014) found that 70% of the students who attend those schools are assigned based on their address. As a result, students who attend under resourced schools in low-income neighborhoods often do not have the family income to relocate in order to attend a better equipped school in a "good neighborhood". This aspect of families in low incomes areas, or in some cases non-low income areas, not having the ability to move to a better school zone is

downplayed and often presented as if families chose to live and send their children to a school that receives less funding.

Teachers' perception of students from low incomes areas are further influenced by the level of parental involvement. Parental involvement is regarded as a key in the educational success of students (Cooper et al. 2009, Cooper 2010, Fan et al. 2012), and is broader than a parent showing up at school to check on their child. Parental involvement can be labeled as "good" parental involvement if a parent is a Parent Teacher Association (PTA) member, a donor and an upstanding member of society (Johnson 2014, Tyson 2011). Quite often, a child living in poverty has parents or one parent who cannot attend school functions or participate in school organized events (Copper et al. 2009, Copper 2010, Fan et al. 2011). This can be due to the parent working multiple low wage jobs, a lack of dependable transportation to the school, or the proximity between the child's school and home. Parents from low-income households are also intimidated to attend and speak out at public forums and meetings.

Even though a parent may be fully involved with their child's education and general home life, if they cannot make a school function, volunteer their service or give a financial donation, they often are regarded as not being involved in the manner that illustrates "good" parental involvement (Posey-Maddox 2014). Here again, teacher's perception of the student and their home life impacts how the student is judged and treated in class. Some scholars even suggest teachers blame students for their poverty and then label them low performers because of their parents low educational attainment and earnings (Skiba et al. 2005, Speybroeck et al. 2012).

Socioeconomic status serves as an amplifier for racial discrimination inside of schools (Skiba et al. 2005). First, African American children who are impoverished have a double stigma attached to them. They face historical racial stereotypes that associate them with being inferior in every social arena. Secondly, being impoverished places yet another stigma on them suggesting they and their parents do not value education (Johnson 2014). “Poverty,” “poor,” or “living in a ‘bad’ neighborhood” are current terms analogous to racial stereotypes from the pre-civil rights movement era when whites openly used derogatory racial slurs towards African Americans. In current times, teachers and school officials use the terms associated with poverty to ascribe negative values to the educational abilities of African American youth (Carter 2012). These negative terms referencing a student’s poverty are accepted in polite conversation and used rampantly.

The teacher decision making points revealed when one reviews considerations of socioeconomic status may seem very similar to those under cultural capital. This is due to teachers subscribing to beliefs about their African American students that coincide with the previous discussion regarding cultural capital and the culture of poverty. Low socioeconomic status for African American students serves to amplify differential educational treatment by teachers (Speybroeck et al. 2012). Teachers who subscribe to the American Dream and meritocracy reject students whose home life do not fit this dominant narrative of individual success and failure (Johnson 2014). Teachers who accept these ideals also often accept the negative ideals associated with the culture of poverty (Cooper et al. 2009, Gorski 2008). Based on their acceptance of these ideals,

teachers may decide to treat a student differently based on their assumed lack of parental involvement, and may treat them differently based on their SES alone.

Teacher Judgement and Outcomes

Bias in decision making and teacher judgement do have differential outcomes. This last section of the findings chapter examines teacher bias through the supposed colorblind, safe terminology of “teacher judgement.” The study reviewed the literature that examine points in the educational system where teachers exercise “judgement” and how the individual beliefs of teachers can influence their judgement. Teacher judgement can be associated with a direct action as teachers have the ability to pass judgement in their classroom without consulting outside resources (L. Lewis and Kim 2008), as if they are the judge and the jury. Problems with teachers passing judgement occur when their judgement reflects their biases and intentional or unintentional discrimination that results in inequality in the schools. This section examines various decision making points when teacher judgement comes into play and the implications for African American students. This section concludes with an examination of disciplinary differences which is a direct, negative action which can result from the exercise of teacher judgement.

Teacher Judgement

There are several areas of teacher judgement linked to effective teaching. In this study, eight points are identified and include (1) teachers’ attitudes on daily duties, (2) teacher perceptions on advanced placement and special education, (3) classroom environment and teacher student relationships, (4) teacher expectations, (5) curriculum

pace, (6) how class stigma affects teachers' behavioral judgement, (7) re-segregation of schools, and (8) educating teacher candidates. Teachers themselves are one factor most educational researchers agree greatly affects a student's achievement, and while all students can potentially benefit from having effective teachers, those with low socioeconomic status benefit more. Having an effective teacher is labeled as a variable that does allow for the possibility of continued achievement in the following grade, especially for elementary aged students (Konstantopoulos 2009).

Teachers' attitudes regarding their, the teachers, daily activities in the classroom and their interactions with the students shape the students' educational attainment. If the teacher displays an adverse attitude about or towards their students based on their socioeconomic status and race, it will have an adverse effect on the students' educational attainment (Halvorsen et al. 2008). Teachers who accept that they can control the outcome in the classroom and their students' educational attainment, in turn, develop a higher expectation regarding their students' performance. With an increase in teachers claiming responsibility for their classroom, it's believed their negative assumptions of students drop and the educational attainment of the students' rise. However, it is harder for this ideal to take shape in classrooms with low socioeconomic student backgrounds. The stigma and the amplified stigma associated with poor and/or low-income African Americans and the assumptions that go along with being poor seem to not eliminate themselves when a teacher assumes responsibility for their classroom (Halvorsen et al. 2008).

Teachers have the freedom to determine what a child's educational ability is based on their own judgements, and then place that child in general classes, advanced

classes or refer that child to special education. These assessments can be influenced by biases and negative assumptions (Begeny et al. 2008). Not only can teachers refer students for advance placement classes or for learning disabled classes, they also control the everyday instruction through development of lesson plans and how to approach the material that is to be presented in the classroom. The material more often is presented in such that it reflects their own cultural relevance. Additionally, if a teacher develops a belief about a student's educational ability, whether good or bad, he/she can pass that belief along to other teachers with whom that student may come into contact as they advance to the next grade (Begeny et al. 2008). Consequently, consistent and accumulated negative evaluations are given and the student may eventually drop out of school.

Poor educational outcomes such as dropping out is an issue that not only effects below average African American students, it is a matter that also affects above average intelligence African American students (Ford and Harris 1996). This phenomenon has also been linked to possible student-teacher connection where African American students who are above average intelligence and dropout, report that they were alienated by the teacher (Ford and Harris 1996). For African American (and other) students much of their educational outcome depends on the relationship with the teacher and that teacher's assumptions about them. If a student does not feel their teacher believe in their abilities, they will not perform. Moreover, if that teacher openly shows they do not expect a student to be able to handle a task, this will further entice a student to underperform (Ford and Harris 1996).

This is an issue more so for African American students because they are more often than not taught by white teachers. White teachers more likely will bring with them various negative biases and assumptions about African Americans and their educational ability, which can cause African American students to have more difficult student teacher relationships (Ford and Harris 1996). Also, there are few white teachers who either live in African American communities or have training on how to examine their own biases. Ford (1996) points to better teacher-student relationships between white and African Americans through a self-examination of teachers' personal racial biases and lack of racial mixing or exposure to African American culture. Addressing the lack of knowledge about teacher bias, African American culture, and addressing cultural differences in a positive form, could aid in dismantling the achievement gap (Ford and Harris 1996).

The expectations teachers have of their students is another variable central to the educational development of a child (Hinnant et al. 2009). It is in the early years that a student develops the key tools of reading, writing, and mathematics, having positive expectations of children in the development of such skills who come from disadvantaged areas has a larger impact on such students than on students who are from well-to-do areas (Hinnant et al. 2009). Meaning that students who come from impoverished neighborhoods have a higher attainment level in education if they receive better education tools in the early years of school. When compared to kids that come from well-to-do families, those students generally do fine if they do not receive those same educational tools early in school. This is possible because those families from well-to-do

neighborhoods have more opportunities for outside educational assistance to make up for the tools not originally gained in the early years of school.

Direct teacher judgement as it relates to the speed or time frame necessary to cover certain curricula is also an area that is affected by teacher biases. Teachers have been shown to move on with a lessons if the dominant group members (those who share the dominant white middle class standards of education) in the class grasp the material, leaving the minority students (those who do not share those middle class white standards) behind (Hoge and Coladarci 1989). This in turn sends a message to that group of minority students that they are unimportant and a message to the dominant group that only their achievements matter. Not to say that all of the student in either group are primarily white or non-white, but the members in each group either share the assumed standard of middle class whiteness or they do not.

On a study where teachers where shown various videos of student behaviors and then asked to judge those behaviors, teacher's responses where directly correlated with what they were told about each group. Teachers were told if the classes they were watching on the videos were good classes or bad classes. When judging the classes deemed to be bad classes, teachers more frequently reported seeing behavior that was negative or problematic (Ladd and Linderholm 2008). Similarly, many of the images that are shown of African American students in popular media, may signal to some white teachers, who have not had previous contact with African American students, that most African American students are potentially "trouble makers".

Mazama and Lundy (2012) discuss this imagery of African Americans in terms of white teachers claiming colorblindness while either knowingly or unknowingly

simultaneously assuming that African Americans share the traits of laziness, lack of intellect and are inherently drawn towards criminal acts. These shared beliefs that address how some of the white teachers can easily accept that their African American students are “troubled” and inadequately prepared to be educated.

With the re-segregation of schools there are daunting issues that arise for new teacher candidates. According to Michael-Luna and Marri (2010) these new teacher candidates have the possibility of being placed in a school filled with students from a race, socioeconomic class, and culture they have never been around nor understand. Having teachers with all of these unknowns and/or gaps in information about the population they are going to teach aids in breeding the introduction of teacher biases, and failing to require some form of training to combat these separations between new teachers and students who maybe socially and culturally different leaves open the possibility of perpetuation of inherent stereotypes and racial and other forms of biases (Michael-Luna and Marri 2010).

There are areas where teacher judgement occurs and has the possibility to touch all of the teacher’s decision making points which can greatly impact a student’s educational ability and educational track. As a result, teacher biases can potentially negatively affect a student’s educational outcome and disciplinary measures deployed.

Disciplinary Differences

Discipline inside the realm of education is regarded as a necessity. That necessity is based on the assumption that there is a need to keep order or derail the conduct of those who oppose general rules of compliance while participating inside educational institutions (Lewis and Diamond 2015, Pas et al. 2011). The analysis presented in this

section is not focused on whether there is a legitimate need for disciplinary actions, but rather on how disciplinary actions are handed out to the students. The disparities in discipline originate with the individuals who are able to refer students for disciplinary actions (Bates and Glick 2013, McIntosh et al. 2015, Okonofua and Eberhardt 2015, Pas et al. 2011). It is believed many of such individuals hold in their minds a preconceived concept regarding the identity of students who are likely to be disruptive and whose actions warrant disciplinary intervention.

From the 1972-1973 to the 2009-2010 school year there was a national increase in suspensions overall for all groups -- White, Black, Latino, American Indian, and Asian Pacific Islander. The only one of those groups who saw a decrease at any time during that 37-year period were Asian Pacific Islanders. Most groups saw an increase of 1.1% to about 6%, while suspensions of African Americans doubled from 11.8% to 24.3% (Losen and Martinez 2013). This increase when examined based on race/ethnicity displays a huge disparity. The drastic increase in discipline for African Americans may be based on two possible reasons. It can be interpreted as either African Americans are the ones who are actually committing more punishable offenses in school, or they are thought to be the ones whose behavior is labeled as being more offensive thus warranting suspension.

The tale of suspension rates is also important because it provides information regarding how many students are placed in either in-school suspension or in out-of-school suspension. Both of these options lead to time out of the classroom and place the student behind his cohort. Suspension numbers have also been correlated with an increase in the dropout rate of school age children. There is a double increase in the

drop-out rate, from 16% to 32%, when a child has been suspended even if it is just one time (Losen and Martinez 2013). Since African Americans are suspended at a higher rate, they are more at risk for dropping out.

Okonofua and Eberhardt (2015) argue these racial disparities in suspension are directly linked to the disparities in the educational achievement gap. They argue that the name of a student can trigger a thought process in a teacher's mind that will enable the teacher to deem the student with the more African American sounding name as being appropriate to suspend as opposed to a student with a white sounding name. According to the researchers, teachers are then more likely to extend the label of trouble maker to African American youth, a label that remains attached throughout the course of their education.

Okonofua and Eberhardt (2015) further explain that teachers view their decision to have disciplinary action taken against an African American student as not being based on the fact that the student is African American, but because the student has been formerly labeled a 'trouble maker'. However, the problem here is that African American students are labeled 'trouble makers' at a higher rate than their white counterparts with the same behavior transgressions because of teacher bias and stereotypes. Okonofua and Eberhardt reference several studies that show how teacher's own perception/bias can directly and negatively influence a child's educational experience.

Similarly Bates and Glick (2013) argue that teachers have been shown to use a child's perceived background to determine if that child will be suspended or have other disciplinary action. If that teacher believes the student has come from a background of poverty, African American "counterculture" environment, or has parents who do not

display acceptable or enough parental involvement, that teacher is more likely to view that child's behavior as a problem and recommend disciplinary actions against that child. The teacher gets to directly interject his/her own perception of the student when making decisions about behavior and what actions should be taken. Researchers also form that teachers discipline African American students at a higher rate based on their assumptions regarding their behavior. Although such behavior may be the same as their white counterparts, the behavior of African American students is viewed differently, handled harsher, and the student is judged as requiring school disciplinary action more often (Bates and Glick 2013, McIntosh et al. 2015, Okonofua and Eberhardt 2015, Pas et al. 2011).

African Americans also have higher rates of office discipline referrals (ODR's) under zero tolerance policies. McIntosh et al. (2015) explain that many ODR's are a result of 'defiant behaviors' interpreted by facial expressions or demeanors. African Americans receive ODR's for more subjective reasons as opposed to whites who receive them for more objective reasons. For example, since it is up to teachers or other school officials to directly hand out the ODR, African Americans may receive an ODR for rolling their eyes, or for other actions perceived as disruptive including speaking too loudly in class. Typically, whites will receive ODR's for vandalism, smoking, or fighting. The teacher or school official is able to personally identify and gauge what they perceive as an act that is defiant, threatening, or against the norm and deem it to be punishable.

The choice that is made is based on a preconceived notion regarding what is or is not appropriate behavior and may be due to biases they may have towards another group.

For example, while white students may be disruptive or talk loud in class, their behavior is not seen in the same light as the behavior of African American students (McIntosh et al. 2015). African American students who may be subject to discipline are seen not only for their actions in front of the disciplining teacher, they are also gauged by the actions that teacher sees being displayed by African Americans elsewhere – whether those actions have been viewed directly by the teacher first hand or merely seen through a media outlet. Thus, African American students are viewed as encompassing the negative traits stereotypically linked to their group and hence punished the way the teacher sees fit.

These choices that are being made by teachers who observe the same student behavior but develop different responses based on the race of the student point to explicit and implicit bias. Explicit bias is that which is done consciously and knowingly and is viewed as a racist act or a manifestation of racism; implicit bias is a collection of generalized or systematic opinions regarding a group based on limited exposure and generalized assumptions (McIntosh et al. 2015)

Pas et al (2011) further describe ODR's as being linked to dropout rates, educational skill deficits, and teacher claimed aggression. According to these researchers, one generally sees higher disbursement of ODR's in large classes where teachers have low levels of experience. They argue that teacher aggression is a dangerous concept to untangle especially in a case where the teacher is using implicit bias as a tool to pass out ODR's. The teacher is falsely passing out ODR's based on his preconceived notions and then blaming the students for their behaviors that are really not misbehaviors at all, but just thought to be misbehaviors by the teacher. The researchers

conclude that it can be expected after the teacher punishes the student based on their own false notion that a teacher may then become aggravated and continue the cycle which was started from his/her implicit bias.

Based on the exercise of teacher judgement there are many, different, varied decisions a teacher can make. However, disciplinary differences are one of the most troubling decision-making points where teacher judgment can be exercised. An African American student who witnesses a white student displaying the same actions he himself displays but then sees a different, less harsh disciplinary result for the white student can begin to question the value he should place on an institution that openly treats him differently (Lewis and Diamond 2015). Most of the behavior for which a student is punished is done in the open, and the resultant discipline is also known and observable. Openly discriminating against one group of students regarding the appropriate punishment for behavior infractions causes those students receiving the differential punishment to question their value in the education institution.

Concluding Thoughts

The examination presented in this chapter looked at variables which can be linked to the construction and interjection of teacher bias in elementary schools and how those interjections of teacher bias can potentially relate to the educational gap. Through an examination of historical racial stereotypes in education, the persistence of similar stereotypes at decision-making points, along with biases based on differences in cultural capital and socioeconomic status and, teacher judgements, the differential treatment of students and the impact of these on the educational attainment of African American

students were discussed. This study has gone a step further than most by not merely focusing on current trends, but by analyzing some causes of contemporary trends and bias with historic racist beginnings in the educational system. The findings illustrate how historic beliefs have been transformed into current assumptions about the abilities of African American students and impacts on their educational outcome.

In general, there is little other research that addresses the linkages and recommendations for systemic and cultural changes. Emdin (2016) attempts to draw a proposal for teaching in the “hood”, which is his attempt to correct the differential treatment of African American students by white teachers. While his work does propose some new curriculum approaches regarding relating coursework to African American students, it does not do enough justice to examining the historical race-based assumptions that are prevalent in our educational system today, nor does it detail ways to combat such assumptions. Others such as Losen and Martinez (2013) offer concrete policy measures that may adjust levels of school punishment to aid in offsetting the disproportionate treatment of African American students in the area of school punishment. To fully address the issues revolving around teacher bias and their implications regarding the differential treatment of African American students and the educational gap, there has to be more intersectional research done which can encompass all of the possible aspects that lead to the problem. Focusing on one or a few of the issues can only highlight that area, and may overshadow or diminish other areas.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION & DISCUSSION

According to Critical Race Theory, racism exists in all the social institutions in the USA including the education system. This research found that there are various instances that teachers have the possibility to interject their own racial bias towards students. Further, current racial thinking about African Americans and their educational ability and value system was found to be linked to historical race-based stereotypes and may potentially be the cause of bias held and displayed by teachers. Below, is an analysis of the evolution of teacher bias and the importance of examining teacher bias in elementary school is discussed. Additionally, how teacher bias can potentially affect or shape three school policy areas that directly impacts African American students is described. The policy areas discussed are (1) convergence between schools and communities, (2) school dress codes, and (3) zero-tolerance policies. These various policies are examined by race and gender and social class then analyzed using Critical Race Theory.

The final section of this conclusion chapter discusses two possible changes necessary to combat teacher bias along with suggestions for future research. The information presented thus far follows a historical timeline surrounding teacher bias towards African Americans in the American school system. This historical trajectory is important because it highlights the early experiences of African Americans in our

schools, bias toward them, and the changes or ideological shifts in these biases that buoy educational inequality. The historical trajectory is also important when examining current trends in disparities in education towards African Americans. Connecting the historical references of teacher bias with the current trends indicate consistent occurrences of bias in decision making and supports the idea that there is institutional racism in the education system.

Evolution of Teacher Bias

Teacher bias inside the American public education system towards African Americans started once there was white influence within the freed slave's communal schools. Originally, teacher bias was imposed on African Americans based on the beliefs by whites that the ability to educate African Americans was a task that could not be done without the injection of white control. This early white control not only resulted in the freed slaves' school houses changing the time structure regarding when classes took place, it also involved the imposition of a specific curriculum and an educational cap.

This educational cap mandated that African Americans were not allowed to be educated above a third grade level in any public school. In order to control the educational cap for African Americans, the African Americans who were certified to teach in these freed slave schools were subjected to strictly controlled training schools. Anderson (1988) describes these training schools as white controlled secondary schools where African Americans were trained to become teachers. Inside these schools, the curriculum focused primarily on service and agricultural job training with little emphasis the liberal arts or any other type of education. The objective was to prepare African

American teachers with only enough knowledge to teach African American students up to a third grade reading level. Over time as teachers began to teach students back in their respective communities what they were taught to teach, the societal belief was that African Americans were only capable of achieving a third grade education and performing menial work.

This new system changed the dynamics and outcomes for African American students. Prior, under desegregation African American students were somewhat protected from racism in their educational environments. This arrangement was beneficial since it also allowed students to expand their minds and receive an education past the third grade reading level (Irvine and Irvine 1993). However, once integrated into white schools the belief that African Americans were not fit for education or fit to be in their schools increased. Having the ability to see whiteness as the norm allowed whites also see non-white as abnormal and immoral. The sentiments towards African American students from white students, school officials, and parents continued to grow and became visible with the decision in Brown I in 1954.

It is therefore not surprising that there were several different instances of mass resistance against the integration of public schools by whites. One such example was the mass resistance to school integration that took place in Prince Edwards County Virginia. Bonastia (2009) reports on the actual closings of the public schools in Prince Edward County Virginia, and discusses the white mind frame and justifications for those closings. These justifications were based on the belief that African American students were not suitable for education, especially if it involved inter-mingling with white students. Thus, whites did not feel it justifiable to use their tax dollars to fund the education of black

students. What is important to note here is that this ideology was held by white parents, as well as teachers and white school officials.

With the landmark decision in Brown I in 1954, African American students were no longer kept out of their classrooms of desegregated schools. However, historical race-based stereotypes were still prevalent in the minds of the white public including the white school teachers and officials.

The integration of schools is a process some say still has not fully taken place, although a large numbers of African American students began to join their white counterparts in mixed schools post Brown I. With this increasing racial diversity of schools, teacher bias took a new form. Inside these previously white-only schools' African American students were now in the classrooms, but there was already a tone set for how these new classmates would learn. White middle class values were considered the norm for the school setting along with a Eurocentric curriculum that continued to alienate African American students and not include them in many aspects of education and classroom life (Mazama and Lundy 2012).

Having a norm for the school that did not fit the culture of the African American students who came into the newly integrated schools, teachers began to see the difference. Instead of the teachers attempting to learn or adapt to the different culture of African Americans students, they began to regard their difference as oppositional and treat the students as if they were resisting school altogether. This gave rise to the myth that African American students hold an "oppositional culture" to education (Ainsworth-Darnell and Downey 1998). Teachers also began to interpret some of the different types

of behavior as threatening, which over time resulted in the disproportionate disciplining of African American students.

The culture of African American students was, and still is, also associated with negative behavior and expectations stereotyped of low socioeconomic or poor families. While not all African Americans are in a low socioeconomic status teachers can use this idea of poverty to amplify what they see as negative educational characteristics (Skiba et al. 2005). For example, a common belief is that African American and/or students from low-income homes tend to have working class parent(s) and families who themselves did not value education and thus the cause of their perpetual poor living situations.

These assumptions and beliefs about African American students inform the teacher how they should treat the students in their classroom. Teachers can be affected by these historical and contemporary race-based stereotypes in their decision making roles at various points in the educational system. These decision making points occur anywhere the teacher has full or partial discretion to decide on an outcome for a student and often has educational consequences. This includes treatment of students, disposition of discipline, evaluation of students' academic work and behavior, rewarding students, and motivating students in the classroom. Interjecting bias at any one, or combination of more than one of these points, has the possibility to negatively affect the educational outcome of a student at any juncture of his or her school life.

Importance of Elementary School Examination

While a large portion of the literature on educational disparities focuses on middle and high school, this study focus was placed on elementary schools. It is in elementary

school that a child's association with school is first manifested and where a child first learns the significance of reciprocating the information they learn. Once inside of school a child must learn how to report the information they acquire. Along with showing the knowledge learned the child becomes aware of how their knowledge is perceived. How well a child's knowledge is accepted and acknowledged is greatly influenced by his or her relationship with the teacher and their interactions. In other words, the child bases his or her perceived educational ability on the manner in which the teacher relates to him/her (Cooper et al. 2009, Halvorsen et al. 2008).

Harsh treatment, or noticeable differential treatment as early as elementary school has the capability of having an immense effect on the student more so than differential experiences in later years of schooling. Within this context elementary school is the foundation for a child's education and his or her life chances. It is where a student acquires the necessary learning tools and social components of school that are important for navigating the education process as a whole. Having an early experience road that is riddled with differential negative treatment in elementary school can potentially derail or push a student's educational ability off track. This is why there needs to be more research examining the educational disparities that occur in elementary school in relation to teacher bias. Not only can these research efforts explain the causes of disparities that occur in elementary school, but these efforts may also identify a way to interject policy solutions to help reduce disparities. Ensuring that every child has a right to the same opportunities of fair treatment by their teacher in elementary school may help to build better teacher /student relationships down the line and aid in combating teacher bias that occurs in higher grades.

Teacher Bias and School Policies

There are many school practices and policies that are affected by teacher bias. In this conclusion chapter three policy areas that stand out are discussed below. These include interest convergence, dress code, and zero-tolerance policies. Interest convergence involves a mixing of the schools back with the community and allowing the community to have more input and interaction with schools. This is similar to what Morris (2001) described as community norm around the segregated schools attended by African Americans students prior to Brown I. In such settings the school was the community and the community was the school. Similarly, interest convergence would allow for some of those same communal educational advances to be reformed through building community connections and harnessing community investments for schools in predominantly African American neighborhoods. Morris further explained that this sort of setting allows for the students and the teachers to have a sense of similarity, a sense of responsibility and a feeling of respectability towards all.

From a Critical Race Theory perspective interest convergence allows all individuals, not just the white ruling class to have a voice. African Americans could have an input in their offspring's education, talk about their previous experiences and shape their future experiences and outcomes. Without a sense of respect from the community towards the school and from the school towards the community, there is a disconnection. In a situation where there is no community connection the school itself may feel as if it is not a part of the community and merely a blip in the neighborhood. Having a sense of shared interests with mutual respect can possibly help create a stable environment for students to achieve. Teachers will also be more sensitive and understanding of the

importance of adopting teaching tools and curriculum that have cultural relevance. The community on the other hand will have greater support for the school's educational efforts.

The second policy area where teacher bias has direct consequences focuses on school dress code. Currently, there is little unity across schools and school districts as to what that policy is and which of the dress code policies will be used more frequently. In recent news media reports, young girls across the country have been standing up against the claim they have violated dress code policies due to the nature of their clothing seen as potentially provocative to another student. The dress code policy involves levels of intersectionality of gender, sexuality, race/ethnicity, religion and social class. Some of the latest interactions of the problem with the school dress code policies have involved white girls and young women; however, there are continuous connections with school dress code policies for African American students (Lewis and Diamond 2015, Losen and Martinez 2013). African American women are more frequently examined through a hypersexual lens (Holmes 2002) and all African American students are subjected to dress code violations depending on the mannerisms and attitudes projected associated with their dress.

Closer to home, discussions and debates (sometimes very heated) continue in Jefferson County Public Schools in Louisville, KY on the banning of students who choose to wear natural hair in the form of dreadlocks, afros longer than two inches, cornrows and braids (Ross 2016, WLKY News 08/16). In these instances, there are expressions of indignation that someone else can claim the right to determine what is, or is not, fit to wear while in school.

A central issue with school dress code policy is that its enforcement is completely subjective. A teacher can see the same clothing on two different students and only decide to punish one of the students. Students from a lower socioeconomic position are frequently targeted due to a potential lack of available clothing or not being able to afford certain brands that will allow them to blend in with the white middle class norm of school culture. In general, any form of clothing that goes against the style, price, or brands associated with those of the white middle class norms is subjected to harsher scrutiny under current dress code policies (Lewis and Diamond 2015).

Using an intersectional lens, one can find school dress codes often target poor African American female students with the harshest scrutiny. They carry the labels of being African American and poor. School officials who pass out punishment for dress code violations see those variables as being against the white male middle class norm and treat the style of dress based on the characteristics of the student and not on the ways in which the dress may or may not be a violation of the dress code policies (Lewis and Diamond 2015, Skiba et al. 2005).

The final policy area where bias in decision making disproportionately affects African Americans is that of zero-tolerance policies. These policies contribute to a number of disparities relating to disciplinary citations within schools. Under zero-tolerance policies, students are subjected to the equivalent of mandatory sentencing. That is, schools impose required punishments for certain infractions including minimum and maximum suspensions. The issue here is not that there are sanctions for students' actions while in school, but specifically how these sanctions and punishments are handed out to students can result in racial disparities.

Although zero-tolerance policies are believed to reflect a colorblind policy, the suspension rates tell a different story (Losen and Martinez 2013). Suspensions under zero-tolerance policies are handed out disproportionately to those who do not fit the white male middle class norm. Those suspended most often are the poor and racial minorities, most frequently African Americans. Based on the study by Losen and Martinez (2013) African American students were punished for unthreatening behaviors that were subjectively judged to be against school policies and therefore deemed inappropriate. For an individual to fight against these supposed colorblind policies having the potential to affect African Americans disproportionately; that individual has to first argue that these policies are in fact not colorblind.

Moreover, CRT argues that laws in themselves cannot counteract the racism that is in every facet of the social institutions and culture of America. The disproportionate suspension rates of African Americans support the premise of CRT of white control through the subjugation of non-whites rather than simply more African Americans is something that is not happening due to African American students behave poorly. Further, no one question that the disproportionality in suspensions may be caused by biased decision, judgements and actions of teachers and school staff members. Likewise, understanding zero-tolerance policies from an intersectional approach can potentially help better understand that there are several interacting physical, social and culture characteristics of any one individuals on which behavior is assessed and punishing determined whether the student actually committed a disciplinary infraction.

Combating Teacher Bias and Further Research

Based on the findings of this study that reviewed several different historical as well as contemporary multidisciplinary research on teacher bias, one possible solution emerges as a way to partially combat teacher bias. That is, culturally relevant teaching as a transformative solution as proposed by Howard (2001). However, not necessarily in the exact manner in which he originally described this pedagogical form. Support for culturally relevant teaching should take the form of a call that all who plan to teach and who are currently teaching must undergo cultural sensitive and cultural relevant teaching curriculum and style - or risk the forfeiture of their right to teach. This would require as CRT suggests a radical change and accountability, not merely a liberal response to the problem of teacher bias. The solution is not to lay blame on any one individual or group of teachers but to address racism and disparities in African American student experiences and outcomes as a structural issue embedded in the institution.

Teacher bias is phenomenon that has existed in schools for over 150 years in various forms as described in this thesis. In order to eradicate it there must be a direct injection of a solution that impacts all who currently teach and who plan to teach. Although merely forcing teachers to respect another's culture will not immediately stop teacher bias, it also has the potential of causing more bias if teachers resist the reasoning behind culture relevant teaching as a pedagogy to build important connections between teachers and their African American students. However, it is a positive way to dismantle the personal biases to which individuals cling and can change the life trajectories of African American students.

In conclusion, this study provided and described reasonable linkages between historical race-based stereotypes and teacher bias towards African Americans. However, more research is needed that focus specifically on how gender biases of teachers and students impact African American student experiences and outcomes. Further, the impact of historical and contemporary stereotypes on teacher bias at other levels of the education system will help understand the wide ranging effect on African American students and their life chances. Specific to policy changes and teacher training the utilization of quantitative and qualitative studies on the same and related issues is required. This includes research that focus on personnel who have direct contact with students and have the authority to make specific decisions impacting students' educational progress. Examining an individual's acknowledged beliefs regarding race-based stereotypes, as well as their potential differential decision making choices, could help to further clarify how teacher bias affects student achievement and perpetuates other educational inequalities in the twenty-first century.

REFERENCES

- Agirdag, Orhan, Piet Van Avermaet and Mieke Van Houtte. 2013. "School Segregation and Math Achievement: A Mixed-Method Study on the Role of Self-Fulfilling Prophecies." *Teachers College Record* 115(3):1-50.
- Ainsworth-Darnell, James W and Douglas B Downey. 1998. "Assessing the Oppositional Culture Explanation for Racial/Ethnic Differences in School Performance." *American Sociological Review*:536-53.
- Allen, Brenda A and A Wade Boykin. 1992. "African-American Children and the Educational Process: Alleviating Cultural Discontinuity through Prescriptive Pedagogy." *School Psychology Review*.
- Alvord, John Watson. 1870. *Letters from the South, Relating to the Condition of Freedmen*: Howard University Press.
- Amodio, David M and Patricia G Devine. 2006. "Stereotyping and Evaluation in Implicit Race Bias: Evidence for Independent Constructs and Unique Effects on Behavior." *Journal of personality and social psychology* 91(4):652.
- Anderson, James D. 1988. *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935*. Chapel Hill : University of North Carolina Press.
- Armstrong, Samuel Chapman. 1872. *Normal School Work among the Freedmen*.
- Bailey, Caryn T and A Wade Boykin. 2001. "The Role of Task Variability and Home Contextual Factors in the Academic Performance and Task Motivation of African American Elementary School Children." *Journal of Negro Education*:84-95.
- Banaji, Mahzarin R, Curtis Hardin and Alexander J Rothman. 1993. "Implicit Stereotyping in Person Judgment." *Journal of personality and social psychology* 65(2):272.
- Baratz, Stephen and Joan Baratz. 1970. "Early Childhood Intervention: The Social Science Base of Institutional Racism." *Harvard Educational Review* 40(1):29-50.
- Bargh, John A. 1999. "The Cognitive Monster: The Case against the Controllability of Automatic Stereotype Effects."
- Bates, Littisha A and Jennifer E Glick. 2013. "Does It Matter If Teachers and Schools

- Match the Student? Racial and Ethnic Disparities in Problem Behaviors." *Social science research* 42(5):1180-90.
- Begeny, John C, Tanya L Eckert, Staci A Montarello and Michelle S Storie. 2008. "Teachers' Perceptions of Students' Reading Abilities: An Examination of the Relationship between Teachers' Judgments and Students' Performance across a Continuum of Rating Methods." *School Psychology Quarterly* 23(1):43.
- Bell Jr, Derrick A. 1979. "Brown V. Board of Education and the Interest-Convergence Dilemma." *Harv. L. Rev.* 93:518.
- Bertrand, Marianne and Sendhil Mullainathan. 2005. "Implicit Discrimination." *The American Economic Review* 95(2):94-98.
- Bobo, Lawrence D. 2011. "Somewhere between Jim Crow & Post-Racialism: Reflections on the Racial Divide in America Today." *Daedalus* 140(2):11-36.
- Bobo, Lawrence D, Camille Z Charles, Maria Krysan, Alicia D Simmons and George M Fredrickson. 2012. "The Real Record on Racial Attitudes." *Social trends in American life: Findings from the general social survey since 1972*:38-83.
- Bonastia, Christopher. 2009. "White Justifications for School Closings in Prince Edward County, Virginia, 1959–1964." *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race* 6(02):309-33.
- Bond, Horace Mann. 1934. *The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order*. New York: Prentice-Hall.
- Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo. 2006. *Racism without Racists: Color-Blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in the United States*: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Bourne, Jenny. 2001. "The Life and Times of Institutional Racism." *Race & class* 43(2):7-22.
- Brawley, James P.. 1974. *Two Centuries of Methodist Concern: Bondage, Freedom, and Education of People*: Vantage Press.
- Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2011. "The Economic Daily." Retrived July, 11 2016. bls.gov/opub/ted/2011/ted_20110914.htm
- Butchart, Ronald E. 1980. *Northern Schools, Southern Blacks, and Reconstruction: Freedmen's Education, 1862-1875*: Praeger Pub Text.
- Butchart, Ronald E. 1988. "" Outthinking and Outflanking the Owners of the World": A

- Historiography of the African American Struggle for Education." *History of Education Quarterly*:333-66.
- Caliver, Ambrose. 1950. "Certain Significant Developments in the Education of Negroes During the Past Generation." *The Journal of Negro History* 35(2):111-34.
- Cameron, C Daryl, B Keith Payne and Joshua Knobe. 2010. "Do Theories of Implicit Race Bias Change Moral Judgments?". *Social Justice Research* 23(4):272-89.
- Carter, Prudence L. 2012. *Stubborn Roots: Race, Culture, and Inequality in Us and South African Schools*: OUP USA.
- Census, 2011. "Poverty Level Report." Retrived July 11, 2016, ww2.census.gov/programs-surveys/demo/tables/p60/252/table3.pdf
- Clayton, Jennifer K. 2011. "Changing Diversity in Us Schools the Impact on Elementary Student Performance and Achievement." *Education and urban society* 43(6):671-95.
- Cooper, Carey E, Robert Crosnoe, Marie-Anne Suizzo and Keenan A Pituch. 2009. "Poverty, Race, and Parental Involvement During the Transition to Elementary School." *Journal of family issues*.
- Cooper, Carey E. 2010. "Family Poverty, School-Based Parental Involvement, and Policy-Focused Protective Factors in Kindergarten." *Early Childhood Research Quarterly* 25(4):480-92.
- Cornelius, Janet. 1983. "" We Slipped and Learned to Read:" Slave Accounts of the Literacy Process, 1830-1865." *Phylon (1960-)* 44(3):171-86.
- de Roulhac Hamilton, Joseph Grégoire. 1909. *The Freedmen's Bureau in North Carolina*: publisher not identified.
- Dee, Thomas S. 2004. "Teachers, Race, and Student Achievement in a Randomized Experiment." *Review of Economics and Statistics* 86(1):195-210.
- Dee, Thomas S. 2005. "A Teacher Like Me: Does Race, Ethnicity, or Gender Matter?". *American Economic Review*:158-65.
- Diamond, John B. 2006. "Still Separate and Unequal: Examining Race, Opportunity, and School Achievement in " Integrated " Suburbs." *The Journal of Negro Education*:495-505.
- Downey, Douglas B and Shana Pribesh. 2004. "When Race Matters: Teachers' Evaluations of Students' Classroom Behavior." *Sociology of Education* 77(4):267-82.

- Driessen, Geert. 2015. "Teacher Ethnicity, Student Ethnicity, and Student Outcomes." *Intercultural Education* 26(3):179-91.
- Emdin, Christopher. 2016. *For White Folks Who Teach in the Hood... And the Rest of Y'all Too: Reality Pedagogy and Urban Education*: Beacon Press.
- Enck, Henry Snyder. 1970. *The Burden Borne: Northern White Philanthropy and Southern Black Industrial Education, 1900-1915*, by Henry S. Enck: University of Cincinnati.
- Epperson, Lia B. 2005. "True Integration: Advancing Brown's Goal of Educational Equity in the Wake of Grutter." *U. Pitt. L. Rev.* 67:175.
- Fan, Weihua, Cathy M Williams and Christopher A Wolters. 2012. "Parental Involvement in Predicting School Motivation: Similar and Differential Effects across Ethnic Groups." *The Journal of Educational Research* 105(1):21-35.
- Ford, Donna Y and J John Harris. 1996. "Perceptions and Attitudes of Black Students toward School, Achievement, and Other Educational Variables." *Child development* 67(3):1141-52.
- Fraser, Barry J and Darrell L Fisher. 1982. "Predicting Students' Outcomes from Their Perceptions of Classroom Psychosocial Environment." *American Educational Research Journal* 19(4):498-518.
- Gillborn, David. 2006. "Critical Race Theory and Education: Racism and Anti-Racism in Educational Theory and Praxis." *Discourse: studies in the cultural politics of education* 27(1):11-32.
- Gillborn, David. 2008. "Coincidence or Conspiracy? Whiteness, Policy and the Persistence of the Black/White Achievement Gap." *Educational Review* 60(3):229-48.
- Gorski, Paul. 2008. "The Myth of the 'Culture of Poverty'." *Educational Leadership* 65(7):32.
- Greenwald, Anthony G and Mahzarin R Banaji. 1995. "Implicit Social Cognition: Attitudes, Self-Esteem, and Stereotypes." *Psychological review* 102(1):4.
- Halvorsen, Anne-Lise, Valerie E Lee and Fernando H Andrade. 2008. "A Mixed-Method Study of Teachers' Attitudes About Teaching in Urban and Low-Income Schools." *Urban Education*.
- Hanushek, Eric A, John F Kain and Steven G Rivkin. 2002. "New Evidence About

- Brown V. Board of Education: The Complex Effects of School Racial Composition on Achievement." Vol.: National Bureau of Economic Research.
- Haran, Louis R. 1958. *Separate and Unequal*: New York, NY: Anthem Books.
- Hinnant, J Benjamin, Marion O'Brien and Sharon R Ghazarian. 2009. "The Longitudinal Relations of Teacher Expectations to Achievement in the Early School Years." *Journal of educational psychology* 101(3):662.
- Hoge, Robert D and Theodore Coladarci. 1989. "Teacher-Based Judgments of Academic Achievement: A Review of Literature." *Review of Educational Research* 59(3):297-313.
- Holmes, Marcelle Christian. 2002. "Mental Health and Sexual Self-Concept Discrepancies in a Sample of Young Black Women." *Journal of Black Psychology* 28(4):347-70.
- Irizarry, Yasmiyn. 2015. "Selling Students Short: Racial Differences in Teachers' Evaluations of High, Average, and Low Performing Students." *Social science research* 52:522-38.
- Irvine, Russell W and Jacqueline Jordan Irvine. 1983. "The Impact of the Desegregation Process on the Education of Black Students: Key Variables." *Journal of Negro Education*:410-22.
- Jackson, Luther P. 1930. "Religious Instruction of Negroes, 1830-1860, with Special Reference to South Carolina." *The Journal of Negro History* 15(1):72-114.
- Johnson, Charles S. 1935. "The Negro College Graduate: How and Where He Is Employed." *Journal of Negro Education*:5-22.
- Johnson, Heather Beth. 2014. *The American Dream and the Power of Wealth: Choosing Schools and Inheriting Inequality in the Land of Opportunity*: Routledge.
- Jordan, Lawrence V. 1955. "Educational Integration in West Virginia--One Year Afterward." *The Journal of Negro Education* 24(3):371-81.
- Kao, Grace and Jennifer S Thompson. 2003. "Racial and Ethnic Stratification in Educational Achievement and Attainment." *Annual review of sociology*:417-42.
- Knox, Ellis O. 1947. "The Origin and Development of the Negro Separate School." *The Journal of Negro Education* 16(3):269-79.
- Konstantopoulos, Spyros. 2009. "Effects of Teachers on Minority and Disadvantaged Students' Achievement in the Early Grades." *The Elementary School Journal* 110(1):92-113.

- Kozol, Jonathan. 1991. *Savage Inequalities : Children in America's Schools*. New York :: Crown Pub.
- Krug, Edward August. 1972. *The Shaping of the American High School*: University of Wisconsin Press Madison.
- L. Lewis, Jeffrey and Eunhee Kim. 2008. "A Desire to Learn: African American Children's Positive Attitudes toward Learning within School Cultures of Low Expectations." *The Teachers College Record* 110(6):1304-29.
- Ladd, Judith A and Tracy Linderholm. 2008. "A Consequence of School Grade Labels: Preservice Teachers' Interpretations and Recall of Children's Classroom Behavior." *Social Psychology of Education* 11(3):229-41.
- Ladson-Billings, Gloria. 1994. "Who Will Teach Our Children: Preparing Teachers to Successfully Teach African American Students." *Teaching diverse populations: Formulating a knowledge base*:129-42.
- Ladson-Billings, Gloria. 1998. "Just What Is Critical Race Theory and What's It Doing in a Nice Field Like Education? ". *International journal of qualitative studies in education* 11(1):7-24.
- Ladson-Billings, Gloria. 2006. "From the Achievement Gap to the Education Debt: Understanding Achievement in Us Schools." *Educational researcher* 35(7):3-12.
- Lane, Kristin A, Jerry Kang and Mahzarin R Banaji. 2007. "Implicit Social Cognition and Law."
- Leavell, Ullin Whitney. 1930. *Philanthropy in Negro Education*: George Peabody College for Teachers.
- Lewis-McCoy, R. L'Heureux. 2014. "Inequality in the Promised Land : Race, Resources, and Suburban Schooling." Stanford, California : Stanford University Press
- Lewis, Amanda. 2003. *Race in the Schoolyard: Negotiating the Color Line in Classrooms and Communities*: Rutgers University Press.
- Lewis, Amanda E and John B Diamond. 2015. *Despite the Best Intentions: How Racial Inequality Thrives in Good Schools*: Oxford University Press.
- Lopez, Ian F Haney. 2000. "Institutional Racism: Judicial Conduct and a New Theory of Racial Discrimination." *Yale Law Journal*:1717-884.
- Losen, Daniel J and Tia Elena Martinez. 2013. "Out of School and Off Track: The Overuse of Suspensions in American Middle and High Schools." *Civil Rights Project/Proyecto Derechos Civiles*.

- Low, WA. 1952. "The Freedmen's Bureau and Education in Maryland." *Maryland Historical Magazine* 47:29.
- Madva, Alex. forthcoming. "Virtue, Social Knowledge, and Implicit Bias." *Implicit Bias & Philosophy* 1.
- Massey, Douglas S and Margarita Mooney. 2007. "The Effects of America's Three Affirmative Action Programs on Academic Performance." *SOCIAL PROBLEMS-NEW YORK*- 54(1):99.
- Matias, Cheryl E and Michalinos Zembylas. 2014. "'When Saying You Care Is Not Really Caring': Emotions of Disgust, Whiteness Ideology, and Teacher Education." *Critical Studies in Education* 55(3):319-37.
- Mazama, Ama and Garvey Lundy. 2012. "African American Homeschooling as Racial Protectionism." *Journal of Black Studies*:0021934712457042.
- McCall, Leslie. 2005. "The Complexity of Intersectionality." *Signs* 30(3):1771-800.
- McIntosh, Kent, Erik J Girvan, Robert H Horner and Keith Smolkowski. 2015. "Education Not Incarceration: A Conceptual Model for Reducing Racial and Ethnic Disproportionality in School Discipline." *Journal of Applied Research on Children: Informing Policy for Children at Risk* 5(2):4.
- Michael-Luna, Sara and Anand R Marri. 2010. "Rethinking Diversity in Resegregated Schools: Lessons from a Case Study of Urban K-8 Preservice Teachers." *Urban Education*.
- Mickelson, Roslyn. 2003. "When Are Racial Disparities in Education the Result of Racial Discrimination? A Social Science Perspective." *The Teachers College Record* 105(6):1052-86.
- Mills, Charles Wade. 1997. *The Racial Contract*: Cornell University Press.
- Milner, H Richard. 2012. "Beyond a Test Score: Explaining Opportunity Gaps in Educational Practice." *Journal of Black Studies*:0021934712442539.
- Morris, Jerome E. 2001. "Forgotten Voices of Black Educators: Critical Race Perspectives on the Implementation of a Desegregation Plan." *Educational Policy* 15(4):575-600.
- Moss, Alfred A. 1981. *The American Negro Academy: Voice of the Talented Tenth*: Louisiana State UP.

- Mutegi, Jomo W. 2013. "'Life's First Need Is for Us to Be Realistic' and Other Reasons for Examining the Sociocultural Construction of Race in the Science Performance of African American Students." *Journal of Research in Science Teaching* 50(1):82-103.
- Newby, Robert G and David B Tyack. 1971. "Victims without" Crimes": Some Historical Perspectives on Black Education." *The Journal of Negro Education* 40(3):192-206.
- Noble, Stuart Grayson. 1918. *Forty Years of the Public Schools in Mississippi: With Special Reference to the Education of the Negro*: Teachers College, Columbia University.
- Ogbu, John U. 2008. *Minority Status, Oppositional Culture, & Schooling*: Routledge.
- Okonofua, Jason A and Jennifer L Eberhardt. 2015. "Two Strikes Race and the Disciplining of Young Students." *Psychological science* 26(5):617-24.
- Pager, Devah and Hana Shepherd. 2008. "The Sociology of Discrimination: Racial Discrimination in Employment, Housing, Credit, and Consumer Markets." *Annual review of sociology* 34:181.
- Parker, Laurence. 1998. "'Race Is Race Ain't': An Exploration of the Utility of Critical Race Theory in Qualitative Research in Education." *International journal of qualitative studies in education* 11(1):43-55.
- Pas, Elise T, Catherine P Bradshaw and Mary M Mitchell. 2011. "Examining the Validity of Office Discipline Referrals as an Indicator of Student Behavior Problems." *Psychology in the Schools* 48(6):541-55.
- Pattillo, Mary, Lori Delale-O'Connor and Felicia Butts. 2014. "High-Stakes Choosing." *Choosing Homes, Choosing Schools*:237-67.
- Peabody, Francis Greenwood. 1918. *Education for Life: The Story of Hampton Institute, Told in Connection with the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Foundation of the School*: Doubleday, Page.
- Phillips, Coretta. 2011. "Institutional Racism and Ethnic Inequalities: An Expanded Multilevel Framework." *Journal of social policy* 40(01):173-92.
- Picca, Leslie Houts and Joe R Feagin. 2007. *Two-Faced Racism: Whites in the Backstage and Frontstage*: Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group.
- Porter, Dorothy B. 1936. "The Organized Educational Activities of Negro Literary Societies, 1828-1846." *Journal of Negro Education*:555-76.

- Posey-Maddox, Linn. 2014. *When Middle-Class Parents Choose Urban Schools : Class, Race, and the Challenge of Equity in Public Education*. Chicago ;: The University of Chicago Press.
- Preston, Emmett D. 1943. "The Development of Negro Education in the District of Columbia, 1800-1860." *The Journal of Negro Education* 12(2):189-98.
- Pronin, Emily, Thomas Gilovich and Lee Ross. 2004. "Objectivity in the Eye of the Beholder: Divergent Perceptions of Bias in Self Versus Others." *Psychological review* 111(3):781.
- Quillian, Lincoln. 2006. "New Approaches to Understanding Racial Prejudice and Discrimination." *Annual review of sociology*:299-328.
- Quillian, Lincoln. 2008. "Does Unconscious Racism Exist?*" *Social Psychology Quarterly* 71(1):6-11.
- Reddick, Lawrence D. 1947. "The Education of Negroes in States Where Separate Schools Are Not Legal." *The Journal of Negro Education* 16(3):290-300.
- Rhodes, Anna and Stefanie DeLuca. 2014. "Residential Mobility and School Choice among Poor Families." *Choosing Homes, Choosing Schools*:137-66.
- Riegle-Crumb, Catherine and Melissa Humphries. 2012. "Exploring Bias in Math Teachers' Perceptions of Students' Ability by Gender and Race/Ethnicity." *Gender & Society*:0891243211434614.
- Rosenthal, Robert and Lenore Jacobson. 1968. "Pygmalion in the Classroom." *The Urban Review* 3(1):16-20.
- Ross, Allan. 2016. "Butler Suspends Hairstyle Bans in Dress Code." *Courier-Journal* July 29, 2016
- Schreiner, J Kathryn. 2010. "The Impact of Teachers' Attitudes and Perceptions on the under Representation of African American Students in Gifted Education Programs." Wichita State University.
- Schuman, Howard. 1969. "Sociological Racism." *Society* 7(2):44-48.
- Skiba, Russell J, Lori Poloni-Staudinger, Ada B Simmons, L Renae Feggins-Azziz and Choong-Geun Chung. 2005. "Unproven Links Can Poverty Explain Ethnic Disproportionality in Special Education?". *The Journal of Special Education* 39(3):130-44.
- Speybroeck, Sara, Sofie Kuppens, Jan Van Damme, Peter Van Petegem, Carl Lamote,

- Tinneke Boonen and Jerissa de Bilde. 2012. "The Role of Teachers' Expectations in the Association between Children's Ses and Performance in Kindergarten: A Moderated Mediation Analysis." *PloS one* 7(4):e34502.
- Stinson, Harold N and Henry A Bullock. 1970. "A History of Negro Education in the South from 1619 to the Present." JSTOR.
- Swint, Henry Lee. 1941. *The Northern Teacher in the South, 1862-1870*: Vanderbilt University Press.
- Thompson, Audrey. 1997. "For: Anti-Racist Education." *Curriculum Inquiry* 27(1):7-44.
- Tough, Paul. 2008. *Whatever It Takes : Geoffrey Canada's Quest to Change Harlem and America*. Boston : Houghton Mifflin Co.
- Tyson, Karolyn. 2011. *Integration Interrupted : Tracking, Black Students, and Acting White after Brown*. New York :: Oxford University Press.
- Ullucci, Kerri and Tyrone Howard. 2015. "Pathologizing the Poor Implications for Preparing Teachers to Work in High-Poverty Schools." *Urban Education* 50(2):170-93.
- Van den Bergh, Linda, Eddie Denessen, Lisette Hornstra, Marinus Voeten and Rob W Holland. 2010. "The Implicit Prejudiced Attitudes of Teachers Relations to Teacher Expectations and the Ethnic Achievement Gap." *American Educational Research Journal* 47(2):497-527.
- Vaughn, William P. 1964. "Partners in Segregation: Barnas Sears and the Peabody Fund." *Civil War History* 10(3):260-74.
- Walker, Vanessa Siddle. 2000. "Valued Segregated Schools for African American Children in the South, 1935-1969: A Review of Common Themes and Characteristics." *Review of Educational Research* 70(3):253-85.
- Walker, Vanessa Siddle. 2001. "African American Teaching in the South: 1940–1960." *American Educational Research Journal* 38(4):751-79.
- Webber, Thomas L. 1978. *Deep Like the Rivers: Education in the Slave Quarter Community, 1831-1865*: Norton.
- White, Howard A and George R Bentley. 1956. "A History of the Freedmen's Bureau." JSTOR.

CURRICULUM VITAE

NAME: Camara Uras Douglas

ADDRESS: 123 N. 40th St
Louisville, KY

DOB: Iowa City, Iowa – September 3, 1982

EDUCATION
& TRAINING: B.S., Sociology
University of Louisville
200-2005

M.A., Sociology (Coursework completed)
University of Louisville
2005-2007

M.A., Pan African Studies
University of Louisville
2014-2016

AWARDS: Golden Key Honor Society
2006