



Classroom and Behavior Management: (Re) conceptualization Through Disability Critical Race Theory

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Abstract

At a time of global neoliberal reforms and rampant austerity measures, education has become a commodity. Within this context of education as a right for the privileged, racial disparities in discipline and achievement have been normalized and accepted as natural at the expense of multiply-marginalized Students of Color, those at the intersection of multiple oppressions. Consequently, educators feel increasingly powerless and unequipped to reduce such systemic inequities. This chapter refutes the assumption of disparities along the lines of race, disability, and intersectional identity as unavoidable, by advancing a Disability Critical Race Theory (DisCrit) approach to classroom and behavior management for

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educators. Strategies for behavioral management have been traditionally derived from an individualistic, psychological orientation. As a result, behavioral management has been conceptualized as correcting and preventing disruption caused by the “difficult” students and about reinforcing positive comportment of the “good” ones. DisCrit shifts the questions that are asked from “How can we fix students who disobey rules?” to “How can pre-service teacher education and existing behavioral management courses be transformed so that they are not steeped in color-evasion and silent on interlocking systems of oppression?”. DisCrit provides an opportunity to (re)organize classrooms, moving away from “fixing” the individual – be it the student or the teacher – and shifting toward justice. When teachers understand (1) ways students are systemically oppressed, (2) how oppressions are (re)produced in classrooms, and (3) what they can do to resist those oppressions in terms of pedagogy, curriculum, and relationships, they can build solidarity and resistance with students and communities. DisCrit has the potential to prepare future teachers to create a learning environment that encourages positive social interactions and active engagement in learning focused on creating solidarity in the classroom instead of managing. This results in curriculum, pedagogy, and relationships that are rooted in expansive notions of justice. The chapter illustrates how DisCrit, as an intersectional and interdisciplinary framework, can enrich existing pre-service teachers’ beliefs about relationships in the classroom and connect these relationships to larger projects of dismantling inequities faced by multiply-marginalized students. Consequently we are writing about DisCrit Solidarity as theory informed practice or praxis.

Keywords

Disability Critical Race Theory · DisCrit · Disability studies · Critical Race Theory · Behavior management · Classroom management · DisCrit Solidarity · Multiply-marginalized students

Proposing Disability Critical Race Theory

In the last decades, issues such as the achievement gap, disproportionality in special education and school discipline, and the school-to-prison pipeline have been increasingly positioned as unyielding disparities. Within this context, particular attention should be given to the ways pre-service teachers develop beliefs and attitudes toward classroom and behavior management given that each deeply impacts the removal of students from classrooms through the above routes. This focus is compelling given that there are current moves to reduce disciplinary disproportionality for Children of Color, which – in some places – have restricted the use of exclusionary discipline and encouraged use of restorative justice (Advancement Project, 2014; Morris, 2000). At the same time, the Trump administration has officially rescinded federally led efforts to reduce racial overrepresentation in discipline and special education, claiming that these efforts usurp the right of educators to remove problematic students from classrooms (U.S. Department of Education, 2018).

These contradictory commitments create tensions in teacher education, demanding that educators either (re)produce exclusionary discipline though it has not been shown to work (Noguera & Wing, 2006) or rethink relationships with students so that they are not simply recreating the trends of inequities and mass incarceration within schools (Annamma & Morrison, 2018a).

This chapter proposes a Disability Critical Race Theory (DisCrit; Annamma, Connor, & Ferri, 2013) intersectional approach to classroom and behavior management for educators. It aims to demonstrate DisCrit's potential to prepare future teachers to create learning environments that encourage productive social interactions and active engagement in learning through creating solidarity in the classroom (Annamma & Morrison, 2018a). DisCrit illuminates how ability is distributed and withheld based on race and additional marginalized identities, through policies and practices (Annamma, Miller, Jackson, & Handy, [under review](#)). The closer a student is to a desired norm (e.g., white, male, cisgender, heterosexual), the more the student is imagined as capable and less subjected to discipline (Adams & Erevelles, 2016). Thus, students closest to the desired norm are supported in a myriad of ways (Broderick & Leonardo, 2016), while those closest to the margins are imagined as less capable in learning and behavior. A DisCrit approach to classroom management highlights how to enable more students by "situating students' actions in the classroom as strategies of resistance, . . . and teaching (students) how to channel resistance to dismantle systems" (Annamma & Morrison, 2018a, p. 76).

The chapter draws on a larger qualitative study, conceived as critical naturalistic research (Bhattacharya, 2017; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Skrtic, 1985), conducted with approximately 40 undergraduate teacher candidates, enrolled in 2 classroom management courses reconceptualized through the DisCrit framework (Annamma, 2018). The data collected were 5 assignments for each student (3 reading reflections, 1 final pedagogical philosophy, 1 classroom management plan) and 6 in-class artifacts per student and 27 in-class observations. The analysis presented in this chapter is based on case studies of two randomly selected students and four purposefully selected student-produced artifacts (i.e., original, changing and final pedagogical philosophy, and classroom management plan).

The chapter begins by illustrating data on discipline disparities of Students of Color, especially those who are located at the complex intersection of race, gender, and disability. This is followed by an introduction of DisCrit in education as an intersectional and interdisciplinary framework, addressing the affordances provided to classroom management courses for pre-service teachers. Particular attention is given to the possibilities of DisCrit in preparing future teachers to create a learning environment that encourages productive social interactions and active engagement in learning through creating solidarity in the classroom. We then move to highlighting three major shifts in pre-service teachers' pedagogical philosophy and attitudes toward classroom management:

1. From managing students through narrow notions of individual success to building relationships based on solidarity and clear communication with multiply-marginalized Students of Color and their families

2. From imagining discipline as punishment and being unaware of the consequences of punitive discipline to using discipline as a tool for leaning and being cognizant of teachers' biases
3. From considering inequities as natural to understanding enabling and debilitating processes in classrooms and schools leading to the exclusion of multiply-marginalized Students of Color

Finally, we end by theorizing how DisCrit can help pre-service teachers in centering multiply-marginalized students in the curriculum and in contemplating how discipline may be used as a tool for learning. In so doing, DisCrit can enrich existing pre-service teachers' beliefs about relationships in the classroom and connect these relationships to larger projects of dismantling inequities faced by multiply-marginalized students (Annamma & Morrison, 2018b).

Suspensions, Pushout, and the Discipline Gap

The overrepresentation of Students of Color in research around school discipline is not a new finding and has, in fact, been occurring since Brown versus Board was implemented (Annamma, Jackson, & Morrison, 2014; Children's Defense Fund, 1975; McCarthy & Hoge, 1987; Skiba, Peterson, & Williams, 1997; Thornton & Trent, 1988; Wu, Pink, Crain, & Moles, 1982). Such extensive documentation gathered in the last four decades about the existence of racial, socioeconomic, and gender disparities in school discipline data has helped raising concerns about the effectiveness and fairness of suspension and expulsion (American Psychological Association, 2008), as well as the loss of learning time for those students and other harmful issues (Losen & Skiba, 2010). As Skiba and Rausch (2006) indicated, when zero-tolerance and similar policies started to be implemented in the early 1970s, K-12 public school suspension increased significantly for students of all races, *and there was an immediate racial discipline gap which was widened over time* (italics added for emphasis). Zero-tolerance policies originated from the "broken windows" policy theory developed by criminologists Kelling and Wilson (Morris, 2012), which supported an approach to school discipline that imposes removal from school for a broad array actions – from violent behavior to truancy and dress code violations (Losen & Skiba, 2010). Zero-tolerance policies are based on the assumption that small "criminal" acts are indicative of more severe, negative behavior that may manifest later. In the 1990s, following the shooting on the campus of Columbine High School, zero-tolerance policies evolved into a response to the fear of mass shootings and expanded to "protect" students from gun violence.

The interpretation of these policies has been loose, and they currently include automatic suspension for students bringing drugs on school campuses, for those who fight in school, or for those that are perceived as a "threat" for other students and teachers (Morris, 2012). As a partial result of these zero-tolerance policies, the number of suspensions increases dramatically to about 2.7 million in the 2015–2016 school year (United States Government Accountability Office, 2018).

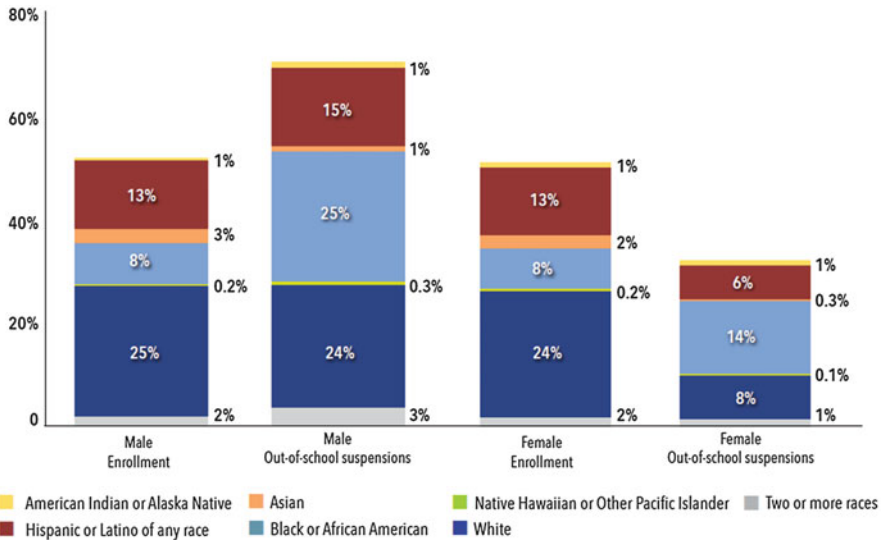
The number of students being referred to law enforcement authorities and arrested on school grounds or at school activities also increased. About 291,000 such referrals and arrests occurred in the 2015–2016 school year, an increase of about 5,000 from 2 years earlier (*ibid.*).

Students of Color were especially impacted by this use of exclusionary discipline. From 1973 to 2006, Children of Color experienced an increase in suspension rates of almost 10% (from 6% in 1973 to 15%) (CRDC, 2018). Comparatively, white students suspension rate grew by less than 2% (*ibid.*). Students of Color are now over three times more likely than their white peers to be suspended (United States Government Accountability Office, 2018). In the next sections, we will disaggregate these numbers by gender, disability, and race in order to illustrate how multiply-marginalized Students of Color (Students of Color at the intersections of various oppressions) are most vulnerable to exclusionary discipline which calls for a rethinking of classroom management.

Race and Gender Correlations

The Civil Rights Data Collection containing detailed information for the 2015–2016 school year reports that Black, Hispanic, and American Indian students face harsher discipline than their white counterparts (U.S. Department of Education Office For Civil Rights, 2018). Specifically in that same school year, Black students represented 16% of school enrollment but 39% of school children who have had one out-of-school suspension (U.S. Department of Education Office For Civil Rights, 2018). A report from Government Accountability Office (2018) shows similar findings concluding that disparity in disciplinary actions of Black students persisted regardless of the type of disciplinary action, level of school poverty, or type of public schools attended. This means discipline cannot be blamed on poverty or other factors alone; instead race is the major contributor to overrepresentation of Children of Color in disciplinary actions (Carter, Skiba, Arredondo, & Pollock, 2017). Disaggregating by gender finds that Black girls represented 8% of the student enrollment and accounted for 14% of students who received an out-of-school suspension. In addition, as Fig. 1 shows, the majority of girls of color are overrepresented, while white girls remain underrepresented in suspension.

Given the numbers shown in Fig. 1, we note that girls of color are continually overrepresented in school discipline, particularly Black girls. Research shows that reasons for these disciplinary inequities are less about inappropriate behavior and more about how girls of color, and Black girls specifically are (1) subjected to age compression, wherein they are assumed to be older and more responsible for their behavior (Morris, 2016); (2) imagined as less innocent and childlike (Epstein, Blake, & González, 2017); and (3) experienced discipline for reasons that align with stereotypes about Black women (Annamma et al., 2016). Race and gender are deeply imbricated in exclusionary discipline actions. However, students at additional intersections continually are punished, as well. The next section focuses on data correlation between race gender and disability.



NOTE: Data may not add up to 100 percent due to rounding.

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, Office for Civil Rights, Civil Rights Data Collection, 2015–16.

Fig. 1 Percentage distribution of students receiving one or more out-of-school suspensions, by race and sex. (U.S. Department of Education Office of Civil Rights, 2018)

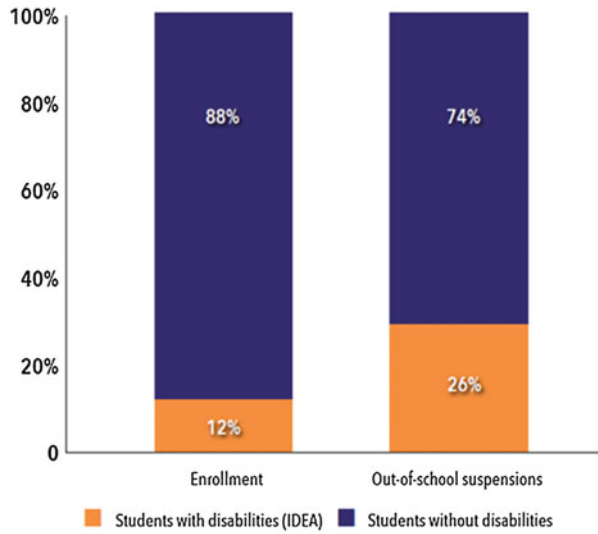
Race, Gender, and Disability Correlations

Data gathered in the education school year 2013–2014 of students with disabilities represented approximately 12% of all public school students and accounted for nearly 25% or more of students referred to law enforcement, arrested for school-related incident, or suspended from school (Government Accountability Office, 2018). Figures 2 and 3 display the percentage distribution of disabled students receiving one or more out-of-school suspension and expulsion in the education school year 2015–2016.

Disabled students represented 12% of students enrolled and 26% of students received an out-of-school suspension and 24% of those students who are expelled (U.S. Department of Education Office of Civil Rights, 2018).

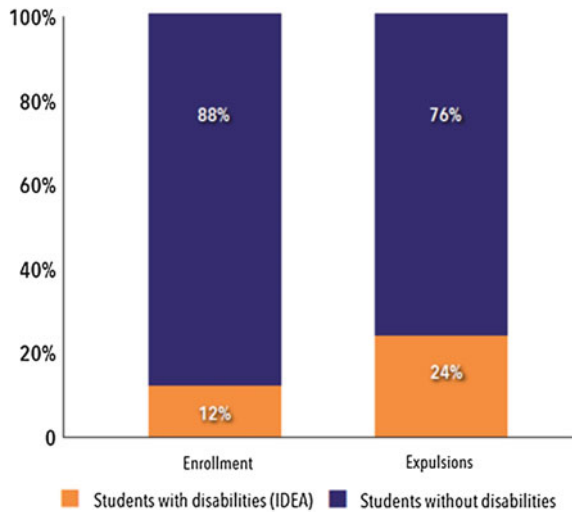
The Government Accountability Office (2018) report points out that by disaggregating data by race and gender, Black students with disabilities and boys with disabilities are disproportionately disciplined, although they are not more likely to cause injuries or act out more. Black students with disabilities represented about 19% of all students with disabilities and accounted for nearly 36% of students with disabilities suspended from school (ibid.). Consequently, both Civil Rights Data Collection and the Government Accountability Office reports show how Black students with disabilities are overrepresented in disciplinary actions. Moreover, disabled Students of Color are increasingly at risk for disproportionate disciplinary actions, along with poor curriculum and pedagogy, making their education overall much more punitive and less engaging (Annamma, 2018).

Fig. 2 Percentage distribution of students receiving one or more out-of-school suspension, by disability (IDEA). (U.S. Department of Education, Office for Civil Rights, 2018)



SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, Office for Civil Rights, Civil Rights Data Collection, 2015-16.

Fig. 3 Percentage distribution of students receiving an expulsion, by disability (IDEA). (U.S. Department of Education, Office for Civil Rights, 2018)



SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, Office for Civil Rights, Civil Rights Data Collection, 2015-16.

These discipline data, combined with that above on the correlation between race and gender, suggest that particular attention should be given to disabled Students of Color, who experience negative education outcomes. Being overrepresented in exclusionary discipline actions (e.g., suspension, expulsion), disabled Students of Color are significantly underrepresented in academic success. In fact, disabled Black students in the education school year 2014–2015 graduated at a rate of 55% and Hispanics at 58%, while their white peers with disability graduate at rate of 72% and the white students without disabilities at 83.2% (NCES, 2015).

To conclude, there is little data showing that out-of-school suspension or expulsion reduces rates of disruption or improves school climate (United States Government Accountability Office, 2018); indeed as the data presented here highlight, disciplinary removal appears to have negative effects on student outcomes and the learning climate (American Psychological Association, 2008). Moreover, these pedagogical approaches are likely to antagonize multiply-marginalized students and to remove unwanted bodies further away from general education (Annamma, 2018). Thus, it is important to have an intersectional framework to (re)frame discipline and classroom management.

DisCrit and Affordances for Classroom Management

Disability has often been ignored in social justice discourses as it is frequently considered a monolithic experience and identity through the lens of the “medical model” (see Artiles, 2013). The defining characteristic of the medical model of disability is the assumption that disability is located in biological impairments within the individual, ignoring macro sociopolitical contexts of racism, ableism, and other intersecting systems of oppression (Erevelles, 2011). This medical model has been historically driven by the “moral imperative to ‘healthy normalcy’” (Watermeyer, 2013, p. 29) that it regards disabled people as inferior and seeks to cure or rehabilitate impairments. This premise justifies the segregation of disabled people and creates barriers for rights and entitlements (Baynton, 2001). Given the biological roots of disability underpinning the medical model, it is assumed that the social disadvantages and exclusion accompanying disability can be explained as natural and not ascribable to any social cause (Kudlick, 2003).

DisCrit exposes the fault lines in the ableist and deficit-oriented perspectives of disability –naming the social construction of disability in order to illustrate the multiple dimensions of disability and disability’s interconnections with race and other socially constructed identities (e.g., class, gender, and sexual diversity). Consequently, DisCrit can be useful for those outside of special education wishing to understand how ability is distributed and withheld in schools and classrooms. By exploring the affordances of DisCrit for classroom and behavior management, we seek to recognize humanity in a more nuanced and accurate sense, highlighting the “multiple dimensions of individuals and the systems of oppression and marginalization in which they survive, resist and thrive” (Connor, Ferri, & Annamma, 2016, p. 2). We emphasize the various forms of oppression that intersect in the daily lives of multiply-marginalized Students of Color and consequently affect their behavior and how they “navigate educational and social institutions with savvy and ingenuity” (Annamma et al., 2016, p. 22).

Understanding the interlocking marginalizing processes which target multiple dimensions of identity is crucial because, for instance, disability diagnosis for Students of Color has concomitant negative consequences, such as educational segregation, behavioral exclusion, and remedial curriculum (Artiles, 2013; Kim, Losen, & Hewitt, 2010) that white students with disability labels do not face.

Disabled students, and disabled Students of Color, are more likely to be referred for disciplinary actions and their chances to be suspended or expelled are more than double their general education peers (Losen & Gillespie, 2012), though disabled students were not more likely to cause injuries or act out more (Cooley, 1995). Students of Color are punished more harshly for the same behavior as white students (Skiba, Michael, Nardo, & Peterson, 2000). When Students of Color commit similar behaviors as white students, a second infraction is viewed as more serious for Students of Color (Okonofua & Eberhardt, 2015). Such empirical evidence calls for a revision of behavior and classroom management practices that pays specific attention to interlocking oppressions, and DisCrit provides unique affordances for this reimagining.

There are seven tenets of DisCrit that support our argument for rethinking behavior and classroom management; each of the tenets unearths why curriculum, pedagogy, and school discipline are conceptualized in hegemonic ways and how they can be reimagined in generative ways for students and teachers (Annamma & Morrison, 2018a). First, DisCrit focuses on how racism and ableism and normal and interdependent (Collins, 2011). These mutually constitutive processes are systemic and interpersonal and are often rendered invisible to restrict notions of normalcy to the desired and to marginalize those perceived as “different” in society and schools (Connor et al., 2016). Consequently, once a child is perceived and labeled as different from the norm (whiteness), they are then imagined as less capable in academics and behavior. Consequently, behavioral surveillance, control, and punishment are more likely to land in the lives of Students of Color (Annamma, 2018).

Second, DisCrit values multidimensional identities and troubles single notions of identity, such as race *or* disability *or* sexuality. DisCrit acknowledges how experiences with stigma, discipline, and segregation often vary based on other identity markers intersecting with race and disability (i.e., gender, language, class) and how this negotiation of multiple stigmatized identities adds complexities. For example, disabled girls of color and queer and gender nonconforming girls of color experience higher rates of suspensions than girls of color without disabilities (CRDC, 2016) or cisgender heterosexual girls of color (Burdge, Licon, & Hymingway, 2014). Consequently, multiply-marginalized students have a clear sense of the mutually constitutive processes of oppression and of how these processes are visible within dysfunctional systems of behavior and classroom management.

Third, DisCrit rejects the understanding of both race and disability as primarily biological facts and recognizes the social construction of both as society’s response to “differences” from the norm. Simultaneously, DisCrit acknowledges that these categories hold profound significance in people’s lives, as it is evident in the marginalization of Students of Color with disability labels, who are more likely to be segregated than their white peers with the same label (Fierros & Conroy, 2002). Within classroom management, multiply-marginalized Students of Color are more likely to be disciplined and caught within the school-prison nexus (Meiners, 2007) DisCrit renounces the uncritical assumption that segregation and incarceration are a rational approach to difference.

Fourth, DisCrit privileges voices of multiply-marginalized students and communities, traditionally not acknowledged in research (Matsuda, 1987). Consequently, DisCrit recognizes those who have often been pushed outside of the educational endeavor through the discourse and practices of behavior and classroom management. DisCrit positions multiply-marginalized students as knowledge-generators, capable of naming interlocking oppressions and creating solutions to those systemic and interpersonal inequities.

Fifth, DisCrit considers how historically and legally whiteness and ability have been used to deny rights to those that have been constructed as raced and disabled (Valencia, 1997). Historically, behavior management has been used to eradicate difference, such as in Indigenous boarding schools wherein discipline was used as a way to punish children for cultural ways of knowing and practices rooted in Indigenous histories (Margolis, 2004). These colonizing projects were not only legal; they were encouraged by the government. Hence, schools have always been a place to sort and fix Children of Color, “curing” them of their problematic behavior. Through present day, multiply-marginalized Students of Color often attend under-resourced schools where they have limited access to qualified teachers, engaging curriculum, and critical pedagogy (Fierros & Conroy, 2002). Even when attending resourced schools, Students of Color are often kept out of advanced placement/gifted classes, where creative thinking is valued (DeCuir & Dixon, 2004). In both cases, multiply-marginalized Students of Color often face classrooms and schools that demand hegemonic standards of behavior rooted in whiteness (Brantlinger & Danforth, 2006).

Sixth, DisCrit recognizes whiteness and ability as “property,” conferring rights to those that claim those statuses and disadvantaging those who are unable to access them (Adams & Erevelles, 2016). Thus, when students are positioned as less desirable, they are barred access to engaging and accurate curriculum, culturally sustaining pedagogy, and relationships that are authentic (Leonardo & Broderick, 2011). By using more traditional practices of classroom management, which are often rooted in coercive relations of power, teachers participate in restricting access to whiteness and ability, thus perpetuating discipline disparities for multiply-marginalized Youth of Color.

These tenets highlight the importance of resisting the status quo, which implies centering the ideal citizen and often segregating the unwanted into spaces less public (Erevelles, 2014). They also expose how multiply-marginalized communities resist white supremacy in a myriad of ways, and thus, work rooted in DisCrit commits to recognizing the values and gifts of such communities (Annamma, 2018; DuBois, 1924).

Conceptualizing a Classroom Management Course Through DisCrit

Using DisCrit tenets as a guide, I (second author) (re)conceptualized a classroom management course for pre-service teachers. As the Principal Investigator and thought leader within this project, I designed each part of this course purposefully.

The first third was designed to build tensions through understanding how racism and ableism were the ideological foundations of the school-prison nexus. Imaging tensions not as a thing to be avoided in the classroom, but instead an opportunity for growth or “dynamics that can energize a serious learning effort” (Engeström, 2001, p. 140), allowed us to consider how to disrupt traditional understandings of behavior management as a practical framing in the classroom. Consequently, the first third consisted of understanding how classroom management rooted in coercion and correction contributed to various routes to and through the school-prison nexus. The second third of the course was structured to provide alternative pedagogical philosophies around relationships. This part of the course engaged students in specific ways to reconceptualize relationships to avoid (re)producing the school-prison nexus in their classrooms. The final third of the course presented a variety of strategies and their rationale. This section on strategies was consciously withheld until the end of the course so students could determine how the strategies aligned with their developing pedagogical philosophy. That is, only once students understood how intersectional inequities position specific students outside of the norm in behavior and the consequences to this positioning, and alternative philosophies to that positioning, then they could determine strategies that resisted the status quo of managing behaviors.

Engaging a Critical Naturalistic Framework

This chapter draws on a qualitative study conceived as a critical naturalistic research endeavor (Bhattacharya, 2017; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Skrtic, 1985). In order to engage this critical naturalistic framework, we drew from naturalistic inquiry to situate research in a natural setting (teacher education classroom). To make this work critical, we consistently discussed how microinteractions within the classroom contributed to macro sociopolitical inequities. The initial guiding interest of the study was to better understand how pre-service teachers’ beliefs about and attitudes toward classroom management change through participation in a classroom management course reconceptualized through the DisCrit lens. The majority of the students attending the course had not been in a classroom teaching students. Instead, discourse analysis revealed that pre-service teachers’ ideas about classroom management were largely influenced by their own high school education. Thus, many were unprepared to critically explore the realities and the outcomes of classroom management. Because of this lack of experience in the classroom, contributing to change pre-service teachers’ beliefs and attitudes toward classroom management was considered of utmost importance. In the study, DisCrit has served as theoretical and analytical framework. Throughout the research process, the fit between DisCrit tenets and emerging data has been carefully scrutinized.

Designing Critical Knowledge Construction

In doing critical naturalistic research, we make use of classroom observations (Taylor & Bogdan, 2016) and document analysis (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The study was conducted with 40 undergraduate teacher candidates enrolled in a classroom management course reconceptualized through DisCrit (Annamma, 2018), 2 co-instructors (a postdoctoral fellow and graduate teaching assistant), and a faculty coordinator who was also the lead instructor. In this chapter, we present an analysis based on artifacts, assignments, and observations consisting of initial, changing, and final pedagogical philosophy of two randomly selected students.

The research questions we answer in this chapter are:

1. How do pre-service teachers' beliefs and attitudes about classroom management change throughout a semester-long undergraduate course in classroom management?
2. What are the facilitators and barriers to supporting pre-service teachers' positive attitudes toward classroom management and multiply-marginalized students?

Participants

In the larger project, the students were recruited from two sections of a classroom management course offered in the fall 2017 semester, through introduction and informed consent letters, which were reviewed in class. All students were education majors, planning to teach in various general education settings (e.g., elementary education, secondary education, physical education). For the purpose of this chapter, two students were randomly selected from each section of the classroom management course. Both students are white females in their early 20s, born and raised in the Midwest. For this comparative case study, analysis was done through finding within and across case themes (Yin, 2017).

Typologies of Meaning Making: Evolving Pedagogical Philosophies

The following section presents initial findings from the study, focusing on assignments and artifacts from two students attending the classroom management course: Student #1 and Student #9. The section starts by exploring students' initial pedagogical philosophy and views on classroom management that center the self and the environment. It continues by analyzing students' evolving pedagogical philosophy, as conceptualized halfway to the end of the course. The evolving pedagogical philosophy shows how students have developed awareness about teachers' implicit biases and the importance of cultivating relationships rooted in care. Finally, the section highlights students' final pedagogical philosophy and the shifts in their perceptions of classroom management. Students are more conscious about the use of discipline as a tool for learning and not for punishing.

Initial of Pedagogical Philosophy

Conceptualizing Classroom Management Focusing on “Self” and “Environment”

In the first weeks of the fall semester, students were introduced to the general scope of the course. They started exploring classroom management and what it means in terms of ideology and pedagogy in a diverse society. Pre-service teachers were prompted to examine classroom management as one component of a larger activity system while critically analyzing the ways in which behavior is traditionally imagined and responded to in education and how behavior has contributed to inequitable educational opportunities for marginalized students, particularly in urban education institutions. Students were also given the opportunity to brainstorm and write down an initial conceptualization of their individual pedagogical philosophy and definition of classroom management. Such conceptualizations were then shared with the instructors only, and pre-service teachers were encouraged to keep record of their initial pedagogical philosophy, to reflect on how it could change throughout the duration of the course.

When encouraged to reflect on her pedagogical philosophy and views about classroom management, Student #1 wrote:

Classroom management is a place where students feel safe and secure. They feel like they can give their opinions and ideas in the boundaries of respect. Creating an environment where most learning is possible. Students learn from the experience they share.

Interestingly, Student #1 defines classroom management as a “place,” rather than the actions that teachers take to create a space that supports and facilitates both academic and socio-emotional learning (Brophy, 1988; Evertson & Weinstein, 2011). In Student #1’s conceptualization, classroom management seems to be detached from the teacher-student interaction and located instead in a place where teachers have a vague role in mediating the opinions, learning, and behavior of students. What remains unclear in such definition of classroom management is the meaning of “respect” and who gets to set the “boundaries of respect,” particularly when teachers are the most powerful in the classroom and often reproduce structural inequities through their interactions with students.

Student #9 defines classroom management as follows:

When I’m in a classroom, I want to get as much out of the class that I can so that I can use it in other aspects of my life, as well as my career. Listening and understanding is very important so that everyone is on the same page. (Student #9)

Student #9 seems to be focusing her attention mostly on her role within the classroom. The multiple use of “I” in the first sentence suggests that she is emphasizing the importance of being successful in managing and motivating students in her classroom. What seems to be missing is a critical reflection on the nature of the interaction between the “self,” as pre-service teacher, and future

students, particularly those who are multiply marginalized. In the second part of the quotation, Student #9 shifts the focus from herself and refers to the importance of communication, particularly listening and understanding students. However, no clear reference is made about the relationship of communication between her and the students, as the use of “everyone” leaves unclear the subject(s) that should be “on the same page.” This silence on the nature of the relationship between Student #9 and the students in her future class seems to reinforce the idea of classroom management merely for the academic “success” of students.

Each of these initial attempts at defining classroom management has salient themes that arose throughout the corpus of information (Erikson, 1998), themes of individual teacher as wholly responsible for managing ideas and opinions, management as a thing that happens, and teachers as the mediators of classroom boundaries around listening in service of learning. On their own, none of these ideas are bad. They are simply incomplete as conceptualizations of classroom management tended to be individualistic and absent of understanding of systemic inequities perpetuated through classroom management.

Given that these types of answers were anticipated, the first few weeks of reading focused on understanding the classroom as a community. For example, we used Rogoff (1994) to assist students in shifting the perspective of learning models that are based on one-sided notions of learning – that it occurs through either transmission of knowledge from experts or acquisition of knowledge by novice, with the learner or the expert in a passive role. Rogoff (1994) affirms that the idea of a community of learners is based on the premises that “learning occurs as people participate in shared endeavors with other, with all playing active but often asymmetrical roles in sociocultural activity” (p. 209). Thus, the author takes the perspective that learning is a process of “transformation of participation”: how people grow and develop depends on their transforming roles and understanding of the activities in which they participate (Rogoff, 1994, p. 209).

Evolving Pedagogical Philosophy

Focusing on Implicit Bias and Relationships Rooted in Care

As the course progressed, pre-service teachers were familiarized through course content with the notion that racism and ableism are interdependent (Ferri & Connor, 2005), hence the importance of building solidarity with multiply-marginalized Students of Color, rather than simply managing their behavior. Pre-service teachers began to understand how and why Students of Color are often perceived as less compliant and dangerous than their peers (Erevelles, 2000), and in so doing they started reflecting on how they can change their focus from fixing those students, to supporting them. Pre-service teachers began to understand the ubiquitous nature of surveillance, labeling, and punishment in education, through empirical research, national policies, and firsthand accounts from students about classroom and behavior management centered on surveillance, its resulting disciplinary exclusion, and long-lasting impacts (Migliarini & Annamma, *forthcoming*). Their pedagogical

philosophies and attitudes toward classroom management evolved with their comprehension of how pedagogy is linked with system of power and inequities. This is particularly evident in what Student #1 writes:

[My pedagogical philosophy has been] Changing in the sense of checking myself before blaming others (students). I never took into account the implicit biases I could have on myself. I have changed it also in making sure that relationship building is fundamental to build at the beginning and then adding onto that foundation with students. I have also made sure to communicate communicate and communicate with the students. (Student #1)

Student #1's evolving pedagogical philosophy shifted to centrally locate herself as responsible for building relationships and being aware of her own biases. Specifically, she considers the importance of building a relationship with her students partially through maintaining clear communication. Importantly, she questions her implicit bias, problematizing on how *she has never considered it, despite her previous years in an educator preparation program*. Student #1 had begun to understand how her individual beliefs surrounding classroom and behavioral management could impact her practice, which often justify the disciplinary exclusion of Students of Color. Student #1 has been influenced by the course readings on how implicit bias impact classroom management (Okonufua & Eberhardt, 2015), on dysconscious racism (King, 1991), and on creating a critical consciousness (King, 2004) to counter ways bias creates racial disparities in discipline.

Further, Student #1 developed a broader understanding of how schools (re) produce societal inequities and how disciplinary exclusion fuels systemic injustices such as the racialized achievement gap (Gregory, Nygreen, & Moran, 2006). As it is evident in the second part of the quote, Student #1 has also been impacted by the alternative pedagogical philosophies animated by the ethic of care, presented during the course. Clearly, she has begun to resist the hegemonic role of teacher as an agent of surveillance and instead develop authentic caring for students, one that commits to understanding power differences and systemic oppression. Finally, Student #1 seems to be particularly inspired by the strength of pedagogy built on trusting relationships.

In the evolving pedagogical philosophy, Student #9 highlights an interesting alternative to individualistic classroom management:

I have now a pedagogical philosophy that I did not have before this class.

I would like to include in my teaching the idea of community of learners. [And] The concept of warm demander. (Student #9)

Student #9 emphasizes Rogoff (1994) idea of community of learners, acknowledging the importance of students' participation in the learning process. In addition, she adopts the warm demander stance (Ware, 2006) in her pedagogical philosophy, contemplating discipline not as a tool for punishment but as tool for learning. In Ware (2006) conceptualization, teachers who are warm demanders display the following characteristics: (1) warm demanders as authority figures and disciplinarians, (2) warm demanders as caregivers, and (3) warm demanders as pedagogues.

What it is at the heart of the warm demander explains Ware (2006) is a caring yet authoritarian explicit explanation. This suggests that teachers who create a safe and secure environment can challenge students to work harder (Ware, 2006).

Reframing classroom management through the lens of DisCrit helps pre-service teachers to identify the pedagogy of pathologization (Annamma, 2018) and its impact on multiply-marginalized Students of Color. Simultaneously, DisCrit allows these teachers to consider alternative ways to support their students, families, and communities.

Final Pedagogical Philosophy and Classroom Management Plan

Discipline as a Tool for Learning

In the last part of the course, pre-service teachers have selected the pedagogical philosophy, and they are provided with pedagogical practices for supporting middle and high school students (Jones & Jones, 2013; Thorius, Rodriguez, & Bal, 2013). Instead of offering pre-service teachers countless strategies at the beginning of the course, we emphasize the importance of first developing a pedagogical philosophy around relationships in the classroom and then choosing practices that align with their emerging pedagogical philosophy. Students began to realize that if implemented without conscious thought, behavior management practice could reinforce the same system they sought to avoid. Pre-service teachers understood how generative it was to have a solid pedagogical philosophy that they could enact strategically.

As the final task of the course, we ask pre-service teachers to prepare their final pedagogical philosophy and classroom management plan that they could present as a paper, video, website, individual or collective presentation, or any other creative formats to be discussed with the coordinator.

When reflecting on her role as a future teacher in the classroom, recognizing that she will hold power to position students into different identities or use dislocating ideologies to remove students from the classroom (Adams & Erevelles, 2016), Student #1 argues:

I want to be the kind of teacher that refreshes attitudes towards students everyday. I want to have clear communication with students if something is wrong and do whatever it takes before sending a student out of my classroom, even if that includes checking myself for implicit bias. (Student #1)

It seems clear how Student #1 has evolved her critical reflection on the role she wants to take as a future teacher. She is surely more aware of the power she holds and how crucial it is to “check oneself” through data collection before taking disciplinary actions against students.

Student #9 shows a similar concern about her role as a future teacher and her position of power:

When I become a teacher, I need to be conscious that I am the authority figure in my classroom. This means, each of my students are going to see my role as teacher differently based on how they have been treated by others. (Student #9)

Not only Student #9 recognizes that she will be in a position of authority in the class, but she is also becoming conscious of the gaze of her future students and how their perception of the teacher can be influenced by their previous schooling experience.

Both Student #1 and Student #9 have become more aware of how failure and success in schools are often constructed and influenced by teachers' implicit bias toward multiply-marginalized subjects. They also had the possibility to understand the social construction of ability, disability and behavior, and the impact on their respective pedagogical philosophies, "because it will help to recognize that many of the students have been subjectively judged or diagnosed by others" (Student #1). Student #1 decided to adopt restorative justice to deal with discipline problems in the classroom. She argues that restorative justice:

Will be part of my pedagogical philosophy, because this allows the student who has created harm and distraction to address their actions. While giving closure to the victim. (Student #1)

Student #9 also adopted a discipline based on restorative justice:

By using restorative justice in my class, I am allowing both sides to have closure and to figure out why these students had acted out. The student who was the one that did harm will need to be disciplined, but as a teacher, I need them to learn from their actions and understand what they did was wrong. I also need to be there for the victim. (Student #9)

Restorative justice is appealing to pre-service teachers because it is an extremely different way to conceive discipline, placing value on relationships and focusing on repairing relationships that have been injured (Advancement Project, 2014; Morris, 2000).

An interesting aspect of pre-service teachers' classroom management plan can be found in the classroom rules and expectations. For instance, Student #1 wrote:

I want my classroom to co-construct success and for it to be a community of learners. Making a bulletin board at the front of the class next to the door (to the right of the screen) showing the classroom expectations. Having a respect centered set of rules will be written with the students on the first day of class and posted on the board. . . . (Student #1)

Student #9 highlights also the importance of "having a straightforward relationship with students from day 1, setting expectations and deciding rules for students" (Student #9).

From Student #1 and Student #9 changes and development in their pedagogical philosophy and attitudes toward classroom management, it is clear that reframing a classroom management course through DisCrit helps pre-service teachers to find a pedagogical philosophy that is both oriented to justice and authentic to them.

Yet we can still recognize that this class can be further developed in order to better build a more liberatory vision of relationships with students. Both students still struggled to discuss systemic injustices and mainly focused on themselves as sources of biases. Though we were glad to have teacher biases addressed in their final pedagogical philosophies, we realize that individual acts will not be enough to end the entrenched inequities with which we opened the chapter. More needs to be done to support students in connecting changes in their own behavior with systemic changes to education. Simultaneously we acknowledge that it will take more than a single class for students to truly understand the ways which education must be reimaged. One or two classes are not enough, entire teacher education programs must be reimaged through a DisCrit lens.

Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to address and reconceptualize behavior and classroom management through a DisCrit intersectional approach as a way to advance social justice in education (Annamma et al., 2013). DisCrit has provided the unique opportunity to examine classroom management as a component of a larger activity system and to analyze critically the ways in which behavior is traditionally imagined and responded to in education, particularly in urban education institutions. We have highlighted how reframing a classroom management course through the lens of DisCrit can help pre-service teachers to reflect on the ways multiply-marginalized Students of Color are systematically oppressed and on the ways perceptions of and reactions to behavior have contributed to inequitable educational opportunities for these students. By reporting the initial, evolving, and final pedagogical philosophy of two students who attended the course, we hope to have shown the DisCrit possibilities in guiding pre-service teachers' actions to creatively resist the reproduction of systemic oppressions in terms of relationships; to build classroom learning communities; and to reposition marginalized students and families as valuable members.

Our main objective in this contribution was to purposefully create counter-spaces and counter-narratives against the dominant views of behavior and classroom management and the schooling experiences of multiply-marginalized Students of Color (Ross et al., 2016). In order to perform DisCrit Solidarity, pre-service teachers should view DisCrit tenets in a dialectical relationship with the systemic and structural oppressions of schooling. In this way they can explicitly link the micro interactions with the macro sociopolitical (Annamma & Morrison, 2018b). We argue that pre-service teachers' conscious commitment to DisCrit behavior and classroom management would address racism, ableism, and interlocking oppressions that are common in everyday schooling practices. A DisCrit Solidarity would impact the achievement, behavior, and disability labeling of multiply-marginalized Students of Color, all of which would contribute to dismantle the school-to-prison nexus and (re)organize classroom ecologies (Annamma, 2018; Annamma & Morrison, 2018a).

Without an explicit commitment to address and be aware of the intersections of race and ability, as well as intersecting oppressions, we argue that alternatives to punitive classrooms will end up replicating previous color-evasive policies and practices (Annamma et al., 2017; Heret, Kaba, Meiners, & Wallace, 2012). We believe that a way to support multiply-marginalized Students of Color to resist racist structures is for pre-service and in-service teachers to adopt an understanding of how interlocking systems of oppression push students out of school and of the educational endeavor. This in turn provides the basis for engaging in enabling practices.

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