

instruction with scripted teaching. Rather, students need focused instructional strategies throughout their school years that are designed specifically for their cultural and academic backgrounds.

This is how the "basic skills" of the middle class should be acquired by children who do not possess them upon entering school. This is how middle-class parents, often without realizing it, teach their children. They build upon the children's interests; they ensure that the children are exposed to new settings; they discuss what the children have experienced while using new vocabulary. That is what we as teachers must do for our charges who do not bring to school the academic trappings of middle-class homes. And we must not only identify what they *don't* know but acknowledge and celebrate what they *do* know and bring with them to class—a maturity in problem solving, an ability to do what is needed in difficult situations, an understanding of real-world problems—that middle-class children are not likely to exhibit for years to come. They bring what schools sometimes disparage as "street sense," knowledge that is not only "higher order thinking," but that can be built upon to spur the acquisition of the "basic skills" that schools demand.

4

WARM DEMANDERS:
THE IMPORTANCE OF TEACHERS
IN THE LIVES OF CHILDREN OF POVERTY

"My teacher treated me as a diamond in the rough, someone who mostly needed smoothing."

—Mary Frances Berry, *USA Today*

"There comes that mysterious meeting in life when someone acknowledges who we are and what we can be, igniting the circuits of our highest potential."

—Rusty Berkus, *To Heal Again*

I've taught many young teachers, and they all seem so tired when they arrive at my evening classes. I know they work hard, and I know that for many of them "the system," "the parents," "the paperwork," "the high-stakes tests" all make it seem that what they do doesn't make much of a difference. If there is one message I try to convey to them, it is that *nothing* makes more of a difference in

a child's school experience than a teacher. As I have written before, when I interviewed a group of African American men who were successful but "should not" have been, based on their socioeconomic status, their communities, their parents' level of education, and so on, all of them insisted that their success was due in large part to the influence or intervention of one or more teachers during their school careers. These were teachers who *pushed* them, who *demand*ed that they perform, even when they themselves thought that they could not. The teachers gave them additional help and insisted that they were capable of doing whatever anyone else could do.

Gloria Ladson-Billings says that successful teachers of low-income, culturally diverse children know that their students are "school dependent."¹ What she means is that while children from more privileged backgrounds can manage to perform well in school and on high-stakes tests in spite of poor teachers, children who are not a part of the mainstream are dependent upon schools to teach them whatever they need to know to be successful.

I am reminded of my own experience with my daughter in softball. To say that I am unknowledgeable about sports is an extreme understatement. Yet I wanted to make sure that my daughter was not handicapped by my limitations, so I took her to become a member of a locally sponsored team. Since my own knowledge of the sport did not extend beyond the names of the bat and ball, I was amazed that after two practices my seven-year-old actually knew where left field was! After practice, the coach came to talk to the parents. He told us that we needed to "work with" our kids at home, practicing softball skills and going over the rules. My first thought was panic, my second was, "Look, I get her here; you're the coach. It's your job to teach her. I can't do a thing." Suddenly I understood fully what many parents who are not school-savvy or educated themselves must think about schools and teachers who insist that they "work with" their children at home! If the coach

didn't teach Maya, there was little hope for my child's future softball career.

For children of poverty, good teachers and powerful instruction are imperative. While it is certainly true that inequity, family issues, poverty, crime, and so forth all affect poor children's learning opportunities, British educator Peter Mortimore found that the quality of teaching has *six to ten times* as much impact on achievement as all other factors combined.² This can explain why I have found, like educator Robert Marzano, that two schools serving the same population can have vastly different success rates.³ In a recent study of schools in a southern city, I visited two public elementary schools located less than a mile apart, both serving very low-income African American children. One school's state test scores were at the top of the district—higher than the average score of the district's well-to-do schools, and the other school's scores were at the very bottom of the district. What was the cause of such a discrepancy? The schools essentially served the same population. The difference could only be the quality of teaching and instruction. In each of the classrooms in the higher-scoring school I saw teachers engaged with their students, actually teaching. In the lower-performing school, I saw most teachers sitting while students completed seat work.

What gave me even more reason to pause was the realization that the teachers in the lower-performing school apparently believed that it was okay to remain seated and not involved with the students when a visitor came into the room. This was even the case when she or he observed my conversations with the students that made it clear that many of them did not understand what they were supposed to be doing on the worksheet. That observation led me to conclude that somehow the culture of the school signaled to the teacher that "not teaching" was okay. If there is not a strong culture of achievement in a school, many teachers may not be teaching as effectively as they are capable of doing.

Indeed, Mike Schmoker in his remarkable book *Results Now* cites a 2001 study by K. Haycock and S. Huang that shows that "the best teachers in a school have *six times as much impact* as the bottom third of teachers.⁴ Much of Schmoker's work centers on the notion that poor children are not learning because schools and teachers are not adequately teaching them. He records instances of researchers and administrators visiting large numbers of classrooms and observing very little effective teaching and, despite district- or state-mandated curricula, very little coordinated, integrated instruction.

In my own recent visits to a number of schools and classrooms during a six-month stay in one mid-sized, predominantly African American district where I observed the two schools mentioned above, I was shocked to find how little teaching was actually occurring in many classrooms in a variety of schools. I saw an inordinate number of classrooms where students were doing seat work for an entire period—mostly busywork that had little connection to deep learning. Few if any questions were asked, and those that were demanded little thought on the part of student or teacher. Children who chose not to do the worksheet were ignored as long as they were quiet.

In one classroom of over-age high schoolers who had recently switched to a new schedule, the teacher told me that the periods were too long and the students got tired so she allowed them to take naps if they chose to take a break from doing their assigned seat work. In this language arts classroom, the teacher was apparently unaware that two students, instead of using the computers to complete their assignment, were instead comparing cell phone plans!

It is no surprise, but still a jolt, to realize the implications of such non-teaching. Schools that had been designated as "failing" had large numbers of teachers like those described. In contrast, schools that performed at high levels had larger numbers

of teachers who were actually teaching. They were visible in the classroom. They held students' attention. They were explaining concepts and using metaphors to connect the knowledge students brought to school with the new content being introduced. They used different kinds of media. They asked students to explain concepts to their peers. They posed questions that required thought and analysis and demanded responses. *No one* was allowed to disengage.

One of the most poignant aspects of this reality is that students are quite aware when the instruction they are receiving is subpar. While many are willing to play the game to avoid being challenged, others are distraught at the realization that they are being shortchanged. In a Florida high school that has been designated as "failing" for several years in a row, the students were primarily low-income Haitian immigrants, many of whom were from Haitian Creole-speaking families. Many of those teaching in this school were substitutes or Spanish-speaking new immigrants with limited English skills themselves who were recruited from Central American countries because they knew a specific subject area but who had no teaching experience. A district math supervisor told me that she once visited the school and had to hold back tears when the students in one class looked at her pleadingly and said, "Miss, can you please teach us something?"

During my sojourn visiting schools, I also had the opportunity to talk with high school students who were involved in a citywide after-school spoken-word poetry-writing program. As I always do when I have the opportunity, I asked the primarily African American students to talk to me about what problems they saw in their schools. Most of the students' comments focused on what teachers did or did not do in classrooms.

Students were also very aware of the culture of their schools, the attitudes their teachers have toward teaching, and the effort those teachers put into their craft:

- ♦ It's bad when they say you go to a bad school. It's like then they think you are automatically a bad person. Even when it's just one bad seed that acts crazy, people think everyone in the school is like that.
- ♦ Sometimes the teachers won't give you help. Some of them say things like, "I got mine; all I have to do is get my paycheck."
- ♦ In high school a lot of teachers are about occupying us, not teaching us.
- ♦ The bookwork and the tests have nothing to do with us.
- ♦ Our teachers don't understand how much impact they have. It's hard when they act about as serious about what they're doing as our little sisters or brothers.
- ♦ One teacher said she didn't want to teach today because she was having a bad day. But then she would have about four or five bad days in a row!

I also asked them to describe a good teacher they had encountered in their school lives:

- ♦ A good teacher takes time, makes sure you understand.
- ♦ One who enjoys being there.
- ♦ One who doesn't put on a movie when they're tired.
- ♦ A teacher who asks questions to help get the students closer to the answers.
- ♦ For each chapter there should be a lecture, activities and games, and reading outside of the text from different sources (from a future teacher, perhaps?).
- ♦ One who has a sense of humor, but can be serious when necessary.
- ♦ Someone you can find outside of class for help.
- ♦ Someone who is patient, understanding, ready to teach if you're ready to learn.

- ♦ One who is willing to learn about you and about new things.
- ♦ A good teacher inspires you and pushes you to the point of no return.

Many researchers have identified successful teachers of African American students as "warm demanders." James Vasquez used the term to identify teachers whom students of color said did not lower their standards and were willing to help them. Warm demanders expect a great deal of their students, convince them of their own brilliance, and help them to reach their potential in a disciplined and structured environment.⁵

Franita Ware in her research describes several such teachers, including Ms. Willis, a sixteen-year veteran, who taught third through fifth grades. In one example of Ms. Willis's no-nonsense approach, she spoke loudly and clearly to her students about the importance of completing and submitting homework:

Chris, pass out the workbooks while I'm doing some housekeeping and I want everybody to . . . listen. Yesterday I checked for two things; number one, homework. I had about half of the class that turned in their homework. I do not give you homework every day, but when I do it's a practice skill that needs to be done. It's something that you need: it's not just something for you to do. . . . And I expect you to do it. Now from now on, if you cannot do it, then you need to write me a note of explanation. And the only reason I'll tell you that you cannot do your homework is that you are dead—and you won't be here then. Because if you go to Grady [a local hospital with a reputation for long waits], I told you all the time . . . take your book with you and do it while you're sitting there. . . . We are not here to play, I'm getting you ready for middle school. . . . I am thoroughly disappointed with you. . . . Excuse me for hollering.⁶

Ware comments that what was remarkable when observing this classroom is that the students were "*absolutely quiet and looked at her with respect while she spoke.*"⁷ They did not indicate any anger or resentment, but rather their facial gestures suggested remorse. Ms. Willis was explicit about why these students in a remedial class needed to do homework; at the same time she acknowledged that students were not always in control of their lives (e.g., perhaps having to spend the evening in the hospital). However, she gave students ideas for ways to resolve issues that might arise and take control of unforeseeable eventualities. There were no excuses.

Ms. Willis would tell her students who could not read that they *would* read and that she would teach them. Poverty is not seen as an excuse for failure with warm demanders. Although they recognize the difficult circumstances of their students, they demand that they can and will rise above them.

Another teacher studied by Ware, Mrs. Carter, expressed similar beliefs. She refused to accept poverty as an excuse for lack of academic achievement. When a student didn't own a computer, she still had to finish a computer-based assignment. Mrs. Carter allowed the student to come early and/or stay after school, and she wrote a pass for her to use the computer during the homeroom period. The point is, there are no excuses.

I know of another warm demander with an excellent reputation for producing high achievement levels with her low-income students. This elementary teacher sympathized with her young charge who would fall asleep every day in reading class. Although she knew that the child's home life was in shambles, she told the child that, no matter what, she had to work to learn in school. In order to keep the child awake and alert, the teacher had her stand during reading instruction. There was no ridicule involved, only support and praise for her efforts. If the child wished to sleep at recess, she could.

Teachers who are warm demanders help students realize that

they can achieve beyond anything they may have believed. One of my favorite stories about a warm demander comes from well-known motivational speaker Les Brown. After being abandoned as an infant by his young, single mother, who gave birth to him on a filthy floor in an unused warehouse in Liberty City, Miami, Brown and his twin brother were adopted by a single cafeteria worker. Because of his high energy and inability to focus, he was placed in an educable mentally retarded class in fifth grade. He says that because he was called slow, he lived up to the label. He languished in these classes until a chance encounter in his junior year in high school changed his life.

As he was waiting outside a classroom for a friend, the substitute teacher inside the class called out to him,

"Young man, go to the board and work this problem out for me."

"Well, I can't do that sir."

"Why?"

"I'm not one of your students, first of all."

"Go to the board and work it out anyhow."

"Well, I can't do that, sir."

"Look at me. Why not?"

"Sir, because I'm educable mentally retarded. I'm not supposed to be in here."

Brown says that as the students in the class erupted in laughter, the teacher, Mr. Leroy Washington, said, "Don't ever say that again. Someone's opinion of you does not have to become your reality."⁸

That comment was the turning point of Brown's life. Mr. Washington became his mentor. Brown followed Washington around, watched him, modeled his behavior, and wanted to be a great speaker like him. Brown believes that it was because of Mr. Washington's comment and his continued insistence that Brown would be what he believed he could be, that Brown became the remarkable success that he is today.

Brown spoke about Mr. Washington in an interview: "In his presence he made you feel, without uttering a word, that you had greatness within you. That man triggered something in me that reminds me of what Goethe said, 'Look at a man the way that he is and he only becomes worse, but look at him as if he were what he could be, then he becomes what he should be.'"⁹

Warm demanders are sometimes spoken of by their students as being "mean." For those teachers who master this pedagogy, their "meanness" is often spoken of with pride by their students, and often with a smile, "She so mean, she *makes* me learn."¹⁰

Tyrone Howard studied a teacher, Ms. Russell, who, although stern and self-identified as authoritarian, would always treat her students with respect. She referred to them as "Ms." or "Mr." and always explained why she chose to take various actions. Her students sometimes expressed discontent with her domineering ways of teaching, but most thought that the ends justified the means: "She's mean and she hollers a lot, but you learn. I know that I have learned a lot this year, especially in reading and math. And if you look at all of the kids who make the honor roll or honor society, they're mostly in her class, so I guess it's worth it."¹¹

I have written elsewhere that we cannot assume that a raised voice carries the same meaning in all cultures. My great niece DeMya at five years old turned to me one day and said out of the blue, "When people's mamas yell at them, it just means they love them." Tyrone Howard found similar beliefs when he sought to get young students' responses to their teachers.

Jaylah, a fourth-grade student stated, "If you [a teacher] holler, it just means you care. But you can't holler for no reason at all. If we did something bad and she didn't holler, I would think that something's wrong, and maybe she [doesn't] care [any] more."¹²

My own caveat about interpreting the raised voices with which some teachers, usually African American, talk to children, is that it is important to listen to their words, not just their tone. Good

teachers may be telling the children that they are "too smart" to be acting the way they are acting, or submitting the kind of work they are turning in (or not turning in). When a teacher expresses genuine emotion and a belief in a child's ability to do better, that is a message that many children are eager to hear, regardless of the medium.

Howard wrote of one teacher who became upset with one of her fourth-grade students because of the student's failure to complete a task. The teacher angrily told the student she was capable of better work. The student stood humbly without response. To an outsider this might have seemed harsh, but shortly after the teacher expressed her disappointment, she approached the girl, put her arm around her shoulders, and had a private conversation. The next day the teacher showed Howard a note she found on her desk in which the chastised student thanked the teacher for being so terrific and thanked her for her "toughness," because it "really got me back on track."¹³

I need to pause for an aside here, however. I want to make it clear that I am not suggesting that everyone should proceed to be mean to or yell at black children. That model typically works only when, as Mrs. Carter in Ladson-Billings's work suggests, your own cultural background is so similar that you also associate a raised voice with concern and caring. And there are certainly times when "yelling" by a teacher of whatever color is intended to belittle and degrade students. What I am saying is that real concern about students' not living up to their academic potential should be transmitted in the teacher's genuine mode of emotional expression. For many teachers, that mode could more likely be quietly expressed as disappointment. It could be expressed through humor. The point is to make sure the students know that the teacher believes they are capable and expects a lot of them.

It may be surprising to some that the students respond to such high expectations and strong demands. It is important to point

out, however, that high expectations and strong demands are insufficient. The other necessary components are care and concern. When students believe that the teacher cares for them and is concerned about them, they will frequently rise to the expectations set. When students believe that teachers believe in their ability, when they see teachers willing to go the extra mile to meet their academic deficiencies, they are much more likely to try.

Recent empirical research has also supported the educational value of the "warm demander" model. In a study in Chicago that sought to determine what differentiated schools that improved from those that did not, Valerie Lee and colleagues found that schools that were the most successful maintained two elements. The first she calls "academic press," meaning that the content that students are to learn is made clear, expectations for academic learning are high, and students are held accountable for their performance and provided the assistance needed to achieve. This is the "demand" aspect of warm demanders. The second is termed "social support," meaning there are strong social relationships among students and adults in and out of school, the "warm" part of the warm demander equation. These relationships are imbued with a sense of trust, confidence, and psychological safety that allows students to take risks, admit errors, ask for help, and experience failure along the way to higher levels of learning. The greatest achievement occurred when both factors were present. When both existed, students made four times the yearly growth in math and three times the yearly growth in reading than when neither was present. If one existed without the other, the gains were much less impressive.¹⁴ In schools with high academic press and low social support, the resulting performance of students was almost as low as if neither academic press nor social support was present. In other words, having high academic standards without providing the necessary social support essentially wiped out all potential gain. On the other hand, social support without academic press

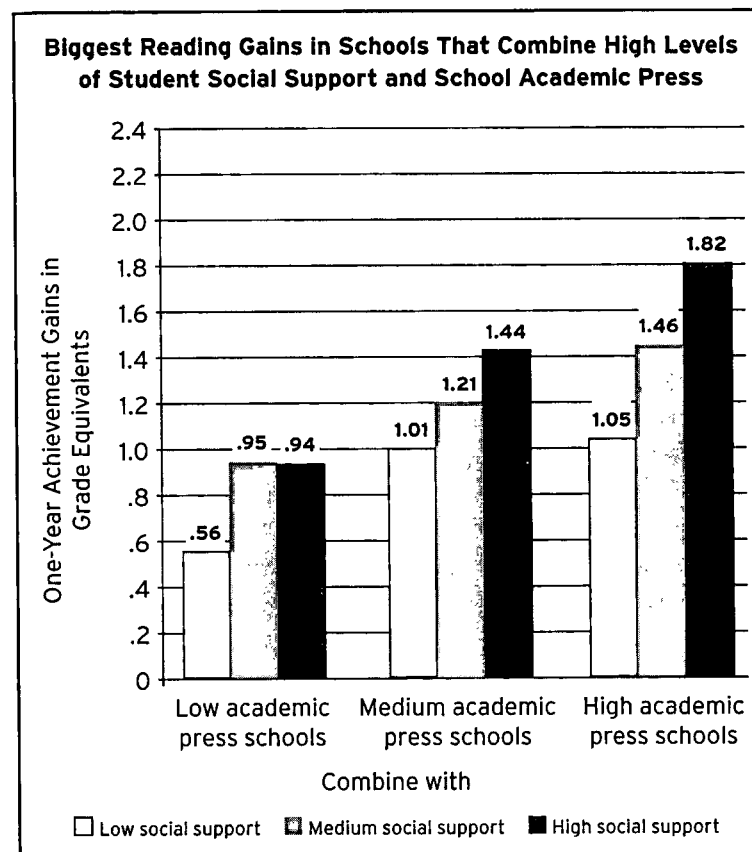


Figure 4. Valerie E. Lee, Julia B. Smith, Tamara E. Perry, Mark A. Smylie, *Social Support, Academic Press, and Student Achievement: A View from the Middle Grades in Chicago* (Chicago: Consortium on Chicago School Research, October 1999).

resulted in minimally higher performance than the inverse but still did not provide adequate academic growth.

Seminal scholar in multicultural education Geneva Gay has this to say about caring in the service of academic achievement:

Teachers have to care so much about ethnically diverse students and their achievement that they accept nothing less than high-

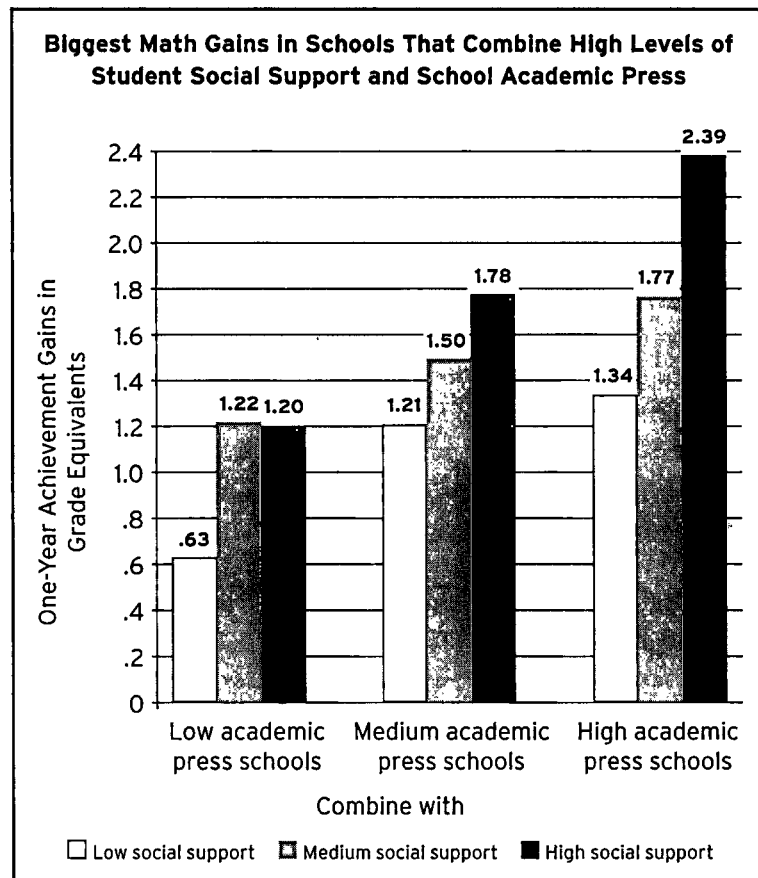


Figure 5. Valerie E. Lee, Julia B. Smith, Tamara E. Perry, Mark A. Smylie, *Social Support, Academic Press, and Student Achievement: A View from the Middle Grades in Chicago* (Chicago: Consortium on Chicago School Research, October 1999).

level success from them and work diligently to accomplish it. . . . This is a very different conception of caring than the often-cited notion of "gentle nurturing and altruistic concern" which can lead to benign neglect under the guise of letting students of color make their own way and move at their own pace.¹⁵

A part of this caring goes beyond academics. Warm demanders who are successful with children from poor families play other roles as well. They see themselves as advocates for the young people within a system that may not be so caring. They adopt many of the attributes of parents. They consider the whole child, not just his or her mind. They are concerned with the kind of people they are helping to mold—they focus on promoting character, honesty, responsibility, respect, creativity, and kindness.

I have seen miracles performed by many warm demanders over the years. Mr. Orlando Moss, a music teacher in Atlanta, for example, has been consistently able to mold young people with little or no musical background into a prize-winning orchestra—The William Still Sinfonia Orchestra. He demands hours of concentrated practice, much beyond the endurance (and attention span) of most adults. He tells the children, "I know you are tired, but I know you can play that measure with better tone. We will stay here all night if we need to." And the youngsters willingly put in more effort—even after their parents are grumbling and falling asleep in the bleachers. Of course, Mr. Moss will come in early or stay even later to help a young person who needs special attention.

I first met Mr. Moss when I brought my eight-year-old daughter to his orchestra class. He quickly said hello to me but directed intense attention to Maya. As he shook her hand, he looked deeply into her eyes and said, "Hello, prodigy." And that is how he greeted all of his new students—all black and Hispanic, most from low-income families.

I have seen the same warm demander pedagogy in teachers of all ethnicities. One of my daughter's young white high school teachers, Melissa Maggio, "read" my daughter's attitude of academic indifference correctly when she sat down with Maya for a long talk. Ms. Maggio finally broke through Maya's shell of nonchalance when she said, "You just don't think you're very smart, do

you?" Through sudden tears, my child admitted the truth of that revelation. From then on, Ms. Maggio proceeded to prove to this child that she was indeed intelligent by pushing her relentlessly to excel.

It is the quality of relationship that allows a teacher's push for excellence. As I have previously written, many of our children of color don't learn *from* a teacher, as much as *for* a teacher. They don't want to disappoint a teacher who they feel believes in them. They may, especially if they are older, resist the teacher's pushing initially, but they are disappointed if the teacher gives up, stops pushing. One veteran high school teacher observed:

Teaching anywhere today is hard work. It's especially hard in the cities because there are so many forces out there fighting against you. Teachers take the kids' resistance as not wanting to learn. But as soon as the teachers stop pushing, the students say that teachers didn't care because they would have kept on pushing them. The kids see it as a contest. Every day when I went into the classroom, I knew I had to be up to the challenge. I never understood, but I never gave up because I'm not a quitter.¹⁶

The caring, the persistence, the pushing—all these create trust. It is the trust that students place in these strong teachers that allows them to believe in themselves. It is the teachers' strength and commitment that give students the security to risk taking the chance to learn. These teachers do not shy away from a student challenge, but deal with issues when they arise. They seldom send a disruptive student to the office. They maintain their own discipline. They engage in conversations with disrupters outside of class to build the relationships that are the basis of cooperation. And these students know that if the teacher is strong enough to control them, then the teacher is strong enough to protect them.

Ware interviewed Mrs. Carter before the start of the school year and asked her about her disciplinary procedures:

Sometimes I *mean-talk* them in varying degrees of severity. And sometimes when you do yell, it is not always right to yell. Sometimes you have to go back and say—"What was really going on with you when I yelled at you? I'm so sorry"—you know, but what was really happening? . . . Sometimes with these kids, you have to [address the behavior] right then and there. . . . They are accustomed to a certain response and if you don't give them that response they will read that as weakness. "She's weak; I can do this and she won't even say anything to me." But if you turn around and you get them right there, where it is, and it doesn't matter who's there or what's going on, you don't have that problem.¹⁷

Although I contend that teachers of all ethnicities are capable of successfully teaching African American children, most of the teachers I have described here are themselves African American. Their success is not because their skin color matches their students' but because they know the lives and *culture* of their students. Knowing students is a prerequisite for teaching them well. There are several ways to become knowledgeable about one's students—living in their community, spending a lot of time there, talking extensively with students and their parents. But one of the most effective and efficient means is learning from excellent teachers who already know the students and their culture. One young European American teacher I met at a conference told me that she and an African American teacher in her school began some tough discussions about race, culture, and teaching after an incident had left them both upset. Eventually, in order to attempt deeper understanding of the positions each adopted after the incident, they decided to spend time observing in each other's classrooms. The

teacher who spoke to me at the conference said that those observations and discussions were so enlightening that they changed her teaching forever.

Similarly, African American Jennifer Obidah, then a young professor, and Karen Teel, a seasoned white high school teacher, found themselves arguing about issues of race and teaching when they tried to work together on a research project. Rather than move away from the conflict, they agreed to move deeper into exploring their differences. The result was a co-authored book titled *Because of the Kids*, which can serve as an example of what white teachers can learn from black educators.¹⁸

And so, to my students who are teachers, and to all teachers, I reiterate: Your work *does* matter more than you can imagine. Your students, particularly if they are low-income children of color, cannot succeed without you. You are their lifeline to a better future. If you put energy and expertise into your teaching, learn from those who know your students best, make strong demands, express care and concern, engage your students, and constantly ensure that your charges are capable of achieving, then you are creating for your students, as Professor Bill Ttrent once said about his own warm demander teachers, "a future we could not even imagine for ourselves."¹⁹

5

SKIN-DEEP LEARNING: TEACHING THOSE WHO LEARN DIFFERENTLY

A few years ago I was asked to contribute to the book *Learning Disabilities and Life Stories*, edited by Pano Rodis, Andrew Garrod, and Mary Lynn Boscardin.¹ The most powerful aspects of this book were the memorable and often startling autobiographical essays contributed by young people who had struggled with living and learning with learning differences. Their stories were poignant and painful reminders of how intolerant our educational institutions are of difference and how fragile the belief in oneself as a learner can be.

As I read the essays, Gretchen O'Connor's story of her struggles with ADHD touched on such familiar territory that I decided to share it with my daughter. Eyes wide with wonder, eight-year-old Maya stared at me. "Gee, Mom," she whispered in an awed voice, "that sounds just like me!" She was right; it did sound just like her. Although she had not been formally diagnosed with any learning or attentional differences, I had long suspected that her mind works in unique ways.