

Teaching to Transform Urban Schools and Communities

Powerful Pedagogy in Practice

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Chapter 1

TEACHING IN THE SHADOW

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TEACHING IN THE SHADOW

Focus Questions

1. What accounts for the wide variations across states, school districts, schools, and individual teachers in the academic performance of traditionally underserved students?
2. How does the quality of schooling students receive in P-12 schools impact their quality of life as adults?

Introduction

Teaching in the shadow is a traditional approach to planning and enacting learning experiences and a social context in classrooms and schools that does not consistently benefit or fit the needs of students in attendance at the school. In this approach to school and classroom practices, some students are consistently more successful and others are less so. Those teaching in the shadow may not fully understand the relationship among pedagogy, subject matter, learner characteristics, learning, and learning outcomes—and that teachers are responsible for planning productive learning experiences based on an understanding of this dynamic relationship. Further, teaching in the shadow employs naive classroom practices not well-suited to the school context; without full knowledge of the singular or collective impact of teachers on students' lives in the present, the future, and the intergenerational extension; and without knowledge of the wide variation in effectiveness and impact among teachers, schools, districts, and across states.

This chapter addresses the variations in outcomes, practices, and policies in urban schools that prepare students for success in life and uplift the community, or that contribute to disparities and are often disconnected from the life experiences and needs

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of the students and the communities in which students live. This chapter presents data and researched evidence that teaching in the shadow is one aspect of a reciprocal relationship among present practice, outcomes of schooling, and the conditions in urban communities. School practices contribute to the wide variation in learning outcomes across schools and teachers serving students in schools with similar characteristics, level of preparation for college and career readiness, social context in schools, and certain teaching quality indicators. The discussion in this chapter addresses the relationship among the performance of local urban schools, household income, and quality of life in the local community. Examples of the wide variation in the quality of education and learning outcomes based on race, ethnicity, and social class status across the nation in schools, school districts, and states are included in this discussion.

Variation in School Outcomes for Underserved Students

There is wide variation in school practitioners' effectiveness with children and youth from urban and low-income communities. Across the nation, there are many high-performing, high-poverty, high-minority schools with a comfortable and supportive social context; however, this is not true for the majority of schools serving this population. Multiple reliable sources have documented variations in the academic performance of students attending urban schools, including the Nation's Report Card (NAEP) on the five megastates (California, Florida, Illinois, New York, and Texas), the NAEP Trial Urban School District Assessment (TUDA), the Broad Foundation-sponsored Broad Prize for Urban Education, and the Education Trust in its Dispelling the Myth Award. Each of these sources show variations among schools, school districts, and states serving populations with similar demographic characteristics. Many schools serving low-income minority students are high-performing; however, the majority of schools serving this demographic are low-performing. These data dispel many myths about school failure and raise new questions about policies and practices in classrooms and schools across education providers.

Variation in School Outcomes across States

The Nation's Report Card on the five megastates (California, Florida, Illinois, New York, and Texas) provides important insights about variations in the academic performance across states (<http://nationsreportcard.gov/megastates>). These five states enroll almost 40% of the nation's public school students, serve half of the nation's English language learners, and include some of the highest concentrations of low-income students. Among the five megastates, California has the largest total student enrollment in public schools (6,289,578), the largest number of English language learners (1,467,989), and the highest student to teacher ratio (24.1). Florida has the highest percentage of students on free and reduced-price lunch (56%).

An update on the megastates using the NAEP 2015 results for Black students, including nine other states, illustrates the variation in student performance across states (National Center for Education Statistics, 2015). Each state included in this comparison has 50% or more of students eligible to receive free and reduced-price lunch, except New Jersey, with 33%. The percentage of Black students performing at or above proficient at eighth grade in mathematics was highest in New Jersey (20%) and lowest in Alabama (5%). In New Jersey, Black students were 14% of the total population tested at eighth grade in mathematics and 31% in Alabama (see Table 1.1). A similar analysis of reading shows that the percentage of Black students performing at or above proficient at eighth grade in reading was highest in New Jersey (24%) and lowest in Louisiana (10%). In New Jersey, Black students were 15% of the total population tested in reading at eighth grade and 44% in Louisiana (see Table 1.2). The megastates varied in the percentage of Black students in the population tested at eighth grade in mathematics and reading, and in the percentage of Black students performing at or above proficient. However, in the five megastates, Black students outperformed their Black peers in 7 of the 14 states in math and 6 of the 14 in reading.

Analyzing the performance of Black students across states is particularly informative because their performance is below that of most other students at each grade level and in the subject matter and skills areas tested by the NAEP. This variation across states in Black students' performance indicates that the students' life conditions may not be the most influential factor in their academic performance. For example, fluctuations in the poverty level or the percentage of Black students in the population do not correlate with their performance in

TABLE 1.1 NAEP 2015 Black student performance in mathematics

<i>State</i>	<i>Black student enrollment</i>	<i>Percentage at or above basic</i>	<i>Percentage at or above proficient</i>	<i>Percentage at advanced</i>
New Jersey	14%	60%	20%	4%
Texas*	11%	57%	16%	2%
North Carolina	25%	50%	16%	2%
New York*	20%	52%	15%	2%
California*	7%	45%	14%	1%
Illinois*	16%	49%	12%	1%
Florida*	23%	45%	11%	1%
Mississippi	50%	45%	10%	1%
Arkansas	22%	42%	10%	1%
Tennessee	20%	41%	9%	1%
Oklahoma	9%	47%	8%	#
South Carolina	34%	42%	8%	1%
Louisiana	47%	39%	7%	#
Alabama	31%	33%	5%	#

* Megastates account for 40% of the total population of K-12 students in the United States.

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TABLE 1.2 NAEP 2015 Black student performance in reading

<i>State</i>	<i>Black student enrollment</i>	<i>Percentage at or above basic</i>	<i>Percentage at or above proficient</i>	<i>Percentage at advanced</i>
New Jersey	15%	69%	24%	2%
Florida*	21%	65%	20%	1%
New York*	17%	61%	20%	1%
California*	6%	62%	18%	1%
North Carolina	25%	60%	18%	1%
Oklahoma	8%	59%	15%	#
Illinois*	15%	56%	15%	1%
Texas*	12%	58%	14%	#
Tennessee	20%	52%	13%	#
South Carolina	34%	52%	12%	#
Arkansas	19%	51%	12%	#
Alabama	31%	49%	12%	#
Mississippi	49%	50%	11%	#
Louisiana	44%	51%	10%	#

* Megastates account for 40% of the total population of K-12 students in the United States.

mathematics and reading. One factor to consider is that each of the 50 states in the nation is responsible for public education, preschool through college and the education of teachers and administrators. Each state develops regulations, policies, and practices to govern and guide public education. Most states have policies supporting special instruction and accommodation for teaching English language learners and special needs students. The overrepresentation of Black students in special education for learning disabilities and emotional disturbance is common knowledge in the field. Research studies have identified several cognitive and linguistic accommodations and interventions that significantly improve Black students' academic performance (Brown & Ryoo, 2008; Lee, 1995; Moses, Kamii, Swap, & Howard 1989; Nasir, Hand, & Taylor, 2008; Tatum, 2005). However, these specific cognitive or linguistic accommodations for Black students are not evident in state policies. It is difficult to determine the extent to which differences in state policies and practices influence variations in learning outcomes among particular subgroups of students, although it is a salient issue for investigation. Further, this analysis raises questions about the role of curriculum, school policies, and teaching practices.

Variation across School Districts

In 2017, 27 school districts participated in the NAEP Trial Urban School District Assessment (TUDA). The percentage of students performing at or above proficient

in mathematics and reading in TUDA school districts varied widely. A few TUDA school districts met or exceeded national percentages. Nationally, 34% of all students performed at or above proficient in mathematics at eighth grade, and 36% in reading. Among the 27 TUDA school districts, three met or exceeded the national percentage, performing at or above proficient in mathematics at eighth grade (San Diego, 36%; Austin, 38%; and Charlotte, 41%). In reading, at eighth grade, one TUDA school district met the national percentage (Austin, 36%). Austin met or exceeded national percentages in both mathematics and reading at eighth grade.

Further analysis of the NAEP Trial Urban School District Assessment data revealed within-state differences across districts in the academic performance of Black and Hispanic students in mathematics and reading at eighth grade. Nationally, 18% of Black students and 23% of Hispanic students performed at or above proficient in reading at eighth grade. For example, among the four TUDA districts in Texas (Austin, Dallas, Fort Worth, and Houston), in reading at eighth grade only Hispanic students in Austin met the national percentage. Black students performed six or more points below the national percentage in all four districts, and Hispanic students performed seven or more points below the national percentage in three of the four districts. The three TUDA districts in Florida (Duval County, Hillsborough County, and Miami-Dade) exceeded the national percentage, performing at or above proficient in reading at eighth grade for Hispanic students by five or more points, and Black students performed at the national percentage for one district and one or two points below the national percentage in two of the three districts. These variations in academic performance across school districts serving populations of students with similar characteristics raise important questions about the quality of schooling provided, and differences in policies and practices.

Variation across Schools

Since 2003, the Education Trust has selected high-performing, high-poverty, high-minority schools for its Dispelling the Myth Award. The schools selected for this award have achieved results at or near the top in the state across grades and subject areas for several years and are not selective in admission. Most awards go to regular neighborhood schools with a designated attendance area, but a few awards are to schools that hold blind lotteries for admission. Elementary, middle and high schools are eligible for this award. The profiles for schools receiving the Dispelling the Myth Award are on the Education Trust website at https://edtrust.org/dispelling_the_myth/.

North Godwin Elementary School in Grand Rapids, Michigan was first recognized with the Dispelling the Myth Award in 2009 and revisited in 2013. In 2013, the total enrollment at North Godwin Elementary School was 417 students, with 22% African American, 38% Latino, 36% White, 4% Asian, and

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75% low-income. This school has continued to meet and exceed state standards, with 84% of fourth-graders meeting reading standards in comparison to the state average of 68% and 74% of fourth-graders meeting state standards compared to 45% statewide.

Roxbury Preparatory Charter School in Roxbury, Massachusetts received the Dispelling the Myth Award in 2008. This middle school enrolls 198 students admitted by lottery. The student enrollment includes 61% African American, 33% Latino, 4% two or more races, 2% Native American, 30% English language learners, and 70% low-income. The students at Roxbury Preparatory Charter School perform well above statewide percentages in meeting state standards in English language arts and math. In English language arts in 2008, 90% of Roxbury students met state standards as compared to 74% statewide. In math, 86% of Roxbury students met state standards as compared to 49% statewide. Additionally, 60% of the graduates attended or graduated from college.

Jack Britt High School in Fayetteville, North Carolina received the Dispelling the Myth Award in 2010. This high school has an enrollment of 2,000 students that includes 46% White, 39% African American, 10% Latino, 4% Asian, 1% Native American, and 25% low-income. Jack Britt High School graduated more than 90% of its students as compared to 80% statewide. This school has a higher pass rate on state-mandated tests than most other high schools in the state. On the state-mandated algebra test, 93% of Jack Britt students passed, including 91% of African American students, compared to 79% statewide for all students and 55% for African American students statewide.

The extent to which the specific practices in high-performing urban schools, when identified and successfully replicated, will transform low-performing urban schools has not been determined. Hollins (2012) reported a study that employed a *structured dialogue* approach to transform teaching practices and improve student learning outcomes in kindergarten through fourth grade in a low-performing urban school. The findings from this study indicated that when teachers developed an understanding of the relationship among teaching practices, learner characteristics, and learning outcomes, they were able to make adjustments in their teaching practices to improve learning outcomes for their students. Once teachers understood how to adjust their pedagogy to improve learning outcomes, they took responsibility for student learning and took pride in their students' academic performance. The findings from this study indicate that teaching is the central factor in student academic performance.

Quality Teaching as a Factor in School Outcomes

There is little doubt that the quality of teaching and access to high-quality learning experiences are at the heart of students' academic achievement and performance. The New Teacher Project (2013) has identified outstanding teachers for the Fishman Prize since 2012. Essays written by recipients of this award provide

insights into their teaching practices and relationships with students. These teachers carefully plan instruction to accomplish specific learning outcomes based on students' learning needs, interests, values, prior knowledge, and experiences. Instruction consists of well-organized and clearly articulated approaches and routines. Students are actively engaged in meaningful and productive learning experiences. Teachers monitor student learning and provide prompt feedback and assistance as needed to support student learning and achieving learning outcomes. The recipients of the Fishman Prize were highly motivated, took responsibility for student learning, invested time and energy in planning and executing high-quality instruction, and regularly assessed student learning and instructional practices.

These examples of high-performing teachers reveal the power of individual teachers in classrooms and schools. An individual high-performing teacher makes a very important contribution to the lives of the students he or she teaches and can influence colleagues, even in a low-performing urban school. However, a community of high-performing teachers working together can directly transform academic performance and the social context in a low-performing school. High-performing schools depend on individual high-performing teachers. The discussion in the subsequent chapters in this book will support you in reaching your highest potential as a classroom teacher.

Increasing access to high-quality teaching and learning experiences is an important factor influencing learning outcomes and for improving low-performing schools. High school graduation rates, high school dropout rates, and school attendance (including suspension and expulsion) are important indicators of the quality of teaching and learning, as well as school effectiveness. This suggests that recruiting and retaining high-performing teachers is essential for improving low-performing schools. The New Teacher Project (2012) reported that high-performing and low-performing teachers leave large urban school districts at approximately the same rate. These researchers estimated that approximately 10,000 high-performing teachers leave the 50 largest school districts each year, while 100,000 low-performing teachers remain. The result is that first-year beginning teachers are more effective than 40% of the experienced teachers in the largest school districts.

Further, the findings from the New Teacher Project (2012) study show that principals encouraged low-performing and high-performing teachers to stay at the school at about the same rate. Interviews with low-performing teachers revealed that they viewed themselves as above-average in their performance. High-performing teachers were discouraged by a lack of support and encouragement from principals at their schools. High-performing teachers wanted feedback and professional development, recognition, more responsibility, advancement, and resources to support their work in the classroom. Low-performing teachers often received more responsibility and advancement than high-performing colleagues.

The impact of low-performing teachers on the academic performance of students and the social context is evident in low-performing schools. Sipe (2004), a

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first-year teaching fellow who completed a three-month alternative teacher certification program, described his experience in failing middle school in New York City. Sipe described the condition of the school building as in serious disrepair, similar to a dangerous subway, and with a prison-like environment. The relationship between teachers and students, as well as among peers, was one of conflict and hostility. Sipe (2004) described his experience in the following reflection:

I remember being repulsed by colleagues who referred to their students as “bitches,” “assholes,” and “animals,” to name but a few epithets. But given the oppositional atmosphere of our school, this same dehumanization strategy is perhaps a natural, if extremely distressing, reaction to the circumstances: If a disruptive student insults you what does it matter? After all, he or she is just an “asshole.” And if your students do not learn, well, it is because they are “animals.” This logic does not make the place any more pleasant and it wreaks havoc on the educational mission, but for some it makes the job more bearable.

(p. 333)

Sipe did not describe his own teaching practices or those of his colleagues. However, he seems to be empathetic with colleagues in their interaction with students and their decision to leave the school. Sipe decided to leave the school at the end of his first year of teaching.

Hemmings (2003) investigated the social context in two urban high schools by documenting the experiences and perceptions of six seniors through observations and conversations. At both high schools, disharmony, conflict, and confrontations characterized relationships between teachers and students and among students. Hemmings described the conflict and confrontations in the classroom and corridors as a struggle for respect, which relates to power and authority. Hemmings (2003) argued:

Both teachers and students in the exercise of authority owe allegiance to a moral order that supports good teaching and genuine learning. The model works smoothly when the moral order forges trust between competent teachers and their students. Trouble occurs, and a crisis of authority arises, when the moral order is unsettled or broken down.

(p. 417)

Hemmings (2003) described the practices of teachers whose classrooms were chaotic. In these classrooms, the purpose of the subject matter lacked clarity, learning experiences were not meaningful or clearly articulated, and students perceived teachers as not caring about them. The students believed that their disrespect for these teachers was justified based on the quality of the instruction they received. In essence, the students felt disrespected by the teachers. Students

respected teachers in classrooms where the purpose for the subject matter was well-understood, learning experiences were clearly articulated and meaningful, and teachers provided assistance and support as needed. The students felt that these teachers deserved respect because of the quality of instruction provided and that the teachers cared about students and their future. The description of effective teachers in Hemmings' (2003) study is similar to that in the New Teacher Project (2012) study.

State interventions in schools and school districts aimed at improving learning outcomes take a broader approach that includes leadership, use of data to guide classroom instruction, and a positive school climate. Klute, Cherasaro, and Apthrop (2016) conducted a review of studies focused on the relationship between state intervention in chronically failing schools and student achievement. These authors identified 122 specific interventions spread across five categories that included turnaround schools with partners, school improvement planning with additional funding, school restructuring, changes in the entity operating the school, and school closure. The results in each category were mixed across schools and states. In some schools, state intervention resulted in improvement in student achievement and in others it did not. Some researchers attributed school improvement to strong leadership, use of data to guide instruction, positive school culture characterized by trust, and increased expectations for students. Klute et al. (2016) reported that:

A substantial limitation in the existing literature is that most studies used a research design that does not permit causal conclusions about the effects of these interventions. Less than a third of identified studies used a quasi-experimental design that compared schools that received an intervention to schools that did not . . . Many of these studies had serious limitations, including confounds created when only one school was assigned to each condition or when the treatment and control groups attended school at widely different points in time. Other studies did not provide the information needed to assess the extent to which treatment and comparison groups were similar at the start of intervention.

(p. 10)

Inconsistencies in the quality of research on school improvement leave many unanswered questions about opportunities for successful replication of practices in high-performing schools and school districts.

Other Indicators of School Quality

The previous discussion focused on academic performance as an important indicator of school quality. High school graduation rate is another indicator of the quality of schooling provided for the nation's youth (Figure 1.1). In 2014, the nation achieved the historical high school graduation rate of 82.3% for

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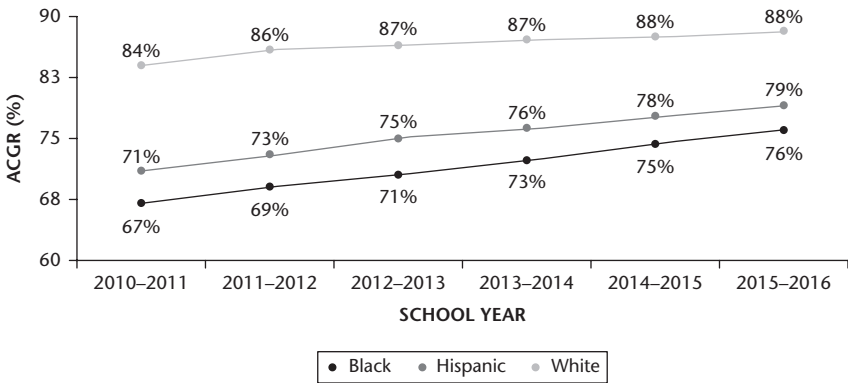


FIGURE 1.1 Adjusted cohort graduation rate

the entering ninth grade cohort. However, the high school graduation rate was significantly lower for underserved students (African American, 72.5%; Hispanic, 76.3%; and low-income, 74.6%). In 2014, there were 1,009 high schools across the nation with a graduation rate of 67% or less. These high schools served 924,918 students that included high percentages of traditionally underserved students (Black, 36.09%; Hispanic, 26.63%; and low-income, 65.36%) (*Building a Grad Nation*, 2018). These data show the discrepancy in educational outcomes by ethnicity and race.

In addition to low academic performance and a low high school graduation rate, many low-performing schools serving urban and low-income students are characterized by conflict, dissension, strife, and a struggle for power and respect between teachers and students and among students. This type of contextual discord often results from an imbalance in school policies and practices related to developing a positive and supportive social context for learning. In these low-performing, high-conflict situations, administrators and teachers tend to focus more attention on constraints, boundaries, and consequences rather than guidance, support, affordances, and opportunities. The result is a reliance on suspensions, expulsions, and referral to law enforcement for maintaining control and order in schools. Suspensions and expulsions often begin in preschool.

Based on a report from the U.S. Department of Education Office for Civil Rights (2014), in the 2011–2012 school year, 49 million students were enrolled in the nation's elementary and secondary schools, 3.5 million students received in-school suspensions, 1.9 million students received out-of-school suspensions, 1.55 million students received multiple out-of-school suspensions, and 130,000 students were expelled from school. School suspensions, expulsions, and school-related contact with law enforcement disproportionately ensnared traditionally underserved students. For example, 20% of African American boys and 12% of African American girls received out-of-school suspensions as compared to 6% of

White boys and 2% of White girls. Similarly, African American students represented 16% of school enrollment, but 27% of students referred to law enforcement and 31% of school-related arrests, as compared to White students, who represented 51% of school enrollment, but 41% of referrals to law enforcement and 39% of school-related arrests. School discipline involving suspensions, expulsions, referrals to law enforcement, and school-related arrests tend to be more frequent in low-performing urban schools than in schools with better student learning outcomes.

School suspensions, expulsions, and school-related arrests are part of the school-to-prison pipeline. Many students referred by schools to law-enforcement are arrested and receive criminal records for minor offenses such as disrupting class, disorderly conduct, inappropriate language, defiance, and violating the dress code. According to a report by the American Bar Association Joint Task Force on Reversing the School-to-Prison Pipeline, “on any given day some 20,000 young people are in juvenile detention centers; 54,000 in youth prisons or other confinement; 4,200 in adult jails; and 1,200 in adult prisons” (Redfield & Nance, 2016, p. 42). Most of these young people (87%) were incarcerated for nonviolent offenses and 66% were youth of color. The recidivism rate among incarcerated youth is high, often leading to imprisonment in adulthood. These harsh discipline practices in schools have a long-term negative impact on urban communities by increasing the probability for crime, violence, unemployment, poverty, and single-parent families.

The Impact of School Quality on Communities

The quality of education and the social context in schools serving urban and low-income students have a *measurable* impact on the quality of life for local residents, including employment, household income, access to healthcare, social and emotional well-being, values, and perceptions. The quality and extent of one’s education influences the ability to manage everyday frustrations, solve problems, and avoid negative encounters with law enforcement. Receiving a poor quality of academic preparation in elementary and secondary schools increases the probability for high school dropouts and decreases access to higher education. Further, a negative social context in schools increases the propensity for conflict and violence in urban communities in situations where the student peer culture emerges as the primary mechanism for socialization and preparation for adult life. Without appropriate adult guidance in schools, peers easily socialize students into illicit activities, including early sex, drugs, and gangs.

Educational Attainment and Income

The relationship between education, employment, and household income is well-documented. Educational attainment is uneven across subpopulations in the United States. One example of disproportionate distribution of educational attainment is the percentages of subpopulations with a bachelor’s degree (White, 36%; Black,

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22%; Hispanic, 15%) (Ryan & Bauman, 2016). According to the U.S. Census Bureau, in 2015 in the United States, approximately 13.5% of the total population (43.1 million people) lived in poverty or below the federal poverty level (Proctor, Semega, & Kollar, 2016). Those living below the federal poverty level include individuals with an annual income less than \$12,000 and a family of three earning \$20,000 or less. Particular ethnic groups are disproportionately represented among those living below the federal poverty level (White, 11.6%; Hispanic, 21.4%; Black, 24.1%). A higher percentage of individuals with less education live in poverty than their peers with more education (no high school diploma, 26.3%; high school diploma, 12.9%; some college, 9.6%; bachelor's degree, 4.5%). In 2015, a higher percentage of individuals with less education were unemployed than their peers with more education (no high school diploma, 8.0%; high school diploma, 5.4%; some college, 5.0%; bachelor's degree, 2.8%). These data clearly demonstrate the relationship between educational attainment, household income, and unemployment (Figure 1.2). Further, these data show disparities among sub-populations in each of these areas as reported by the Census Bureau.

Educational attainment is an apparent central factor in the quality of life for every citizen of the United States. The quality and opportunities for learning and the social context in low-performing urban schools have a long-term negative impact on students as individuals and on the communities in which they live. The limited opportunities for learning, referrals to law enforcement, and school-related arrests increase the probability for illiteracy, unemployment, low-income, and incarceration. Some scholars and practitioners argue that there is at least a reciprocal relationship between the social context in low-performing schools and violence in the local community. In a report sponsored by the U.S. Department of Justice's Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (2016), it was pointed out that:

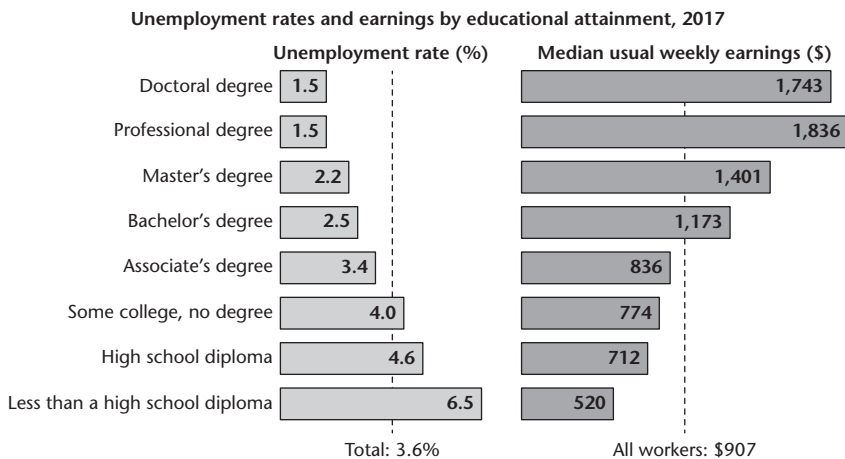


FIGURE 1.2 Unemployment rates and earnings by educational attainment

Too many children in the United States are growing up in homes and communities where they witness or experience violence. Repeated exposure to violence and subsequent trauma can impact a young person's health, ability to succeed in school, their likelihood of becoming a victim or perpetrator of violence, and overall, their opportunity to stay on the right track.

However, an important function of schooling is to replace ignorance and inappropriate behavior with new academic and social knowledge and skills. When this important function fails, and the social context in schools warrants suspension, expulsion, and school-related arrests, the local community is directly impacted.

The school-to-prison pipeline contributes to the process of mass incarceration. According to the U.S. Department of Justice, "At yearend 2015, an estimated 2,173,800 persons were either under the jurisdiction of state or federal prisons or in the custody of local jails in the United States, down about 51,300 persons compared to yearend 2014" (Kaeble & Glaze, 2016, p. 2). The composition of the prison population is similar to the population of students who experience school-related arrests in that both are disproportionately people of color, low-income, and undereducated. At year end 2015, there were 693,300 inmates confined in local jails—48.3% White, 35.1% Black, Hispanic 14.3%. According to a report from the Executive Office of the President of the United States (2016), interaction with the criminal justice system, including arrests and incarceration, are disproportionately concentrated among African Americans, Hispanics, the poor, and individuals with mental illness and substance abuse. Similarly, African Americans, Hispanics, and the poor are disproportionately represented in school referrals to law enforcement and school-related arrests. It is further pointed out that:

In addition to its direct costs, the criminal justice system also imposes substantial collateral consequences on individuals with criminal records, their families and communities. Having a criminal record makes it more difficult to find employment and depresses earnings. Criminal sanctions can also have negative consequences for individuals' health, debt, transportation, housing, and food security. These consequences add up to large and lasting negative impacts for incarcerated individuals' families and communities.

(Executive Office of the President of the United States, 2016, p. 8)

Many social and political factors contribute to mass incarceration; however, the significance of the contribution of schools and school practitioners is undeniable. The majority of inmates over 18 years of age did not graduate from high school and most have low level literacy skills. Failure to achieve grade level proficiency in literacy by third grade is a well-known predictor for dropping out of high school. Students who do not achieve proficiency in early literacy are prone to struggle with completing assignments for subject area courses in high school. The long-term persistent daily failure in school easily reaches a

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level of toxic stress. Toxic stress increases the likelihood for misbehavior and violation of school rules. School administrators often respond to students' misbehavior and minor violations of school rules with harsh punishment rather than addressing the core problems of academic and social competence. When the harsh punishment includes referrals to law enforcement and school-related arrests, school officials have initiated the process of incarceration for students.

Educational Attainment and Health

Additionally, the quality and extent of education students receive will impact their health and longevity. According to the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation (2009), educational attainment is linked to health in three ways: "health knowledge and behaviors; employment and income; and social and psychological factors, including sense of control, social standing and social support" (p. 1). Typically, a higher level of educational attainment contributes to a longer and healthier life. Further, the effects of educational attainment are intergenerational. Children born to college-educated parents tend to be healthier and have higher levels of academic achievement in school than those whose parents did not complete high school.

In an analysis of the relationship between education and health, Feinstein, Sabates, Anderson, Sorhaindo, and Hammond (2006) pointed out that students learn from both the context in schools and the explicit curriculum and pedagogy. In school, students learn how to relate to peers and adults. This socialization often occurs through an unguided peer culture. The social interaction among students and between students and teachers influences students' development, including personal and social identity formation, group membership, self-confidence, and self-esteem. Each of these social and psychological factors influences students' mental health, physical health, and social relationships as adults. The curriculum and pedagogy support the development of subject matter knowledge, academic and cognitive skills, and personal values. The social context and the school curriculum and pedagogy have an impact on the educational attainment, health, and future income of students.

Application to Practice

Application to practice of the information presented in this chapter requires that administrators and teachers take responsibility for transforming urban schools to have a positive impact on urban communities. Transforming urban schools means rethinking teaching practices and school policies to ensure that every student develops the competencies and skills necessary for success in school and life. The information in this chapter points to the importance of making observations and compiling data on the academic, psychological, and social development of students in school; high school graduation rate, college attendance/completion, and career preparation; and employment, income range, and contributions to the

community. Transforming urban schools requires using the observations and data collected for identifying and addressing areas of school policies and practices in need of improvement.

Variations in the underperformance of Black and Hispanic students across states, school districts, and schools indicate that the problem is more likely to be located in school policies and teaching practices than in the characteristics and experiences of the students. The disparities among students in academic performance indicate that existing practices are more effective in supporting learning for some students than for others. The data call for carefully examining the relationship among theories of learning, student characteristics, curriculum content and framing, pedagogical practices, and learning outcomes.

The conflicts and power struggles between teachers and students and among students, as well as high rates of suspension, expulsion, referral to law enforcement, and school-related arrests, indicate the need for including social skills development in the curriculum and for training teachers in techniques for relationship-building. The evidence from data on harsh discipline shows that these practices do not teach students the social skills they need and they do not improve the social context in urban schools.

Chapter Summary

Teaching in the shadow is a traditional approach to planning and enacting learning experiences and a social context in classrooms and schools that does not consistently benefit or fit the needs of the students in attendance at the school. In this approach to school and classroom practices, some students are consistently more successful and others are less so. The evidence presented in this chapter reveals important facts about students' academic performance, the social context in urban schools, the impact of schools on urban communities, and the responsibilities of administrators and teachers in urban schools. *Teaching in the shadow* is a naive practice that produces and supports the present disparities in academic performance among traditionally underserved students.

The discussion in this chapter revealed significant variation in the academic performance of Black and Hispanic students across states, school districts, and schools. In some urban schools and school districts, Black and Hispanic students outperformed their peers in other locations. Some teachers in low-performing schools foster high academic outcomes for their students, while their colleagues describe the same students as unmotivated, disengaged, and disrespectful. The fact that Black and Hispanic students are high-performing in some contexts and not others indicates that student characteristics such as income, neighborhood quality, and parents' education are not accurate predictors of students' ability to learn. Particular contextual factors within the school and classroom have greater accuracy in predicting students' academic performance. The evidence presented in this chapter supports the quality of teaching as a highly salient factor in students' learning outcomes.

Other indicators of school quality include high school graduation rate and discipline practices involving exclusion of students from classroom learning. The graduation rate in many urban high schools, and for underserved students, is well below the national average of 82% of the entering ninth grade cohort. The high school graduation rate is related to the performance in mathematics and reading at eighth grade. Another indicator of school quality is the rate of suspensions, expulsions, referrals to law enforcement, and school-related arrests. Data from the U.S. Department of Education indicate disproportionate administration of harsh punishment to Black and Hispanic students. Harsh discipline practices are fodder for school failure, juvenile detention, and adult incarceration.

Academic performance and other qualities of urban schools influence the quality of life in urban communities, including income, health, crime, and violence. Low-performing urban schools prepare students with low levels of skills in mathematics and reading. This limits their options for post-secondary education or occupational training. Many students educated in low-performing urban schools receive preparation suitable only for low-wage jobs and high rates of unemployment. Inadequate literacy and mathematics skills and inadequate financial resources limit access to proper healthcare for families impacted by low-performing urban schools. Harsh discipline practices in school often leads to anxiety, stress, increased resistance to authority, dropping out of school, juvenile detention, and adult incarceration. Adult incarceration disrupts family units, and increases homelessness and child placement in foster care. Unemployment and homelessness increase crime and violence in urban communities.

Applying to practice the knowledge presented in this chapter requires that administrators and teachers take responsibility for transforming urban schools to have a positive impact on urban communities. This means rethinking teaching practices and school policies to ensure that every student develops the competencies and skills necessary for success in school and life.

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