Before College:
How Teacher Engagement Strategies Set Student Engagement Expectations in Higher Education

By

NYENBEKU CARLOS GEORGE
DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

Sociology

in the

OFFICE OF GRADUATE STUDIES

Of the

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

DAVIS

Approved:

_____
Maxine Craig, Chair

_____
Caitlin Patler

_____
Jacob Hibel

_____
Edward Bush

Committee in Charge

2023

Abstract

Existing research on elite universities finds that high school pre-college years are consequential for later educational success, both for middle-class students as well as lower-income students (Jack, 2016). However, far less is known about the pre-college student engagement strategies of community college students. I conducted 80 semi-structured interviews and performed intersectional analyses of community college students' pre-college experiences of student engagement. My study reveals several key findings that build on existing literature: (1) formative pre-college experiences start as early as the primary schooling years; (2) the strategies teachers use to engage community college students throughout their K–12 schooling *may* shape the strategies students themselves later develop and deploy to build student-teacher relationships in the community college setting; (3) intersecting with class-oriented and gendered engagement, students of color also experience racialized and racist engagement from teachers and thus face distinct engagement challenges; (4) class-oriented frames of capital acquisition and activation cannot fully account for the racialized and gendered ways that K-12 students experience teacher engagement and, in turn, develop their own engagement strategies. Most importantly, I find that community college students' K–12 pre-college experiences help them acquire cultural capital, but only when teachers deploy ethnoracial- and gender-validating strategies of engagement. Moreover, when teachers use validation strategies that align with students' intersecting social locations of race, class, and gender, they foster the development of diverse forms of student agency, including non-conventional, alternative engagement strategies.

To help situate my findings, I advance the theory of "controlling histories." Controlling histories refers to the ways in which historically white racialized ideas of superiority have not only shaped US ethnoracial group trajectories of social acceptance and mobility, but also inscribed these same ethnoracial group trajectories into all facets of US educational institutions, including student-peer and student-teacher relationships. Furthermore, as students' ethnoracial group histories direct them along their respective pathways, relations of gender and class intersect to complicate the strategies that students engage in their efforts to succeed. Routine ascriptions of historically White racialized ideas of superiority result in narrowly

constructed, racialized pathways of student-peer and teacher acceptance. My results show how teachers and students engage strategies that both ascribe to and subvert controlling histories.

This research helps us to better understand community college students' intersectional experiences of peer and teacher engagement during their K–12 pre-college years. Such understanding, in turn, can facilitate diverse, complex, problem-solving strategies and solutions promoting student success in college, such as student-professor and student-peer relationship-building processes that acknowledge and address the intersecting inequalities found in diverse community college student populations and in other postsecondary populations with similar demographics.

Acknowledgements

First, let me give honor and glory to God; my endless supply of will; the first and last source of renewal of all forms of energy that I would need to engage a diverse array of strategies throughout this process to captain my ship as I transformed into a PhD.

I started this PhD process in pursuit of agency; agency of the same quantity and quality that full-time, tenured college faculty typically experience throughout their professional career in relations with other college faculty as they work to contribute their specialized talents, knowledge, ambition and passion to their academic discipline and campus community. I acquired both agency and experienced a great deal of validation throughout this process.

As for my PhD experience and process at UC Davis, I am so very grateful for the faculty who gave their time and patience to help me shake off the 10-year old rust from my graduate school experiences so that I could improve and transform. Among these great faculty are Bruce Haynes, Stephanie Mudge, and Jacob Hibel. Jacob, thank you for your time and investment over the years. Bruce, thank you for the knowledge and expertise you shared with me. Stephanie, thank you for helping me shake off the rust.

I began working with Drs. Caitlin Patler and Jeff Sacha in the Summer of 2018 when I was developing my research question for my qualifying paper. I want to thank Jeff Sacha for all of his support by investing his time and sharing his Sociology of Education expertise and knowledge. Working with Caitlin over the years of my transformation has been incredible. I am very grateful for her passion and expertise. Caitlin, I cannot thank you enough for your tireless support and advocacy. When you tell someone "I got you," you really mean it.

Dr. Edward Bush is power personified. Brother, I am grateful for your leadership, your counsel, your vision, and to see you model it in every dimension of your life. I am a stronger Black man. I am a healthier, more balanced Black man because of who you decided to be in your life. Thank you for such profound blessings. Thank you for your support throughout this process.

As for my major professor and dissertation chair, I sat down with Dr. Maxine Craig and asked her if she would be my major professor and later, chair my dissertation committee. Knowing that I was a full-time college professor with a demanding schedule that would no doubt impact or seemingly make impossible, the massive amounts of time and levels of work ethic and discipline required to transform into a PhD, Maxine was still generous enough to take me on as a mentee. That reason alone is something for which I am deeply grateful.

Frankly, what distinguished Maxine from all other mentors that I've had in my graduate school experiences, is that she believes in me. Maxine's belief and support in my abilities, talents, and work ethic was powerfully validating. Rather than seeing my pre-PhD experiences—a graduate of a CSU, as a hindrance to the needs of such intense processes of academic and philosophical discovery, Maxine

encouraged me to bring in the expertise I had already acquired in order to support its convergence with the expertise I was building, to facilitate my ascension to the level of PhD scholarship thinking and writing. Professionally, and academically for Maxine (I'm sure) these were the necessary aims of the PhD process. For me, Maxine's professional and academic standards, insights, investment, and mentorship translated some powerful validations that were not only professional and academic, but also *emotionally* important: *that the looming doubt of completing this process due to the limited windows of time in which I had to do such intense pathbreaking work, was fiercely supported; and that my work, my time, my efforts, my ideas, and my agency—especially as a Black male academic, were respected and appreciated.* The admiration, gratitude, and appreciation that I have for Maxine for her investment in me is beyond measure.

Throughout this process, nobody loved me and championed me like my family and friends!

Over the course of my 7-year relentless commitment to this transformative PhD process, I have created a new supportive network of faculty colleagues and friends at my college. I lent my specialized talents, knowledge, ambition, and passion to spearhead the establishment our college's first department of Ethnic Studies, I led the committee that hired its first Ethnic Studies department chair. Wittingly, I found, created, outwitted others, and in many cases, fought for the agency to make such incomparable contributions to my college's campus and community. I did this incredibly important work all while engaging in pathbreaking work to produce this dissertation research on intersectional teacher and student engagement in K-12 education. I am grateful to my dear friend and brother, Alex Peshkoff. Alex, your friendship and leadership and "focus on the work" while minimizing or strategically employing politics is something that I have learned from you and am forever grateful for. Teresa Aldredge, you fight so hard for us all the time. Thank you!

The first time I thought about quitting the program, my sister Nikki interjected over the phone: "um…we don't do that! Remember what mama taught us? We don't do that!" She knew how bad I wanted to earn my PhD. She knew how much learning and using advanced knowledge for the betterment of society had always meant to me, and she knew that she needed to remind me of our mother's love, her teaching, her training, and her belief in us. I listened to my big sis and I stayed in the program. Thank you sissy. ☺ Iris, thank you for being a constant source of love and support in countless phone calls, hangouts, lunches, overnight crashes, and in our fun travels. We've been through so much together over the years! I am so blessed to have you as one of my best most supportive friends and another big sister. To Lanny & Jane, your friendship, knowledge, expertise, and mentorship mean the world to me Lanny, your belief in me means everything.

Lorenzo, brother, you have an unflinching excellence, resourcefulness, and advocacy that you support your friends with. I have been so incredibly blessed because of it. Dr. Jabou McCoy, you have been such a great friend and brother to me. You are the first brother to graduate from our Sociology PhD program here at UC Davis. Years ago I told you that I would be the second brother to earn a PhD in our program and I meant that. I am grateful for your time and investment and belief in me. To Michael Carney who shares such great stories and perspective which always affirms the best of me and the best in me. Thank you dear brother. To Shay, my oldest friend and "framily" member, Big bro Robert Staples, my beautifully talented, charismatic, and intellectual nephews: Najae and Jaelon, Big bro Tatu, Biggest bro Izaac, Pop Isaac George, Mama 2, and my sisters Comfort, Precious, Janice, and Zetti. To the incomparable Gilian Moise, whose excellence is in every thought, pin stroke, and conversation, thank you for being a friend and confident. Brad and Chris, Doni, lil bro Jacob (I miss you brother), Peyton, Kelley Lopez, Erick Garrett, Desiree Salvador, Aimee and Ayanna, Jen Lucas, Tammy Montgomery, Tarea, Art, Vanessa (mama Goss), Chris, Abdulai, Kyle, Melanie, Alex Casareno, Mathilde, Marybeth, Heather (sweet stuff) Mondor and Lars, Brent, and Deanne and my brother, Robert "White Night" James. Sean Arseo, thank you so much for your mentorship, insight, allyship, and friendship. Beth Hart, every time I needed to be three steps ahead, I knew just who to call to prepare. You always made time to "share what you knew and explain how to do." Alana, at a time in our program, you were a friend to me and someone who deeply understood me at a time when it felt like no one else did. So true to the lyrics: "Thank you for being a friend." To all my friends and family, I am grateful for you all, not just throughout this process, but in life.

To Kenneth C. Dunlap. You are the first great man I've ever known. Your giving of your time and your love has been one of the greatest blessings of my life.

I love you forever pop.

To the memory of my mother, the greatest and most profound model of dignity and self-love:

I always knew I could do it.
I had more than enough drive and determination to get through it.
And through each gut-wrenching, challenging, test
To captain my ship, I leaned into your belief in me.
Because it was always you mom who loved me best.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter 1: Introduction

In this dissertation, I investigated the strategies that students engage to build relationships with their peers and their teachers before entering community college. Critically, I found that before students can even engage such strategies, they must first develop the necessary agency. Specifically, I found that K–12 teachers often initiated racialized and gendered engagement strategies that addressed students' shyness, language barriers, and struggles to be accepted at school and among their peers. When reflecting on their pre-college experiences, community college students reported that such strategies used by teachers mattered most in their agency development—yet conventional middle-class assumptions and scholarship consistently focus solely on what students do, thus ignoring the intersecting racialized, class-oriented, and gendered strategies used by teachers in students' pre-college years (Lareau, 2011; Calarco, 2011, 2014, 2018; Jack, 2016; Thiele, 2016).

Further, educational scholars typically attribute advantages to students from middle-class families who successfully build student-peer and student-teacher relationships (Lareau 2011; Calarco, 2011, 2013, 2014, 2018; Lareau). I found however, that the racialized histories of the student groups in my study significantly impacted their student-peer and student-teacher relationship-building strategies (Carter, 2005, p. 83). Moreover, I found that these racialized histories—which I term "controlling histories"—reproduce unearned and unfair advantages and disadvantages in students' relationship-building processes.

I also found that, regardless of these students' class-orientation, teachers engaged both singular and intersecting racialized and gendered engagement strategies that were effective in helping all students develop student-peer and student-teacher relationships. Throughout their learning and schooling, White students engaged gendered strategies to build student-teacher relationships with teachers who first used gendered engagement strategies to build student-teacher

relationships with them. Similarly, Black, Latinx, and Asian ethnoracial students correspondingly engaged racialized strategies to navigate both their peers' and their teachers' racialized engagement strategies, but for these students, their activation of racialized engagement strategies was often a cultural prerequisite to gain the social acceptance of their peers and teachers *before* they could engage relationship-building processes with them. Additionally, having conducted intersectional analyses of student engagement, I found that Black, Latinx, and Asian students not only engaged racialized strategies to build student-peer and student-teacher relationships, but they did so along gendered lines (Collins, 2004; Carter, 2005).

Most significantly, I found that the subsequent racialized and gendered strategies that students learned during engagement with their teacher had a stronger, and longer lasting impact on students' relationship-building strategies than the middle-class engagement strategies that dominate contemporary educational scholarship (Lareau 2011; Calarco, 2018). The racialized and gendered strategies learned during their K–12 years helped students build the trust and confidence necessary to ask for help, speak up in class, read out loud, and even lead the class as teacher assistants or "helpers" when appointed (Calarco, 2018; Lareau, 2011). This is because teachers' racialized and gendered engagement strategies—whether singular or intersecting— validated students' ethno-specific and gender-specific cultural behaviors and identities. For all student groups in this study, such validation was at the root of the agency critical for them to initiate effective, meaningful engagement strategies with their peers and teachers (Carter, 2005, p. 83).

Primary and Secondary Scholarship: Cultural Capital Acquisition and Activation in Student Engagement

A key concept in sociological study, social capital, as defined by Lareau (2015), refers to one's network or ties to individuals who serve as resources to acquire necessary knowledge and skill. Building on this concept, Lareau (2015) defines *cultural capital* as a specific type of capital acquired through early childhood socialization. Essentially, Lareau (2011, 2015) and Calarco (2011, 2013, 2014, 2018) establish that the experiences of middle-class children become cultural capital—cultural knowledge, information, skills, familiarity with social processes, particularly knowledge of how institutions work—that students bring with them to their educational institutions. Alongside the cultural capital that students bring with them to, and activate at, their educational institutions, students also acquire additional cultural capital in the form of institutional resources from faculty, staff and other entities on campus, as well as access to new social relationships, which scholars refer to as social capital. Scholars such as Lareau (2011, 2015) and Calarco (2011, 2014, 2018) have studied the significant impact of middle-class childrearing patterns on academic attainment for middle-class children. Defined by Lareau (2011) as concerted cultivation,[1] middle-class childrearing patterns socialize children with experiences that ascribe to the middle-class expectations of their teachers and the stratifying educational institutions they attend (Bowles & Gintis, 2011).

Anthony Jack's (2016) study at an elite university expanded the current literature on students' acquisition and deployment of cultural capital. Jack (2016) argued that student

[1] Concerted cultivation describes middle-class parents' childrearing practices. Middle-class children experience daily leisurely activities that are organized, established, and controlled by parents. Middle-class children learn to question adults and address them as relative equals, potentially gaining institutional advantages (Lareau, 2011).

engagement strategies were a reflection of students' class backgrounds. Moreover, Jack traced the pre-college experiences of lower-income students and identified two distinct segments of lower income students that accounted for the institution's within-class heterogeneity. The first group, the "privileged poor," were lower-income students who had acquired middle-class social and cultural capital by attending elite boarding schools, taking college preparatory courses, receiving mentorship from members of elite professional classes, and participating in government-sponsored mobility programs in elite environments where values of self-directedness, ambition, assertion, and engaging with adults were rewarded. In stark contrast to the privileged poor, the pre-college experiences of the "doubly disadvantaged" reflected lack of mentorship or access to educational internships, and participation instead in programs that provided only menial information and skills, unlike the elite cultural experiences that socialized students with and rewarded the cultural values of the middle class. Moreover, Jack found that secondary institutions were equally effective in facilitating student acquisition of middle-class cultural capital. Jack's findings challenged Lareau's (2011, 2015) and Calarco's (2011, 2014, 2018) assumption of the family as the primary, and indeed, the sole institution through which the students can acquire the cultural capital requisite for school success.

Considerable scholarship has shown that class background plays a significant role in how students acquire cultural capital early on in their childhood experiences (Calarco 2011, 2013, 2014, 2018). Additionally, Jack (2014, 2016) explains that students activate cultural capital to acquire additional cultural and social capital during college by building relationships with faculty at the college (see also Armstrong & Hamilton, 2013; Rivera, 2016). However, less research has focused on how such strategies are shaped by the intersections of race, class, and gender in community college student precollege experiences.

Intersectional Analyses: Expanding Primary and Secondary Student Engagement Scholarship

While many higher education scholars imply that student behaviors, performances, and experiences activating cultural and social capital need only be understood through the processes of class transmission within one system of class stratification (Jack, 2016; Thiele, 2016) or the intersectional stratifying systems of class and gender (Armstrong & Hamilton, 2016) or class and race (Aries, 2012), primary and secondary education scholarship on student engagement has challenged such implications, adding a third system of stratification to intersectional analyses of student capital activation. Over the past 20 years, primary and secondary education scholarship has continued to move beyond the prioritization of class background as the sole impact on student engagement, to include student experiences of race and gender (Ferguson, 2001; Lewis, 2003; Carter, 2005; Morris, 2012; Bettie, 2014; Lewis-McCoy, 2014). This scholarship suggests that students' activation of cultural capital through engagement strategies are as much about context-appropriate performances of race and gender, as they are about behaviors in which students demonstrate cultural capital during engagement (Khan, 2012; Morris, 2012; Bettie, 2014). In fact, several scholars maintain that in educational institutions, social meanings are ascribed to the performances of race and gender alongside class, and that corresponding race, class, and gender hierarchies intersect and shape cultural capital activation (Crenshaw, 1989; Harvey-Wingfield, 2009; Hill-Collins, 2004, 2015).

Scholars such as West and Zimmerman (1987) assert that gender performance is a primary medium through which one demonstrates their accomplishment of conventional modes of expression. Additionally, Skeggs (1997), one of the few higher education scholars to examine the intersections of gender, class, and sexual orientation on student engagement, established that alongside gender and class, heterosexual performance in the college classroom is also a primary

medium through which students use cultural capital. Skeggs (1997) illustrates how the intersections of gender, class, and sexual orientation shape working-class women's interactional experiences with faculty. From flirting to feigning an inability to understand course content, students' awareness of what is perceived as heterosexual gender appropriate expression in educational spaces, and their awareness of the consequences of conventional gender performances, are integral to how they use strategies of engagement to activate cultural capital.

Lewis (2003) examined race as a social and educational construction in students' primary education experiences. In examining Black student learning experiences, she found that teachers ascribed negative racialized meanings to Black student performances—in terms of language use, movement style, and style of dress—which resulted in deleterious learning experiences for Black children. Such scholarship has not only established the significant ways that race, class, and gender shape students' interactional experiences in education, it also highlights race, class, and gender *as* cultural performances—performances that, in turn, are the central means by which students gain access to additional forms of cultural and social capital at their educational institutions. Bettie's (2014) research simultaneously examined the intersectional social locations of race, class, and gender, and, equally significant, underscored the capacity, fluidity, and meanings of student performance in activating the cultural capital requisite for students to gain access to additional cultural and social capital in the form of institutional resources at diverse educational institutions.

Most student engagement scholarship focuses on elite institutions or large public universities within the higher education system. However, such institutions do not account for the majority of students. For decades, community colleges have been seen as democratizing institutions because they expand life chances and opportunities for socially disadvantaged student populations in ways that more prestigious schools are not designed to do (Boggs n.d., 2012). While

GPA, SAT, or ACT scores, tuition, and housing affordability determine a student's access to 4-year and more prestigious institutions, community colleges stand alone as institutions of open enrollment, providing quality instruction with affordable tuition, diverse certifications to meet employment demands, and options to transfer to 4-year institutions (Smith Morest, 2013). Currently numbering 1,083 across the US, community colleges remain consistent sites where diverse, non-traditional and socially disadvantaged student populations are disproportionately enrolled (AACC Fast Facts, 2023).

Community colleges enroll large proportions of under-resourced students, making it necessary for the majority of first-time undergraduates at community colleges to enroll in one or more remedial mathematics and English courses (Smith Morest, 2013). Community colleges operate with an "open door" policy, meaning that they are not selective and have few deadlines around enrollment. These policies make it possible for low-income and working students to make last minute decisions to attend college (Cox, 2009). These characteristics promote access, but also make community colleges an attractive choice for non-traditional populations of students (Smith Morest, 2013).

Postsecondary enrollment data and institutional characteristics illustrate the social disadvantages accompanying diverse community college student populations that result from lacking need-based resources (Choy, 2002; Goldrick-Rab, 2010; Goldrick-Rab et al., 2013). Postsecondary scholars in general, and community college scholars in particular, must expand their research efforts to include the racialized and gendered social locations that influence the learning conditions and teacher engagement in community colleges. This dissertation research expands such efforts by investigating the K-12 intersectional engagement experiences of students attending a community college.

The specific questions that drove my study on K-12 student intersectional engagement were the following:

1) How do the intersections of race, class, and gender affect K-12 students' acquisition of the trust and confidence needed to build relationships with peers and teachers?

2) How do the social locations of race, class, and gender intersect and shape K-12 student engagement strategies, both among and within student populations?

3) Do race and gender impact how students acquire or activate middle-class cultural capital-based, behavioral strategies of engagement, both among and within student populations?

4) Can students build student-peer and student-teacher relationships that successfully lead to academic attainment without acquiring or activating middle-class cultural capital, or is such capital required for relationship building in all schooling and learning conditions?

To answer these research questions, I proceed via the following steps:

In Chapter 2, I review the literature, then outline my methods in Chapter 3. In Chapter 4, I explain theories of racial formation, gender relations, and intersectionality, and advance my own theory of controlling histories. In Chapters 5, 6, and 8, I report and discuss the corresponding singular and intersecting gendered and class-oriented strategies that Asian, Latinx, and Black students (respectively) engage, which result from their interactions with peers, teachers and other school authority figures. Peer exclusion was one of the consequences of the hostile racialized engagement that Asian, Latinx, and Black students encountered. Chapters 5, 6, and 8 discuss their respective racialized pathways of peer and teacher engagement, indelibly shaped by racialized histories that continue to be inscribed in all aspects of the US education system, especially peer and teacher relationships. Intersecting with gender and class-orientation, and in ways unique to

each ethnoracial group's history, these racialized pathways and experiences await both White and non-White ethnoracial student groups and shape their educational pre-college engagement experiences. Chapter 7 reports and discusses the corresponding singular and intersecting gendered and class-oriented strategies that White students engage, resulting from their gendered and class-oriented experiences of teacher engagement. Contrary to the experiences of non-White ethnoracial groups, Chapter 7 discusses White community college student historical trajectories of racialized social acceptance, mobility, and inclusion. These trajectories are shaped in the contemporary context by whiteness, which, through a historically racialized lineage, traces back to the ideas of White superiority discussed in Chapter 8. Chapter 7 discusses the fact that, while White students' accounts—alongside the accounts given by all other ethnoracial student groups—revealed engagement challenges with teachers in their learning and schooling experiences, they never attributed those engagement challenges to their own ethnoracial identities, to hostile racialized engagement, or to racialized experiences of exclusion. In the context of the larger conversation of community college student agency development during their pre-college years, I address each of my dissertation questions both within and beyond the class-oriented frame of student capital activation and acquisition during the course of their pre-college high school years. Chapter 9 concludes this dissertation with future implications for how K-20 professionals in general, and educational scholars and professionals at community colleges in particular, can use this knowledge of K-12 intersectional student engagement experiences to support student-teacher and student-peer relationship building processes essential for student success.

Chapter 2: In Conversation with Literature

Reproduction Theorists' Approach to Cultural Capital

My study contributes to higher education scholarship on the reproduction of inequality in student engagement by investigating the social disadvantages that ascribe to distinct combinations of social locations—namely, race, class, and gender for students in the community college setting. I found that these intersections complicated the means by which community college students acquired and activated middle-class cultural capital during their pre-college years.

Inequality is reproduced in many ways. Within the sociology of education, two camps focus on the role of formal educational systems and how they reproduce social inequality (Stevens, 2008). Stratification-and-achievement researchers' foci can range from conditional turning points to children's pre-literacy skills, SAT scores, and studies correlating parents' educational background to their children's educational success. In the second camp, reproduction theorists or critical scholars concern themselves with student-teacher interaction, student extra-curricular activities, student activations of middle-class capital, parental childrearing strategies that transfer middle class capital to children, and other social processes of schooling and learning (Lareau, 2005, 2011, 2015; Lewis-McCoy, 2014; Jack, 2014, 2016; Thiele, 2016; Calarco, 2018).

Stratification-and-achievement scholars operationalize variables to serve as a proxy for various aspects of cultural capital and its effects on educational outcomes (Stevens, 2008). Informed by Bourdieu's theory that cultural and material hierarchies are an integrated totality of social processes, reproduction theorists seek to measure cultural capital empirically in different ways. Rather than studying the reproduction of educational outcomes when a variation of cultural capital is absent, reproduction scholars assert that the reproduction of inequality lies in the social

processes of formal schooling. Reproduction theorists attend to how and why particular behaviors, knowledge, and skill qualify as cultural capital to begin with. They use this understanding of cultural capital to examine the inequality in the social processes that activate it in particular situations, and to understand how students navigate higher education institutions. Reproduction theorists also use cultural capital to understand the formal schooling processes that stratify rewards to students whose lived experiences and performances best reflect it (Bourdieu, 1986; Lareau, 2011; Calarco, 2018).

For scholars in both camps, primary and secondary education scholarship on inequality in student engagement has expanded to include the three common intersecting social locations of race, gender, and class (and their respective stratifying systems) (Ferguson, 2001; Carter, 2005; Morris, 2012; Lewis-McCoy, 2014), while race and class or gender and class are the commonly paired entities of intersectional scholarship in postsecondary education (Stevens, 2008; Kim & Sax, 2009; Stuber, 2009; Jack, 2014; Armstrong & Masse, 2014, 2016; Thiele, 2016). The continued prioritization of the two-system intersectional pairings of race and class or gender and class leaves room for further studies that expand intersectional scholarship in postsecondary education and contribute new insights regarding the reproduction of inequality. Specifically, Black feminists have highlighted the importance of understanding key social inequalities through an intersectional framework. Intersectionality is not simply about intersecting identities, but about intersecting systems of oppression (Collins, 2004). In these stratification systems, social inequalities are organized, they change, they endure, and they are resisted (Collins, 2015). In this study, I consider the ways in which intersections of race, class, and gender affect students' confidence and ability to form supportive relationships with peers, teachers, and other authority figures at school.

Second, educational sociologists' use of cultural capital to study reproduced inequality in albeit, mono-systemic analyses of class stratification, underscores that they view cultural capital as a political tool that simultaneously stratifies and rewards those students whose interactional experiences, individual dispositions, and material possessions reflect middle class experiences dominant in the processes of formal schooling. In Black feminist scholarship, intersectionality is reinforced as a significant conceptual and political tool that assesses how entities such as race, gender, class, sexuality, nation, ability, and age reciprocally construct phenomena that, in turn, shape and reproduce complex social inequalities (Collins, 2015). Distinctly, the systems that correspond to these entities simultaneously inform and guide how and when students of intersecting social locations (race, class, and gender) opt to demonstrate capital in the strategies they use to engage faculty in educational institutions.

Reproducing Inequality in Examining Student Engagement

Existing literature on class and student educational attainment situates the family as the primary mechanism through which students acquire cultural capital (Lareau, 2011). Focusing on the primary school experiences of middle-class students, Calarco (2014) expanded Lareau's theorization of cultural capital to argue that middle-class students bring particular types of cultural capital to the classroom even at the primary level of education. Calarco used the term "cultural toolkit" to describe the appropriate skills and habits activated by middle-class students as they interpret complex classroom situations. She found that the classroom environment was structured according to middle-class norms and expectations. Thus, middle-class students' childhood experiences served as a toolkit that enabled them to interpret important classroom moments, teacher expectations, or academic exercises in ways that working-class student family rearing practices did not. Calarco concluded that middle-class students' toolkits advantaged them in their

academic performance. In line with this, other studies in primary elementary settings have found that middle-class children are more primed to engage teachers and feel more comfortable doing so (Lareau, 2011; Streib, 2011). Teachers, in turn, respond more positively to middle-class interactional styles, often spending more time with or favoring the students who adopt them (Willis, 1977; Patrick et al., 2001; Carter, 2005; Calarco, 2014). All of this can lead to substantial inequality between students who do and do not possess cultural capital.

As established by Jack (2016), authority figures can be professors or teachers. In academic contexts, both provide or inhibit access to institutional support and resources (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990; Stanton-Salazar & Dornbusch, 1995; Erickson, McDonald, & Elder, 2009; Kim & Sax, 2009; Lareau, 2011; Calarco, 2011; Holland, 2015). But it takes both social and cultural capital for students to understand how to approach authority figures. Studies conducted by Lareau (2011) and Calarco (2018) have established that class plays a role in both family childrearing practices and the educational advantages or disadvantages that students find themselves situated in. Lareau (2011) established that class-based childrearing practices (concerted cultivation or natural growth) have become the capital that best aligns with the behavioral and attitudinal interpretations and expectations in the formal school institutions of middle-class children.

Whereas cultural capital includes multiple forms of high-status cultural experiences that lead to knowledge about how to make institutions work to one's advantage (Lareau, 2011, 2015), social capital is about access to social networks and established social ties with individuals who have access to highly valued resources (Bourdieu, 1986; Lareau, 2015). Moreover, social structures facilitate the creation of social capital because they order the patterns of interaction that situate people and foster the building of relationships among them. Building relationships is a social process by which people and groups establish reputations, traditions, and norms. Binding

these established relationships are the virtues of trustworthiness, obligations, and expectations. Social capital is established among people in peer groups as well as though mentorships, professional experiences, and industries. Access to social capital means access to many forms of relations with others who be of use to achieving specific and shared goals (Coleman, 1988).

Middle-class cultural capital acquired either in early childhood experiences or at secondary institutions continues to shape how students acquire additional social and cultural capital as forms of institutional resources in their postsecondary schooling experience—and it does so in unequal fashion. Educational scholars assert that students' class dispositions, or habitus, persist from the primary level of education into college where the cultural norms that govern campus life exacerbate class differences (Lareau & Weininger, 2008; Lee & Kramer, 2013; Lehmann, 2014). Armstrong and Hamilton (2013) examined why some students, in certain educational contexts, may fare better than others. They found that social class shapes what families want and need from universities to improve or (or at least reproduce) their life circumstances. Furthermore, they found that the pathway for students' academic degree attainment in particular, and the social and academic experience of university life in general, were organized to meet the needs and interests of its middle-class constituency. Thus, they established that middle class norms disproportionately shape the university environment. Moreover, Lauren Rivera (2016) found that super elite college attendance and concertedly cultivated extra-curricular profiles constitute institutionalized cultural capital. As Rivera (2016, p. 110) writes: "having the right social capital shapes who is allowed on the playing field in the first place, and institutionalized cultural capital determines who is permitted to stay on the field for tryouts." Relatedly, Collier and Morgan (2008, p. 439) found that first-generation college students' lack of cultural capital leads to emotionally taxing moments of miscommunication with faculty and ''broad failures to understand faculty's expectations about the

basic features of student performance.'' The cultural mismatch that working-class undergraduates experience increases stress (Stephens, Townsend, et al., 2012), heightens their sense of isolation (Ostrove & Long, 2007; Aries, 2008) threatens their academic identities (Tinto, 1987; Collier & Morgan, 2008), undercuts academic performance and persistence (Terenzini et al., 1996; Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005; Pike & Kuh, 2005), and can prompt them to withdraw from campus life (Bergerson, 2007; Lehmann, 2007; Suskind, 2010)

The work of Megan Thiele (2016) on student-faculty relationships at an elite university is critical to understanding student engagement strategies when interacting with faculty. Some student populations reported a "hesitant appreciation" style, in which they were uncomfortable, insecure, or nervous when interacting with their professors, while others reported having a "critical suspicion" style in which they were more adept than hesitant appreciation students, but were critical and suspicious of institutional agents, such as their professor. Still another student population reported having an "appreciative ease" style characterized by "tight bonds" with their professor that were not bound to the classroom. Thiele (2016) argued that students' interaction or orientation style was shaped by their class background, with more privileged students being more likely to engage with authority figures with "appreciative ease."

In Jack's (2016) study of cultural capital at an elite university, students' pre-college experiences were a significant factor in student success. His findings authenticate the range of strategies students use to engage authority figures; from attending professors' office hours to playing together as teammates on a sports team with a professor, to lobbying an administrator to provide equitable resources for socially disadvantaged groups, to challenging one's grade on an exam. However, Stephens et al. (2012, p.1180) have argued that colleges too narrowly ''focus

on middle class norms of independence as the culturally appropriate way to be a college student,'' thereby alienating working-class undergraduates.

Pointedly, alongside the class stratification system, other systems of stratification that reproduce inequality are equally at work. Lareau's (2011) work on unequal childhoods produced seminal contributions to how social scientists understand the family in relation to cultural capital transmission, as well as childhood in relation to cultural capital acquisition and its activation later at school. Additionally, Calarco (2018) expanded Lareau's (2011) research by studying how students activate the cultural capital they acquire from their families in classroom situations, particularly those specific to help-seeking. The student population in Lareau's (2011) study was racially heterogeneous, and the student population in Calarco's (2018) study was racially homogenous. Yet, they treated the entities of race and gender (and their corresponding stratification systems) as non-relational and insignificant to the social processes that reproduce inequality, rather than seeing them as interlocking with the entity of class, thus having diverse intersectional impacts on the reproduction of inequality (Crenshaw, 1989).

The students in Calarco's (2018) study were disproportionately White and positioned relative to non-Whites in a racially stratified system. They were also gendered in a stratified system of gender relations (Connell, 1995). This means that toolkit activations in their schooling experiences were as intersectional as they were mono-categorically classed. Under these conditions, what does being a White girl or a White boy mean for students' orientation toward interacting with their teachers (Thiele, 2016)? Can we say unequivocally that the social locations of race and gender had no impact on student interpretations and activations of middle-class toolkits? What about the nearly twenty percent of working class and racial minority students in the

study whose intersectional experiences likely impacted their toolkit activation in student teacher interaction?

For primary education scholars Lareau (2011) and Calarco (2011, 2014, 2018), middle class cultural capital has historically and contemporarily been racialized as White and gendered as masculine (Carter, 2005). Perhaps this is because cultural capital is consistently conceptualized on a single category, single-system, axis of class-orientation (Crenshaw, 1989). Thus, the processes of racialization and gendering alongside class transmissions of cultural capital are either made invisible or seen as neutral. The result has been to imply that (1) students' intersectional experiences of race and gender are not as relevant as their classed experiences, and (2) that student demonstrations of middle-class capital mitigate the impact of the processes of race and gender (and their corresponding hierarchies) in favor of demonstrating cultural capital to acquire additional cultural and social capital. However, other primary and secondary education scholars of student engagement have performed intersectional analyses, and their results contest these implications. In fact, their studies reveal the reproduction of inequality in formal schooling processes in ways distinct to intersectional analyses and in significant contributions that expand how primary and secondary education scholars study and understand toolkit activation in student engagement.

First, Ann Ferguson's (2001) research examined how Black boys simultaneously construct their identities through their interpretation of what it means to "be in trouble." She found that through institutional norms, procedures, and cultural representations, schooling processes identify, target, and punish students of intersecting social locations—particularly race and gender. Moreover, Ferguson's study revealed that these institutional practices operate in a covert manner and use the concept and practice of punishment to maintain racial order at the schools. Ferguson's study located the reproduction of inequality in (1) the complicity of school officials as they

racialize so called "natural differences" of Black male students, (2) the construction of policies that single out Black boys as both being in trouble and thus being trouble, and (3) the ways such practices rob Black male students of their agency to construct a self-concept void of racialized beliefs of racial deficiency and inferiority. Under these conditions, fair schooling conditions for Black students to adequately activate their social and cultural capital—regardless of the primary or secondary institutions from which it is acquired—are compromised and appear to be impossible.

Carter (2005) examined how low-income Black and Latino ethnoracial student groups engaged cultural strategies to navigate their schooling institutions. Carter (2005) challenged Fordham and Ogbu's (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986) oppositional culture framework, which asserted that Black and Latino youth do not place high values and aspirations on school success because they see educational achievement as "an added burden of acting white." Carter (2005) rebutted oppositional culture framework, finding that Black and Latino youth deployed strategies from their own cultural background as a means to gain status among their peers, maintain their sense of belonging at school, and navigate and contest hostile school culture and teacher perceptions of their abilities and educational aspirations. Following Ferguson's analysis, Carter's (2005) research evidenced the critical insight gained from examining the gender socialization experiences of African American and Latino students from working class families. Carter (2005) explicated the means by which forms of non-dominant capital are produced by students' intersectional experiences. Non-dominant capital refers to linguistic cultural codes and cues of walking and talking and stylized ways of dressing. While teachers perceive student activations of non-dominant capital as markers of disrespect, low ambition, and opposition toward educational and occupational success, students understand such capital to be an essential source of strength and unity among

themselves and their peers. Carter (2005) demonstrated that gender and race impact how students activate cultural capital during engagement with their teachers; in fact, they are relevant and equally active social processes that impact students' activation of cultural capital.

Similar to Carter's rebuttal to oppositional culture theory directed at low-income African American and Latinx students (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986), Morris (2011) contested the reasoning behind the gender achievement gap that points to young men and assumes a disinterest in education. Through intersectional analyses of gender performance, place as location and identity, race, and class, Morris (2012) found that these social locations have a formidable impact on academic achievement for young men. Particularly, his analyses revealed the following: (1) that young men perform distinct notions of masculinity to compensate for other social disadvantages, and (2) that young men's expressions of hegemonic masculinity take on what is referred to as "contrived carelessness"—that is, where young men pretend to be disinterested toward their studies and view peer activities as more important than interacting with their teachers. Thus, for young men, the performance of distinct modes of masculinity compensates for particular social disadvantages they experience, but it works to the detriment of their studies. Moreover, though his study was conducted at both majority White and majority African American high schools, Morris' analysis reveals that even for White students, race and gender are not neutral; they have relevant impact on how students activate cultural capital.

Thus, whether examining the intersectional impact of race and class on gender performance (Morris, 2012), the racialized and gendered construction of trouble through covert institutional processes that single out particular intersectional demographics (Ferguson, 2001), or the means by which intersectional experiences construct identity, agency, and forms of non-dominant capital

(Carter, 2005; Yosso, 2016), these educational scholars illustrate the relevance of intersectional analyses.

The Most Diversity in Social Disadvantage: The Role of Cultural Capital is Understudied in Community Colleges

Understanding community college students' precollege student engagement strategies is important because community colleges in general, and the accounts given by student populations in particular may in fact represent the best opportunities to engage intersectional analyses to expand our understanding of how students mobilize capital (through their engagement strategies) to acquire additional social and cultural capital at their institution. Due to the diverse forms of social disadvantage experienced by the diverse student populations enrolled at community colleges, these institutions should arguably take top priority in producing intersectional scholarship in higher education. As scholarship on student cultural capital and engagement strategies expands to include community college student experiences, scholars will gain a more comprehensive means to account for the complexity of student engagement strategies at diverse institutions of higher education in general and aid in the creation of problem-solving solutions appropriate for those institutions.

Community colleges are sites where the most marginalized students enroll to pursue their educational goals (Cox, 2009; Morest-Smith, 2013); as such, they also serve as the interaction contexts where social processes shape the learning experiences of the most marginalized students in higher education. Rebecca Cox (2009, p. 41) conducted an ethnographic study of a community college English composition course and found that "those who are least conversant with the norms of higher education are at a distinct disadvantage; they are more likely to feel like outsiders and to doubt their ability to fit in." In addition, she found that strategies that faculty employed to relieve

students' fears or feelings of inadequacy proved to be counterproductive for completing college coursework. Cox found that students were often confused by the academic environment but endured it mainly because they saw it as a necessity to reaching long-term career and occupational goals. Cox's study not only underscored the significance of investigating student engagement strategies within the community college tier of higher education, it also illustrated the need for such scholarship to look at how students develop effective engagement strategies through interactive processes with their peers and with their teachers during their pre-college years. Such scholarship, intentionally focused for faculty, staff, and other institutional entities to gain insight on student experiences, is critical for any institutional policies constructed to facilitate community college student success.

As recently as Fall 2018, community college students accounted for 5.7 million of the 16.6 million undergraduate students enrolled at degree-granting public institutions. And of those 5.7 million, 2.1 million (37%) attended full-time, while 3.6 million (63%) attended part-time (NCES, 2020). This is significant compared to the 10.9 million students enrolled at 4-year public institutions, among whom 75% attended full-time and 25% attended part-time. Time to degree completion is one of the social disadvantages shaping community college student experiences and it is rooted in economic disadvantage. Compared to students attending 4-year public institutions, financial need is greater among community college students.

In the 2017–2018 academic year, 53% of first-time, full-time students at 2-year public institutions received federal student aid, compared to 38% of first-time, full-time students at 4-year public institutions (NCES, 2020). In addition to student financial need and enrollment status, gender, age, and race are among the other significant characteristics that account for greater diversity at community colleges than at 4-year public institutions. In Fall 2018, women accounted

for 55% of full-time undergraduate enrollment at both 4-year and 2-year public institutions, and 58% of part-time students at both 4-year and 2-year public institutions (NCES, 2020). Additionally, in 2017, 78% of undergraduate students at 2-year public institutions age 25 or under were enrolled full-time, followed by 14% of undergraduate students age 25–34, compared to 90% of undergraduate students age 25 or under, and 8% of undergraduate students age 25–34 enrolled full-time at 4-year public institutions (NCES, 2020).

Clearly, more women attend community colleges part-time than at 4-year public institutions, however the intersections of race, class, and gender better illustrate the social disadvantage captured in the data. The social disadvantage is that women tend to have more family and financial obligations than men. In 2014, it was found that, regardless of institutional level, women accounted for 71% of independent college students with dependent children. And women of color in college are more likely to be parents. In addition, 72% of student parents have unmet financial need, even after financial aid, grants, and family contributions (Full Trends in Student Aid Report, 2019).

Reflecting racial and ethnic diversity in student enrollment at community colleges as recent as 2018, 49% of students attending 2-year public institutions were White, followed by 14% Black, 27% Hispanic, 6% Asian, 1% American Indian/ Alaska Native, and 4% Pacific Islander, whereas 56% of students attending 4-year public institutions where White, followed by 12% Black, 20% Hispanic, 8% Asian, less than 1% American Indian/Native Alaskan, and 4% Pacific Islander. Thus, comparative enrollment data between 4-year and 2-year public institutions demonstrates that while both are racially and ethnically diverse, community colleges continue to be sites of larger student racial and ethnic diversity (Choy, 2002; Full Trends in Student Aid Report, 2019; NCES, 2020).

For socially disadvantaged student populations, social disadvantage is a consequence of a relative lack of supportive resources necessary to manage stressful conditions in pursuit of a degree when compared to other student populations. Additionally, postsecondary college enrollment data illustrate other social disadvantages that shape undergraduate experiences, such as lacking financial resources or the resources to reduce their family or childcare obligations, culminating in longer times toward degree completion and often obstructing student academic achievement overall.

Not only is there is a need for the scholarship on postsecondary educational institutions to expand its intersectional analyses from two stratification system pairings to three or more deemed relevant in each case that examines community college student acquisition of pre-college capital, equally significant, there is a need for this same expansion in intersectional analyses when examining community college student activation of interpersonal resources. There is intersectional research that establishes mistreatment of Black men and unfair advantage given to White men in nursing professions (Harvey-Wingfield, 2009). Other intersectional scholars have shown that not only do racism and sexism create vulnerabilities, but that in the post-civil rights era, racism affects members of a racial group in gender-specific ways, and that sexism affects members within a gendered group in race-specific ways (Collins, 2004). Such scholarship adds to the frames needed to examine diverse socially disadvantaged student populations at community colleges, which establishes the significant need for this study.

This research employs a Black feminist intersectional analysis to examine how the entities of race and gender—and their corresponding stratification systems—intersect with the entity and corresponding system of class stratification to reproduce inequality in community college student pre-college experiences of cultural capital acquisition and activation. Further, my research

investigates the orientations and strategies of community college student engagement critical for academic attainment at community colleges and other postsecondary institutions where student engagement for diverse, socially disadvantaged student populations, is shaped by the reproduction of intersecting inequalities. Moreover, my intersectional analyses help us to understand how community college students' racialized, gendered, and class-oriented pre-college experiences with their peers and teachers *may* shape their strategies to build student-peer and student-professor relationships once at community college.

Specifically, my study contributes to preexisting scholarship by (1) including, conceptualizing, and examining the singular or intersectional impact of race and gender as effective tools of student validation that teachers engage (together with or separate from those that are class-oriented) with their students. It also does this by (2) including, conceptualizing, and examining the racialized and gendered schooling and learning conditions from which students engage singular or intersecting racialized and gendered engagement strategies (separate from or together with class-oriented strategies) of their own, as they build student-peer and student-teachers relationships integral to their academic attainment. Furthermore, this investigation (3) authenticates new significant dimensions of cultural capital activation by focusing on diverse student intersectional realities, and (4) contributes insight into how the concentration of diverse social disadvantage in a routinely understudied aspect of the postsecondary institutional tier impacts students' cultural and social capital acquisition and activation and, ultimately, student agency development. How this unfolds at community colleges with diverse student populations is distinct from postsecondary institutions with students whose corresponding pre-college experiences yield significantly less diversity in social disadvantage.

Chapter 3: Research Design and Method

For researchers studying social processes—such as, how students acquire cultural capital in their pre-college experiences, and how they activate it during engagement at their academic institutions—interviews are often the method of choice. This is because interviews allow social and cultural life to become accessible to the researcher. This study uses semi-structured, in-depth interviews. I constructed questions for undergraduate community college student participants with the specific intention of accessing their experiential knowledge of the strategies they employed with their peers and teachers during their pre-college years (Esterberg, 2002). I then analyzed their responses with the aim of understanding the singular or intersecting racialized, gendered, and class-oriented strategies they engaged to build student-peer and student-teacher relationships during their pre-college years.

The questions were standardized but delivered in a way that gave student respondents time to process, engage, and answer questions in a way that aligned with their experience (Esterberg, 2002). Through the semi-structured interview process, I was able to ask follow-up questions as students reported their experiences. Furthermore, because it was critical for the respondents to feel that they could report their experiences authentically, I was flexible in how I engaged each respondent to answer the questions on the interview schedule. As Esterberg (2002) has advised, a researcher may typically begin the interview with some basic ideas about what the interview will cover, but that the respondent's responses may shape the structure and order of the questions. Semi-structured interviews allow for greater flexibility and more validity than the more rigid, standardized, closed-ended questions of structured interviews (Esterberg, 2002).

Site Selection:

Since this study examined whether undergraduates at a community college used the same strategies of engagement during their pre-college years as the undergraduates at elite colleges and public universities previously studied, I conducted my study at a community college in Northern California, which I call Northern California Community College (NCCC). The college's annual student enrollment numbers (13,500 annually over the past ten years, 2008–2017) (California Community College Chancellor's Office DataMart, 2017), coupled with the fact that it is a minority majority institution make it an ideal site to engage in-depth semi-structured interviews with students of intersectional social locations to gain insight into their engagement experiences at college. The term "minority majority" refers to situations or institutions where the racial and ethnic minority student population is disproportionately larger (or is the majority) in number (Powell, 2001).

Currently, NCCC's minority majority statistics reveal that its racial and ethnic composition is 78% racial and ethnic minority and 22% non-Latinx White (California Community College Chancellor's Office DataMart, 2013–2017). In Fall 2017, African Americans were 11% of the NCCC student population (10.9%); they were also 14% of the students who received the California College Promise (CCP) fee waiver, which waives certain enrollment fees for eligible students at any California community college throughout the state. At the same time, White Americans were 23% of the NCCC student population (22.68%), and 19% of the students receiving the CCP waiver, while Latinx students were 27% of the NCCC student population (27.3%) and 27% of the students that received the CCP waiver.

In this study, there were distinct and significant ways in which I distinguished between middle-class and lower-income students. Based on federal poverty guidelines, income standards

for a family size of one person who earns $18,000.00 per year or less qualifies for the CCP waiver; $6270.00 is allotted for each additional family member (ASPE Department of Health and Human Services, 2018–2019). Thus, any student who received the CCP waiver based on these income standards was counted as lower-income in this study. Students whose income was too high to qualify them to receive the waiver counted as "not low-income." As for middle-class students, the focus of this study is to understand middle-class cultural capital acquisition and activation. Thus, since middle-class capital is cultural and not economic, there were two ways in which I qualified students as middle-class: (1) if their parents graduated from a 2-year college or higher, and (2) if the student participants attended highly resourced high schools, participated in government-sponsored mobility programs, attended and graduated from boarding, day, and preparatory schools, or received scholarships directly through boarding, day, and preparatory schools (Jack, 2016).

Sample and Procedures

Data in this study came from 80 in-depth interviews conducted with students in academic disciplines across the college. To recruit study participants, I visited classrooms across academic disciplines and gave a brief presentation of my study via Zoom (an online program that individuals, groups, and professionals utilize to convene various types of meetings and conferences). I distributed recruitment forms to students via email and collected them after each presentation (see Appendix A). From the recruitment forms, I selected five each of students who identified as: Black, White, Latinx, and Asian females and males, respectively, all of whom were CCP eligible, thus qualifying them as lower-income students. I also selected five each of Black, White, Latinx, and Asian females and males, respectively, whose answers to the aforementioned middle-class criteria on the recruitment form qualified them as middle-class. I then scheduled interviews using the

scheduling application *calendly*, as well as through email, phone calls, text messages, and Zoom meetings with students. Adhering to the policies established by the Institutional Review Board, I utilized pseudonyms in place of student legal names to guarantee student anonymity.

At the start of each interview, I read from the consent form and asked for the consent of each student participant (see Appendix B). For each interview, both the student participant and I possessed a copy of the interview guide (see Appendix C) that I developed. Due to the coronavirus pandemic at the time of data collection, I conducted interviews with students via Zoom. As compensation for their time, each student received a $10.00 gift card.

Once the interviews were transcribed, I read the transcripts several times to identify themes, phrases, key words, and patterns that emerged (Esterberg, 2002; Emerson, 2011; Deterding & Waters, 2019). I utilized the following process to analyze the participants' responses: (1) coding questions and responses, (2) identifying key words and themes, (3) thematic analysis, and (4) theoretical application. I developed and organized a coding tree that reflected a consistent type of response given by the respondent. After reading, listening to, and coding responses, I developed themes. Next, I utilized the theoretical framework of cultural and social reproduction (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977) and performed intersectional analyses (Crenshaw, 1989; Harvey-Wingfield 2009; Hill-Collins, 2012, 2018) to locate, extract, and analyze consistent patterns of student engagement. I looked for patterns reflecting student intersectional experiences of engagement consistent with those discussed in both the intersectional scholarship detailed in the literature review (Bettie, 2004; Carter, 2005; Ferguson, 2001; Harvey-Wingfield, 2009; Hill-Collins, 2018; Morris, 2012) and the student accounts given in my preliminary study.

Limitations of the Study

Semi-structured interviews are a methodologically rigorous qualitative method for research examining social and cultural experiences. Although this is an empirical study, it is not free from some degree of bias. It is important to note that I did not interview faculty at the college where I conducted my study, nor did I interview faculty at the elementary, middle, and high schools from which students recalled their pre-college experiences. My investigation focused on student experiences because my dissertation research centered the student engagement pre-college experiences of community college students of intersecting social locations. Complications can arise from viewing teacher actions through student accounts. Misunderstandings of teacher engagement from biases in student subjective interpretations and prior learning experiences were legitimate considerations that I took into account while conducting student interviews. However, I attempted to address these concerns by encouraging student participants to elaborate their ideas, by asking for more details of their experience, and sometimes by giving comparative scenarios of interaction for purposes of discernment. This enabled a more accurate accounting for each respondent's thoughts and sentiment when I transcribed and analyzed their responses.

Readers may also point to the fact that compared to all other students of intersecting social locations in this study, White males seem to overrepresent students with learning challenges and trauma. However, not all accounts given by White males in this study came from those with such challenges. I analyzed accounts given by Cory and Reed, both of whom had learning challenges, and I also analyzed accounts given by Michael, Rick, and Joshua, who did not. My findings consistently centered their intersecting racialized, gendered, and class-oriented experiences of teacher engagement, alongside the intersecting strategies they used to engage their teachers. Moreover, I take the same intersectional approach and analyze and report how White male students

build student teacher relationships with the same consistency that I analyze and report student teacher relationship building accounts of all other student groups in this study.

While this study may lack generalizability given its sampling procedure, the study's findings are valuable, nonetheless, because community colleges are understudied spaces in the literature on student engagement strategies with authority figures in institutions of higher education. One of the primary goals of this study was to give voice to community college students. Secondly, rather than focusing on generalizability, this study focuses on examining the patterns that persist in the variation of student populations of intersecting social locations at the community college. This creates the potential to construct or reconstruct student engagement theory to more accurately illuminate how pre-college patterns of student-teacher engagement, which include but extend beyond cultural and social capital acquisition, shape the educational trajectories of community college students. (Burawoy, 1998; Small, 2009).

Chapter 4: Class-Oriented, Gendered, Racialized, Intersectional, and Controlling Histories Explicating Community College Student Experiences of Teacher Engagement

Rooted in Bourdieu's first conceptualizations (1977), cultural capital was then re-conceptualized and subsequently operationalized as cultural processes of student cultural capital acquisition and activation by Lareau (2011) and Calarco (2011, 2014, 2018). More recently, the concept was expanded in Jack's (2016) alternative pathway conception of *high-school centered*, pre-college experiences that bring a select segment of lower-income students with middle-class cultural capital to elite institutions. My study, which examines community college students' intersectional engagement experiences in the K-12 context, establishes that they acquire middle class cultural capital, but their pre-college experiences of middle-class cultural capital acquisition and activation are markedly different from those experiences reported by students at the elite institutions in studies conducted by scholars such as Jack (2016) and Thiele (2016).

Arguing that the family is the primary social institution of student capital acquisition, Lareau (2011) and Calarco (2011, 2014, 2018) began from the standpoint that students have already acquired the requisite forms of capital for academic success by the time they reach elementary school. Tracing student engagement strategies to the origins of student capital acquisition, Jack (2016) challenged and expanded Lareau (2011) and Calarco's (2011, 2013, 2014, 2018) assumptions. Jack's (2016) study of student experiences at an elite university identified an alternative path of origin—that of *pre-college experiences,* which work in place of the family, facilitating middle-class capital acquisition for non-conventional students in their schooling experiences. At the elite institution, Jack's (2016) study established *high school-centered* pre-college experiences as critical sites of student capital acquisition for a significant segment of the institution's student population, which he termed the "privileged poor." In contrast, lower-income undergraduates whose *high school-centered* precollege experiences were impacted by structural

barriers that resulted in their non-acquisition of cultural capital are whom Jack termed the *doubly disadvantaged*. Jack's (2016) privileged poor/doubly disadvantaged typology established student engagement strategies to be the measure of student capital activation.

Building on the work of Lareau (2011), Calarco (2011, 2014, 2018) and Jack (2016), by studying community college student accounts, my study establishes a key finding commonly overlooked by scholars of student capital acquisition and activation—namely, that elementary and middle school experiences are often the critical first sites of pre-college capital acquisition and activation for community college students of intersecting social locations. Significantly, my study establishes that community college students acquired middle-class cultural capital in ways distinct from those identified in existing student engagement scholarship. Moreover, community college students did not attend highly resourced boarding, day, and preparatory schools identified by Jack (2016). Instead, I found that during the course of engagement with their students of intersecting racialized, gendered, and class-oriented social locations, pre-college teachers correspondingly engaged effective singular and intersecting racialized, gendered, and class-oriented strategies to build trust and confidence in the students' abilities. This enabled students to have the cultural logic of entitlement and engage strategies such as asking for help, speaking up, reading out loud, leading the class as teacher assistants or "helpers" when appointed, and other strategies identified as middle-class in contemporary student engagement scholarship.

Jack (2016) also establishes that student high school pre-college experiences encompass interactions with a predominant, wealthy, White race-specific, student and teacher populace from which cultural processes of capital acquisition are facilitated at the high schools. However, community college student reports established that while White teachers and students were often the racial and ethnic majority in their K–12 schooling experiences, these groups were not wealthy

and the high schools attended by community college students were local and, on average, two to three miles from the community college they now attend. Still, the details in community college student accounts establish that community college students did, in fact, acquire middle-class cultural capital—but they acquired it in ways not fully explored nor theorized in current sociology of education scholarship.

My research expands and reorients how we think about student engagement and the integral roles that teachers and peers and classroom learning and schooling conditions play in shaping the strategies that students learn to engage. Community college students do acquire the conventional, middle-class cultural capital established by existing scholarship, but they do so from diverse, nonconventional sources. As such, and as established by community college student accounts from varying levels within their K–12 pre-college education experiences, I conceptualize teacher engagement strategies as: the classroom activities, teacher qualities, one-on-one student-teacher learning experiences, advising and mentorship practices that teachers, counselors and advisors, school staff, and administrators engage in with students, and which can either constitute or facilitate the processes of student capital acquisition and student capital activation.

From student reports, a seminal question emerges: What are teacher engagement strategies and how do they facilitate and shape the types of cultural processes of conventional student capital acquisition and activation that scholars such as Lareau (2011), Thiele (2016), Jack (2016), and Calarco (2018) say are essential to activate later in higher education to achieve college success? What specifically are the things that teachers do when interacting with students that help them acquire conventional middle-class cultural capital?

We might think of student engagement strategies as one side of the proverbial coin of middle-class cultural capital acquisition and activation, and of teacher engagement strategies as

the other side of this same coin. Teacher engagement strategies are, themselves, a distinct cultural process integral to, and responsible for the facilitation of, middle-class cultural capital acquisition for community college students of intersecting social locations; they also explicate student capital acquisition processes in ways that contemporary student engagement scholarship has yet to account for.

Alongside the class-oriented frames of student engagement discussed above, I employ racial formation theory (Omi & Winant, 2015), gender relations theory (Connell, 1995) the concept of "doing gender" (West & Zimmerman, 1987), and intersectionality theory (Crenshaw, 1989; Collins, 2015, 2018) to guide my analyses of student responses and the study's findings.

Community college student accounts given by males and females of differing class orientations within Asian, Latinx, Black ethnoracial and White student populations establish that diverse teacher engagement strategies were most effective in developing students' engagement strategies during their pre-college years as K–12 students. These students routinely experienced racialized, gendered, or class-oriented interactions; or they experienced the combined impact of racialized, gendered and class-oriented interactions with students and teachers. There were many cases where teachers' diverse sets of engagement strategies were void of understandings or teaching practices that particularly ascribed to, or aligned with, non-class-oriented entities of race or gender, or the distinct intersectional inequalities of race, class, and gender that routinely shaped the learning needs of students of shared corresponding intersecting social locations.

The accounts given by the students in this study demonstrate the impact that the particular-racialized, gendered, and class-oriented, intersectional teacher engagement strategies, or lack thereof, have had on meaningful engagement between students and their teachers. Student accounts also illustrate the nonconventional, complex ways that teacher engagement validated

student identities and lived experiences, ultimately helping them to strengthen or build the confidence and agency needed to both acquire and activate the capital essential to build student-teacher relationships during their K–12 pre-college years.

In order to foreground the dominant role of cultural categorizations in racial designations of Black, Asian, Latinx or White in American society, I use racial formation theory (Omi & Winant, 2015), which asserts that race is not reducible to the visual physical features that one possesses; nor is it simply about category membership that forms as a consequence of shared visual physical features. Specifically, racial formation theory centers the meanings associated with those visual physical characteristics and how those meanings change over time (Omi & Winant, 2015). I also use the term "ethnoracial" (Carter, 2005; Fong, 2008) as it allows for a more accurate and advanced accounting for the numerous and distinct countries—each with its own cultures, languages, religions, customs, and traditions—that together form the multitude of cultural experiences within a racially designated category. And while it remains important for ethnoracial groups to unify and engage in activism to be heard, respected, represented, and supported both outside and within academic institutions, we cannot assume that all ethnoracial student groups have the same types of teacher engagement and student-teacher relationship building interactions in their schooling experiences.

The patterns that emerged from student accounts of their interactions with teachers required me to foreground race. Students recalled that race was often pivotal for how they experienced teacher engagement, the development of their agency, and the subsequent processes they engaged to build relationships with their K–12 peers and teachers. Racial formation theory is a means of understanding complex relationships and social processes such as how ethnoracial student groups experience teacher engagement, and how those same experiences of teacher engagement impact

their agency to subsequently build student teacher-relationships with their peers and teachers during their schooling experiences.

Additionally, I use racialization, a central tenet of racial formation theory, as one of my primary tools to explicate the processes of race-making and/or racial constructions consistent in ethnoracial student schooling accounts. But whereas racialization refers to the processes by which social groups are uniquely created with meanings and political consequences ascribed to those same meanings, I coin the term "ethnoracial cultural validation" to refer to the processes of racialization present in the strategies used to affirm student cultural identities and behaviors. From the standpoint of racially and culturally marginalized faculty and students, and often employed by co-ethnic teachers within the same ethnoracial diaspora, ethnoracial cultural validation refers to the initiated, distinctly racialized, and often intentional cultural processes or strategies of ethnoracial student validation employed by teachers in the course of their engagement with ethnoracial student groups. As student reports establish, these strategies both create a space for, and position ethnoracial student groups with, the agency essential to build student-teacher relationships in their interactional schooling and learning contexts. As a teacher engagement strategy, ethnoracial cultural validation is essential because, as established from student reports, diverse students who form diverse cultural groupings of ethnoracial students attend school and learn in racialized contexts where race-based identifications, interpretations, and meanings are both significantly and differently ascribed to their ethnoracial student groups.

Moreover, the social processes that construct race in learning contexts also inform students and faculty about one another (Omi & Winant, 2015). This plays out in how students orient themselves to new role relationships, norms of discourse and participation, faculty teaching, role

performance norms, and how they interact with student peers whose experiences and navigational skills may be as efficient or equally inefficient in their learning and schooling environment.

Accounts from this study's Asian ethnoracial student participants lay bare the reemergence of the model minority stereotype (Omi and Winant 2015; Delgado and Stefanic 2017). I employ the concept of "racial projects"—another tenet of racial formation theory (Omi and Winant 2015)—to explore the model minority stereotype's enduring legacy and impact on how Asian ethnoracial students develop student agency through interactions with their peers and in their experience of teacher engagement. As one of the four socially marginalized ethnoracial groups living in America, Asians continue to both inherit and carry forward the model-minority stereotype—the legacy of distinct cultural pressures to conform to conventional White cultural standards throughout their schooling experiences and the distinct cultural pressures to impose strict and often unrealistic family pressures and expectations on their successful academic attainment (Fong, 2008). Asians experience politicized cultural and institutional pressures to represent an ethnoracial Asian experience that supports the enduring White constructed narrative of "American-Dream-achievement." Such representations often facilitate a lack of support for other student groups within the diasporia, such as Southeast Asians (Fong, 2008, pp.72-73), while continuing to generally exclude Asians from particular mainstream experiences yet to be greenlit as culturally accepted academic disciplines or career professions for Asians (Fong, 2008, pp.118).

In Chapter 5, I go into more detail, discussing and examining the impact that racialization processes have on Asian student experiences of teacher engagement, agency development, and the subsequent strategies they employ to build student teacher relationships. Chapters 6, 7, and 8 follow this same pattern for Latinx, White, and Black student groups, respectively. However, to illustrate how racialization processes and racial projects serve as significant analytical tools in my

study, I will briefly discuss the concept of the model-minority stereotype. The model minority stereotype can be seen in how White conventional assumptions and narratives are ascribed to Asians to both accept and support, albeit limitedly, Asian matriculation and advancement into academic and professional spaces (Fong, 2008). Additionally, as a racial project, the function of the model-minority stereotype is to facilitate the dominant cultural processes of White conventional assumptions, while intentionally engaging the processes of racialization—ascribing cultural pressures sourced from White assumptions and conventionality onto Asians as an ethnoracial group. The model minority stereotype does the work of touting Asians as exemplars of successful assimilation and leverages their success to silence claims of racism and discrimination experienced by other minority ethnoracial groups (Fong, 2008; Omi & Winant, 2015; Delgado & Stefanic, 2017).

Alongside the longstanding history and influence of American race relations whose permeations in all aspects of social life undoubtedly includes educational institutions, masculine and feminine conceptions also take their root as historical products, engendering a system of gender relations (Connell, 1995). Scholarship centering modern European and North American history to the present has established that gender relations have shaped all aspects of social life, including educational institutions-curriculum, activities, implemented policies and pedagogical teaching at all levels of education (Connell, 1995, 2020).

Correspondingly, my analysis looks at how not just race, but also its intersections with class and gender impact student capital acquisition and activation. Referring to the economic, social, and cultural attributes and opportunities associated with being male or female (Marchbank & Letherby, 2014), gender constitutes another prism through which I investigate the impact of teacher engagement on student engagement strategies. Schools are profoundly gendered

institutions that indelibly shape how K–12 students experience teacher engagement, develop agency, and build student-teacher relationships (Acker, 1992). I use gender relations theory and the concept of "doing gender" as analytical tools to examine how routine and organized social and political practices of gender impact ethnoracial student experiences of teacher engagement and, in turn, student agency development and student-teacher relationship-building processes (West & Zimmerman, 1987; Connell, 1995, 2020; Kimmel, 2000).

I employ intersectional analyses to guide my discussion of ethnoracial student group experiences of teacher engagement and how it impacts their student agency and subsequent student-teacher relationship-building experiences (Crenshaw, 1989; Collins, 2015, 2018; Delgado & Stefanic, 2017). In Harvey-Wingfield's (2009) intersectional study, race was found to be the primary modality that intersected two other reciprocally constructing entities—gender and profession—as it was established that race advantaged White male nurses over Black male nurses in promotion-seeking outcomes. Conventional student engagement scholarship too often continues to look only at the discrete set of experiences singularly organized by class *or* gender *or* race, thus excluding the distinct ways that those axes intersect to shape ethnoracial student groups' experiences of teacher engagement (Crenshaw, 1989; Delgado & Stefanic, 2017). By centering multiple axes of multiple statuses, intersectional analyses reveal established patterns of teacher engagement that, for example, impact the unique experiences of poor Whites students, Black male students, and other ethnoracial, classed, and gendered student groups. In short, intersectional analyses facilitate a more comprehensive and inclusive discussion of student experiences not generally accounted for in conventional investigative tools assessing ethnoracial student K–12 schooling experiences.

US ethnoracial group identities are tied to group memberships—each of which are explicitly tied to racialized histories of exclusion for some and inclusion for others. For centuries, White and non-White ethnoracial historical trajectories of social acceptance, inclusion, exclusion, and mobility have been on opposite sides of the US racialized construct of White superiority. White ethnoracial groups have been comparatively advantaged by this construct at the expense of non-White ethnoracial groups in the US (Franklin, 1966; Watkins, 2001; Zuberi, 2001; Bonilla-Silva, 2006). A major finding and contribution of this study is that the types of racialized, gendered, and class-oriented strategies that students *may* engage as they enter community college, and the situations in which they choose to deploy them, are indelibly shaped by, and contingent on, the agency they develop from the singular or intersecting racialized, gendered, and class-oriented strategies that teachers first initiated to engage them to build their trust and confidence during their pre-college years.

Chapter 5: Filling the Gap: Ethnoracial Cultural Validation as a Teacher Engagement Strategy to Combat Both the Asian Model Minority Stereotype and the Racialized Impediment Continuum

In the late 1960s, students of Asian descent formed organizations and joined the demonstrations and protests taking place at higher education institutions, such as San Francisco State and UC Berkeley. In addition to forming organizations such as Intercollegiate Chinese for Social Action (ICSA) and Philipine American Collegiate Endeavor (PACE), Asian student groups formed the Asian American Political Alliance (APPA). Specifically, their formation of the AAPA illustrated "pan-ethnicity"—the unifying of numerous distinct subcultural groups and identities to form an all-encompassing ethnic group to both acquire political power and fight for civil rights through activism (Espiritu, 1992). They demanded that college professors and curriculum representing Asian and Asian American contributions to the US become a normative part of the institutions of higher education (Fong, 1998). Moreover, in 1974, the US Supreme Court ruled in favor of Chinese families who, citing the case of *Lau v. Nichols*, argued that a lack of linguistically appropriate accommodations effectively denied Chinese students equal educational opportunities on the basis of their ethnicity (Fong, 2008; Flores, 2017). For decades, the display of Asian unity and activism in the Third World Liberation Front of the late 1960s (alongside other demonstrations) has served as a seminal illustration of Asian pan-ethnicity. Before we can understand the diverse impact of teacher engagement strategies on Asian student learning experiences, we must first understand how the term ethnoracial applies and what it means for how Asian ethnoracial students experience and learn from teacher engagement during the course of their K–12 schooling.

Asian ethnoraciality precludes us from assuming that all students of Asian descent are experiencing the same types of teacher engagement and student-teacher relationship-building experiences. But by applying racial formation theory in general and discussing established patterns

of Asian male and female student racialized experiences, we can see various ways in which the model minority stereotype manifests in students' lives. Parental pressure to succeed academically, combined with the pressure put on Asian students by their peers and the failure of teachers to intervene when Asian students are bullied, signals to Asian students that they must abandon their respective Asian ethnoracial identities, supplanting them with one that is racialized as White in order to fit in and achieve academic success (Carter 2005). Filipino, South Asian, Chinese, and Southeast Asian student reports of established patterns of teacher-initiated student investment and engagement are a critical component of this study and contribute to ongoing conversations regarding Asian student academic success and the heterogeneity of the Asian experience. Their accounts of their racialized experiences illustrate the diverse, meaningful impact that teacher engagement has had on both their learning and student-teacher relationship building processes.

Introducing Gender Validation Engagement and other Intersecting Sources of Asian Female Student Experiences of Teacher Engagement

Lower-income Asian female students like Monica discussed how the presence of two important factors greatly impacted their processes of student-teacher relationship building: (1) early schooling environments in which teachers and students either looked like them racially and/or were pan-ethnically relatable and encouraging of their ethnoracial experience, or (2) teachers' use of a diverse array of teaching and learning strategies to match students' cultural experiences (Nguyen & Nguyen, 2020). Monica explained:

> [At my middle school] it was more White than minorities. But the group that I hung out with was mostly minorities. I just felt more comfortable with them, I guess. I remember I wanted to make friends outside of my circle, so I joined cheer, which was mostly White people. But I still was more comfortable with my friends that were minority. I wasn't as interested in cheer as the White girls in cheer. It seemed like we just didn't have similar experiences. Like, the foods I would eat. It seemed like they didn't have a lot of ties to minority experiences so when we'd talk they couldn't relate. But when we talked about their experiences, I could always relate to them. I remember during the rally we had the Chinese Lions dance club. They were confused about what was going on and the meanings behind the dance. And

> when I explained it to them, they understood it, but they didn't have the same level of interest that I had in it. It wasn't that I was active in it, but hearing my friends talk about it, I learned about it. But my friends in cheer hadn't the same exposure and they didn't have the interest.

Additionally, lower-income Asian students experienced great pressure to deemphasize their ethnic identities. They routinely experienced these types of pressures while interacting with their peers in many different schooling contexts, and they read these "school-context-bound" cultural pressures as standardized and expected of them, particularly when their teachers witnessed their peers' behaviors and chose not to intervene.

Moreover, whether lower-income or middle-class, Asian females related that when the schooling environment enabled them to build friendships with their peers, they were better able to also engage strategies to build student-teacher relationships with their teachers. As Sheena Salvador, an Asian female, put it, "the great teachers I've had tend to have that classroom environment that's just really conducive to learning." Edith, a lower-income Asian female, similarly noted:

> From K–2nd grade, I was at Big Lake Elementary. The teacher, Ms. Paulino, would sometimes talk in Tagalog. It felt like family…like I was in class with my cousins. We would do cultural dances and perform at the theatre in San Francisco. I connect my love for cultural dance with these earlier experiences and with my teacher because she started me with it. We would perform for the school at assemblies and then outside at community areas. She was always positive, nice, and kind.

Edith further elaborated:

> I noticed the difference in the classroom settings immediately [at Red Beagle Elementary], I didn't have the same welcoming experiences that I had at Big Lake Elementary. It didn't feel like a family environment. I was connected to my classmates based on interests but not culture. It felt like being Filipino didn't matter, nor was it a topic that was talked about….it just didn't matter… Um…I found myself being more shy…around people who weren't my same ethnicity or even race…like I feel…more open to talking to people that are similar to me and look like me…but…yeah… I would be more quiet and less open to ask a question or even make friends. I didn't feel like the teachers invested in me as much as Ms. Paulino did at Big Lake. I felt like these teachers were just my teacher. I would be

> hesitant to ask questions or ask for help because I didn't feel like sharing my voice. I would try to figure things out on my own before I would ask them."

At Big Lake Elementary, Edith experienced an open, culturally affirming environment, in which she experienced inclusion and acceptance and subsequently had the confidence to be talkative and interactive with her teachers and classmates. In stark contrast, at Red Beagle Elementary, she experienced racialized pressure to fit in, which meant abandoning her own cultural interests in favor of her White classmates.

Addie, a middle-class Asian female student, described a similar experience:

> In high school, I just remember probably just a handful of people of color for teachers—one was Mr. Chen and one was Ms. Kaur. The rest of my teachers were White. I had a good mix of male [and] female teachers. Mr. Chen made me feel normal and he made me feel understood. I remember going into the girls' bathroom and they would just talk about me and they were just so mean. It made me feel alienated. I remember going to his [Mr. Chen's] classroom and we would basically study. Being around my classmates was when I realized that there was a shift to people who looked like me. The demographic was generally more White students than people of color. It signified a group to belong to. At that time, I wasn't necessarily considered White but I looked White and I had fair skin. But I wasn't considered Asian either. So that first year I struggled. And when my friends asked me what I brought to school for lunch, I was the kid who would have ethnic foods.

As in Edith's account, Addie's account frames Asian female student relationship-building experiences as contingent upon diverse schooling environments and secure peer relationships that signify inclusion and acceptance. Addie's description of the relationship she built with Mr. Chen, also illustrates an important dimension of ethnoracial cultural validation, namely, racialized mentorship from teachers of Asian descent. Asian student female accounts repeatedly featured this as a central component and type of teacher engagement that used inclusion and acceptance to help students develop agency. Also pivotal in student-teacher relationship building experiences, ethnoracial cultural validation has been key to combatting the continuum of racialized impediments to Asian female student success in K–12 schooling. Sheena, a middle-class Asian

female, detailed how her student-teacher relationship with her school's vice principal served to offset the routine experience of racialized peer pressure from teachers and classmates:

> In middle school was the first time I actually felt out of place because of my race. I was friends with a lot of White girls and they'd be like, "She's the yellow one. They would call me "chinky" I remember there was an Asian vice principal. And he was the only Asian person in a position of authority. He was a source of comfort for me. I was sort of close to him because I was a good student. I would go to the bathroom and cry and students would be like she's snitching to him because he's Asian. He'd be like, "What can I do to make you feel better." I would tell him that I wanted an apology. He would do a mediation between me and the girls. Other schools previously, I was always around other Asians but this time I was made to seek White validation to get more confidence. I shunned my Filipino identity and had a lot of shame. This impacted me building relationships with the teachers because among the students I'd be real quiet and to myself. When I did well on tests, students would be like of course she got the A she's Asian.

Sheena's account illustrates the intersecting harmful effects of race and gender, and, conversely, the combined benefits of the ethnoracial cultural validation strategies and what I term "gender engagement validation strategies" employed by her vice principal. Sheen's account exemplifies how Asian students experience the model-minority stereotype. At the same time that she endured hostile racialized bullying and name-calling from her classmates, as a model minority, Sheena was also expected to perform well academically. But when she did, her achievement was then dismissed and underappreciated by these same classmates. Drawing on gender relations theory and student accounts of gendered, ascriptive processes in their interactive schooling and learning contexts (West & Zimmerman, 1987; Connell, 1995, 2020; Kimmel, 2000), I use the term "gender validation engagement" to refer to the set of gender normative strategies routinely used by teachers to effectively engage students. These validation strategies are context-oriented and they incorporate diverse understandings of gender: (1) as socially learned attitudes, behaviors, and expression, (2) as personal traits and social positions, and (3) as complex social, political, economic, and psychological relations between women and men, as a tool to supportively engage

students of all genders, including those of gender non-binary orientation, during the course of their learning and schooling conditions (Martin, 2004; Acker, 2005; Risman, 2013). I coin the term "gender intentional validated engagement to describe the experiences of students whose teachers, coaches, or other school authority figures used gender validated engagement through strategic aims, intentions, or recognition of the importance and impact of gender support in specific interactive contexts. For Sheena, ethnoracial cultural validation was effected when her vice principal, a co-ethnic Asian male (Flores, 2017), not only showed concern and stood up for her when she was targeted and bullied because of her Asian ethnoracial identity, but also mediated conflicts between her and other students. We can also see the engagement strategy of gender validation in the actions of Sheena's vice principal—a male authority figure in relation to Sheena, a female student.

First, by engaging the concept of doing gender, we see that the actions of Sheena's vice-principal are very gendered. Moreover, Sheena's vice principal asks the question: "what can I do to make you feel better"? which reflects a normative engagement with the performance of gender where boys and men interpret the cries of girls and women as a need for them to come and support them by solving problems or reducing what they interpret as female discomfort (West & Zimmerman, 1987). Second, sourced from gender relations theory, gender validation can be seen in how the differing social positions occupied by both Sheena and her principal impact the gendered sets of expectations they have of one another as they interact: not only does Sheena's principal ask the question: "what can I do to make you feel better"? as she is crying, but Sheena expects him to intervene in the bullying. Both the vice principal's question and Sheena's response reveal gendered socially learned behaviors, attitudes, and expressions that they expected of one another (West & Zimmerman, 1987). Additionally, this illustrates the complex psychological

relations between women and men, gender relations can also be seen when he stepped into the role of mediator, to mediate the conflict between Sheena and her peers in order to support her (West & Zimmerman, 1987; Connell, 1995, 2020). Additionally, the successes of the vice principal's gendered validation strategies are reflected in Sheena's recollection that she felt close to him after he intervened to support her.

The experiences of Baljit, a lower-income Asian female, suggest that poor quality interactions between Asian students and their classmates were more likely in environments that featured some or all of the following: (1) a lack of cultural regard for and acceptance of Asian students by their peers, (2) racial microaggressions and physical threats to potentially harm them, and (3) teacher enablement of disrespectful student behavior. Such conditions operate on a continuum and constitute impediments to the confidence and sense of entitlement that student engagement scholars cite as necessary for students to engage their processes of student-teacher relationship-building (Lareau, 2011, 2015; Calarco, 2011, 2014, 2015). Baljit shared:

> [In high school], there wasn't a lot of diversity. There were a lot of people of color but they were Whitewashed. You couldn't connect with them culturally because they were just Americanized. I remember in high school I had my first racist encounter. This was freshmen year in Science class. We were doing a project in Science class. I was doing all the work. I asked him to do some work and he said, "Aren't you a terrorist." He would ask me questions like, "Wow, you're a Muslim, where are you from?" My teacher noticed me crying and sent the guy outside and then he talked to me. Then later that day when school was over my teacher called my dad and my dad came to my room and talked to me about it. My dad would get offended when I would keep things from him so he would say don't let this happen again. Stand up for yourself and say something back. He knows that I'm a nonconfrontational person. And he told me that if that happens again to tell him right away and he'd go to the principal. I felt really offended by this student…usually minorities stick together during these instances—he was African American. I would see him with his friends who were White he would try to blend in.

The accounts of Monica, Edith, and Sheena—Asian female students of diverse class orientations—make clear the importance of a schooling environment in which students feel they can build

friendships with their peers. Such an environment, in turn, signals to them that they can also engage the processes of building student-teacher relationships with their teachers. As in Sheena's account, Baljit's experience highlights race as the primary modality through which she experienced bullying from students. In fact, in both Sheena's and Baljit's experiences of being bullied, racial epithets targeting their Asian identity were used, illustrating incidents of hostile racialized conditions in general—and reflected forms of ethnoracial cultural *invalidation*, in particular.

But while both of their accounts illustrate that not only race, but also gender shaped their interactive experiences with adult male figures, Baljit's account diverges from Sheena's in how exactly race and gender intersected. In Sheena's case, her vice principal effectively intervened and prevented her from being bullied. But in Baljit's experience of turning to her father for support, she was initially scolded and told she needed to be tougher and stand up for herself. Ultimately, however, her father asserted that she needed to be proud of who she is and "say something back," thus offering a form of ethnoracial validation. Unfortunately, Baljit's father reinforced the shame she experienced from her school bully. Had Baljit's father understood that it was as important to engage gender validation as it was to intervene and engage ethnoracial cultural validation—even if it was as short-sighted as encouraging Baljit to "say something back"—she might not have continued to feel shame and decided to simply keep such instances from him in the future. Baljit's account demonstrates that—whether parental or as school officials, authority figures' engagement strategies of validation, improvement, and support are more effective at fostering student agency and building the student-teacher relationship when those strategies are intersectional.

Baljit's experience and Monica's opening reflection reveal that these impediments not only operate on a continuum characterized by direct, intense, and insidiously racialized experiences, but that these experiences range from ethnoracial cultural invalidation and outright attacks on their

cultural identities and experiences by their peers to being explicitly physically bullied. In her account, Thanh, a lower-income Asian female, explained:

> Being bullied was the way I was made to feel different. The bullying happened from first grade to third grade. There was one teacher who let me come into her classroom during lunch and so I would talk to her. She would talk to me and I would talk to her during lunchtime. Instead of sitting by myself and getting bullied, I got to eat lunch with her. Going to school in the northern area [Sacramento] as an Asian person was kind of difficult. Kids would stare at me for long periods of time. And they would throw rocks at me when I walked home from school. I tried to tell the teachers that I was being bullied and my teachers dismissed it. They'd say, "Boys will be boys." When one adult at the school dismissed me and shut me down, I didn't think other adults, including my parents could or would help.

But when reflecting on the kinds of schooling environments where teachers did respond effectively to a student's attempt to bully her, Thanh had this to say:

> When my ninth-grade teacher backed me up when students attempted to bully me. By the way the teachers would handle the disruptive student or stand up for me, told me that I should never have been treated that way in elementary school. Dustin DeCarlo was a bully but my teachers would jump up immediately without my having to tell them and get the student back on task. They would move him to another side of the room which signified to me that this was a safe space and adults took me seriously.

These accounts reveal the distinct ways that teachers engage strategies to stand up for students: (1) faculty, often of Asian descent, intentionally taking time to mentor students of Asian descent, (2) use of intersecting racialized and gendered engagement strategies to intervene and support students experiencing hostile racialized situations in which they are bullied, and (3) giving students a safe space to eat lunch or play and interact with their peers. All of these strategies are as essential for student success as is knowing how to engage diverse teaching strategies to effectively teach course curriculum (Landsman & Lewis, 2006). Indeed, these non-hostile, yet significant forms of racialized, ethnoracial cultural validation constitute significant and effective strategies of teacher engagement. Thanh and Baljit's reflections suggest that teachers can reduce the inequity that

reproduces itself in student schooling experiences by not waiting for students to acquire or activate capital on their own, but rather, by initiating engagement with all students—particularly those students chronically impacted by hostile racialized experiences.

Moreover, these strategies signal to Asian female students like Thanh, Sheena, and Baljit that gender as much as race matters to them in their interactive schooling and learning environments; their experience as Asian, female students matters. It signals that their experiences are valuable and that they are protected at the school and in the classroom space. Moreover, such ethnoracial cultural validation practices signal to Asian female students that they can acquire and activate strategies of engagement not only *on* their own (Lareau, 2011, 2015; Calarco, 2011, 2014, 2018), but perhaps even more importantly, *of* their own. They are encouraged to draw on their own unique cultural experiences in engaging with their teachers and fellow classmates, because they have valuable experiences that are worthy of investment (Yosso, 2016).

In Strictness and Playfulness: The Intersections of Race and Gender in Asian Male Student Experiences of Teacher Engagement

As illustrated in Asian female student reports given by Monica, Baljit, and Thanh, the schooling environments in which they experience hostile racialized interactions with their peers, from teacher enablement, or during teacher engagement, all too often emerge as nuanced versions of the cultural pressures and behaviors centering the model minority stereotype (Fong, 2008). Asian faculty who are present use engagement strategies, incorporating mentorship sourced to a recognizable tradition of pan-ethnic educational encouragement, advocacy, and inclusion dating back decades. Asian females ranging from lower-income to middle class are direct and unequivocal in their descriptions of the types of ethnoracial, culturally validating teacher engagement practices that must be in place before they engage student-teacher relationship building processes.

Accounts given by Asian males of diverse class orientations did not reveal intense, insidiously racialized schooling situations operating on an impediment continuum up to and including bullying. Instead, their accounts focused on the diverse, culturally validating ethnoracial teacher engagement strategies teachers initiated during classroom participation activities, or in receiving one-on-one investment from their teachers. Nevertheless, their reports demonstrate an impact on their agency development and subsequent student-teacher relationship-building strategies that was equal to that experienced by their Asian female student counterparts of diverse class-orientations. Benjamin Hung, a lower-income Asian male student, shared that seeing his teacher's investment in his shared cultural experiences and her intentional engagement with Benjamin's parents—the first intimate shapers of his cultural identity—signaled to him that she was an authority figure that he could trust. As a result, she became a teacher with whom he felt confident that he could engage. Benjamin recounted:

> In sixth grade, I had a teacher, Mrs. Gonzalez. I had a hard time um…being on task on like reading assignments. I'm not sure why I didn't want to read so much but to this day I'm more of a listener than a reader. And we would have to take reading assignments that were assessments. And I wouldn't do most of those assignments so she would reach out to my parents and talk about why I wasn't doing so good. She was very memorable and had a positive impact on me because she would push her students and I was one of the students she would push. She had a very warm personality and she was the kind of teacher you could talk to. And we did some world history stuff where she wanted us to talk about our identities…talk about where our parents come from…our food and culture and stuff. I really appreciated it because it made me feel seen.

Echoing Benjamin Hung's point, Bobby Chao, a lower-income Asian male, gave a similar account of a teacher's racialized strategies of engagement:

> One of my favorite teachers was my fourth-grade teacher, Mr. Pryor—he stood out to me because he was White and he had a Filipino wife and was familiar with Filipino culture. He would always try to speak with me in Tagalog and talk with me about our [Filipino] foods. He was a pretty chill guy [who] would tease students. He was strict but at the same time he did it in a way that wasn't disrespectful and without looking down on us. He was a pretty funny guy. He cracked jokes. I remember the whole class at least have a good chuckle. When other teachers would come visit our classroom he would tease them too. When it came to teaching, he was still a teacher first. He would make sure the class kept up with him. Even when kids were shy, he would call on them but not in a demanding way and encourage them to speak up.

Taken together, both accounts illustrate the diverse racialized practices that constitute strategies of ethnoracial cultural validation both engaged by their teachers and experienced by Asian male students like Benjamin and Bobby. Beyond being strict but funny and bantering with students and other teachers in front of students, the racialization strategies of Bobby's teacher included engaging (and thus underscoring the meanings and values of) distinct cultural practices, such as attempting to speak Tagalog with Bobby in class, as well as bringing to class and/or discussing Filipino foods. These are racially ascriptive processes that underscore the cultural significance for Bobby of what it means to be Filipino. These racialized strategies exemplify how effective teacher engagement can be when ethnoracial cultural validation is the central strategy.

Richard Huynh, a lower-income Asian male, recalled his experience of learning to play new sports games and engaging the typical characteristic of competitiveness that accompanies such games. He noted, in particular, the cultural nuance embedded in the engagement strategies of his teacher, Mr. Binjo, who was also an Asian male:

> In fifth grade, I had this cool ass teacher named Mr. Binjo. And I remember, I think. I think the thing, the reason why, like so many people vibed with him, especially like my class in general is because he…like really opened his personality, he was like really open and progressive in terms of like the things that he would try. He would like bring his electric guitar and teach us. And like one of the biggest things also is like he would let us learn different sports. And so he gave us a good amount of like I guess PE time. And he gave us like that competitive environment. But um so he taught us like how to play different sports and I always really enjoyed like him going out of his way to like teach us but his personality in general, was like so like you felt like very like welcomed. And he was like his door was always open for you to go and talk to him like if you need some help or like just want someone to talk about like news or current events or whatever. So, at the end of the year, every year. He invites the whole class of students to have his students to have like a party at his home. And for me, I was always really nervous about making mistakes but he taught me it was okay to make em.

Similar to Bobby Chao, Richard Huynh describes racialized teacher engagement, but his account goes even further in establishing that one of the ways that Asian students experience ethnoracial cultural validation is through intersectional experiences of teacher engagement. Richard's intersectional experience of teacher engagement can be seen in how the reciprocating entities of (1) racialized cultural predispositions of parent-child relations (often within the Asian ethnoracial family dynamic) (Fong, 2008; Chou & Feagin, 2015) and (2) the familiar, familial gendered expression and embodiment of aggression and competition from Asian male authority figures, construct one another, culminating as strategies responsible for Richard's experience of ethnoracial cultural validation during teacher engagement. Moreover, Richard was able to see how strictness—or filial piety, which often characterizes a dimension of intense commitment to family duties and obligations as well as adherence to parental opinions, beliefs, and authority expected of

Asian children in the parent-child relationships in many Asian cultures (Chou & Feagin, 2008; Fong, 2008)—could also be met with the gendered expression of humor in the classroom from a male authority figure—his teacher, who was also an Asian man. For Richard, a racialized and gendered cultural nuance of ethnoracial cultural validation came when he learned in interactive classroom context, that with playfulness and playtime came an openness to making mistakes.

On the one hand, strictness from an authority figure who was also of Asian descent was a familiar cultural marker, perhaps even a foundational cultural element of Richard's childhood experience. On the other hand, his teacher's playful method of student engagement constituted a more nuanced type of ethnoracial cultural validation strategy. This facilitated the development of Richard's agency by signaling that alongside cultural pressure, he could also be open and relaxed, which gave him the confidence to make mistakes while engaging with his classmates and building a successful student-teacher relationship. Taken together with the cultural understandings both unique to, and consistently ascribed to, Asian ethnoracial experiences, racialization processes both singular and intersected with gender, can be identified in the distinctly, culturally affirming, and validating impact on Asian male student identities, behaviors, and lived experiences as reflected in their accounts of how they experienced strategies of teacher engagement.

Summary Validation Strategies: The Impact of Teacher Engagement Strategies on Asian Student Intersectional Student Identity, Learning, and Schooling Experiences

Community college student pre-college experiences suggest that teacher engagement strategies have been an enduring, silent partner in student relationship-building processes. Why are teacher engagement strategies important? Simple: Teachers are authority figures. Specifically, at the elementary and middle school levels of primary and secondary education, lower-income Asian female students like Edith, middle-class students like Addie and Sheena, along with lower-income Asian male students Benjamin, Bobby, and Richard, gave descriptive experiences of

teacher engagement; these students establish that teacher engagement subsequently facilitated their relationship-building strategies in earlier time periods than those reflected in existing scholarship (Jack, 2016).

These community college student accounts challenge conventional student capital acquisition scholarship. Their K-12 reflections illustrate not only that teacher validation strategies are integral to student relationship-building, but that during their formative years, they learned to activate relationship-building strategies that are significantly more diverse than those captured in existing scholarship. This understanding is critical because (1) Addie's intersecting racialized and gendered description of the kinds of mentorship she received from her teacher, Mr. Chen, (2) the advocacy and advice that came through to Sheena in her vice principal's intersectional racialized and gendered strategies, (3) both the racialized and gendered emotional support and encouragement that Bobby received through ethnoracial validated teacher engagement, and (4) the intersectional gendered and racialized engagement Richard received from Mr. Binjo, have not been fully identified as diverse teacher engagement strategies, let alone as racialized, intersectional teacher validation processes essential for student agency development.

I found that when teachers made ethnoracial validation an integral component of their engagement strategies with Asian students, those students then demonstrated both comfort and confidence in building student-teacher relationships. Moreover, Asian students' comfort and confidence to engage strategies to build relationships with teachers was dependent on the types of ethnoracial validation they experienced through their teachers' racialized and intersectional engagement strategies. For Asian females, ethnoracial cultural validation came in the form of learning in racially and ethnic diverse schooling environments; in particular, intersectional teacher engagement came from both looking like and being racially and ethnically similar to their teachers

and classmates, while simultaneously experiencing gender validation. And student reports established that the one-on-one engagement and investment they experienced often came from teachers who were Asian.

For Asian males, intersectional teacher engagement—ethnoracial cultural validation intersected with gender validation—came in the form of engagement with teachers who were sometimes Asian and male teachers with similar cultural personality characteristics that prioritized fun as much as strictness. It also came in the form of teacher attempts to learn and share cultural experiences, and in welcoming students' parents at the school in general, and in their classroom learning experiences in particular. Moreover, these pre-college experiences reveal that the singular or intersecting racialized and gendered relationship-building strategies deployed by teachers are pivotal for student engagement. Students' own development and deployment of effective engagement strategies is contingent on the intersecting racialized, gendered, and class-oriented validation strategies that teachers engage in vulnerable, nuanced, trust-building interactions with students. Additionally, in recalling the gendered engagement strategies that their teachers and coaches engaged to build student-teacher relationships with them, many of the male students in this study reflected on their participation in the extra-curricular activity of playing school sports. Many female students recalled instances where their teachers' employment of gender engagement strategies helped them overcome shyness and gave them confidence to be assertive and, in some cases, aggressive. The gender normativity reflected in both the *gender ideologies*[2] *and gender binary*[3] that "boys play sports/girls are shy" will not serve all student needs for student investment

[2] Gender ideologies are widely shared beliefs about how men and women should be (Wade & Ferree, 2015, p. 23).

[3] Gender binary refers to the idea that there are only two types of people—male bodied people who are masculine and female-bodied people who are feminine (Wade & Ferree, 2015, p. 11).

and student engagement. Moreover, student engagement accounts given (later in this study) by students like Gina, Julio, and Marshawn clearly defy both these ideologies and binaries.

Chapter 6: Latinx Students: Gendered and Racialized Ways of Locating Community in Teacher Engagement

Like Asians, people who culturally identify as and comprise the Latinx community also constitute an ethnoracial group. Also like their Asian counterparts in the 1960s, diverse communities within the Latinx community forged distinct forms of advocacy and activism, engaging in their own culturally unique demonstrations. Two important demonstrations were the Chicano Blow-Outs, and the East LA Walkouts—protests primarily led by high-school-age Latinx students and younger. Protesting what they defined as unjust schooling conditions, these students demonstrated against (1) their high schools' intentional and racialized tracking of Latinx students, (2) its hostile classroom learning environments, and (3) the underrepresentation of Latinx teachers (Flores, 2017). However, the Latinx community's fight for civil rights in the US began as early as the 1920s (Fong, 2008; Flores-González, 2017).

In fact, the community's establishment of social, political, and legal organizations such as LULAC (League of United Latin American Citizens), MAPA (Mexican American Political Association), MAYO (Mexican American Youth Association), PASO (Political Association of Spanish-Speaking Organizations), UFW (United Farm Workers), MALDEF (Mexican American Legal Defense Education Fund) and many others, demonstrates considerable heterogeneity throughout the Latinx diaspora, accounting for dozens of country origins rooted in family origin-stories that reflect Latinx ancestry and geography (Flores-González, 2017). These organizations also reflect nearly a century of struggle and achievement, and simultaneously, an enduring legacy and commitment to civil rights. For all members, especially its younger generations, educational access, equality, and equity remain central commitments. This is illustrated by the activism and legal means taken to end government-sanctioned segregation and all other forms of public school and higher education discrimination.

MALDEF, one of the Latinx community's most successful civil rights organizations, is credited with achieving many victories in the fight against various forms of school discrimination responsible for crippling educational pursuits and social mobility in the Latinx community (Alvarez-Smith, 2008). Established in 1967 by attorneys Gregory Luna and Pete Tijerina, MALDEF engaged in litigation, filing some of the most significant cases to reform educational access and fair treatment for Latinx students and families over a 25-year period. The organization took aim at issues like desegregating schools in states such as Texas, Colorado, and California. It also successfully brought a number of cases before the US Supreme Court, such as *Pyler v. Doe* (1982), in which the court ruled that it was unconstitutional for school districts to deny a free public education to undocumented immigrant children; *Edgewood v. Kirby* (1991), in which the court ruled that the distribution of money for schools throughout the state of Texas needed to be more equitable; and *LULAC v. Richards* (1991), in which the court ruled the system of financing higher education in Texas was unconstitutional (Schaefer, 2008). But despite MALDEF achieving other landmark victories addressing biased testing, inequities in school financing, and the failure to promote bilingualism for Latinx students and families, the passage of newer state laws has ensured that the Latinx community has continued to endure setbacks.

Driven by the English-Only movements of the late 1980s and 1990s, states began to pass newer laws such as California's Proposition 227—the English for the Children Initiative. This culminated in the re-institutionalized, racial project of resegregating Latino children in schools mainly because of residential and language issues. In fact, teachers who violated Proposition 227 by speaking Spanish to children to alleviate classroom learning issues in school were targeted and disciplined in various ways (Flores, 2017). This sent a message to the Latinx community that the days of fighting for Latinx children—regardless of level of English proficiency—to have equal

access to enroll in schools (as was the case in *Mendez et. al. v. Westminster* 1947) (Ruiz, 2004; Brilliant, 2010; Strum, 2010) were far from over. Resistance to Latinx student and family educational equity was once again a mainstay, reproducing the same decades-long racialized challenges that activists had ardently confronted in the past and, in some cases, successfully litigated already (Alvarez-Smith, 2008; Fong, 2008; Flores, 2017;).

The Latinx community thus has a distinct history of advocacy and legal battles to both meet the challenges confronting it and to ensure educational equity at all levels of the US educational system. What continues to go underexamined, underexplored, and undertheorized in conventional student-engagement scholarship, however, are the ongoing legacies of these historic challenges and how they continue to manifest today. Contemporary challenges include: (1) Latinx student classroom language rights and access to co-ethnic teachers, (2) the impact of Latinx parents' economic and/or alternative means and access to schooling institutions on their coaching and advocacy to support the learning needs and schooling conditions of their children, and (3) the reproduction of nativist school cultural contexts and the continued use of hostile racialized teacher engagement strategies. All of these issues impact the ways that Latinx students experience teacher engagement, the development of their agency, and subsequently their engagement of processes to build student-peer and student-teacher relationships (Carter, 2005; Flores, 2017; Flores-González, 2017).

"Family-Style" Learning—In Public or in Private?: Latinx Male Experiences of Teacher Engagement

> To me, going from a private Catholic school with like 20 students in every class to going to like a public school of hundreds of students was such a culture shock. My public school was even more diverse in the sense that, like I had one African American teacher and one White one. And then also like another big point is like different religions, as well too…like not everybody is Catholic here in this high school space. You know going to a school that was fundamentally Catholic and now I'm in high school where there's different beliefs and different practices and different interactions in general. And you go to a school where everyone's really close, to a school where everyone is not close. It was really hard for me.
>
> —Ricardo Villegas, lower-income Latinx male

One of the most significant patterns to emerge from the Asian ethnoracial student accounts in the previous section is also featured in Latinx ethnoracial students' accounts: throughout their schooling and learning experiences, but most specific to the often intimate processes in which students experience teacher engagement, validation of students' ethnic identity is an integral part of the development of both their academic identity and the agency with which they demonstrate their capacity to engage with their teachers (Carter, 2005; Flores-González, 2017). This is because student cultural and academic identities are inextricably linked, with their cultural identity much more firmly rooted. Students come to school with cultural identities having been more solidly developed throughout their homelife experiences, and over a significantly longer period of time than the academic identities that they develop once they begin their formal schooling and learning processes (Carter, 2005; Fong, 2008; Bettie, 2014; Flores, 2017; Flores-González, 2017).

When considering race and gender alongside class, student success pathways of building student-teacher relationships in student pre-college experiences become less conventional and more distinct than the pathways of success for students at elite, and large public higher education institutions that remain the focus of existing higher education scholarship (Kim & Sax, 2009; Stuber, 2009; Jack, 2016; Thiele, 2016). In fact, Latinx student reports suggest that while race may

be the primary modality through which they experience teacher engagement, the roots from which they come to experience it are deeply intersectional. At public schools, hostile racialized teacher engagement impairs student agency and subsequently impacts their student-teacher relationship-building processes; while at Catholic schools, positively impactful racialized teacher engagement supports or enhances students' relationship-building processes.

Within the Latinx community, the intersection of race and class can first be seen in one commonality: middle-class Latinx families' decision to enroll their children in Catholic schools during their K–12 schooling years (Garcia, 1991; Flores, 2017). Middle-class Latinx students who have middle-class capital, attend Catholic schools, and report experiencing supportive and culturally validating teacher engagement. Ricardo, a middle-class Latinx male, described attending Catholic schools where the majority of his teachers were Latinx:

> I felt that my teachers could have been friends in my neighborhood. I didn't associate with a lot of White people in my neighborhood growing up. Speaking Spanish, food, religious values were similar but she [my teacher] was different. Her personality ultimately.

Ricardo's account reveals the cumulative effect of the processes of racialization that shaped his experiences of effective teacher engagement while attending Catholic school. There remains the question, though, of what intersecting entities, if any, impact the emerging processes of racialization that Ricardo and other Latinx students experience during teacher engagement.

The intersectional entities of race (racialized ideas, values, and beliefs in the Latinx community ascribed to its predominant religion of Catholicism) and class (the efforts and means of accessibility that ascribe to both class position and access to others within the same community of class membership) combine to shape middle-class Latinx parents' decisions to enroll their children in private Catholic schooling contexts. This positions them to experience the racialized types of positively impactful ethnoracial cultural validation strategies described in Ricardo's

account. The intersecting entities responsible for Latinx student experiences of teacher engagement are distinct, however, from the intersectional entities of race and class that shape middle-class Latinx parents' school choices. As in Morris's (2012) intersectional study of gender and geographical location, Latinx students like Ricardo and Hector reported the intersection of two reciprocally constructing entities: (1) race—the enduring historical legacy of racism and ongoing racialized active resistance ascribed both corporeally and culturally to the Latinx community, and (2) geographical location—namely, public schools—particularly following the passage of Proposition 227 in 1998 (specifically, Proposition 227 enabled public schools to reverse their role in fighting for Latinx student educational access, equity, and language rights). Consequently, the US Supreme court ruling in *Pyler v. Doe,* which protected K-12 enrollment for students of all backgrounds, regardless of immigration status, became one of their few remaining legal supports and protections in the US public school system. Still, the centuries old, blatant, and more intensified racism and faulty construction of the Latinx community that targeted Latinx children in prior decades began to take full aim at Latinx children's schooling and learning needs upon entering the new millennium. In K-12 public educational institutions, the learning needs and schooling conditions distinct to Latinx children were treated as non-deserving of supportive investment, which buttressed the distinct types of racialized teacher engagement that Latinx students received during teacher engagement (Flores, 2017).

Ricardo's account makes the point that, at the private Catholic school that he and other Latinx students attended, there was a sense of belonging to the family-oriented community of teachers and authority figures at the school (Hurtado, 1997; Yosso, 2016). Flores (2017) further explains that Latina cultural pedagogies consist of cultural elements such as communication codes, immigrant narratives, and alternative mathematical problem-solving. These environments and

types of teacher engagement both validate Latinx student experiences and insulate them from hostile racialized teacher engagement experiences.

Conversely, the accounts given by Gabriel and other lower-income Latinx students attending public schools contrasted starkly with those attending private Catholic schools. Specifically, lower-income Latinx students were often subject to instances of classroom participation activities during which they endured hostile racialized teacher engagement. Such activities are pivotal to students' agency development and their subsequent engagement of student-teacher relationship-building processes. Gabriel, a lower-income Latinx male, articulated:

> I think that there was definitely a conditioned shyness that had already been in place just based on my lack of confidence in language development. And I think that's still fairly applicable. But a lot of that [shyness around speaking English] probably just came from like anxieties of speaking up. You know, if I'm pretty much conditioned my entire life that I can't be as eloquent as my fellow classmate, I'm not going to speak up, right? Especially if there's always that sense of like fear of saying a word poorly…and then being laughed at or being made to feel less than. So, as I think about it, I think some of my anxiety was heavily developed by experiences with classroom activities like Popcorn.[4] I fucking hated Popcorn! You know, "Popcorn, Gabriel. Read this paragraph!" And there was always going to be a word that you were going to mess up or not say right…And there was always going to be constant reinforcement that you know…like: "you're found out. You're not one of us." And it sucks right, because I know that you know, maybe kids would have laughed at anyone saying the wrong word, but I think, for me, it was like an extra level of where I was coming from. And I think that by middle school there was already like a like a sense of embarrassment from where I was coming from. I think there was definitely a sense of embarrassment by the time I got to middle school, so I would say yes, there was a lot of internalized shame and a lot of internalized anger for, where I was coming from [culturally] for not being part of the dominant and therefore not being part of what normal should be.

Gabriel's experience is a vivid illustration of how teacher engagement strategies void of any understanding of "Latinx-specific" strategies of ethnoracial cultural validation can lead to poor

[4] Popcorn is typically a classroom reading activity during which students are randomly called on to read a paragraph, a passage, or some section of a textbook, reader, or workbook.

academic identity development and subsequently poor student engagement for Latinx students. His experience also reveals the subtle and normative patterns by which teachers design and/or plan and implement classroom activities that prioritize English—as the preferred language in a monolinguistic classroom culture. This proved to be devastating for Latinx students who share the same experiences as Gabriel.

Due to the passage of Prop 227 in 1998, which repealed public school educational policy once shaped by the case of *Lau v. Nichols* in 1974 (where student access and language rights would be protected by the educational institution with knowledge subsequently appropriate and informative in classroom learning activities), younger generations of Latinx students like Gabriel were forced to endure classroom games and activities like Popcorn. Regardless of teacher intention, these games can reinforce long-standing negative, racialized stereotypes of the Latinx community. They reflect a failure to understand the challenges that many students experience in gaining access to the English language, and how speaking the language of one's cultural heritage impacts students' self-concept. Whether teachers realize it or not, such activities exacerbate stereotypes and misunderstandings of the Latinx community and visit them on Latinx students in the most vulnerable of interactive student learning contexts. The experience of being a Latinx student is to be rendered invisible through activities that routinely, monolingually privilege English as the language of access and belonging in student and teacher classroom interactional contexts, while also implying that its inaccessibility is justification for socially excluding them from class participation, and ultimately from belonging (Hurtado, 1997; Fong, 2008; Flores, 2017; Flores-González, 2017).

These activities may seem harmless because they are often classroom exercises that take no more than five to ten minutes of class time. But for students like Gabriel, these exercises are

deeply impactful. In ways that are particularly racialized, they negatively ascribe to Latinx student cultural identities, socially paralyzing them and/or stunting their student agency, and subsequently compromising their student-teacher relationship-building processes. This is because they instill and facilitate harsh, long-lasting, unfair judgments and criticisms against Latinx students, which Latinx students themselves wrongly, but routinely and effectively internalize as having low academic abilities because of their identities as Latinx students. As Gabriel's account demonstrates, these experiences can impact Latinx students' modes of learning and authentic expression, and subsequently impair their development of the student agency essential to build student-teacher relationships.

Hector, a middle-class Latinx male student, had similar experiences to both Gabriel, a lower-income Latinx male, and Ricardo, a lower-income Latinx male. His account reflected two equally significant realities—one where his Mexican identity was constantly disrespected and seen by his coaches and teammates as a qualifier of his not belonging, and another reality, where he was fully accepted and where he developed lifelong bonds with teammates and coaches that far exceeded those of student-teacher relationships. Hector shared:

> Let me explain it like this to give you some perspective: I played baseball for two years in high school. And growing up, I've always loved it, except for the fact that like high school year was like terrible…like, all my teammates…everyone was White except for me. I was the only Mexican and they were always doggin' on me…always tryin'na fuck with me basically. They were always calling me names different names and messin' with me, like….bein' racist assholes and none of them made me feel like I'm a part of the team at all. Like they all treated me like straight crap and I hated it and I'd walk home in rain from practice and they're all givin' each other rides and all that. And coach would be like, "Oh, kids are kids or just drown it out." But um…my sister's boyfriend at the time said, "How 'bout you try wrestling?" And I was like, "I guess," and I thought it was gonna be the same and always gonna dog on you, but nah! I was so happy when I joined the team. Everyone was so frickin' nice…just so frickin' cool with each other. They were all about making you better and bettering each other. And they were all, "You want some chips, here, I got you. You want some help, let me help you out. I can stay after practice and help you out." And we all grew up from freshmen to senior high school

> wrestling with one another. And we just know each other's strengths…everyone's limits…we seen each other at each other's worst and best and that's just crazy how we grew with each other. That's why I say team…er… "a family" because even the coaches…same coaches for four years, they treated us like we were their own kids. If I didn't have a ride, they'd pick me up at four in the morning, take me to the tournament. If I didn't have any money to pay for the tournament, it's like, "We'll get you in, don't worry about it. We'll get you in." It was awesome.

Hector's account first details the hostile racialized environment he experienced as a member of his high school baseball team. His report not only illustrates how his teammates' use of racial epithets toward him made the environment hostile, it also illustrates processes of racial ascription to his Latinx cultural identity, through his teammates' routine, overt inclusion of one another by giving each other rides home from practice, while simultaneously excluding him by not offering him rides, forcing him to walk home from practice alone in the rain. Hector's teammates' hostile racialized practices were further intensified by the routine non-intervention and "excuse-exempting" practices of the team's ultimate authority figure, the coach. As Hector affirmed, these hostile racialized conditions failed to foster any bonds between he and his teammates, nor did they provide an opportunity for him to experience any kind of effective, meaningful teacher engagement that would, in turn, facilitate the student agency needed to build a student-teacher relationship with his coach.

Later in Hector's account, however, he describes positively impactful racialized teacher engagement with his coach and teammates that he experiences as "familial." His description establishes that alongside the family-oriented engagement that he recognized and experienced, equally important were the processes of gender engagement and validation that he experienced. Building on the concept of gender validation engagement that I introduced in the previous chapter, I coin the term "masculine-oriented engagement" to refer to a set of teacher engagement strategies that are routinely gendered in masculine-oriented engagement. Supportive and nurturing practices

of validation are deployed by teachers and coaches who often serve as male role models and father figures in interactions with young male students and team players. Those students and players, in turn, learn these practices and employ them to support one another as teammates or in other interactive schooling contexts. Hector's account describes the masculine-oriented engagement between he and his coach, and between he and his teammates. Sports as an institution remains gendered as masculine and continues to be one of the few social spheres where male emotional vulnerability and support is validated by other men through team-bonding practices (Galinsky et al., 2013). For Hector, an institutional sense of belonging (Hurtado, 1997) and acceptance came about through his experience on his wrestling team, which was itself mediated by gender and enacted through masculine engagement strategies.

In another instance, Julio, a lower-income Latinx male, explained that both his principal and his science teacher made impactful efforts to validate his Latinx ethnoracial identity by not just asking where he was from, but also taking the time to learn from him. Julio related that their efforts came at a pivotal time in his schooling:

> My closest relation that I had was with my teacher, Mr. Jones. He was my science teacher. Well, he knew where I was coming from [had just come to the US from Mexico]. And I would stay after class and I would talk to him and I'd explain where I'm from. And he'd be like, "Oh, wow. That is a big change coming here. How do you like it?" In Mexico, there was just Mexican people. And where I'm from, it was pretty close and pretty tight together because, well like I said, we knew each other. Most of our families grew up from Spaniard people that got there and they have grown up together. Here [in the US] the immigration…it's like from everywhere, so culture shock was big for me. I didn't know. I've never seen it. And so, when I got here, it was like, "What the fuck"? There are people from everywhere!! So, like, I feel like when I got there [at the middle school] he made me really comfortable….and also the principal, Mr. Bigsby at the time. He was really, he was like, "Oh yeah, dude, if you need anything just come to my office" …and I feel like those two people were like really comforting you could say. Because I didn't know anyone. So they were like the first few teachers that were really nice to me and they kind of asked me where I'm from and they were more engaged rather than the other classes. Also, I feel like Mr. Bigsby when I first got there, he was the principal. He would send to me his office when I got there and we'd just be talking for like an hour

> and you know just telling them where I'm from and he was telling me what he did growing up, same thing with Mr. Jones. We wouldn't even talk much about school, but what I came from and where I'm from and so it was more of a personal talk rather than school talk.

Similar to the learning environment that Ricardo experienced in Catholic school from kindergarten to Grade 8, and then found himself yearning for in high school, the accounts given by both Hector and Julio illustrate that the positive impactful racialized teacher engagement that Latinx students experience can also come with the engagement of teachers that are not co-ethnic (i.e., people of the same racial or ethnic background as oneself) (Flores, 2017). In fact, this was Julio's experience with his principal and science teacher. What's most consistently described in these students' teacher engagement experiences are the close-knit, family-style learning environments culturally recognizable and relevant to Latinx students (Yosso, 2016). Such environments expand Latinx students' agency and grows their confidence to build student-teacher relationships with their teachers in return. Hector was lucky enough to find at least a few teachers offering this kind of environment at his public middle school:

> So, choir…seventh- and eighth-grade choir class is like the reason I say middle school was fun because that class was so diverse with like students and the teacher herself. My choir teacher, Ms. Sanchez. She was frickin' amazing!! She was laid back. She didn't make big deals about nothing. She made us feel like a team. And she'd make us feel like we're all in this together. We'd go to events and competitions. The feeling you get when you're on a team…like in sports is the feeling you got in that class. I remember we all called ourselves a choir family. Growing up, I had always been like how me and my friends would put it, "I'm just a Mexican there," meaning that I'm the only Mexican. Normally, there's not many of us in my classes. In choir, there was so many different people in there, it was so cool. We had Native Americans. We had Mexicans. We had Whites. We had so many different people. It was just all like really cool. I was more comfortable because of the diversity, and confident because you have to get out there and sing in front of people. My choir teacher didn't play around with anyone treating each other differently. She was pretty chill. Everyone had such a big mutual respect for her. And [another teacher] Ms. Aguilera was White. I think she had a Mexican boyfriend or something but she spoke better Spanish than me! She came up to me and my friends one time and started speaking Spanish and I was like, "Oh, shit. She's dope!"

The accounts of both Hector and Gabriel describe having to endure public schooling conditions — whether in the classroom or through team sports—where negative racial and ethnic stereotypes insult and assail one's ethnoracial identity and lived experiences. This often positions them to look for different teacher engagement strategies before engaging processes to build student-teacher relationships on their own. Additionally, for Hector and Ricardo, opportunities to both engage relationship-building strategies through teacher investment or activate the strategies in collective, familial-type, or one-on-one situations, became available primarily through their participation in extra-curricular activities, such as being in choir or playing sports.

Extending "Family" and "Intentionally Gendered": Latinx Female Student Experiences of Teacher Engagement

Whereas Latinx male student accounts center the impact of race and public educational institution in their experiences of teacher engagement, Latinx female accounts of teacher engagement were more similar to those of Asian females. This alignment suggests that for both groups of female students, it was gender or, in other instances, the intersecting entities of race and gender that most shaped their experiences of teacher engagement, their agency development, and their subsequent engagement with processes to build a student-teacher relationship with their teachers. Like Latinx males, Latinx female student accounts similarly highlighted the significance of family-style teacher engagement strategies—though these strategies emerged as more nuanced, manifesting primarily through student defense, intermediation of student conflicts, and student advocacy. Cynthia, a lower-income Latinx student, described an example of student defense and advocacy:

> My after-school teacher, Mrs. Rivas, was the first Latina woman that I can name. She really has impacted my life. I had her in third grade. Every time she saw us, it was not as her students but us as her children. She had these activities where she'd have us write stories and she said that whoever had the best story, she would buy them lunch. I won and she bought me lunch. She was the first teacher to ever believe in me. It was meaningful to me because she was a Latina. She could connect to us on how hard it was to learn a language. She was able to help us comprehend more and explain our words. She'd leave me in charge of everyone when she'd run to the restroom. She was only gone for three minutes but she actually trusted me. She was the first teacher to actually trust me. She even said that I would be a good teacher. I remember I was accused of something and she knew how I was as a person and she stood up for me. She spoke to the principal and said, "I put my word on her. I do not believe she did what you are accusing her of doing." And when I was crying because I was really mad of being accused, she told me that everything was going to be okay and that all the teachers were supporting me. And she was right.

Cynthia's recollection of the teacher engagement she received from Mrs. Rivas expands the context of familial-institutional sense of belonging previously described in accounts given by

Latinx males. Her account not only illustrates ethnoracial cultural validation aligned with the racially ascribed, family-style learning environment distinctly reflected in Latinx student learning experiences, but significantly, she also extends the familial element in a nuanced way, making sure to include the significance of teacher advocacy and defense of students. Scholars such as Flores (2017) explain that in "family-oriented" schooling environments described by Latinx students, co-ethnic teachers (Latinx teachers who share the same ethnic background as their students within the Latinx diaspora) in general, and Latina teachers in particular, become cultural guardians and engage distinct cultural pedagogies relative to Latinx student lived experiences. While guarding and validating cultural expression of Latinx students is a central tenet of what it means to be a Latina teacher, the construction of *la familia* in the Latinx community also centers protection of its members. Thus, in the family-style teacher engagement reported by Latinx male and female students of diverse class orientations, teachers stand up and advocate for their students in the same ways that authority figures in the family (e.g., parents) fight for their children. Indeed, her student-teacher relationship with Mrs. Rivas was so significant that Cynthia intimated that she is still in contact with her teacher to this day.

Alongside Cynthia's recollection, Estella, a lower-income Latinx female student, provides an illustration of another nuance in family-style teacher-engagement. Specifically, Estella's account reveals how one teacher, Ms. Reebie, demonstrated care and concern by acting as an intermediary, helping Estella and a friend and classmate to work through a conflict, re-establish trust, and build a stronger friendship. Estella recounted:

> I got much more involved in FFA [Future Farmers of America] when I transferred to Roddington High School. In FFA, we did competitions and stuff and could earn money. It was two different experiences being in it [FFA] at Granthem High vs. being in it [FFA] at Roddington High. I just went through the motions at Granthem but then when I got to Roddington my junior year, I started off in an Ag [Agriculture] Flowers class. And then l found a couple of my friends from my

> former school were in the Ag program. And I noticed that all the brown kids were in Roddington Ag Flowers program. And there was like more opportunities to build more friendships. I was actually on the Poultry team at one point! I would go to my teacher, Ms. Reebie a lot if I had like a question about Ag. And even after if I had like a little personal question. There was this boy I liked in high school. Once, he came into the classroom and I kind of told her about him. I was like, "Oh, there's this boy. He's pretty cool." And then I guess she didn't really know his face. But then he came to the classroom to drop something off. And then after he left, she was like, "Oh, is that the boy? Why didn't you say anything to him? Why did you just ignore him"? And then she'd be like, "Are you going to the game with him? Are you guys going to go to prom?" And then there was this one circumstance where I made a really good friend and she lived a block away from me. Well, something happened and we weren't talking and Ms. Reebie got involved!! She made us sit down in a classroom next to each other. We got like super emotional, super embarrassed, and I was feeling all these things and she was like, "I need you guys to solve this right now because you guys are like the best of friends! What's going on here? You guys have to talk it [out]," and so we became friends again and Ms. Reebie was really cool for that.

At the same time that gender socialization remains a routine, core element and function within familial interactive processes, public and private educational institutions are non-familial, secondary institutions, with equally important, yet separate aims from those of the family. This means that the schooling and learning environments and strategies reported and described as familial in Latinx student accounts are options reflected in choices made by their teachers to engage them.

Additionally, alongside teachers' choice to employ family-oriented engagement strategies, choices to take on gendered, familial roles within these same schooling and learning institutional contexts are choices made by teachers. Latinx female student accounts illustrate that teachers' choices to intentionally employ gender engagement strategies are impactful and as significant as the choices that they make to engage family-oriented schooling and learning strategies. Because teachers choose to engage these strategies—whether as familial or gender intentional validation—in the educational sphere of secondary institutions, we can qualify them separately as the entities of family and of gender in ways that the family sphere—as a primary institution would be difficult

to justify. Estella's account clearly illustrates how the entities of gender and family constitute intersectional origins of teacher engagement experiences as reported by Latinx female students. Rather than engage the normative school policy in place to help students settle disputes with one another, Ms. Reebie employed a family-oriented, engagement strategy for Estella and her friend by taking on the role of intermediary to help settle their conflict. Her friendly banter with Estella about the young man for whom she displayed a romantic affection effected similar nurturing work in the process of gender engagement. As a result of Ms. Reebie's intentional use of these gendered strategies, Estella's experience of teacher engagement was positive, expanding her agency and ability to both resolve and strengthen her student-peer relationship alongside her student teacher-relationship. For Estella, Ms. Reebie had become an intimately trusted maternal figure to Estella and her classmates in the FFA program.

Other students like Alma, a lower-income Latinx female, were drawn into the classroom learning experience not through family-oriented teacher engagement, but by teachers who engaged in conversational interactions with the class. Alma recalls that her teacher Mr. Dexter drew her into both the academic space and a secure student-teacher relationship—each of which reinforced the other. She shared:

> It got interesting in middle school because I got to see these glimpses of these teachers who were able to create their own environments in their classrooms. And teachers seemed to really be enjoying themselves. Two male teachers who were very engaging—one was a history teacher and the other was a math teacher. In Mr. Dexter's history class, it was the first time I witnessed an adult who had a passion for what he was teaching. He would get really excited when people would ask questions. He would also connect what we were learning to the outside world. I never had someone explain it to me that way. He connected the content to the world outside the classroom and to his own point of view. He would say, "This is what I experienced and you guys might experience that." This expanded my world. My world was very wrapped up in the current trauma, but now I could see that there was a larger world out there where there was a larger world. I got the understanding that there's other experiences out there…not just the trauma that I was experiencing. It was interesting to see an adult who could teach because they were

> not absolutely buried by their own hangups and trauma. He was one of the first teachers that I actually talked to after class or before class. He had a good way that if I let anything slip, he got me to engage. I was dealing with such heavy depression and anxiety—I was in robot mode—but just having those conversations with him, it grounded me into being present in the moment. Because, outside of that, I experienced pretty heavy disassociation. It was a safe space and a warm environment. I remember a girl having a personal problem maybe…getting her period, and he handled it in such a delicate way. He made sure the class was distracted and he went and helped her and I knew then that it was a safe space.

Accompanying the socially learned attitudes, behaviors, and expression that demonstrate the processes of gender in ascription, engagement and performance between men and women, Alma's account illustrates the ways that gender impacted her experience of teacher engagement with Mr. Dexter. Moreover, gender can be seen in the difference of social positions and psychological relations between Alma and her teacher while interacting (Martin, 2004; Acker, 2005; Risman, 2013). For Alma, Mr. Dexter was more than her teacher. His passion for the subject matter served as a medium for their interaction. So also did his gendered sensitivity, which she witnessed, when he delicately responded to another young woman in the classroom. This enabled Alma, a young woman experiencing hardship, to build trust with a male authority figure. Each time she engaged with Mr. Dexter after class, she sought intentional gendered validation through their student-teacher relationship. The student agency she developed as a result of this enabled her to begin navigating her depression, lifting herself beyond it long enough to attempt to connect with the course material.

In addition to describing her burgeoning student-teacher relationship with Mr. Dexter, however, Alma related other interactions that made her want to disengage altogether from both a teacher and the course they were teaching. She recounted:

> I was at the peak of my depression and anxiety and conflicts with my mom. I had a Spanish teacher named Mrs. Boats who took it personally as a lack of trying. She'd show her frustration when I asked for an accommodation. She treated the White

> girls very nice. It was very nice, however, I sensed a barrier between us…that she was unexplainably hostile toward me. I remember a specific instance where I asked her for an accommodation. And she said, "I can't keep making exceptions for you." She had proof that something was physically wrong, but she always made me feel like I was a burden.

Alma's prior accounts reflected experiences of affirming teacher engagement with her principal, Mrs. Chornack, and experiences of gendered intentionally validating engagement with her history teacher, Mr. Dexter. However, this account critically illustrates how hostile racialized teacher engagement can result from the intersecting entities of race and gender. Student observations of patterned racialized and gendered differences in both teacher accordance and treatment of other students, while having their own integrity challenged, is often a seminal marker of exclusion and othering in both marginalized and marginalized intersectional student populations' schooling experiences (Ferguzon, 2001; Lewis, 2003; Carter, 2005; Flores-González, 2017). Alma's interactions with her Spanish teacher regularly made her feel that the legitimate accommodations she requested to receive support for her depression and anxiety were not the problem per se—rather, it was Alma who was the real problem.

Accounts given by Latinx female students demonstrate that ethnoracial cultural validation engagement strategies established a familial-institutional sense of belonging, while gendered intentionally validating engagement strategies helped them to build student-teacher relationships with their teachers. As illustrated in the accounts of Cynthia and Alma, teacher engagement strategies that were initiated by a Latinx female teacher or in one-on-one teacher engagement with a student seemed to have a stronger impact on lower-income Latinx female students' agency to engage and build student-teacher relationships with their teachers than it did for middle-class Latinx female students, like Bianca. Still, affirming a teacher-engagement context of familial-institutional sense of belonging was effective for Latinx student engagement of all class

backgrounds, Bianca Castillo's recollection illustrates the type of teacher engagement strategies that aligned with lower-income and middle-class Latinx female students overall:

> I remember my eighth-grade history and English teacher as well. She was my neighbor and track coach. I knew her well. In eighth grade, I was more interested in how a teacher would teach. She was kind of like patient and never got upset. We were always doing something interactive.

Taking Bianca's point and considering the prior accounts given by Cynthia, Estella, and Alma, Latinx female students of diverse class-orientations activate capital or engage strategies to acquire capital from their relationships with teachers based on a "familial-institutional sense of belonging" and gendered intentional validating engagement strategies they experienced in the course of teacher engagement. Beyond Alma's description of Mr. Dexter's passion for the class content, the gender validation she experienced in her relationship with him was so infectious that she fought through depression and anxiety to become an engaged student. Although distinct from the teacher engagement strategies reported by lower-income Latinx male students, both sets of teacher engagement strategies come from the same familial institutional sense of belonging context that centers ethnoracial understandings and proclivities in a way that enhances Latinx female student agency critical for them to engage effective student-teacher relationship-building strategies.

Summary Validation Strategies: The Impact of Teacher Engagement Strategies on Latinx Student Intersectional Student Identity, Learning, and Schooling Experiences

Teachers interacting with lower-income students like Ricardo engaged strategies like intentionally choosing to speak his native language of Spanish and sharing in his cultural foods and religious values. These engagement strategies were forms of ethnoracial validation and encouragement. Middle-class Latinx students like Hector received both support and investment from his high school wrestling teammates, as well as intersecting familial and masculine-oriented, gendered strategies of engagement from his coach. Lower-income Latinx female students like Cynthia experienced a feeling of family connectedness when her teacher treated her like "one of

her kids," and advocated for her when she was accused of something that she did not do. And Estella, a lower-income Latinx female student, experienced intersecting engagement strategies of gender and family from her club advisor, Ms. Reebie. Ms. Reebie served as much more than a club advisor, however. As it pertains to gender, she was a maternal figure, and as it pertains to the social club, she created a familial atmosphere. Through intersecting strategies of gender and family engagement, Ms. Reebie was able to serve as an intermediary and build bonds between herself and Estella and the other club members. During their K–12 years, teachers mentored students by employing intersectional engagement strategies. They came in the form of heart-to-heart conversations, teacher advocacy, and team-building relationships with players and coaches. These strategies enhanced students' confidence and willingness to take risks and engage in class activities, raise their hand to answer questions in class, and ask for help when they didn't understand an assignment. Moreover, teachers' intersecting racialized and gendered engagement strategies shaped Latinx students' experiences by facilitating the agency development critical for them to become independent thinkers through open dialogue and close frequent contact with teachers.

Lower-income and middle-class Latinx males traveled a similar pathway as lower-income Latinx females, experiencing both gendered and family-oriented teacher engagement strategies at times, and intersectional entities of race and the educational sphere in others. These strategies were variably effective in building student-teacher relationships. Lower-income Latinx males who had to attend public schools tended to endure harsher forms of direct cultural rejection as hostile racialized engagement and marginalization from teachers and peers than lower-income Latinx female students. And those K–12 experiences often endured for longer at public schools than at private schools, or until students were able to find schooling environments where the teachers

engaged strategies that centered a Latinx familial institutional sense of belonging that fostered student agency.

These Latinx student K-12 accounts establish that the cultural and institutional contexts within which community college students learned to build student-teacher relationships are markedly different from the precollege experiences reported by students at the elite universities in previous studies (Jack, 2016; Thiele, 2016). Moreover, the cultural processes highlighted in existing research fail to account for the cultural processes that facilitate effective student-teacher relationship-building processes for community college students of intersecting social locations. Community college students' earlier and wider K–12 schooling experiences reveal that teacher engagement strategies are not only integral to student acquisition and activation of the cultural capital essential for them to build effective student-peer and student-teacher relationships later in higher education, but that teachers' singular and intersecting racialized and gendered engagement strategies constitute alternative cultural processes. These student validation strategies, in turn, facilitate the development of corresponding diverse student intersectional engagement strategies that are equally effective in building student-teacher relationships.

Chapter 7: Duplicity in Whiteness: The Impact of Racial Buffering and Filtering in White Student Experiences of Teacher Engagement

To understand the invisible, yet real impact of race on both class and gender in the schooling experiences of White students, one must understand the character of whiteness. Throughout society, whiteness routinely functions as an invisible, chronically active racial construct that culturally normalizes, institutionally standardizes, routinely advantages, and situates Whites, their behaviors, and their values, in the highest position of power and status, within a hierarchical system of race relations (McIntosh, 1988; Zuberi & Bonilla-Sila, 2006; Delgado & Stefanic, 2017). To put it another way, regardless of White students' own awareness of their race and how it functions in student-teacher interactive spaces, whiteness structures White student interactions with their classmates and teachers. By buffering, filtering, and neutralizing White racialized experiences, whiteness as a construct and a structure is often as covert in its impact as it is significant in shaping White students' interactive experiences.

In this study, none of the White students identified with, or directly stated or implied membership to any racial or ethnic grouping when discussing their successes and challenges in their schooling experiences; nor did they recall any experience where the presence or absence of a White teacher in their schooling experiences or being the only White student in classroom situations impacted the teacher engagement strategies they received or deployed in interactions with teachers or their classmates. Ironically, this suggests that White students' schooling experiences are as shaped by race (whiteness in particular), alongside class and gender, as those of their Asian and Latinx counterparts (McIntosh, 1988; Wise, 2011; Delgado & Stefanic, 2017; Roediger, 2017). The White student accounts in this study reveal how class-orientation and gender—as both separate and intersecting entities—impact their experiences of teacher

engagement, their development of student agency, and subsequently their student-peer and student-teacher relationship-building experiences.

Class Diversity and Gender Intentionality in White Female Student Experiences of Teacher Engagement

Recalling an elementary school experience, Mary, a lower-income White female student shared:

> In fifth grade, I had Mr. Park. I remember at that time that I was more connected to their [my teachers'] personalities and their teaching styles than what we did. He [Mr. Park] was very involved with all of his activities. He started a before-school math league. I participated in the math league on Monday [and] Wednesday. He was very wanting to help kids and he's still a teacher at that school to this day. I had moved and didn't know anyone initially, but it impacted my student-teacher relationships because I was able to feel more comfortable with teachers and classmates knowing that my mom and three brothers went there. My grandma was also a teacher there for 28–30 years and all of my teachers knew my grandma, which had an impact on me. The teachers placed me more with friends and helped with my transitions. My friends had had my grandma as a teacher and so we all became close. She started off as a librarian there and went to teaching first grade when the school opened. Teachers trusted me with grading for a lot of my teachers. All of her friends were teachers there and knew her. So I felt like my extended family was there.

Echoing a similar, uniquely shared pattern of positionality, Daisy, a middle-class White female student, remembered:

> I was at Edwin Molten Middle School for seventh and eighth grade. Instead of having tracks, we had teams. Each team had their own set of teachers. I was in the all honors strand of the All Aggies team at Edwin Molten. My mom was my science teacher and my vice principal.

In contrast to the prior accounts given by Asian and Latinx students of lower-income or middle-class backgrounds, these accounts given by Daisy, a White middle-class female, and Mary, a lower-income White female, illustrate a form of racialized experience materialized as an advanced relationship to power. This form of racialized experience was uniquely present and more common in White student schooling and student-teacher relationship-building experiences, and uniquely

absent in the schooling and student-teacher relationship-building experiences of non-White students, both within and outside of this study (McIntosh, 1988; Lewis, 2003; Lewis-McCoy, 2014; Delgado & Stefancic, 2017).

Daisy also described her relationship with another teacher:

> My ASB [Associated Student Body] teacher, Mr. Banister, was very welcoming. I came into the class and I'm usually kind of quiet in school and he did not let that happen. Haha. He was like, "It's Homecoming week. I need you to go do these things with these people…you know, make t-shirts and help with costumes and stuff.' I mean, he had me making posters with lots of people, had me dress up and go to a rally and be part of it. He also had me in costumes and gave me a bunch of t-shirts. He was very inclusive of me. I was able to make a lot of friends very fast. He lets students be open and free. He pushes for a lot of students to lead the organization since it is student leadership.

This isn't to say that being White always buffered Daisy or any other White student from having a terrible learning experience with a teacher. Indeed, Daisy recalled one such experience:

> Students felt like I wasn't a true theatre student since I was on the sports team. Everyone was super angsty and LA and Hollywood for just Elk Grove. My teacher played favorites and made them the leads in all their shows. I broke my arm and my teacher was upset because I had called my dad to pick me up. She'd bring me up in front of the class and yell at me in front of other students because I'd challenge her not giving all students the opportunity to have the best parts in the play.

Similar to Latinx and Asian student experiences, this experience left Daisy feeling unwelcomed by her classmates and she was singled out and disrespected by her theatre teacher, making the environment non-conducive to building a student-teacher relationship. Moreover, Daisy's account also illustrates that not only did her race not advantage her here, but neither did being middle-class. Her experience most easily aligned with that of Shannon, a lower-income White female student who shared this account:

> Fifth-grade teacher—Mrs. Firsten was in her late fifties and she enjoyed being a teacher. That's what made it crazy. But unfortunately, her class got every bad students with…and I mean like…behavioral, ADHD, ADD, dyslexia and other learning disabilities that made it hard for us to do the class work and stuff. Plus,

> some of us were being abused at home, have drama with our parents, or we have older siblings that aren't taking care of us…we're all poor…and this lady would throw pen caps at us if we weren't paying attention. She'd straight out yell at us and then make us sit in silence for like ten minutes. She suspended me because I wrote a letter to the counselor in Healthy Start because of how the teacher was treating me. She would say, "It's not that hard" and slam her hand on the whiteboard. She was cruel and was so short with everyone. She made us feel stupid. And she tried to have control in an aggressive way…in a fear-mongering way and it just didn't work for us because we already had that at home.

Shannon's account describes how her fifth-grade teacher's hostility, physical bullying, intimidation and humiliation of, and retaliation against students impacted her learning experience. In the conditions Shannon described, the thought of any student engaging with a teacher to build a student-teacher relationship is futile. The accounts given by middle-class students like Daisy did not specifically reflect an awareness of the covert roles of class and race on the one hand, while organizing and impacting student-teacher relationship building on the other. In contrast, the prior account given by Shannon, a lower-income female student, and one given by Sharon, a lower-income female student, not only reflect an awareness of their class status early in their schooling experiences, but an understanding of its impact in such profound ways that, had they been given the choice when interacting with their teachers and peers, they would rather have chosen to be invisible rather than seen. As Sharon explained:

> I think that my elementary school experience led to a lot of like adversity, which led to like some trauma response that I have now. So, I went to John Davidson Elementary and it's like in the middle of a brand new development. All my friends had big nice houses and it's still…I actually ended up working there for a while and it's still like that. However, I lived out on the delta in a trailer park with my grandma and grandpa. So I was…different in elementary school. I didn't have…I never wanted anybody to come to my house…um… you know? My friends all had like nice cars and I was…different. Elementary school was not a good time.

In concert with Sharon's account, which clearly demonstrates an awareness of her class background, Shannon's recollection of what it was like for her at such a pivotal time as a student in Ms. Rogers' class impresses the kind of one-on-one, student-centered, teacher-initiated,

investment and engagement that both challenged her class-oriented, perceived limitations of her academic ability, and was instrumental in elevating her sense of student-agency overall. Shannon recounted:

> I had an awesome teacher in third grade and [her] name was Ms. Rogers. She was from New York and she had an accent. I struggled a lot and she helped me with my writing. There was a lot of outside factors with my families that made it easy to attach to her. I was eight or nine. My lunch checks would bounce and the lunch ladies would get in trouble for sneaking me food. My first friend was a prostitute by the time she was 13. I did not want to bring anyone to my home. In 2008, we lost our home. My mom and my siblings and I moved in with my grandma. My dad was on drugs and my grandma hates him and he was not allowed to come to our house. When my grandma kicked me out, we all left. We lived out of hotels for five months and with my parents' credit was shot, we found someone who would help us get into an apartment. My dad left out of the blue. She [Ms. Rogers] was able to show me the attention. She would talk to me like a person and not just scold me. She was a really popular teacher. She looked different from everyone. She had olive skin, she would wave at you and say hello, she was thin. She was emotional and she cried when she was really proud of us. Her class was top rated. Her classroom was really colorful. It wasn't necessarily artsy but she was good teaching us a little bit of math. She was animated. Her call and response would be really fun. We had a bean bag that was like a hot potato and we would read and pass the bean bag to the next person. She didn't make it seem like we were remedial kids. She held a Thanksgiving potluck and everyone was able to bring a dish. We dressed up and everything.

Similar to Shannon, but from the standpoint of gender, Blake, a lower-income White female student, recalled having been the beneficiary of her PE teacher's investment of time and attention, which elevated her confidence and self-concept as a young woman athlete competing alongside young male athletes. She made history as the first or one of the first women to become a kicker for the men's high school football team. She remembered fondly:

> Well, in eighth grade, I was kind of the favorite student of my PE teacher because I'm a die hard for sports. So, whenever we had PE, I was always the first to volunteer and always the best. I was talking to him about wanting to tryout as a kicker for the men's football team when I transferred to high school. But I was like, "I don't know…they're boys and I'm a girl." And he was like: "Blake you got a great swing. If you don't go out there, I'm gonna force you to go out there"! My PE teacher was super encouraging. He was the reason I ended up trying out for the men's football team. I ended up making it and it was one of the best experiences I

> could have ever had as an athlete. But also, I felt lost when my parents were going through divorce but they really pushed. My PE teacher was very fair. He took a lot of times to make sure that teams were fair. So he was very aware of that in making everyone feel good when they went to PE and participate.

Blake's account highlights the impactful engagement strategy of gender validation, but also distinguishes between its normative form and the more intentional form (as intentional validated gender engagement) employed by her coach. In her conversation with her coach, the impact of gender can be seen in the reasons she perceived as limiting her abilities in relation to the young men on the football team. This was a pivotal moment for Blake; she had confided her sense of gendered uncertainty to her coach—someone she saw as filling the paternal role of father figure during an already vulnerable time of family hardship. Blake's success in making the team and her experience as a teammate validated her coach's belief in her and expanded her belief in herself. Her experience of gender intentionally validated engagement came from both her coach's pattern of gender fairness, and from him intentionally encouraging her to go to practice, tryout, and to give her best performance alongside the young men on the team, despite what she perceived as her gendered limitation.

Emilia, a lower-income White female student, similarly described experiencing gender intentionally validated engagement from a paternal figurer. She recalled:

> Mr. Lewis was my Gov/Econ [government and economics] teacher senior year. Compared to any teacher I've ever had, he was the most outspoken person. "I'm just gonna say how I feel." He was always crackin' jokes. He was like, "If they fire me, I'm just gonna go play golf." He was always so funny. He would use people's names in class to give an example. Banter, we said stuff back playfully. He didn't care about seating assignments. He [would] say stuff like, "Emilia I can't deal with you, I need Ash [Ashley] to come sit over here. That is why Ash is my favorite." He was snarky and sarcastic. It was not an easy A. He gave us some serious work, lots of time, was not laid back. It was one of the top two classes in my senior year that I worked hard in. Mr. Lewis ending up being a job reference for me. He gave us his number—same thing with Mr. Tobin. He checks in on me to make sure everything is cool. He taught my bf [boyfriend] too, so he [Mr. Tobin] reaches out

> and says “How’s your bf?” I talk with Mr. Tobin the most. He just had a baby so we talk about how she’s doing.

Emilia’s account stands in contrast with those of Daisy and Mary, both of whom described how family members’ previous positions of authority at their school shaped their experiences. In line with existing scholarship (Calarco, 2011, 2014, 2018; Lareau, 2011, 2015; Jack, 2016;), Daisy and Mary’s accounts reveal how White lower-income and White middle-class female students’ engagement of student-teacher relationship-building processes was facilitated in each case by their family member(s)’s positions of power within the schooling institutions they attended. However, for White female students like Emilia and Blake, who come from families with no direct power relationship to the schooling institution they attend, gendered engagement initiated by teachers has proven to be the major difference between lower-income and middle-class student success in building student-teacher relationships.

Normative or Intentional?: The Impact of Masculine Gender Validation in White Male Student Experiences of Teacher Engagement

> My experiences building relationships with the student body were much worse than my experiences building relationships with my teachers. I don't really fit into a lot of really good groups because I'm not really adept with socializing. Again…I have ADHD [Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder] plus RSD [Rejection Sensitive Dysphoria] and the RSD makes it so that you are constantly questioning how people are thinking, perceiving or dealing with you. Sometimes you overblow it…and it's all completely fictional. Plus, I was like really bullied a lot beginning in middle school, all the way up until about the middle of high school, so I was pretty much, just like the typical kid who sits alone that reads a book but gets picked on by everybody. Even though I'm bigger than all of them. While all that stuff was going on, I would usually try and get the social connection that I wasn't having with my peers from my teachers. I remember that my sixth-grade teachers…several of them, I really tried to get close to. I would basically be…not like the teacher's pet, but I would try to help out and like do more. Like, every morning I would help the librarian bring all the chairs off the desks from the previous night when the janitors had vacuumed. I'd do that each morning until school starts. I'd just do that to help out the librarian. I liked being in the library and I liked the librarian.

Here, Kevin, a middle-class White male, shared his experience of being a student with ADHD and subsequently bullied, harassed, and humiliated by peers, and further impaired by poor teacher engagement from untrained teachers and other schooling professionals. Travis, a lower-income White male, described a similar experience:

> What caused all of my silence through high school was that I have autism and ADHD. A lot of the time I was independent. This made me seem weird to the class and the students. A lot of the time at recess, I would just be the one that is alone. I'd usually just walk around the perimeter of the school. In fifth grade I started playing soccer. No matter how many times I tried, I was never picked to be on the boys side. I was always playing on the girls side. The popular kids chose. I liked gardening, I liked soccer, which to boys was seen as a girl. I absolutely hated it. It constantly got me bullied. It only added to my depression and silence. By the time I got out of elementary school, I was jaded and cynical about everyone in the world…that no one is nice and no one knows any sympathy….and I wouldn't open up.

The opening accounts given by Kevin, a middle-class White male, and Travis, a lower-income White male, illustrate that while White female students of all class backgrounds say that family trauma centered in economic hardship, along with teacher hostility and bullying (possibly from

teacher ascriptions of the lower-income area of the city and school in which they taught) are what most often challenged their student engagement, White male students of all class backgrounds say that in addition to family trauma, challenges to their student engagement came in equally harmful, yet more subtle and insidiously negative forms of interactions with their teachers and other students. Consider the similarities between the bullying Kevin experienced from his classmates and that described by Reed, a lower-income White male. For Reed, school officials' misdiagnoses, if not misunderstandings of his ADHD impacted both his student agency and, subsequently, his student engagement:

> Teachers in third grade misread my ADHD and put me in RSP (Resource Specialist Program) classes.[5] I remember taking a prescription as a child. I don't remember what the prescription was. I think it was like them [RSP teachers] coming for me and then walking me from my homeroom to the RSP room…stuff like that. I think was probably what it was…it made me feel like I was stupid or that something was wrong with me…[Reed then pauses and asks interviewer] Like, did you ever in high school have the experience where…like you'd have to meet with like an advisor or anything like that? And you'd get like "the pass" handed to you and teachers would be like, "Reed, go to student services" or like, "Reed, go to the front office" or something like that, you know what I'm talking about?…. even if it's just like, "Oh, you left your lunch at home, your mom is bringing it for you." Still, like it was like that…a sense that I was in trouble or a sense that I had done something wrong.

Cory, a White lower-income male student, gave an account that echoed Reed's experience and demonstrated how poor engagement and investment from a prior teacher can be corrected by effective teacher engagement strategies purposely initiated by other teachers—in Cory's case, Mr. Ringler. Cory explained that Mr. Ringler was pivotal in changing the direction of his engagement, shifting him from a path of little to no expectation of teacher engagement and poor student agency and subsequent engagement, to a path where he was able to see his own learning potential, develop

[5] RSP is a program in which teachers specializing in learning improvement strategies work with students with diverse, frequently severe, learning comprehension challenges (Hecht 1990).

student agency, and fully reciprocate engagement with both his teacher and his classmates. As Cory put it:

> Mr. Ringler was my favorite teacher. I had him for fifth grade. He was a good guy. He was very understanding. Very soft in general with me and pretty on par with the way I was learning. He knew if I was having a bad day, so that kind of shaped things up with me. My handwriting wasn't always the best because I grew up with some prior medical issues. So he'd always give me extra time. The year before that, I had a teacher who would send me out to do drawing exercises. But Mr. Ringler stopped this from happening. He [Mr. Ringler] said that I needed to be in my homeroom full-time with my class. He also understood that I wasn't incapable of learning or that I did not have learning challenges. He understood that I just needed more time to practice my writing. This was when my family trauma was kicking in. I would start to disassociate. I would drift off to avoid the feelings associated with the trauma I was experiencing. At this time, there were times when my mom started drinking a lot more. Her drunk personality would come out. I remember her saying, "Oh, he's going to be out of the house"—as in, kicking me out—"by 18." She would often say, "I want him out by 18." My mom made me feel like I didn't belong in our household and to our family. A lot of very heated arguments within the house. He [Mr. Ringler] would come over to me and tap me on the shoulder and talk to me quietly and calmly, and he would pick up where he had left off in class. He was very good at checking on me and keeping me connected and staying up with the class. He also had a teacher assistant who would come and help me as well.

For students like Reed and Cory who struggled with confidence due to poor engagement and investment from prior teachers, teaching engagement strategies that tapped into something they enjoyed in order to focus them on difficult subject matter gave them the confidence to engage relationship building processes with his peers and his teacher. Cory explained:

> Mr. Ringler had a system of giving us responsibilities where we'd have class meetings to talk about our next game for Fun Friday or our next activity, and so we'd meet as class and I would be the class secretary where I would take notes and answer the phone—so my writing had to get better and get better fast And I'd be responsible for answering the phone.

In the same way that Kevin was able to develop a meaningful connection with the librarian by helping out in the school library, Cory found Mr. Ringler's system of assigning responsibilities to students to be an impactful teacher engagement strategy. In addition to the teacher engagement that Cory experienced, which, in return, had a pivotal impact on Cory's engagement with both his

teacher and the class overall, Michael, a lower-income White male, shared an experience similar to one described by Blake, a lower-income White female student, that illustrates how the gender validation engagement he experienced impacted him both as a fifth grader and into the present day:

> My fifth-grade teacher, Mr. Wingman, ended up being the teacher that I emulate today. Because I'm a guy he connects with me. He was a combination of very serious, very kind, and very clear with his instruction…even when I gave him some crap. By this time, I knew the school well, was a good athlete, had some friends, and I started being the class clown. The way he dealt with me was so kind…so patient. A memory that I have…I'm out there playing basketball with my friend and my friend throws it [the basketball] in my face, and so I almost got in a fight with him. I remember stopping myself and walking off the court. I saw Mr. Wingman and I walked over to him. And he said to me, "I saw what happened. You did the right thing." I also apologized to him about misbehaving in class the previous day and he said, "It's okay….it takes a real man to admit when he's wrong." He gave us opportunities to teach our peers. He would say, "I'm going to have you work with this student so you can teach them what you know." It was such a rewarding feeling to have that opportunity.

Like Cory, whose teacher's engagement helped him at a time when he was experiencing family trauma at home, Rick, another privileged-poor White male, experienced similar family troubles during the same grade level. Rick's account reveals paternalism or extended emotional familial support as another dimension of teacher engagement. Rick recounted:

> Mrs. Bowser was my fifth-grade teacher. She helped me connect with the material. She broke it down to an individual level with me. Fifth grade is US history. She helped us learn states and capitols. She had us sing songs for presidents, US capitols. She cared a lot and I needed that at the time. That was really important to me. In fifth grade, I started to become more aware of my home issues, so she would let me come over and play with her kids so I didn't have to be by myself until my mom got off work from teaching. My mom taught at that school and she was friends with Mrs. Bowser, so she [Mrs. Bowser] let me hang out in her classroom and play with her daughter after school until my mom got finished teaching.

And in another meaningful recollection of student-teacher engagement he experienced in high school, Rick described the same-gender, male mentorship he received in student-teacher engagement with his tenth-grade teacher, Mr. Danbry:

> Reflecting on my tenth-grade teacher, for him it was less about academic stuff, it was about building relationships with us. He was one of the teachers that would come hang out with us at lunch. He came to our sporting activities. I played basketball and football. Our group of friends had a special connection to him and he'd show up if one of us was gonna sit on the bench all game. It was meaningful because my dad didn't show up to my games, but he [Mr. Danbry] did. He was the type of guy to bring it up in class the next day.

Similarly, Joshua, a middle-class White male, recalled an impactful mentorship experience that characterized his student-teacher relationship with his science teacher, who was also his coach:

> My baseball coach was also my science teacher—Mr. Morgan. It was cool because my baseball coach was also my science teacher. He was one of those guys who was a good person. Treated people equally. He took time helping players play their position. He helped them anticipate different scenarios. He showed me to study hitters and pitch to them effectively…kind of like…identify the hitter's weak spot…You know like…did he [the hitter] like the ball always facing low and outside or down and in…things like that. So, I remember he was kind of one of the first coaches I had…and I had a lot of different coaches that were really great but…he was one of the first coaches that I had that took time to not just tell you what to do. He'd explain things and taught…both on the field and also in the classroom. So, that was a good experience to have somebody like that in my life both as a baseball coach but then also as a teacher because he taught in both elements, so that was good.

Gendered communications, emotion, and role performances featured repeatedly in these students' accounts of the relationship between players and their coaches, and illustrate interactive processes of masculine engagement. Rick and Joshua experienced these as strategies of validation; specifically, their accounts illustrate that these strategies not only met their emotional bonding needs as young men for paternal validation, but also expanded their student agency to subsequently build meaningful student-teacher and/or player-coach relationships.

Summary Validation Strategies: The Impact of Teacher Engagement Strategies on White Student Intersectional Student Identity, Learning, and Schooling Experiences

From the opening account given by Mary, a lower-income White female student, to the last account given by Joshua, a middle-class White male student, White students of all class backgrounds and both genders in this study joined Asian and Latinx ethnoracial student groups in describing the diverse challenges they faced, as well as diverse teacher engagement strategies that impacted their student agency and subsequently facilitated their relationship-building processes. Their experiences revealed that not only had they been impacted by effective teacher engagement, but for them, whiteness itself remained a concrete, ongoing process of covert racialization, uniquely positioning them to identify their gendered and class-oriented experiences without understanding the consequences of racialization that enabled them.

Not having to think about nor identify oneself as White is proof of the invisible, yet ever functioning impact of whiteness. It was this invisibility of whiteness that enabled White lower-income female students like Shannon and Sharon to view the shame and embarrassment of their financial hardships at home only from the standpoint of class. Though, to be sure, economic disadvantage and the dynamics that ascribe to this particular hardship substantively impact student agency and family trauma, neither Shannon nor Sharon claimed that their shame and embarrassment came from the historical, or contemporary knowledge, that to be White, compared to being non-White, has meant that one had stronger and more financial standing compared to those non-White.

Some might point out that Shannon and Sharon's ages, corresponding to their grade levels of third and fifth grade, respectively, might explain their silence regarding race—i.e., they were too young to understand such complexities. Yet, think back to the explanations and articulations offered by perceptive Latinx and Asian male and female students of varying class backgrounds

who, at the same ages and grade levels as Shannon and Sharon, experienced forms of racial hostility from teachers and classmates that forced them to develop some substantive accounting of the racial reasons of being made to feel different. Moreover, as college students recalling their experiences, non-White male and female ethnoracial student groups of varying class backgrounds understood, acknowledged, implied, and cited race and/or racialization as shaping significant parts of their treatment, while White male and female students of varying class backgrounds did not. Shannon, along with other students like her, neither implied nor said directly that the bullying and harassment she received from her teacher was a consequence of her teacher's racialized view of Shannon and her classmates as failures, not "racially" measuring up to what it meant to be White economically, and thus deserving little teacher investment and engagement.

What I term the "duplicity of whiteness" can be seen in the routinely experienced neutrality and/or seemingly non-racialized teacher validation reflected in White student accounts of teacher engagement. From the standpoint of whiteness as duplicity, White students' accounts illustrate that they have no need for the kind of racialized teacher engagement strategies affirmed as so necessary and consequential in the accounts given by their non-White ethnoracial student counterparts. This allows us to shift to the singular axes of gendered or class-oriented strategies of teacher engagement, which White student accounts establish as necessary for their agency development before they can engage the processes of building student-peer and student-teacher relationships of their own. Moreover, White student accounts illustrate how their student-teacher relationship-building was facilitated by teachers who took time out to nurture them one-on-one and affirm their values and belief in their students. There was Blake, a lower-income White female student, who detailed the effectiveness of her coach's strategy of gender engagement to boost her confidence to try out for a spot on the high school football team. Recall, also, Emilia, a lower-income White

female student, who shared her gender validated experience of teacher engagement with her economics teacher—who not only remained a mentor, but has also provided job references for her. These experiences of agency-centered teacher support and encouragement recurred consistently in the accounts given by middle-class White male students like Travis who, through building peer relationships in classrooms where teacher validation strategies created supportive student-peer environments, developed the agency to ask for help from peers, acquire new knowledge and skills for assignments—and the confidence to turn them in. Similarly, experiences of agency-centered teacher support were described by lower-income White male students—like Cory, who was invested in via teacher engagement strategies that gave him the added responsibility of being class secretary, and like both Rick and Joshua, whose teachers engaged gender validation strategies, and whose coaches served as paternal figures for them.

However, from the standpoint of whiteness as duplicity, the accounts given by White male and female ethnoracial students of varying class-orientations reveal that they did experience intersectional teacher engagement. Moreover, the intersections of race and gender in how White students experienced teacher engagement came in the forms of covert, seemingly race-neutral and/or non-racialized engagement that ascribed to White students, and gender intentional engagement for White females like Blake, alongside masculine validated gender engagement for White males like Rick and Joshua. The experiences of Rick, a lower-income White male, resonated more with those of Daisy, a White middle-class female student, and Mary, a lower-income White female student, as all three had power-relationships to authority figures within their respective schooling institutions, making it much easier for them to build student-teacher relationships in ways that none of the non-White students in this study could claim nor benefit from. And while most White students did not have the same level of power-relationship positions

as Mary or Daisy, two salient points nevertheless emerge: (1) White students were the only seemingly non-racialized, racialized student group within which any members had a power-relationship connected to authority figures within their schooling institution, and (2) from their vantage point, Whiteness shielded lower-income male students like Cory and Reed, and middle-class male students like Travis, from having to deal with the kinds of racial hostility from teachers reported by Asian and Latinx male and female students of varying class backgrounds. Regardless of covert or overt chronic processes of racialization taking place in White student learning and schooling experiences, White female and male students of all class orientations consistently cited gender as a primary modality of teacher engagement. In White student K-12 accounts, gender routinely intersected with racially neutral teacher engagement practices, impacting students' ability to develop the agency necessary to subsequently build the types of student-peer and student-teacher relationships established in higher education scholarship as essential for academic success later in higher education (Lareau, 2011; Jack, 2015, 2016; Thiele, 2016; Calarco, 2018).

Chapter 8: The Ultimate Litmus Test: Black Student Experiences of Teacher Engagement in the Most Hostile of Racialized Learning and Schooling Conditions

Similar to Asian and Latinx ethnoracial groups in the US, communities categorized as Black are quite diverse, characterized by societal experiences and contributions made by West-African descendant and other groups arriving centuries ago, and by the waves of newly arriving Black immigrants throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, particularly post-1965 (Clerge, 2019; Waters, 2021). Alongside the community of primarily West-African descendants, African-Americans, newer African immigrants from Ethiopia and Nigeria, and immigrants from Haiti, Guyana, Trinidad, Barbados, and Jamaica, comprise the Black diaspora in the US today (Clerge, 2019). Yet the complexity of Black immigration is distinct from the voluntary immigrant experiences of Asian and Latinx ethnoracial groups (Fong, 2008; Clerge, 2019; Waters, 2021). The complex, historically racialized reasons for West-African descendant Black involuntary immigration to the US continue to significantly impact the racialized experiences of today's Black students in US educational institutions (Zuberi, 2001; Ferguson, 2001; Watkins, 2001; Lewis, 2003; Carter, 2005; Rury, 2012; Lewis-McCoy, 2014).

The Trans-Atlantic Slave System was responsible for the earliest inception of West-African descendant enslavement and arrival to the US (Franklin, 1966; Pinkney, 1969; Jordan, 1974; Zuberi, 2001; Hine et al., 2004). First used to justify the enslavement of West-African descendant Blacks and the virulent form of chattel slavery that characterized their treatment during US enslavement, the ideology of white supremacy was advanced in the publications of scientific racists, and then touted and sponsored in the legal and moral sanctions of the era's leading politicians (Zuberi, 2001; Watkins, 2001; Rury, 2012). The ideology of White supremacy took different forms—as social practices and investments in institutional racism, discrimination and disenfranchisement, prejudice, whiteness, and White privilege (Franklin, 1966; Watkins, 2001;

Zuberi, 2001; Jensen, 2005; Bonilla-Silva, 2006). Moreover, both before the inception of the US as its own republic and to present day, White supremacy has permeated alongside and within society's developing institutions—particularly education—and continues to shape the societal experiences and interactive processes of schooling and learning for all ethnoracial groups. It does so in ways that are not only historically specific to the experiences of Blacks in the US, but also continually persistent in the learning and schooling experiences of Black students today (Hine et al., 2004; Rury, 2012; Degruy-Leary, 2017)

Education is particularly relevant to the progress, personhood, and self-regard of African-American and other immigrants within the Black diaspora in the US—even more so than for Latinx and Asian communities. Those latter communities certainly had to engage in ethnoracial group activism and self-advocacy in educational institutions, but both law and custom made it an actual crime for enslaved Black men and women to learn or teach others to read and write (Watkins, 2001; Hine et al., 2004; Rury, 2012;). Elaborating this point, Teresa Perry and Claude Steele explain:

> For Africans in America, literacy laws were enacted to keep them [enslaved Blacks] as a people from voting, from exercising their citizenship rights. There was a systematic denial and limiting of educational opportunity for African Americans because they were African Americans. In the African American community, the philosophy of education that developed was informed by the particular ways in which literacy and education were implicated in the oppression of African Americans. It informed the role that education and schooling would assume in resistance and the struggle for freedom from the time of slavery to the Civil Rights era. (2004, pp. 50–51).

Therefore, to be educated was to be human, to be a freed person, to be the opposite of a slave (Perry & Steele, 2004, p. 26). To demonstrate one's full humanity, to be free from enslavement, and for full inclusion into all aspects of social life, those categorized as Black along with their allies, engaged in a full-scale movement; a racial project that, at its core, took aim at and fought against society's historically racialized notions of White superiority (Franklin, 1966; Perry &

Steele, 2004; Rury, 2012; Omi & Winant, 2015). This fight took many forms. Some of the earliest activism by enslaved Blacks concerned the fight to become literate, and then later, the fight to gain educational access to and equitable treatment within the US education system (Franklin, 1966; Pinkney, 1969; Ferguson, 2001; Rury, 2012; Lewis-McCoy, 2014;).

Underscoring this movement is an uncontested truth: in the US, the first movement for educational access and equitable treatment in public educational institutions was started by those categorized as Black. It was started to fight against pseudoscientific theories of racialized inferiority, and its legacy endures to this day (Jordan, 1974; Watkins 2001; Zuberi 2001; Rury 2012). Moreover, this first movement is renewed at the inception of each marginalized ethnoracial group's fight against the distinctly racialized theories of human difference and/or ideas of racial inferiority confronting it, and on each of their respective paths of activism taken to gain access and fair treatment within US schooling institutions today (Watkins, 2001; Zuberi 2001; Carter, 2005; Fong, 2008; Rury, 2012; Lewis-McCoy, 2014; Flores 2017; Flores-González, 2017)

The US Supreme Court's *Brown v. Board of Education* decision to desegregate the US Education System came seven years after the US Court of Appeals ruled in favor of Latinx plaintiffs in the case of *Mendez v. Westminster* in 1947. The ruling in that case did not tackle race-based justification, but rather asserted that the district lacked state authorization to send children to separate schools in California. It remains the first significant case where a court ruled against legalized school segregation (Flores, 2017). *Brown v. Board of Education* was an even more landmark ruling and the first to tackle race-based justification for school segregation. When the court ruled that segregating students on the basis of race was unconstitutional, it struck down its own ruling upholding racial segregation decades earlier in the 1896 case of *Plessy v. Ferguson*. *Brown v. Board of Education* ended nearly 100 years of racialized, legally sanctioned, second-

class citizenship for Blacks and other non-White ethnoracial groups in the US, and signified that White supremacist ideas of racial inferiority could no longer serve as legal justifications to both separate and underserve Blacks and other non-White ethnoracial groups in any of society's educational institutions (Franklin, 1966; Pinkney, 1969; Hine et al., 2004).

The NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) was established before *Brown* and decades before CORE (Congress of Racial Equality), SNCC (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee), SCLC (Southern Christian Leadership Conference), and all other civil rights era organizations within the Black community. Its earliest battles took aim at diverse issues born out of the era of legalized segregation founded on the same historically racialized notions of White supremacy that both maintained Black enslavement and reinstituted it as an organizing principle of free Black life for nearly 100 years after slavery's end (Franklin, 1966; Pinkney, 1969; Hine et al., 2004). NAACP cases abolished grandfather clauses in the state constitutions of Maryland and Oklahoma—subsequently leading to its eventual abolishment throughout the nation. It also won other Supreme Court cases, such as *Buchannan v. Waterly* (1917), in which the court declared the Louisville ordinance of legalized residential segregation unconstitutional; and *Smith v. Allwright* (1944), in which the court ruled to repeal state laws and/or ordinances that excluded African Americans from participation in Democratic primaries (Franklin, 1966; Pinkney, 1969; Hine et al., 2004). By the time it took up the case of *Brown v. Board of Education* in Topeka, Kansas in 1954, the NAACP had become the organization most responsible for fighting legalized racial segregation and discrimination in public schools and all other institutions of public accommodation (Franklin, 1966; Hine et al., 2004).

Yet, the same ideas and practices that once blatantly favored racialized notions of White superiority persist in today's US educational institutions (Franklin, 1966; Ferguson, 2001; Carter,

2005; Omi & Winant, 2015). They persist in Black student experiences of diverse forms of hostile racialized teacher engagement—from teachers' racialized deficit-model thinking and discouragement and lack of pedagogical investment in Black student learning styles and achievement (Ogbu, 1985; Perry & Steele, 2004; Carter, 2005),[6] to schooling and learning experiences that require Black parents to both support their children when they experience hostile racialized teacher engagement, and to fill the void in their own relationships of unequal support between themselves as Black parents and the schooling institutions their children attend (Lewis, 2003; Lewis-McCoy, 2014). As a remedy to these hostile racialized experiences, Black students engage in Black teacher "seek-out" engagement strategies. In the same way that Asian females identify and assert the importance of having Asian teachers to build student-teacher relationships with, Black students intentionally look for Black teachers and coaches to learn from. They look for Black teachers and coaches to advocate for them in the same intentionally racialized supportive ways found in Black parental coaching strategies. Indeed, many Black student accounts illustrate that Black teachers often become parental figures in the process of supporting them. These hostile racialized schooling environments that result in intentionally racialized parental coaching strategies shape the interactive schooling processes in which Black ethnoracial student groups experience teacher engagement, develop student agency, and subsequently build student-peer and student-teacher relationships.

"Black Teacher Seek-out" Strategies: Underscoring the Agency of Black Male Student Engagement

Distinct from the accounts given by non-White student groups of varying class orientations, none of the accounts given by their male and female White student counterparts prioritized,

[6] Black students experience this as teacher racialized suspicion, surveillance, teacher attempts to humiliate and embarrass them, and default blaming practices directed at Black student behavior and cultural expression (Ferguson, 2001; Lewis, 2003).

centered, or contained racialized experiences of their own; nor did they cite or posit racialized understandings of their experiences of teacher engagement substantiated by their parents' prior racialized schooling experiences. However, the accounts given in this study by male and female Black ethnoracial student groups of varying class orientations establish that race is often the primary modality through which they experience class and gender in teacher engagement. Moreover, Black ethnoracial students' parents have racialized experiences of their own, which, alongside gendered and class-oriented experiences, uniquely inform how they prepare their children to have successful schooling experiences (Dow, 2016). This was the case for Ralph, a Black male lower-income student, who shared:

> In addressing the way my teachers were treating me, my parents didn't expect a "no sir, yes sir" [or obedient type of interaction], but just say anything to diffuse it. And then just go back to regular. "Just finish the period. Go to the next class. Finish school. Come home and you're fine. Your grades are good. You're not in trouble at home. You gotta deal with being a young black kid who's pretty smart"…stuff like that. Because they…I mean I've never not been smart enough to do any of the classes, it's just been an effort problem. So, once they realized that I was putting in effort, because they would get mad at stuff like that when they knew I came home and played video games until they got home. Like they knew I was not doing my homework so then they'd be like, "Ralph, this is true [in terms of teachers singling me out] but you're giving them ammunition." Once they realized that I stopped giving them ammunition, then they were like, "Yeah, you know…we understand what you're going through."

But even when Ralph "stopped giving them ammunition," teachers continued to rely on narrow, racialized assumptions about his academic abilities that not only disrespected his intelligence and efforts, but made it very difficult to have the kind of trust and student agency needed to engage processes to build meaningful student-teacher relationships with his teachers. With frustration, he recalled:

> I was in honor classes and stuff. I was always the kid that got all the questions right. I'm not sure if teachers got tired of me getting all the questions right, but they started watching me during tests and they would make me retake exams. In my math class, my teacher Ms. Banstrom—White woman—I remember I didn't do any

> homework for like a week. I don't know what I had goin' on, but I just wasn't doing it. So, my teacher was like, "I just want to know that if you weren't doing the homework, how did you know the answers"? And I was like, "It's not me not knowing how to do the homework. I just didn't want to do it." She [Ms. Banstrom] was like, "Oh, okay," and then she added, "Ralph I just want to make sure because you and your partner got the same score." And I knew that it wasn't the same score because I asked the person next to me. It was one of my friends and he was like, "Man, I got like a 83." So, that was her excuse. But then I retook it and got an A again. And she stopped and just kind of took the grade. But I know it was a lot of made-up story.

Ralph was a highly perceptive ten-year-old. He recalled another instance in which his fifth-grade coach assumed Ralph would have difficulty in math and conveyed that idea to parental figures in Ralph's life:

> I was a really good athlete as a kid and all the way into my sophomore year in high school. Then it kind've tailed down. It was just basically that I was the stereotype but I was actually really smart. They [teachers] just never really paid attention. Like I was always the last pick in like picking groups when we had to find groups for group projects. And no one wanted to work with me. Even though I had like straight A's…and B's. Or coaches…I remember our coach for fifth-grade basketball. He told me… he's like, "Man, make sure you stay on top of your grades. I know you're probably struggling with that." And I remember him saying that because I think my dad or uncle heard it and talked to me about it. But it would be stuff like that…so I'm the first pick at recess for kickball or basketball…like I'm first or second pick all the time, but like I felt like I was just supposed to be…the athlete. Does that make sense? The next year I ended up with all A's. And it was just so surprising to see not my teachers, but again, other teachers responding… because I would go to like the spelling bees. I would go to like the pizza parties for the kids who get good grades and stuff like that. They get to leave class and go get ice cream and stuff like that. And I had not ever got it before then. And it was cool for me to see, but it was also like, "Wait, Ralph. Go back to class. You're not supposed to be out of class [assuming I had mistakenly or mischievously gone to the pizza party]," you know what I mean?

Darren Gibson, another Black male lower-income student, described two schooling experiences in which administrators gave him a harsher set of penalties than the White male student with whom he had an altercation in fourth grade. He also described the distinctly racialized coaching he received from his parents as a result. As Darren recalled:

> So, we were playing basketball…you know, typical stuff [on the blacktop]. We do that all the time…and the way I play, you know…when I score or when I do a good move or something like that, I'm gon' talk with that's what I do. I'm gon' showboat, you know, get in yo head. And he [a White male student] couldn't take it. I was bringin' the heat and he…I guess, he…it [the n-word] slipped out of his mouth. And I was like, "Yo, hold up. Stop the game real quick. What did you say?" And it didn't even shock him or nothin.' Like he said it again…with no hesitation. So, I'm like, "Okay. So, you said that out of disrespect. It wasn't like a mess up. You said it out of disrespect." So, you know, I grabbed the ball and I threw it at him. And it hit him in his head and whatnot. And so…I got in trouble for that. And then we had went to the office and I told 'em what happened and he didn't get in as much trouble as I got in. He got some in-school detention time. It was like a..I don't know what they call it. And I got like suspended for two days. And I was just like wow. He just called me the n-word twice. Everyone saw it. Everyone heard it. But I guess because I threw a ball at him…. I mean, I'm not gonna lie. I chucked it at him as hard as I could. But still. He called me the n-word and that's disrespectful. Now, since we were younger, we were in the same room at the same time. So, [we were talked to together] and like he [the vice principal] talked to me a lot longer and had given me a more stern talking to, rather than the other guy. He [the vice principal] just told him [the White male student], those aren't words you're supposed to be using… especially towards, you know…me. But me, he told, "You know, everyone's gonna say some things that hurt your feelings. But you don't take it out of context. You don't hit somebody. You don't throw something at somebody." I got in trouble by my parents because I got suspended. And they were like, "We don't want no suspensions on your record." At the same time, they were like, "He said what?" And my parents were like… "It would look bad if we went up there goin' off in front of these white folks. So, next time, go tell someone."

As Darren's account makes clear, at the same time that his parents advocated for their son, they also recognized the need to engage in racialized parental coaching, similar to that offered to Ralph by his parents, Daren went on to recount:

> When my dad returned from his talk with the vice principal, he said to me, "Don't be messin' with them White folks out there because they lookin' for any reason to get you in trouble. If it was a worse scenario they would've gave you the greatest punishment—expulsion…if it had gone to that point. They would have given you the expulsion and then they would have given him [the White male student] a few days suspension and then he would have went back to school and you would have been stuck at home." So, they [referring to his parents] said, "Just stay out the way. Don't even play basketball no more." After that, I had to grab my own little court, and whoever decided to come over there, they played with me. But I didn't play with them [referring to his classmates] no more. I wasn't really over there as much. I didn't really associate myself with them. Everyone knew about [the] situation…all the teachers…so, whenever I was in a class with them [White students], it was like,

> "Okay, you go over there. And you go over there. And you two, don't go within three feet of each other." And they [the teachers] kind of gave me the "side-eye," you know, every time I walked around, to make sure "he's not the same place as the other dude 'cause we don't want any conflict."

Ralph and Darren's accounts illustrate that the challenges of building student-teacher relationships present very early and with great complexity for Black males. Their experiences of hostile racialized teacher engagement were complex because they occurred at a time of vulnerability, namely, in elementary school, just as Ralph and Darren were learning and engaging in interactive activities like sports with teachers, coaches, and fellow students. Adding more layers of difficulty were the double standards of officials at both schools when addressing hostile racialized issues that arose between students, and the unrealistic expectations imposed on Black male students by their parents when the latter stepped in as supportive advocates.

First, both Ralph and Darren had low expectations imposed on them by school officials. For Ralph, these low expectations manifested in one teacher's disbelief that Ralph could earn high grades in math, another teacher's disbelief that Ralph could be one of the students invited to the pizza party for strong academic performance, and the coach's assumption that Ralph would need help to pass his classes. Darren experienced hostile racialized engagement in the form of low expectations when a White student sought to assault and injure him verbally by calling him a nigger. The White student's expectations may have been low in that he didn't expect Darren to stand up for himself physically. The racialized hostility then escalated when the vice principal applied a double standard of punishment to the two boys. Compared to the student with whom he had the altercation, Darren's suspension was significantly longer and accompanied by a longer lecture from the vice principal, admonishing his conduct for the physical altercation. Racialized hostility intensified again with the vice principal's decision to view the White student's intentional

use of the n-word as less serious than Darren's decision to stand up for himself by physically responding to the student.

Second, when both Ralph and Darren's parents expressed concern for their sons' reputations and student records, they were also acknowledging the need to advocate for their children in a biased and racialized school system that they did not expect to be fair to them *as parents.* By coaching him to avoid interactions with that student and to find another basketball court with new friends who initiated playing with him, Darren's parents inadvertently added more complexity to the racialized situation. Though their advocacy was well-meaning and realistic, it did not challenge "head-on" the double standard of punishment Darren endured.

Third, Darren's parents' coaching to endure unfair racialized conditions in the short term in order to maintain a decent school record and remain at a good school in the long term seemingly failed to recognize the other friendships he had already built at school. Avoiding that one specific student required a form of self-segregation that might have compromised Darren's other friendships connected to both that student and to basketball play in general. Nonetheless, his parents' coaching strategies likely reflected an accurate reading of the racially biased schooling structure—one in which in-depth problem-solving practices that would allow Darren and his classmate to resolve their issues fairly were unlikely. These are the kinds of complex hostile racialized learning and schooling environments where students like Ralph and Darren are expected to build trust with school officials and build student-teacher relationships.

Darren described yet another incident of hostile, racialized engagement with a White student, this time while playing hockey:

> In fifth grade at Stone Grove Elementary, this White kid hit me. I was playin' hockey and he hit me with a hockey stick at recess. I grabbed the stick and hit him with it. Teacher grabbed us and took us to the office. He [the White student] admitted that he hit me, plus there was a witness. He [the White student who hit

> Darren] got a two-day suspension and an after-school check-in for three to four days. I got a week suspension and I got talked to for five minutes.

Darren's parents' response was consistent with the racialized parental coaching they offered after the previous incident, and aligned with the parental coaching of Ralph's parents. As Darren put it, "My mom just laughed and said it was self-defense and Dad was like, you don't need to be getting suspended."

In contrast to Darren and Ralph, Marshawn, another lower-income Black male student, related a number of traumatizing incidents when teachers' racialized engagement strategies encompassed routine disrespect, humiliation, and condescension—but in Marshawn's case, none of these incidents were accompanied by any forms of parental advocacy or racialized parental coaching strategies. Describing the first of many incidents, Marshawn explained:

> In fourth grade, Ms. Brownstone would chew me out in front of the class. It was a pattern of intentional humiliation. Anna, my classmate in Ms. McCloud's class, asked me, "Did your mom drop you on your head when you were a baby?," and the teacher said nothing to her! Another incident was with Ms. Marshall. During class I would write (during her reading sessions). I'd pick up ideas from her reading Harry Potter. It helped to form my style of writing. She'd look at what I wrote and then make comments that made me feel that what I wrote was BS [bullshit]. It was in her body language, facial expressions and tone.

Marshawn described a particularly upsetting incident the following year, when he was in fifth grade:

> I had an experience in fifth grade that stays with me today. I wasn't always attentive in class, but I would do my homework. I wasn't a bad kid. I just needed encouragement. On this particular day, Ms. Everwurst asked for my homework and I didn't have it. She reached in my backpack and started pulling papers out of my backpack, all rough in front of everyone. It was traumatizing. It shaped my experiences with White women. It played a role academically. It eviscerated all of my confidence in school, my confidence in terms of learning up until community college. She treated me in a way that did not lead to my evolution. I was definitely mistreated.

Asked why he didn't bring these incidents to the attention of his parents, Marshawn said that his parents' liminal position as Black immigrants to America informed his decision. He went on to explain:

> My parents were very authoritarian when it came to school. They expected me to follow directions and listen to teacher because it was good for you. The teacher is the authority. My parents did not dedicate much time to us because they had brought over so many people from Africa. I never brought it to the attention of my parents. Mom and pops were both preachers in the church and mom was working in the school district and dad was preaching full-time.

Marshawn's account diverges from those given by both Darren and Ralph because it illustrates that he did not receive racialized parental coaching that would help him navigate hostile racialized learning and schooling experiences.

Dwayne and Curtis, two lower-income Black male students, gave accounts of racialized teacher engagement that were as harmful to their student agency development and subsequent teacher-student relationship-building experiences as those previously described by both Ralph and Marshawn. Dwayne recalled a middle-school experience in which his teacher, a Black man, routinely engaged hostile racialized strategies characterized by condescension, suspicion, and interrogation. Whenever he saw Dwayne around campus, as well as during regular class sessions, the teacher, Mr. Cross, would intentionally try to isolate Dwayne from the rest of the class. Dwayne shared:

> Mr. Cross would see me on campus walking to the library [because I would go and work with the librarian] and he would ask me, "Where are you going?," which made me feel like something was wrong with me. "Mr. Simpson," I remember him saying, "You need to build relationships with students on your own level." That kind of hurt my feelings. He would always put me in the back of the class. I always felt like I was never good enough. In middle school, that's where my depression started. I was always tired and was never motivated to do anything. I felt like he always wanted to keep an eye on me.

Curtis's experience with racialized strategies of engagement, in contrast, came from a Black male teacher. Curtis recalled:

> My other teacher was Mr. Willis—[he] was Black and he irritated me so much because he was one of those Black men who had a White wife and favored the White students. He said literally that we Black students think that we need to have special treatment. But we didn't ask for anything. He catered to the little White girls. I was recognizing my sexuality at that age so maybe he didn't like [that]. As far as catering goes, he sat me in the corner and told me he didn't want to see the white of my eyes. The White kids laughed and it embarrassed me.

Similar to Marshawn's account, Curtis did not receive parental support in the form of racialized parental coaching. In order to relate how these types of racialized incidents went on to define much of his K–12 schooling experience, Marshawn went into greater detail as he articulated what it meant to be a young Black male in high school:

> When I was going to New Union High School, you felt outcasted or tokenized. Experienced jokes and comments. I was trying out for the football team, I was expected to be faster than guys on the field. The White kids would hang with the White kids. If you were too culturally Black, you didn't fit in. If you were Black but more culturally White, it was okay. I started a BSU—Black Student Union—junior year. My advisor was one of my friend's moms. She encouraged me to be a lot more cultured. She encouraged me to explore more parts of my cultural side. It didn't last for too long. We didn't have the proper infrastructure to keep it going. Anytime we'd go out and wait for the bus, we'd see the people of different ethnic racial backgrounds. I definitely feel that with White women, there was a lot of racism going on. My friend actually heard an administrator make racial comments about students.

Taken together with the accounts given by other Black males in this study, Marshawn's recollection demonstrates that regardless of their class orientation, Black males consistently experienced hostile racialized teacher engagement in their K–12 years. Indeed, Black male student experiences of hostile racialized engagement illustrate how historically racialized notions of Whiteness and White supremacy—once racially ascribed to differences rooted in biology (Zuberi, 2001)—have endured over time. This aligns with Ferguson's (2001) findings that contemporary teachers ascribe these same historically racialized ideas of White supremacy to cultural differences reflective of student ethnoracial identities. These ideas primarily target Black student and other

non-White ethnoracial student identities (Ferguson, 2001) during engagement with their peers and their teachers throughout the course of their learning and schooling experiences. As captured in the accounts given by Marshawn and other Black male students, teachers and administrators routinely (1) favor White students at the expense of Black students in classroom learning experiences, (2) engage in projective labeling—exclusively suspecting and surveilling Black male students in anticipation of future deviant behavior, (3) apply a double standard and over-penalize Black male students comparative to their White counterparts, and (4) tokenize or ostracize Black students in everyday schooling interactions. This often leads Black male students to experience ethnoracial cultural invalidation, devalue their own academic and educational value, and compromise their agency (Ferguson, 2001; Carter, 2005).

Black male student accounts illustrate how teachers, administrators, and classmates racially ascribe and assign lesser meanings—in the forms of lower regard, lower academic expectations and goals, and lower human value—to the linguistic expression, movement, dress, and stylized interactions of Black student ethnoracial cultural identities, relative to the ethnoracial cultural identities of their non-Black and other non-White counterparts (Carter, 2005). This assault on Black male students' cultural identity indelibly becomes an assault on their academic identity and their agency. And the trust-building bonds between students and their peers, as well as between students and their teachers, are then compromised, stunting the agency development needed for students to engage the processes to build effective student-teacher relationships. Ferguson (2001, p.20) posits:

> It is important that we understand human culture differently—not as a set of immutable characteristics that seem transmitted through genes but as a practical, active, creative response to specific social and historical conditions. As such, culture can be a significant mode of defense, of succor, of resistance and recuperation for those with few sources of power in society.

Ferguson's words resonate with my finding that Black students having to endure these hostile racialized experiences simultaneously learn, through their parents' supportive coaching and navigational strategies, about their parents' own experiences of hostile racialized treatment and little to no institutional support from the educational system (Lewis, 2003; Lewis-McCoy, 2014).

In response to the hostile conditions that they find themselves and their parents in, Black male students engage in a seminal, defensive practice that is often overlooked—namely, "Black teacher seek-out" strategies. Melvin Rodgers, a lower-income Black male, shared two instances of such strategies with Black male teachers: one with his history teacher, Mr. Johnson, and another with his football coach, Mr. Quinton. Recalling his experience with Mr. Johnson, Melvin confided:

> He actually wasn't even my teacher. He was that cool teacher on the campus. He took time to talk with us and he made learning fun. He made the class very interactive. He was just one of those guys you could tell he loved what he did [teaching]. He really took time with us. We played Uno and dominoes at lunch. He wasn't my teacher but I went into his class on lunch break. He'd put us up on game a lot. At the same time that I left my middle school, Betty Shores, he happened to transfer over to my high school, Minestone High. Having him there as a Black man, it felt like I had someone to advocate for me. With him, even when I was wrong or made bad decisions, he made me feel like he'd been where I've been. He made us [students] feel like we weren't alone. Even to this day, I stop by the school. I check in with him regularly, actually. And then he transferred over to the high school I went to. And in high school, I wasn't a bad guy but I could have applied myself more. He made me a mentor. We'd go over to Betty Shores and talk to students who were in the wrong crowd. He reminded me that I was a leader. He made me feel good because I never saw myself that way. He made me believe in myself, that people are watching you. A few months ago, I went in to check in about some stuff that was going on in his life. And he broke me down cryin' man. He cried with me. He let me know how much he cared for me and he told me that he felt like I was one of his own…that he was supporting me. It felt good to know that you got people in your corner.

In another instance, Melvin elaborated on the type of validating and nurturing teacher engagement strategies employed by his football coach. He described how these strategies expanded his agency and his ability to acquire and activate capital by building a student-teacher relationship with his coach. Melvin recounted:

> A lot of things that I'm gonna say that was impactful had to do with structure. They [coaches] were hard on us. They got slandered a lot by parents who thought they were too hard on us. They taught us a bunch of life lessons within the game of football and how to persevere. If you under a 2.0 [grade point average], you're off the team. If you missed practice, you're not playing next week's game. People would be like, "Y'all [coaches] are too hard on them…they're kids! They're kids"! But the coaches would be like, "They're not just kids, they're young men! The next stage is adulthood." They taught us punctuality, communication, be disciplined. At the time, we were like dang man it's tough. If practice got hard and we couldn't keep goin' they'd be like, "Keep going and work through this." Lessons had a way of sticking. It was deeper meanings to the things that they were doing and a lot of people didn't see it. They'd be like, "We're not saying if you miss practice you're off the team. But you need to let us know: 'Coach, I got a test to study for. Coach, I have SATs…'" It's accountability. It's communication. Be punctual. Be responsible. It jived with how I was raised…be accountable. The punishments that I received from my dads and coaches were unusual. It was stuff that made you think about your actions rather than just being disciplined in the moment.

Additionally, rather than being primarily regarded as someone whose cultural expression—vernacular, mannerisms, and styles of dress—were cause for hostile racialized teacher engagement and forms of suspicion or surveillance (Ferguson, 2001), students like Darren Gibson recalled a different experience during their middle school years:

> There was a lot of Black people there so they really understood me. Mr. Johnson was my Black history and geography teacher. We played Uno and dominoes. He was my favorite teacher who also coached me in eighth-grade basketball at James Rutter [the school]. Mr. Johnson understood me. He always stayed on me to get good grades. He talked back to me when I messed up. He let you know when you was wrong.

Ralph, Marshawn, and Dwayne's accounts of being singled out, embarrassed, and humiliated by teachers, and having to experience teachers' racialized suspicion and projected anticipation of future deviant behavior, are routine attacks that uniquely ascribe to the intersectional experience of being a Black male in society in general, and one that commonly ascribes to the intersectional experiences of being a Black and male student attending US schooling institutions in particular (Cohen, 2000; Ferguson, 2001; Lewis 2003; Carter, 2005).

The intersecting entities of race and gender simultaneously shape Black male student experiences of engagement with Black male coaches and teachers. Upon activating "Black teacher seek-out" defensive engagement strategies and finding Black male teachers and coaches to learn from, Black male students reported experiencing both ethnoracial cultural validation and gender validation. In institutional spaces—whether in the classroom learning environment where students like Melvin crashed another teacher's class to hangout, or in the culture-specific Black Student Union social clubs that students like Marshawn started at his high school, or in the sports learning environment of their school's sports teams as reflected on by both Darren and Melvin, Black male students sought out and found Black male teachers and/or coaches and experienced positively impactful teacher engagement in the form of ethnoracial cultural validation. Marshawn's high school experience of Black teacher engagement and investment in the form of advocacy, as well as Melvin's experience of accountability, moral leadership training, and mentorship from the coaches with whom he built paternal bonds illustrate the impact of ethnoracial cultural validation strategies employed by Black male teachers during the course of their engagement with Black male students of all class orientations. Black males came to see that their cultural identities, expression, and abilities were not only valid, but that they had a place at their institution (Carter, 2005). Their experience of Black teacher engagement instilled in them an institutional sense of belonging that enhanced their agency and subsequently culminated in their building of student-teacher relationships (Hurtado, 1997).

Accounts given by both lower-income and middle-class Black males establish that alongside the commonly investigated entity of class—its diverse orientation and hierarchy—higher education scholars must more regularly consider the entities of race and gender as processes of racialization and gendering in our examinations of both student and teacher engagement

strategies. Additionally, as we must also consider the hierarchies that correspond to each entity, we must consider how teachers of corresponding intersectional social locations, like Black male teachers and coaches, derive and employ impactful intersectional strategies of validation to engage students of equal or similarly intersecting social locations.

When we examine these strategies of engagement, we find that the rules of engagement—for both teacher and student engagement—are extremely complex. When teachers and school officials routinely ascribe negative gendered and racialized assumptions, understandings, stereotypes, values, and treatment to students of intersecting social locations, it compromises the trust in vulnerable situations that all students need to validate the student agency needed to build student-teacher relationships (Carter, 2005). These experiences have an indelible impact on Black male students' academic identity, confidence-building processes, sense of agency, and student engagement patterns with their teachers.

Black student accounts of teacher engagement illustrate that teachers' negative, racialized, and gendered ascriptions culminate in discriminatory behaviors toward middle-class and lower-income students with the same impact and potency reflected in the experiences of lower-income students (Carter, 2005), whether experienced as individual entities of racialized, or gendered, or class-oriented negative impacts, or intersectional impacts to student agency and subsequent student-teacher relationship development. Neither Lareau's (2011, 2012, 2015) conceptualizations of middle-class parents' concerted cultivation childrearing strategies, nor Calarco's (2018) conceptualizations of middle-class parental coaching strategies address or offer ways of overcoming the negative consequences that Black male students experience as teachers' hostile racialized engagement. And Lareau (2011) and Calarco's (2018) class oriented conceptualizations, assumptions, and explanations do not account for, validate, appreciate, or enable the development

of useful strategies to assist Black parents that routinely find themselves in situations where they have to employ intersecting racialized, gendered, and class-oriented coaching strategies in order to guide their children through hostile racialized discriminatory situations and engagement experiences with their teachers and their classmates. Moreover, the White, middle-class oriented cultural and institutional agency illustrated in White parent coaching strategies (2018) cannot overcome the intersecting racialized and gendered cultural and institutional hostilities that Black parents of all class orientations face, while coaching their children through the same hostile racialized conditions of student and teacher engagement that they experience in their learning and schooling conditions.

Teacher suspicion and surveillance was a universalizing experience of racialized hostility endured by both lower-income and middle-class Black male students. I found that, in response, Black male students activated defensive engagement strategies that I term "Black teacher seek-out" engagement strategies. These were effective defensive strategies employed by Black students in order to experience both gender validated engagement and validation of their ethnoracial cultural identities. By deploying such strategies, these students located a space within the institution where they not only belonged, but thrived. And once they experienced intersectional racialized and gendered engagement with Black male teachers and coaches, they developed the agency critical to engage student-teacher relationship-building strategies of their own.

Black Female Student Gendered Strategies of Racialized Teacher Engagement

Black male student accounts of varying class orientations illustrate that they activated "Black teacher seek-out" defensive engagement strategies in response to routine, diverse, hostile racialized student and teacher engagement experiences. Black females of varying class backgrounds also gave accounts describing bullying from their peers. Ashtry, a lower-income Black female, discussed how she was bullied for most of her primary schooling years:

> The bullying got so bad in middle school until I decided to do homeschooling from eighth to tenth grade. The bullying was worse because kids would say things about the smells from food I brought to school. Then, my body wasn't maturing as fast as the other girls my age, so the kids would say things like, "What's wrong with your body?" My academics were failing, so I just went homeschool. I did K–12 in a different form of online and virtual schooling. And there I did excellent because I started going to higher levels of learning.

Further, when she decided to come back to school during her high school years, she had a plan. She explained:

> I went back to regular school my junior and senior year because I felt like I'm at that point, I kind of just grew so I matured obviously. So, our high school, if you have heard about it, it's like very academic. It's also an art school. And they receive lots of money for their art programs and all that. So, to fit in means to stand out and I understood that it was a simple equation after my first week. So I signed up myself for almost every AP class. I got into photography, which is the easiest art class, but the most respected, and then I also signed up for the basketball club, not the team, but like the basketball club. That way I would also seem athletic…without actually being athletic. I was just lucky like I knew how to shoot hoops every once in a while. I was just lucky. I kind of just calculated how to fit in so I knew what teachers to like have, which was kind of manipulative. I do understand that now, but like it was just my mindset…to survive…not enjoy it at first. I thought I could be the fittest. "Just survive it. You can enjoy it like later on"…. that's how I thought about it.

Asthry had a name that lent itself to teasing. Therefore, alongside enrolling in particular classes and social clubs, she shortened her name so that she would no longer be teased or bullied. Additionally, Ashtry's account also details how the pace of her physical maturation made her a target of students' bullying. This aligns with Collins' (2004, p.194) explication that "Black girls

and women are frequently confronted with the [intersecting racialized and gendered] perception that they are less feminine. Because of this, the Girly Girl strategy is harder for Black women to pull off than the Tough Gal strategy" in [White racialized] schooling environments. Ashtry's experience as a self-identified African woman who emigrated to the United States also aligns with Collins' (2004) explanation that these intersecting racialized and gendered experiences of peer social perceptions are especially true if they [Black females] appear more "African." Ashtry's experience also aligns with the accounts of other non-White students—notably of both genders—in this study; specifically, Thanh's experience at an elementary school in North Sacramento, and Hector's experience on his high school baseball team. In both cases, Thanh and Hector, like Ashtry, did not receive the supportive engagement strategy of teacher intervention during the bullying.

Several components of Ashtry's account illustrate how whiteness—in the form of codified and historically racialized ideas of White superiority—continue to be inscribed in the everyday operations of educational institutions, where they impact K-12 student-peer and student-teacher relationship building experiences (McIntosh, 1988; Zuberi & Bonilla-Silva, 2006; Delgado & Stefanic, 2017). First, the racialized strategies Ashtry engaged in response to the bullying she experienced align with Carter's (2005 pp.84-85) study, which found that for Black females, "ethno-specific cultural behaviors embraced by youths intersected with their gender-specific cultural behaviors to create different educational, social, and economic experiences for males and females." One of the outcomes of this blending of gendered and ethnic/cultural expectations was the adoption of behaviors associated with "acting White" in order to appear "feminine" (Carter 2005, pp. 82–83).

Second, Ashtry describes understanding that, short of actually changing her physical features, she would have to find other ways to demonstrate whiteness in order to gain access to peer and teacher relationships at her school. By intentionally shortening her name, taking AP courses, and studying photography and signing up for the basketball club, Ashtry gained access to privileged, social and cultural relationships with her peers and teachers, and forestalled any bullying. Furthermore, through these actions, Ashtry managed her presentation as not only adhering to White racialized norms of cultural worthiness, but also as appropriately feminine. This illustrates the profundity of racialized ideas and their potent impact on intersectional experiences of social and cultural relationships. Ashtry's execution of racialized strategies in general and her demonstration of Whiteness in particular made possible her intersecting racialized and gendered experience of being seen favorably (Carter, 2005).

Third, Ashtry's experience makes clear that, regardless of the ethnoracial background of the students that bullied her, the same means by which racial ascription processes establish race to be about more than one's visual physical features, are also the means by which racially ascriptive processes make whiteness about much more than one's visual physical make up, and as applying to more than just those who look and/or ethnoracially self-identify as White (Omi & Winant, 2015). Whiteness routinely racializes skill, cultural values, and beliefs—expressed and performed, through body language, communication styles, and taste to those visually identified as White (Jensen, 2005; Bonilla-Silva, 2006; Omi & Winant, 2015).

Fourth, Ashtry's account is an illustration of these understandings, confirming a common reckoning often experienced by non-White ethnoracial student groups throughout the course of their K–12 learning and schooling tenure: not only is whiteness inextricably intertwined with class-oriented and gendered standards of student capital acquisition and activation (to the extent that

Ashtry became self-aware of the explicit means by which she needed to demonstrate it), but non-White ethnoracial student groups must first perform whiteness to the satisfaction and approval of those student groups (regardless of ethnoracial identity) that subscribe to it, before they can be seen as activating the capital requisite to be granted access to student-peer and teacher relationships to acquire more of it.

And similar to the reasons given by Marshawn (in the prior section) for not involving his parents, Ashtry justified not telling her parents about the hostile racialized engagement she was experiencing by pointing to her mom's perspective:

> She'd basically explain it to us like, going to school was our job.… that's all we really had to do right now. And, you know…if you mess it up, we mess up our entire life, basically. She [my mom] would be like, "If you can't understand the culture of school now, how will you go to college? How will you get a real job?" ....Stuff like that. If I didn't get called into the office or give them [parents] any other problems, they really didn't get involved.

Ashtry's experience is in lockstep with Carter's (2005) findings that Black parents often coach Black females to encourage racialized strategies of cultural assimilation as a means to achieve social mobility. Moreover, Ashtry's recollection of the prior racialized coaching she'd received from her mom played a critical role in her decision to conform by demonstrating Whiteness. But while Marshawn, a Black lower-income male, and Ashtry drew on similar rationales to justify not involving their parents in their school challenges, the specific strategies they engaged in response reflected the distinct ways in which race and gender intersected as ethno-specific cultural behaviors and gender-specific cultural behaviors in their lives.

In the contrasting case of Melody Woods, a Black female lower-income student, her parents did get involved and offered the same racialized parental coaching strategies as that offered to many of the Black males of varying class-orientations in this study. Melody described the hostile racialized, classroom experience she had in middle school:

> It was a middle school, it was an eighth grade and I had this teacher. He was [a] very prideful Irish man who taught us social studies and I think he did English as well. And there was this moment where he took all of the Black kids and sat us in the farthest corner of the room together. And everybody else was separated by [race or ethnic group], you know, the Mexicans were with the Mexicans, there was only one white girl within our class, but she stopped with the person who was half-Black/half-White and two other Mexican people, and all the Blacks were in the back. And to me, you know, I seen that as racist…to me. Because it's like…I always got in trouble [from the teacher] saying I was talking. I wasn't talking someone else was talking…or, you know, if anything happened in the classroom he looked at our table like we were the one disrupting. And, yeah, did we have a disruptive student at our table, yes, but I had asked him, I came up to him, I said, I am not able to successfully learn because I am in the back. I can't see. I'm sitting with people that are disruptive. I'm getting in trouble and it's not me. So, it wasn't until there was this big outburst in class where I called him a racist…and…my dad had to come down and had to talk with them, had talked with the school and everything, and he [the teacher] finally moved me to the front. After that, I was very successful.

Melody's account illustrates the inequitable, hostile racialized learning and schooling conditions that await all genders and class-orientations of non-White ethnoracial student groups in general, and Black students in particular. As in the experiences of Ashtry and other Black female lower-income students, Melody first had to reckon with the racism at the center of the hostile racialized engagement that she experienced from her teacher. Melody's decision to call out her teacher as racist reflects the challenge faced by Black female students—namely, that in order to develop the agency needed to build a student-teacher relationship, she first had to confront her teacher's hostile racialized engagement with her. Once she did so, her hostile racialized classroom environment changed to a more engaged one in which she was able to succeed academically.

Melody's efforts were informed by the racialized parental coaching she received. She recounted a conversation she had with her father:

> A conversation I had with my dad when I was having a problem with my eighth-grade teacher…. My dad basically told me that I can't just call a person a racist, even if they're racist. But to understand that the system is not meant for us, just like we can't walk down the street with a hood on, without being called suspicious. It's part of what we have to recognize is our reality, but we can't call it out. Because that causes problems and drama and unnecessary involvement with authority

> figures or police or something like that, which escalates the situation for us. Because we couldn't be talking calmly, and other people take it as a threat. You know, we all hate that question where it's like, "Why are you so upset?" It's like, "I'm not upset, I'm talking calmly." And he [my father] said, you know it's better to prove them wrong and be calm, smarter, and more eloquent in how you talk. And teach them that they're wrong for thinking that way. Teach them that they're wrong for trying to oppress your learning, because you should have as much advantages as the other children. And the conversation that he [my father] had with them was like, you know, "I understand the difficulties. I'll talk to her about it." But he was 100% on my side and he said, "You know I can't tell them on I'm on your side. I can't tell them that 'Yeah, I believe that you are racist based on your actions,'" but he just taught me that when you are dealing with a system that is meant to oppress your people, you just have to prove them wrong and show them I'm better than what you make me out to be.

Melody's experience of hostile racialized teacher engagement and her father's subsequent racialized parental coaching strategies illustrate how class-oriented conceptualizations of student engagement and subsequent capital acquisition and activation strategies fall short in addressing the consequential impact of the entities of race and gender on student teacher relationship-building processes. Neither Lareau's (2011, 2012, 2015) explications of middle-class students' sense of entitlement (derived from middle-class parent childrearing strategies and demonstrated in classroom interactions with their teachers at school) nor Calarco's (2011, 2013, 2014, 2018) explications of middle-class students' situational advantage in activating strategies to interpret teacher directions or ask for assistance, address the racialized inequality routinely at the center of non-White ethnoracial students' experiences of teacher engagement—let alone, the ways that it intersects with gender inequality.

Gina Wilkerson, a Black lower-income female student of an earlier generation, started her K–12 learning and schooling processes in the early 1960s, in San Bernadino, California. Some aspects of her experience were specific to that time period and region; as she noted, "at this time, there was separate recesses for the Black kids and for the White kids." Nonetheless, her

experiences of hostile racialized student-peer and student-teacher engagement at that time resonated with those of Melody and other Black lower-income females students today. Gina shared the following memory:

> I remember I was in second grade at Rock Springs Elementary. As soon as I got off the bus, I got punched in the face by a sixth grader. My brother in third grade beat him up. I was sitting in the office with a bloody nose and my brother and his friend were explaining why they defended me. The principal came and gave each of the boys—my brother and his friend—five paddles.

As with the experiences of hostile racialized teacher engagement cited by lower-income Latino males in earlier sections of this study, the particular intersections of race, time period, and place were responsible for situating Gina and other Black female students of her generation with more intense hostile racialized experiences of student and teacher engagement (De Felice & M. N. R., 1978). In contrast to the accounts of racialized parental coaching and advocacy given by Marshawn, Ralph, Darren, Melody, and other Black male and female students of varying class-orientations, Gina described her mother's very public and pointed warning to school officials when she found out her children had been "paddled":

> My mom responded by threatening to take us out of the school. At that time, there was a lot of segregation in the town. My mom said, "If you hit my kids again, I will be back up here to hit you." She did not give them permission to paddle us ever. They reassured her that it would never happen again. But there was another incident. This meant that we didn't feel safe. They made it clear that they didn't want us there.

Alongside the intersecting entities of race and class that preliminarily buttressed the intersecting entities of race and public institution directly responsible for reproducing the types hostile racialized engagement experienced by lower-income Latino males, Gina's account is significant in that it establishes the same finding throughout this study: For non-White ethnoracial student groups of both genders and all class-orientations, not only are intersecting entities at work

in reproducing direct intersecting inequalities, but as sets of intersecting inequalities, they represent, in multi-layered fashion, the power to routinely situate students of particular intersecting locations—where one of the entities is race, in social spheres and contexts where their engagement experiences of hostility are more historical and more deeply rooted, than the hostilities albeit significantly experienced by White student groups; whose reduction in racial inequality, as one of the inequalities they experience, comparatively involves the removal of fewer layers of inequality. As illustrated in Gina's account, the preliminary intersecting entities of race, US time-period, and region, buttressed the contemporary intersecting inequalities of race and gender that directly shaped her experiences of hostile racialized engagement with teachers and classmates at school. Moreover, race and gender—the same contemporary entities of intersecting inequality in Gina's account of her K–12 experiences a generation prior, link the intersecting inequalities of race and gender reflected contemporarily in the accounts given by Black female students of all class-orientations, establishing intersectional inequalities for both generations that are historical, deeply rooted, and multi-layered.

Distinct from accounts given by prior male and female non-White ethnoracial student groups of varying class orientations, Gina also recalled a hostile racialized experience of teacher engagement in seventh grade where her teacher attempted to molest her:

> In junior high, my seventh-grade teacher tried to molest us. He thought we'd be stupid enough to go for it. My teacher called us—my cousin and I—after class and asked us to give him a blowjob. When we told him no, he got mad and we ran away from him because he was turning red and it scared us. He profusely denied it. It was his word against ours and he was White…so he kept his job and we got put in junior high in another town.

Gina described the school's hostile racialized response when her mother engaged in similar efforts as in the prior situation, to both defend and support her 13-year-old daughter and her niece:

> My mom went to the school and reported the attempted molestation incident and it was denied. It was because we were Black women. He thought he could get away with it. Black folks had to accept that type of behavior…but what he didn't expect was for us to tell.

Similar to Ashtry's experience of hostile racialized student engagement and the subsequent gender-specific racialized strategies she deployed in response, Melody's experience is one of hostile racialized teacher engagement, from which she also deploys gender-specific racialized strategies of engagement. And although Gina's account of hostile racialized engagement also comes at the hands of a teacher that is male, her account illustrates three additional points. First, although experienced in gender-specific ways, where one lived at this time in the US played a significant role in whether they would experience subtle and insidious forms of hostile racialized engagement, or whether it would take on the more intense, violent, character as reflected in her teacher's attempted molestation (De Felice & M. N. R., 1978). Second, Gina's account reflects, in particular, the intersecting entities of race and gender, historically rooted in Black women's experience of enslavement in the US. As Collins (2004, p. 64) explains:

> "Both African American men and African American women are subject to sexual violence, although the forms of sexual violence they have experienced are gender-specific. For Black women, rape, pornography, and prostitution have been forms of sexual violence used to dominate, exploit, and control them."

Third, the accounts given by Black male and female students of all class-orientations establish that their parents supported them with racialized coaching strategies that were gender-specific. Subsequently, the strategies that they deployed were also gender specific. And when comparing Black male student experiences of teacher engagement with those of Ashtry, Melody, and Gina, I found that Black male and female students of all class-orientations also experience hostile racialized teacher engagement along gendered lines even in differing time periods.

Summary Validation Strategies: The Impact of Teacher Engagement Strategies on Black Student Intersectional Student Identity, Learning, and Schooling Experiences

When students are in vulnerable situations—such as experiencing racism in everyday life, and especially in their learning and schooling interactions with classmates—teacher engagement strategies are often pivotal in the trust-building needed for student agency development. In early schooling experiences, some teachers stay after school to give students-one-on-one time, helping them with math, reading, and other challenges. Similarly, some school coaches, counselors, and advisors routinely engage with students in ways that build student confidence, enhance student learning, and position students with diverse interactional experiences both within and outside of school. All of these teacher engagement strategies set a tone of teacher-initiated student-teacher relationship-building. These strategies, in turn, can shape and diversify the strategies of student engagement beyond the middle-class sources of student capital acquisition and activation established in existing scholarship (Lareau, 2011; 2015; Calarco, 2018).

In Melody's case, the hostile racialized experience came from her teacher. Melody's racialized strategy of response addressed that treatment "head on" and ultimately led to her being able to have success in her classroom learning and engagement experiences. This tells us that non-White ethnoracial students in general, and Black female students in particular, routinely have to engage racialized strategies to reduce teacher racialized hostilities—and they must do this before they can even begin to establish the trust and confidence needed to engage relationship-building processes with their teacher.

Black student accounts demonstrated that there were many factors that challenged their processes of engagement during their early learning and schooling experiences. Black male lower-income community college students like Marshawn, Melvin, and Darren built confidence to engage with authority figures whom, in many instances, were their teachers and, in later years,

their professors. However, they accomplished these middle-class expectations by engaging racialized strategies. Moreover, having engaged "Black teacher seek-out" defensive engagement strategies, they found Black teachers and coaches who demonstrated their desire to teach them through their deployment of ethnoracial validation strategies. From their experiences of Black male teacher engagement, Black male students learned to advocate for themselves and to have a sense of entitlement. As was the case for Marshawn, there were times when they achieved self-advocacy by marshalling their school resources from his BSU advisor, or coaches like Mr. Quinton, or other teachers like Mr. Johnson. Clearly, these Black community college student K-12 accounts establish that they do acquire the same middle-class cultural logics and logics of action that today's scholars say are critical for the successful activation of student engagement strategies later in higher education (Lareau, 2011; Calarco, 2011, 2014, 2018; Thiele, 2016; Jack, 2016, 2018). However, they acquire it from diverse alternative and primarily racialized sources and strategies of teacher engagement that correspond to their ethnoracial experiences and the hostile racialized situations that confront them.

Conclusion

In this study, I investigated the singular and intersecting racialized, gendered, and class-oriented strategies that community college students learned to engage to build relationships with their peers and teachers during their K-12 years of schooling. Critically, and as student accounts establish in this study, gendered and ethnoracial cultural validation processes of teacher engagement lay at the core of effective student-teacher relationship-building because they are often pivotal in guiding student groups through the terrain of vulnerable, uncertain, unfair and unequally lived everyday experiences that manifest time and again, and in different ways, in their learning and schooling experiences (Carter, 2005; Ferguson, 2001; Lewis, 2003; Lewis-McCoy, 2014).

My first research question asked: How do the intersections of race, class, and gender affect K-12 students' acquisition of the trust and confidence needed to build relationships with peers and teachers? I found that teachers' intersecting racialized and gendered teacher engagement strategies significantly impacted the diverse racialized and gendered strategies that students deploy in their relationship-building processes. Moreover, I found that when teachers let controlling histories shape their classroom interactions, they undermine the confidence of minoritized students. When teachers engage strategies that honor students' racial and gender identities, they subvert the impact of controlling histories and students build the trust and confidence to use what they already know about forging relationships. This was further substantiated by my finding that teachers' intersecting racialized, gendered, and class-oriented engagement strategies validate students' ethno-specific and gender-specific cultural behaviors and identities. These validation strategies help students build trust and confidence critical to student agency development. Student accounts established that expectations to get help from their teachers in the classroom and knowing how to ask for help were not reducible to having acquired middle-class capital from routines set by their parents during their childrearing experiences (Lareau, 2011,

2015; Jack, 2016; Calarco 2018). Students creatively responded to their school environments, seeking racialized and gendered support and thriving when they found it.

I conclude my study with several key findings that build on existing literature: (1) formative pre-college experiences start as early as the primary schooling years; (2) the strategies teachers use to engage community college students throughout their K–12 schooling *may* shape the strategies students themselves later develop and deploy to build student-teacher relationships in the community college setting; (3) class-oriented frames of capital acquisition and activation cannot fully account for the racialized and gendered ways that community college students simultaneously experienced K-12 teacher engagement, which profoundly impact the engagement strategies they develop; and, most significantly, (4) alongside class-oriented and gendered engagement, students of color experienced racialized and racist engagement from teachers. Subsequently, their experiences of racism created distinct engagement challenges, which were additionally modified by gender. I found that community college students' K–12 pre-college experiences helped them build the agency critical to engage relationship-building strategies of their own—but this happened through teachers' deployment of ethnoracial and gender-validating strategies of engagement. Indeed, when teachers engaged strategies that simultaneously aligned with students' intersecting social locations of race, class, and gender, these teacher engagement strategies fostered diverse forms of student agency development, including non-conventional, alternative engagement strategies. My results show how teachers and students engage strategies that both ascribe to and subvert controlling histories.

As established by the accounts given by community college students of intersecting social locations, the development of their engagement strategies began with the manner in which they experienced singular or intersectional teacher engagement as early as elementary school. For

example, Asian male accounts of teacher engagement experiences with Asian male teachers, and Asian female student experiences of teacher engagement with Asian female teachers, suggest that race and gender are the modalities through which teacher engagement strategies are most effectively received and have the most effective impact on the relationship-building strategies students engage with their peers and teachers.

My second research question asked: How do the social locations of race, class, and gender intersect and shape K-12 student engagement strategies, both among and within student populations? I found that for middle-class Asian female students like Sheena, lower-income Asian female students like Monica, Edith, and Baljit, and lower-income Black female students, like Ashtry, student-peer relationships are often the gateway through which non-White students of intersecting racialized and gendered social locations develop agency to later engage relationship-building strategies with their teachers. All too often, scholars who study the reproduction of inequality in class-oriented, student engagement strategies miss other forms of inequality and inequity commonly hiding in plain sight. Scholars who study the reproduction of inequality primarily or solely from class-oriented frames facilitate the reproduction of inequality because class-oriented frames continually fall short in addressing how teachers' hostile racialized perceptions burden non-White students regardless of class. Separate from the challenges that confront White students, Black, Latinx, and Asian ethnoracial students must first develop strategies—often racialized and other times intersected with gendered and class-oriented strategies—to effectively address the hostile racialized teacher engagement they encounter. I found that this added burden routinely reproduces inequality for Ashtry, Melody, and all other Black, Latinx, and Asian ethnoracial student groups during engagement experiences with peers and teachers. Single-axis, class-oriented conventional conceptions do not have the explanatory power

to investigate the types of inequalities that emerge with the intersectional entities that dynamically impact student-peer and student-teacher engagement. Nor do they contain the diverse and dynamic solutions needed to remedy these persisting intersecting inequalities as they uniquely confront each gender within White student, Black, Latinx, and Asian ethnoracial student groups on their relative pathways to educational success.

Carter (2005, pp. 82-83) explains that when gender-specific cultural behaviors are combined with ethno-specific cultural behaviors, both African American and Latino males will associate demonstrations of whiteness with different meanings than will African American and Latina females. Moreover, elaborating Connell's (1995, p. 75) point that gender "interacts with race and class," Carter (2005, p. 85) establishes that "African American and Latino males associate closeness to whiteness by means of body norms, language, clothing styles, and interactions—as a direct challenge to many of their ethnoracial and gendered perceptions of masculinity." This helps us to understand the reasons for Black male students' particular engagement of defensive strategies, which I've coined "Black teacher seek-out" engagement strategies.

Whereas Latina and Black females' intersecting ethno-specific and gender-specific cultural behaviors and perceptions encourage conformity through demonstrations of Whiteness in order to gain favorable social regard and access to peer and teacher relationships at school. Carter (2005) contends that there are no White racialized strategies that Latino and Black males can demonstrate without incurring both negative self and social and cultural perceptions that further harm their agency and their subsequent potential to build successful student-peer and student-teacher relationships.

Aligning with Carter's (2005) study, my findings illustrate the types of strategies that Black male and female lower-income students like Marshawn and Ashtry use to navigate hostile

racialized learning and schooling experiences before they can engage strategies to gain access to relationships essential for academic success. Ashtry and Marshawn are students simultaneously shaped by intersecting ethno-specific cultural behaviors and gender-specific cultural behaviors, while inequitably impacted by the intersecting racialized and gendered perceptions of their student-peers and teachers as they attempt to build relationships at school. I found that they experienced these intersecting perceptions primarily through the modality of race as hostile racialized engagement. However, the racialized strategies they engaged to navigate or resolve problems as they sought to build relationships with students and teachers in their reported hostile racialized learning and schooling environments corresponded to their intersecting ethno-specific and gender-specific cultural behaviors. Subsequently, the hostile racialized beliefs, ideas, assumptions, and treatments that student-peers and teachers ascribe to the identities of Black male and female ethnoracial student groups have a corresponding ethno-specific and gender-specific impact, which then has a more profound impact on Black ethnoracial students' agency development and subsequent attempts to build student-peer and student-teacher relationships, than the middle-class-oriented, sets of cultural knowledge and skill that conventional student engagement scholarship suggest are of sole importance. (Stuber, 2009; Kim & Sax, 2009; Lareau, 2011; 2015; Jack 2016; Thiele 2016; Calarco, 2018).

My third research question asked: Do the entities of race and gender impact how students acquire or activate middle-class cultural capital-based, behavioral strategies of engagement (both among and within student populations)?; and my fourth research question asked: Can students build student-peer and student-teacher relationships that successfully lead to academic attainment without acquiring or activating middle-class cultural capital or is it required for relationship building in all schooling and learning conditions? I found that

Black lower-income female students like Ashtry worked through the medium of performance as a racialized engagement strategy to demonstrate White middle-class cultural worthiness; whereas lower-income Black males like Marshawn did not have the same option of demonstrating whiteness, without compromising the integrity of the ethno-specific and gender-specific cultural behaviors that reflect the core of their intersecting identities. Consequently, as found in Collins' (2004) conceptualizations and explications, and in Carter's (2005) findings, I found that Black male lower-income students like Marshawn engage defensive strategies, known as "Black teacher seek-out" engagement strategies; and equally significant, Black females like Ashtry engaged in racialized demonstrations of whiteness to demonstrate cultural worthiness. Significantly, Ashtry's racialized strategies granted her access, but Marshawn, alongside Melvin and other Black male students, had one option that would both maintain the integrity of their intersecting identities and not compromise their agency: to locate, learn from, and work with, teachers and coaches who were often Black and male.

Ashtry's account, alongside the accounts given by Black males and all other ethnoracial student groups illustrate a number of important findings that reveal the limitations of Jack (2016), Thiele (2016), Lareau (2011), Calarco (2018) and scholars of class-oriented framings of cultural capital acquisition and activation. First, the "Black teacher seek-out" strategies of Black males of both lower-income and middle-class orientations and the account given by Ashtry, who is also lower-income, illustrate that the conventional class-oriented frame does not account for race or gender. These accounts demonstrate that racialized and gendered, singular and/or intersecting, ascriptive processes in student-peer and student-teacher interaction are subject to change the means by which the genders of students within each ethnoracial group build student-peer and student-teacher relationships. Second, Ashtry's experience alongside the experiences of Baljit, Sheena,

Monica, and Edith, suggests that student-peer and student-teacher engagement challenges routinely and uniquely confront both genders of all class-orientations within each of this study's ethnoracial groups. Moreover, student-peer, student-teacher, and teacher engagement strategies are primarily shaped by racialized controlling histories that are intersected by gender and class. This produces unique racialized student engagement challenges for this study's Black, Latinx, and Asian ethnoracial student populations that correspondingly require unique resolutions.

Third, this illustrates significant challenges to the class-oriented framing of privileged-poor student success stories of the lower-income students in Jack's (2016) study, particularly those of the significant numbers of non-White ethnoracial students who attained middle-class cultural capital during their pre-college-high school years. From student accounts, I found that class-oriented frames of cultural capital acquisition and activation, along with the class-oriented conception of the privileged-poor and the doubly disadvantaged, reproduce the very inequalities they seek to reduce or abolish. Class-oriented frames of cultural capital allow whiteness, and the unfair advantage that White student groups derive from the ideas associated with it, to go unchecked.

Fourth, controlling histories engender the normativity of whiteness, which, in turn, racializes cultural capital as White. Controlling histories position White student groups and their learning and schooling challenges differently than their Black, Latinx, and Asian counterparts. The patterns of racialized hostility that peers and teachers demonstrate in routine engagement with Black, Latinx, and Asian ethnoracial students are conspicuous. These students respond by engaging the racialized strategies requisite to combat hostile teacher engagement and demonstrate cultural worthiness or by seeking out teachers of corresponding gendered and co-ethnic backgrounds in order to acquire social acceptance, before gaining access to peer and student

relationships (Flores, 2017). However, these racialized requisite strategies remain inconspicuous to White students. Findings from student accounts of student-teacher relationship-building experiences establish that White student groups do not have to contend with the hostile racialized experiences of teacher engagement that Black, Latinx, and Asian student groups contend with; nor do they have to contend with White racialized requirements for social acceptance in peer relationships. For White students, whiteness signifies immediate membership in peer and teacher relationships. Whiteness routinely standardizes what White students do in general, and the relationship-building strategies they engage, in particular. It transforms the same racial hostility and exclusion that non-White ethnoracial student groups experience from student peers and teachers, into racial hospitality and inclusion for White students. Moreover, it makes Black, Latinx, and Asian students' racialized engagement strategies and demonstrations of cultural worthiness seem invisible and/or race-neutral. White students who are socially accepted and granted access may be validated in situations where they have preexisting middle-class capital and choose to activate it, or in other situations where they build student-peer and student-teacher relationships and can acquire more of it. However, these unchecked racialized hostilities—whether during the course of engagement with teachers or with student-peers—reproduce unfair and unearned advantages for Whites.

Fifth, upon recalling the account given by Bobby, a lower-income Asian male, similar racially ascriptive processes that underscore the cultural significance of what it means to be Latino, were reflected in Hector's account of the ethnoracial cultural validation he experienced from his teacher when she spoke Spanish in the classroom. His experience in seventh- and eighth-grade choir, the family-oriented atmosphere of his high school wrestling team, and the one-on-one cultural investment that Julio experienced from both his teacher and principal, suggest that Latinx

male students most consistently experience positive, impactful racialized teacher engagement (as strategies of ethnoracial cultural validation) in interactive schooling contexts that center extra-curricular activity participation. Moreover, in settings where extra-curricular activities take place, (1) one-on-one investment in students' cultural background, (2) community and/or family-oriented classroom, choir, or sports team environments, and (3) teacher attempts to speak their students' native language, are identified by Latinx male students of diverse class-orientations as racialized strategies of ethnoracial cultural validation. These strategies enable positive, impactful teacher engagement that enhances Latinx male student agency, which subsequently leads them to effectively build meaningful student-teacher relationships.

Additionally, extra-curricular activities and participation were also significant spaces for effective student-teacher relationship-building in White male student pre-college accounts. Not only do Rick and Joshua's accounts of engagement with their coaches reflect experiences of gender, but they reflect gendered validation engagement that was particularly intentional. Although described in separate accounts, they, like Blake, had similarly come to see and look forward to the role that their teacher and coach took on as a paternal figure. Aligning with Blake's experience, what is most reflective of their experience of intentional gender validation is the response they received from their coach: the knowledge of how much they needed his time and emotional investment. The amount of time that their coach spent showing up for them, coming to their sports games, hanging out, spending one-on-one time with them, and practicing steady, emotionally-reassuring patience, is reflected in the not exclusive, but more often gender-constructed, role performed by male father figures. Their coaches' willingness to take on these roles also illustrates a gendered intentionality. Alongside the gendered intentionality present in this illustration is the strategy of masculine validation engagement.

Elaborating the impact that participation in extra-curricular activities has had on Asian, White, and Latinx male student engagement experiences, Black male student accounts illustrate that Black male teachers and coaches simultaneously engaged masculine gender validation strategies alongside ethnoracial cultural validation strategies. Having established paternal bonds similar to those described in the accounts given by Latinx students like Hector and Estella, White students like Joshua and Blake, and Asian students like Addie and Richard from prior sections of this study, Black male students experienced masculine-oriented validation strategies engaged by Black male coaches and teachers who also took on the roles of fatherly figures and mentors within the school classroom and team sports context. Specifically, Hector's account of the masculine-oriented gender engagement that he experienced on his wrestling team with his coaches and teammates aligns with Melvin's account, but as the more conventional gendered structure or institutionalization of what Sabo & Panepinto (1990) refer to as "hierarchical masculinity" central in the processes of engagement between male football coaches and players. Moreover, Melvin's descriptions of the life lessons of discipline, accountability, and perseverance that he and his teammates took away from their coaches, who were older male authority figures, reflects a form of gender validation and illustrates that man-boy relationships, conformity and control, and deference to male authority—which are also among several elements referred to by Sabo & Panepinto (1990) as masculinity rites or male initiation rites—that older men socialize young men to achieve during the course of being coached, learning, and playing team sports.

Lastly, alongside Black male students' engagement experiences of Black male teachers and coaches, are Latinx females' consistent, positively impactful, racialized experiences of Latinx female teacher engagement. Moreover, as it pertains to student engagement, both Latinx and Asian females cited the importance of having at-school access to peers and building friendships with

students that were also of their respective Latinx and Asian ethnoracial group. For White students, gender was either most often the primary modality through which they experienced teacher engagement, or gender, intersected by seemingly neutral racialized engagement, were most often the strategies that teachers engaged with White male and female students. This was most evident among White males of varying class orientations. While both gender and race significantly and consistently emerged as impactful and pivotal in shaping the peer and teacher engagement experiences of all ethnoracial student groups of varying class-orientations, educationally inscribed racialized histories made race and racialized processes the pathway on which each ethnoracial student group knowingly or unknowingly experienced teacher engagement. In order for students to engage effective relationship-building strategies, gender became the most consistent modality of teachers' strategic engagement to build trust and confidence with students, help them develop student agency, and help students navigate and negotiate, chronically racialized schooling environments that were consistently hostile to non-White ethnoracial student groups.

Future Implications for Research and Practice at Community Colleges and in K–20 Education

For educational scholars and researchers, and architects of student academic engagement, the results of this study constitute a mandate to strategically expand and enhance what we know about student-peer and student-teacher relationship-building needs, and the intersectional ways that teachers effectively meet student engagement needs in K–20 education (Byrd et al., 2019, p. 258). Below, I discuss the three key areas in which community college and K-20 educators can use K-12 student intersectional engagement experiences to position resources to effectively support student-validated relationship-building essential for successful student academic attainment.

Research

Both district and higher education offices of institutional research must expand their methodologies. Rather than focusing on the fact *that* student-teacher relationship-building processes are essential for students' academic attainment, I gained significantly more insight into effective student and teacher engagement strategies by studying *how* students experienced teacher engagement, and *how* those experiences impacted the strategies that students used to engage with their peers and teachers in the K-12 setting. This enabled me to identify and ascertain the significance of the qualities of effective teacher engagement—as diverse and intersecting strategies of racialized and gendered validation integral to the corresponding strategies that students expect to engage in their relationship-building processes. For this reason, qualitative research, particularly in the form of semi-structured, in-depth interviews, must become a default method for studying student and teacher engagement strategies at educational institutions. We know that current student demographics such as homelessness and food insecurity, students raised in single-parent homes, students who are California Promise Grant recipients, and students who identify as first generation,

institutionally designate students as at risk and/or categorically designate students as in need of extended support services. Alongside these designations, researchers need to implement theoretical frames, such as controlling histories, to investigate student racialized pathways of success that are intersected by the entities of gender and class-orientation and how teacher engagement strategies can mediate or subvert controlling histories and facilitate effective student teacher relationships (Byrd et al., 2019; Carter, 2005; Lewis, 2003). Additionally, analytical concepts such as "gender validation" and "ethnoracial cultural validation" are teacher validation strategies that, alongside teacher hostile racialized engagement, are new analytical tools to measure student engagement. These frames and concepts will continue to yield critical insight into the diverse engagement strategies that teachers can employ to enhance and support student agency development and student learning, and to identify and effectively address the diverse teacher engagement strategies that impede student learning and agency development.

Administrators

It is incumbent on administrators at all levels of K–20 education to support and implement institution-wide policies that center validating strategies of teacher engagement. Administrators are responsible for upholding faculty contracts and managing the processes that maintain or create new institutional policies and standards for school personnel. As such, administrators can demonstrate institutional support and investment in faculty professional development and training in teacher validation strategies in the following ways: (1) most critical to the institution-wide implementation of teacher engagement strategies, administrators must intentionally and disproportionately hire men and women faculty of color (Flores 2017, 196); (2) administrators must update the institution's mission statement, its strategic plan, its learning outcomes and those of each program, discipline, and course, to centralize singular and intersecting teacher validation

strategies of engagement aimed at teaching students relationship building strategies (Aries & Berman, 2013, p. 158; Carter, 2005, p. 165); (3) administrators must support policies that create classroom learning and schooling conditions that most effectively sustain racialized and gendered strategies of student validated engagement.

Faculty

Faculty constitute the most consequential area to implement teacher engagement strategies. Faculty can support implementation of these validation strategies in numerous ways. First, pedagogically, faculty must implement teacher engagement strategies into their course syllabi. They must also update lesson plans, expand, and intentionally stylize their delivery of course material during course lectures, and they must update classroom management policies to center racialized and gendered student-relationship building strategies (Aries & Berman, 2013, p. 161). Second, faculty must develop flex activities that sponsor keynote speakers and invite researchers and guest lecturers to give talks, conduct workshops, and trainings with new faculty hire and existing faculty and staff. Third, at all levels of K–20 education, faculty must petition their districts and/or their academic senate to create new shared governance committees tasked to develop policies that create classroom environments to support racialized and gendered validation strategies of teacher engagement and facilitate student development of racialized and gendered relationship-building strategies. Fourth, as union leadership and members, faculty need to negotiate and update faculty performance reviews that evaluate both teacher validation strategies and the effectiveness of the engagement strategies that students subsequently learn to engage. Additionally, union leadership must negotiate mandatory faculty training in teacher validation strategies in union contract (Aries & Berman, 2013, p. 164). Lastly, together with union leadership,

union membership must negotiate salary advancement, overload pay, and flex credit for professional development activities as compensation for faculty training.

APPENDIX A

Invitation to Participate in Interview Study

Nyenbeku George |

This survey collects demographic information from students who would like to participate in a research study. The study involves interviewing students for one hour about what it's like for college students to interact with authority at their educational institution today. Your participation in this study is voluntary. If you are selected to participate in an interview, you will be compensated with a $10 Visa gift card. With your permission, interviews will be recorded and stored on a password-protected device.

Would you like to be invited for an interview? Yes No, thanks

Name: _____

Email address: _____

Zip Code: _____

Phone number: (____) ____-_____

Age: _____

How many semesters have you been enrolled in college?: _____

Please Circle One or More

Do you plan to be in community college next year? Yes No Maybe

Gender: Male Female Transgender Woman Transgender Man

Are you eligible for financial aid (Pell Grant, BOG/California Promise Waiver)?
Yes No Not Sure

Race/Ethnicity: African American Asian Hispanic White Indian Mixed race Native American Not listed

Are you working?: No Yes, part-time Yes, full-time

Did your parent or guardian graduate from a 2-year educational institution or higher?
Yes No Not sure

During Your Elementary, Middle, School or High School Years, did you take College Preparatory or Advanced Placement Courses?
Yes No Not sure

During Your Elementary, Middle School, or High School Years, did you attend Any Boarding Schools? Yes No Not Sure

If Yes, What Was The Name of the School? Please print here _____

How Many Years Did You Attend?
0-5 Years 5-10 Years 10 Years or More

Parent's Occupation: please print here _____

APPENDIX B

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE-Students

Northern California Community College

Student Success in Understudied Spaces in the Urgency Of Now: Examining Student Engagement Strategies with Authority Figures at Community Colleges

Hello, my name is Nyenbeku George. I am a researcher working on a study about community college students and how they interact with professors.

The purpose of this study is to evaluate how a student's background characteristics impact how they engage with authority figures on their college campus. My goal is to better understand the challenges and opportunities that students of different backgrounds face in navigating higher education.

If you choose to be involved in the study, I will ask you to participate in an in-person interview that will last about 1 hour. The interview is confidential. I will also give you a $10.00 gift card as compensation for your time. Your participation is completely voluntary, you can choose whether or not to be interviewed.

By participating, your insight may help improve efforts to make higher education a more equitable institution for students to maneuver.

During the interview, you will be asked questions about your background and your interactions with professors. at Cosumnes River College. I will record the interview with your permission. You do not have to answer any questions you do not want to answer. You may stop this interview at any time. At the end, if you are eligible and are interested in pursuing this study, you will be asked to provide your contact information. If you do not qualify for this study, the information you give me will be destroyed immediately.

Do you have any questions?

Do I have your permission to proceed? "

[If respondent says "NO"]. Thank you for your time. [End conversation]
[If respondent says "YES"]. [Proceed]

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW GUIDE

In-Depth Interviews—College Students

I. **BACKGROUND-Diversity of Social Disadvantage—Data Source: American Association of Community Colleges**

I am going to start by asking you some questions to understand a little bit more about you and your experiences growing up.

1. Let me first start by asking: What are your preferred gender pronouns?
2. What is the racial or ethnic group that you most identify with?
3. Are you eligible for a California College Promise grant, Pell grant, Blue and Gold Plan, or other forms of need-based aid?
4. Are you the head of your household?
5. Do you work full-time or part-time?
6. If so, how many hours a week?
7. Are you a care provider for a family member?
8. If so, for whom?
9. Are you a married or single?
10. Are you a parent?
11. If so, how many children

- If respondent says "YES". "Given your answers, you are eligible for this study."

II. **Students' Elementary School Experiences**

1. Can you describe the elementary school you attended?
2. How did your parents choose the institution?
3. Was it a public or private school?
4. How big was the school?
5. What were the primary racial and ethnic groups that you went to elementary, middle, or high school with?
6. From what you can remember, were there more boys than girls or more girls than boys present?
7. What was the racial and ethnic background of most of your teachers in your schooling experiences?
8. From what you can remember, were there more men than women teachers or more women than men teachers present?

Middle-Class Parent Coaching (Calarco 2014) through middle-class childrearing practices (concerted cultivation—Lareau 2011) or lower-income childrearing practices (natural growth)

A. Did your parents graduate from a two-year institution?

B. Growing up, did you ever have conversations with your parents or guardians about your role as a student and the teacher's role? What were those conversations like?

C. Were your parents ever members of the school's PTA? If so, for how long?

D. Were your teachers ever Teachers' Aides at the school or in your classroom? Did they help out in the classroom? If so, how often?
E. Did your parents ever send notes with you to school to give to your teacher? How often?

F. Did they ever go to parent teacher conferences? How often?

G. Did your parents ever have conversations with you after the parent teacher conferences? What were the conversations like? What did they say?

Elementary School Engagement Strategies—Intersections of Race and Gender on Middle-Class Cultural Capital Activation (Ferguson 2001; Lewis 2003; Carter; 2005)

H. Did your parents being part of the school affect your behavior—how you interacted with your teachers? Your classmates?

I. Have you ever had experiences in school where you felt that you didn't have the same freedom to laugh and play as other students? If so, describe what happened to make you feel this way?

J. Have you ever had an experience at school where you were made to feel different from everyone else? If so, who made you feel different? Describe what happened? How often did this happen? What did you do after the experience?

K. Have you ever had an experience with a teacher at school where you were made to feel different from everyone else? If so, describe what happened? How often did this happen? Looking back now, do you think your racial or cultural background played a role? Did your gender play a role? Was it a combination of the three? If so, why do you think they played this role?

L. How did this experience impact your behavior going forward? How did you interact with your teachers and your classmates?

M. Have you ever had an experience with a yard duty at school—elementary, middle, or high, where you were made to feel different from everyone else? Describe what happened? Looking back now, do you think your racial or cultural background played a role? Did your gender play a role? Was it a combination of the three? If so, why do you think they played this role?

N. How did this experience affect how you acted at school? How you interacted with your classmates and with the teacher? Did this experience affect how you interacted with your classmates? Played at recess? If so, in what ways?

O. Have you had experiences where your behavior was singled out than other students'? Why? What happened? Do you believe race to be a factor? What about your gender? How about both?

P. (Carryover from question 14) Do you believe your racial or cultural background to be the reason for these feelings?

Q. How did these feelings affect how you interacted with other students?

R. How did these feelings affect how you interacted with your teachers?

III. **Students' Pre-college Experiences—Sites of Cultural Capital Acquisition from Secondary Institutions—Focusing on middle-school and high school (Anthony Abraham Jack 2016 Thiele 2016) and Intersecting experiences of race and gender alongside class (Skeggs 1997; Ferguson 2001; Carter 2005; Morris 2012; Lewis-McCoy 2014)**

A. Have you ever had an experience with a teacher at school where you were made to feel different from everyone else? If so, describe what happened? How often did this happen? Looking back now, do you think your racial or cultural background played a role? Did your gender play a role? Was it a combination of the three? If so, why do you think they played this role?

B. (Carryover from previous question) How did this experience impact your behavior going forward? How did you interact with your teachers and your classmates?

C. Have you ever had an experience at school—middle or high, where you were made to feel different from everyone else? If so, who made you feel different? Describe what happened? How often did this happen? What did you do after the experience? Do you believe your racial or cultural background impacted the person who made you feel this way? Do you think your gender impacted the person who made you feel this way?

D. (Carryover from previous question) How did these feelings affect how you interacted with other students?

E. (Carryover from previous question) How did these feelings affect how you interacted with your teachers?

F. Have you had experiences in school--middle or high, where your behavior was singled out over other students'? Describe was happening during those times? How often did this happen? Looking back now, do you believe race to be a factor? What about your gender? How about both? If so, explain why?

G. Have you ever had experiences in school where you felt that you didn't have the same freedom to laugh and joke and be yourself in class alongside your classmates? If so, describe what happened to make you feel this way? Looking back now, do you believe race to be a factor? What about your gender? How about both? If so, explain why?

H. Have you ever had experiences in school where you were made to feel like you were a problem student or that helping you was a problem? If so, describe what happened. Looking back now, do you think that your racial or cultural background impacted why you or helping you was a problem? Do you think that your gender impacted why you or helping you was seen as a problem?

I. At your high school, were you ever in any programs like: AVID (Advancement Via Individual Determination) or IYT (Improve Your Tomorrow) Most common program consistently present at high schools in Sacramento for socially disadvantaged students is either AVID or IYT

J. Did you ever take advanced placement or college preparatory courses?

K. (Carryover from previous question) Did you ever build teacher-student mentor relationships with your teachers while taking these courses?

L. (Carryover from previous question) If so, what things did you do to get to know your teachers?

M. (Carryover from previous question) What kinds of things did your teachers do to get to know you? Did you like those activities?

N. Did you ever meet with teachers outside of class? If so, could you walk me through one of these meetings?

O. Did you have mentors in high school?

P. Did your high school have school clubs that you could join?

Q. Were any of these clubs helpful in you developing a student-teacher relationship with your teacher?

R. Compare how you interact with professors here at NCCC vs. how you interacted with teachers at the high school that you attended? What are the similarities and differences?

S. What are you majoring in? How did you come to choose this major?

T. Do you plan to transfer to a four-year institution? Why or why not?

TRANSITION: *Okay, so now you ended up at NCCC and have been taking classes here.*

IV. **Student Engagement Strategies—Activation of Cultural Capital with Professors--Situationally and Behaviorally and through Performance—Beverly Skeggs 1997; Jessica McCrory Calarco 2011; 2014; 2014; Julie Bettie 2014; Anthony Abraham Jack, Megan 2016 Thiele 2016**

1. **Current thoughts and feelings toward professors informing student engagement strategies**

   A. How long have you attended NCCC?

   B. If I gave you a list of school officials or authority figures like: campus police, librarians, counselors, office staff, your professors, bookstore staff, custodians, the college nurses, etc. which would you say that you regularly interact with at NCCC?

   C. During your first year at NCCC, did you feel positively toward any of your professors? What did you like about them? Can you please describe to me what characteristics drew you to them? How did they make you feel?

   D. What is it that makes you/would make you feel comfortable walking over to say hello to a professor or an authority figure if you see them anywhere on campus?

   E. How comfortable are you when it comes to interacting with your professors? Does your race or ethnic background or your gender impact how comfortable you feel? Why? Why not?

   F. How about your professor? Does your professor's racial, ethnic background, or gender impact how comfortable you feel when interacting? Why? Why not?

   G. (Carryover from previous question) Do you ever get the impression that your racial or cultural background or your gender impacts how your professor interacts with you? If so, explain what your professor does that gives you this impression?

   H. What have been the specific goals that you've achieved by reaching out to them?

   I. What has it been like for you to interact with your professors during this pandemic?

   J. (Carryover from previous question) Has it been easier or more difficult? Explain further.

   K. Are you more comfortable reaching out to your professors when you're in the classroom with them? When in office hours with them? As class is leaving and people are walking out? On campus when you see them walking? Via email?

   L. Whether inside the classroom or outside the classroom, what kinds of things or experiences impact how you reach out to professors?

M. How do you reach out to your professors? Do you ever change your approach when reaching out to your professor? When? What moments? Why? Why not?

N. Have your ways of reaching out to your professors changed due to online learning during the pandemic?

O. (Carryover from the previous question) If they have changed, explain how.

P. (Carryover from previous question) Do you prefer these new ways better than the old ways?

Q. (Carryover from the previous question) Do you still feel as if you know when your way of reaching out to your professor is working or is it harder to tell?

R. (Carryover from previous question) Explain how you know or don't know whether your ways of reaching out are working.

2. **Thoughts and feelings about seeking assistance**
   A. Do you reach out to each of your professors the same way? When? What situations do you reach out to them differently? Why or Why not? Did you learn to do that in your school experiences before college? If so, give me some situations where you learned this.

   B. (Carryover from previous question) Do you ever get the impression that your racial or cultural background impacts how you interact with your professor during these times? If so, explain why you get this impression.

   C. Has your racial or cultural background ever influenced how you reached out to a professor? Why? Why not?

   D. Has your gender ever influenced how you reached out to a professor? Why or why not?

   E. When you've reached out to your professors have you been successful in achieving your desired outcome?

   F. (Carryover from previous question) Do you ever get the impression that your racial or cultural background impacts how you interact with your professor during these times? If so, explain why you get this impression.

   G. Please describe the professor you had good interactions with; what is their race, general age? What made them approachable to you?

   H. Have you ever had an experience with a professor that made it difficult to reach out to them? Describe what made it difficult?

I. (Carryover from previous question). In this situation, do you think the situation was made difficult because of your racial or cultural background? Was the situation made difficult or uncomfortable because of your gender? What gave you this impression?

J. (Carryover from previous question). In this situation, did you still reach out to them? If so, did you try a different approach? Did it work?

K. Have you ever had an experience where you thought it was going to be difficult to reach out to your professor and it ended up being refreshingly easy? Explain what happened.

L. (Carryover from previous question) Did the professor do anything that made you more comfortable reaching out to them? If so, what was it? Did the professor's racial or cultural background or their gender impact what they did to make things more comfortable for you? If so, in what way?

M. When was the first time that you went to a professor's office hours?

N. Did you attend this professor's office hours during your first year?
    a. Can you walk me through why you decided to go to this professor's office hours? While you were in office hours, what went through your mind? What were you feeling? Who else was there?
    b. What did you think the professor was thinking about while you were in office hours?
    c. [*If student did not attend office hours freshman year*]*:* Can you remember the first time you went to office hours?

O. Do you remember what the outcome was?

P. Do you approach your professors differently when you reach out to them in the office vs. if you see them walking on campus? What about in the office vs. when you reach out to them in the classroom? If you do approach them differently in different settings, why do you do so? Does your racial or cultural background impact how and why you choose to reach out to them in different settings?

Q. Did you feel negatively toward any of your professors, in your first year? Please describe this professor's general age and race. What made them unapproachable?
    a. Did you attend office hours with this professor?

    b. Are you on any sports teams for the campus? If so, how do you interact with your coach?

R. (Carryover from previous question) Are you ever made to feel different from everyone else on the team? If so, what is it that makes you feel different from

everyone else on the team? Does race, culture, or gender play a role in your feeling different from everyone on the team.

S. Have you ever had professors routinely come to your games and interact with you afterwards? If so, has your racial or ethnic background impacted the support you've received from the professor? If you believe it has, explain how? What about gender? Has it had an impact on the support you've received from your professor? If you believe it has, in what ways?

T. Do you ever go get coffee or go to dinners with your professors? How often? Describe what that's like?
U. Have you ever been part of a mentorship program or social club where you routinely got to hang out with and get to know your professor or other professors?

V. (Carryover from previous question) Do you ever get the impression that your racial or cultural background impacts how you interact with your professor during these times? If so, explain why you get this impression.

W. Have you ever went on a field trip to a museum or conference with a professor? How often? Describe what happened? During this experience, were there times when you were given the impression that your racial or cultural background or your gender impacted how you interacted with others or how others impacted with you? If so, what happened to give you this or these impressions?

X. Are you a member of any social clubs on campus?

Y. (Carryover from previous question) Have you been able to build relationships with your professors or any other authority figures from student clubs on campus? Example: Black Student Union, Nerdvana, Gay/Straight Alliance? Has your racial or ethnic background impacted your experience being a member of these social clubs? In what ways? Has your gender impacted your experience being a member of these clubs? In what ways?

Z. Are you a member of any extra-curricular academic programs on campus? Has your racial or ethnic background impacted your experience being a member of these extra-curricular academic programs? In what ways? Has your gender impacted your experience being a member of these programs? If so, in what ways?

3. **Asked a professor or other authority figure for a favor?**
    A. Have these programs helped you in developing relationships with your professors or any other authority figures on campus? Has your race or ethnic background or your gender impacted your ability to develop these relationships? If so, in what ways?

B. What do you think about the idea of getting to know your professors so that they can become professional resources and references for you?

C. Have you ever attended a professor's office hours with the specific intention of asking for a favor such as a job reference, letter of recommendation, to get help with getting into another professor's class?

D. Can you please rate your present frequency of engagement with professors on a scale ranging from low to high? 1 being very little engagement, 5 being moderate engagement, and 10 being frequent.

REFERENCES

Acker, Joan. (1992). Gendering organizational theory. *Classics of organizational theory*, *6*, 450-459.

Acker, Joan. (2006). *Class questions: Feminist answers*. Rowman & Littlefield.

American Association of Community Colleges: Fast Facts
Retrieved From https://www.aacc.nche.edu/research-trends/fast-facts/

Aries, Elizabeth., & Berman, R. (2013). *Speaking of race and class: The student experience at an elite college*. Temple University Press.

Armstrong, Elizabeth. A., & Hamilton, Laura. T. (2013). *Paying for the Party*. Harvard University Press.

Armstrong, Elizabeth. A., & Massé, J. C. (2014). The sociology of higher education: Contributions and new directions.

Bergerson, A. A. (2007). Exploring the impact of social class on adjustment to college: Anna's story. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, *20*(1), 99-119.

Bettie, Julie. Women without Class. Second ed. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014.

Boggs, George R. n.d. "Democracy's Colleges: The Evolution of the Community College in America." 6.

Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo. (2006). *Racism without racists: Color-blind racism and the persistence of racial inequality in the United States*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Booker, Keonya. n.d. "Connection and Commitment: How Sense of Belonging and Classroom Community Influence Degree Persistence for African American Undergraduate Women."

Bourdieu, Pierre, and Jean C. Passeron. 1977. *Reproduction in Education, Society, and Culture.* Translated by R. Nice. London and Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.

Bourdieu, Pierre. (2011). The forms of capital (1986). *Cultural theory: An anthology*, *1*, 81-93.

Bowles, Samuel and Herbert Ginitis. 2011. *Schooling in Capitalist America: Educational Reform and the Contradictions of Economic Life.* Chicao, IL: Haymarket Books.
Burawoy, Michael. 2016. "The Extended Case Method*:" *Sociological Theory*.

Brilliant, Mark. (2010). *The color of America has changed: How racial diversity shaped civil rights reform in California, 1941-1978*. Oxford University Press.

Byrd, W. C., Brunn-Bevel, Rachelle. J., & Ovink, Sarah. M. (Eds.). (2019). *Intersectionality and higher education: Identity and inequality on college campuses*. Rutgers University Press.

Calarco, Jessica McCrory. 2011. "'I Need Help!' Social Class and Children's Help-Seeking in Elementary School." *American Sociological Review* 76(6):862–82.

Calarco, Jessica McCrory. 2018. *Negotiating Opportunities: How the Middle Class Secures Advantages in School*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Calarco, Jessica McCrory. 2014 "Coached for the Classroom." *American Sociological Review* 23.

Calarco, Jessica McCrory 2014a "The Inconsistent Curriculum." *Social Psychology Quarterly* 25.

Carter, Prudence. L. (2005). *Keepin' it real: School success beyond Black and White*. Oxford University Press.

Chou, Rosalind. S., & Feagin, Joe. R. (2015). *Myth of the model minority: Asian Americans facing racism*. Routledge.

Choy, Susan. P. (2002). *Findings from the condition of education 2002: Nontraditional undergraduates.* (NCES Publication No. 2002-012). Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education, Institute of Education Sciences, National Center for Education Statistics.

Clerge, Orly. (2019). *The New Noir: Race, Identity, and Diaspora in Black Suburbia*. Univ of California Press.

Cohen, Theodore. F. (Ed.). (2000). *Men and masculinity: A text reader*. Wadsworth Publishing Company.

Collier, Peter J. & Morgan, David. L. 2008. "'Is That Paper Really Due Today?': Differences in First-Generation and Traditional College Students' Understandings of Faculty Expectations." *Higher Education* 55(4):425–46.

Collins, Patricia. H.(1991). Controlling images and Black women's oppression. *Seeing ourselves: Classic, contemporary, and cross-cultural readings in sociology*, *4*, 266-273.

Collins, Patricia. H. (2004). *Black sexual politics: African Americans, gender, and the new racism*. Routledge.

Collins, Patricia. H. (2015). Intersectionality's definitional dilemmas. *Annual review of sociology*, *41*, 1-20.

Connell, R. W. (1996). Teaching the boys: New research on masculinity, and gender strategies for schools. *Teachers college record*, *98*(2), 206-235.

Connell, R. W. (2005). Masculinities. 1995. *Cambridge: Polity*.

Connell, R.W. (2020). *Southern theory: The global dynamics of knowledge in social science.* Routledge.

Cox, Rebecca. 2009. *College Fear Factor: How Students and Professors Misunderstand One Another*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Crenshaw, Kimberle. (1989). Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: A black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory and antiracist politics. *u. Chi. Legal f.*, 139.

De Felice, Mary. Nancy. R. (1978). A study of school desegregation and integration in San Bernardino, California.

Degruy-Leary, Joy. (2017). Post-traumatic slave syndrome: America's legacy of enduring injury. *Portland, OR: Joy DeGruy Publications Inc*.

Delgado, Richard, & Stefancic, J. (2017). Critical race theory. In *Critical Race Theory (Third Edition)*. New York University Press.

Dow, Dawn. M. (2016). The deadly challenges of raising African American boys: Navigating the controlling image of the "thug". *Gender & Society*, *30*(2), 161-188.

DuBois, W.E.B. 1903. *The Souls of Black Folk.* US Courier Corporation: Dover Publications.

Erickson, Lance. D., McDonald, Steve., & Elder Jr, Glen. H. (2009). Informal mentors and education: Complementary or compensatory resources?. *Sociology of education*, *82*(4), 344-367.

Elders, Jocelyn., & Chanoff, David. (2016). From Joycelyn Elders, MD, From Sharecropper's Daughter to Surgeon General of the United States of America. *A Community of Voices on Education and the African American Experience: A Record of Struggles and Triumphs*, 109.

Espiritu, Yen Le. (1992). Asian American panethnicity: Bridging institutions and identities (Vol. 231). Temple University Press.

Esterberg, Kristin. 2002. *Qualitative Methods in Social Research*. University of Massachussetts-Lowell: McGraw-Hill Companies.

Emerson, Robert. M., Fretz, Rachel. I., & Shaw, Linda. L. (2011). *Writing ethnographic fieldnotes*. University of Chicago Press.

Ferguson, Ann. A. (2011). *Bad boys: Public schools in the making of black masculinity.* University of Michigan Press.

Full Trends in Student Aids Report 2019. Retrieved From https://research.collegeboard.org/pdf/trends-student-aid-2019-full-report.pdf

Flores, Glenda. M. (2017). Latina teachers. In *Latina Teachers*. New York University Press.

Flores-González, Nilda. (2017). Citizens but not Americans. In *Citizens but Not Americans*. New York University Press.

Fong, Timothy. P. (2008). *The contemporary Asian American experience: Beyond the model minority.* Sacramento State.

Franklin, John. H. (1966). From slavery to freedom; a history of American Negroes.

Galinsky, A. D., Hall, E. V., & Cuddy, A. J. (2013). Gendered races: Implications for interracial marriage, leadership selection, and athletic participation. *Psychological science*, *24*(4), 498-506.

Garcia, Richard. A. (1991). *Rise of the Mexican American Middle Class: San Antonio, 1929-1941* (Vol. 36). Texas A & M University Press.

Goldrick-Rab, Sara. (2010). Challenges and opportunities for improving community college student success. *Review of Educational Research, 80*(3), 437–69.

Goldrick-Rab, Sara., Bronton, K., and Gates, C. 2013. *Clearing A Path To A Brighter Future: Addressing Barriers To Community College Access and Success*.

Hamilton, Laura. T. (2016). Parenting to a Degree. In *Parenting to a Degree*. University of Chicago Press.

Hecht, Jeffrey. B. (1990). School Staff and Parent Evaluations of California's Resource Specialist Programs.

Hine, Darlene. C., Hine, William. C., & Harrold, Stanley. (2004). *African Americans: A concise history*. Pearson College Division.

Holland, Megan. M. (2015). Trusting each other: Student-counselor relationships in diverse high schools. *Sociology of Education*, *88*(3), 244-262.

Jack, Anthony. A. 2014. "Culture Shock Revisited: The Social and Cultural Contingencies to Class Marginality." *Sociological Forum* 29(2):453–75.

Jack, Anthony. A. 2016. "(No) Harm in Asking: Class, Acquired Cultural Capital, and Academic Engagement at an Elite University." *Sociology of Education* 89(1):1–19.

Jensen, Robert. (2005). *The heart of whiteness: Confronting race, racism and white privilege*. City Lights Books.

Jordan, Winthrop. D. (1974). *The white man's burden: Historical origins of racism in the United States* (Vol. 402). Galaxy Books.

Kim, Young. K., & Sax, Linda. J. (2009). Student–faculty interaction in research universities: Differences by student gender, race, social class, and first-generation status. *Research in Higher Education*, *50*(5), 437-459.

Kimmel, Michael. S. (2000). *The gendered society*. Oxford University Press, USA.

Khan, Shamus. R. (2012). *Privilege: The making of an adolescent elite at St. Paul's School* (Vol. 56). Princeton University Press.

Landsman, J., & Lewis, C. W. (2006). *White teachers, diverse classrooms: A guide to building inclusive schools, promoting high expectations, and eliminating racism*. Stylus Publishing, LLC..

Lareau, Annette., & Weininger, E. B. (2008). Class and the transition to adulthood. *Social class: How does it work*, 118-151.

Lareau, Annette. 2011. *Unequal Childhoods: Class, Race, and Family Life*. Second. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Lareau, Annette. 2015. "Cultural Knowledge and Social Inequality." *American Sociological Review* 80(1):1–27.

Lee, Elizabeth. M., & Kramer, Rory. (2013). Out with the old, in with the new? Habitus and social mobility at selective colleges. *Sociology of Education*, *86*(1), 18-35.

Lehmann, Wolfgang. (2007). " I just didn't feel like I fit in": The role of habitus in university dropout decisions. *Canadian Journal of Higher Education*, *37*(2).

Lehmann, Wolfgang. (2014). Habitus transformation and hidden injuries: Successful working-class university students. *Sociology of education*, *87*(1), 1-15.

Lewis, Amanda. 2003. *Race in the Schoolyard: Negotiating the Color Line in Classrooms and Communities.* Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press.

Lewis-McCoy, L.R. (2014). *Inequality in the promised land: Race, resources, and suburban schooling*. Stanford University Press.

Marchbank, Jennifer., & Letherby, Gale. (2014). *Introduction to gender: Social science perspectives*. Routledge.

Martin, Andrew., & Marsh, Herb. (2005). Motivating boys and motivating girls: Does teacher gender really make a difference?. *Australian Journal of Education*, *49*(3), 320-334.

Martin, Patricia. Y. (2004). Gender as social institution. *Social forces*, *82*(4), 1249-1273.

McIntosh, Peggy. (1988). White privilege: Unpacking the invisible knapsack.

National Center for Education Statistics. Postsecondary and Beyond Educational Attainment
2020, Digest of Education Statistics 2019, Table 104.10. Rates of high school completion and bachelor's degree attainment among persons age 25 and over, by race/ethnicity and sex: Selected years, 1910 through 2019

2020, The Condition of Education 2020: Characteristics of Postsecondary Students
2020, The Condition of Education 2020: Undergraduate Enrollment
The overall **college enrollment** rate for 18- to 24-year-olds increased from 35 percent ... **College enrollment** rates of 18- to 24-year-olds, by **sex** and race/ ethnicity: ...

Total fall **enrollment** in degree-granting **postsecondary** institutions ...
https://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d16/tables/dt16_303.30.asp?current...
Table 303.30. Total fall **enrollment** in degree-granting **postsecondary** institutions, by level and control of institution, attendance status, and **sex** of student: Selected ...

Morest-Smith, Vanessa. 2013 "Access to Opportunity: The Evolving Social Roles of Community Colleges." The American Sociologist, 44(4): 319-328.

Morris, Edward. W. (2012). *Learning the hard way: Masculinity, place, and the gender gap in education*. Rutgers University Press.

Nguyen, Bach. Mai. Dolly. & Nguyen, Mike. Hoa. (2020). Extending cultural mismatch theory: In consideration of race/ethnicity. *International Studies in Sociology of Education*, *29*(3), 224-249.

Ostrove, Joan. M., & Long, Susan. M. (2007). Social class and belonging: Implications for college adjustment. *The Review of Higher Education*, *30*(4), 363-389.

Pascarella, Ernest. T., & Terenzini, Patrick. T. (2005). *How College Affects Students: A Third Decade of Research. Volume 2*. Jossey-Bass, An Imprint of Wiley. 10475 Crosspoint Blvd, Indianapolis, IN 46256.

Pinkney, Alphonso. (1969). Black Americans. Ethnic Groups in American Life Series.

Pike, Gary. R., & Kuh, George. D. (2005). First-and second-generation college students: A comparison of their engagement and intellectual development. *The Journal of Higher Education*, *76*(3), 276-300

Powell, John A. 2001. "A Minority-Majority Nation: Racing the Population in the Twenty-First Century William & Burton Cooper Chair in Urban Legal Issues: Legal Implications of the Census." *Fordham Urban Law Journal* 29:1395–1418.

Risman, Barbara. J., & Davis, G. (2013). From sex roles to gender structure. *Current Sociology*, *61*(5-6), 733-755.

Rivera, Lauren. A. (2016). *Pedigree: How elite students get elite jobs*. Princeton University Press.

Roediger, David. R. (2017). The wages of whiteness: Race and the making of the American working class. *Class: The Anthology*, 41-55.

Ruiz, Vicki. L. (2004). Tapestries of resistance: Episodes of school segregation and desegregation in the western United States. *From the grassroots to the Supreme Court: Brown v. Board of Education and American democracy*, 44-67.

Rury, John. L. (2012). *Education and social change: Contours in the history of American schooling*. Routledge.

Sabo, Donald, & Panepinto, J. (1990). Football ritual and the social reproduction of masculinity. *Sport, men, and the gender order: Critical feminist perspectives*, 115-126.

Schaefer, Richard. T. (2008). *Encyclopedia of race, ethnicity, and society* (Vol. 1). Sage.

Small, Mario L. 2009. "'How Many Cases Do I Need?' On Science and the Logic of Case Selection in Field-Based Research." *Ethnography* 10(1):5–38.

Stanton-Salazar, Ricardo. D., & Dornbusch, Sanford. M. (1995). Social capital and the reproduction of inequality: Information networks among Mexican-origin high school students. *Sociology of education*, 116-135.

Stephens, Nichole M., Fryberg, Stephanie A., Marcus, Hazel R., Johnson, Camille, and Covarubbias, Rebecca. 2012. "Unseen Disadvantage: How American Universities' Focus on Independence Undermines The Academic Performance of First Generation College Students." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 102(6):1178–97.

Stevens, Mitchell. L. (2008). Culture and education. *The Annals of the american academy of political and social science*, *619*(1), 97-113.

Suskind, Ron. (2010). *A hope in the unseen: An American odyssey from the inner city to the Ivy League*. Broadway Books.

Terenzini, Patrick. T., Springer, Leonard., Yaeger, Patricia. M., Pascarella, Ernest. T., & Nora, Amaury. (1996). First-generation college students: Characteristics, experiences, and cognitive development. *Research in Higher education*, *37*(1), 1-22.

Thiele, Megan. 2016. "Resource or Obstacle?: Classed Reports of Student–Faculty Relations." *The Sociological Quarterly* 57(2):333–55.

Tinto, Vincent. (1987). *Leaving college: Rethinking the causes and cures of student attrition*. University of Chicago Press, 5801 S. Ellis Avenue, Chicago, IL 60637.

West, Candace., & Zimmerman, Don. H. (1987). Doing gender. *Gender & society*, *1*(2), 125-151.

Wise, Tim. (2011). *White like me: Reflections on race from a privileged son*. Catapult.

Omi, Michael., & Winant, Howard. (2014). *Racial formation in the United States.*Routledge.

Perry, Teresa., & Steele, Claude. (2004). *Young, gifted and black: Promoting high achievement among African-American students*. Beacon Press.

Wade, Lisa., & Ferree, Myra. M. (2015). *Gender: Ideas, interactions, institutions* (p. 432). New York: WW Norton.

Waters, Mary. C. (2021). Black identities. In *Black Identities*. Harvard University Press.

Watkins, William. H. (2001). *The White architects of Black education: Ideology and power in America, 1865-1954*. Teachers College Press.

Wingfield, Adia. H. (2009). Racializing the glass escalator: Reconsidering men's experiences with women's work. *Gender & Society*, *23*(1), 5-26.

Yosso, Tara. J. (2016). Whose culture has capital?: A critical race theory discussion of community cultural wealth. In *Critical race theory in education* (pp. 113-136). Routledge.

Zuberi, Tukufu. *Thicker than blood: How racial statistics lie*. U of Minnesota Press, 2001.

Zuberi, Tukufu., & Bonilla-Silva, E. (Eds.). (2008). *White logic, white methods: Racism and methodology*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.