"Ladies" or "Loudies"?

1 author:

Edward W. Morris
University of Kentucky
26 PUBLICATIONS   **1,644** CITATIONS

"Ladies" or "Loudies"?

Perceptions and Experiences of Black Girls in Classrooms

Edward W. Morris
Ohio University

Although much scholarship has focused on the schooling experiences of African American boys, this article demonstrates that African American girls encounter unique educational perceptions and obstacles. Black girls in a predominately minority school performed well academically, but educators often questioned their manners and behavior. Some tried to mold many of these girls into "ladies," which entailed curbing behavior perceived as "loud" and assertive. This article advances theories of intersectionality by showing how race and class shape perceptions of femininity for Black girls, and how the encouragement of more traditionally feminine behavior could ultimately limit their academic potential.

Keywords: intersectionality; African American girls; educational discipline

Much recent scholarly and social concern has revolved around the plight of young Black men (Ferguson, 2000; hooks, 2004; Lopez, 2003; Mac an Ghaill, 1994; Price, 1999; Sewell, 2000). Although certainly important, this focus on Blackness and masculinity often implicitly leaves young Black women on the sidelines. For example, we know a great deal about the educational challenges of Black boys, but how do Black girls experience schooling? In this article, I explore this question. I show how race, gender, and class combine to shape the educational experiences of Black girls, creating unique obstacles for them. I observed how educators in a predominately minority, working class middle school expressed dichotomous judgments of African American girls.[1] Many teachers encouraged these girls to exemplify an ideal, docile form of femininity, emblematized in the prescription to act like

"ladies." At the same time, however, most teachers viewed the existing femininity of these girls as coarse and overly assertive, leading one teacher to describe them as "loudies." I employ an intersectional approach in analyzing these educational experiences, dissecting the ways race, class, and gender acted as interconnected factors influencing the impacts of one another. I show how race shaped adult perceptions of the femininity of Black girls, and how schooling processes were aimed to mold them into a particular model of womanhood.

Background: Intersectionality, Education, and Social Reproduction

Scholars examining inequality have found the theory of *intersectionality* particularly useful (e.g., Bettie, 2003; Collins, 1990, 1998; Glenn, 2002; Pyke & Johnson, 2003; Zinn & Dill, 1996). Intersectionality underscores combinations, or intersections, of important modes of social advantage and disadvantage. Rather than isolate factors such as race, class, and gender into distinct, independent effects, an intersectional approach explores how these factors combine in daily life, because individuals do not experience them in isolation. A key insight of intersectional theory holds that modes of inequality, such as race, class, and gender, can combine in ways that alter the meaning and effects of one another. Whiteness, for example, creates myriad advantages for White women, even as gender produces certain disadvantages (McIntosh, 1998). In the words of Collins (1990), "White women are penalized by their gender, but privileged by their race" (p. 225).

Intersectional theory frames a complex view of social inequality and reality. Collins (1990) conceptualizes the array of interwoven patterns of inequality as a "matrix of domination," where one is positioned based on interconnecting dimensions of advantage/disadvantage such as race, class, and gender; and one may extract privileges or disadvantages depending on this particular positioning. Although complex, scholars have found that this view is helpful in elucidating seemingly contradictory patterns of social inequality. Masculinity, for example, tends to be held in higher social esteem than femininity. But this does not mean that all men enjoy power over all women. The race of Black men might put them at a disadvantage compared to White women in various areas of social life. Furthermore, their race might alter perceptions of their masculinity, making it appear more volatile and dangerous (Anderson, 1990; Connolly, 1998; Ferguson, 2000). In this way, an intersectional approach examines "the ways in which gender

is racialized and race is gendered" (Glenn, 2002). Race alters the very meaning and impact of gender and gender alters the very meaning and impact of race.

A complex, intersectional view of femininity can be seen in research on girls and education. Feminist research produced in the early 1990s argued that girls experience declining self-esteem in school and that boys tend to dominate teachers' attentions (Sadker & Sadker, 1994; American Association of University Women, 1992). Femininity in this sense was cast as fragile and vulnerable. However, subsequent research has challenged the notion that girls always accept the quiet, passive roles society tends to encourage (Simmons, 2002). In particular, research that has included girls of color, girls of different class backgrounds, and girls living in urban areas, highlights variations in experiences and enactments of femininity (Emerson, 2002; Rotheram-Borus, Dopkins, Sabate, & Lightfoot, 1996; Taylor, Gilligan & Sullivan, 1995; Ward, 1996). Because Black women, for instance, have historically worked outside the home and occupied prominent positions in Black communities, their experience and understanding of being a woman differs markedly from White women (Fordham, 1993; Thompson, 1998). By taking this intersectional perspective, such work reveals the hegemonic, but tenuous, status of femininity. Although institutions continue to promulgate dominant definitions of femininity as quiet and passive, girls themselves—especially those situated differently according to race, class, and place—may construct alternative embodiments of femininity. Indeed, girls not privileged by Whiteness, as well as those not privileged by class status, most likely possess unique tools to carve out counter-hegemonic ways of being female (Bettie, 2003; Taylor et al., 1995).

This intersectional view of femininity rests on the notion that race, class, and gender are socially constructed (Glenn, 2002). Some empirical work has shown how race (Lewis, 2003), class (Willis, 1977), and gender (Thorne, 1993), are constructed through interaction and personal agency, albeit within certain importantly restrictive social and institutional constraints. Much of this literature examines education as an important institution in the social construction and reproduction of race, class, and gender for youth. From the perspective of what has come to be known as reproduction theory, schools not only serve as sites for the construction of race, class, and gender identities, they also reproduce existing inequalities in these areas (Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Dillabough, 2003). Contrary to the common view of schools as "great equalizers," reproduction theory contends that schools solidify, or even exaggerate, the inequalities children bring with them to school (see Downey, von Hippel, & Broh, 2004). Reproduction theory

has been one of the most enduring frameworks for understanding continuing inequality in education. However, most variations of this theory give primacy to race or class or gender in the reproduction of inequality—it remains less clear how schools might aid in reproducing these factors if we consider them intertwined in ways that might alter their impacts.

Literature on education and youth has recently begun to consider race, class, and gender in this interconnected way (Bettie, 2003; Ferguson, 2000; Lopez, 2003; Williams, Alvarez, & Andrade Hauck, 2002). Early examples of the utility of a race/gender perspective (although not employing the stated theory of intersectionality) can be found in the work of Linda Grant (1984, 1992, 1994). Grant's examinations of the intersections of race and gender for Black girls in classrooms shows how teachers tend to treat Black girls differently than they treat White girls or Black boys. Furthermore, Grant emphasizes how educators express more interest in promoting the social, rather than academic, skills of Black girls. In Grant's (1992) research, this emphasis on social skills was less apparent for White girls, Black boys, and White boys. These findings demonstrate the necessity of comprehending race and gender simultaneously: Particular combinations of these factors tend to result in distinct educational perceptions and experiences.

Reproduction viewed through an intersectional lens can clarify seeming contradictions in inequality, schooling and gender. For example, although masculinity typically garners rewards in institutional settings, other factors such as class, race, and sexuality may alter the experience and perception of masculinity (Connell, 1995; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Educational research has noted that boys from disadvantaged class backgrounds often resist academic success, seeing it as effeminate and undesirable (MacLeod, 1995; Willis, 1977). In addition, several scholars have noted a pronounced gender gap in achievement and attainment among African Americans and Latinos, with females in these groups generally outperforming males (Lopez, 2003; Mickelson, 2003; Riordan, 2003). Some have suggested that this stems from a strong stigma attached to race and class for young Black and Latino males. This results in strained, often confrontational interactions between these young men and educators.

Ferguson (2000), for example, argues that stereotypes of race and gender combine to make (often very young) Black boys appear threatening or potentially threatening, and serves to justify their harsh and persistent discipline in schools. Lopez (2003) draws similar conclusions in her study of the educational experiences of Dominican, Haitian, and West Indian youth, the majority of whom had an African phenotype. Lopez demonstrates how Dominican male high school students endured surveillance and harsh discipline:

"Through the implementation of security measures, young [Dominican] men in particular were profiled and singled out as problematic throughout the school" (p. 88). Dominican women, by contrast, did not undergo such discipline, and developed closer relationships with educators.

Such research raises questions about the disciplinary experiences of girls, however. Many argue that girls enjoy more educational advantages than boys (Sommers, 2000; see Mickelson, 2003; Riordan, 2003, for reviews). Indeed, the studies by Ferguson and Lopez demonstrate that Black girls are disciplined less than Black boys. But does this mean that the gender of Black girls provides them with advantages over boys in classrooms? Instead of taking such a dichotomous view, it might make more sense to examine the ways Black boys and Black girls undergo distinctive disciplinary regimes in their schooling. Schools might view many Black girls as problematic and subject them to discipline, but in a different way than for Black boys. In this article, I explore this proposition. Building on the work of Ferguson, Grant, and Lopez, I examine how race, gender, and class interpretations combined to influence the perceptions and discipline of Black girls. I analyze how class and race-based perceptions impacted perceptions of femininity, making the behavior of African American girls appear improper to many educators. The discipline directed at Black girls was aimed to make them more "ladylike," yet this same process appeared to discourage behaviors that could lead to educational success.

Methods

This article emerges from a 2-year ethnographic study of a public, neighborhood middle school. I call this school Matthews Middle School (a pseudonym, as are all names in this article). Matthews comprised seventh and eighth grades, and enrolled approximately 1,000 students during my time there. The faculty of the school consisted of approximately 60 educators, who ranged from teaching veterans (close to 30 years of experience) to first-year teachers. An African American woman served as the school's principal, and the faculty was roughly two-thirds African American and one-third White, with just a handful of Latino and Asian American teachers. The school was located in a predominately poor and working-class area. In the final year of my research, the school had 66% of its students receiving free or reduced-price lunch. The racial composition of the student body that year was 46% African American, 43% Latino, 7% Asian American, and 3% White. The external structure of the school appeared somewhat neglected,

with dingy, stained bricks, plain façade, and plainly landscaped grounds. The interior of the school, by contrast, was bright and cheerful, displaying student artwork on the walls, and constantly bustling with activity.

My fieldwork lasted from August 2000 to June 2002, although I visited the campus only a few times from August to December of 2000. In January 2001 and continuing through June 2002, I made regular visits to the school, approximately 2 to 4 days per week during the school year. I attempted to give back to the school and improve rapport between myself and teachers by offering to tutor students who needed extra help. The classes and students I tutored varied, but I concentrated on writing because the school wanted to improve their writing scores on the state assessment test. Tutoring gave me a chance to get to know some students, as well as help out the school, which accommodated my presence so graciously.

I typically observed at Matthews for several hours during the days I visited. This observation concentrated within classrooms, but I also observed before school, during lunch, after school, and in hallways, the library, the main office and the assistant principals' offices. I attended sporting events and other extra-curricular activities and ceremonies. My observations did not follow any particular pattern, and I tried to observe as many different teachers and classes as possible. I did have more observation time with certain teachers, but also spent enough time in other classrooms to discern the extent to which my observations differed, or bore similarities, across teachers. I observed or spoke with nearly every teacher during my time at Matthews.

I recorded most interactions I observed in a small notebook while they occurred. However, occasionally I sensed that this note-taking might be obtrusive or distracting to teachers and students. In such cases, I wrote down my notes as soon as possible after observing (see Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995). When I could only remember the basic idea of what someone said, I did not record this as a quote. Thus, the quotes that I use in this analysis, although not always verbatim, represent a very close approximation.[2]

I conducted a student survey to asses how students identified racially. I asked each teacher to distribute this survey in their advisory periods (commonly known as "homeroom"), so that each student would have an opportunity to complete the survey. However, some teachers forgot to administer the survey, some students were absent when the survey was administered, and other students chose not to complete the survey. Thus, I received a total of 581 completed surveys from approximately 1,000 students enrolled at the time, yielding a response rate of approximately 58%.

I conducted 14 semi-structured interviews with teachers and administrators. I chose the interviewees based on a *purposive sampling* technique (see Lofland, Snow, Anderson, & Lofland, 2006), meaning that I purposefully intended the sample to vary by gender, racial/ethnic background, and years of experience. I tape-recorded the first 2 of these interviews, but the respondents appeared somewhat uneasy with the tape-recorder. This unease probably stemmed from several factors. First, I conducted the tape-recorded interviews relatively early in my fieldwork, perhaps before gaining complete rapport; second, the interview questions included sensitive topics regarding race, class, and gender in education. Thus, I decided to eliminate the tape-recorder and wrote down the other interviews as they occurred. These subsequent interviews struck me as far more lucid and conversational than the first 2. I analyzed my data using a modified version of the *grounded theory* approach (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), meaning that I entered the field with certain interests in race, class, and gender inequality in mind, but remained relatively open to making new discoveries from the data while in the field. For example, my overarching research question concerned the academic and social experiences of White students in this predominately minority school, but I soon learned that their Whiteness only gained meaning in relation to students of color, and that experiences of race varied according to understandings of class and gender (Morris, 2006). This meant that I systematically recorded experiences of Black girls, along with White students and other students. I coded these data using *focused coding* (see Emerson et al., 1995, pp. 160-162), identifying key themes, one of which pertained to the classroom experiences of Black girls, which composes the basis for this article. I found and coded examples that fell within this theme after reading through interview and fieldnote transcripts manually.

My social position as a White middle-class man certainly shaped the way I gathered and interpreted data. Especially because this article concerns the experiences of students from a different gender, race, and class background from my own, this created some social distance between myself and my participants. Although I talked to Black girls at Matthews frequently, I was not able to achieve the kind of social connection and bonding with these students as someone who shared their race, gender, and age position. Furthermore, I did not have the opportunity to tutor any Black girls. The teachers assigned students to me for tutoring, generally because these students "needed extra help," and never paired me with a Black girl (although they did pair me with several Latina girls). Thus, the reader will note less direct data from the thoughts and words of Black girls than from their teachers. I certainly do not

mean for this to silence their voices—instead I have aimed to empathize as much as possible with their experiences and tell their stories. In addition, many of the educators at Matthews, as I have mentioned, were African American, and many of them women. Although I shared a similar position with them as an "adult" (I would argue that in the world of middle school, the major social division lies between "adult" and "kid"), I did not share their race and gender background. However, I found that I was able to gain rapport with many of these teachers. In telling the stories of all educators at Matthews, I have attempted to retain as much empathy as possible. Although I am often critical of certain student-teacher interactions, I do this only to reveal the complicated and tacit reproduction of various inequalities in schools, not to place blame on particular educators or this particular school.

Findings

I identified several themes in the educational experiences of Black girls at Matthews, described below. Within each of these themes, gender, race, and social class combined to impact perceptions and actions concerning Blackness and femininity. This shaped the academic experience of Black girls in complex and unique ways.

Black Girls' Interactions in Classrooms

Much feminist literature has described the relative silence of girls in classrooms and a concomitant drop in self-esteem for girls in their early teens (Sadker & Sadker, 1994; American Association of University Women, 1992). But other work has noted that Black girls maintain their self-esteem and their classroom "voice" into adolescence despite the fact that they may feel neglected in education (Orenstein, 1994; Taylor et al., 1995). Indeed, at Matthews I often observed girls—particularly Black girls—dominating classroom discussion:

> 4/24/02. Mr. Carter, 7th grade English. The girls in this class, many of them African American, answer and are involved in the discussion much more than the boys, even when the discussion deals specifically with computers [a topic of the story they are discussing]. A Black girl named Tanya and an East Asian girl sitting at the front named Carla seem to be competing to answer the most questions.

[. . .] After the lunch break, the boys in the class seem even more discon-
nected. Mr. Carter tells a Hispanic boy to "sit up—don't slouch." He wakes
up a Black boy who is asleep on his desk. The boy complains that he just can't
stay awake. Mr. Carter lets him leave with a hall pass to go to the bathroom and
wake up. Mr. Carter calls on some of the boys to try to get them involved, but
it doesn't seem to work—most have not been following well. I ask him after
class if it was just the topic today that encouraged more participation from the
girls. He says no—that the class is always like that. He says that "the girls just
talk a lot."

I noticed this active participation of girls to a greater extent in English
classrooms, particularly when, as in this example, the subject concerned
gender issues or relationships. However, the topic in this example also con-
cerned computers and technology, areas more commonly dominated by
boys. Furthermore, girls at Matthews, especially Black girls, spoke out to
ask and answer questions in science and math classes as well, although to a
lesser extent than in English and history classes.

This willingness of African American girls to compete and stand up to
others also emerged in their non-academic interactions with boys. At times
in this middle school (as is perhaps the case in any middle school) kids
often appeared to show affection for others by hitting and "messing with"
them. This occurred more frequently for boys, who often engaged in play-
fighting rituals with other boys to display masculinity in the context of
friendships (see also Connolly, 1998). Boys also initiated this behavior with
girls they appeared to have some affection for, almost as a way of flirting,
although ostensibly bordering on harassment (I did not see any touching or
grabbing of an explicitly sexual nature, although teachers said that this did
occur). Black girls often responded to these hitting and chasing games by
fighting back, such as in the following example:

Fieldnotes, 12/14/01. Ms. Farley, 8th grade English. Ms. Farley leaves me in
charge of the class while she looks for the article of a boy named Raymond on
the library computer. The kids get even worse after she leaves (and they were
pretty unruly before). Taron, a Black boy, trades hits with a Black girl named
Jan. Then he hangs out in the hall for a while. Alex, another Black boy, also
hits Jan and then runs, and she chases him and hits him back. They both stop
and look at me for a minute, but Jan says, "He won't tell," and they continue.
Once they start running around some more, chasing and hitting each other,
I feel compelled to tell them to stop even though I am trying to not be seen as
an authority figure. Ms. Farley then comes back into the room. The class con-
tinues to be unruly as she tries to get them started working on their writing.

Black girls at Matthews often challenged physical contact initiated by boys by hitting and chasing them back. They did not yield to and accept this behavior from boys, nor did they tend to seek adult authority to protect themselves and punish the boys. Although the above exchange was playful, it also involved some fairly rough hitting. However, Jan does not tell Ms. Farley about Taron and Alex, and she does not ask for my protection. In contrast, she actually continues to chase Taron because she decides that I would not make her stop, and that I would not tell Ms. Farley about their behavior.[3]

Thus, most African American girls in my observations did not hesitate to speak up in classrooms, and stand up to boys physically. Few Black girls I observed created disruptions in classrooms, but most consistently competed with boys and other girls to gain teachers' positive attentions. Such an attitude and style within classrooms is not surprising when considering the historical experiences of most African American women, who have long struggled against race and gender oppression in ways that differ starkly from White women. According to Fordham (1993):

> African-American women's history stands in striking contrast to that generally associated with white womanhood and includes (1) more than 200 years in which their status as women was annulled . . . (2) systemic absence of protection by African-American and all other men; (3) construction of a new definition of what it means to be female out of the stigma associated with the black experience and the virtue and purity associated with white womanhood; and (4) hard work (including slave and domestic labor). (p. 8)

Thus, the historical exclusion from White, ideal models of femininity and the requirement to be independent from men has forged outspokenness for many Black women and girls. I observed this outspokenness at Matthews. Black girls there appeared less restrained by the dominant, White middle-class view of femininity as docile and compliant, and less expectant of male protection than White girls in other educational research (Holland & Eisenhart, 1990; Orenstein, 1994; Sadker & Sadker, 1994).

Black girls' constructions of femininity also led, in many cases, to a positive view of education, serious attention to schoolwork, and pride in academic achievement. For example, Black girls took pre-Advanced Placement (AP) courses in high numbers (see also Orenstein, 1994). Black girls composed a greater percentage of students in these courses than Black boys or Latina girls, although all three groups were similar in overall proportion of the student body. According to my analysis of pre-AP enrollment, Black girls outnumbered other race-gender groups in advanced courses, as Table 1 shows for selected subjects and pre-AP courses overall.

Table 1
Enrollment in Pre-Advanced Placement (AP) by
Selected Student Group and Selected Courses,
2001 (in percentages)

Race-Gender Group	Literature	Science	History	All Pre-AP Courses
Black female	42	47	47	41
Black male	17	20	29	21
Latina female	8	7	6	7

Source: Matthews Middle School Records, 2001.
Note: Figures have been rounded.

Their high numbers in AP demonstrate not only that teachers held positive assessments of Black girls (students required teacher approval to take these courses), but also that these girls cared enough about school to take more rigorous courses. This pro-school attitude even appeared for girls tracked into "regular" ability courses such as in the following example:[4]

> Fieldnotes, 2/23/01. Mr. Patel, 8th grade science. The class is very unruly. A Latino boy is removed from class by Mr. Patel. . . . Another boy, who looks part Black and part Latino, is also sent out. In the midst of this commotion, a Black girl named Cindy sitting next to me shows me the grade on her test. "I make 100s," she says proudly. As the class continues to act up she says to me, "Look at how they're acting—they act like children. It's stupid, I'm just trying to learn."

Black girls such as Cindy appeared to take their education very seriously. Thus, even in lower tracked classes these girls often strived to learn and achieve. This is not to suggest that boys did not also possess a strong interest in education, but Black girls appeared to voice their interest more transparently (see also Lopez, 2003). I argue that the particular combination of race and gender encouraged this. Black girls did not endure the same strict discipline as Black and Latino boys, and tended to not be seen as quite so troublesome:

> Fieldnotes, 4/26/01. Mr. Pham, 8th grade elective class. In the course of this boisterous class Mr. Pham has sent three Black boys to the [assistant principal's] office [for stricter punishment]. He tells a Latino boy who has been wrestling with another boy for most of the period to "lay off." [Earlier Mr. Pham sent another Latino boy to the office].
>   As I'm talking to Mr. Pham, he points out Kalina, a Black girl I've seen before, and Cesar, a Latino boy, as good students. "I wish I had a whole class

like them," Mr. Pham says. I ask him about Kendrick, a Black boy who Mr. Pham calls by his nickname. Kendrick is not a good student according to Mr. Pham [. . .] Later he asks another teacher walking by in the hall, "Can you take him [Kendrick] back please? I don't like him."

Like Mr. Pham in this example, teachers tended to discipline Black and Latino boys strictly, while often depicting Black girls as good students. Teachers appeared to view these girls as less threatening than Black and Latino boys, thus facilitating a more comfortable position for them within the classroom. At the same time, the self-reliance and outspokenness of many Black girls allowed them to engage teachers' attentions and deflect potential distractions from other students.

Reactions to Black Girls from Teachers

The tendency of African American girls to assert themselves in classrooms and stand up to boys was not always interpreted positively by teachers, however. Such behaviors appeared to work quite well for Black girls academically, as evidenced by advanced course enrollment and positive teachers' perceptions. This stands in contrast to Grant's (1992) observations in mixed-race classrooms, where teachers did not describe Black girls as among the top students. However, similar to Grant (1984) I noticed that educators at Matthews still focused less attention on the academic progress of Black girls, and more attention on their comportment and social decorum (see also Horvat & Antonio, 1999). As I have described elsewhere (Morris, 2005), most educators at Matthews expressed a keen interest in student discipline, with Black and Latino boys constituting the most harshly and regularly disciplined groups at the school. However, as I will show, teachers did subject Black girls to a particular form of discipline, largely directed at their comportment. This discipline stemmed from perceptions of them as challenging to authority, loud, and not ladylike.

Perceived challenges to authority. Teachers, particularly women, often scolded Black girls for supposedly subverting their authority in the classroom, such as in the following excerpt:

Fieldnotes, 4/6/01. Ms. Harris, 7th grade math. A Black girl named Celia is calling out answers to many of Ms. Harris's questions, but getting many of them wrong. Ms. Harris, a Black woman, tells Celia that she is just guessing, and she needs to do the work on article [. . .] Later in the class, Ms. Harris goes over a sample problem from the state assessment test on an overhead

projector. Referring to a drawing Ms. Harris has made with the radius and diameter, Celia shouts out from nowhere, "Why didn't you put circumference?" Ms. Harris is clearly disturbed by Celia's comment. She threatens to stop teaching because, as she describes it, Celia can now teach the class. The class yells, "No!" wanting Ms. Harris to continue teaching. (This is probably the first time I've seen a middle school class begging the teacher to teach.) Celia puts her head down on the desk and is disengaged for the rest of the class.

I observed several instances of Black girls such as Celia being scolded for calling out answers or questioning teachers. This reaction happened less frequently for boys, and very rarely for girls of other racial and ethnic groups. Thus, although Black girls often actively sought the attention of teachers in classrooms, many teachers could interpret their questioning and assertiveness negatively. An African American teacher named Ms. Duncan alluded to this during our conversation one day:

> Fieldnotes, 12/18/01. I sit in Ms. Duncan's class and talk to her a little. She nods toward a Black girl and tells me, "I'm gonna get that one out of my class 'cause I just can't take it anymore. [. . .] The counselor didn't want to move her," she continues, "but we're calling her mother and she's going to make her switch to another class because it won't be a good situation if she stays in here (chuckles)."
> I say that probably sounds like a good idea. Ms. Duncan says, "Yeah, a lot of the females, especially Black females here, try to have some authority over me in class. [. . .] I say to them 'uh-uh—I'm the only adult in here.'" She pauses for a bit and then continues, "But they think they are adults too, and they try to act like they should have control sometimes."

This statement from Ms. Duncan exemplifies the perception of Black girls as too assertive, so much so, in her view, they even attempt to wrest control of the class from her. Furthermore, she interprets the behavior of many Black girls in this context as prematurely adult. Similarly, other teachers, such as a White teacher named Mr. Lang, described girls at the school as very "mature" and more sophisticated than boys (Interview, 2/26/01). This perception echoes Grant's (1992) observation that teachers in mixed-race classrooms often describe Black girls as socially (but not academically) mature. It also bears similarities to Ferguson's (2000) analysis of the *adultification* of young Black boys by school officials. Ferguson describes how many adults in the school she examined viewed elementary school-age boys as already dangerous and deserving of harsh, adult-like punishment. This adultification may pertain to Black girls as well, whom many view as overly sexual and

controlling at a young age. Collins (1990) discusses the stereotypical "controlling image" of the Black female matriarch. The *matriarch* portrays a negative view of African American femininity as overly aggressive and dominant. Similar to Black boys, whose adultification leads to a perception of them as aggressively masculine and justifies strict punishments, the adultification of Black girls can lead to a perception of them as aggressively feminine, which can justify restriction of their inquisitiveness and assertiveness in classrooms.

Interestingly, at Matthews this view of Black girls as challenging to authority was expressed most often by Black female teachers. A Black teacher named Ms. Taylor, for example, thought the girls behaved better for men than women:

> The girls here are very defiant, very challenging to authority. They like a male teacher [. . .] but they will oppose a female [. . .] Also, I think the opposite sex will let them get away with a little more. (Interview, 3/27/02)

In my observations of male and female teachers' classrooms, I did not note any discernable difference in behavior for Black girls. Black women teachers appeared to discipline girls more often than male teachers did, perhaps because they remained more aware of transgressions of students of their own gender. However, as I have mentioned, I observed that both male and female teachers disciplined boys, especially Black and Latino boys, the most persistently and critically.

Previous research suggests that Black women teachers are particularly conscious of stereotypes of Black women, and may actively try to rid Black girls of behavior corresponding to these stereotypes (Tyson, 2003). This view is also consistent with research that demonstrates how Black mothers include lessons about encountering racism in their parenting (Ward, 1996), and research demonstrating the importance of *othermothers*[5] and an extension of family-like caring in the Black community (Collins, 1990; Thompson, 1998; Ware, 2002). Thus, the Black female teachers at Matthews may have assumed a caring, parenting role, which aimed to prepare Black girls for the racism and sexism they would encounter as adults. In my observations, Black women teachers did attend more closely to the behaviors of Black girls, and often took more of an active role in attempting to reform those behaviors:

> Fieldnotes, 4/26/02. Ms. Boyd, 7th grade history. Ms. Boyd, a Black woman, tells Chantelle and Larissa, two Black girls, to stop talking. Chantelle responds, "We is talking, but it's about the assignment." Ms. Boyd corrects her: "We *are*." Chantelle seems confused. Later, Ms. Boyd corrects her again for not saying

"are." She says, "I know this isn't English [class], but you will speak correctly in my class."

This interest in reform coincided with a notion from many Black female teachers that they should help instill the children with social skills. As Ms. Boyd said, "You're not just teaching [a subject], you're teaching life skills. A lot of these kids, they don't get this at home" (Interview, 5/10/01). As I will discuss further, this interest in social skills typically included molding Black girls into traditionally feminine behavior, presumably to prepare them for a White dominated world that might be critical of their femininity. Such a view is consistent with the socially conscious and discipline-oriented version of African American teacher caring documented in other research (Irvine, 2002; Thompson, 1998). However, at Matthews, teachers' interactions with and assessments of Black girls were not always redolent of caring. The excerpts from Ms. Duncan and Ms. Harris above, for example, demonstrate tense confrontations with Black girls in classrooms.

Some of the friction between Black female teachers and their Black female students appeared to stem from social class. Much literature on African American teachers and African American students (rightly) emphasizes race, and to a lesser extent gender (Irvine, 2002; Thompson, 1998), but downplays social class. However, a substantial class bifurcation exists within the Black community (Wilson, 1980; 1996). Black teachers occupy a middle-class position, which could lead to a social class-based division between some Black teachers and some Black students. Evidence of such a division emerged especially when teachers at Matthews discussed presumed family problems in the area. Ms. Boyd in the quote above, for instance, indicates that many of the students did not learn appropriate interactional skills from their families. The perspective that the students "don't get [these skills] at home" suggests that area families lacked knowledge of middle-class-based manners to transmit to their children. In addition, a negative view of mother-headed households often imparted a gendered connotation to class differences, suggesting that boys would have no male role models in the home and girls would be given too much responsibility and authority. Ms. Taylor alluded to this in our interview when explaining discipline problems among the students: "These parents are too young, they're unemployed a lot of times, they are formally uneducated, there is a lack of a male figure in the home" (Interview, 3/27/02). According to Collins (1990, p. 75), the image of the matriarch links assertive, "unfeminine" behavior in Black women and girls to female-headed families and poverty, thus combining race, class, and gender perceptions. This view of poverty and family shortcomings

prevailed at Matthews and influenced views of Black girls, even for Black teachers. Ms. Taylor said later in our interview that she thought she "shares a lot of [her]self with [the students]" because she grew up poor. However, she drew differences in the fact that her parents stayed married, and she was staying married to her husband—presenting a subtle, but important, distinction in class-based family structure.

Of course, not all Black women teachers I observed viewed the girls and the community in this way. But this indicates the complex intersections of race, class, and gender, and how each factor can influence the others in sometimes unexpected ways. Social class differences promoted a critical view of Black girls and their families at Matthews, even from Black women teachers. At the same time, these teachers (perhaps even in a caring way) wanted Black girls to not reflect dominant stereotypes of Black women, and appeared to take a special interest in these girls. This complex dynamic demonstrates the importance of intersecting identities and interests in teacher-student interactions.

Perceived loudness. By far the most common description and criticism of African American girls by all teachers at Matthews was that they were too "loud." Ms. Boyd expressed this perception:

> The boys here are always quiet and the girls are real loud. Girls are loud at this age, they have attitude. They won't want to do something, or think something is stupid, and move their heads back and forth and click at me. (Fieldnotes, 4/12/01)

Ms. Boyd speaks of girls in general in this quote, but her description of clicking and head movement reflects stereotypical Black female behavior. Furthermore, other teachers linked this loud and insolent behavior to Black girls specifically, as Ms. Duncan mentions in the quote given earlier. This perception of Black girls as loud provoked discipline from many teachers, as in the following example:

> Fieldnotes, 4/10/02. As I walk by the classrooms a Black girl who is among a group of Black students standing out in the hall [of a White woman teacher's classroom] says, "Hi Matthews Visitor!" and asks my name. I say I am Mr. Ed and ask why she is in the hall. She tells me she got in trouble for being loud.

Mr. Neal, an African American teacher, similarly described Black girls specifically as loud and confrontational. He went on to link this stance to

the fact that Black girls do not enjoy the same institutional benefits as other girls:

> Fieldnotes, 3/6/02. I say to Mr. Neal that I've noticed that the Black girls will defend themselves. He says, "Yeah, see they've learned to be combative because they don't have the system behind them. They've learned this to survive."

This statement from Mr. Neal is very insightful, and in fact echoes what scholars have claimed about the unique history of Black girls and women (Collins, 1990; Fordham, 1993; Glenn, 2002). Mr. Neal suggests that Black girls have learned to be assertive because they do not enjoy the same systemic protections as other girls, and have learned to stand up for themselves "to survive." However, according to Mr. Neal, this strategy ultimately results in a negative "combative" demeanor.

"Ladylike" behavior. For many adults at Matthews, the presumed loud and confrontational behavior of African American girls was viewed as a defect that compromised their very femininity. This emerged most clearly in educators castigating Black girls to behave like "ladies":

> Fieldnotes, 4/27/01. I am observing in Ms. Taylor's class, which is separated from another classroom only by a small wall with a large open passageway. In the adjoining classroom, there is a loud fight between two girls and the teacher of that class has to leave, I assume to take the kids to the office. While their teacher is gone, the class next door gets very unruly. They eventually get so loud, Ms. Taylor has to go over and tell them to settle down. "You need to grow up," she tells them. She calls one Black girl "unladylike." "You are a young lady," Ms. Taylor informs her, "You shouldn't be screaming—speak in a normal tone." She calls the girl over to the space between the classrooms and threatens to call the girl's mother.

Perceptions of the loudness and aggressiveness of Black girls translated into discipline aimed at curbing this behavior. Admonitions and instructions in ladylike behavior for Black girls, such as the example above, abounded at Matthews. The intention of this discipline appeared to be to mold them into exhibiting more "acceptable," stereotypical qualities of femininity such as being quieter and more passive.

Perceptions of Black girls as not sufficiently ladylike can also be linked perceptions of these girls as prematurely adult, mentioned earlier. Many teachers described the girls at the school as too sexually mature. A White teacher named Ms. Phillips, for example, told me that "a lot more girls are

going off campus with boys picking them up [. . .]their appearance is too provocative" (Interview, 11/26/01); and a Black teacher named Mr. Kyle stated that "these ladies here are fast—they've got boys 25, 26 calling after them" (Interview, 3/22/02). This perceived over-active and overly mature sexuality stands in contrast to dominant proscriptions of ladylike restriction of sexuality. Thus, part of the project to instill ladylike behavior involved circumscribing "provocative" behavior. Tensions over student dress demonstrated this most saliently. Some teachers attempted to dissuade Black girls at the school from wearing overly provocative "hoochie mama" clothing, seen as a mark of inappropriate, overly sexual femininity:

> Fieldnotes, 5/15/02. The school usually requires uniforms, but it's a free dress day today. I'm sitting in an Art class. A Black woman who is an aide for the class asks a Black girl, "Why you wearin' that hoochie mama skirt? I can almost see your butt in that!" The girl ignores what the aide said and continues working on her project.

Indeed, one of the reasons the school required uniforms was to restrict tight or revealing clothing, along with oversized or baggy clothing (the motto for free dress days was "not too baggy, not too tight"). Many students, including Black girls, indicated to me their dislike of this restricted dress:

> Fieldnotes, 4/2/02. As I come in [to the classroom] and take a seat a light skinned Black girl says "Hey—he in all my classes!" And then asks me, "Why you in all my classes mister?" I tell her I go to lots of different classes at the school, not just hers [. . .] Later I ask her if she likes it at Matthews. She says, "Yeah, I guess so—'cept the uniforms."

As with the examples above, Black girls often disagreed with, or simply ignored, restrictions on their dress and behavior. In Ms. Taylor's class especially, Black girls often appeared perplexed by her insistence on ladylike actions and dress. But because teachers occupied positions of authority, Black girls typically complied with their commands. Furthermore, I observed much evidence of Black girls actually accepting the emphasis on traditional femininity. For example, the school had two voluntary student clubs ostensibly geared toward teaching proper manners of dress, speech, and comportment. Both clubs attracted numerous members, who consisted almost entirely of Black girls. One of these clubs was a specific etiquette club, and the other was a more general girls club called The Proper Ladies. The Proper Ladies appeared patterned after a college sorority. The club carried out formal functions, taught girls formal dress and grooming, occasionally

visited area colleges, and performed community service. To be sure, the club included many positive impacts for these girls, but it also aimed to significantly alter their behavior. For example, although I never witnessed this while I observed at Matthews, a teacher told me that The Proper Ladies held a week in which the members could not speak in classrooms unless spoken to first. This teacher laughed in recounting this, describing it as a great break for the teachers. Although many Black girls voluntarily showed interest in The Proper Ladies, activities such as this week of speaking solely on command could only obstruct the voices of girls in the club.

But African American girls also showed resistance to traditional expressions of femininity emblematized in ladylike behavior. This resistance often appeared in subtle ways, rather than blatant opposition to teachers' requests for traditionally feminine manners. In the example of the "hoochie mama" accusation given earlier, the Black girl simply ignored what the adult said, perhaps recognizing that the adult was just an aide, not a full teacher. Teachers and administrators, of course, carried the authority to make the girls comply, even against their wishes. As Scott (1990) argues, however, much of the resistance of subordinate groups appears in "hidden transcripts," or subtly veiled forms of opposition. Such a hidden transcript of resistance from Black girls at Matthews could be seen in examples such as the following:

> Fieldnotes, 3/25/02. Ms. Powell, 7th grade math. At one point [during the class], a group of Black girls on one end of the room start laughing, and shout that someone has farted. One exclaims, "that's not ladylike!" And they all break into convulsive laughter.

The Black girl in this example ostensibly internalizes an interest in ladylike behavior and uses this to admonish her classmates, much like a teacher. However, her use of humor suggests that her statement is actually a parody of many teachers' concern with traditionally feminine behavior. This example shows how the discourse of acting ladylike pervaded the lives of Black girls at Matthews, appearing in their own conversations. At the same time, however, these girls did not necessarily internalize a focus on models of femininity steeped in silence and restriction, and in fact discursively subverted this focus in subtle ways.

It is also important to recognize that not all teachers at Matthews encouraged traditional, ladylike behavior from Black girls. Some in fact used the term *lady* in a very different way than a model of femininity based on docility. A Black woman named Ms. Cooper, for instance, used this term while encouraging more participation from girls in her classroom:

Fieldnotes, 4/12/01. Ms. Cooper says "Ladies, you need to get more involved and answer some of these questions. Why am I not hearing from my young ladies? I read a study that said that boys answer more than girls do—now don't let this be true in my class." When Ms. Cooper continues, the girls do get more involved, especially some Black girls [sitting] up front.

Such encouragement for girls to be more assertive was not the norm at the school, however. And most of these girls accepted, rather than openly resisted, efforts to modify their behavior. Clubs such as The Proper Ladies, as well as many teachers in daily classroom interactions, appeared intent on molding Black girls into more mainstream models of femininity—models that included more "proper" behavior such as bodily control and restriction, speaking in a quieter way, and being more receptive to authority and instruction. This focus revealed a perception that the femininity of Black girls was somehow flawed. I did observe Black girls to be assertive and outspoken in classrooms, but I did not observe this behavior to be consistently obnoxious or disruptive. Instead, it demonstrated that many African American girls simply showed an interest and excitement in learning, and were engaged in the class. Ironically, many educators at Matthews viewed as problematic the same set of behaviors that led Black girls to pursue their learning in a concerted and self-reliant way. In their genuine attempts to help these girls by teaching them proper ladylike manners, educators often unintentionally stifled the outspokenness and assertiveness that forged academic success for many African American girls at Matthews.

The discipline of Black girls from Black educators at Matthews, however, could be viewed as an effort to model behavior that might be more acceptable to a White-dominated society (Delpit, 1995; Tyson, 2003). Literature on African American teachers indicates that they carry a unique focus on overcoming racism and discrimination into their classrooms, taking on a responsibility to prepare Black students, in particular, for the negative experiences they will undoubtedly encounter in White-dominated institutions (Ware, 2002; Irvine, 2002). Although Tyson (2003) empathizes with the intent of preparing African American students for a critical White society, she notes that it might inadvertently reinforce dominant representations of African Americans, especially if students do not understand the reason for such discipline. At Matthews, I observed that this understanding depended on the teacher. Some teachers, such as Ms. Cooper (a favored teacher among all students, including Black girls) used the term *lady* in an emancipatory way, encouraging young girls to speak out in the classroom. Her understanding of being a lady actually coincided with the strength, outspokenness, and self-reliance traditionally rooted in Black femininity (Emerson, 2002; Thompson, 1998). However,

other educators' versions of ladylike behavior, even from Black women such as Ms. Taylor, encouraged bodily control, quietness, and passivity—qualities that would seem to restrict more than enable the progress of these girls.

Even though some teachers' work with Black girls stimulated counter-hegemonic enactments of femininity, the interest in ladylike behavior in general appeared to reinforce dominant, negative representations of Black girls as inadequately feminine. This reinforced view could be seen even within the walls of the school. A White teacher named Mr. Wilson, for example, continued to interpret many Black girls as too assertive. He described The Proper Ladies in the following manner:

> The Proper Ladies haven't shown me much. I haven't seen the change in behavior there. The Proper Ladies—I don't call them the Proper Ladies, I call them The Proper Loudies (laughs). Because they're so loud—they are really the most abrasive group of girls (laughs)! (Interview, 5/15/02)

The stereotypical view of Black girls as loud and challenging was resilient at Matthews. Despite the efforts of some educators to rework these girls' behaviors into closer approximations of hegemonic notions of womanhood, views of their femininity as abrasive and flawed persisted. In fact, the very project to reform the femininity of these girls itself indicated something problematic in this femininity.

Discussion

In the case of Black girls at Matthews, race and class impacted perceptions of femininity, which impacted their experience of schooling. These girls did not experience the same forms of classroom discipline and teacher-student interaction as White girls, Latina girls, Latino boys, or Black boys shown in other research (Ferguson, 2000; Lopez, 2003; Morris, 2005). The stereotypes and resulting treatment pertaining to Black girls were unique to them, although certainly influenced by dominant ideas of race, class, and gender more generally. Blackness, along with perceptions of class and family background, impacted perceptions of the femininity of these girls. Their assertive behaviors, which schools and families often subtly encourage for White and middle-class children (Lareau, 2002, 2003; Anyon, 1980), tended to be interpreted as abrasive and aggressive. This tainted perceptions of Black femininity in this working-class environment, making these girls appear inadequately feminine—lacking control over themselves, yet trying to establish control over others in inappropriate ways. Such perceptions resulted in patterns of

discipline intended to re-form the femininity of African American girls into something more "acceptable." However, this more acceptable form of femininity often included many traditional aspects of female deference such as passivity and silence.

This interplay is reminiscent of Willis's (1977) classic study of working-class boys in Britain. Willis describes the perspective of the "lads," a group of boys who vehemently opposed school, as partially characterized by certain *penetrations*, or insights into the structure of class inequality. Through such penetrations, these boys critiqued and resisted the dominant ideology of an existing meritocracy and personal responsibility for class position. Although less transparent, the perspective and behavior of African American girls at Matthews reflects a certain critique and resistance of gender inequality. These girls' actions suggested alternative embodiments of femininity that refused to accept a passive, deferential position in the gender order. The unique history of Black women perhaps contributed to a standpoint from which Black girls could reject the dominant ideology of gender inequality (Fordham, 1993; Collins, 1990; Thompson, 1998). Their actions also produced practical results—namely academic success—that demonstrated the benefits of this approach. However, many adults viewed this alternative model of femininity as culturally inadequate. And although some Black girls resisted efforts to curb their unbridled, independent behavior, most acquiesced or even voluntarily participated in re-forming themselves into traditional, restrained, "young ladies." Thus, the penetrations leading to the success of many Black girls and women in the face of race and class inequalities could be undermined in favor of reinforcing a hegemonic model of womanhood. Similar to the lads, whose hindrance according to Willis came primarily from their fascination with a dominant, physical masculinity, the hindrance of Black girls at Matthews stemmed from an emphasis on a passive, docile femininity.

This model of womanhood appeared to counteract the very qualities—outspokenness, assertiveness—that made many Black girls in my observations successful academically. Some teachers at Matthews, such as Ms. Collins, encouraged outspoken behavior from girls, even while describing them as ladies. But for most teachers, molding these girls into young ladies, included subtly (and unwittingly) molding them into less active learners.

Conclusion

In analyzing the complex workings of inequality in education, it is essential to view inequality as multi-faceted and interconnected. I argue that the

lens of intersectionality, which understands race, class, and gender as intertwined factors that might alter the experience and meaning of one another, best illuminates the often contradictory experience of educational inequality for Black girls. Much previous research in educational inequality has been dominated by reproduction theory—the theory that schools reinforce and sometimes exacerbate existing social inequalities. This perspective has often expressed class, gender, and race as analytically distinct inequalities (Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Dillabough, 2003; Delpit, 1995). I suggest instead that social reproduction must be viewed through an intersectional lens. Reproduction does not take place according to race, class, and gender independently, but in combination. Through this combination, these factors do not just layer on top of each other, but also interact with each other in profound and sometimes unexpected ways.

These interactions can produce unequal consequences. It is interesting, for example, that many teachers criticized Black girls for perceived challenges to authority, and thought this behavior required reform. Indeed, other research shows that a "hidden curriculum" often encourages this same behavior for middle-class and White students—a situation that many scholars suggest conditions them to be critical learners and successfully attain middle-class and upper-class occupations (Anyon, 1980). Black girls who exhibited all the trappings of young ladies might have appeared to be good students in their behavior, but the gender-specific qualities associated with a "well-behaved" student are not always the qualities associated with academic and occupational excellence.

Notes

1. In this article, I will alternate between the terms "African American" and "Black" for readability and because educators and students at the school alternated between these terms.

2. Based on the suggestion of Spradley (1979), I intended to record methodological decisions, hunches, and other issues in a separate notebook. However, because I found it logistically easier to record these thoughts on the spot, I soon began to include them in my primary field notebook under separate headings (for a more thorough description of the methods for this project, see Morris, 2006).

3. I made it a point to not discipline children unless absolutely necessary for their (or my) safety. I did this because I did not want the kids to see me as one of the teachers, which could accentuate the social distance between myself and the students (see also Bettie, 2003; Thorne, 1993).

4. The school had three tracks: "pre-Advanced Placement" for high achievers, "regular" for middle achievers, and "resource" for low achieving students designated as special educational needs.

5. Othermothers can be defined as Black women who take on roles of surrogate parents in Black communities.

References

American Association of University Women. (1992). *The AAUW report: How schools short-change girls*. Washington, DC: The AAUW Educational Foundation and National Educational Association.

Anderson, E. (1990). *Streetwise: Race, class, and change in an urban community*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Anyon, J. (1980). Social class and the hidden curriculum of work. *Journal of Education*, *162*, 67-92.

Bettie, J. (2003). *Women without class: Girls, race, and identity*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Bourdieu, P., & Passeron, J.-C. (1977). *Reproduction in education, society, and culture*. London: Sage Publications.

Bowles, S., & Gintis, H. (1976). *Schooling in capitalist America: Educational reform and the contradictions of economic life*. New York: Basic Books.

Collins, P. H. (1990). *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment*. New York: Routledge.

Collins, P. H. (1998). *Fighting words: Black women and the search for social justice*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Connell, R. W. (1995). *Masculinities*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Connell, R. W., & Messerschmidt, J. W. (2005). Hegemonic masculinity: Rethinking the concept. *Gender & Society*, *19*, 829-859.

Connolly, P. (1998). *Racism, gender identities, and young children: Social relations in a multi-ethnic, inner-city primary school*. London: Routledge.

Delpit, L. (1995). *Other people's children: Cultural conflict in the classroom*. New York: The Free Press.

Dillabough, J.-A. (2003). Gender, education, and society: The limits and possibilities of feminist reproduction theory. *Sociology of Education*, *76*, 376-379.

Downey, D. B., von Hippel, P. T., & Broh, B. (2004). Are schools the great equalizer? Cognitive inequality during the summer months and the school year. *American Sociological Review*, *69*, 613-635.

Emerson, R. A. (2002). "Where my girls at?" Negotiating black womanhood in music videos. *Gender & Society*, *16*, 115-135.

Emerson, R. M., Fretz, R. I., & Shaw, L. L. (1995). *Writing ethnographic fieldnotes*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Ferguson, A. A. (2000). *Bad boys: Public schools in the making of black masculinity*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Fordham, S. (1993). "Those loud black girls": (Black) women, silence, and gender "passing" in the academy. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, *24*, 3-32.

Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. L. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research*. Chicago: Aldine.

Glenn, E. N. (2002). *Unequal freedom: How race and gender shaped American citizenship and labor*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Grant, L. (1984). Black females "place" in desegregated classrooms. *Sociology of Education*, *57*, 98-111.

Grant, L. (1992). Race and the schooling of young girls. In J. Wrigley (Ed.), *Education and gender inequality* (pp. 91-114). New York: Falmer.

Grant, L. (1994). Helpers, enforcers, and go-betweens: Black girls in elementary schools. In B. T. Dill & M. B. Zinn (Eds.), *Women of color in U.S. society* (2nd ed., pp. 43-63). Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Holland, D. C., & Eisenhart, M. A. (1990). *Educated in romance.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

hooks, b. (2004). *We real cool: Black men and masculinity*. New York: Routledge.

Horvat, E. M., & Antonio, A. L. (1999). "Hey, those shoes are out of uniform": African American girls in an elite high school and the importance of habitus. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, *30*, 317-342.

Irvine, J. J. (2002). African American teachers' culturally specific pedagogy: The collective stories. In J. J. Irvine (Ed.), *In search of wholeness: African American teachers and their culturally specific classroom practices* (pp. 139-146). New York: Palgrave.

Lareau, A. (2002). Invisible inequality: Social class and childrearing in black families and white families. *American Sociological Review*, *67*, 747-776.

Lareau, A. (2003). *Unequal childhoods: Class, race, and family life*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Lewis, A. (2003). *Race in the schoolyard: Negotiating the color line in classrooms and communities*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Lofland, J., Snow, D., Anderson, L., & Lofland, L. (2006). *Analyzing social settings: A guide to qualitative observation and analysis* (4th ed.). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Lopez, N. (2003). *Hopeful girls, troubled boys*. New York: Routledge.

Mac an Ghaill, M. (1994). *The making of men: Masculinities, sexualities, and schooling*. Buckingham, UK: Open University Press.

MacLeod, J. (1995). *Ain't no makin' it: Aspirations and attainment in a low income neighborhood* (2nd ed.). Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

McIntosh, P. (1998). White privilege and male privilege: A personal account of coming to see correspondences through work in women's studies. In M. L. Andersen & P. H. Collins (Eds.), *Race, class, and gender* (2nd ed., pp. 94-105). Boston: Wadsworth.

Mickelson, R. A. (2003). Gender, Bourdieu, and the anomaly of women's achievement redux. *Sociology of Education*, *76*, 373-375.

Morris, E. W. (2005). "Tuck in that shirt!": Race, class, gender and discipline in an urban school. *Sociological Perspectives*, *48*, 25-48.

Morris, E. W. (2006). *An unexpected minority: White kids in an urban school*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Orenstein, P. (1994). *School girls: Young women, self-esteem, and the confidence gap*. New York: Doubleday.

Price, J. N. (1999). Schooling and racialized masculinities: The diploma, teachers, and peers in the lives of young, African American men. *Youth & Society*, *31*, 224-263.

Pyke, K. D., & Johnson, D. L. (2003). Asian American women and racialized femininities: "Doing" gender across cultural worlds. *Gender & Society*, *17*, 33-53.

Riordan, C. (2003). Failing in school? Yes; Victims of war? No. *Sociology of Education*, *76*, 369-372.

Rotheram-Borus, M. J., Dopkins, S., Sabate, N., & Lightfoot, M. (1996). Personal and ethnic identity, values, and self-esteem among black and Latino adolescent girls. In B. J. Ross Leadbeater & N. Way (Eds.), *Urban girls: Resisting stereotypes, creating identities,* (pp. 35-52). New York: New York University Press.

Sadker, M., & Sadker, D. (1994). *Failing at fairness: How America's schools cheat girls*. New York: Scribner's.

Scott, J. (1990). *Domination and the arts of resistance*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Sewell, T. (2000). *Black masculinities and schooling: How black boys survive modern schooling*. London: Trentham Books.

Simmons, R. (2002). *Odd girl out: The hidden culture of aggression in girls*. New York: Harcourt, Inc.

Sommers, C. H. (2000). *The war against boys: How misguided feminism is harming our young men*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Spradley, J. P. (1979). *The ethnographic interview*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Taylor, J. M., Gilligan, C., & Sullivan, A. (1995). *Between voice and silence: Women and girls, race and relationship*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Thompson, A. (1998). Not the color purple: Black feminist lessons for educational caring. *Harvard Educational Review*, *68*, 522-555.

Thorne, B. (1993). *Gender play: Girls and boys in school.* New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Tyson, K. (2003). Notes from the back of the room: Problems and paradoxes in the schooling of young black students. *Sociology of Education*, *76*, 326-343.

Ward, J. V. (1996). Raising resisters: The role of truth telling in the psychological development of African American girls. In B. J. Ross Leadbeater & N. Way (Eds.), *Urban girls: Resisting stereotypes, creating identities* (pp. 85-99). New York: New York University Press.

Ware, F. (2002). Black teachers' perceptions of their professional roles and practices. In J. J. Irvine (Ed.), *In search of wholeness: African American teachers and their culturally specific classroom practices* (pp. 33-45). New York: Palgrave.

Williams, L. S., Alvarez, S. D., & Andrade Hauck, K. S. (2002). My name is not Maria: Young Latinas seeking home in the heartland. *Social Problems*, *49*, 563-584.

Willis, P. (1977). *Learning to labor*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Wilson, W. J. (1980). *The declining significance of race* (Rev. ed.). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Wilson, W. J. (1996). *When work disappears: The world of the new urban poor*. New York: Vintage Books.

Zinn, M. B., & and Dill, B. T. (1996). Theorizing difference from multiracial feminism. *Feminist Studies*, *22*, 321-332.

Edward W. Morris is an assistant professor of sociology at Ohio University. His research interests include the intersections of race, class, and gender, white privilege, and education. His recent publications include articles in *Sociology of Education*, *Sociological Perspectives*, and *Symbolic Interaction* (forthcoming). His book *An Unexpected Minority: White Kids in an Urban School* was recently published by Rutgers University Press (2006).