and mistreatment in light of experiencing more punitive relations with teachers. However, this discourse of working-class black students lacked legitimacy in the school and was dismissed by some as “making excuses” for misbehavior and disengagement. Using Bourdieu’s concepts of symbolic violence and misrecognition, I demonstrate the power of language about teacher-student relations as school actors misrecognize, and simultaneously legitimate, race-class-neighborhood structures of inequality in a diverse school.

## Race, Class, and Teacher-student Relations

effect

**Racial minority and working-class students face multiple barriers to establishing positive and productive relations with teachers in schools (Carter 2005; Stanton-Salazar 1997; Valenzuela 1999). On average, black students are more likely to receive negative teacher evaluations, disciplinary infractions, and referrals to remedial education, as compared with white and Asian American students (Downey and Pribesh 2004; McGrady and Reynolds 2013; Ramey 2015; Roscigno and Ainsworth-Darnell 1999; Skiba et al. 2002)**.

***effect***

***Urban poor black students, especially boys, are often under constant surveillance and regulation as part of institutional systems of control, which routinely monitor and process their bodies and behaviors (Ferguson 2001; Rios 2011)***.

**effect**

**In addition to negatively affecting minority student relations with teachers, racialized disciplinary systems, as well as course-tracking disparities, reinforce normative ideas about black student low achievement and behavioral deficiencies (Ferguson 2001; Lewis and Diamond 2015; Tyson 2011).**

Working within these systems, students and other school actors learn to associate academic standing and behavioral traits as imbued with racial meaning—They equate whiteness with civility and motivation while conflating blackness with disorderliness, poor educational attitudes, and failure (Ispa-Landa and Conwell 2015; Tyson 2011). In such stratified schools, blackness becomes oppositional to academic achievement, and “proper” attitudes and behavioral norms. Yet black students do not represent a monolithic identity or group, and they interact with (and within) school systems reflecting multidimensional social structures (Ispa-Landa 2013; Morris 2012; O’Connor et al. 2011). Social class, for instance, shapes teacher-student relations as schools reward the social and cultural resources of middle-class students whose identities and styles align with those of teachers and other school officials (Calarco 2014; Lareau 2011). Teachers, with college degrees and a professional status, privilege and normalize middle-class styles of proactive and indirect communication and negotiation, which are often unfamiliar to many workingclass and minority students (Calarco 2014; Delpit 2006; Heath 1983). Middle-class styles represent what is “proper” and expected in the classroom as teachers (often unknowingly) apply these standards to all students, and as students align their actions and beliefs accordingly. Jessica McCrory Calarco (2014) shows how elementary school teachers in a majority-white school expect active engagement from students, and in doing so, these teachers interpret working-class students’ lack of communication as representative of disengagement. In Calarco’s (2014:77) study, one teacher described a working-class boy as “lacking in motivation” because he “just kind of . . . floats through the day” (see also Ferguson 2001). This teacher’s interpretation imposes deviant characteristics on the boy and reinforces middle-class classifications of student engagement. Calarco, however, misses an analysis of how race and class intersect in interpretations and classifications of teacher-student relations and how language serves to structure those same relations. Her research, while focusing exclusively on white students, misses how whiteness intersects with social class (see also Streib 2011). Meanwhile, studies of black studentteacher relations tend to center on the black poor or, more generally, on black student marginalization in education (Carter 2005; Ferguson 2001; Fordham 1996). These studies miss the experiences of middle-class black students and an analysis of how race and class intersect and become salient in the structuring of teacher-student relations.