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“Some Teachers Just Simply Care”: Respect in Urban Student-Teacher Relationships

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Abstract

Teachers are ethically obligated to care for their students. One overlooked means of demonstrating care is through respect. However, because respectful behaviors are culturally dependent, exploring experiences of respect from students of color is needed to provide insight into student-teacher relationships. To understand students' experiences of respect from teachers in the school setting, we interviewed 12 adolescents and emerging adults of color (M age = 17, SD age = 1.81) who attended Urban schools, about their experiences of respect from their teachers. We deductively and inductively coded the interviews separately for definitions of respect and experiences of respect from teachers using six themes of respect. Ultimately, youth often defined respect as the golden rule and politeness. However, when discussing instances of respect with teachers, youth described teachers demonstrating care for students' personal lives and academic success. Our findings suggest that students identify behaviors associated with care as respectful, which diverge from decontextualized definitions of respect. Policy changes should focus on promoting student-teacher relationships, focusing on culturally sensitive teaching and caring for students. Specifically, policy should support classroom level changes, such as the co-construction of respect expectations between students and teachers.

Keywords: respect, care, urban student-teacher relationships

Teachers have an ethical responsibility to demonstrate care for their students by acknowledging each student's experiences and helping students reach their goals (Noddings, 1984). Both care and respect also rely on recognizing human deservingness and individual needs (Darwall, 1977; Dillon, 2007; Noddings, 1984). Even though care and respect require teachers to

demonstrate love and affection (Dillon, 1992), teachers may not see respect as caring, as respect is often associated with admiration of authority figures (Piaget, 1932/1952). Yet, respect is more complex than acknowledging authority; respect has aspects of care as well. Thus, they may be interchangeable in the classroom.

Demonstrating respect becomes complicated within American classrooms, as respect behaviors, like care-behaviors, rely on cultural understandings (Hsueh, Zhou, Cohen, Hundley, & Deptula, 2005; Li & Fischer, 2007; Mann, Mitsui, Beswick, & Harmoni, 1994). For example, differences in respect behaviors occur between individualistic and group oriented frameworks. In a cross-cultural study of respect in Australian and Japanese children, Mann and colleagues (1994) found that Australian children focused on demonstrating respect to a specific person but Japanese children viewed respect as prescriptive and self-descriptive. Although these provide distinct differences in how group-oriented cultures view respect as compared to individualistic cultures, different beliefs about respectful behaviors exist nested within Western Culture as well. For example, some youth associate gaining respect through toughness and domination of others through verbal discourse, while other youth view respect as codes of propriety, such as “proper” language and dress, and high academic achievement (Flores-Gonzalez, 2005; Hemmings, 2002). Bronfenbrenner’s (1994) ecological model addresses the interactions among the family, school, and community on the individual, and can help explain differences in behavioral expressions in respect across students and teachers. For example, in Latinx cultures, “*respeto*”—or respect, facilitates the family’s authority, and the adolescent should show familial deference (Olmedo, 2003). Because of the focus on the primacy of family authority, respect in the classroom manifests itself differently. Perreira, Chapman, and Stein (2006) found that teachers showing respect to adolescents from Latinx families with immigrant origins includes understanding their children’s staggering and loss and admiring the adaptability and bravery of their children. As white teachers from middle class backgrounds may associate respect with prosocial behaviors like being nice or deferential (Goodman, 2009), there may be a discrepancy in the interpretation of respect-intended behaviors. Thus, the behaviors that a family identifies as respectful may not correspond with behaviors a teacher associates with respect. In this way, Bronfenbrenner’s (1994) ecological model can also explain discrepancies in behaviors associated with respect and demonstrate differences applicable to any school system.

Based on this model, the discrepancies among respect beliefs may exist

in multi-ethnic schools in the United States as many of these teachers are white, while their students are primarily students of color (USDE, 2012) and may come from communities whose expectations about respect diverge from white middle class perspectives (Hemmings, 2002). Although extant literature focuses on definitions of respect (i.e. Langdon, 2007), students' perspectives of respect from teachers remain unexplored. Based on literature examining respect as behavioral, affective, and moral, differences in youth definitions and discussions of respect experiences it in the classroom should vary. Furthermore, a teacher may believe that they are respecting students, but students may not recognize these actions as respectful.

Experiencing care and respect from teachers at school is beneficial to students; when students perceive their teachers demonstrate care, they also rate the classroom climate as respectful (LaRusso, Romer, & Selman, 2008), which positively influences students' academic engagement, well-being, and respect from peers (Huo, Binning, & Molina, 2010). Benefits of respect from peers and teachers are associated with self-esteem (Ryan, Stiller & Lynch, 1994; Yelsma & Yelsma, 1998), social engagement (LaRusso et al., 2008; Kuryluk, Cohen, & Audley-Piotrowski, 2011), academic engagement (Celkan, Green, & Hussain, 2015), and well-being (Huo et al., 2010).

Although respect promotes positive social and academic outcomes, federal policy in the United States, such as No Child Left Behind (NCLB) and Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA), focuses on academic goals by implementing standardized testing rather than fostering positive classroom climates (ESSA; H.R. 359–64, 2015). ESSA focuses on increasing education standards that will allow students to succeed in their careers, while also giving school boards liberty in regards to local policy (H.R. 359–64, 2015). Although ESSA addresses academic outcomes, it does not focus on social or emotional development. The lack of focus of social and emotional development in ESSA fails to address how social and emotional factors influence school learning, focusing solely on academic outcomes despite schools being intricate social environments (Roeser, Eccles, & Sameroff, 2000). Yet, lack of knowledge about youth experiences of respect, especially youth whose backgrounds culturally vary from their teachers, exemplifies the need for increased focus on student-teacher relationships within policy guidelines. Thus, this study aims to explore individual experiences of respect at school with teachers to provide school-level changes in policy.

Purpose of the Study

This study had two questions: 1) How do students of color in urban schools define respect? 2) How do students of color in urban schools experience respect from their teachers?

Methods

Twelve adolescents and young adults who self-identified as people of color (58% high school students, 42% recent high school graduates; Mage = 17, SDage = 1.81; 92% Hispanic, 8% Black; 42% female) were interviewed about respect from teachers at school as part of a larger study. The participants represented five high schools from two urban school districts in the Northeast United States. All participants were below their school's average achievement and self-selected to attend an after-school academic achievement and community engagement program. Consent forms were given to parents of those under 18, and all participants assented before the interview. Interviews were conducted by two trained undergraduate students and the study's principal investigator for approximately 35 to 45 minutes. The data used for this study focused on two semi-structured questions about respect at school: "What does respect mean to you?" and "When has a teacher respected you or a peer?" with in-depth follow-up questions to gain more information about their experiences. Interviews were recorded and transcribed by two undergraduate students following the procedures set forth by McLellan, MacQueen, and Neidig (2003).

Analytic Strategy

Qualitative and quantitative research methods are commonly used in research about the school environment (Van Maanen, Dabbs, & Faulkner, 1982). However, we utilized a qualitative method for three primary reasons. First, literature on respect often focuses on children's respect for adults in general (e.g., Mann et al., 1994) or the positive impact of respect on student academic attainment (Celkan et al., 2015; Huo et al., 2010), rather than teacher behaviors that youth interpret as respectful. Thus, a qualitative approach becomes important to map elements, dimensions, classes, and positions to display its manifestations (Marshall & Rossman, 1999). Second, although causes of respect may not be discerned through this methodology, it helps generate explanatory hypotheses that inform future research, specifically in areas that explore questions about identity and self-hood (Ritchie &

Lewis, 2003). Finally, individual interviews allow for detailed investigations into an individual's beliefs and experiences.

For this study, we examined students' definitions and experiences of respect from teachers. We used thematic analysis to identify themes that appeared across interviews following Braun and Clarke's (2006) methodology for thematic coding, as this approach allows patterns to emerge within data via themes in relation to the research questions. Two coders reviewed the interviews in depth and recorded initial themes, creating an inductive codebook. The themes often co-occurred and each instance within the respect experience was coded. Each coder independently coded the interviews and any discrepancies were resolved. See Table 1 for the six themes associated with our analyses.

Results and Discussion

First, we will present responses organized by each research question: "How do students of color in urban schools define respect?" and "How do students of color in urban schools experience respect from their teachers?" Frequencies for the occurrence of themes appear in Figure 1.

How do Students of Color in Urban Schools Define Respect?

Youth reported a variety of responses when asked to define respect, similar to previous literature (Langdon, 2007); however, in this study most participant responses (75%) aligned with respect as a moral obligation and as a right of authority. Most youth defined respect as *Social Conventional and Traditional Respect* (58% of participants reported), which encompassed self-respect, the golden rule, reciprocity, and social conventions of respect. One youth explained it as:

Let's say somebody is speaking to you with respect um you would have to respond with the same amount of respect they, you know, they gave you while they were talking to you. — F5

As demonstrated by F5, respect is reciprocal in nature. To receive respect, one must first give respect. However, other youth described respect as related to *Authorities' Rights and Roles* (33%), with one youth responding.

Respectful, so when an authority figure tells you to do something, you do it. I think that's respect. I respect authority figures like my mom. If she tells me to do something. — M6

For M6, respect is inherently related to authority deserving respect because of their social position. Only male participants defined respect as Authorities Rights and Roles, suggesting that within this community, males have a more prescribed belief about respecting those in power. The focus on authority deserving respect aligns with ideas about respect as different from care and reflects literature that focuses on unilateral respect, especially for authority (Piaget 1932/1952).

How do Students of Color in Urban Schools Experience Respect from Their Teachers?

This question focuses on participants' experiences of respect enacted by a teacher. While discussing experiences of respect, youth also explained why they thought teachers were respectful, referred to here as justifications.

Recent Experiences

There were three common themes in youth's experiences of respect from teachers (all participants discussed at least one theme): *Fostering a Positive Relationship* (66% of participants reported), *Building Community* (58% of participants reported), and *Caring about Youth as People* (58% of participants reported; See Figure 1). Ultimately, these inductive themes align with Noddings's (1984) framework for teacher care. Within *Fostering a Positive Relationship*, youth focused on teachers utilizing tactics that build the student-teacher relationships such as acknowledging and helping youth, as one youth explains:

I can just tell by the way teachers approach me and acknowledge me as a student in their classroom, 'cause there's some teachers who will immediately greet me and will just know little things about me, like it uh doesn't even have to be super personal.

— F1

For F1, this teacher took the time to acknowledge her as a student in the classroom, valuing her as an individual worthy of respect. This instance specifically aligns with the first part of Noddings's (1984) framework of care; teachers must acknowledge and learn about the individual experiences of each student in their classroom. Once teachers recognize the individuality of students in their classrooms, they will be able to integrate respect and care through curriculum and supporting students' goals.

Building Community focused on recognizing youth as individuals who value confidentiality and have complex lives in and out of school. As M3 explained:

Something that a lot of teachers do is when they like show the grades, they're obviously not gonna post it on a board, and I've I've [sic] been to schools where they actually do that, and I feel like that's a violation of privacy um a lot of students get uh take offense to that uh that can also lead to bullying.

Teachers must recognize that schools are dynamic environments and disclosing private information may complicate peer relationships. Teachers should strive to promote confidentiality regarding students' grades and personal lives to ensure student well-being.

Finally, youth also discussed teachers *Caring About Youth as People*, which extends *Building Community* from recognizing the complexity of individual lives, to actively treating youth as equals and recognizing individual differences. As one youth explains:

In history, when talking about our religion, everyone obviously believes in something, um and the teacher so happened to be the complete opposite of religion from where I was, um and she like...she didn't take offense to it like when we started talking about it, she just said, "Yeah I respect your religion." Um stuff like that like... — M7

In this instance, the teacher openly revealed their religious practice and fostered a conversation with her students. This example demonstrates the integration of student ideas into the classroom, which is imperative for a caring relationship (Noddings, 1984). Within these experiences, youth discuss respect in terms of care rather than as authority. Theoretically, students should respect teachers because of their authority (Piaget 1932/1952), but understanding care as both a process linked to respect and teaching, illuminates the intricate nature of the student-teacher relationship.

Respect Justifications

When discussing experiences of respect from teachers, youth naturally gave justifications for why teachers acted respectfully. Two commonly occurring themes for justifications of respect were *Fostering a Positive Relationship* and *Age Related Respect*. Overall, Fostering a Positive Relationship

was the most prevalent theme youth used to justify respect from teachers. Specifically, youth discussed teachers caring about student success and the future; for example, one youth justified his experience with:

they want to make sure that everyone is like on track, and then there's other teachers that don't do this and they just continue on. — M7

Youth often discussed actions associated with Noddings's (1984) framework on care while recounting experiences of respect from teachers. Thus, it is not surprising that youth discussed teachers caring about student success as a justification for teacher's demonstrating respect.

Participants also acknowledged both age and experience when justifying teacher respect. In some instances, youth discussed young teachers as more respectful because they remember being in high school, whereas other youth discuss older teachers as more respectful because they have more experience with students. For example, M5 states:

Some teachers will do it because that they have a a lot of experience with kids so they'll understand how a kid will react and that every kid is not the same when you confront 'em about things in front of people or so they'd rather keep it towards...

Youth do not see teachers as inherently respectful, but rather associate respect with demonstrations of care or perspective taking; teachers who understand the youth's background, whether its because they are young and remember being in high school or have learned about the community and adjust their teaching accordingly. This suggests that students feel respected when teachers actively demonstrate care.

Differences Between Definitions, Experiences, and Justifications of Respect

Participants defined, experienced, and justified respect differently (See Figure 1). Ultimately, youth defined respect as *Social Conventional* and *Traditional Respect* and *Authority's Rights and Roles*, yet youth did not discuss these definitions often in their experiences. Youth often experience respect from teachers as *Fostering a Positive Relationship*, *Caring about Youth as People*, and *Building Community*. These differences exemplify the need to explore respect as an experience rather than only as a definition; exploring experiences of respect might illuminate behaviors that create affect rather than

theoretical definitions of respect. Interestingly, when youth justify respect experiences they discuss *Fostering a Positive Relationship* and *Age-Related Respect*, suggesting that youth attribute teachers behaving respectfully as caring about student success and taking students perspectives.

Policy Implications

As respect is cultural in nature, and our sample focused on students from many ethnic backgrounds and communities, we wish to frame our policy implications within Critical Race Theory, which situates social reality as an exchange of experiences of racism between individuals with the goal of eliminating oppression (Tate, 1997). This is especially important in a public school setting, which continues to be highly segregated (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995) and have predominantly white teachers (USDE, 2012). Although respect is cultural and will vary in expression, it is important to note that all students in this study, regardless of background, experiences of respect from teacher differed from their definitions of respect. This suggests that students definitions of respect cannot be equated with experiences of respect from teachers. More so, throughout the experiences of respect, all students discussed the perception of teacher demonstrating care. This suggests that teachers should consider respect not as a basis of authority, but from an ethic of caring. Teachers need to look beyond their understanding of respect or caring and focus on their students' experiences of respect, because white middle-class ideas about respect as authority may not align with students in multi-ethnic schools.

Within this framework, policy changes must focus on the cultural climate of each individual public school, recognizing cultural beliefs and values to foster care and respect at school. Because respect is related to academic engagement (Celkan et al., 2015) and well-being (Huo et al., 2010), understanding positive experiences at school from students of color can inform policy aimed at decreasing systemic oppression. In addition, teacher education programs can highlight the complexity of navigating caring versus authority because expecting obedience could perpetuate racial inequality. As the issues of care and respect are cultural in nature, it is important to consider the counter narratives of students of color and their experience in the educational system. The white middle class notion of caring should not be the default for policies on how teachers and students should show respect and care; rather students distinct contextual experiences should be included as well.

Because of the limited sample and the qualitative methodology of this study, we do not recommend top-down policy changes. Rather, we recommend three bottom-up policy changes, which aligns with state and local control of school policy (USDE, n.d.). First, teachers should focus on co-constructing meanings of respect and care with their students, especially since behaviors of respect are culturally dependent (Li & Fischer, 2007; Mann et al., 1994) and youth discussed different behaviors as respectful. This includes discussing students' expectations of respect in the classroom from teachers and peers. Similarly to how we conducted this study, teachers should talk with students about definitions of respect and ways to demonstrate respect in the classroom. Second, because of the diversity of both students and teachers in the United States, local-level policy should focus on encouraging teachers to care for students by recognizing racial biases and promoting an anti-racist curriculum (Bartell, 2011) that includes culturally responsive teaching (Gay, 2010). This would allow teachers to identify their own biases with regard to interpretations of student behavior and deference towards authority, opening up communication about respect in the classroom. Finally, the ESSA focuses on curricular changes and funding for students at the federal level, but do not consider student-teacher interactions (H.R. 359–64, 2015). Although some local school boards may address care and respect in the student-teacher relationship, a shift to national policies that focus on promoting student-teacher relationships would foster respectful relationships in the classroom.

Limitations and Directions for Future Research

There were three major limitations to this study. First, although benefits exist for smaller samples, such as the ability to go “deep” into a research question or phenomenon (Crouch & McKenzie, 2006), the sample was not large enough to support a broader theory about adolescents' experiences of respect from teachers. To better understand the extent of students of colors' thoughts about, experiences of, and justifications of respect from their teachers, future research should examine a larger sample that represents students from many diverse communities as this would also allow us to account for cultural and regional differences. In addition, although research suggests gender differences in student-teacher relationship quality (Baker, 2006; O'Connor, 2010) and cross-gender student-teacher relationships, (Spilt, Koomen, & Jak, 2012) because of the relatively small sample size and uneven gender distribution, we cannot definitively examine gender differences in students of color's

accounts of respect from teachers.

Second, we used a mono-method approach, focusing our query on interviews and narratives about actual experiences from one perspective. This approach, although acceptable, provides only one lens for how youth define, experience, and justify respect. Future research should focus on triangulation of methods and data sources such as interviews, self-report scales, and classroom observations to create a holistic, and perhaps discordant, picture of respect at school. Finally, although this study highlighted youth's voices, it failed to highlight the voices of their teachers. As schools are dynamic social environments, future research should aim to understand respect from multiple perspectives in the classroom. In particular, more research needs to examine respect at classroom and relationship levels. This could be accomplished by interviewing teachers in tandem with focus groups from their classrooms, examining not only what people say, but the dialectical nature of how they talk about respect in their interactions, in the classrooms, and within the broader school context.

Conclusion

Understanding the association between respect and care in students of color's experiences with teachers can inform policy that promotes academic engagement and well-being. However, these experiences should not be taken out of context; each individual defined and experienced respect differently while also discussing respect in terms of care, demonstrating the complex nature of respect in school. Students recognized both the association of respect with authority, and being respected through teacher caring. Ultimately, individual teachers have the responsibility to promote respectful classroom climates and may accomplish this through Noddings's (1984) framework of care and dialogue with students. By focusing on caring in the classroom, teachers will ultimately demonstrate respect for students.

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Respect my existence (2017). [Photograph of a person holding a sign] [Photo] Photograph by Martin Froger-Silva

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