

# White Teachers' Racial Identities, Perceptions of Student' Behaviors, and Symptoms of Burnout

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# BOSTON COLLEGE

## Lynch School of Education

**Department of Counseling, Developmental, and Educational Psychology**

**Counseling Psychology**

WHITE TEACHERS' RACIAL IDENTITIES, PERCEPTIONS OF STUDENTS'  
BEHAVIORS, AND SYMPTOMS OF BURNOUT

Dissertation  
By

CYNTHIA E. CHEN

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## ABSTRACT

### White Teachers' Racial Identities, Perceptions of Students' Behaviors, and Symptoms of Burnout

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Educational research has examined factors contributing to teachers' burnout symptoms, including their perceptions of student behaviors (Ingersoll, 2003).

Interestingly, teacher and students' races have been differentially related to teachers' perceptions of student behavior (Downey & Pribesh, 2004); this disparity in perceptions has been associated with teachers making more negative recommendations for African American students than for White students (Tenenbaum & Ruck, 2007).

However, racial categories are not psychological constructs and offer little room for designing interventions to restructure teachers' perceptions of student behavior as a strategy to prevent teacher burnout. Since most teachers are White, using Helms's (1995) White racial identity model could offer a conceptual framework for examining different perspectives by which teachers understand their students' racial dynamics, which in turn, might affect how teachers feel, think, and act. Thus, if teachers' racial identity relates to their burnout symptoms, perceptions of student behavior, and recommendations, educational researchers could investigate more effective means of preventing teacher burnout symptoms and affect teachers' reactions to racially diverse students.

White teachers ( $N = 237$ ) completed an on-line survey containing an abbreviated White Racial Identity Attitudes Scale (Helms, 2011), behavior subscales of the Conners'

Comprehensive Behavior Rating Scale - Teacher Form (Conners, 2008), Maslach Burnout Inventory - Educators' Survey (Maslach, Jackson, & Leiter, 1996), two teacher recommendations measures, and a demographic questionnaire.

Results from Multivariate Analyses of Covariance suggested that teachers did not react differently to students' ethnic names or pictures with respect to their perceptions of students' behavior or teachers' likelihood of using specific recommendations. However, canonical correlations suggested that teachers' levels of burnout symptoms were related to their perceptions of students' Defiant Aggressive and Conduct Disorder symptoms. Moreover, teachers' biased and confused racial identity perspectives were strongly positively related to teachers' (a) burnout symptoms; (b) perceptions of angry, argumentative, and defiant behaviors; and (c) likelihood of using negative behavior management strategies with their students. Discussion included recommendations for educational training programs, methodological limitations, and implications of the results.

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## **Chapter 1**

### **Introduction**

Past and current accounts in the news and in education research report an ongoing shortage of teachers in the workforce (e.g., Dillon, 2009; Ingersoll, 2003). There has been an increasing demand for teachers due to a growing student population (Ingersoll, 2003), and all 50 states in the U.S. reported a teacher shortage in specific schools, for specific subjects, and/or in specific geographic locations over the last decade (U.S. Department of Education, 2011). One major reason for this shortage is the rate of teacher attrition, and as many as half of new teachers leave the field within the first five years (National Commission on Teaching and America's Future, 2002; Darling-Hammond, 2001). High teacher turnover rates have been related to lower students' school performance, as well as poorer student functioning in the affected schools (Ingersoll, 2003). Though there may be a multitude of reasons why teachers leave the field of education (e.g., job dissatisfaction, low pay), a frequently cited reason is the perceived behavior of students (e.g., Ingersoll, 1997; Wynn, Carboni, & Patall, 2007). In fact, many departing teachers documented student behavior problems as the primary reason for their job dissatisfaction (Ingersoll, 2003). When polled, departing teachers suggested decreasing student disciplinary issues as the second most important factor to improve teacher retention rates (Ingersoll, 2003). A majority of public school teachers in the United States report needing to manage disruptive behaviors in their classroom either "most of the time" or "fairly often" and many teachers reported dealing with students talking back or disobeying in the classroom (Langdon, 1997).

Specific types of student misbehaviors seem to be perceived as more disturbing than others. Martin, Linfoot, and Stephenson (1999) defined four types of student misbehavior: (a) distractibility, which included behaviors such as disrupting others, having poor concentration, and needing frequent and immediate attention; (b) disobedience, defined as arguing when being disciplined, not following rules, and refusing teacher rules; (c) delinquency, comprised of behaviors such as running from the classroom without permission, lying, and stealing; and (d) aggression, which was described as expressing anger inappropriately and bullying. Students that teachers perceive as exhibiting aggressive and disobedient classroom misbehaviors appear to elicit more teacher referrals than students who are perceived as easily distractible (Martin et al., 1999). In addition to influencing teachers' psychological state, student misbehavior can have negative effects on the classroom (e.g., disrupted lessons) and the student (e.g., lower academic achievement, increased discipline referrals, missed instruction, and lower quality relationships with teachers and peers). However, it is not clear to what extent student misbehavior interacts with teachers' perceptions of behaviors.

The types of common student behavior problems in the classroom that are most distressing to teachers likely overlap significantly with symptoms of disruptive behavior disorders, including oppositional defiant disorder (ODD) and conduct disorder (CD). The symptoms of disruptive behavior disorder are perceived as annoying and distressing to others (Kazdin, 2003), as these symptoms are directed externally toward others. For example, some symptoms include deliberately annoying others, blaming others for mistakes, and destruction of property (American Psychiatric Association, 2000). In fact,

teachers are the main source of referrals for children identified in school as evidencing social, emotional, and/or behavioral difficulties (SEBD; Eklund et al., 2009). Though children with SEBD and children identified with externalizing behavioral disorders are not necessarily the same, many experts have noted the large overlap between the symptoms of disruptive disorders and SEBD (Atkinson & Hornby, 2002; Wilson, 2003). Therefore, for the current study, the terms externalizing behavior disorder symptoms and disruptive behavior disorder symptoms will be used interchangeably.

Though interventions have been developed to change student misbehavior via classroom management strategies (e.g., Gottfredson, Gottfredson, & Hybl, 1993; Sprick & Daniels, 2010), some research has focused on teachers' perceptions of their students' behaviors as causes or correlates of the perceived misbehavior. In other words, whereas some scholars and practitioners are focusing on changing students' behaviors, others appear to be questioning the influences of teachers' judgments or perceptions of students' behaviors, with the apparent intent of intervening at the teacher level.

Nevertheless, teachers' observations and perceptions of their pupils' behaviors are valued by parents, other teaching professionals, and mental health professionals as evidenced by the large number of teacher rating forms for evaluating or describing child behavior (e.g., Behavioral and Emotional Screening System, Child Behavior Checklist, Social Skills Rating System, Systematic Screening for Behavior Disorders). Furthermore, general education teachers account for the vast majority of referrals for social, emotional, and behavioral concerns (Eklund et al., 2009; Lloyd, Kauffman, Landrum, & Roe; 1991). However, teachers' perceptions of students' behaviors are often subjective and based on

their own attitudes and beliefs. Identifying factors that influence teachers' perceptions of their students and students' behavior may help clarify factors that are critical in teachers' judgments about their students, and, therefore, contribute to their own attrition.

Focusing on teacher characteristics might be most efficacious for specific types of teachers. New teachers appear to be at elevated risk for leaving the field of education with as many as one third of these teachers leaving the field within their first five years of teaching (Darling-Hammond, 2001). Teacher attrition rates for special education teachers (Brownell, Sindelar, Bishop, Langley, & Seo, 2002) and for those teaching in poor communities with large numbers of students of Color (McCreight, 2000) are even higher than for the general attrition rate for public school teachers. With their elevated rates of teacher attrition, schools in impoverished communities and urban areas with larger minority populations are at greater risk of their children receiving a poorer quality of education due to high teacher turnover rates.

In addition, with the growing racial diversification of the United States population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2001), teachers are being called to teach an increasingly racially diverse student body. According to the National Education Association (NEA) statistics, over 90% of current kindergarten through 12th grade (K-12) teachers are White (NEA, 2003, 2010), whereas 44% of the population, age 18 years or younger, identify as racial minorities (NEA, 2008; U.S. Census, 2001). In this study's original sample of 384 participants, 308 respondents identified as being White (80.2%), 28 participants self-identified as African American (7.6%), 10 participants identified as Asian Americans (2.6%), 9 respondents self-identified as Latino/a American (2.3%), 4 participants

identified as Black (1.0%), 3 participants identified as "Other" (0.8%), 1 respondent identified as Native American (0.3%), and 1 participant identified as Multiracial (0.3%). Based on these statistics, more White teachers will need to become proficient and competent at teaching racially diverse students. Proficiency includes assessing and managing children's behaviors in the classroom as well as understanding how their own racial and cultural characteristics influence their own perceptions of students. In comparison to other racial and ethnic groups, African American students are over-represented in the number of teacher referrals for disciplinary action (Gregory, NyGreen, & Moran, 2006; Skiba, Michael, Nardo, & Peterson, 2002). A four-year longitudinal study with a nationally representative sample of 10th grade high school children found that about 50% of the African American students reported a school suspension or expulsion, whereas only about 20% of the White students reported similar sanctions. It is not clear whether such disparities reflect actual racial and gender differences in behavior as opposed to differences in teachers' perceptions or evaluations based on students' and/or teachers' race or racial attitudes.

Studies have shown that teachers' ratings of the same student's behavior can greatly vary among teachers (e.g., Green, Shriberg, & Farber, 2008; Gregory & Weinstein, 2008; Kamphaus, DiStephano, Dowdy, Eklund, & Dunn, 2010). For example, evaluations of students' behavior have been shown to vary depending on the teachers' characteristics such as gender (Green et al, 2008), race (Downey & Pribesh, 2004; Mashburn, Hamre, Downer, & Pianta, 2006), years of teaching experience (Green et al., 2008; Mashburn et al., 2006), level of authoritarianism (Rubovits & Maehr, 1973), and

level of academic expectations (Gregory & Weinstein, 2008). These findings suggest that teachers' perceptions may be subjective and influenced by various teacher characteristics. Remarkably, given the disparity between teachers' perceptions of students of Color relative to White students, relatively few studies have investigated the racial characteristics of teachers who refer their students for disciplinary action or other special services (e.g., special education).

Extant literature provides evidence that Black and White teachers endorse different perceptions of their Black and White students (Brophy & Good, 1974; Downey & Pribesh, 2004; Mashburn et al, 2006). These studies have found that teachers' perceptions of their students depended on the students' and teachers' races. In more detail, (a) White teachers reported more student behavior problems than their ALANA counterparts (Mashburn et al., 2006); (b) White teachers perceived Black students as exhibiting more problem behaviors than White students (Downey & Pribesh, 2004), and; (c) teachers did not perceive Latino/a and Black children to be as academically or socially successful as their White classmates (Wigfield, Galper, Denton, & Seefeldt, 1999).

Although relationships between teachers' demographic characteristics, such as gender (Green et al., 2008), teaching experience (Green et al. 2008), and race (Downey & Pribesh, 2004), and perceptions of students have been explored, few studies have investigated psychological characteristics that might explain the differences in perceptions. One set of psychological characteristics that might influence teachers' perceptions of the behavior of students of Color relative to their White counterparts is teachers' racial identity.

Racial identity pertains to the ways in which individuals digest, comprehend, and perceive racial information about themselves and others (Helms & Cook, 1999). As previously mentioned, the vast majority of public school teachers are White (NEA, 2010), whereas the racial diversity of school-aged children continues to increase (U.S. Census Bureau, 2001); yet a paucity of research exists that examines the role of teachers' racial identity in teaching. Helms's model of White racial identity theorizes that the ways in which race and racial information are understood by White individuals affect the ways in which White individuals feel, think, and act (Helms & Cook, 1999).

An individual's racial identity derives from their own racial socialization whereby past experiences and messages from parents, community members, and society become internalized messages about the meaning of race (Wilson, Foster, Anderson, & Mance, 2009). Accordingly, teachers' racial identities can vary greatly, depending on their experiences with people from different racial backgrounds, the racial messages they have internalized from their parents, their exposure to racial experiences, and their overall awareness and knowledge of racial issues. Helms's (1990; 1995) White racial identity model theorizes that all White people, socialized in a racialized society, use varying levels of six racial identity statuses, each of which is marked by specific strategies for processing racial information (Helms, 1990; 1995). These six statuses are further classified into less sophisticated statuses, in which a White person uses externalizing strategies to process racial information. For instance, a White teacher who is using a less sophisticated racial identity status may feel anger toward ALANA students for not conforming to the dominant culture, (e.g., not speaking English). The more sophisticated

racial identity statuses are marked by internalizing information processing strategies (IPS), in which a White person uses his or her own personal framework to define himself or herself and others as racial beings. For example, a White teacher using a more sophisticated racial identity might see racial inequities in the school's discipline referrals and try to understand the how racial and cultural factors are influencing students' behaviors and teachers' referral decisions.

Some existing research suggests that White teachers' racial identities may have influenced their perceptions of students' intelligence, classroom behaviors, and interpersonal behaviors (Tettegah, 2000), as well as their acceptance of cultural differences in students' learning styles (Bollin & Finkel, 1995). These studies suggest that teachers' racial identities affected their teaching as well as their perceptions of students' behaviors. Other research suggests that teachers may recommend and give Black male students harsher penalties and punishments for the same behavior than their White counterparts (Butler, Joubert, & Lewis, 2009). Exploring the role of White teachers' racial identity on their perceptions of their students may provide a framework for explaining the racial group differences in perceptions of students' misbehavior. By investigating White teachers' racial identity, the present study can address whether the ways in which White teachers interpret racial stimuli and information influence their perceptions of their students' behaviors.

Examining teachers' racial identity may be critical to understanding how they perceive students' behavior, especially of the behavior of African American students. If teachers' racial identity influences their perceptions of students' behavior, teacher



education programs could emphasize racial, cultural, and social justice issues in their curriculum to promote the healthy development of White racial identity in teachers.

Moreover, the seeming association between teachers' perceptions of student behavior and teachers' decisions to leave the field of education perhaps could be addressed directly by examining the influence of their racial identity on their symptoms of burnout in combination with their perceptions of students. Teacher burnout occurs when teachers experience feelings of stress, fatigue, and indifference toward students, and an inability to contribute to students' education (Maslach, Jackson, & Leiter, 1996). Some scholars (Bibou-Nakou, Stogiannidou, & Kiosseloglou, 1999; Friedman, 1995) have investigated the influence of teachers' perceptions of students' behavior on symptoms of teacher burnout. Perhaps investigations of race-related psychological factors that influence teachers' perceptions of their students' behavior can help shape the educational curriculum for pre-service teachers and professional trainings designed to help reduce current teachers' job dissatisfaction. By better understanding factors that contribute to teachers' perceptions of their students, it might be possible to decrease teacher burnout and teacher turnover rates.

The purpose of the present study is to investigate whether (a) teachers' racial identity affects their perceptions of students' externalizing behaviors, (b) teachers' racial identity influences the recommended school outcomes for these children, and (c) teachers' racial identity is related to symptoms of teacher burnout. More specifically, the present study hypothesizes higher levels of sophisticated racial identities will be associated with (a) less disparate perceptions of students' behaviors according to students'

race, (b) fewer recommendations for negative school outcomes (e.g., suspensions), and (c) fewer symptoms of teacher burnout.

## **Chapter 2**

### **Review of Literature**

In recent years, teacher burnout has become a major focus in the field of teacher education and the public for explaining teacher attrition rates (Grayson & Alvarez, 2008). Exiting teachers frequently cite student misbehaviors and student discipline problems as one set of reasons for leaving (Ingersoll, 2003; Public Agenda, 2004). At the same time that student discipline problems are being cited as a major reason why teachers leave the field of education, a discipline gap exists between African American and White students in primary and secondary schools (Gregory & Mosley, 2004), but it is not clear to what extent teachers' racial socialization contributes to this gap or to teachers' desires to leave teaching. In addition, whereas almost 90% of public school teachers are reportedly White (NEA, 2010), over 40% of school-aged children are Asian American, Latino/a, African American, or Native American (e.g., ALANA or students of Color) and related immigrant groups. Thus, it seems logical to investigate racial factors that possibly influence teachers' perceptions of students' behavior.

To explore the connections between teachers' perceptions of student behaviors and their own internalized racial socialization, the following topics will be reviewed: (a) the role of White teachers' racial socialization as an influence on teachers' perceptions of students' behaviors in their classroom; (b) factors contributing to the racial disparities in teachers' referrals for student disciplinary action, (c) the role of teachers' racial identity in teaching, and (d) teacher burnout with an emphasis on examining the relationships between teachers' perception of student behavior and teacher attrition.

### **Teachers' Perceptions of Students**

Although teachers' perceptions of students' behaviors may partially account for teachers' symptoms of burnout, it is also possible that teachers' enter classrooms with a mindset about students that shapes their evaluations of their students. Teachers' perceptions of their students can include their beliefs about their students' academic abilities, academic performance, and behaviors as well as their students' demographic characteristics (e.g., race, gender). A body of research has shown that teachers' perceptions of their students can have a significant effect on their students' success in school (Dusek & Joseph, 1983; McKown & Weinstein, 2008; Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1968; Tenenbaum & Ruck, 2007).

Research suggests that teachers' perceptions of students vary according to the students' racial background (Brophy & Good, 1974; Downey & Pribesh, 2004; Mashburn et al., 2006; Rosenthal & Jacobsen, 1968). Therefore, some scholars have focused on the role of teachers' perceptions to help explain the academic achievement gap between African American and White students. The academic achievement gap refers to the testing scores and academic performance disparities between Black and White students, in which Black students have consistently scored lower than their White counterparts (Roach, 2004; Waks, 2005). Teachers at schools with predominantly African American students seem to have more negative perceptions of their students than teachers at schools with predominantly White students (Baron, Tom, & Cooper, 1985; Diamond, Randolph & Spillane, 2004; Dusek & Joseph, 1983; Tenenbaum & Ruck, 2007). In a meta-analytic review of teachers' perceptions of Black and White students academic potential (Baron,

Tom, & Cooper, 1985), the authors reported that all five investigations found statistically significant differences between teachers' perceptions of Black and White students. More specifically, the teachers in all five studies rated White students as having more academic potential than Black students.

More recently, scholars have become aware of similar racial disparities in educational disciplinary practices. A recent report suggested that African American students have been almost three times more likely to receive a school suspension than their White counterparts (APA Zero Tolerance Task Force, 2006). In fact, African American students are disproportionately represented in disciplinary referrals, in- and out-of school suspensions, and detentions (Children's Defense Fund, 1975; Gregory, 1997; Skiba et al., 2002), and scholars have begun calling this inequity the "discipline gap." In response, some scholars have begun to examine teachers' race-related perceptions of students' behavior as possibly contributing to the discipline gap. For this current study, teachers' perceptions of their students' behaviors refers to their evaluations and judgments of students' behaviors in the classroom.

**Empirical studies of racial disparities in teachers' perceptions.** Some studies have indicated that teachers' perceptions of minority youths were consistently more negative than their perceptions of White youths' academic performance and social behaviors (Diamond, Randolph, & Spillane, 2004; Dusek & Joseph, 1983; Gottfredson, Marciniak, Birdseye, & Gottfredson, 1995; Wigfield, Galper, Denton, & Seefeldt, 1999) and these negative perceptions affected ALANA minority students more negatively than their White peers (McKown & Weinstein, 2002; Tenenbaum & Ruck, 2007).

In a quantitative systemic study, Wigfield, Galper, Denton, and Seefeldt (1999) examined whether teachers' perceptions of students' level of effort, academic potential, and academic performance differed between first grade students who had and had not attended a Head Start program. Head Start is a pre-school program that aims to provide school socialization experiences for low-income children to help them be better prepared for and more successful in school. First-grade students who were either former Head Start students ( $n = 78$ ) or non-Head Start students ( $n = 53$ ) and first-grade teachers ( $N = 33$ ) from 8 schools in the Washington D.C. area participated in the study. The racial classifications of the Head Start students varied, but included African Americans ( $n = 30$ ), Latino/a ( $n = 33$ ), and White ( $n = 15$ ) students. Of the non-Head Start students, African American ( $n = 13$ ), Latino/as ( $n = 11$ ), and White ( $n = 29$ ) students were included. Most of the teachers were White (77%), but the sample also included African American (13%), Latino/a (6.5%), and Asian American (3%) teachers. The average teaching experience (measured in years teaching) was 12.6 years, and ranged from 1 to 41 years.

Using ANOVAs, Wigfield and colleagues (1999) found that whereas the Head Start status of children did not affect teachers' perceptions of the children's abilities, efforts, and values, teachers' perceptions did differ according to the students' racial background. That is, the teachers' evaluated the African American students as having fewer academic (e.g., number skills, reading) and social (e.g., making friends) skills than the White students. This result supports previous findings that a racial disparity seems to exist in teachers' perceptions of their students' abilities and performance (Eccles,

Wigfield, & Blumenfield, 1984).

In an ethnographic qualitative study, Diamond, Randolph, and Spillane (2004) explored how teachers' perceptions are related to the demographic composition (e.g., SES, racial background) of the schools' student body. The authors conducted 51 interviews of teachers of unspecified racial backgrounds and administrators from five elementary schools to systemically explore teachers' pedagogical beliefs and their perceptions of their students' academic abilities. Of the five schools, the proportion of low income students was measured by the number of students qualifying for free or reduced lunch, with all schools having at least 60% of their students qualify and one school with 98% of their students qualifying. Racially, three schools were attended exclusively by Black students, one school had 70% White, 25% Latino/a, and 5% Black, and the last school had 60% Asian, 25% Latino/a, 10% White, and 5% Black.

Researchers coded their transcribed interviews with teachers for instances of expressing the following three types of beliefs about students: (a) positive, which included statements about a student's maturity, high work ethic, or ability to work well with others; (b) neutral, statements that were descriptive or non-evaluative; and (c) negative, characterized by teachers' mention of students' lacking of certain qualities (e.g., ability to work well with other students).

Diamond, Randolph, and Spillane (2004) found that in schools with predominantly Black students, teachers expressed more negative perceptions of the student population (e.g., mentioning students making too much noise, not having enough respect for authority, and lacking focus). Conversely, in the two schools that were

attended primarily by White or Asian American students, the majority of teachers' expressed positive perceptions of their students' academic and social abilities, describing the student body as "highly motivated" and "hard working." In addition, at the schools with higher percentages of low SES students, teachers made more negative statements about their students, including comments about students not completing work, being too social, and lacking discipline.

Tenenbaum and Ruck (2007) published a meta-analysis of data from articles identified through three research databases, PsycINFO, ERIC, and Dissertation Abstracts International. All of the studies included in the meta-analysis were conducted in the United States and reported quantitative data. Tenenbaum and Ruck's meta-analyses focused on differences in teachers' evaluations of and behaviors toward ethnic minority and White students. The authors examined whether teachers' perceptions of students' behavior varied depending upon the students' race. In addition, Tenenbaum and Ruck investigated how teachers' verbal statements and referrals rates (e.g., recommendations for special education, disciplinary action, or reading group) differed for White and ethnic minority students.

From 39 samples collected from 32 articles, Tenenbaum and Ruck found a small but meaningful correlation ( $r = .11$ ) between teachers' perceptions and students' race, with teachers holding more positive perceptions of their White students compared to students of Color. For example, ratings of White students were more favorable when teachers had been asked to rate their perceptions of their students' skills, effort levels, and performance. Interestingly, the authors also examined the data for potential moderators,



including teachers' school type (e.g., K-8th, high school, or college). Correlations were stronger when the teachers rated younger students (K-8th grade,  $r = .14$ ; high school,  $r = .13$ ; college,  $r = .06$ ). In other words, the grade level taught by teachers may have had an influence on their perceptions of students' behavior. Another set of interesting moderators for teachers' perceptions appears to be research design. When teachers viewed photographs ( $r = .15$ ), rated their own students ( $r = .20$ ), rated stimulus students ( $r = .25$ ), listened to an audiotape ( $r = .10$ ) or a combination of methods ( $r = .14$ ), the results of the meta-analysis indicated that these methodologies evidenced significantly stronger correlations than when vignettes were used ( $r = -.05$ ). These findings emphasize the effect of research design and methodology on the ability to detect differences in teachers' perceptions of student behavior. Tenenbaum and Ruck also investigated whether teacher type (i.e., teacher, pre-service teacher) served as a moderator and pre-service teachers differed in their perceptions of students' behavior, but no differences were found in their ratings of students' behavior.

Anderson-Clark, Green, and Henley (2008) investigated whether teachers' race, students' names, and students' race influenced teachers' perceptions of students' academic behaviors. Anderson-Clark et al. created four vignettes describing an African American or White 5th grade boy who spoke fluent English. The student was also depicted as sociable and friendly, and generally compliant at home and at school. However, he was also described as needing help to stay on task and to not talk out of turn at school. Two vignettes (one identifying an African American boy, one identifying a White boy) used the name Ethan, which was judged to be a White sounding name, whereas the name

Xavier, a name judged to sound African American, was used for the other two vignettes. Teachers' positive and negative perceptions of the boy in the vignette were measured. The sample consisted of African American ( $n = 65$ ) and White ( $n = 65$ ) general education elementary school teachers from the Dallas area. The sample's teaching experience ranged from 6 months to 40 years ( $M = 12.5$ ), and their ages ranged from 20 to 75 years ( $M = 40.3$ ). The authors also discussed the process for choosing the name Xavier as the African American sounding name. The study was located in Dallas, and the investigators asked a focus group of Social Security employees to identify names that sounded African American. Apparently, the name Xavier, though Latin in origin, is not uncommon for African American men in the Dallas metro area.

Results indicated that teachers' perceptions did not differ according to students' or teachers' racial backgrounds, but teachers rated the student "Xavier" with poorer academic achievement scores than student "Ethan." No statistical difference was found in teachers' perceptions according to the student's race. In other words, teachers rated Black "Ethan" and White "Ethan" the same on the academic achievement scale, but gave the "Xavier" vignettes lower ratings than "Ethan" vignettes. The lack of difference between the teachers' ratings between the Black and White vignettes may be due to participants' desire to appear politically correct or culturally sensitive. Also, the previously discussed meta-analysis by Tenebaum and Ruck (2007) indicated that research methods using teachers' ratings of students in vignettes tended to result in smaller effect sizes. Thus, teachers' desire to appear politically correct and not racist and the research design may have contributed to this study's lack of significant differences between the vignettes

portraying the Black and White students. However, the use of stereotypically ethnic names may have helped elicit teachers' implicit racial attitudes, and therefore, the statistically significant difference in the ratings for "Xavier" and "Ethan".

In another quantitative empirical study using an analogue design, Tyler, Boykin, and Walton (2006) investigated how teachers' perceptions of their students were influenced by culturally-based values. Participants were recruited from a school district with mostly White teachers (80%). The sample consisted of White female elementary school teachers ( $N = 62$ ) who taught grades ranging from 1st through 6th, with a range of teaching experience from 2 to 20 years. Participants were asked to read four vignettes depicting students expressing one of the following cultural values: (a) communalism, described as helping classmates by sharing ideas and materials; (b) verve, defined as a preference for having multiple ongoing classroom activities and multitasking on projects; (c) individualism, illustrated by a preference for working independently; and (d) competition, defined as working against others and wanting to be the best. Participants were then asked to evaluate each student for classroom motivation (e.g., interest level, task persistence, ability to focus, and effort) and academic achievement (e.g., poor to excellent achievement).

The authors used multivariate analyses of variance (MANOVAs) to determine if variables such as grade taught, level of teaching experience, and sequence of vignette presentation had an effect on the teachers' perceptions of classroom motivation and academic achievement. No main effects or interaction effects were statistically significant. Use of repeated measure MANOVAs determined that teachers perceived

students using the dominant cultural values of individualism and competition as more motivated and higher achieving than the students who preferred the Afrocultural values of communalism and verve. More specifically, participants rated the individualistic and competitive students with higher levels of academic achievement than the vervistic or communalistic students. Similarly, the participants perceived students expressing individualistic and competitive orientations as more motivated than the vervistic and communalistic students. In other words, teachers' perceptions of their students were influenced by their differential reactions to the students' cultural values and norms. Students who were perceived as conforming to Eurocentric norms were evaluated more positively than students expressing non-dominant values, even though such perceptions might not be obvious.

*Summary.* Under some circumstances (e.g., school type, research design), teachers perceive their African American students as having less motivation (Diamond et al., 2004), fewer social skills (Wigfield et al., 1999), and poorer academic performance (Anderson-Clark et al., 2008; Tenenbaum & Ruck, 2007; Wigfield et al., 1999) relative to White students. Teachers at schools with predominantly African American student bodies tended to describe their students more negatively than teachers at predominantly White schools (Diamond et al., 2004). Teachers may be less likely to express differences in their perceptions of students' behaviors when asked to make explicit racial comparisons of their students, but an implicit bias can be detected when teachers rate students with ethnic sounding names (Anderson-Clark, et al., 2008). In addition, teachers' perceptions of students are likely influenced by cultural values, and teachers perceive students with

dominant cultural values as higher achieving and more motivated (Boykin, Tyler, & Kizzie, 2006). In sum, teachers appear to interpret the behaviors of their students differently, according to the race of the students.

### **Teachers' Perceptions and Teachers' Behaviors**

The previously reviewed literature suggests that teachers' perceptions of students' behavior may differ depending on students' racial backgrounds. Teachers' perceptions of their students' characteristics (e.g., race) might also influence their teaching behaviors. Teachers' behavior includes their verbal and non-verbal communications with their students, teaching practices, and their recommendations for student discipline. For example, teachers appear to perceive African American students as misbehaving more frequently than their White counterparts (Skiba et al., 2002). Some studies suggest that teachers' reasons for referring African American students for discipline may be different than their reasons for referring White students (Ferguson, 2000; Skiba et al., 2002). Some educational researchers (e.g., Monroe, 2005) have identified teachers' difficulty in differentiating between culturally based behavior and behavioral disordered symptoms in their students, which could result in inappropriate interventions, diagnosis, and referrals. Research has shown that teachers are more likely to use harsher forms of punishment and discipline when they (a) perceive a child's behavior as a personal attack (Brophy, 1985) and (b) are stressed and emotionally aroused (Smith & O'Leary, 1995).

One line of research has focused on investigating teachers' differential referral practices as a way to examine teachers' perceptions of students (Gregory & Thompson, 2010; Gregory & Weinstein, 2008; Monroe, 2005; Skiba et al., 2002; Tenenbaum &

Ruck, 2007). Tenenbaum and Ruck (2007) investigated referral differences based on students' racial background. The small, but statistically significant, positive correlation ( $r = .15$ ) indicated that teachers made more negative referrals (e.g., for special education and disciplinary action) and fewer positive recommendations (e.g., for gifted classes) for students of Color than for White students. These results seem to indicate that teachers' racial attitudes may influence their referral practices for students of Color.

Skiba, Michael, Nardo, and Peterson's (2002) systemic study demonstrated that the discipline gap might not be due to an actual difference in the behavior of African American and White students. A racially diverse, Midwest school district containing 19 middle schools and students ( $N = 11,001$ ) from grades 6 through 9. Male ( $n = 5698$ ; 51.8%) and female ( $n = 5303$ ; 48.2%) students were almost evenly divided. Students' racial classification included mostly African American (56%) and White (42%) students, with much smaller representations of Latino (1.2%), Asian American (0.7%), and Native American (0.1%) students.

The district's disciplinary contacts that resulted in school suspensions and expulsions were analyzed for their relationship to the 32 reasons for referral. District policy required referring teachers to list at least one primary and up to two secondary reasons for the disciplinary referral. By comparing the reasons why African American and White students were referred for either expulsion or suspension, Skiba and colleagues indirectly assessed whether teachers responded disparately to behaviors from students of different racial backgrounds. Discriminant analysis was used to investigate if the reasons for referral differed for African American and White students. Of the students

who had been expelled or suspended ( $n = 4461$ ), White students were referred for smoking, vandalism, obscene language, and leaving without permission. Black students were most commonly referred for being disrespectful, being too loud, threats, and loitering. In other words, White students were expelled and suspended for directly observable and objective behaviors like smoking and vandalizing school property, whereas Black students were referred for more subjective behaviors such as being loud or disrespectful. The results from this study suggest that consciously or unconsciously, teachers' decisions to refer students for disciplinary action are influenced by their racial perceptions of their students.

Ferguson's (2000) ethnographic study of the racially diverse school revealed multiple examples of how teachers reacted differently to student behaviors, depending on the race of the student. Ferguson's study documented teachers' perceptions of the Black children as more troublesome than the White students. One teacher stated, "I don't let the children sit on the couch during silent reading because they just congregate and start talking. Mark [a White student] finished all his work and he went to sit on the couch" (p. 221). This teacher continued to describe the challenging behavior of a Black student (Trey) who went to join Mark, which resulted in the Black student being sent to the principal's office. Later, "Horace [another Black student] goes and sits on the couch during silent reading. Testing me! When I called him out on it, he said, then how come you let Mark do it. I just told him, Horace, you know better than this. Better go back to your seat or you're not going on the field trip" (p. 221). Ferguson noted that the teacher sent Trey to the office and threatened Horace with staying behind on a field trip after they

attempted to sit on a couch. Yet when a White student sat on the couch, no mention was made (by either the teacher or Ferguson) about his consequences for breaking the classroom rule.

In another example from Ferguson, a second-grade teacher was observed attempting to manage her students' turn-taking behaviors. The teacher explicitly stated she would call on students who raised their hands. However, as second-grade students, the class has difficulty following this rule and several students call out, sometimes at the same time they were raising their hands. The teacher specifically reprimanded Gary, a Black student. "She believes, for one, that boys like Gary need to learn impulse control; they need to learn respect for authority, self-discipline, to be appropriate, to keep their mouths shut" (p. 94). After engaging the entire class in a discussion on the appropriate punishment for Gary, the teacher resumed the lesson. Other students called out of turn; in fact, Ferguson noted that one student reminded the teacher about the consequences for calling out of turn. Yet no other students were disciplined or reprimanded. The teacher in this example seemed to suggest that she felt that Black students lacked self-discipline, respect for authority, and impulse-control. This teacher's feelings about her Black students implied that teachers' perceptions of students' behavior and teachers' behaviors are influenced by teachers' racial attitudes.

In another qualitative study of a large urban high school, Gregory and Mosely (2004) explored how teachers' understood the discipline gap. The school's student enrollment ( $N=3300$ ) included African American (37%), White (37%), Latino (11%), Asian (10%), and Native Americans (0.5%). Teachers at this school were mostly White



(73%), but African American (15%), Asian American (4%), and Latino (4%) teachers were also represented at this school. Teachers averaged about 13 years of teaching experience and were almost evenly divided between genders (i.e., male: 47%; female: 53%). School records revealed that African American students received 80% of the in-school suspensions, whereas White students represented only 9% of this type of sanction. A similar pattern was found for out-of-school suspensions, where African American students represented 68% of these disciplinary actions.

Gregory and Mosely (2004) selected a small number ( $N = 19$ ) of teachers to interview about their views on the discipline problems at the school, the discipline gap between African American and White students, and how these teachers typically managed discipline problems using a semi-structured interview protocol. This sample of teachers reflected the racial diversity of the teachers at this school, with predominantly White teachers ( $n = 14$ ), some African American teachers ( $n = 4$ ), and one Latino teacher. Teachers' responses indicated that most of them attributed discipline problems to (a) typical adolescent behavior, (b) low achievement, (c) community and cultural deficits, (d) school culture and school organizational problems, and (e) teachers' beliefs and practices. Most ( $n = 16$ ) teachers attributed multiple reasons for the discipline gap, typically locating the problem within students and the schools. Few teachers considered issues of race in the disciplinary problems at their school. For example, when the sample of teachers were asked about whether racial discrimination might influence students' behaviors and contribute to the discipline gap, only two White teachers discussed the possibility that the students of Color may be acting out as a coping mechanism against a

system that was oppressive. These two White teachers appeared to have considered that some ethnic minority students may actively decide to refuse to follow school rules, and in effect, reject the school culture before the school rejects them.

When teachers from this study mentioned teacher beliefs and practices as contributing to the discipline problem, they mentioned teachers not having explicit rules, not enforcing rules, or their inability to engage students. Gregory and Mosely contend that teachers who believe that student discipline problems are inherent to the population (i.e., "kids will be kids") can not acknowledge that a discipline gap exists and that these teachers believe there is nothing they can do to influence students' behaviors in class. Furthermore, teachers who saw the problems as located within the students or their families and communities, left little space for self-examination of how teachers' racial beliefs influence teachers' behaviors and their students.

*Summary.* Teachers' behaviors, including their referrals for student discipline, vary according to their perceptions of students' behaviors. Teachers refer more African American students for disciplinary action than their White counterparts, resulting in a discipline gap (Gregory & Mosely, 2004; Skiba et al., 2002; Tenenbaum & Ruck, 2007). Furthermore, evidence exists suggesting that a racial bias exists in the reasons why teachers refer students for disciplinary action. Black students are referred for subjective reasons and are over-represented in school suspensions and expulsions (Skiba et al., 2002).

### **Racial Identity Theory**

Given that racial disparities exist in teachers' perceptions of students' behavior

(e.g., Diamond et al., 2004; Wigfield et al., 1999) and teachers' referral practices (e.g., Gregory & Mosely, 2004; Skiba et al., 2002; Tenenbaum & Ruck, 2007), it seems evident that teachers are influenced by their racial perceptions of their students. Racial identity theories provide a framework for understanding how racial stimuli are interpreted and understood (Helms & Cook, 1999). Some scholars have linked teachers' racial identity and teachers' perceptions of their students (Atwater, 1995; Carter & Goodwin, 1994).

For example, espousing a color-blind view, the belief that everyone is treated the same and that race does not have any influence, can communicate to children of Color that their culture is unvalued (Martin, 2007) and that the appropriate way to be is to "act White" (McIntyre, 1996). When teachers expect all students to "act White," it indicates the teachers are imposing a less sophisticated racial identity status on their students of Color. In the qualitative study by Gregory and Mosely (2004), community and cultural deficits were mentioned as a theory for explaining the discipline gap. Gregory and Mosely stated "ignoring the entirety of this [discipline gap] leads teachers to locate the problem within the students, families, or communities" (p. 23), which suggests that teachers may be expecting students to conform to the dominant, White cultural norms of behavior in the classroom.

Investigating teachers' racial identity may help elucidate the factors that influence the perceptions that teachers hold about their increasingly racially and culturally diverse students. In a review of how race and racism has been conceptualized by the field of education, Carter and Goodwin (1994) recommended that current educational practices

should assess for cultural and racial responsiveness from a racial identity theory perspective. Furthermore, Carter and Goodwin contend that culturally responsive pedagogical practices require the advancement of teachers' racial identity. In other words, teachers' racial identity likely affects their teaching practices and teaching behaviors and teachers' who use more sophisticated racial identity statuses while teaching are better able to use culturally-responsive pedagogy. Helms's racial identity theories (Helms & Carter, 1991; Helms & Cook, 1999) provide a conceptual understanding of how people interpret, understand, and perceive racial stimuli in their environment and interactions with others.

Helms's (1990; 1995) White racial identity model of development provides a conceptual framework for considering how or whether White teachers differentially react to students of Color relative to their White counterparts. She proposes six statuses as distinct informational processing strategies (IPS), which describe the cognitive mechanisms through which White people filter their feelings, behaviors, and thoughts about racial stimuli (e.g., students of Color). The six statuses of White racial identity in Helms's model (1990) are as follows: (a) Contact, (b) Disintegration, (c) Reintegration, (d) Pseudo-independence, (e) Immersion/emersion, and (f) Autonomy.

In the first three statuses, the White person is primarily using externalizing strategies to understand and react to racial information. They rely upon the dominant culture's norms to guide their thoughts, feelings, and behaviors. The major task in these three statuses is the abandonment of racism and racist ideals. For example, White teachers using less sophisticated racial identity statuses are unconscious of their privileges and values and are unaware of how these values influence their pedagogical

practices. Martin (2007) asserted, “White teachers are typically not prepared to effectively respond to their multicultural and multilingual students’ needs. More importantly, White teachers are not aware of their White race privilege and the role this privilege may play in their work with minority students” (p. 11).

In the last three statuses, a White person focuses more on an internal framework to define what it means to be a racial being and is more proactive in seeking out racially informed and culturally-sensitive ways of being. For these three more sophisticated racial identity statuses, defining a positive, non-racist White identity is the developmental task. The model presumes that a person (e.g., teacher) uses more than one status at a time, although one may be dominant.

**Contact.** A White person uses the Contact status when their encounters with people of Color arouse superficial notions of racial differences. This status is marked by the person's obliviousness and naïveté about race, racial issues, and racism. White teachers using the Contact status are not aware of racial experiences or cultural norms outside of their own experience, and, therefore, expect students to act the same and to conform to White standards of behavior. A White teacher using the Contact status might say, "I do not see students' skin color; I treat all of my students exactly the same." Thus, such a White teacher would be oblivious to and unable to acknowledge how his or her own values and resultant actions might have a negative influence on his or her students' behaviors in the classroom. For example, the second grade teacher described by Ferguson (2000) appears to be using the Contact status when she says that her misbehaving Black student "need[s] to learn impulse control; they need to learn respect for authority, self-

discipline, to be appropriate, to keep their mouths shut" (p.94).

***Disintegration.*** Disintegration is most likely to occur when a disturbing event or several events makes it impossible for the White person to continue denying the reality of racial issues and their own Whiteness. Use of the Disintegration status is marked by feelings of discomfort and anxiety about racial stimuli. They might experience conflicting emotions and feel disloyal to other White people by acknowledging the effects of racism, but also feeling guilty if they do nothing about it. A White teacher using this status might notice and wonder why students of Color are over-represented in the number of disciplinary referrals, but also guiltily thinks that children of Color act out more in class. This teacher might feel ashamed if he or she does not say anything regarding unfair treatment, but he or she also fears being ostracized by colleagues if they speak up.

***Reintegration.*** Idealized notions of the White racial group characterize this status, whereas the White person's attitudes toward other racial groups are derogatory and intolerant. A White teacher exhibiting Reintegration IPS might think that students of Color receive more referrals because those groups of students are lazy and disruptive or that their families do not discipline them enough at home. Reintegration can be expressed passively or actively. A teacher using passive Reintegration might avoid teaching at schools with children of Color or spend much less individual teaching time with students of Color, whereas active Reintegration might consist of being hyper-vigilant and over-reactive to the behaviors of children of Color. For example, Rubovits and Maehr (1973) found that teachers' behavior differed, depending on if they were interacting with Black or White students. Results of their study indicated that White pre-service teachers paid

more attention to White students; by attending to, encouraging, and praising their White students more than their Black students. Conversely, teachers ignored and criticized their Black students more than their White students. When these teachers ignored their Black students, they may have been using a passive Reintegration IPS, whereas when they criticized their Black students, they seem to have been using an active Reintegration IPS. Similarly, the research indicating that Black male students received harsher punishments than their White counterparts may be indicative of teachers and school administrators expressing active Reintegration (Skiba et al., 2002).

***Pseudo-independence.*** To use Pseudo-independence, a White person typically needs to experience an encounter that disrupts his or her previous beliefs that people of Color are innately inferior. When using Pseudo-independence, a White person is aware of racial issues at a surface level and attempts to figure out how he or she might have perpetuated racism with his or her own actions. They may express the desire to stop racism by helping people of Color assimilate to acceptable (i.e., White) norms of behavior. A White teacher using this status might suggest developing a social skills group for the disruptive children of Color to help them behave 'appropriately' instead of referring them for disciplinary action. White people using Pseudo-independence inadvertently maintain racist ideology by upholding White norms and standards. For example, a review of teachers' referrals for guidance counseling found that teachers tended to refer more African American male students for behavioral concerns than their White counterparts (Adams, Benschhoff, & Harrington, 2007) which could be indicative of teachers using Pseudo-independence.

***Immersion/emersion.*** White people conceptualize racism as a White people problem rather than a 'people of Color' problem when expressing Immersion/emersion. When using this status, White people attempt to make sense of racism and how they may have benefitted from it. They also redefine what it means to be White and acknowledge their unearned privileges. Using this status is marked by a proactive search for accurate historical information to help uncover the meaning of being White in the United States. A White teacher using this status might be hyper-aware of any incidents in which race may have played a role. This teacher might be confrontational with other teachers about their classroom management strategies or their referral practices. These teachers might work to actively challenge and change the racist ideology and policies within their school system.

***Autonomy.*** White people using the Autonomy status are more flexible in their definition of what it means to be a raced person in this society and are capable of thinking about the complexities of racial situations without resorting to using group membership to categorize people's behavior. White people exhibiting the use of Autonomy IPS are able to see how various forms of oppression (e.g., sexism, homophobia, ageism) can interact with racism. Autonomous teachers would be able to engage with teachers using other racial identity statuses without feeling frustrated or ambivalent; the autonomous teacher would acknowledge how each child's unique differences, including their racial and cultural background, might be influencing his or her perceptions of the student's behavior in class. These teachers would readily accept other cultural standards and integrate them into their teaching practices on a daily basis.

In sum, when teachers are less aware of racial issues and using less advanced



racial identity statuses, they may "engage in punitive (both overt and covert) activities, whose perhaps unconscious purpose is to coerce the student to think as the educator does" (Helms, 1990, p. 31). Examples include the findings from Rubovits and Maehr (1973), Downey and Pribesh (2004), and Skiba and colleagues (2002), where teachers' behaviors (i.e., ignoring, criticizing, disciplinary referrals) were harsher for Black students than their White counterparts. Conversely, when teachers use more advanced racial identities statuses, they may be able to respond to the emotional and educational needs of their racially and perhaps culturally diverse students. It seems likely that teachers' racial identities can affect their perceptions of their students' behaviors and teachers' behaviors, including disciplinary decisions.

**Empirical studies of teachers' racial attitudes.** The relationships between teachers' racial attitudes and their perceptions of students have been explored in very few studies. Pope-Davis and Ottavi (1992) explored the relationship between college faculty members' White racial identity attitudes and levels of racism. The sample consisted of college faculty members ( $N = 153$ ) who completed Helms and Carter's (1991) White Racial Identity Attitudes Scale (WRIAS) and a measure of racism, which asked questions such as "Would it upset you personally if Blacks moved into your neighborhood" and "Do you feel Blacks in this country have tried to move too fast, too slow, or at about the right pace?" The sample's demographic factors, such as age, highest educational degree, and faculty status, did not account for differences in the participants' White racial identity attitudes. Regression analyses found that higher levels of Reintegration were related to higher levels of racism in the participants. Though Pope-Davis and Ottavi were careful to

point out that the results should not indicate that all White people are racists, the findings do suggest that college faculty, and perhaps teachers in general, may hold unconscious negative racial attitudes and beliefs about their students of Color.

In a qualitative study, Lawrence (1997) used semi-structured and open-ended interview questions with three White student teachers, all of whom had completed a multicultural education course, to investigate how their White racial identity development affected their relationships with students and their pedagogical practices. The author assessed the growth of three White student teachers' racial identity, including (a) "Sarah", who shifted from using Pseudo-independence to using Immersion, (b) "Cynthia", whose shift was from predominantly using Contact to Pseudo-independent, and (c) "Tracey", who progressed from using Contact to using Reintegration. As examples, Cynthia and Tracey were unaware of their Whiteness and White privilege prior to enrolling in the multicultural course, which is indicative of primarily using Contact IPS, whereas Sarah had become aware of racism and racial oppression during college coursework focusing on race and racism. All three of these White women selected predominantly White schools for their teaching practicum sites. Sarah had only one Black male student; the rest of her class was White. Cynthia had one Black male student and two Asian American female students in her predominantly White class, and Tracey taught an all White class.

The differing racial identities of these student teachers influenced their decisions on how and what they taught. For example, Sarah seemed to be predominantly using Immersion IPS, and she integrated her knowledge of children's developmental stages with her commitment to challenge racism. "It can't just be about a story about a little

White boy anymore. I'm aware that starting around this age is when there's tons of gender stereotypes, but I also know that different racial stereotypes are also going to come out," she commented when discussing her decision to bring in children's literature with ethnically and racially diverse characters. Cynthia attempted to increase racial and cultural awareness with her students and increase students' self-esteem by having students research their family customs, heritage, and ancestry. Her one African American student seemed to have difficulty in identifying Africa as part of his ancestry. Cynthia stated, "We had one little boy who was Black and he didn't know he was Black. I thought that was so cute... he thinks they are from Egypt, so we researched Egypt. I didn't quite know how to handle that one." Lawrence pointed out that a myriad of possibilities exist to explain the student's confusion; he may have been unaware of other countries on the African continent or his parents' may not have known which country their ancestors came from. Lawrence concludes that Cynthia's lack of knowledge constrained her ability to teach this student about his ancestry. Furthermore, Cynthia's lack of knowledge about African American history likely influenced her stereotypical thinking, in that Cynthia dismissed the possibility that her student could have had an Egyptian heritage. Tracey had her students research Europe as a social studies unit because "all the kids are from Europe. They can learn about their background and all." Lawrence concluded that these student teachers' racial identities influenced how and what they taught to their students. Cynthia, who appeared unaware of the effects of racism on White people and her teaching practices, did not actively encourage her students to question inequality, social injustices, or racism whereas Sarah was more aware and culturally sensitive in her

teaching practices. In other words, these teachers' racial identities seemed to influence their teaching behaviors in different ways.

More recently, Chang and Demyan (2007) investigated the types of positive and negative racial stereotypes teachers held about students of different racial backgrounds. The participants were teachers ( $N=188$ ) ranging from 21 to 60 years old ( $M = 33.2$ ;  $SD = 8.6$ ). The average amount of teaching experience was 4.3 years ( $SD = 5.0$ ) and ranged from 1 to 30 years. The sample of teachers was predominantly White ( $n = 139$ ; 73.9%) and taught at elementary (K-5th; 53.5%, middle, (6-8th; 25.7%), and high school (9-12th; 15.7%) schools. Participants were asked to assign up to 6 traits they associated with various racial groups of students (e.g., Black, Asian, White). Then, they were provided a list of 15 negative and positive stereotypical traits, which included traits such as intelligent, industrious, sociable, aggressive, lazy, unintelligent, and passive. Participants were asked to "judge the percentage of [Blacks, Asians, Whites] that possess each trait" on a 10 point scale from 0 to 100% (i.e., 0 = 0%, 5 = 50%, 10 = 100%). They were also asked to rate "people in general" on these 15 traits.

To determine if the sample held racial biases, Change and Demyan calculated ratios of the level of endorsement for each racial group to the level of endorsement for "people in general." If the ratio was greater than or smaller than 1.0, the group's responses indicated a bias for or against that racial group. Results indicated that unintelligent, aggressive, and lazy were traits teachers associated with Black students, reflecting negative racial stereotypes of the teachers about their Black students.

A teacher's racial identity seemed evident in the previously described teacher and

student interaction in Ferguson's (2000) ethnographic study. Her reaction to the accusations from Trey's father that she was racist, with comments that she "prided herself on being highly conscious of race... and worked at being color-blind in her relationships" (p. 221) are indicative of less sophisticated racial identity statuses (e.g., Contact) and it is not surprising that Ferguson concluded that the teacher was unable to acknowledge that race played a part in her interactions with the students of Color.

Another exemplar of how a White teacher's racial identity can affect teaching practices is Siegel's (1999) ethnographic case study of a White male teacher at a predominantly African American school. Siegel labeled this teacher's racial identity as "unreflective detachment" due to his refutation of the existence of racism, his statements that he had spent little time thinking about being White (e.g., "I don't think a whole lot about being White, I just don't look at it like that" p. 11), and statements indicating his color-blind stance.

According to Helms's White racial identity theory, this White teacher was likely using the Contact status in that he espoused a color-blind attitude, spent little time thinking about race, and did not believe racism exists. Siegel's description of this teacher indicated that he grew up and lived in a predominantly White neighborhood, and had had little contact with African Americans. Siegel noted that the teacher's behaviors and verbalizations indicated his negative perceptions of the children in his classroom. He perceived his 4th grade students as being "immature", "unfocused", lacking in self-control and self-monitoring, and irresponsible.

The White male teacher in Siegel's study seemed to spend a disproportionate

amount of time managing classroom behavior. However, "[His] practices produce results reinforcing his beliefs about the behavior of African American children and justifying the need to focus his classroom time and effort on behavior" (p. 16). In other words, it seems as if this teacher's classroom management practices indirectly strengthened his beliefs and perceptions of African American children by reinforcing the behavior he was seeking to address. These observations from Siegel's case study seem to indicate a relationship between teachers' racial identity, their perceptions of their students' behavior, and teachers' behaviors in the classroom. They also suggest that teachers may unknowingly shape the behaviors that they label as dysfunctional.

In a quantitative study investigating the relationship between teachers' racial attitudes and teachers' perceptions of their students, Tettegah (2000) included beginning teachers in California ( $N = 188$ ) who identified as White ( $n = 136$ ), Latino/a ( $n = 32$ ), and Asian American ( $n = 20$ ). Participants had either no teaching experience ( $n = 110$ ) or one to two years of experience ( $n = 78$ ), ranged in age from 20-50 years old, and were predominantly women ( $n = 111$ ). Tettegah investigated the relationships between racial identity and beginning White teachers' perceptions of students' teachability, and thus, eliminated the Asian American and Latino/a American participants from the analyses. Participants completed Helms's WRIAS (1990) and a measure of students' teachability, which asks teachers to evaluate students on three dimensions: cognitive ability (e.g. "is the student bright?"), interpersonal skills (e.g., "is the student empathetic, understanding of feelings of others?"), and classroom behaviors (e.g., is the student able to begin and complete classroom tasks?). Tettegah used the participants' peak scores on the WRIAS to

determine which status they were using at the time of the investigation, and the participants were categorized as primarily using Contact ( $n = 12$ ), Disintegration ( $n = 7$ ), Reintegration ( $n = 5$ ), Pseudo-independent ( $n = 35$ ), or Autonomy ( $n = 79$ ).

MANOVAs suggested that these participants rated Asian Americans as more teachable than their White, African American or Latino counterparts for classroom behaviors and cognitive ability. Moreover, Tettegah's hypothesis that teachers' endorsing use of Contact, Disintegration, and/or Reintegration would rate White students as more teachable than the Latino and African American students was not supported. More specifically, the teacher using Contact, Disintegration, and/or Reintegration did not give lower ratings to African American students for their cognitive abilities, interpersonal skills, or classroom behaviors compared to their White counterparts. Tettegah surmised that her own race (African American) could have influenced the participants, in that social desirability may have affected their responses. She also notes that the participants had more difficulty rating the hypothetical White student; participants commented that White students' cognitive abilities, social skills, and classroom behaviors varied greatly depending on the students' SES. However, none of the participants commented that minority students' SES impacted their teachability, implying that participants perceived minority groups were perceived as a homogeneous group.

**Summary.** Racial attitudes have been shown to influence teachers' perceptions of their minority students (Pope-Davis & Ottavi, 1992). Evidence suggests that teachers with more prejudiced racial attitudes perceived their students of Color to be less competent and less intelligent than their White counterparts (Chang & Demyan, 2007).

Very few empirical studies exist that examine the influence of White teachers' racial identity on their perceptions of their students. Teachers' racial identity also affected their teaching behavior; teachers of differing racial identities varied in their decisions on what to teach and how to teach (Lawrence, 1997). Some qualitative studies suggest that teachers' racial identity influences not only their perceptions of students, but also their teaching behaviors (Ferguson, 2004; Siegel, 1999). However, one quantitative study did not find evidence of a relationship between teachers' racial identity and negative evaluations of students of Color (Tettegah, 2000). The lack of support for the author's hypothesis that teachers using less sophisticated racial identity statuses would perceive African American students as less teachable than White students may have been influenced by the small sample sizes, the author's use of peak statuses instead of racial identity profiles, and the participants' social desirability.

### **Teacher Burnout**

The field of educational research may be focusing on teachers' perceptions of students' behavior in an effort to reduce teacher attrition and teacher burnout. In a report about the teacher shortage, Ingersoll (2003) reported that student discipline problems, poor salary, poor support, lack of faculty influence and autonomy, and large class sizes as some of the major reasons for job dissatisfaction. In fact, almost 30% of teachers leaving their positions reported job dissatisfaction as the main reason for departing the field (Ingersoll, 2003). Hancock and Scherff (2010) found that teacher apathy, defined as occurring when a teacher was felt unenthusiastic about teaching, stressed, and dissatisfied, was a significant predictor of risk for attrition. Job burnout has been defined



as when workers feel "drained, cynical, and ineffective" (Maslach & Goldberg, 1998, p. 63) which appears to overlap significantly with reported reasons for departing teachers' dissatisfaction with their jobs. Assessing for teacher attrition after they have left the field of teaching is reactive, whereas investigating factors influencing burnout can help indicate how to prevent burnout, and hopefully, in turn, reduce attrition rates of teachers.

Some research suggests that teacher burnout and teacher attrition are influenced by teachers' perceptions of student behavior (Ingersoll, 1997; Wynn, Carboni, & Patall, 2007). If teacher burnout presages teacher attrition, then understanding factors that influence burnout might help to reduce attrition. Student discipline problems appear to be a significant influence in teachers' job dissatisfaction (Ingersoll, 2003). Previously reviewed studies suggested that teachers' perceptions of their students might be influenced by their racial attitudes and racial perceptions (Chang & Demyan, 2007; Pope-Davis & Ottavi, 1992) and that teachers' perceive Black students as misbehaving more frequently than their White counterparts (Tenenbaum & Ruck, 2007). It appears that teachers' racial attitudes may be related to their perceptions of student discipline problems, which influence their levels of job satisfaction, which then affect their decision to leave the field of teaching. Therefore, investigating the relationship between teachers' racial identity and symptoms of burnout can help explore the relationships in this pathway to teacher attrition.

Maslach and Jackson (1981) conceptualize teacher burnout as consisting of three components: emotional exhaustion, depersonalization, and reduced personal accomplishment. *Emotional exhaustion* is defined as feeling tired and having few

emotional resources. *Depersonalization* occurs when the teacher no longer feels connected with his or her job, students, or workplace. The third dimension, reduced *personal accomplishment*, occurs when teachers feel less efficacious and have low self-evaluations of their own ability to teach (Friedman, 1995; Maslach et al., 1996).

Bibou-Nakou, Stogiannidou, and Kiosseloglou (1999) explored the relationship between teachers' perceptions of students' behavior, teachers' preferred behavior management strategies, and their symptoms of burnout. Elementary school teachers ( $N = 200$ ) in Northern Greece were asked to complete a demographic questionnaire and several measures to assess (a) teachers' perceptions of the intensity and frequency of four specific student behaviors (i.e., disobedience, playing the clown, distracting others, and off-task behavior), (b) teachers' attributions of student misbehavior, (c) teachers' behavior management strategies (i.e., punishment, positive support for student, and neutral practices), and (d) symptoms of teacher burnout. Teachers' attributions of the cause of student misbehavior were assessed by their responses to eight causal statements that were teacher-related explanations, external student-related explanations, or internal student-related explanations for the behaviors. Teacher-related explanations included teaching experience and teachers' level of enthusiasm. For example, some teachers might have believed that less experienced teachers lacked effective classroom management strategies, which could have resulted in increased frequency of student misbehaviors. External student-related explanations included reasons such as the student being tired or situation-specific behavior. Internal student-related explanations included the student's personality and family background. In other words, external student-related explanations

appear to be situation specific or temporary, whereas internal student-related explanations may indicate chronic behavior problems with a student. Symptoms of burnout were assessed using the Maslach Burnout Inventory (MBI; Maslach, Jackson, & Leiter, 1996), which assesses the three domains of *emotional exhaustion*, *depersonalization*, and *personal accomplishment* that were previously described.

Bibou-Nakou and colleagues (1999) found that whereas the teachers who attributed student misbehavior to a chronic reason (e.g., students' personality) seemed to endorse higher levels of *emotional exhaustion*, teachers who attributed student behaviors as a temporary problem (e.g., situation-specific) tended to endorse fewer feelings of *depersonalization*. In other words, teachers who believe that student behavior problems are temporary seem to have fewer symptoms of burnout than teachers who believe that student behavior problems are chronic. Significant correlations were also found between teachers' preferred behavior management strategies and symptoms of burnout. Teachers who indicated a preference for providing positive support to their students tended to feel less depersonalized, whereas a preference for using punishment was correlated with lower feelings of personal accomplishment.

Though Bibou-Nakou, Stogiannidou, and Kiosseoglou's (1999) study was conducted in Greece, it suggests that teachers' psychological characteristics, such as the attributions that they make about student behavior, may affect their symptoms of burnout.

**Student behavior and teacher perceptions.** Some researchers have investigated whether student misbehaviors and/or teachers' perceptions of students' behavior were related to teachers' symptoms of burnout. Friedman (1995) conducted an investigation of

investigated the effects of specific student behaviors (e.g., disrespect, inattentiveness) on teacher burnout. His sample of elementary school teachers ( $N = 348$ ) included mostly women ( $n = 342$ ; 98.3%) and a few men ( $n = 6$ ; 1.7%), with a mean of 13.31 years of teaching experience ( $SD = 7.77$ ). Participants were asked to respond to questions pertaining to exhaustion (e.g., "I have felt that working with students for a whole day requires a great effort on my part") and non-accomplishment ("I have felt that as a teacher I am not 'getting ahead'") that were based on the emotional exhaustion and personal accomplishment subscales of the MBI (Maslach et al., 1986).

The scale that assessed teachers' perceptions of students' behaviors had three domains of student behavior, (a) disrespect (e.g., "students in my class interrupt one another" and "students in my class do not treat me with respect", (b) sociability (e.g., "students in my class discuss their personal problems with me" and "students in my class say to me, "I have missed you"), and (c) attentiveness (e.g., "students are cooperative and enthusiastic during my class" and "students in my class concentrate and work quietly"). Teachers were asked to respond on a frequency scale, ranging from *never* (1) to *always* (6).

Hierarchical linear multiple regression analyses indicated that teachers' perceptions of three types of student behaviors were significant predictors of teacher burnout. Teachers' perceptions that students were disrespectful accounted for the most variance (15%) in teacher burnout symptoms, whereas perceptions of attentiveness accounted for 6% of teacher-burnout variance, and sociability accounted for a mere 1% of unique variance in teacher burnout. These findings suggest that teachers' perceptions

of students' externalizing symptoms, such as disrespect, may help explain teachers' symptoms of burnout more than teachers' perceptions of students' attentiveness or social skills.

These results support previous findings that teachers' symptoms of burnout are related to specific students' behaviors (Blase, 1982; Hoerr & West, 1992). Furthermore, if teachers' perceptions of students' disrespectful behaviors are positively correlated with symptoms of teacher burnout, and teachers appear to perceive Black students as more disrespectful (Skiba et al., 2002) and troublesome (Ferguson, 2000), teachers' perceptions of their Black students' behaviors may contribute to their symptoms of burnout more than their perceptions of White students' behaviors, which may have implications for teacher attrition.

More recently, Tsouloupas, Carson, Matthews, Grawitch, and Barber (2010) examined the relationship between teachers' perceptions of student behavior and symptoms of teacher burnout. Also, they examined whether teacher burnout contributed to teachers' risk for attrition. Their sample ( $N = 610$ ) included U.S. elementary ( $n = 300$ ), middle ( $n = 115$ ), and high school ( $n = 195$ ) teachers, most of whom identified as White (91%) or African American (8%). The sample consisted predominantly of women (86.4%) and a small number of men ( $n = 83$ ; 13.6%). Teaching experience varied from 0-5 years (35%), 6-10 years (20%), and 11 or more years (45%).

To assess teachers' perceptions of student misbehavior, participants were asked to respond to three questions, "How frequently do you experience negative interactions with students?" "How often do you deal with student discipline problems?" and "On average,

how emotionally intense are your dealings with student discipline problems?" A five-point frequency scale, ranging from 1 (almost never occurs) to 5 (occurs very frequently), was used for each item. Participants' burnout was measured using the MBI (Maslach et al., 1996) *emotional exhaustion* subscale as previously described. Last, participants' intentions for leaving the field were assessed by asking two questions "I frequently think of ending my career in teaching" and "If I had my own way, I would be working for this school district a year from now." Both items were rated on a six-point Likert-type scale (1 = strongly disagree, 6 = strongly agree).

Tsouloupas et al. used a structural equation model to examine the relationships among variables. They found a positive relationship between teachers' perceptions of student misbehavior (e.g., negative interactions with students, misbehavior problems, and emotional intensity of student discipline problems) and teachers' emotional exhaustion. In other words, higher frequencies of teachers' perceptions of student misbehavior predicted higher levels of teachers' emotional exhaustion. With respect to teacher attrition, teachers with higher levels of emotional exhaustion were more likely to agree that the teacher attrition items described them. Collectively, Tsouloupas et al.'s findings seem to suggest that when teachers perceive high levels of students' misbehavior, they report higher levels of symptoms of emotional burnout, which, in turn seems to be related to greater risk for leaving the field of teaching.

**Summary.** Some research has found relationships between teachers' perceptions of student misbehavior and teachers' symptoms of burnout (Bibou-Nakou, Stogiannidou, & Kiosseloglou, 1999; Friedman, 1995; Tsouloupas et al., 2010). Teachers' experiences

with or perceptions of specific types of student misbehavior (e.g., disrespect) may be strong predictors of their symptoms of burnout (Friedman, 1995). Moreover, teachers' symptoms of burnout appear to be related to teachers' risk for attrition from the field (Tsouloupas et al., 2010). Yet virtually missing from current research is a link between teachers' race-related psychological characteristics (e.g., racial identity) and their perceptions of student behavior.

### **Statement of the Problem**

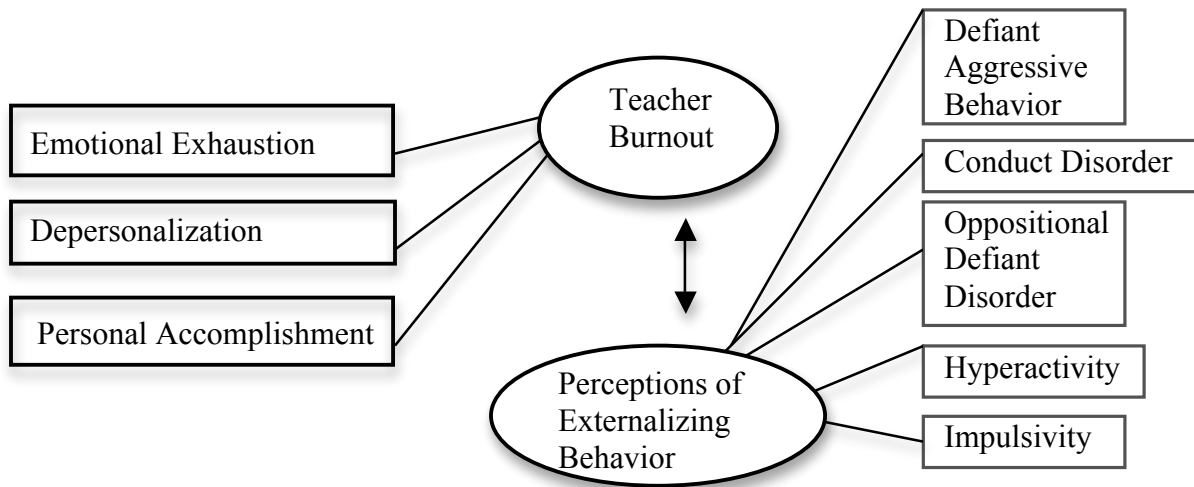
**Teacher burnout.** Teachers are leaving the workforce in alarming numbers; some studies have reported as many as half of new teachers leaving the field within the first five years of teaching (National Commission on Teaching and America's Future, 2002; Darling-Hammond, 2001). One predictor of teacher attrition that has been investigated is teachers' burnout symptoms (Hancock & Scherff, 2010). Teacher burnout has been defined as teachers' feelings of being "drained, cynical, and ineffective" (Maslach & Goldberg, 1998, p. 63) and as having three components (Maslach & Jackson, 1981): (a) *emotional exhaustion*, or when teachers feel weary and emotionally drained, (b) *depersonalization*, defined as when teachers no longer feel connected or engaged with their students, and (c) lack of *personal accomplishment*, defined as when teachers feel ineffective with their students. In this study, teachers' burnout symptoms will be measured using the Maslach Burnout Inventory-Educators Survey (MBI-ES; Maslach et al., 1996), which assesses the three previously defined domains of burnout.

**Teachers' perceptions of students' behaviors.** Teachers' perceptions of student misbehavior have been frequently cited as a significant contributing factor to teachers'

symptoms of burnout (e.g., Wynn, Carboni, & Patall, 2007). Specific student behaviors, such as disobedience, aggressiveness, and delinquency, were more positively related to teachers' burnout symptoms than distractible behaviors, such as students' distractibility (Friedman, 1995). According to the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Psychological Disorders - 4<sup>th</sup> Ed, Text Revision (DSM-IV-TR; APA, 2000), the hallmark symptoms of Conduct Disorder (CD) and Oppositional Defiant Disorder (ODD) are behaviors manifesting as disrespectful, rule-breaking, and aggressive. In contrast, the common symptoms of Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD) include distractible behaviors, such as having difficulty sitting still and focusing, and interrupting and distracting others. Hence, it follows that teachers' burnout symptoms should be more strongly related to CD and ODD symptoms compared to ADHD symptoms. In this study, teachers' perceptions of students' behavior were assessed using specific subscales of the Conners' Comprehensive Behavior Rating Scales, Teacher Form (CBRS-TF; Conners, 2008); specific subscales were chosen for assessing teachers' evaluations of students' externalizing behavior problems.

Therefore, as illustrated in Figure 1, an examination of the relationship between symptoms of teacher burnout and teachers' perceptions of students' externalizing behaviors (i.e., defiant aggressive behaviors, CD symptoms, ODD symptoms, hyperactivity symptoms, and impulsivity symptoms) should show that teachers who endorsed higher levels of burnout symptoms (i.e., Emotional Exhaustion, Depersonalization, and Personal Accomplishment)





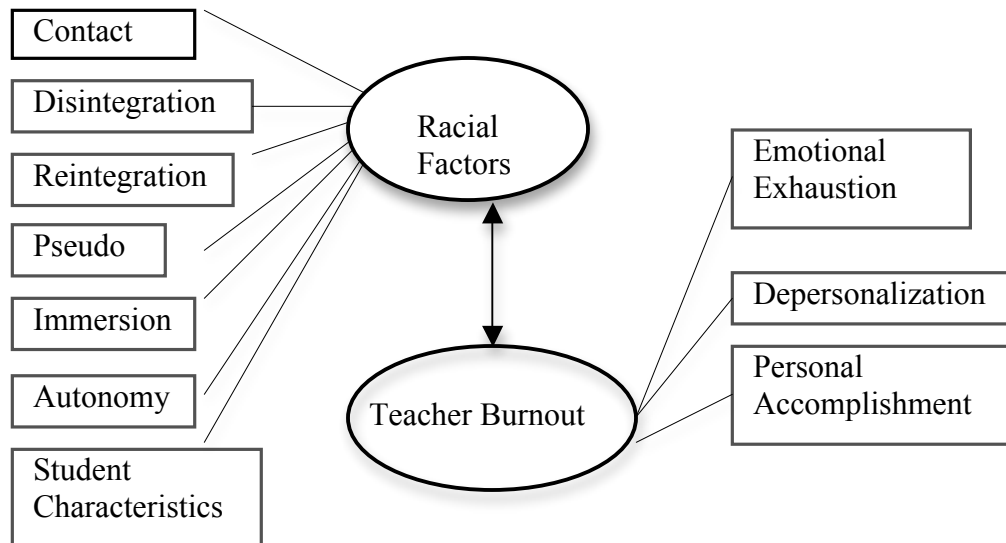
*Figure 1.* Conceptual framework for proposed relationship between teachers' symptoms of burnout and teachers' perceptions of externalizing behaviors.

perceive more Defiant Aggressive behaviors and more symptoms of CD and ODD in their students and perceive fewer symptoms of Hyperactivity and Impulsivity.

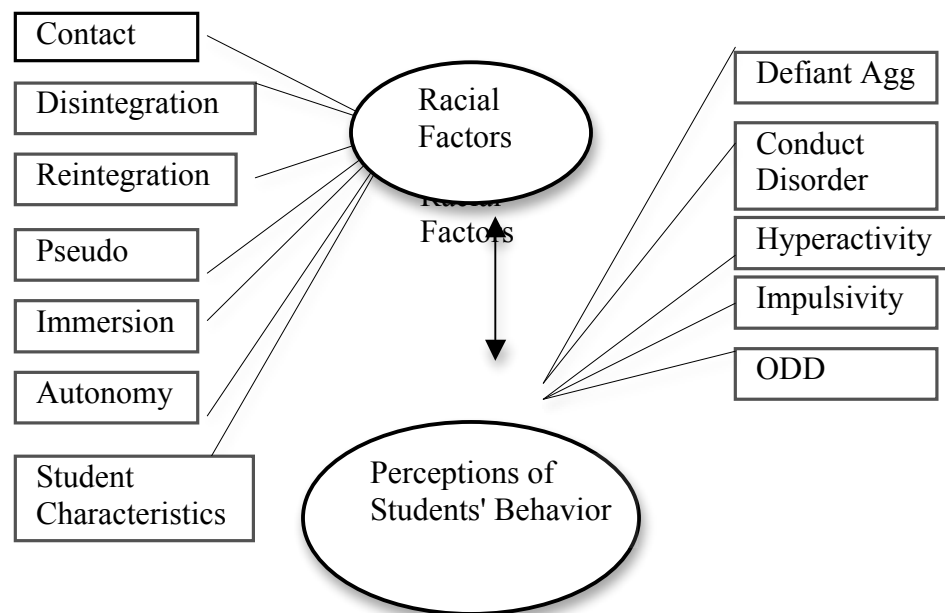
**Racial factors.** Existing literature has investigated the relationship between teachers' perceptions of students' behavior and teacher and students' race (Anderson-Clark, Green, & Henley, 2008; Diamond, Randolph, & Spillane, 2004; Tenenbaum & Ruck, 2007) and have found that teachers perceive Black students to be more disrespectful (Skiba et al., 2002) and troublesome (Ferguson, 2000) than White students. Taken together with the evidence that when teachers perceive students' behaviors as disrespectful, they exhibit higher levels of teacher burnout, it follows that teachers' perceptions of Black students' misbehavior may be more strongly related to their symptoms of burnout. Previous studies, which have found racial disparities in teachers'

perceptions of Black and White students' behaviors, have examined race-related differences at the demographic level. Neither teachers' nor students' racial categories per se are modifiable and, thus offer little basis for making educational interventions, whereas teachers' racial attitudes and racial socialization can be modified through exposure, training, and education (Helms & Cook, 1999).

Racial identity, cognitive processes by which teachers may interpret situations in which race is salient, might be useful for understanding the racial disparities in teachers' perceptions of student behavior, as well as teachers' symptoms of burnout. In the present study, the teachers' internalized racial socialization experiences, or racial factors, are operationally defined as racial identity statuses, the students' racial classifications, and implicit racial stereotypes as reflected in students' ethnic names. With past and current demographics of public school teachers and the U.S. population of school-aged children suggesting that the majority of Black students will continue to be taught by White teachers (NEA, 2010; U.S. Census Bureau, 2001), it appears most efficacious to examine the relationship between White teachers' racial factors, including their racial identity, and (a) teachers' symptoms of burnout, and (b) their perceptions of students' behavior. Teachers' racial identity will be measured using Helms's White Racial Identity Attitudes Scale (WRIAS; Helms, 2011), which assesses the six statuses of White Racial Identity, including *Contact*, *Disintegration*, *Reintegration*, *Pseudo-independence*, *Immersion/Emersion*, and *Autonomy*. Thus Figure 2 illustrates a relationship between teachers' racial factors and teachers' symptoms of burnout. Furthermore, if teachers' perceptions of students' behaviors and racial factors influences their burnout symptoms, it



*Figure 2.* Conceptual framework for proposed relationships between racial factors and teacher burnout.



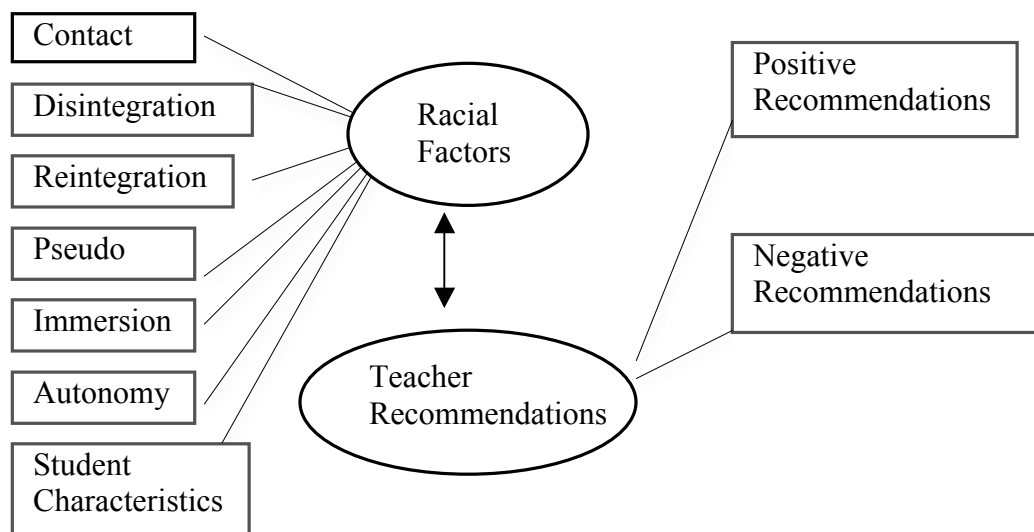
*Figure 3.* Conceptual framework for proposed relationships between racial factors and teachers' perceptions of student behavior.

follows that teachers' perceptions of students' externalizing behavior may also be influenced by the internalized racial socialization experiences with which they enter the classroom. Figure 3 illustrates this potential relationship between teachers' racial factors and perceptions of students' behavior.

Also, in previous studies, it appeared that when teachers perceived Black students as having more behavior problems than their White counterparts, the result was a discipline gap, (Gregory & Mosely, 2004; Monroe, 2005; Skiba et al., 2002) wherein Black students received a disproportionate number of disciplinary referrals. Evidence also suggested that teachers have made more negative referrals and recommendations and fewer positive recommendations for students of Color compared to their White counterparts (Tenenbaum & Ruck, 2007). Negative recommendations and referrals can include removing the student from the classroom (e.g., moving the student to the hallway, suspensions, expulsions), whereas positive recommendations can include classroom management strategies that redirect the student's behavior within the classroom (e.g., move student closer to the teacher's desk, pair the student with a positive peer, work with the student individually for a period of time). Investigating how teachers' racial identity might relate to the likelihood of using specific types of recommendations and referrals (Figure 4) could provide an area in which to design interventions to close the discipline gap. So, as illustrated in Figure 4, positive or negative recommendations for students may be influenced by the internalized racial socialization experiences with which teachers enter the classroom.

This study differs from previous research because instead of just focusing on

demographic variables such as teachers' or students' races, it will examine the influence



*Figure 4.* Conceptual framework for proposed relationships between racial factors and teacher recommendations.

of teachers' racial identity on their (a) perceptions of students' behavior, (b) recommendations for students' outcome, and (c) symptoms of burnout. Assessing the influence of teachers' racial identities on teachers' perceptions of student behavior and symptoms of burnout might provide a conceptual framework for understanding the discipline gap and racial disparities in teachers' perceptions of student behavior, and perhaps, how these perceptions of student discipline problems contribute to teachers' symptoms of burnout.

Although some previous research has investigated perceptions of student behaviors, recommendations for outcomes, and burnout symptoms as separate dependent or outcome variables, to the extent that race has been investigated in these studies, it has mostly been operationally defined as teachers' or students' racial categories. Moreover,

none have examined teacher's individualized racial socialization or job-related stress as factors influencing how they perceive students. By focusing on racial identity as an explanatory construct for teachers' perceptions of students' behavior, it might be possible to identify relationships among variables that can be modified via training and education.

In this study, in addition to assessing teachers' White racial identity as one type of racial factors, I used an analogue design involving vignettes describing a male student in the classroom. The use of vignettes allowed the researcher to control for confounding variables by using a specific description of the student instead of asking each teacher to choose a student from her or his classroom (Heppner, Kivlighan, & Wampold, 1999). In the vignettes the races and names in student descriptions were manipulated. Using vignettes with African American and White "sounding" names might have helped activate teachers' implicit and explicit racial attitudes (Anderson-Clark, et al., 2008). The students' behaviors in the vignette were described in exactly the same way. However, previous findings suggested that as compared to rating a photograph, listening to audiotape, watching a videotape, or rating their own students, analogue studies tended to have less power to detect differences when asking teachers to compare students of different racial backgrounds (Tenenbaum & Ruck, 2007). Tenenbaum and Ruck's (2007) results suggested that using a combination of techniques seemed to improve detection of differences; thus, for the present study, both a vignette and photograph of a student were shown to the participants. Therefore, in the present study, six vignette conditions, in which only the student's race and name were changed, were used to elicit teachers' perceptions of students' behavior and recommendations for student outcomes.

The following hypotheses were tested in the present study:

**Hypothesis 1. Teachers' symptoms of burnout will be related to their perceptions of students' externalizing behavior (Figure 1) such that teachers endorsing higher levels of burnout symptoms (i.e., high levels of Emotional Exhaustion and Depersonalization and low levels of Personal Accomplishment as measured by the MBI) will perceive higher levels of students' externalizing behavior (i.e., defiant aggressive behavior, conduct disorder, hyperactivity, impulsivity, as measured by subscales of the CBRS).** This hypothesis was based on literature suggesting that teachers leaving the field of teaching cite student behavior as a primary reason for job dissatisfaction (Ingersoll, 2003), and that teacher burnout seems to be related to teachers' perceptions of students misbehavior (Ingersoll, 1997; Wynn, Carboni, & Patall, 2007).

**Hypothesis 2. Teachers' racial identity will be related to teachers' symptoms of burnout (Figure 2).** This hypothesis was based on the evidence that teachers whose symptoms of burnout were high tended to perceive elevated levels of student misbehavior (Friedman, 1995; Hoerr & West, 1992; Tsouloupas et al., 2010) and the evidence suggesting that teachers' perceptions of student behavior appeared race-related (Ferguson, 2000; Tenenbaum & Ruck, 2007).

**Hypothesis 3.** The student's race and name will be differentially related to teachers' perceptions of externalizing symptoms, as measured by four subscales of the CBRS, of students in the vignettes.

**Hypothesis 3a. Significant main effects for race will be present, such that the**

**Black student will be perceived as having more externalizing symptoms than the White student.** This hypothesis was based on the empirical evidence suggesting that teachers' perceptions of students' behaviors are related to racial attitudes (Diamond et al., 2004; Tenebaum & Ruck, 2007; Wigfield et al., 1999) and evidence suggesting that teachers perceive African American students as more disruptive than their White counterparts (Downey & Pribesh, 2004; Skiba, et al., 2002).

***Hypothesis 3b.* Significant main effects for the student's name will be present, in that the students named "KeyShawn" will be perceived as having more externalizing symptoms than the students named "Adam" and "Michael."** This hypothesis was based on previous empirical research suggesting that teachers' perceptions of students' behaviors in analogue studies may have been influenced by participants' desire to appear politically correct (Anderson-Clark et al., 2008).

***Hypothesis 3c.* Evidence of an interaction effect of name and race will be found, such that the Black student named KeyShawn will be perceived as having significantly more externalizing symptoms than the White students named Adam and Michael.** This hypothesis was based on the empirical evidence suggesting that teachers' perceptions of students' behavior were influenced by racial attitudes (Boykin et al., 2006; Skiba et al., 2002), as well as research suggesting that ethnic sounding names activated implicit racial attitudes, such that a Black name was perceived as having poorer academic achievement compared to a White sounding name (Anderson-Clark et al., 2008).

**Hypothesis 4. Teachers' racial identity will be related to their perceptions of**



**students' externalizing behavior symptoms (Figure 3) such that teachers endorsing less sophisticated statuses (i.e., Contact, Disintegration, and Reintegration) will perceive more symptoms of externalizing behavior, whereas teachers endorsing the more sophisticated statuses (i.e., Pseudo-independence, Immersion, and Autonomy) will perceive fewer symptoms of externalizing behavior.** This hypothesis was based upon racial identity theory (Helms, 1990; 1995) and literature suggesting that teachers' racial attitudes influenced their perceptions of students' behavior (Downey & Pribesh, 2004; Ferguson, 2000; Skiba et al., 2002; Wigfield, et al., 1999).

**Hypothesis 5. The students' race and name will be related to teachers' positive and negative recommendations and referrals for the students in the vignettes.** More specifically, an interaction effect between name and race will be present, such that the Black student named KeyShawn will receive more negative referrals and recommendations than the White students named Adam and Michael. This hypothesis was based on the findings that Black students received harsher and more negative referrals for misbehavior than their White counterparts (Downey & Pribesh, 2004; Gregory & Mosely, 2004; Skiba et al., 2002) and the research suggesting that stereotypical ethnic names elicited implicit racial attitudes from participants when an analogue research design was used (Anderson-Clark, et al., 2008).

**Hypothesis 6. Teachers' racial identity will be related to teachers' referrals and recommendations such that teachers endorsing less sophisticated statuses (i.e., Contact, Disintegration, and Reintegration) will recommend more negative outcomes than teachers endorsing more sophisticated racial identity statuses (i.e.,**

**Pseudo-independence, Immersion, and Autonomy) (Figure 4).** This hypothesis was based on racial identity theory (Helms, 1990; 1995; 2003) and evidence suggesting that Black students received harsher penalties than their White counterparts (Butler et al., 2009).

## Chapter 3

### Method

#### Participants

Participants in this study were current K-12 teachers, teachers-in-training, and teachers' aides ( $N= 237$ ) who were raised in the United States (U.S.) and were currently teaching in the U.S. As an incentive, participants were offered a \$5 Amazon.com gift card upon completion of the survey. A summary of the demographic characteristics of the participants is provided in Table 1. All participants self-identified as White/Caucasian ( $n = 237$ ), with the preponderance of participants identifying as female ( $n = 193$ ; 81.4%). Whereas the vast majority of respondents included in the study identified as monolingual English speakers, about 14% responded that they spoke at least one other language fluently ( $n = 34$ ). Participants' mean age was 39.2 years ( $SD = 9.16$ ). Fewer participants reported being raised in the West ( $n = 34$ ) than the Northeast ( $n = 64$ ), Midwest ( $n = 63$ ), and South ( $n = 64$ ). A few participants ( $n = 9$ ; 3.8%) reported being raised in multiple regions and a small number ( $n = 3$ ; 1.3%) did not report this information.

Table 2 provides a description of the type of licensure, training, and teaching experiences participants reported. Their average teaching experience was almost 11 years ( $M = 10.74$ ;  $SD= 8.63$ ). Almost 90% of the participants had earned a college degree or more (87.3%), almost 83% identified as being licensed or certified teachers in the United States, and almost 90% of participants had graduated from a licensed or accredited teacher education program and were currently teaching in a subject area in which they were licensed. Moreover, most participants held professional licensure or national board

certification in at least one subject (58.2%). Almost half (46.0%) of participants taught in multiple types of classrooms (e.g., regular, inclusive, homogeneous, heterogeneous).

Reported characteristics of the schools at which participants were currently teaching are summarized in Table 3. School size varied greatly, with a mean size of 837 students, and a range of 2 to 4200 students. Also, most participants reported teaching at schools in the K-8 range ( $n=166$ ; 70.0%) and a smaller group of participants taught grades 7-12 ( $n=67$ ; 28.3%).

Table 1

Self-reported Demographic Characteristics of Participants ( $N=237$ )

Category	Frequency	%
Gender		
Women	193	81.4%
Men	44	18.6%
Region Raised		
Northeast	64	27.0%
Midwest	63	26.6%
South	64	27.0%
West	34	14.4%
Multiple regions reported	9	3.8%
None reported	3	1.3%
Highest Degree Earned		
Some college	3	1.3%
Bachelor's	96	40.5%
Master's	135	57.0%
Doctorate	2	0.8%
None reported	1	0.4%
Language(s) Spoken (other than English)		
English (monolingual)	203	85.7%
Spanish	20	8.4%
French	7	3.0%
American Sign Language	4	1.7%
Italian	2	0.8%
Other	4	1.7%

Table 2

Self-reported training experiences and teacher credentials ( $N = 237$ )

Category	Frequency	%
Type of Teacher		
Licensed/Certified	196	82.7%
Pre-Service/Teacher-In-Training	20	8.4%
Teacher's Aide	21	8.9%
License Type		
Provisional	6	2.5%
Initial	49	20.7%
Professional	120	50.6%
National	18	7.6%
Multiple Types reported	17	7.2%
None reported	27	11.4%
Graduate of licensed/accredited program		
Yes	211	89.0%
No	26	11.0%
Alternative route for licensure		
Yes	36	15.2%
No	201	84.8%
Currently teaching in licensed subject area		
Yes	214	90.3%
No	20	8.4%
Not reported	3	1.3%
Classroom Type(s)		
Regular Classroom	190	80.2%
Inclusive	90	38.0%
Homogeneous (tracked)	42	17.7%
Heterogeneous (non-tracked)	55	23.2%
Integrated	31	13.1%
Lab	12	5.1%
Advanced Placement	12	5.1%
Teaches in two or more types of classrooms		
Two	45	19.0%
Three	44	18.6%
Four	18	7.6%
Five	2	0.8%

Table 3

Reported characteristics of participants' schools

School Characteristics	Frequency	%
Type of School		
Public	183	77.2%
Private	47	19.8%
School Designated to be closed	2	0.8%
Turnaround school	5	2.1%
Grades Included in School		
K-4 (elementary)	70	29.5%
K-6	34	14.3%
K-8	25	10.5%
K-12	10	4.2%
5-8 (middle)	37	15.6%
7-9	1	0.4%
7-12	2	0.8%
8-12	4	1.7%
9-12	50	21.1%
other	4	1.7%
Student Body		
All females	5	2.1%
All males	14	5.9%
Co-educational	217	91.6%
School type		
free-standing	197	83.1%
small school	31	13.1%
small learning community	6	2.5%
boarding school	2	0.8%

### Conditions

Participants were randomly assigned to read one of six vignettes with a standard description of a 10-year old boy in a classroom, identifying the boy as either Black or White. All six vignettes contained the same description of the boy's height, size, and behaviors (see Appendix A). Three vignettes identified the student as a Black boy, whereas the other three identified the student as a White boy. Furthermore, two of the

vignettes used the name "KeyShawn," two vignettes used the name "Adam," and two vignettes used the name "Michael." A picture of a Black boy accompanied the vignettes of the Black student, and a picture of a White boy accompanied the vignettes of the White student. These pictures were procured from stock photography available on the internet (see Figures 5 and 6).

### **Measures**

Each participant was asked to complete these measures in the following order: (a) a demographic questionnaire, (b) Maslach Burnout Inventory- Educators Survey (MBI; Maslach, Jackson, & Leiter, 1996), (c) Conners - Comprehensive Behavioral Rating Scale Teacher Form (Conners- CBRS-TF; Conners, 2008), and (d) White Racial Identity Attitudes Scale (WRIAS; Helms, 2011). In addition, prior to completing the WRIAS, participants were asked to rate how likely they would be to use specific classroom and behavior management strategies with the student from the vignette.

**Demographic questionnaire.** Participants completed a demographic questionnaire, which asked participants to report their age, racial background, gender, socioeconomic status (SES), highest educational degree earned, teaching experience, teacher type (i.e., general education, special education), and grade level taught (Appendix B). In addition, participants were asked to report their school's demographic characteristics (e.g., size of school, type of school, racial classifications of school's student body).

**Maslach Burnout Inventory - Educators' Survey (MBI-ES).** Maslach, Jackson, and Leiter's (1996) inventory of burnout symptoms (22 items; Appendix C) assesses

teachers' experiences in three domains, emotional exhaustion (EE; 9 items), depersonalization (DP; 5 items), and personal accomplishment (PA; 8 items).

Depersonalization is defined as developing cynical attitudes toward teaching and children and is measured with items, such as "I treat some students as if they were impersonal objects." Emotional exhaustion occurs when teachers feel depleted of emotional and physical resources, and was assessed with items, such as "I feel like I am at the end of my rope." When teachers perceive their work to be meaningful, they are experiencing a sense of personal accomplishment, and an example item is, "I have accomplished many worthwhile things in this job."

High subscale scores for emotional exhaustion and depersonalization in combination with a low subscale score on the personal accomplishment subscale indicate a high level of burnout. Participants rated their burnout symptoms on a 7-point frequency scale (0 = never, 1 = a few times a year, 6 = every day). Cronbach alpha reliability analyses for the current sample indicates that 73% to 86% of the sample's inter-item response variability can be attributed to participants' consistent responding (Table 4). A previous sample (Maslach & Jackson, 1986) of elementary school teachers' responses to the MBI-ES yielded the following Cronbach alpha (CA) coefficients: EE ( $\alpha = .90$ ), DP ( $\alpha = .79$ ), and PA ( $\alpha = .71$ ).

**Conners' Comprehensive Behavior Rating Scale- Teacher Form** (Conners CBRS-T). Conners' (2008; Appendix D) instrument assesses perceived emotional, behavioral, and academic problems of children, ranging from 6 to 18 years of age. From over 40 possible subscales designed to assess a variety of common childhood problems,



five were selected. After reading a vignette, participants completed the following selected CBRS subscales, with sample items: (a) defiant aggressive behaviors (34 items; "swears or uses bad language"), (b) oppositional defiant disorder (8 items; "is irritable and easily annoyed by others"), (c) conduct disorder (13 items; "bullies, threatens, or scares others"), (d) hyperactivity (8 items; "is constantly moving"), and (e) impulsivity (3 items; "has difficulty waiting for his turn"). According to the Conners' CBRS manual (Conners, 2008), convergent and divergent validity studies have been conducted with several commonly used child behavior rating scales, such as the Behavior Assessment System for Children - Second edition (BASC-2; Reynolds & Kamphaus, 2004) and the Achenbach System of Empirically Based Assessment (ASEBA; Achenbach & Rescorla, 2001). Moreover, the CBRS manual reported that the CBRS correlated with scores on the BASC-2 depression scale (.39 to .71) and the anxious/depressed scale from the ASEBA (.43 to .83).

For this study, participants rated the student described in the vignette on 4-point scales (0 = not true at all, never, or seldom; 3 = very much true, very often, or very frequently). Item responses were summed for each subscale, with higher scores indicating that a participant perceived the student to exhibit symptoms of behavioral disorders (e.g., defiant aggressive, hyperactivity) more frequently. Cronbach alpha reliability estimates for the participants' responses suggest that 68% to 95% of the variability in the teachers' subscale responses could be attributed to consistent responding of the participants (Table 4).

**Teacher Recommendations and Referrals for Student Outcomes.** This 21-

item survey was constructed for this study (Appendix E). Participants were asked to rate on a 5-point scale (i.e., 1 = "I would never use this strategy or make this recommendation"; 5 = "I would definitely use this strategy or make this recommendation") the likelihood of using a classroom/behavior management strategy with the student in the vignette. Negative recommendations (5 items) consisted of punitive strategies (e.g., "I would take away a privilege") or resulted in decreased instruction time (e.g., "Ask the student to do his work in the hallway"). Positive recommendations (6 items) consisted of proactive responses designed to increase student engagement (e.g., "Move the student closer to my desk," "Ask student's other teachers for recommendations"). Item responses for each subscale were summed, with higher totals indicating a higher likelihood that a participant would use that type of strategy. The participants' responses yielded Cronbach alpha reliability estimates suggesting that 61% to 74% of the variability in responses could be attributed to consistent responding.

**White Racial Identity Attitude Scale** (*WRIAS*; Helms, 2011). This revised self-report scale contains 60 items that assesses the six previously described identity constructs in Helms's (1990, 1995) model of White racial identity development (Appendix F). The six statuses include Contact, Disintegration, Reintegration, Pseudo-independence, Immersion/emersion, and Autonomy. Sample items for each subscale include "I hardly every think about what race I am" (Contact), "I feel depressed after I have been around Black people" (Disintegration), "There is nothing I want to learn from Blacks" (Reintegration), "I believe that a White person cannot be racist if he or she has a Black friend(s)" (Pseudo-independence), "I am examining how racism relates to who I

am" (Immersion/emersion), and "I think that White people must end racism in this country because they created it" (Autonomy).

In order to reduce the length of the overall survey for the participants, a series of principal component analyses were performed separately on each subscale using archived responses to the WRIAS. Four items were chosen for each subscale based on their correlation coefficients in the component matrices and the content of each item. As a result, participants responded to 24 items (Appendix B) on a 5-point Likert-type scale, ranging from 1 ("strongly disagree") to 5 ("strongly agree").

Both Cronbach alpha (CA) and Helms's Iota were used to evaluate internal consistency of the participants' responses to the six abbreviated racial identity attitude subscales. CA analyses suggested that 15% to 96% of the variability in respondents' responses to items could be attributed to consistent responding. Recent primers on the use of internal consistency as psychometric data (Helms, Henze, Sass, & Mifsud, 2006) suggested that theta might be more appropriate for evaluating the internal consistency reliability of scores on this scale due to the multidimensionality of racial identity, and thus was also calculated. Helms's Iota is an individual-level indicator of the internal consistency of participants' responses to items within a subscale (Helms, personal communication). One advantage of Helms's Iota is that it provides a means of "correcting" for measurement error, if needed. Thus, Helms's Iota (personal communication) was also calculated for each participant. In Table 4, the group mean iota value was provided as a comparison to CA and theta.

Responses to the WRIAS in a previous study (Carr & Caskie, 2010) with White

participants ( $N = 255$ ), most of whom were women ( $n = 159$ ), yielded CA estimates for each full-length subscale as follows: Contact ( $\alpha = .54$ ), Disintegration ( $\alpha = .62$ ), Reintegration ( $\alpha = .81$ ), Pseudo-independence ( $\alpha = .31$ ), Immersion/emersion ( $\alpha = .80$ ), and Autonomy ( $\alpha = .55$ ). Table 4 summarizes the descriptive statistics and reliability analyses for the current sample.

### **Procedure**

Prior to soliciting participants and administering the survey, the Institutional Review Board of Boston College (BC IRB) approved the study. Participants were recruited by contacting professional and personal networks of teachers via email. State teacher organizations were also contacted to ask whether their members would be interested in participating; some organizations willingly invited their members to participate through an email blast. Email invitations to participate included an embedded link to the survey hosted through Qualtrics. Participants were greeted by the informed consent page, which described the purpose of the study, as well as the potential risks and benefits of participating. Potential participants were also informed that they could choose either a \$5 Amazon.com or \$5 iTunes gift card upon completion of the survey;

Table 4

	Mean	SD	Obtained Range	Possible Range	$\alpha$	$\theta$	Mean Iota
White Racial Identity Scale							
Contact	14.43	3.19	6.00 - 20.00	4.00 - 20.00	.58	.60	.87
Disintegration	11.45	4.64	4.00 - 20.00	4.00 - 20.00	.83	.84	.85
Reintegration	10.27	5.83	4.00 - 20.00	4.00 - 20.00	.96	.95	.90
Pseudo-independence	15.89	2.14	9.00 - 20.00	4.00 - 20.00	.15	.30	.87
Immersion	13.62	4.52	4.00 - 20.00	4.00 - 20.00	.90	.90	.91
Autonomy	14.94	2.76	7.00 - 20.00	4.00 - 20.00	.52	.56	.87
Maslach Burnout Inventory							
Emotional Exhaustion	31.70	10.34	1.00 - 53.00	0.00 - 54.00	.86	.87	.90
Depersonalization	10.88	6.63	0.00 - 28.00	0.00 - 30.00	.73	.74	.80
Personal Accomplishment	36.26	6.27	20.00 - 48.00	0.00 - 48.00	.74	.76	.93
Connor's Comprehensive Behavior Rating Scale							
Defiant Aggressive	35.83	19.74	2.00 - 90.00	0.00 - 102.00	.95	.96	.94
Conduct Disorder	11.26	10.02	0.00 - 36.00	0.00 - 39.00	.95	.95	.91
Oppositional Defiant	9.14	4.53	1.00 - 24.00	0.00 - 24.00	.78	.79	.88
Hyperactivity	9.61	5.31	0.00 - 23.00	0.00 - 24.00	.86	.86	.90
Impulsivity	3.27	2.26	0.00 - 9.00	0.00 - 9.00	.68	.64	.87
Teacher Recommendations							
Negative Recommendations	14.35	4.07	5.00 - 24.00	5.00 - 25.00	.74	.75	.86
Positive Recommendations	22.80	3.34	14.00 - 30.00	6.00 - 30.00	.61	.63	.92

Note.  $\alpha$  = Cronbach alpha.  $\theta$  = theta.

however, due to unforeseen circumstances, the iTunes gift cards were not available and amendments were made to the informed consent to offer only the \$5 Amazon.com gift card. After consenting to participate, participants were successively directed to (a) a socio-demographic questionnaire, (b) the MBI, (c) a randomly assigned vignette, (d) the CBRS, (e) the survey of teacher classroom strategies and recommendations, and (f) the WRIAS. After completing the survey, participants were directed to a separate survey if they were interested in receiving the \$5 Amazon.com gift card. A separate survey was used to collect these participants' email addresses in order to protect the confidentiality and anonymity of their responses to the original survey.

The sample originally included 384 participants, with 383 consenting to participate in the study. Of these 383 participants, 75 participants (19.6%) were excluded from the analyses because they self-identified as a person of Color. Another 7 participants were excluded because they did not respond to the item asking participants to identify as a licensed/certified teacher, teacher-in-training/pre-service teacher, or teacher's aide/assistant. Of the 301 remaining participants, 41 (10.7%) quit the survey before completing the demographic questionnaire and another 13 respondents dropped out before reading the vignette, a critical point of the current study. The remaining sample consisted of 247 participants, of which 7 provided no responses to the CBRS, 2 more quit upon reaching the teacher recommendation survey, and 1 participant quit upon reaching the WRIAS. The final sample ( $N=237$ ) included almost 62% of those responding to the survey.

## Chapter 4

### Results

#### Preliminary Analyses

The variables of interest in the current study were the six racial identity statuses as measured by the WRIAS (Helms, 2011), perceptions of externalizing behavior symptoms as measured by five subscales of the CBRS (Conners, 2008), teacher burnout as measured by the three subscales of the MBI (Maslach, Jackson, & Leiter, 1996), and teachers' likelihood of using positive and negative classroom and teaching strategies as measured by two teacher recommendations subscales. Before conducting the MANCOVA and canonical correlation analyses to evaluate the hypotheses, the data were screened for missing responses. Several participants ( $n = 5$ ) had not responded to the question "how old are you?" A group mean ( $M = 39.23$ ) was substituted for these missing values. Pearson correlation coefficients between continuous demographic variables (i.e., age, years teaching, school's percentage of students of Color), subscale scores of the MBI, WRIAS, CBRS, and teacher recommendations were calculated to determine if any demographic variables were significantly related to these variables of interest and, therefore, should be incorporated in subsequent analyses. Table 5 shows that age and total years teaching were significantly related to the outcome variables and were thus included in the appropriate analyses.

The variables of interest were then evaluated for normality, linearity, homogeneity of variance, and multicollinearity, which are the assumptions underlying interpretation of MANCOVA and canonical correlation analyses. To assess the

assumption of normal distributions, standardized scores ( $Z_{\text{skewness}}$ ) were calculated for each variable. A distribution of scores was considered significantly skewed if the absolute  $Z_{\text{skewness}}$  value was greater than 1.96. Of the sixteen measured variables, six variables (i.e., Disintegration, Reintegration, Depersonalization, Impulsivity, Conduct Disorder, and Oppositional Defiant Disorder) were significantly positively skewed and two variables (i.e., emotional exhaustion and positive recommendations) were significantly negatively skewed.

Plotting histograms of these variables suggested that outliers were likely unduly contributing to the non-normality of distributions. In an attempt to minimize the effect of skewness, outliers were manually shifted closer toward the mean, a process known as winsoring. These shifted values did not appear to attenuate all non-normal distributions. Thus, multiple types of transformations (e.g., log, square root) were computed for all variables, using both raw scores and scores with shifted values. However, transforming (e.g., computing log values) the variables of interest for these hypotheses resulted in the violation of several other assumptions, including equality of covariance matrices (i.e., Box's Test) and homogeneity of variances (i.e., Levene's Test). Thus, winsored raw scores were used in subsequent analyses. Means, standard deviations, and ranges of scores for these variables are shown in Table 5 and Table 6.

Next, multicollinearity was assessed by examining variance inflation factors (VIF) between predictor variables. Several pairs of variables appeared to have VIF values greater than 6, thus violating the assumption. More specifically, for the Conners' CBRS subscales, the oppositional defiant and defiant aggressive behaviors subscales indicated a



VIF value of 6.34. The Defiant Aggressive subscale (34 items) included all of the Oppositional Defiant Disorder subscale items (8 items); thus the Oppositional Defiant subscale was excluded in canonical correlation analyses. The Defiant Aggressive subscale also shared four items with the Conduct Disorder subscale (13 items). These four items were deleted from the Defiant Aggressive subscale in order to preserve the integrity of the analyses; thus in all subsequent analyses, the Defiant Aggressive subscale scores were computed using 30 items. In addition, assessments of multicollinearity indicated that the Hyperactivity subscale was highly correlated with the Defiant Aggressive subscale (VIF = 17.88) and the Conduct Disorder subscale (VIF = 8.37). Likewise, the Impulsivity subscale appeared highly related to the Defiant Aggressive subscale (VIF = 19.06) and Conduct Disorder subscale (VIF = 14.43). However, after removing the four Conduct Disorder subscale items from the Defiant Aggressive subscale, multicollinearity diagnostics were re-run, and VIF values indicated the none of the CBRS subscales were too highly collinear.

In addition, one-way ANOVAs were conducted to determine if categorical demographic variables, such as highest education level completed (e.g., some college, master's degree, Ph.D.) and type of teacher (e.g., teacher-in-training, teacher's aide, licensed/certified teacher), had significant effects on the variables of interest. There were significant effects for education level and type of teacher on the majority of the CBRS and recommendation subscales at the  $p < .05$  level. Thus, these two categorical demographic variables were included in the appropriate MANCOVAs.

Table 5

Pearson Correlations, Means, and Standard Deviations of Demographic, Predictor, and Criterion Variables ( $N = 237$ )

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	M	SD
1. Cont	--	.31	.32	.18	.11	.24	.24	.33	.12	.20	.21	.28	.18	-.16	.24	-.08	.12	.02	12.72	3.61
2. Dis		--	.90	.56	.63	.47	.71	.83	.41	.56	.38	.38	.51	-.47	.64	-.39	-.27	-.42	9.97	4.72
3. Rein			--	.59	.71	.54	.74	.89	.41	.59	.40	.40	.54	-.47	.70	-.36	-.27	-.45	9.44	5.77
4. PI				--	.58	.48	.47	.58	.23	.38	.22	.19	.27	-.31	.49	-.09	-.19	-.32	13.94	2.89
5. Imm					--	.68	.54	.67	.26	.44	.27	.27	.42	-.29	.57	-.17	-.32	-.46	12.51	4.60
6. Aut						--	.47	.58	.23	.40	.27	.16	.27	-.24	.47	-.14	-.26	-.34	13.22	3.34
7. DA							--	.90	.83	.74	.63	.39	.57	-.33	.72	-.11	-.31	-.45	35.83	19.74
8. CD								--	.59	.68	.52	.43	.57	-.39	.76	-.22	-.27	-.44	11.24	9.97
9. ODD									--	.65	.60	.27	.44	-.17	.50	.02	-.29	-.35	9.05	4.30
10. HYP										--	.71	.33	.36	-.18	.61	.01	-.18	-.29	9.61	5.31
11. IMP											--	.23	.30	-.12	.46	.01	-.17	-.24	3.24	2.21
12. EE												--	.60	-.42	.45	-.09	-.10	-.18	31.90	9.86
13. DP													--	-.39	.53	-.09	-.28	-.38	10.81	6.46
14. PA														--	-.39	.33	.19	.32	36.26	6.27
15. NR															--	-.04	-.25	-.38	14.35	4.07
16. PR																--	.00	.05	22.86	3.20
17. Age																	--	.84	39.23	9.06
18. YrsT																		--	10.74	8.63

Note: Racial Identity Attitudes are: Cont = Contact, Dis = Disintegration, Reint = Reintegration, PI = Pseudo-independence, Imm = Immersion, Aut = Autonomy (Helms, 1995). Externalizing symptoms are: DA = Defiant Aggressive behaviors, CD = Conduct Disorder behaviors, ODD = Oppositional Defiant behaviors, HYP = Hyperactivity behaviors, IMP = Impulsivity behaviors (CBRS, 2008). Burnout symptoms are: EE = Emotional Exhaustion, DP = Depersonalization, PA = Personal accomplishment (MBI, 1996). Teacher Recommendations are: NR = negative recommendations, PR = positive recommendations. YrsT= Years of Teaching.

Table 6  
Means, Standard Deviations, and Ranges for Comprehensive Behavior Rating  
Scale and Teacher Recommendations.

Scale/ Variable	Vignette	M	SD	Obtained Range	Possible Range
Conners' Behavior Rating Scale					
Defiant Aggressive	WM	40.53	19.28	7.00 - 89.00	0.00 - 102.00
	WA	32.60	19.17	4.00 - 90.00	
	WK	34.58	22.13	5.00 - 85.00	
	BM	34.41	18.29	6.00 - 71.00	
	BA	40.17	20.27	2.00 - 76.00	
	BK	31.15	17.75	8.00 - 73.00	
Conduct Disorder	WM	12.81	10.02	0.00 - 33.10	0.00 - 39.00
	WA	9.84	9.83	0.00 - 33.10	
	WK	11.65	11.07	0.00 - 31.00	
	BM	10.22	9.50	1.00 - 27.00	
	BA	12.94	9.48	0.00 - 28.00	
	BK	9.37	9.70	1.00 - 33.00	
Oppositional Defiant	WM	10.07	4.29	4.00 - 18.20	0.00 - 24.00
	WA	8.35	4.05	1.00 - 18.20	
	WK	8.92	4.47	1.00 - 18.20	
	BM	8.66	4.03	1.00 - 18.00	
	BA	9.87	4.55	1.00 - 18.20	
	BK	8.11	4.37	1.00 - 16.00	
Hyperactivity	WM	10.49	5.25	1.00 - 23.00	0.00 - 24.00
	WA	8.86	5.35	0.00 - 21.00	
	WK	9.88	4.90	0.00 - 21.00	
	BM	9.10	5.77	0.00 - 19.00	
	BA	10.11	5.68	0.00 - 22.00	
	BK	8.93	4.85	0.00 - 17.00	
Impulsivity	WM	3.42	2.15	0.00 - 7.79	0.00 - 9.00
	WA	2.72	1.95	0.00 - 7.79	
	WK	3.22	2.21	0.00 - 7.79	
	BM	3.28	2.45	0.00 - 7.79	
	BA	3.93	2.25	0.00 - 7.79	
	BK	2.81	2.13	0.00 - 7.00	
Teacher Recommendations					
Negative Recommendations	WM	14.40	3.92	7.00 - 24.00	5.00 - 25.00
	WA	14.26	4.00	9.00 - 24.00	
	WK	14.37	4.64	5.00 - 23.00	
	BM	13.85	3.77	7.00 - 20.00	
	BA	14.97	4.16	5.00 - 24.00	
	BK	14.26	4.01	5.00 - 21.00	
Positive Recommendations	WM	23.05	3.52	16.12 - 30.00	6.00 - 30.00
	WA	22.45	3.19	16.12 - 29.00	
	WK	22.24	2.75	16.12 - 28.00	
	BM	23.39	2.49	16.12 - 27.00	
	BA	22.51	3.62	16.12 - 30.00	
	BK	23.86	3.55	16.12 - 29.00	

Note. WM = White Michael, WA = White Adam, WK = White KeyShawn, BM = Black

Michael, BA = Black Adam, BK = Black KeyShawn.

### **Tests of Hypotheses and Research Questions**

**Hypothesis 1.** Teachers' symptoms of burnout will be related to their perceptions of students' externalizing behavior. To evaluate this hypothesis, a canonical correlation analysis was conducted in which the three teacher burnout subscales (i.e., Emotional Exhaustion, Depersonalization, and Personal Accomplishment) of the MBI were used to predict the teachers' perceptions of their students' externalizing symptoms (i.e., Defiant Aggressive, Conduct Disorder, Hyperactivity, and Impulsivity) as measured by the CBRS.

The results of the canonical correlation analysis indicated that the full model, which included three functions, was significant, as evidenced by a Wilks's lambda ( $\lambda = .592$ ,  $F(12, 508.81) = 11.10$ ,  $p < .001$ ). Because Wilks's  $\lambda$  represents the variance not explained by the model,  $1-\lambda$  indicates the amount of variance explained by the full model. Therefore, the overall model accounted for 40.8% of the shared variance between the predictor and criterion variable sets. The three functions accounted for 40.8%, 3.33%, and 1.82% of the variance, respectively. When the first function was removed, the model was no longer significant ( $p = .059$ ). The criteria for determining whether a function would be interpreted was that it accounted for at least 9% of the variance and that the model was significant when it was included in the model. Thus, only the first function was interpreted for this analysis.

Table 7 provides a summary of the results for this canonical correlation analysis. In the table, function refers to the dimension underlying the predictor and criterion sets of

variance. For the significant function, the table shows (a) the standardized canonical coefficients (*coef*), (b) structure coefficients ( $r_s$ ), (c) the squared structure coefficient ( $r_s^2$ ), and (d) the communality coefficients ( $h^2$ ). Standardized canonical coefficients are analogous to factor loadings in factor analyses or beta weights in regression analyses and indicate the unique contribution of each predictor or criterion variable to defining the structure of the dimension or function underlying the predictor and criterion sets. The structure coefficients represent the contribution of each specific variable to its covariate set or contribution to the function and provide information about the direction of relationships. Squared structure coefficients indicate the percentage of variance that each specific variable contributed to its covariate set or to the function. Communality coefficients represent the usefulness of each specific variable for the overall solution. In

Table 7

Summary of Canonical Correlation Analysis for Teachers' Symptoms of Burnout and Perceptions of Externalizing Behavior

Variable	<i>coef</i>	$r_s$	$r_s^2$ (%)	$h^2$ (%)
Function 1				
Emotional Exhaustion	.08	<u>.67</u>	44.89	44.89
Depersonalization	.79	<u>.96</u>	92.16	92.16
Personal Accomplishment	-.28	<u>-.64</u>	40.96	40.96
$R_c^2$			37.58	37.58
Defiant Aggressive	.57	<u>.93</u>	86.49	86.49
Conduct Disorder	.66	<u>.97</u>	94.09	94.09
Hyperactivity	-.22	<u>.59</u>	34.81	34.81
Impulsivity	-.08	<u>.46</u>	21.16	21.16

Note: *Coef* = Standardized Canonical Function Coefficient,  $r_s$  = Structure Coefficient;  $r_s^2$  % = Squared Structure Coefficient,  $R_c^2$  = Squared Canonical Correlation.  $h^2$  (%) = Communality Coefficient.  $r_s > |.30|$  are underlined.

Table 7 because there was only one significant function,  $r^2$  and  $h^2$  are equivalent.

### **Function 1**

For the first function, teachers' feelings of disengagement with their students defined the underlying dimension from the predictor set and the teachers' perceptions of students' defiant, disrespectful, and aggressive behaviors defined the function or underlying theme from the criterion set of variables. Thus, the function seemed to reflect Externalizing Disengagement.

**Teacher burnout.** All three types of burnout symptoms significantly contributed to Function 1. When the teachers' Depersonalization and Emotional Exhaustion were high, their sense of Personal Accomplishment was low. Though the structure coefficients for all three subscales of teacher burnout were significant contributors to this predictor covariate, Depersonalization (92.16%) accounted for the majority of the variance; Emotional Exhaustion (44.89%) and Personal Accomplishment (40.96%) accounted for significant secondary amounts of variance.

**Perceptions of students' externalizing behaviors.** In the teachers' perceptions of students' behavior criterion set, teachers' perceptions of Defiant Aggressive, Conduct Disorder, Hyperactivity, and Impulsivity symptoms were significant contributors to this canonical covariate. More specifically, perceptions of (a) Conduct Disorder ( $r_s = .97$ ) accounted for 94.09% of the variance; (b) Defiant Aggressive behavior ( $r_s = .93$ ) accounted for 86.49% of the variance; (c) Hyperactivity ( $r_s = .59$ ) accounted for 34.81% of the variance, and (d) Impulsivity ( $r_s = .46$ ) accounted for 21.16% of the variance. Thus, when teachers perceived or diagnosed students as manifesting any of these

symptoms, they perceived them as manifesting all of them.

**Relationships between the predictors and criteria.** Interpreting the Function 1 structure coefficients across predictor and criterion sets indicated that teachers who endorsed very high levels of Depersonalization ( $r_s = .96$ ), moderate levels of Emotional Exhaustion ( $r_s = .67$ ), and low levels of Personal Accomplishment ( $r_s = -.64$ ) perceived very high levels of Defiant Aggressive behaviors ( $r_s = .93$ ) and Conduct Disorder symptoms ( $r_s = .97$ ), and moderate levels of Hyperactivity symptoms ( $r_s = .59$ ) and Impulsivity symptoms ( $r_s = .46$ ). Of note, when structure coefficients share the same sign, they are positively related to each other. In other words, this function suggested that when teachers felt weary (i.e., Emotional Exhaustion), pessimistic (i.e., Depersonalization), and useless (i.e., lack of Personal Accomplishment), they tended to perceive their students as exhibiting higher numbers of conduct disorder symptoms, defiant aggressive behaviors, symptoms of hyperactivity, and impulsive behaviors. These results supported hypothesis 1, in that teachers' symptoms of burnout were significantly related to teachers' perceptions of students' externalizing behaviors.

**Hypothesis 2.** Teachers' racial factors will be related to teachers' symptoms of burnout (Figure 2). To evaluate this hypothesis, a canonical correlation analysis was performed to explore the relationship between teachers' White racial identity and the percentage of students of Color in their schools and their symptoms of burnout. Initial results had indicated that the vignettes were not significantly related to teachers' symptoms of burnout and therefore were not used in this analysis.

The canonical correlation analysis indicated that the full model with three

functions was significant, suggesting that at least one function was significant as indicated by a significant Wilks's lambda ( $\lambda = .536, F(21, 652.37) = 7.53, p < .001$ ). The overall model accounted for 46.4% of the shared variance between the predictor and criterion variable sets. When the first function was removed, the remaining functions accounted for 12.00% of the shared variance ( $p < .01$ ) and were significant. When the second function was removed from the model, the remaining model accounted for 3.9% of the shared variance ( $p = .10$ ) and was no longer significant. Therefore, the first two functions were interpreted.

Table 8 presents a summary of the results for these two functions, displaying the standardized canonical coefficients (*coef*), structure coefficients ( $r_s$ ), the squared structure coefficient ( $r_s^2$ ), and the communality coefficients ( $h^2$ ).

### **Function 1**

Function 1 was defined by Reintegration (i.e., idealized Whiteness) and Disintegration (i.e., confusion) from the predictor set and Depersonalization (i.e., disengagement) from the criteria set. Thus, the underlying dimension seems to reflect Confused Disengagement.

**Racial factors.** All six White racial identity statuses meaningfully contributed to the first function. More specifically, Reintegration ( $r_s = -.96; r_s^2 = 92.16\%$ ) and Disintegration ( $r_s = -.90; r_s^2 = 81.00\%$ ) were the primary contributors to this function, with Immersion ( $r_s = -.73; r_s^2 = 53.29\%$ ), Pseudo-independence ( $r_s = -.68; r_s^2 = 46.24\%$ ), Autonomy ( $r_s = -.47; r_s^2 = 22.09\%$ ), and Contact ( $r_s = -.32; r_s^2 = 10.24$ ) making secondary, but significant contributions in descending order of importance. When especially



idealized Whiteness (Reintegration) and confused racial perspectives (Disintegration) were strong, all of the other statuses, with the possible exception of Contact (obliviousness to racial dynamics), were also strong.

**Teacher burnout.** In the teacher burnout criterion set, Depersonalization contributed the most strongly to the first canonical covariate (86.49%), with Emotional Exhaustion (50.41%) and Personal Accomplishment (47.61%) accounting for significant secondary amounts of variance. Of note, the structure coefficients for Depersonalization ( $r_s = -.93$ ), Emotional Exhaustion ( $r_s = -.71$ ), and Personal Accomplishment ( $r_s = .69$ ) indicated that when teachers had high levels of Depersonalization (i.e., feelings of

Table 8

Summary of Canonical Correlation Analysis for Racial Factors and Teacher Burnout

Variable	Function 1			Function 2			$h^2$ %
	<i>coef</i>	$r_s$	$r_s^2$ (%)	<i>coef</i>	$r_s$	$r_s^2$ (%)	
Students of Color	-.22	-.10	1.00	.70	<u>.71</u>	<u>50.41</u>	51.41
Contact	-.07	<u>-.32</u>	<u>10.24</u>	.52	<u>.30</u>	<u>9.00</u>	19.24
Disintegration	-.31	<u>-.90</u>	<u>81.00</u>	-.17	-.24	5.76	86.76
Reintegration	-.72	<u>-.96</u>	<u>92.16</u>	.07	-.20	4.00	96.16
Pseudo-independence	.07	<u>-.68</u>	<u>46.24</u>	-.70	<u>-.46</u>	<u>21.16</u>	67.40
Immersion	-.13	<u>-.73</u>	<u>53.29</u>	.57	-.07	0.49	53.78
Autonomy	.11	<u>-.47</u>	<u>22.09</u>	-.19	-.18	3.24	25.33
$R^2$			39.04			8.42	47.46
EE	-.16	<u>-.71</u>	50.41	.57	<u>.35</u>	<u>12.25</u>	62.66
Depersonalization	-.70	<u>-.93</u>	86.49	.34	.26	6.76	93.25
PA	.34	<u>.69</u>	47.61	1.05	<u>.68</u>	<u>46.24</u>	93.85

Note: *Coef* = Standardized Canonical Function Coefficient,  $r_s$  = Structure Coefficient;  $r_s^2$  % = Squared Structure Coefficient,  $R_c^2$  = Squared Canonical Correlation.  $h^2$  (%) = Community Coefficient. *Coef* and  $r_s > |.30|$  are underlined.

disengagement from teaching and with students) and moderate levels of Emotional Exhaustion (i.e., feelings of weariness and a perceived lack of emotional resources), they endorsed very low levels of Personal Accomplishment (i.e., feeling effective as a teacher).

**Relationships between the predictors and criteria.** Examination of Function 1 as a whole indicated that high levels of Reintegration (92.16%) and Disintegration (81.00%) most accounted for the effects of racial identity, and all three types of teacher affect accounted for the teachers' burnout, albeit in different directions. Thus, teachers who endorsed very high levels of confusion or discouragement about racial dynamics, (i.e., Disintegration,  $r_s = -.90$ ) and pro-White/anti-Black attitudes (i.e., Reintegration,  $r_s = -.96$ ) tended to report very high levels of Depersonalization ( $r_s = -.93$ ), moderate levels of Emotional Exhaustion ( $r_s = -.71$ ), and very low levels of Personal Accomplishment ( $r_s = .69$ ).

Another way to examine the relationship between the predictors and criteria for this function is to create a racial identity profile by taking the average of the racial identity statuses' structure coefficients and subtracting the mean from each status' structure coefficients. The resulting racial identity profile was characterized by low levels of Contact (-.36), peak levels of Disintegration (.22) and Reintegration (.28), average amounts of Pseudo-independence (.00) and Immersion (.05), and low levels of Autonomy (-.21) relative to the average  $r_s$  was consistent with endorsement of symptoms of teacher burnout. These results support Hypothesis 4, in that a significant relationship existed between teachers' racial identity and their symptoms of burnout. The "Confused

Disengagement" function indicates that the six racial identity statuses were significantly related to the three different types of burnout symptoms.

## **Function 2**

The second function was defined by the proportion of students of Color in the teachers' schools from the predictor set and Personal Accomplishment (i.e., feeling effective) from the criteria set. Thus, it seems to reflect an underlying dimension of "Effective-with-All-Students."

**Racial factors.** For Function 2, the predictor set was most strongly related to the proportion of students of Color at the teachers' schools (50.41%). The racial identity statuses of Pseudo-independence (21.16%) and Contact (9.00%) made significant secondary contributions. The racial identity statuses of Disintegration (5.76%), Reintegration (4.00%), Immersion (0.49%), and Autonomy (3.24%) did not make significant contributions to this second function. Thus, when teachers worked in schools with a large percentage of students of Color, they tended to manifest racial attitudes that were oblivious to racial dynamics (Contact) rather than liberal (Pseudo Independent).

**Teacher burnout.** For the second canonical covariate, Personal Accomplishment (46.24%) and Emotional Exhaustion (12.25%) accounted for significant portions of the shared variance. Symptoms of Depersonalization did not account for a significant amount of variance in this second criterion covariate. These burnout symptoms were related to each other in the same direction. Thus, when teachers felt a sense of personal accomplishment, they also reported feeling emotionally exhausted.

**Relationship between predictors and criteria.** Examination of Function 2

structure coefficients across predictor and criteria sets indicated that teachers in schools with higher percentages of students of Color ( $r_s = .71$ ) with relatively high levels of a less sophisticated racial identity schema (Contact;  $r_s = .30$ ) and low levels of a more sophisticated racial identity status (Pseudo-independence;  $r_s = -.46$ ) tended to endorse very high levels of Personal Accomplishment ( $r_s = .68$ ) and moderate levels of Emotional Exhaustion ( $r_s = .35$ ). This result partially supports Hypothesis 4, in that the racial identity statuses of Contact and Pseudo-independence were significantly related to symptoms of teacher burnout, but in unexpected directions. More specifically, most research involving burnout (e.g., Maslach, Jackson, & Leiter, 1996) found Emotional Exhaustion and Depersonalization to be positively related with each other, whereas Personal Accomplishment was negatively related to Emotional Exhaustion and Depersonalization. In addition, the more sophisticated racial identity status Pseudo-independence (i.e., White liberal perspectives) had a significant negative relationship to the proportion of students of Color and levels of Personal Accomplishment. Therefore, though a significant relationship between racial identity, proportion of students of Color at teachers' schools, and teachers' symptoms of burnout was supported, it was in an unpredicted direction.

**Hypothesis 3.** There will be significant main effects for students' race, name, and the race by name interaction such that teachers will perceive Black students as having higher levels of externalizing symptoms (i.e., defiant aggressive, conduct disorder) than the White students (hypothesis 3a); the name "KeyShawn" will be perceived as having more externalizing symptoms than the students named "Adam" and "Michael"

(hypothesis 3b); and the Black student named KeyShawn will be perceived as having significantly more externalizing symptoms than the White student named Adam (hypothesis 3c).

A multivariate analysis of covariance analysis (MANCOVA) was conducted to test these hypotheses with the name and race of the student in the vignette as predictors and teachers' perceptions of the students' behavior (i.e., CBRS subscales) as criterion variables. In addition, teachers' demographic variables, such as teacher type (i.e., teachers' aide/assistant, teacher-in-training/pre-service teacher, or licensed/certified teacher), education level (i.e., participants' highest level of education completed), age, and years of teaching were included due to their significant correlations with the criterion variables. There were no significant main effects for either name (hypothesis 3a) or race (hypothesis 3b) on teachers' perceptions of students' externalizing behaviors (i.e., Defiant Aggressive behaviors; Conduct Disorder, Hyperactivity, and Impulsivity symptoms); nor was there evidence of a significant interaction effect for name and race (hypothesis 3c) on the teachers' perceptions of students' externalizing behaviors (Table 9). In other words, there was no evidence to support hypothesis 3.

***Post-hoc tests.*** Post hoc tests indicated that the demographic variables of age, type of teacher, years of teaching, and education level were significantly related to teachers' perceptions of externalizing behaviors. More specifically, teachers' aides or assistants and teachers-in-training or pre-service teachers perceived more externalizing behavior symptoms than licensed

Table 9

Multivariate Analysis of Covariance for Name, Race, and Interaction of Name and Race on Perceptions of Externalizing Behavior Symptoms

Source	Externalizing Symptoms	<i>df</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>
Age	Conduct Disorder	1	5.67	.02
Teacher Type	Defiant Aggressive	2	10.78	< .01
	Conduct Disorder	2	19.25	< .01
Years Teaching	Hyperactivity	2	8.52	< .01
	Impulsivity	2	3.40	< .05
	Defiant Aggressive	1	17.23	< .01
	Conduct Disorder	1	22.34	< .01
	Oppositional Defiant	1	6.07	< .05
Education level	Hyperactivity	1	6.24	< .05
	Impulsivity	4	2.56	< .05
Name	Defiant Aggressive	2	1.17	.31
	Conduct Disorder	2	.23	.80
	Oppositional Defiant	2	.71	.50
	Hyperactivity	2	.12	.89
	Impulsivity	2	.56	.57
Race	Defiant Aggressive	1	.00	.99
	Conduct Disorder	1	.04	.85
	Oppositional Defiant	1	.27	.60
	Hyperactivity	1	.05	.82
	Impulsivity	1	.69	.41
Name x Race	Defiant Aggressive	2	1.58	.21
	Conduct Disorder	2	1.28	.28
	Oppositional Defiant	2	1.49	.23
	Hyperactivity	2	.62	.54
	Impulsivity	2	2.14	.12

and certified teachers. Teachers' education level was also significantly related to perceptions of Defiant Aggressive behavior, Conduct Disorder, Hyperactivity, and Impulsivity such that teachers who's highest level of education was a master's degrees perceived fewer symptoms of (a) Defiant Aggressive behavior than teachers who were current graduate students ( $p < .01$ ); (b) Conduct Disorder, compared to teachers who had

completed some college, held college degrees, or were current graduate students ( $p < .05$ ); (c) Hyperactivity, compared to teachers in graduate school ( $p < .01$ ), and; (d) Impulsivity, compared to graduate student teachers ( $p < .01$ ). In addition, teachers whose highest completed education level was a college degree also perceived significantly fewer symptoms of Impulsivity compared to participants who were current graduate students ( $p < .05$ ). Post hoc tests also showed that teachers' age was significantly negatively related, albeit at a very small effect size (i.e.,  $r < |.30|$ ) to the number of perceived symptoms of all four subscales of the CBRS (i.e., Defiant Aggressive, Conduct Disorder, Hyperactivity, & Impulsivity). Participants' teaching experience, measured by their self-reported number of years teaching, was also significantly negatively related to the teachers' perceptions of Defiant Aggressive behavior ( $r = -.45, p < .001$ ) and Conduct Disorder ( $r = -.45, p < .001$ ), with very small effects ( $r < |.30|$ ) on teachers' perceptions of symptoms of Oppositional Defiant Disorder, Hyperactivity, and Impulsivity.

**Hypothesis 4.** Teachers' racial identity will be related to their perceptions of students' externalizing behaviors (Figure 3). To evaluate this hypothesis, a canonical correlation analysis was conducted in which the six WRIAS scores (i.e., Contact, Disintegration, Reintegration, Pseudo-independence, Immersion, and Autonomy) were used to predict the four CBRS externalizing behavior subscale scores (i.e., Defiant Aggressive, Conduct Disorder, Hyperactivity, and Impulsivity).

The results of this canonical correlation analysis indicated that the full model, consisting of four functions, was significant, as evidenced by a significant Wilks's lambda ( $\lambda = .175, F(24, 793.12) = 21.40, p < .001$ ). Therefore, the overall model

accounted for a significant amount (82.5%) of the shared variance between the predictor and criterion variable sets. The functions successively accounted for 81.2%, 3.96%, 2.59%, and 0.30% of the variance. When the first function was removed, the model accounted for only 3.96% of the remaining variance and was no longer significant. Therefore, only the first function was interpreted. Table 10 provides a summary of the results for this canonical function.

### **Function 1**

For the first function, Reintegration (i.e., idealizing Whiteness) from the predictor set and Conduct Disorder (i.e., rule-breaking, disrespectful) from the symptom set uniquely defined the underlying dimension. Thus, the underlying dimension seems to reflect "Idealizing-and-Disrespectful."

**Racial factors.** In the predictor set, all six racial identity statuses significantly contributed to the predictor covariate. However, Reintegration ( $r_s = -.99$ ;  $r_s^2 = 98.01\%$ ) and Disintegration ( $r_s = -.90$ ;  $r_s^2 = 81.00\%$ ) were the primary contributors to the function, with Pseudo-independence ( $r_s = -.80$ ;  $r_s^2 = 64.68\%$ ), Immersion ( $r_s = -.79$ ;  $r_s^2 = 62.41\%$ ), Autonomy ( $r_s = -.62$ ;  $r_s^2 = 38.44\%$ ), and Contact ( $r_s = -.32$ ;  $r_s^2 = 10.24\%$ ) making significant secondary contributions, in descending order. Collectively, the coefficients suggest that when Reintegration (racially biased perspectives) and Disintegration (confused or conflicted racial perspectives) were strong so were the other statuses, with Contact (obliviousness or naïveté about race) being the weakest.

**Perceptions of externalizing behaviors.** In the perceptions of externalizing behavior criterion set, perceived symptoms of Conduct Disorder and Defiant Aggressive



Table 10

Summary of Canonical Correlation Analysis for Racial Identity Attitudes Predicting Perceptions of Externalizing Behaviors

Variable	<i>coef</i>	$r_s$	$r_s^2$ (%)	$h^2$ (%)
Function 1				
Contact	-.03	<u>-.32</u>	10.24	10.24
Disintegration	-.13	<u>-.90</u>	81.00	81.00
Reintegration	-.68	<u>-.99</u>	98.01	98.01
Pseudo-independence	-.12	<u>-.80</u>	64.00	64.00
Immersion	-.06	<u>-.79</u>	62.41	62.41
Autonomy	-.08	<u>-.62</u>	38.44	38.44
$R_c^2$			81.22	81.22
Defiant aggressive	.28	<u>-.80</u>	64.00	64.00
Conduct disorder	-1.21	<u>-.99</u>	98.01	98.01
Hyperactivity	-.10	<u>-.66</u>	43.56	43.56
Impulsivity	.09	<u>-.44</u>	19.36	19.36

Note: *Coef* = Standardized Canonical Function Coefficient,  $r_s$  = Structure Coefficient;  $r_s^2$  % = Squared Structure Coefficient,  $R_c^2$  = Squared Canonical Correlation.  $h^2$  (%) = Communality Coefficient.  $r_s > |.30|$  are underlined.

behaviors comprised the majority of the contribution to the canonical covariate. Though the structure coefficients for all five subscales of externalizing behaviors were significantly related to this canonical covariate, perceptions of Conduct Disorder (96.63%) and Defiant Aggressive (66.75%) accounted for the majority of the variance; perceptions of Hyperactivity (44.27%) and Impulsivity (19.80%) accounted for significant secondary amounts of variance. All of the symptoms were positively related to each other.

**Relationships between the predictors and criteria.** Interpretation of the Function 1 structure coefficients across predictor and criterion sets that teachers who endorsed very high levels of the less sophisticated racial identity statuses (i.e.,

Disintegration and Reintegration) and moderate levels of the more sophisticated racial identity statuses (i.e., Pseudo-independence, Immersion, and Autonomy) perceived very high levels of Conduct Disorder (96.43%) and Defiant Aggressive behaviors (66.10%), and moderate levels of Hyperactivity (42.51%) and Impulsivity (19.27%) symptoms for the students presented in the vignettes.

In other words, this function suggested that when White teachers predominantly used less sophisticated racial identity statuses of Disintegration (i.e., confused) and Reintegration (i.e., idealized Whites), they were more likely to perceive their students as displaying externalizing behavior disorder symptoms, especially Conduct Disorder symptoms (i.e., threatening, disrespectful, and rule-breaking) or Defiant Aggressive behaviors (i.e., aggressive, defiant). Another method for examining the relationships among the racial identity statuses is to create a profile. As a result, it appeared that very low levels of Contact (-.42), relatively high levels of Disintegration (.16) and Reintegration (.25), average levels of Pseudo-independence (.06) and Immersion (.05), and low levels of Autonomy (-.12), relative to the average  $r_s$  of the racial identity statuses, predicted the teachers' perceptions of increased levels of students' externalizing behaviors. These results partially support hypothesis 3, in that two of the less sophisticated White Racial identity attitudes were most strongly related to teachers' perceptions of some externalizing behaviors.

**Hypothesis 5.** An interaction effect for the race and name of the student will be present, such that teachers will make more negative recommendations for the Black student named KeyShawn compared to the White students named Adam and Michael.

Moreover, teachers will make fewer positive recommendations for the Black student named KeyShawn in comparison to the White students named Adam and Michael.

A MANCOVA was conducted to evaluate this hypothesis, with the students' name and race from the vignette as predictors and the teachers' likelihood of using negative and positive recommendations as the criterion variables. Results indicated that there were no significant main effects for either students' race or name on teachers' likelihood of using negative or positive classroom strategies, nor was there evidence of a significant interaction effect for race and name (see Table 11). In other words, there was no evidence to support hypothesis 5.

However, closer examination of the separate univariate ANOVAs on the two types of recommendations revealed a possible small effect for teachers' positive recommendations ( $F(2,223) = 3.58, p = .06$ ). Interestingly, there appeared to be a tendency for teachers to report a higher likelihood of using more positive strategies for the Black students than for the White student, regardless of names. Pair-wise comparisons suggested that participants were slightly more likely to use or recommend a positive classroom strategy for the Black students ( $M = 22.10, SD = 0.69$ ) in the vignettes than the White students ( $M = 21.30, SD = 0.68$ ) in the vignettes.

Of the demographic variables included in these analyses, type of teacher, years teaching, and education level had a significant effect on the participants' recommendations. The variable of teacher type was related to teachers' likelihood of making negative recommendations ( $F(4, 446.00) = 6.95, p < .01$ ) such that licensed/certified teachers were significantly less likely to make negative

recommendations compared to teachers' aides or assistants and teachers-in-training or pre-service teachers. Also, number of years teaching appeared to have a significant effect on the likelihood of recommending or implementing negative classroom strategies ( $F(2, 222) = 5.40, p < .01$ ) in that teachers with more experience were less likely to recommend negative strategies. Education level was also significantly related to participants' likelihood of using positive recommendations with the student in the vignette.

Table 11

Multivariate Analysis of Covariance for Name, Race, and Interaction of Name and Race on Teacher Recommendations

Source	Teacher Recommendation	<i>df</i>	F	<i>p</i>
Teacher Type	Negative Recommendations	2	12.75	< .01
Years Teaching	Negative Recommendations	1	10.26	< .01
Education level	Positive Recommendations	4	34.36	< .01
Name	Negative Recommendations	2	.37	.69
	Positive Recommendations	2	.81	.45
Race	Negative Recommendations	1	.02	.90
	Positive Recommendations	1	3.58	.06
Name x Race	Negative Recommendations	2	.05	.95
	Positive Recommendations	2	1.38	.25

**Post-hoc analyses.** Post-hoc analyses indicated that teachers with more experience were significantly less likely ( $r = -.38, p < .001$ ) to make negative recommendations. Highest level of education completed (see Table 2 for subsample sizes) was also significantly related to teachers' likelihood of using positive and negative recommendations. Teachers who reported holding their master's degrees were (a) less likely to make negative recommendations ( $p < .05$ ) compared to those who were current graduate students, and (b) more likely to make positive recommendations ( $p < .05$ ) compared to teachers who held their bachelor's degrees.

**Hypothesis 6.** Teachers' racial identity schemas will be related to teachers' referrals and recommendations such that teachers' endorsement of less sophisticated schemas (i.e., Contact, Disintegration, Reintegration) will be significantly related to more negative recommendations, and more sophisticated racial identity attitudes (i.e., Pseudo-independence, Immersion, Autonomy) will be significantly related to fewer negative recommendations.

To evaluate this hypothesis, a canonical correlation analysis was conducted. The six WRIAS scores and percentage of students of Color in the teachers' schools were the predictor variables and the two positive and negative teacher recommendation subscales were the criterion variables. Results of the canonical correlation analysis indicated the full model, consisting of two functions, was significant, which indicates that there was at least one significant relationship among these sets of variables, as evidenced by a significant Wilks's lambda ( $\lambda = .375$ ,  $F(14, 456.00) = 20.65$ ,  $p < .001$ ). The overall model accounted for 62.5% of the shared variance between the predictor and criterion variable sets. The first function accounted for 59.47% of the shared variance and the second accounted for 7.60% of the shared variance; when Function 1 was removed, the model was not significant. Therefore, only Function 1 was interpreted. The summary of the results of this analysis is presented in Table 12.

### **Function 1**

Pro-White/anti-Black perspectives defined the dimension underlying Function 1 from the predictor set and negative recommendations defined the dimension from the criterion set. Therefore, the Function seemed to reflect Harsh White Teachers.

**Racial factors.** For this function, all of the racial identity statuses, with the exception of the Contact status, significantly contributed to the function. The proportion of students of Color in the teachers' schools also did not appear to significantly contribute to the function. The less sophisticated racial identity statuses of Reintegration ( $r_s = -.99$ ) and Disintegration ( $r_s = -.92$ ) were the primary contributors to their covariate, with the more sophisticated racial identity statuses of Immersion ( $r_s = -.78$ ), Pseudo-independence ( $r_s = -.78$ ), and Autonomy ( $r_s = -.61$ ) making significant secondary contributions, in descending order of importance. The squared structure coefficients of Function 1 showed that the racial identity statuses of Disintegration (84.64%) and Reintegration (98.01%) both accounted for large portions of the variance in their covariate. Therefore, it appears

Table 12

Summary of Canonical Correlation Analysis for Racial Factors and Teacher

Recommendations

Variable	<i>coef</i>	$r_s$	$r_s^2$ (%)	$h^2$ (%)
	Function 1			
Students of Color	.04	.16	2.56	2.56
Contact	.01	-.29	8.41	8.41
Disintegration	<u>-.23</u>	<u>-.92</u>	84.64	84.64
Reintegration	<u>-.66</u>	<u>-.99</u>	98.01	98.01
Pseudo-independence	<u>-.07</u>	<u>-.78</u>	60.84	60.84
Immersion	<u>-.05</u>	<u>-.78</u>	60.84	60.84
Autonomy	<u>-.07</u>	<u>-.61</u>	37.21	37.21
R <sup>2</sup>			59.38	59.38
Negative recommendations	<u>-.89</u>	<u>-.90</u>	81.00	81.00
Positive recommendations	<u>.43</u>	<u>.46</u>	20.25	20.25

Note: *Coef* = Standardized Canonical Function Coefficient,  $r_s$  = Structure Coefficient;  $r_s^2$  % = Squared Structure Coefficient,  $R_c^2$  = Squared Canonical Correlation.  $h^2$  (%) = Communality Coefficient. *Coef* and  $r_s > |.30|$  are underlined.

that when Reintegration (i.e., racially biased perspectives) and Disintegration (i.e., confused or conflicted racial perspectives) statuses were strong, so were the other statuses, with the exception of Contact (i.e., obliviousness to racial matters).

**Teacher recommendations.** In the teacher recommendation set, the likelihood of using negative recommendations comprised the majority of the contribution to the covariate. Though the squared structure coefficients for both positive and negative recommendations were significantly related to this canonical covariate, negative recommendations (81.00%) accounted for the majority of the variance; positive recommendations (20.25%) accounted for significant secondary amounts of variance in this covariate. Of note, negative recommendations and positive recommendations were related to the function in opposite directions.

**Relationships between the predictors and criteria.** Examination of Function 1 coefficients across predictor and criterion covariates reveals that teachers endorsing very high levels of the less sophisticated racial identity statuses (i.e., Disintegration and Reintegration) and moderate levels of the more sophisticated racial identity statuses (i.e., Pseudo-independence, Immersion, and Autonomy) reported being more likely to use negative classroom management strategies or recommend a negative outcome for the student in the vignette. Furthermore, teachers with this pattern of high levels of Disintegration and Reintegration were less likely to endorse the use of positive classroom management strategies or make a positive recommendation for the student in the vignette.

These results partially supported hypothesis 6, in that two of the less sophisticated White Racial identity attitudes (i.e., Disintegration and Reintegration) were significantly

positively related to teachers' recommendations for their students, with elevated levels of Disintegration and Reintegration being most strongly related to increased likelihood of using of negative behavior management strategies and decreased likelihood of using positive behavior management strategies for students.



## **Chapter 5**

### **Discussion**

Investigating the factors contributing to teachers' symptoms of burnout has become a major research focus for explaining teacher attrition rates (Grayson & Alvarez, 2008). One of the factors that has been subjected to investigation is perceptions of students' misbehavior, as exiting teachers frequently cite student misbehaviors and student disciplinary problems as contributing to their decision to leave the field (Ingersoll, 2003; Public Agenda, 2004). Moreover, some studies have shown that schools located in poor communities with large numbers of students of Color have higher teacher attrition rates (McCreight, 2000), and teachers' perceptions of student behavior seem related to teachers' and students' races (e.g., Brophy & Good, 1974; Downey & Pribesh, 2004; Mashburn et al., 2006). Taken together, it seems likely that racial factors influence teachers' perceptions of their students' behavior, which in turn, influences their symptoms of burnout. In addition, research has found that teachers recommend harsher penalties for their Black students than White students, even when the behavior is the same (e.g., Butler, Joubert, & Lewis, 2009). Therefore, racial factors also appear to play an important role in the disparities in the teachers' recommended disciplinary strategies for students.

Some research has examined the relationships between teachers' burnout symptoms, their perceptions of students' behavior, and teachers' referrals and disciplinary recommendations. Other studies have investigated the effects of teachers' and students' races on teachers' perceptions of students' behaviors and recommendations related to students' behaviors (e.g., Baron, Tom, & Cooper, 1985; Gregory & Mosley, 2004;

Mashburn et al., 2006). However, these studies have almost exclusively used the static demographic variable of teachers' and students' racial categories in their investigations. Instead of static racial categories, the current study used teachers' interpretations of racial stimuli and information to examine the various relationships amongst the previously mentioned teacher characteristics and variables. More specifically, this study sought to explore the relationships between teachers' (a) racial identities, (b) symptoms of burnout, (c) perceptions of students' behavior, and (d) likelihood of utilizing specific disciplinary recommendations. If relationships exist between these variables, educational researchers and teacher preparation programs can focus on fostering teachers' healthy racial identities to prevent teacher attrition and the racial disparities in students' disciplinary referrals.

Thus, a sample of White teachers ( $N = 237$ ) was surveyed in order to begin to formulate a model that integrates race-related characteristics of the teachers (i.e., teachers' racial identity), their environments, and job-related stress (i.e., burnout symptoms) as contributing factors in the teachers' differential assessment of students of Color—especially African Americans—relative to White students (Figure 7). The Teacher Characteristics Affecting Student Discipline model may help emphasize the need for teacher education programs to integrate cultural competency standards within their curriculum and for teachers' in-service trainings to address issues of race and culture in regard to student discipline and teacher burnout. An underlying presumption of the Teacher Characteristics Affecting Student Discipline model was that teachers' burnout and premature attrition are positively related, although this premise was not investigated directly in the present study. To fulfill the goal of integrating teachers' racial attitudes,

job-related stress, and reactions to students, each of which has been treated as disparate in previous research, I discuss the (a) findings related to the proposed hypotheses, (b) limitations of the study, and (c) implications of these findings for teacher training and education programs, as well as for future research.

### **Relating Teachers' Burnout Symptoms, Racial Identity, and Perceptions of Students' Behavior**

The hypotheses essentially tested various aspects of the teacher burnout model as illustrated in Figure 1.

#### **Teachers' burnout symptoms and their perceptions of students' behavior.**

With respect to the first hypothesis, which examined the relationship between teachers' burnout symptoms and their perceptions of students' behavior, it appeared that when teachers had high levels of cynicism (i.e., Depersonalization), moderate levels of Emotional Exhaustion, and low feelings of ineffectiveness (i.e., Personal Accomplishment), they tended to perceive students as defiant and disrespectful (i.e., Defiant Aggressive), threatening and cruel (i.e., Conduct Disorder) and moderately hyperactive, inattentive (i.e., Hyperactivity), and impulsive. This relationship supported the hypothesis that teachers' symptoms of burnout and their perceptions of students' behavior were related, in that teachers endorsing higher levels of burnout symptoms perceived higher levels of behavioral problems in their students.

Also, the finding in the present study that teachers viewed students more negatively when their levels of burnout symptoms were high was consistent with previous research (e.g., Friedman, 1995). More specifically, teachers endorsing more

symptoms of burnout were more likely to perceive students' behaviors as disrespectful and defiant rather than impulsive and inattentive. It is possible that teachers interpret students' defiant aggressive behaviors and symptoms of conduct disorder as a personal attack (Brophy, 1985), whereas they may attribute students' exhibiting symptoms of hyperactivity and inattentiveness to a chronic illness of the child (Friedman, 1995). In other words, teachers might be more distressed by students' exhibiting symptoms of conduct disorder and defiant aggressive behaviors, and, therefore, feel more burned out or, conversely, teachers with high levels of burnout symptoms may misinterpret students' behaviors more negatively than they actually are.

**Teachers' racial identity and symptoms of burnout.** Hypothesis 2 examined whether teachers' White racial identity statuses were related to their symptoms of burnout. Helms's (1995, 2005) White racial identity model was used to conceptualize the teachers' racial identity. Her model proposes types of racial identity statuses which I divided into statuses describing the use of externalizing strategies to process racial information (i.e., less sophisticated status) or statuses describing the use of an internal framework to process racial stimuli (i.e., more sophisticated statuses). As no existing research could be found that had examined relationships among racial identity statuses and symptoms of burnout, I tentatively hypothesized that teachers' endorsing higher levels of the less sophisticated racial identity statuses and comparatively lower levels of the more sophisticated racial identity attitudes would exhibit higher levels of burnout; that is, teachers who primarily used Contact, Reintegration, and Disintegration (i.e., less sophisticated racial identity statuses) would endorse increased burnout symptoms (i.e.,

high levels of Emotional Exhaustion, Depersonalization, and low levels of Personal Accomplishment).

The results summarized in Table 10 indicated partial support for this hypothesis in that for the first function, all six racial identity statuses were significantly related to the three components of teacher burnout. More specifically, teachers whose profile was characterized by very low levels of Contact (obliviousness to race), high levels of Disintegration (confusion), and Reintegration (idealization of Whiteness), average levels of Pseudo-independence (intellectualized anti-racism) and Immersion (active anti-racism), and low levels of Autonomy (racial humanism) were also likely to endorse high levels of cynicism (i.e., Depersonalization), moderate levels of weariness (i.e., Emotional Exhaustion), and to derive very low levels of meaningfulness from their jobs (i.e., Personal Accomplishment).

A second function revealed a significant positive relationship between the percentage of students of Color at the teachers' schools, levels of racial obliviousness, symptoms of Emotional Exhaustion, and feelings of Personal Accomplishment. In other words, it appeared that when teachers at somewhat racially diverse schools endorsed a racial identity profile marked by moderate levels of racial obliviousness and very low levels of White liberal perspectives, they felt as if they were making an impact in their jobs but were also weary at work. These teachers were likely using considerable psychological resources to treat all of their students the same and used a "color-blind" perspective to do so. Endorsing a color-blind perspective has been found to have multiple costs for White people. Spanierman and colleagues (Neville, Spanierman, & Doan, 2006;

Spanierman & Heppner, 2004; Spanierman, Poteat, Beer, & Armstrong, 2006; Spanierman, Poteat, Wang, & Oh, 2008; Spanierman, Todd, & Anderson, 2009) investigated the psychosocial costs of racism to Whites. Spanierman, Todd, and Anderson (2009) found results indicating that college students who endorsed color-blind attitudes were the most likely to be "unempathic and unaware" (p. 240) toward issues of race and racism. Interestingly, the unaware students were also characterized by having the least amount of exposure to multicultural education and little awareness of White racial privileges. Spanierman and colleagues (2008) found an inverse relationship between counselors' color-blind attitudes and their multicultural counseling competencies. More specifically, counselors endorsing lower levels of color-blind attitudes reported higher levels of multicultural awareness and knowledge. Hence, if Spanierman and colleagues' findings generalize to the teachers in the present study who espoused color-blind attitudes, these teachers may have been unaware of any differences in their attitudes and behaviors toward their students of Color due to a lack of exposure to multicultural educational experiences. However, these teachers also appear to feel tired and weary due to the mental effort required to continue believing that they treat all students the same and that it is a desirable goal to do so.

As I could find no other research that investigated the relationships among teachers' racial identity statuses and their feelings of burnout, the obtained results warrant additional examination. Based on Helms's Racial Identity theory (1990; 1995; 2009), the results from this study suggest that teachers who primarily used the less sophisticated schemas might have been using extra psychological resources and energy to help them

understand and interpret their chronic exposure to racial stimuli during the school day, as well as to maintain the belief that they treat all students the same. This strain on their psychological processes may have been contributing to their feelings of exhaustion, weariness, and cynicism. Therefore, it is recommended that these teachers increase their racial-awareness as a means of promoting their healthy racial identity development and preventing and addressing the symptoms of burnout that can be attributed to teachers' endorsement of less sophisticated racial identity attitudes.

**Teachers' racial identity and their perceptions of students' behavior.** For Hypothesis 4, I sought to examine how teachers' psychological characteristics pertaining to their understanding and interpretation of racial stimuli and information (i.e., racial identity) were related to their perceptions of students' behavior. More specifically, I hypothesized that teachers, who endorsed being less aware of themselves and others as racial beings (i.e., Contact), were uncomfortable and anxious with regard to racial stimuli (i.e., Disintegration), and idealized Whiteness (i.e., Reintegration), would perceive elevated levels of students' externalizing behavior. Conversely, I also proposed that teachers, who endorsed higher levels of the more sophisticated racial identity statuses, Pseudo-independence (i.e., White liberal perspectives), Immersion (i.e., anti-racist attitudes), and Autonomy (i.e., transcendent attitudes) would perceive fewer symptoms of externalizing behaviors.

The obtained results partially supported this hypothesis because there was a strong relationship between teachers' racial identity and their perceptions of students' behavior (Table 10). Teachers, who endorsed high levels of two less sophisticated racial

identity statuses, marked by discomfort and confusion (i.e., Disintegration), and idealizing Whiteness (i.e., Reintegration), rated students as displaying (a) disrespectful, threatening, defiant, and cruel behaviors (i.e., Defiant Aggressive behaviors and Conduct Disorder symptoms) and (b) symptoms of Hyperactivity and Impulsivity.

This strong, inverse relationship between the teachers' racial identity and perceptions of externalizing behaviors, such as defiance and disrespect, suggests that when teachers were uncomfortable with or were confused by racial stimuli and idealized White values, they might have been unable to contextualize their students' behaviors and misconstrued these behaviors as rude, disrespectful, threatening, or troublesome. Alarming, although the racial composition of public school teachers has remained stable over the past five decades, with almost 90% of public school teachers identifying as White, the racial composition of the public school student body is rapidly changing to include increasing numbers of students of Color (NEA, 2008; U.S. Census Bureau, 2001). In fact, this sample of 237 White teachers reported that their schools were comprised of, on average, almost 42% of students of Color; these numbers are consistent with the national reports that 44% of the population, age 18 years or younger, identified as racial minorities (U.S. Census Bureau, 2001). If teachers are uncomfortable, anxious, and confused about racial stimuli, while at the same time idealizing their own Whiteness, they may not be aware that their perceptions and evaluations of their students' behavior are based on White normative standards.

### **How Students' Race and Name Related to Teachers' Perceptions of Student Behaviors and Recommendations**



Previous research (e.g., Diamond et al., 2004; Tenebaum & Ruck, 2007) has found a relationship between teachers' perceptions of students' behaviors and students' race, where Black students are perceived as more disruptive and disrespectful compared to their White counterparts (e.g., Skiba, et al., 2002). Other research suggested that studies using analogues (e.g., vignettes) had more difficulty detecting these perceptual differences based on race (e.g., Anderson-Clark et al., 2008). Hence this study sought to confirm the presence of racial disparities in perceptions of behavior using both an explicit racial factor (race) and implicit racial factors, such as typically White and Black names.

#### **Students' race and name as related to teachers' perceptions of student**

**behavior.** Hypothesis 3 sought to confirm and find an explanation for previous research findings to the effect that teachers' perceptions of students' behavior was influenced by their students' racial classification (e.g., Ferguson, 2000; Gregory & Mosley, 2004; Skiba et al., 2002). The results, summarized in Table 9, indicated that there was no support for this hypothesis. Participants were asked to read a vignette, which described the behavior of a 10-year old male student. The boy in the vignette was either identified as being Black or White. After reading the vignette, the participants were asked to rate the behavior of the student in the vignette. Teachers' ratings of the students presented in the vignettes did not differ according to the student's portrayed race or name. Furthermore, teachers did not appear to be affected by the name of the student in the vignette in that they rated the behavior of "KeyShawn", "Adam", and "Michael" equivalently, regardless of the named student's race.

This hypothesis may not have been supported by the results because the vignette

may have described behaviors that were too benign to elicit a stronger reaction from participants. In addition, teachers may have responded as they would in an ideal situation, whereas an in situ experiment in a classroom or simulated teaching conditions might have elicited a response more consistent with previous research (e.g., Tenenbaum & Ruck, 2007). Also, a more naturalistic intervention might have been more reflective of typical teacher perceptions of students as well as their likelihood of using negative and positive classroom management strategies. With the existence of the discipline gap between Black and White students (e.g., Skiba et al., 2002), I doubt that the results of the test of this hypothesis in the present study are an accurate representation of teachers' perceptions of student behavior as related to the students' race and name. Another explanation for the lack of support is a possible shift in racial attitudes; in other words, perhaps the participants in the current study hold more sophisticated racial attitudes than the participants in the previously cited research studies.

**Students' name and race as related to teachers' recommendations.** The fifth hypothesis sought to examine whether an interaction effect of students' name and race was present in teachers' recommendations for student disciplinary referrals and classroom management strategies. No support was found for this hypothesis in that teachers' likelihood of using positive or negative recommendations for student disciplinary referrals and classroom behavior management strategies did not differ according to students' name, race, or the interaction of race and name.

However, a small trend appeared with respect to teachers' propensity for making positive recommendations. Teachers appeared to be slightly more likely to recommend a

positive classroom strategy for the Black students as compared to the White students, which was incongruent with the expected results. Perhaps teachers' expectations of students had some influence on this hypothesis such that teachers holding lower expectations of Black students were pleasantly surprised by the relatively mild behavior of the student in the vignette. As a result, they may have felt more willing to recommend an in-class behavior management strategy for the Black student. Alternatively, these teachers may have held higher expectations for the White students, making them less likely to recommend a positive behavioral intervention if the White student was perceived as misbehaving.

### **How Teachers' Racial Identity Related to Teachers' Recommendations**

The premise of this research question was to help explicate the existing racial disparity in teachers' disciplinary referrals for Black students compared to their White counterparts (e.g., Skiba et al., 2002), wherein Black students received a larger number and harsher referrals (e.g., Gregory & Mosely, 2004; Skiba et al, 2002; Tenenbaum & Ruck, 2007). The results in Table 12 showed that teachers, who were confused and idealized Whiteness when presented with racial stimuli, were much more likely to make negative recommendations for their students and less likely to make positive recommendations. In other words, teachers, who fit a racial identity profile defined by relatively high levels of confusion (i.e., Disintegration) and idealization of White values (i.e., Reintegration), very low levels of obliviousness (i.e., Contact), and average levels of White liberal perspectives (i.e., Pseudo-independence) and anti-racist attitudes (i.e., Immersion, Autonomy), were more likely to use harsher classroom and behavior

management strategies with their students; such strategies would result in less class time for these "problematic" students. In addition, these teachers were less likely to make positive recommendations for these students, which would have kept students in the classroom and might have helped increase student-teacher engagement.

Some potential implications of these teachers' tendencies to use harsher classroom and behavior management strategies with "problematic" students include (a) excluding these children from instructional/classroom time and maintaining the current achievement gap between Black and White students, (b) labeling these children as "behavior" problems and maintaining the discipline gap, and (c) communicating the teachers' racial attitudes to their students. If teachers are idealizing White values, they are unlikely to understand the multicultural perspectives and values of their racially and culturally diverse students. When these racially and culturally diverse students do not conform to White cultural norms, these teachers may unconsciously use harsher behavioral management strategies. These students then may be referred for discipline and sent out of the classroom; as a result, their education would suffer and they might begin to lag behind their classmates in terms of academic achievement. All of the students in such classrooms, including the "problematic students," are likely to internalize the non-verbal communication of their teachers' racial attitudes. Students of Color may internalize that they are not as good or as valued as their White counterparts, whereas White students are likely to internalize superiority relative to their classmates of Color and adopt positive racial stereotypes about themselves and negative racial stereotypes about their peers of Color.

### **Limitations of the Study**

It is important to note some methodological concerns that might limit the generalizability of the present study's results to all K-12 teachers in the United States and the interpretability of the obtained results. The limitations, which are subsequently discussed, may be classified as issues of research design, measurement, and sampling.

#### **Research Design**

Research design considerations concern (a) limitations of the chosen analogue design and (b) issues pertaining to selection and administration of measures.

**Analogue design.** The use of a vignette or analogue allowed me to control for confounding variables (Heppner, Kivlighan, & Wampold, 1999) by controlling the description of the students' behaviors instead of asking participants to react to a troublesome student in their classrooms. However, the use of an analogue design may not have allowed me to detect the hypothesized differences in teachers' perceptions of students' behavior or their likelihood of using positive or negative behavior management strategies despite the paired photograph of the student with the vignette (Tenenbaum & Ruck, 2007). Though the results of some recent analogue studies (e.g., Anderson-Clark, et al., 2008; Tyler, Boykin, & Walton, 2008) showed evidence of racial disparities in teachers' perceptions and recommendations for their Black and White students, Tenenbaum and Ruck's meta-analysis of the research examining teachers' perceptions of students' behavior, as influenced by students' race, found larger effect sizes when teachers rated their own students in comparison to rating a vignette.

Other researchers who have used vignettes and analogue designs have had some

difficulty detecting differences in teaching practices and teachers' behaviors (e.g., Percy, Clopton, & Pope, 1993) and concluded that teachers in these studies may have used more time to consider their reaction than is possible when managing a classroom of children at school. In other words, the participants in the present study may have responded to the survey using their ideal reactions and responses instead of what they actually do in their classrooms.

Another possibility is that the participants in the present study may not have been accurately describing their own behaviors because of the racial. An existing body of research suggests that the more common forms of racism have shifted from overt and explicit acts of racism to aversive and implicit acts and attitudes (e.g., Dovidio & Gaertner, 1996; Dovidio, 2009). Whereas overt and explicit acts of racism include obvious verbal and non-verbal bigoted actions, aversive racism is "more subtle, and is presumed to characterize the racial attitudes of most well-educated and liberal Whites in the United States" (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2005, p. 618). Perhaps the analogue methodological did not elicit the more subtle forms of racism.

Moreover, other research has suggested that White individuals appear to hold implicit negative biases and attitudes toward Blacks (e.g., Dovidio, Kawakami, Johnson, Johnson, & Howard, 1997; Smith-McLallen, Johnson, Dovidio, & Pearson, 2006). In one study, Dovidio and colleagues compared participants' self-reported racial attitudes (i.e., explicit racial attitudes) with their implicit racial attitudes (Dovidio, Kawakami, Johnson, Johnson, & Howard, 1997). They found that despite participants' self-reported egalitarian and liberal racial views, their non-verbal behaviors communicated a negative bias toward

Blacks. Taken together, Dovidio et al.'s findings suggest that using an analogue research design to compare White teachers' perceptions of Black and White students' behaviors may not have accurately captured their implicit racial attitudes and non-verbal behaviors in the classroom because both were measured by self-report rather than observed actions.

Psychology research methodology primers (e.g., Gelso, 1979; Gelso et al., 1988) have repeatedly recommended methodological diversity in research. Direct observational studies or evaluations of past and current school records may more accurately capture evidence of existing disparities in teachers' practices in their recommendations for students (e.g., Ferguson, 2000; Skiba et al., 2002) and their perceptions of students' behavior.

**Selection and administration of measures.** One possible limitation concerns the manner in which the measure of teacher burnout was measured. Due to a methodological error in the design of the study, participants were not asked to report their symptoms of burnout in response to the vignette. Instead, they self-reported their current state of burnout symptoms. Consequently, I was not able to investigate how exposure to students of differing races and names may or may not have affected the teachers' symptoms of burnout. Thus, results pertaining to burnout possibly have more implications for burnout in general than they do for students' race-specific influences on burnout.

Also, my decision to contrast different types of externalizing behaviors (i.e., Conduct Disorder [CD] and Oppositional Defiant Disorder [ODD] against Hyperactivity and Impulsivity) may not have elicited strongly disparate teachers' ratings of students' behaviors, due to frequent co-morbidity in these diagnoses. In fact, some studies have

found that children diagnosed with Conduct Disorder are at increased risk for impulsive-control disorders (e.g., Nock, Kazdin, Hiripi, & Kessler, 2006), and other studies have found a large overlap in the diagnoses of Oppositional Defiant Disorder and Attention Deficit/Hyperactivity Disorder (e.g., Angold, Costello, & Erkanli, 1999). A future study could involve contrasting emotional or mood disorder symptoms (i.e., Depressive or Anxiety symptoms) with symptoms of CD and ODD. Past studies have indicated that teachers were significantly more likely to make referrals for students with externalizing behaviors in comparison to students perceived as having emotional disorders, such as depression and anxiety disorders (e.g., Greene, Clopton, & Pope, 1996; Percy, Clopton, & Pope, 1993).

### **Measurement Concerns**

For this study, the responses from participants consisted entirely of self-report measures (i.e., CBRS, MBI, WRIAS, and teacher recommendations). Participants may have responded to some measures idealistically or in a socially desirable manner. In other words, when rating their perceptions of student behavior and their likelihood of using specific recommendations in response to the vignette, teachers may have responded optimistically.

In addition, I used modified WRIAS and CBRS subscales, which may have altered the nature of the constructs assessed by the scales. For example, with respect to the WRIAS, the less sophisticated racial identity schemas typically have been negatively correlated with the more sophisticated schemas, whereas they were all positively related in the current study. This anomaly may have been a result of modifying the scale by



reducing the overall number of items, but it may also have been a characteristic of these teachers as a sample. Nevertheless, it was necessary to modify the WRIAS to reduce the length of the overall survey.

The CBRS was modified to avoid violating statistical assumptions in the analyses (CBRS). For example, several items overlapped in the Oppositional Defiant Disorder, Conduct Disorder, and Defiant-Aggressive Behavior subscales, which contributed to multicollinearity. Since all eight items comprising the Oppositional Defiant subscale were present in the Defiant Aggressive Behavior subscale, the Oppositional Defiant Subscale was not used in statistical analyses. In addition, the four items that were shared between the Conduct Disorder and Defiant Aggressive subscale were only used to calculate the Conduct Disorder subscale. These modifications may have altered the conceptual composition of each subscale (e.g., validity).

To address these measurement concerns, future studies could use unaltered subscales of the WRIAS and CBRS to assess White teachers' racial identity and perceptions of students' behavior. Also, seemingly unacceptably low internal consistency values should be carefully examined, in that Cronbach alpha may not be the appropriate reliability estimate to analyze the consistency of participants' responses to the WRIAS. In order to address internal consistency concerns, I used (a) theta to help account for the multidimensionality (Helms, Henze, Sass, & Mifsud, 2006) of the WRIAS scale and (b) Helms's iota to assess individual-level reliability. When Helms's Iota was calculated, it revealed that participants' responses were consistent at the individual level, with mean Iotas ranging from .85 - .91 for the six racial identity statuses, from .80 - .90 for the MBI,

and from .87 to .94 for the CBRS subscales (Table 4). In fact, a few research primers about the use of reliability estimates (Green, Chen, Helms, & Henze, 2011; Helms et al, 2006) strongly suggested that future researchers examine their use of Cronbach alpha to estimate internal- consistency reliability because other methods may be more appropriate for analyzing their sample's item responses.

In order to avoid the issue of multicollinearity, alternative measures might be used to assess teachers' perceptions of students' behaviors, such as the Behavior Assessment System for Children, Second Edition (Reynolds & Kamphaus, 2004) or the Child Behavior Checklist Teacher Report Form of the Achenbach System of Empirically Based Assessment (Achenbach, 2009). Psychology researchers and child psychologists have often utilized these well-known measures to assess teachers' perceptions of children's behaviors (e.g., Berg-Nielsen, Solheim, Belsky, & Wichstrom, 2011; DiStefano, Kamphaus, & Mindrila, 2010; Jurecska, Hamilton, & Peterson, 2011; Lipman, et al., 2008). These measures may have fewer overlapping items in the subscales, which would eliminate the need for modifying the subscales for statistical analyses. These measures were not used for this study due to publishers' restrictions for online administration or due to the financial cost.

### **Sample Concerns**

The sample of teachers used in the present study all self-identified as White, over 80% of the sample identified as women, and the vast majority (82.7%) also identified as licensed and certified teachers. Previous meta-analytic studies (e.g., Tenenbaum & Ruck, 2007) did not find differences in evaluations of students' behavior between licensed

teachers, teachers' aides, and teachers-in-training. However, unequal sample size may have contributed to increasing the chance of type I error (Clinch & Kesselman, 1982) in the post hoc tests for hypothesis 3, which indicated that some teacher characteristics were significantly related to teachers' perceptions of students' behaviors. More specifically, the post hoc analyses indicating that teachers-in-training and teachers' aides may be more likely to perceive externalizing behaviors in students may have been influenced by the unequal sample sizes. Therefore, the results from hypothesis 3 in this study which compared teachers, teachers-in-training, and teachers' aides perceptions of student behavior should not be generalized to teachers of Color, male teachers, pre-service teachers, teachers-in-training, and teacher's aides. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics (2010), there are almost 3.8 million private and public K-12 teachers in the United States and about 1.3 million teachers' aides; hence, teachers' aides represent almost 25% of the workforce in the classroom. The current study's sample was not representative of teacher support staff as fewer than 10% of the current sample identified as teachers' aides. Therefore, the results of the post hoc analyses for hypothesis 3 indicating that teachers' aides and teachers-in-training perceived more externalizing behavior symptoms compared to teachers should be further investigated in future research. Additional research could be conducted to confirm the results of this study with White male teachers and with larger sample sizes of White teachers' aides and teachers-in-training. Future studies might use purposive sampling to obtain similar sample sizes of licensed/certified teachers, teachers-in-training, and teachers' aides to investigate and compare the differences in their perceptions of students' externalizing behaviors.

### Implications of the Study

Despite possible limitations in the research design and measurement of constructs, the obtained findings may have some implications for future research and practice.

#### Implications for Future Research

The results of the present study suggested positively and strongly significant relationships between teachers' confused and biased racial identity attitudes (i.e., Disintegration) and their symptoms of burnout, perceptions of students' behavior, and likelihood of using recommendations that typically decrease the teaching time a student might receive. Future studies could investigate whether a path model exists, as illustrated in Figure 7, where teachers' racial identity serves as a potential mediator of (a) teachers' symptoms of burnout and perceptions of students' behaviors and (b) teachers' perceptions of students' behavior and their use of classroom and behavior management strategies with students. Clarifying the relationships among these constructs, as well as the factors contributing to them, may be instrumental to helping educational programs design curriculums to promote teachers' racial identity development as a means of preventing symptoms of burnout, and, hopefully, decreasing teacher attrition rates.

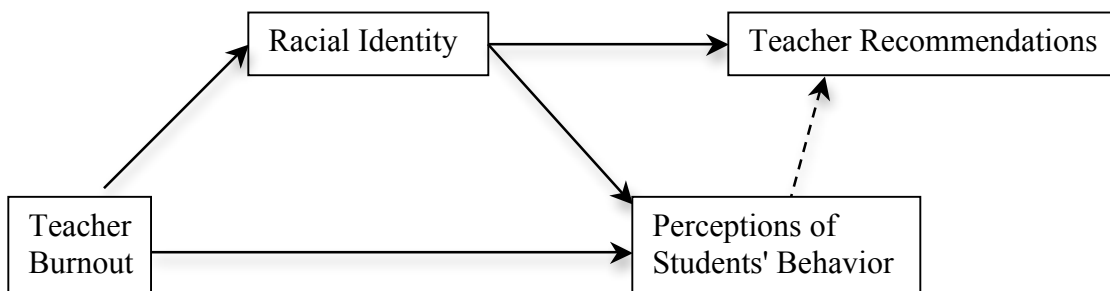


Figure 7. Model of Teacher Characteristics Affecting Student Discipline

It would be prudent for researchers conducting these future studies to account for the differences in implicitly and explicitly expressed racial attitudes. These studies might consider using archival data, such as teachers' reasons for referring students for discipline and their ratings of students' behaviors as requested by school psychologists or counselors.

### **Implications for Teacher Training and Education Programs**

White teachers, the majority of K-12 public school teachers, are being called on to educate an increasingly diverse student body. The results of the present study suggested that White teachers' racial identity is strongly positively related to their (a) feelings of weariness, disengagement from their students, and ineffectiveness (i.e., teacher burnout symptoms), (b) perceptions of students' defiant, disrespectful, angry, and aggressive behaviors (i.e., symptoms of CD and ODD), and (c) likelihood of using behavior management strategies that are punitive or result in loss of classroom time. Collectively, these results suggest that teacher education and training programs, continuing education courses, and professional trainings and workshops ought to integrate multicultural awareness, knowledge, and skills into their teacher education and training programs as a means of promoting racial identity development. Teacher education programs should be directly assessing future teachers' racial attitudes and using the obtained information to promote their racial identity development. Perhaps more sophisticated racial identities among teachers might decrease the frequency of aversively racist encounters that students of Color are experiencing in the schools.

Moreover, student teachers should be challenged to process and reflect on their

reactions to students in an effort to promote self-awareness of their internalized racial biases. According to Helms (1994), promoting self-awareness of internalized racial biases is necessary in order to foster healthier racial identity development. Initially, the potential teachers' internalized racial biases may be the easiest to address and discuss in one-to-one mentoring, as these students will likely be uncomfortable and unwilling to discuss their racial stereotypes for fear of being labeled as racist. In-class lectures about racial socialization as it occurs in the media and society in general may eventually help these student teachers normalize their biases. Recognizing that they are not alone in manifesting such attitudes may allow them to discuss their racial attitudes more freely in class; this normalization of these less sophisticated racial attitudes would provide a healthy, supportive environment for promoting self-awareness and racial identity development.

As the largest accrediting body for teacher preparation programs, the National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE) sets standards for teacher preparation programs to ensure that future teachers "demonstrate the knowledge, skills, and professional dispositions to work successfully with children of all races, ethnicities, disabilities/ exceptionalities, and socioeconomic groups" (NCATE, 2008, p. 6). The published standards include guidelines for assessing teacher preparation programs with unacceptable, acceptable, and target proficiency levels. Here, I will discuss the NCATE standards at the acceptable level.

Within NCATE's six standards, Standard 3 addresses the importance of teacher candidates' field practice including experiences with teaching students from diverse

ethnic/racial groups (NCATE, 2008). Furthermore, though not directly addressed in the published standards, it appears that teacher candidates and their clinical faculty are urged to process these field experiences at racially diverse placements through a process of self-assessment, reflection, and feedback. However, the Standards should include a more explicit suggestion that student teachers and their faculty members address the ways in which their own racial attitudes are influencing their perceptions of the students in racially diverse placements.

In addition, Helms's (2003) Racial Identity Interaction theory hypothesizes that faculty members' ability to help students develop more sophisticated racial identity attitudes may be limited by the faculty members' own racial identity and attitudes. She delineated three types of interactions: parallel, regressive, and progressive. In a parallel interaction, a faculty member espousing the less sophisticated racial identity statuses supervises a student teacher with similar racial attitudes. Another potential faculty-student pairing may involve a faculty member whose racial identity attitudes are less developmentally sophisticated than the student teachers', which Helms would define as a regressive interaction. In these two types of interactions, the student teachers are unlikely to progress or advance in regard to their racial identity development. In these situations where student teachers are not mentored in advancing their racial identity attitudes, they may enter the teaching profession with naive, idealistic attitudes, such as the color-blind perspective, leaving them vulnerable to cultural miscommunications in the classroom, high levels of teacher burnout, and a higher likelihood of leaving the field within the first five years.

In the third possible type of racial identity interaction, the faculty members' racial identity is more advanced and sophisticated than the student teachers' racial identities. In progressive interaction, the faculty member is the most likely to be able to offer insight and feedback to the student teacher concerning how the student teacher's racial identity influences them professionally. Appropriate feedback should include a focus on the student teacher's perceptions of students' behaviors, recommendations and referrals for students, and feelings of burnout. According to the results of the current study and Helms's Racial Identity Interaction theory, it appears that the majority of the teachers participating in this study may not have experienced the progressive type of interaction with their faculty members in their teacher education programs. Clearly, in order to promote future teachers' development and advancement of their racial identity attitudes, it is most advisable and preferable to pair faculty members endorsing more sophisticated racial attitudes with student teachers' who are less developmentally advanced or at a similarly sophisticated level of development as their mentor. Teacher education programs and their faculty should undergo a series of professional training workshops with the goal of helping assess their current racial identity attitudes and learning how to develop or maintain more advanced racial identity attitudes. Alternatively, encouraging faculty members to attend conferences focusing on cultural competence, racial identity, and self-awareness for their professional continuing education credits may also promote the advancement of faculty members' racial identities.

Standard 4 of the NCATE focuses on issues of diversity with the goal of preparing educators with the knowledge and skills to help all students learn (NCATE,



2008). In this standard, teacher candidates are expected to "demonstrate classroom behaviors that are consistent with the idea of fairness and the belief that all students can learn" (p. 34). Moreover, these teacher preparation programs are expected to have faculty from diverse racial backgrounds and faculty are to have knowledge and experience in preparing student teachers to work with diverse student populations. What is not clear from this standard is how teacher preparation programs are to assess faculty members' preparedness or experience in teaching students from diverse backgrounds. These standards need to be more explicit with respect to how teacher education programs assess teacher candidates' beliefs in fairness and to give examples of classroom behaviors demonstrating these attitudes. Perhaps a template of an evaluation form for observing student teaching could include these explicit expectations. National, state, and local teachers' associations should partner with the NCATE to develop these explicit expectations and apply them to future and current teachers.

In sum, it appears as though the NCATE standards have begun to address the growing need for teacher education programs to prepare future teachers for racially and culturally diverse classrooms in order to provide fair and equal education for all students (NCATE, 2008). However, these standards provide little or no guidance or concrete curricula expectations for teacher preparation programs on how to implement these standards. Also, the standards do not address strategies for reaching current teachers who may not have benefited from these updated standards. Moreover, NCATE's mission statement does not include protection of teachers from developing symptoms of burnout or other costs of teaching as aspirational goals. Perhaps the accrediting bodies for teacher

education programs or for the profession of teaching might adopt a document similar to the American Psychological Association's (APA) *Guidelines on Multicultural Education, Training, Research, Practice, and Organizational Change for Psychologists* (2003), which addresses the requisite "knowledge and skills needed for the profession in the midst of dramatic historic sociopolitical changes in U.S. society, as well as needs from new constituencies, markets, and clients" (p. 1).

More specifically, the *Multicultural Guidelines* address the relevance of multicultural perspectives in many of the roles that psychologists might occupy, such as clinicians, trainers and supervisors, educators, and researchers. The APA's *Guidelines* encourage psychologists to (a) reflect upon their own racial biases and attitudes and how these biases might influence potential interactions with others; (b) acknowledge and be responsive to multicultural perspectives; (c) incorporate the values of multiculturalism and diversity in the education of psychologists-in-training; (d) conduct culturally-sensitive and appropriate research in regard to people of diverse backgrounds; (e) use culturally-sensitive and responsive skills in clinical settings, and; (f) promote culturally-informed and competent policies within their organizations (APA, 2003). Though the NCATE and other accrediting bodies for teacher preparation programs may be able to influence the education and training of new teachers, current teachers and administrators could be unaffected by future changes in accreditation standards. A document similar to the APA's *Guidelines*, authored by the governing body for the teaching profession, should influence the training and teacher educators, teachers-in-training, current teachers, and other roles in the teaching profession. Furthermore, such guidelines should

potentially address strategies or recommendations for updating and informing current teachers of the new requirements. Useful strategies might include mandated continuing education credits focused on how to apply culturally-competent pedagogy in their classrooms.

### **Implications for Mental Health Professionals**

The fields of psychology and education overlap in many aspects. For example, both professions involve developing and maintaining relationships with others in the hopes of promoting transformation and growth, whether it is therapeutic or educational. Counseling psychology programs are typically housed in schools of education at universities and colleges, which makes it possible for them to provide services aimed at helping teachers reduce their burnout by focusing on racial dynamics. Counseling psychology faculty could hold seminars and workshops for teacher educators in their universities with the goal of helping these teacher educators advance their own racial identity attitudes. As a result, teacher educators would become more adept at guiding their teachers-in-training to reflect upon their own racial attitudes and how these attitudes are expressed in their teaching practices.

Counseling psychologists with multicultural expertise could also guest lecture or be consulted about re-designing teacher education curricula in order to infuse multiculturalism and cultural competence throughout. Similarly, teacher educators should be encouraged to audit courses in the counseling psychology program that infuse multicultural perspectives, but are not necessarily focused upon multiculturalism. For example, a counseling psychology course on counseling theories should include

discussions about how each theory might be adapted in order to be culturally-responsive; a similar course in pedagogical theories in teacher education programs could be adapted to include discussions of cultural relevance. Moreover, counseling psychology faculty and supervisors are required to assess psychology trainees' cultural competency in clinical work by evaluating their practicum experiences. Counseling faculty and their teacher educator colleagues could adapt these types of evaluations to be practicable for evaluating student teachers' during their field experiences.

Within K-12 schools, school psychologists and school counselors could develop professional training seminars for teachers with the goal of promoting the development of teachers' racial identity and cultural competence in order to reduce symptoms of teacher burnout and the racially-influenced negative perceptions of students' behavior. Furthermore, school psychologists and counselors should be consulted when developing interventions within schools in which racial disparities in student discipline exist such that Black students are disproportionately disciplined more than their White counterparts. One such intervention might be Sugai, O'Keefe, and Fallon's (2012) systems approach for culturally relevant school-wide positive behavior support (SWPBS). The culturally relevant SWPBS system recommends that teachers adjust their verbal communications and expectations to be explicit and paired with specific examples of appropriate behaviors and responses (Sugai, O'Keefe, & Fallon, 2012) in order to reduce mismatches between teachers' culturally-based expectations of normative behavior and students' culturally-based responses that teachers may perceive as oppositional or disrespectful.

Use of a culturally relevant systemic intervention could help ameliorate the

existing discipline gap by helping teachers understand that their behaviors and verbal communications may be rooted in White norms, whereas their racially and culturally diverse students may be operating within a different (but not inferior) set of social norms. For example, White teachers might perceive a student as being disrespectful when the student does not make eye contact during a discussion. In some minority cultures, maintaining eye contact with an authority figure is considered disrespectful (e.g., Lee & Carrasquillo, 2006).

Also, school counselors and psychologists could help school administrators and teachers detect and analyze seemingly racially and culturally-based interactions between a teacher and student which resulted in disciplinary referral for the students. These data could then be used to help teachers, administrators, school psychologists, and school counselors to construct school-wide interventions, which redefine implicit expectations and White cultural norms into explicit and culturally responsive expectations for all students and teachers in each classroom or school (Fallon, O'Keefe, & Sugai, 2012).

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## Appendix A: Vignette

\_\_\_\_\_ is a 10-year-old \_\_\_\_\_ boy who lives at home with his mom, dad, and two sisters. He is in the 5th grade and earns mostly Bs and Cs in his classes. His parents report that he sometimes teases his sisters and that their arguments over toys have escalated into physical fights. However, his parents also shared that he usually plays well with his sisters, and can be very loving with them. At school, he has some trouble following directions and is sometimes distracting to his peers. Sometimes, he argues when he does not like the assignment given during class. In the past, he has ripped up his assignment, muttering "this is stupid." His teachers report that he responds well to individual attention when he is having a hard time in class. He has been caught copying his classmates' work a few times in class, and said "I don't see why it's such a big deal." He has been involved in two fights with other boys during recess this year, but he stated both times that he did not start the fight. He seems well-liked by his peers, and is usually one of the first children chosen to be on their team or in their group.

## Appendix B: Sociodemographic questionnaire.

Please answer the following questions or complete the following statements about yourself.

1. What is your age in years? \_\_\_\_\_
  
2. What is your gender?
 

<input type="checkbox"/> Male	<input type="checkbox"/> Transgender
<input type="checkbox"/> Female	<input type="checkbox"/> Intersex
  
3. How would you identify yourself?
 

<input type="checkbox"/> White American	<input type="checkbox"/> Native American / American Indian
<input type="checkbox"/> African American (Black)	<input type="checkbox"/> Immigrant (Please describe your nationality.)
<input type="checkbox"/> Asian American / Pacific Islander	<input type="checkbox"/> Biracial
<input type="checkbox"/> Hispanic American / Latino/a (not White or Black)	<input type="checkbox"/> Multiracial
	<input type="checkbox"/> Other (Please specify.)
  
4. Which of the following best describes your sexual orientation?
 

<input type="checkbox"/> Heterosexual	<input type="checkbox"/> Lesbian
<input type="checkbox"/> Gay	<input type="checkbox"/> Questioning
<input type="checkbox"/> Bisexual	<input type="checkbox"/> Other (Please specify.)
  
5. Where were you raised? [Please be specific and indicate location (e.g., country, state, city/town) and duration of time spent in each location.]
  
6. What is the highest level of formal education you completed?
 

<input type="checkbox"/> Current college freshman	<input type="checkbox"/> College graduate
<input type="checkbox"/> Current college sophomore	<input type="checkbox"/> Current graduate student
<input type="checkbox"/> Current college junior	<input type="checkbox"/> Master's degree
<input type="checkbox"/> Current college senior	<input type="checkbox"/> Doctoral degree
<input type="checkbox"/> Some college	<input type="checkbox"/> Other (Please specify.) _____
  
7. What is your total household income?
 

___ Less than \$10,000	___ \$70,000 to \$79,999
___ \$10,000 to \$19,999	___ \$80,000 to \$89,999
___ \$20,000 to \$29,999	___ \$90,000 to \$99,999
___ \$30,000 to \$39,999	___ \$100,000 to \$149,999
___ \$40,000 to \$49,999	___ \$150,000 to 199,999
___ \$50,000 to \$59,999	___ \$200,000 to \$249,999
___ \$60,000 to \$69,999	___ greater than \$250,000



18. If yes, please describe.

19. Please choose all descriptions that apply to your class(es) or classroom(s):

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Regular                     | <input type="checkbox"/> Integrated         |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Inclusive                   | <input type="checkbox"/> Lab                |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Homogeneous (tracked)       | <input type="checkbox"/> Advanced Placement |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Heterogeneous (non-tracked) |   |

20. Please indicate the number of years you have been teaching: \_\_\_\_\_

21. How many years have you been teaching at your current school? \_\_\_\_\_

22. Please indicate the grade you are currently teaching:

- |                                       |                                     |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Kindergarten | <input type="checkbox"/> 7th grade  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1st grade    | <input type="checkbox"/> 8th grade  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 2nd grade    | <input type="checkbox"/> 9th grade  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 3rd grade    | <input type="checkbox"/> 10th grade |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 4th grade    | <input type="checkbox"/> 11th grade |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 5th grade    | <input type="checkbox"/> 12th grade |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 6th grade    |                                     |

23. Please indicate how many years you have taught at the following grade levels:

- |                                       |                                     |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Kindergarten | <input type="checkbox"/> 7th grade  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1st grade    | <input type="checkbox"/> 8th grade  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 2nd grade    | <input type="checkbox"/> 9th grade  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 3rd grade    | <input type="checkbox"/> 10th grade |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 4th grade    | <input type="checkbox"/> 11th grade |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 5th grade    | <input type="checkbox"/> 12th grade |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 6th grade    |                                     |

Please answer the following questions about the school at which you are currently teaching:

24. Which best describes the type of school at which you are currently teaching?

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Public School (Please indicate type.)                          | <input type="checkbox"/> Private (please indicate type) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Public Charter School that receives only public funding        | <input type="checkbox"/> Private (non-parochial)        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Public Charter School that receives public and private funding | <input type="checkbox"/> Private (parochial)            |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Public Magnet School   | <input type="checkbox"/> School designated to be closed |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Public Exam School   | <input type="checkbox"/> Turnaround School              |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Public Alternative School                                      | <input type="checkbox"/> Turnaround School              |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Public District School   | <input type="checkbox"/> Other (Please explain)         |



25. Which best describes the school at which you are currently teaching?

- |                               |  |
|-------------------------------|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> K-6  | <input type="checkbox"/> Elementary (K-4)        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> K-8  | <input type="checkbox"/> Middle (5-8)            |
| <input type="checkbox"/> K-12 | <input type="checkbox"/> Junior High (7-9)       |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 7-12 | <input type="checkbox"/> High School (9-12)      |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 8-12 | <input type="checkbox"/> Other (Please specify.) |

26. What is the gender of the students who attend your school?

- |                                      |  |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> all females | <input type="checkbox"/> coeducational |
| <input type="checkbox"/> all males   |  |

27. Your school is:

- free-standing (one school in one building/campus)
- a small school (one of more than one schools housed in one building)
- a small learning community (one smaller school community within the larger building but not considered a separate or individual school)
- a boarding school

28. Please estimate the number of students currently enrolled at your school: \_\_\_\_\_

29. Please estimate the percentage of students at your school who are eligible for free and/or reduced lunch: \_\_\_\_\_

30. Estimate the percentages of the students at your school that are in each of the following groups:

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> White American                  | <input type="checkbox"/> Immigrant (Please describe your nationality.) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> African American (Black)        | <input type="checkbox"/> Biracial                                      |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Asian American/Pacific Islander | <input type="checkbox"/> Multiracial                                   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Latino/a (not White or Black)   | <input type="checkbox"/> Other (Please specify.)                       |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Native American/American Indian |  |

31. Please estimate the percentage of students scoring at each level in English Language Arts and Mathematics on your state's high-stakes assessment.

	English Language Arts	Mathematics
failing		
passing		
proficient		
advanced		

## Appendix C.

Sample Items from Maslach Burnout Inventory-Educators Survey (Maslach, Jackson, & Leiter, 1996).

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Never	A few times a year or less	Once a month or less	A few times a month	Once a week	A few times a week	Every day

How often:          Statement:

2. \_\_\_\_\_ I feel used up at the end of the workday.
5. \_\_\_\_\_ I feel I treat some students as if they were impersonal objects.
9. \_\_\_\_\_ I feel I'm positively influencing other people's lives through my work.

\*Publisher gave permission to publish a maximum of three sample items from the Maslach Burnout Inventory -Educators Survey.

## Appendix D: Sample Items from Conner's Comprehensive Behavior Rating Scale

(AGES 6-18)

Instructions: Here are some things teachers might say about their students. Please tell us about *this* student and what he has been like in the past month. Read each item carefully, then select how well it describes this student or how frequently it has happened in the past month.

- 0 = This was not true at all about this student, It never (or seldom) happened.
- 1 = This was just a little true about this student. It happened occasionally.
- 2 = This was pretty much true about this student. It happened often (or quite a bit).
- 3 = This was very much true about this student. It happened very often (very frequently).

It is important to respond to every item. For items you find difficult to answer, please give your best guess.

- 3. Loses temper.
- 10. Is noisy and loud when playing or using free time.
- 38. Has trouble controlling his anger.
- 97. Lies to avoid having to do something or to get things.
- 174. Is irritable and easily annoyed by others.
- 192. Argues with adults.

\*Publisher gave permission to publish a maximum of six sample items from the Conner's Comprehensive Behavior Rating Scales.

Appendix E: Teachers' Recommendations and Referrals for Student Outcomes.

Instructions: Please rate the likelihood, on a scale from 1-5, that you would use the following classroom/behavior management strategy with the child in the vignette.

- 1 = I would never use this strategy or make this recommendation.  
 2 = I am unlikely to use this strategy or make this recommendation.  
 3 = I might use this strategy or make this recommendation.  
 4 = I am likely to use this strategy or make this recommendation.  
 5 = I would definitely use this strategy or make this recommendation.

- \_\_\_ 1. Move the student to the back of the classroom.  
 \_\_\_ 2. Move the student closer to my desk or where I usually stand.  
 \_\_\_ 3. Ask the student to do his work in the hallway.  
 \_\_\_ 4. I would ignore him when he is acting out or not working.  
 \_\_\_ 5. I would talk to him in the hallway.  
 \_\_\_ 6. I would take away a privilege (e.g., recess, free choice).  
 \_\_\_ 7. I would make sure to stand close to him during at least part of class.  
 \_\_\_ 8. Ask him to focus on class work.  
 \_\_\_ 9. Request a parent-teacher conference.  
 \_\_\_ 10. Refer student for educational testing.  
 \_\_\_ 11. Ask student's other teachers for recommendations.  
 \_\_\_ 12. Send student to school or guidance counselor to get help or to talk it out.  
 \_\_\_ 13. Send student to principal or dean's office for disciplinary action (e.g., detention, suspension, expulsion)  
 \_\_\_ 14. Ask student to come talk to me after class.  
 \_\_\_ 15. Remind the student to take a time-out  
 \_\_\_ 16. Tell or order the child to take a time-out  
 \_\_\_ 17. Non-verbal encouragement (e.g., place my hand on his shoulder)  
 \_\_\_ 18. I would ask him to work with another student that I know would be a positive influence.  
 \_\_\_ 19. Call on student to engage him in the activity or discussion.  
 20. What else would you do?

21. In the space provided, please explain your reasons for your recommendations.

## Appendix F: Modified White Racial Identity Attitude Scale

Instruction: This questionnaire is designed to measure people's attitudes about social and political issues. There are no right or wrong answers. Different people have different viewpoints. So try to be as honest as you can. Beside each statement, circle the number that best describes how you feel. Use the scale below to respond to each statement.

- | 1                    | 2                | 3         | 4     | 5                 |  |
|----------------------|------------------|-----------|-------|-------------------|--|
| Strongly<br>Disagree | Disagree         | Uncertain | Agree | Strongly<br>Agree |  |
|                      | (circle<br>here) |           |       |                   |  |
| 1                    | 2                | 3         | 4     | 5                 | 1. I hardly ever think about what race I am.   |
| 1                    | 2                | 3         | 4     | 5                 | 5. I am making a special effort to understand the significance of being White.   |
| 1                    | 2                | 3         | 4     | 5                 | 6. I involve myself in causes regardless of the race of the people involved in them.                                       |
| 1                    | 2                | 3         | 4     | 5                 | 8. I feel depressed after I have been around Black people.   |
| 1                    | 2                | 3         | 4     | 5                 | 9. There is nothing that I want to learn from Blacks.  |
| 1                    | 2                | 3         | 4     | 5                 | 16. Blacks and Whites have much to learn from each other.  |
| 1                    | 2                | 3         | 4     | 5                 | 19. I think Black people and White people do not differ from each other in any important ways.                             |
| 1                    | 2                | 3         | 4     | 5                 | 21. I would rather socialize with Whites only.   |
| 1                    | 2                | 3         | 4     | 5                 | 25. I do not notice a person's race.   |
| 1                    | 2                | 3         | 4     | 5                 | 28. It is possible for Blacks and Whites to have meaningful social relationships with each other.                          |
| 1                    | 2                | 3         | 4     | 5                 | 35. I am examining how racism relates to who I am.   |
| 1                    | 2                | 3         | 4     | 5                 | 36. I am comfortable being myself in situations in which there are no other White people.                                  |
| 1                    | 2                | 3         | 4     | 5                 | 38. When I must interact with a Black people, I usually let them make the first move because I do not want to offend them. |

- |   | 1             | 2        | 3         | 4     | 5        |  |
|---|---------------|----------|-----------|-------|----------|--|
|   | Strongly      | Disagree | Uncertain | Agree | Strongly |  |
|   | (circle here) |          |           |       | Agree    |  |
| 1 | 2             | 3        | 4         | 5     |          | 41. I am involved in discovering how other White people have positively defined who they are in terms of their race. |
| 1 | 2             | 3        | 4         | 5     |          | 43. A person's race is not important to me.  |
| 1 | 2             | 3        | 4         | 5     |          | 45. I believe that Blacks are inferior to Whites.  |
| 1 | 2             | 3        | 4         | 5     |          | 46. I believe that a White person cannot be a racist if he or she has a Black friend(s).                             |
| 1 | 2             | 3        | 4         | 5     |          | 48. I think that White people must end racism in this country because they created it.                               |
| 1 | 2             | 3        | 4         | 5     |          | 50. Sometimes I'm not sure what I think or feel about Black people.  |
| 1 | 2             | 3        | 4         | 5     |          | 52. Blacks and Whites differ from each other in some ways, but neither race is superior.                             |
| 1 | 2             | 3        | 4         | 5     |          | 53. Given the chance, I would work with other White people to discover what being White means to me.                 |
| 1 | 2             | 3        | 4         | 5     |          | 56. I do not understand why Black people blame me for their social misfortunes.                                      |
| 1 | 2             | 3        | 4         | 5     |          | 57. I believe that Whites are more attractive and express themselves better than Blacks.                             |
| 1 | 2             | 3        | 4         | 5     |          | 60. I am continually examining myself to make sure that my way of being White is not racist.                         |



*Figure 5.* Image of Black male student.





*Figure 6.* Image of White male student.