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"They don't say it up front" : immigrant-origin high school students' experiences of disrespect and racial microaggressions by teachers : a project based upon a group research investigation

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"They Don't Say It Up Front": Immigrant-Origin High School Students' Experiences of Disrespect and Racial Microaggressions by Teachers

ABSTRACT

This qualitative study used counter-storytelling methodology from Critical Race Theory to explore 15 racial and ethnic minority immigrant-origin high school students' experiences of racial microaggressions by teachers. Previous research focuses on overt racism with youth or microaggressions with adults, but has not addressed subtle racism experienced by high school students. The findings suggest immigrant-origin experience teacher disrespect as racial microaggressions, including those that are related to immigrant identity. Though not conclusive, the results indicate that experiences of racial microaggressions and responses may differ for immigrant-origin youth with different generation status. Teachers' racial sensitivity and school climate were demonstrated to be important factors for further exploration. This study's focus on immigrant youth experiences in school is timely given the influence that the current U.S. political climate around immigration has on classroom dynamics, and thus has immediate implications for teachers, administrators, and social workers.

"THEY DON'T SAY IT UP FRONT": IMMIGRANT-ORIGIN HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS' EXPERIENCES OF DISRESPECT AND RACIAL MICROAGGRESSIONS BY TEACHERS

A project based upon a group research investigation, submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Social Work.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

The purpose of this study is to explore immigrant-origin adolescents' experiences of disrespect and injustice perpetrated by teachers in their classrooms and schools. This research aims to provide rich descriptions of how racial microaggressions and other forms of disrespect and injustice perpetrated by teachers in schools are experienced by immigrant-origin youth and explores links between identity factors, school climate, and these experiences. This study also aims to categorize types of responses and help-seeking behaviors that immigrant-origin youth use when facing disrespect, injustice, and discrimination from teachers at school. Given that the social and political climate in the United States around the topic of immigration has intensified in recent years, and has become particularly charged in the Trump presidential era, these dynamics are likely are influencing immigrant youth experiences in their day to day lives and especially in school settings. It is essential and timely, then, to examine immigrant youth experiences of respect, disrespect, and microaggressions their schools.

My overarching research question is, *how do immigrant-origin adolescents experience disrespect, injustice, and discrimination by teachers and administrators in their school settings?* Within this question, I ask the following questions: *(A) How do immigrant-origin students understand and respond to experiences of disrespect, injustice, and discrimination? (B) Are the stories of experiences of disrespect, injustice, and discrimination similar or different between immigrant-origin youth and ethnic/racial minority youth who do not have an immigrant*

background? (C) Do interpretations of and responses to experiences of disrespect, injustice, and discrimination differ based on generation status of immigrant-origin youth?

The term "immigrant-origin" is used in the literature to refer to adolescents who identify as immigrants themselves (i.e. foreign born) as well as youth who are born in the United States but come from immigrant families (Tummala-Narra & Sathasivam-Rueckert, 2016). For the purpose of this study, I will use the term "immigrant-origin" to include adolescents who identify as immigrants and adolescents who come from immigrant families. This exploratory, qualitative study seeks to illuminate these students' experiences through their own narratives and will address the gap in the literature both around ethnic minority high school students' experiences of microaggressions as well as the mechanisms that contribute to the particular experiences of immigrant-origin adolescents and their responses.

Research on racial microaggressions has increased exponentially since Sue and colleagues' (2007) seminal article defining the term, which created a taxonomy for different types of microaggressions and began to demonstrate the psychological, emotional, and even physical impact of these subtle forms of racism and discrimination. Studies on microaggressions have been conducted primarily in university or community settings with adults, leaving out younger populations. Furthermore, the literature on microaggressions amongst immigrant populations, especially youth immigrant origin youth, is extremely limited and researchers have called for more research to be done with this population in particular.

The participants for this study are immigrant-origin youth who are either current high school students or recent high school graduates who can speak to their experiences in secondary educational settings. This research is part of a larger study by designed and facilitated by principal researcher Shannon Audley, PhD, on ethnic minority youth's experiences of unfair

treatment in school settings, and I will be joined by three other Smith College School for Social Work student researchers in the collection of data for project. The method for this study is designed to be empowering for participants as they share their story in their own words and gain insight about memorable experiences of unfair treatment.

This research advances the field of social work because it provides a more detailed and nuanced description of immigrant-origin students' experiences with adults in their schools. School social workers will be able to use this information to better serve clients that identify as having an immigrant background on an individual level. Furthermore, the results of this study have implications for mezzo-level interventions in schools and across school districts, and could be used as a tool for advocacy in educational reform. Additionally, the qualitative data begins to demonstrate some patterns in help-seeking behaviors amongst immigrant youth in the face of negative interpersonal experiences, which would have implications for both social work practice and policy. The findings also have implications for administrators and educators to improve teacher education, foster better classroom dynamics and school climate, and respond more effectively to experiences of disrespect.

CHAPTER II

Literature Review

The following literature review will cover five sections relating to the present study's examination of immigrant-origin adolescents' experiences of subtle racism in secondary educational settings as perpetrated by both teachers and peers. The first section is on this study's theoretical framework, which is grounded in Critical Race Theory. The second and third sections offer reviews of the literature regarding microaggressions and identity development, with particular attention to educational settings and immigrant-origin youth. The fourth section examines school climate and the implications for racial discrimination. The final section addresses the current political and social climate around immigration and how this impacts school settings and the present study.

Critical Race Theory

Primary tenets. Critical Race Theory (CRT) was born in the 1970's from influential legal scholars. As with many theoretical models, there are many different interpretations and applications of CRT. However, the six primary guiding tenets elucidated by Delgado and Stefancic (2001) are as follows: the existence of racism, the concept of "interest convergence," the social construction of race, that social context influences the implications of race at any given historical or current moment, anti-essentialism and intersectionality, and the centering of voices of color.

The first tenet is the assertion that racism exists and is not the exception but rather the rule, and that our society is constructed around a system that privileges White people and disadvantages people of color. This also indicates that liberalized attempts at equality do little to disrupt the core of racism and ignore the more subtle, everyday experiences of discrimination, such as microaggressions.

Second is the concept of "interest convergence" (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001, p. 7), in which White people have a vested interest in maintaining the hierarchical nature of racism in society and that only when there is some incentive for White people to benefit from racial justice will they be motivated to create change. The authors cite Derrick Bell, who proposed that *Brown v. Board of Education* was more a result of self-interested White elites than the motivation to help blacks (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). Milner (2007) also writes of "interest convergence," stating:

> People in power are often, in discourse, supportive of research, policies, and practices
> that do not oppress and discriminate against others as long as they-those in power-do not
> have to alter their own systems of privilege; they may not want to give up their own
> interests to fight against racism, confront injustice, or shed light on hegemony. (p.391)

This tenet also reinforces the idea that White people have little incentive to alter the *status quo* as it would require examination of their own position of privilege.

The third tenet is that race is a social construction and is not biologically based. This principle holds that, while there are phenotypic similarities between people with shared ancestral origins, the meaning and significance given to these similarities is created through social relations not biology. Yet the implication by some that if race is a social construction there is no basis for talking about racism is refuted, because as Miller and Garran (2008) write, "*race* is a

social construction, and *racism* is a very real, multifaceted, historical, and contemporary force" (p. 16).

The fourth tenet, which draws on the first three, is that race is differentially mobilized based on historical relevance. The meaning given to a certain race at any one given time will likely fluctuate based on the shifting needs of society. Delgado and Stefancic (2001) point to shifting stereotypes of Japanese-Americans during World War II as one example, because while they were first needed for labor and agriculture, they later came into "intense disfavor and [were] removed to war relocation camps, while society cultivated other groups of color for jobs in war industry" (p. 8). As such, to think through the meaning ascribed to different racial categories at different times, we must also look at the historical context.

Fifth is the tenet of anti-essentialism and intersectionality. Developed by black feminist legal scholarship, particularly in the work of Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989), the term "intersectionality" highlights that there is no single identity of a person and that various aspects of identity combine to create a particular lived experience for an individual. Crenshaw (1989) first elucidated this concept by examining a legal standing in which the plaintiffs, a group of black women facing employment discrimination, were compelled by the court to choose whether they were being discriminated against based on their race or based on their gender. This simplification and essentialization of identities incited critique and led Crenshaw, along with other CRT scholars, to call for more a more nuanced understanding of identity.

In recognition of the impact that intersectionality has on the experience of oppression, the final tenet of CRT places value on the subjective experiences of people of color as sources of knowledge (Andrews, 2009; Caton, 2012; Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Mirza, 1999; Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). This tenet focuses on centering voices of color and acknowledges that people of

color have a lived experience—through culture, systems of oppression, and history—that is distinct from the experiences of White mainstream experience. By centering voices of color, CRT also promotes the idea in post-structuralism that there is no one master truth but that meaning is made through acknowledging many voices and perspectives (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001).

CRT in K-12 education. Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) brought CRT to education with their pointed assertion that the disparities and inequities observed between White middle-class students and poor students of color are "a logical and predictable result of a racialized society in which discussions of race and racism continue to be muted and marginalized" (p. 47). Indeed, CRT should inform K-12 education research, practice, and policy by acknowledging vulnerabilities in the curriculum, instruction, assessment, and funding of schools. This can allow professionals to deconstruct the ways in which these systems sustain inequities experienced by students of color (Ladson-Billings, 1998).

In formative work on this subject, Ladson-Billings (1998) writes that the curriculum in public education often reflects a narrative of White supremacy. Classroom material often represents White, upper-class, and male dominant voices, leaving out multiple perspectives and creating falsely standardized knowledge. Curriculum also implements a color-blind approach which can have damaging impacts on students of color. Ladson-Billings (1998) writes,

> The race-neutral or colorblind perspective, evident in the way the curriculum presents people of color, presumes a homogenized "we" in celebration of diversity […]. Thus, students are taught erroneously that 'we are all immigrants,' and, as a result, African American, Indigenous, and Chicano students are left with the guilt of failing to rise above their immigrant status like "every other group." (p. 18)

Incorporating a CRT framework into K-12 curriculum would address impacts of intersectionality and allow for voices of color to be better represented, therefore providing a more complete and truthful academic narrative. However, before this approach can be taken, K-12 research would benefit from a grounding in a CRT framework in order to better meet the needs of students of color. In dismantling a color-blind approach, the present study allows for the legitimization of experiences of microaggressions. As microaggressions are often experienced as silencing, students may benefit from the "counter-storytelling" methodology (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002), which centers the voices of people of color. This method will be discussed further in the Methodology chapter. Further, an acknowledgment of intersectionality deconstructs misconceptions and false narratives of racial groups. A CRT approach is essential in better informing educators and social workers on how to serve all students effectively and equitably.

CRT in the field of social work and present study. The field and practice of social work is considered by many to represent a commitment to social justice. One approach to upholding this commitment is to prevent and deconstruct systems of oppression. Dismantling racism and systems of oppression is a significant and tall order. Therefore, a social work concept that has been appealing to a more incrementalist, broader, and Whiter middle-class demographic base is the idea of *cultural competency*. Today, cultural competency is marked as a standard of the National Association of Social Work (NASW) Code of Ethics (2008) and the meaning of diversity has been expanded to include a broad range of groups. According to the NASW (2015),

> Diversity, more than race and ethnicity, includes the sociocultural experiences of people inclusive of, but not limited to, national origin, color, social class, religious and spiritual beliefs, immigration status, sexual orientation, gender identity or expression, age, marital status, and physical or mental disabilities. (p. 11)

These are just a few of many social identities that may define a person or group. However, the cultural competency model fails to examine how multiple social identities may interact with one another in various settings, fundamentally impacting experiences of oppression, discrimination and domination (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). Thus, while cultural competency may be the standard in the field of social work practice more broadly, I begin with the CRT assertion that racism exists in the lives of students of color.

For the present study, CRT is a necessary theoretical framework that centers the reality that racism exists and is moving through every facet of our society. Bringing together general concepts of CRT and particularly those put forth by CRT education scholars, the present study positions itself to examine how racism operates in high school classrooms. Through the hypothesis that racism of today likely looks and feels different than racism before the Civil Rights Movement or even racism in the 21st Century, we seek to explore the various ways that racism expresses itself in potentially subtler but continuously devastating ways in classrooms. In the sections that follow, I will discuss the different forms of this subtle racism.

Microaggressions

Racial microaggressions as injustice. Public disavowal of overt forms of racism has pushed many experiences of racism into less-discernable and more covert experiences of *aversive racism* and *microaggressions*. Sue and colleagues (2007) define racial microaggressions as "brief, everyday exchanges that send denigrating messages to people of color because they belong to a racial minority group" and argue that these slights "impair performance in a multitude of settings by sapping the psychic and spiritual energy of recipients and creating inequities" (p. 273). The authors break down these more covert experiences of discrimination into three distinct forms. The first is the "microassault," or "explicit racial derogation

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characterized primarily by a verbal or nonverbal attack meant to hurt the intended victim through name-calling, avoidant behavior, or purposeful discriminatory actions;" the next is a "microinsult" which are subtle "communications that convey rudeness and insensitivity and demean a person's racial identity or heritage;" and finally, the "microinvalidation" is a communication in which the recipient's thoughts, feelings, and experiential reality are negated and nullified (Sue et al., 2007, p. 274).

Racial microaggressions are different from overt forms of racism because they are often subtle insults, both verbal and nonverbal, directed towards people of color and "often carried out automatically or unconsciously" (Kohli & Solórzano, 2012, p. 447). Researchers have emphasized that it is their layered and cumulative nature take their toll on people of color; in isolation, an individual microaggression may not have much meaning or impact, but as repeated slights they have a profound effect (Kohli & Solórzano, 2012; Sue et al., 2007). For example, a review of the literature on racial discrimination generally amongst adults found that the resulting stress from microaggressions had severe and long-lasting psychological and physical health implications (Williams, Neighbors, & Jackson 2003). This review suggests that perceived racial bias is an important determinant contributing to racial health disparities in the United States (Williams et al., 2003). More recent research has built upon this, demonstrating the link between racial discrimination experiences and trauma symptoms (Helms, Nicolas, & Green, 2012; Lowe, Okubo & Reilly, 2012). The literature also demonstrates the ways in which "secondary injury" can occur when individuals experiencing racism confide in others and are not believed, therefore making them feel significantly worse than they did about the original incident (Lowe et al., 2012).

A comprehensive review of the literature on racial microaggressions showed that all studies have examined the perpetration of microaggressions by White individuals, though two studies explored racial microaggressions perpetrated by ethnic and racial minority individuals (Wong, Derthick, David, Saw, & Okazaki, 2014). Further, Sue and Constantine (2007) addressed four layers of fears contributing to White disavowal of racial microaggressions which are fear of appearing racist, fear of awareness of one's own racism, fear of acknowledging (and relinquishing) White privilege, and fear of the consequences of taking personal responsibility to end racism. As such, it is likely that many of the narratives from the present study will be about White teachers who perpetrate racial microaggressions.

Research specific to racial microaggressions in adults has examined various themes including how microaggressions affect self-esteem, how subtypes of racial microaggressions may differ according to ethnicity (Nadal, Wong, Griffin, Davidoff, & Sriken, 2014), and how consistent, less overt forms of discrimination predict specific mental health outcomes (i.e. social anxiety disorder) more than overt incidents of discrimination (Levine et al., 2014). However, Wong and colleagues' (2014) review of microaggressions literature demonstrates that there are still critical gaps to address, including conceptual gaps (a distinction between overt racism and microassaults, differential experiences of different racial groups and immigrants, experiences of non-visible racial and ethnic minorities, the role of internalized oppression); methodological gaps (limited quantitative research, the need for experimental and longitudinal studies, and questions about the reliability of self-report measures); and consequences yet to be explored (long-term physical and psychological effects, the immediate reaction phase, the impact of the racial identity of the perpetrator, and the efficacy of coping mechanisms). It is important for subsequent

research, including the present study, to address some of these missing pieces in the microaggressions literature.

Furthermore, the research on racial microaggressions in adolescents is scant and the literature on racial discrimination among youth focuses on how individuals cope with and receive support around experiences of overt racism rather than on subtler forms of discrimination (Neblett et al., 2008). In addition, most of this research on adolescents' focuses on "everyday" discriminations outside of school and the negative socioemotional, academic, and mental health outcomes associated with such experiences (Clark, Coleman, & Novack, 2004; Pahl & Way, 2006; Sue, Lin, Torino, Capodilupo, & Rivera, 2009). As such, the literature only minimally addresses this phenomenon in schools, where adolescents spend much their time.

Microaggressions in educational settings. Microaggressions in educational settings may be particularly harmful because they "communicate derogatory slights and insults toward individuals of underrepresented status" which creates "invalidating and hostile learning experiences" (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2015, p. 151). This is consistent with the many studies showing that experiencing more overt racial discrimination at school has detrimental effects on students' mental health and academic success (Allen, Scott, & Lewis, 2013; Chavous, Rivas-Drake, Smalls, Griffin, & Cogburn, 2008; Donovan et al., 2013; Hearld, Budhwani, & Chavez-Yenter, 2015; Huynh, 2012; Huynh & Fuligni, 2010; Levine, et al., 2014). For example, in a study of twelfth grade students, Latin American and Asian American students' experiences of discrimination predicted lower grade point averages and self-esteem, and more depressive symptoms, distress, and physical complaints (Huynh & Fuligni, 2010). More so, the negative effects of discrimination occur can be found across most minority ethnic groups in the United States. Researchers in a study of Asian-American, Black, and Latinx students on multiple college

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campuses found that perceived discrimination was positively associated with depressive symptoms, and found that factors related to identity confusion did not mediate this relationship (Donovan et al., 2013). The impacts of discrimination also influence anxiety and sleep. For example, discrimination, alongside alcohol and tobacco use, increased chances of panic attacks amongst minority American adolescents (Hearld et al., 2015) and sleep problems (Huynh & Gillen-O'Neel, 2013; Levy, Heissel, Richeson, & Adam, 2016). However, these do not distinguish overt racism and racial microaggressions. Our research builds upon this gap in the research to explore the socioemotional outcomes particular to experiences of racial microaggressions.

Furthermore, much of the literature specific to racial microaggressions in schools focuses on higher education settings. One area that this research addresses is how to respond once a microaggression has occurred. In multiple studies, Sue and colleagues (Sue & Constantine, 2007; Sue et al., 2009) found that microaggressions in college classrooms caused powerful cognitive, behavioral, and emotional reactions and often resulted in difficult dialogues about race. Several studies found that instructors need to facilitate dialogue when microaggressions occur (Boysen, 2012; Sue & Constantine, 2007). However, given the often-unintentional nature of microaggressions, it is not always clear to the instructor that a microaggression has happened. Following a study demonstrating that others' responses to individuals' stories about racial discrimination incidents help to mitigate harm or, conversely, increase negative effects (Lowe et al., 2012), it is likely that others' responses to microaggressions are crucial because they mediate the impact of such experiences. The researchers conclude that individuals are insightful about what responses to incidents would be helpful to them (Lowe et al., 2012), and as such our narrative research methodology will speak directly to youth about such experiences and their

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aftermath. Another study on racial microaggressions with South Asian college students confirmed existing microaggressions categories determined by Sue and colleagues (2007) such as ascription of intelligence, invalidation of differences between racial and ethnic groups, and being treated as invisible, and generated a number of novel themes including being perceived as "fresh off the boat," social exclusion, seeing brown skin as a liability, assumption of ties to terrorism, and being forced to be a cultural expert (Poolokasingham, Spanierman, Kleiman, & Houshmand, 2014). Though this study was conducted in Canada, there are likely similarities to the United States context and thus these categories of racial microaggressions help to inform data analysis for the present study.

Though minimal, the research on microaggressions in K-12 educational environments emphasize their negative effects on students. Kohli and Solórzano (2012) examined students of color's experiences of "cultural disrespect" with regard to names in classrooms, and argue that the mispronunciation of names should not be understated or ignored because these racial microaggressions have a lasting impact students' self-perception and worldview. Additionally, the research demonstrates that microaggression experiences differ across racial and ethnic identities, as do the impact of such experiences. Qualitative studies have begun to examine Black male adolescents' experiences of racial microaggressions in schools and demonstrate common themes within these narratives were assumptions of deviance, pejorative views of intelligence assumed universality of Black experience, perceived valuing of White cultural values and communication styles, pejorative views of intelligence, and differential treatment in school discipline (Allen, 2012; Henfield, 2011). Another study demonstrated that model minority stereotyping of Asian-American adolescents in schools plays a role in students' identity development and well-being and find that the stereotype can be a protective factor against the

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negative outcomes of racial discrimination and thus call for more research of this phenomenon in which youth themselves are the experts (Thompson, Kiang, & Witkow, 2016). As K-12 education is compulsory in the United States and therefore affects a larger and more socioeconomically diverse percentage of the population, and occurs during an important time of adolescent identity development, experiences of microaggressions in earlier school settings across demographic categories are critical for further study.

One important element that is missing from the microaggression literature in schools is the particular outcomes associated with the school role of the perpetrator of the microaggression was (i.e., teacher or peer). Understanding whether or not the identity of the perpetrator matters is important, as racial and ethnic discrimination occurs not only in peer to peer interactions but also between school staff and students (Allen et al., 2013; Kohli & Solórzano, 2012; Nadal et al., 2014; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004). Indeed, Suárez-Orozco and colleagues (2015) conducted an exploratory study in which researchers sat in and observed classrooms in community colleges in the New York City metro area and found that microaggressions and are most frequently perpetrated by instructors rather than peers. Yet little is known about whether or not students respond to microaggressions from peers differently than from teachers. It is problematic that the research has not yet explored this distinction, because given differing power dynamics, individuals might be impacted differently and respond differently. For the purpose of this study, I focus on teacher-to-student microaggression experiences because they are more frequent and because the findings of the study may be more practically used by administrators and educators to address this issue directly, while acknowledging the limitation of not exploring peer-to-peer microaggressions.

Microaggressions with immigrant youth. Research on the immigrant youth population shows differences in educational achievement, mental health trajectories, experiences of discrimination, and identity development outcomes than non-immigrant ethnic minorities. There are two prevalent theories on why these differences exist: *acculturative stress theory* and the *immigrant paradox*. Acculturative stress is defined as "the potential challenges immigrants face when they negotiate differences between their home and host cultures" which includes learning new cultural rules, dealing with experiences of prejudice and discrimination, and managing conflict between maintaining elements of their old culture while incorporating the new culture (Sirin, Ryce, Gupta, & Rogers-Sirin, 2013). It occurs when newly arrived immigrant students face more challenges and negative outcomes than second- and third-generation immigrant-origin adolescents and non-immigrant origin youth (Closson, Darwich, Hymel, & Waterhouse, 2013; Patel, Tabb, Strambler, & Eltareb, 2015; Sirin et al., 2013; Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco & Todorova, 2008). On the other hand, more recent literature documents the trend that increased acculturation to the United States both over time and over multiple generations is correlated to negative trends in youth developmental outcomes (Conger & Atwell, 2012; Marks, Ejesi, & García Coll, 2014; Raffaelli, Kang, & Guarini, 2012; Tummala-Narra & Claudius, 2013). Researchers call this trend the "immigrant paradox" because it goes against the expectation that acculturation to the United States would improve these outcomes. Researchers note important factors that may be contributing to the immigrant paradox in school settings, including study habits, lack of teacher outreach to parents in order to support children's development, deterioration of student-teacher relationships across generations, loss of bilingual and bicultural skills that assist in interactions with U.S.-born teachers, and third-plus generation youth's

increased likelihood of being exposed to school violence and perceptions of school disorder (Marks et al., 2014; Peguero, Shekarkhar, Popp, & Koo, 2015).

Consistently across the literature, researchers find that immigrant-origin adolescents' experiences of overt discrimination impact their socioemotional outcomes including mental health and academic performance (Cristini, Scacchi, Perkins, Santinello, & Vieno, 2013; Patel, Clarke, Eltareb, Macciomei, & Wickham, 2016; Patel et al., 2014; Tummala-Narra & Claudius, 2013). For example, a longitudinal study on urban-residing first- and second-generation immigrant adolescents in high school showed greater exposure to the stressors of acculturation predicted significantly more withdrawn, somatic, and anxious/depressed symptoms (Sirin et al., 2013). Tummala-Narra and Claudius (2013) found that there is a high correlation between depressive symptoms and perceived discrimination racial minority immigrant-origin adolescents in an urban high school. Another study shows that "ambiguous discrimination" of newcomer immigrant adolescents can lead to internalizing symptoms as well as decreased academic achievement (Patel et al., 2014). There is also a demonstrated link between racial discrimination and decreased civic beliefs and engagement (Chan & Latzman, 2014). These studies together create a clear picture that experiences of discrimination among immigrant adolescents negatively impacts their mental health and academic performance.

In addition, the research suggests immigrant-origin youth may be exposed to higher levels of microaggressions because they are often seen as "other" in a multitude of ways, including race, immigrant and undocumented status, accent and language, as well as socioeconomic status (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2015) and thus microaggressions could be perpetrated in various social categories. One of the most frequently documented types of microaggressions are those that call into question the intelligence or competence of individuals

(Luna & Revilla, 2013; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2015). Other types of microaggressions against immigrant-origin students are cultural or racial microaggressions, microaggressions disparaging the assumed backgrounds of victims, gendered microaggressions, or microaggressions related to the intersection of multiple identities (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2015). Additionally, research has shown that in college classrooms, it is often instructors who most often commit microaggressions against immigrant students (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2015) and in the college admissions process, well-meaning admissions agents delivered many of the microaggressions against prospective students who were undocumented immigrants (Nienhusser, Vega, & Saavedra-Carquin, 2016). Microaggressions against immigrant-origin youth can also have an impact on their ethnic identity, as demonstrated by a study of Hmong-American college students whose views of Hmong culture and language were affected by microaggressions of objectification and assumed incompetence (Kwan, 2015).

There is minimal research about how immigrant youth respond to microaggressions. One study in the workplace suggests that responses to microaggressions include rationalizing the through humor, dismissal, or perspective-taking; creating alternative selves through muting oneself, dissociating, or giving in; and taking ownership or normalizing the microaggression (Shenoy-Packer, 2015). In response to more general or overt experiences of discrimination, however, it has been demonstrated by numerous studies that seeking support from friends and family can protect against the negative effects of racial and ethnic discrimination through emotional comfort (Tummala-Narra & Claudius, 2013). Furthermore, other research has demonstrated that immigrant-origin students are highly unlikely to go to their teachers for help (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2008).

The comprehensive review of microaggressions literature found that one of the critical conceptual gaps in the research was whether or not racial microaggression experiences vary across immigrant and non-immigrant groups (Wong et al., 2014). Despite the aforementioned exploration of microaggression experiences of immigrant populations, there is very little research on this topic with immigrant-origin youth specifically. One study of *testimonios* with US-born Chicana high school students demonstrates that racist nativist bias in schools impacts Latinx youth regardless of actual nativity, and therefore encourages future research to include this type of discrimination in the study of racial microaggressions (Huber, 2011). The limited existing research about immigrant experiences of microaggressions focuses on older populations—adults and college students—leaving a critical gap in the literature on microaggressions that does not include adolescents or high school students.

Identity Development

According to Erik Erikson, the task of adolescence is to achieve a stable sense of self during a period of transition that includes changing hormones, important social actors shifting from parents to peers, struggles for self-acceptance and acceptance from others, and negotiating group membership (Berzoff, 2016). The task of achieving a self also includes selecting values and roles for adult life and a process of both distinguishing oneself while also establishing a sense of unity and sameness with others (Hamman & Hendricks, 2007). Scholars note how Erikson and other ego psychologists have acknowledged the importance of environmental factors in achieving a stable sense of self, and of this Berzoff (2016) writes, "if adolescents are not supported in forming coherent identities through their personal strengths and societal supports, they run the risk of prematurely foreclosing their identities or of losing themselves in fanatical or exclusive commitments or through negative identifications" (p. 109). Erikson's understanding of

"negative identities," which can be created because of "identifications and roles, which at critical stages of development, had been presented to them as most undesirable or dangerous yet also as most real" (Erikson, 1959, p. 131) parallels the more recently appreciated concept of internalized oppression or internalized racism. Therefore, if aspects of identity are seen to be undesirable or dangerous, as minority ethnic and racial identities and immigrant status are often portrayed overtly and covertly in the United States through mainstream culture and media (Maneri & ter Wal, 2005), they could produce negative identifications.

Racial and ethnic identity development. Central to an understanding of identity development is exploration of racial and ethnic identity and its intersection with other areas of identity such as gender, sexual orientation, socioeconomic status, ability, and more. The literature shows a complicated interplay between the social constructs "ethnicity" and "race" and how they are defined and operationalized in the research (Helms & Talleyrand, 1996; Phinney, 1996) and neither theory nor research have come up with a unified definition (Phinney, 1990). Various theorists have suggested models for racial and ethnic identity development (e.g., Atkinson, Morten, & Sue, 1989; Cross, 1978; Kim, 1981) that range from ethnic-group-specific models, such as Helms' (1990) phase-model for White racial identity development, to ethnic-general models, such as Phinney's (1990) three-stage model of ethnic identity development in which an individual considers the role of ethnicity in their life, and moves from unexamined ethnic identity to exploration to an achieved sense of ethnic identity. Although ethnic identity development is said to occur in stages, recently, scholars have suggested that an individual does not necessarily progress through all stages sequentially (Knox, Lichtenberg, Moore & Jones, 1996), and that racial identity development occurs in response to various factors of family attitudes, physical characteristics, self-perceptions, and social interactions (Helms, 1990).

Adolescent racial and ethnic identity development. Important within the critical period of adolescence, then, is ethnic and racial identity development. According to a number of studies, teenagers' ethnic and racial status has a significant impact on their lives, including access to resources, social relationships, and identity (Pahl & Way, 2006; Quintana, 1998; Sellers & Shelton, 2003; Tummala-Narra & Sathasivam-Rueckert, 2016). Researchers note that "for adolescents of color, the adolescent identity search includes the exploration of the meanings of their ethnic group memberships in the context of White mainstream society" (Pahl & Way, 2006, p. 1403). Researchers have called for further exploration of the experiences of ethnic and racial minority adolescents, stating, "there is critical need for in-depth understandings of adolescents' experiences with identity development and stress, and the contexts in which they are produced" (Tummala-Narra & Sathasivam-Rueckert, 2016, p. 308). The literature also demonstrates that social supports, such as family, similar ethnic friends, and different ethnic friends, help with identity formation in school environments (Tummala-Narra, 2016). Feliciano (2009) argues that while much of the literature focuses on ethnic identity influencing educational trajectory, educational experiences and institutions play an important role in how racial and ethnic identities are formed. Our study aims to provide rich descriptions of experiences within the educational setting, a specific and important context for adolescent ethnic and racial identity development.

An important consideration within the context of ethnic identity development is social context and experiences of discrimination. Adolescents' development of ethnic selves is influenced by the individuals with whom they interact as well as by the broader society, a concept known as "social mirroring" (Suárez-Orozco 2000). While positive social mirroring can help in the negotiation of ethnic identity, negative social mirroring in the form of stereotyping and discrimination can be an obstacle in the creation of a positive sense of self (Suárez-Orozco,

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2000). As such, experienced discrimination may have lasting effects on the development of an individual's ethnic identity. Longitudinal research by Pahl and Way (2006) examined ethnic identity exploration and affirmation of Black and Latino adolescents and showed that perceived overt discrimination by peers predicted continuous ethnic identity exploration (Pahl & Way, 2006). However, the findings did not demonstrate the same levels of ethnic identity exploration when the discrimination came from adults, which may indicate that peers are more important social actors during this developmental period (Pahl & Way, 2006). Other literature highlights Erikson's theory about the impact of educators on adolescent identity development, and recommends that to help this process, teachers should reflect back students' areas of competence and mastery, interact with their students in a variety of settings, and create a "safe zone" for exploring the "dimensions of their identities" (Hamman & Hendricks, 2007). While the present study will focus on teacher discrimination experiences, it will be important for this and future research to distinguish between experiences of microaggressions from peers and from adults and the outcomes of each.

Ethnic identity is especially important to youth development, as it can either increase or alternatively sometimes buffer the experience of discrimination. While there is limited research with adolescents for this topic, some literature demonstrates that identification with an ethnic or racial group is an important factor in youth interpretation of experiences of discrimination, and is moderated by civic involvement (Chan & Latzman, 2014) and school climate (Closson et al., 2013). With adults, Sellers and Shelton (2003) examined the relationship between racial identity and experiences of discrimination of African Americans, and found that the more racial centrality participants had (i.e., how important being Black is to African Americans), the more they reported experiencing discrimination. The study also found that experiencing discrimination

was positively associated with psychological distress both in response to specific incidents and overall. On the other hand, strong racial ideology as well as the belief that other groups perceive African Americans negatively buffered individuals from the impact of perceived racial discrimination (Sellers & Shelton, 2003). Based on these findings, it appears ethnic identification either protects individuals from harmful effects of discrimination or instead makes them more expectant of discrimination and thus more susceptible to it.

The research demonstrates that ethnic identity buffers overt discrimination experiences. However, there is limited examination of how ethnic identity mediates covert discrimination and microaggressions and how identity formation is impacted by these experiences. Pahl and Way (2006) do not address microaggressions, which by their covert nature might have a different effect than overt discrimination. Sellers and Shelton (2003) study found that the most frequently experienced form of racial discrimination reported by participants was covert—"being ignored, overlooked, not given service; treated rudely or disrespectfully; others reacting to you as if they were afraid or intimidated" (Sellers & Shelton, 2003, p. 1087)—but their research was with adults rather than with youth. More subtle forms of discrimination are far more common than their overt counterparts, yet we still do not know how they influence adolescent identity development. Therefore, more study of the relationship between ethnic identity development and discrimination experiences with this age group is needed.

Immigrant-origin adolescents' identity development. Furthermore, immigrant youth may have a particular experience of identity development influenced not only by racial and ethnic identity but also by their immigration history. Volkan (2017), drawing on the work of the psychoanalyst Jelly van Essen, conceptualizes the immigrant adolescent experience as a "double mourning" process in which youth are simultaneously leaving their homeland and moving to a

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new country while also leaving their childhood images and attachments and transitioning to adulthood (p. 58). He also argues that as social networking and communication technology has grown, youth are exposed to many different perspectives and "struggle to find a place in-between or tenaciously hold on to specific aspects of their culture or history" (Volkan, 2017, p. 59). The process of identity formation for immigrant youth is further complicated by this double mourning, and thus indicates a need to hear directly from immigrant youth about how school experiences of disrespect and discrimination impact them in particular.

School Climate

Researchers agree that every school site has its own institutional climate and that this climate is paramount to the academic, emotional, social and physical well-being of its students (Bellmore, Nishina, You, & Ma, 2011; Stone & Han, 2005). School climate has been described as the milieu, atmosphere, or ecology of a school (Anderson, 1982). Although there is no specifically agreed upon definition of school climate, the literature reveals some common themes within school climate research, which include the quality and character of a school reflected in the norms, goal, values, interpersonal relationships, teaching and learning practices, as well as organizational structures (Cohen, McCabe, Michelli & Pickeral, 2009).

School climate affects students interpersonally, as well as on structural and systemic levels in organizational settings such as schools. For example, interpersonal level, positive school climate is associated with positive relationships, school connectedness, academic achievement and low dropout rates (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2009; McNeely, Nonnemaker, & Blum, 2002). On a systemic level, positive school climate is touted as a major contributor for effective schooling (Hoy, 1990), as having an impact on bullying and risk-taking

behaviors (Eliot, Cornell, Gregory & Fan, 2010; Klein, Cornell & Konold, 2012), and as promoting resilience in youth (Liebenberg, Theron, & Malindi, 2014).

Numerous studies attempt to examine how the general climate of a school can either improve or impair the student academic and social-emotional development (Benner & Graham, 2011; Eliot et al., 2010; Kosciw, Greytak, Bartkiewicz, Boesen & Palmer, 2012; Toleson, 2014). Combined, this body of research suggests that a positive school climate may be a protective factor in supporting academic success and emotional well-being for marginalized communities such as students of color, immigrant students, and students who identify as LGBTQ. Although there is little research on school climate with regards to racism and ethnic discrimination specifically, extensive research exists focusing on school climate and the experiences of LGBTQ identified youths (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2009; Eliot et al., 2010; Kosciw et al., 2012; McLaren, Schurmann, & Jenkins, 2015; Murdock & Bolch, 2005; Toleson, 2014).

While it would be remiss to assume that the experiences of discrimination on LGBTQ identified youths are the same as those who also hold other marginalized identities, the existing research can provide some insight into the protective factors of school climate on marginalized communities. For example, Eliot and colleagues (2010) found that a favorable school climate increased students' willingness to seek help against bullying at their schools. Bullying disproportionately affects students with marginalized identities such as belonging to the LGBTQ community (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2009), or being perceived as "other" due to ethnic minority or immigration status (Allen et al., 2013; Helms et al., 2012; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004; Smith, Allen, & Danley, 2007). The findings of this study suggest that vulnerable students are supported by positive school climate in which other members of the school community, including non-minority individuals, feel empowered to interrupt bullying. If students

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are willing to seek help against bullying in the general student population, it would follow that students might feel similarly willing to interrupt and seek help for incidents of racism and discrimination. Other studies demonstrate that positive school climate supports positive peer interactions, school belonging, academic achievement, and lower levels of disruptive behavior (Birkett, Espelage & Koenig, 2009; Klein et al., 2012; Murdock & Bolch, 2005).

The body of research indicates that school climate significantly affects various aspects of a student's social experience and plays an important role in mediating pro-social behaviors and socioemotional well-being. While these studies point to the importance of school climate and its effects on LGBTQ populations, there are presently, only a few studies to help us understand the connection between school climate and students of color social interactions (Bellmore et al., 2011; Benner & Graham, 2011; Stone & Han, 2005; Voight, Hanson, O'Malley, & Adekanye, 2015). Bellmore and colleagues (2011) found that a positive school climate combined with high proportions of same-ethnicity peers were associated with less peer-to-peer ethnic discrimination. Indicating that perceived school climate might be impacted by one's racial identity, Voight and colleagues (2015) found that African American and Hispanic students reported significantly lower levels of a sense of safety at school, school connectedness, and poorer adult-student relationships than their White peers. In a study that examined the connection between perceived discrimination, subsequent negative regard of school climate, and the ultimate effects on academic achievement, Benner and Graham (2011) concluded that an indirect positive correlation exists between perceived discrimination and academic outcomes (as measured by grades and absenteeism) vis-á-vis perceived school climate. A similar quantitative study conducted by Stone and Han (2005) found that, perceived school "quality"—here understood as school climate—was a relevant factor in predicting experiences of discrimination. Another

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relevant study began to explore the influence of teachers' racial identity on treatment of race and ethnicity, and facilitation of dialogue, in their classrooms and found that "White racial membership and cultural positionality have been shown to have implications for teacher/student interactions in ways that limit minority student academic achievement" (Liggett, 2008, p. 396-97). This study also demonstrated that while numbers of students of color are continually rising, there is a severe lack of racial diversity amongst teachers, as 86 percent of elementary and secondary teachers are White (Liggett, 2008). As such, various elements of school climate are likely to be relevant to racial and ethnic minority experiences of racial microaggressions by teachers in schools, including school ethnic diversity, teacher racial identity, sense of safety at school, and school connectedness.

One particularly important element of school climate is student-teacher relationships. Studies of immigrant youth in schools have demonstrated the importance of connections with school-based adults and teacher outreach to parents to support youth development (Marks et al., 2014), social and academic adaptation, and student effort and motivation (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2008). Yet other research shows how relationships between teachers and immigrant origin students and families deteriorates steadily across immigrant generations (Peguero & Bondy, 2011). Furthermore, Suárez-Orozco and colleagues' (2008) Longitudinal Immigrant Student Adaptation Study demonstrated that teachers have negative expectations of immigrant-origin students, particularly students of color, and that while many students may have positive impressions of teachers they rarely turn to them for help. Their data revealed that only 6% of immigrant youth participants would go to teachers with a problem, only 21% named a teacher as someone who respected them, and a devastatingly low 3% named teachers as someone who was proud of them (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2008). These findings drive the present study's focus on

student experiences of disrespect by teachers and immigrant-origin students' help-seeking behaviors. Furthermore, participants in their study discussed "indifference and cultural insensitive they experienced while interacting with some adults at their schools" and talked about teachers not caring enough about students' feelings and treating their work like it is "just a job" (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2008, p. 134). In their recommendations for reform, Suárez-Orozco and colleagues (2008) draw the link between school-based adults and state that "strong and compassionate leadership, engaging teachers, and involved counselors and other staff can set a tone of respect, high expectations, and tolerance" (p. 367) The present study begins to examine the relationship between experiences of teacher disrespect towards immigrant-origin students, teacher treatment of race and ethnicity in classrooms, and teacher-student relationships in schools.

Other research suggests that additional elements of school climate impact the educational and social outcomes of immigrant-origin youth. One study on punishment in schools show that disproportionate school discipline affects educational and economic outcomes of immigrant-origin students (Peguero et al., 2015). Another study has found that student perceptions of their school climate shapes their engagement and academic achievement and is impacted by factors of nativity (i.e., U.S.-born or foreign-born), how the school compares to previous educational experience, student-teacher and peer relationships, and perceptions of school disorder (Pong & Zeiser, 2012). Further research has shown that racial and ethnic congruence in a school (i.e., the percentage of same-race/ethnic peers at school) as well as the perception of belonging impacts mental health outcomes and both variables are associated with fewer emotional and behavioral problems for immigrant-origin youth (Georgiades, Boyle, & Fife, 2013).

The results of the aforementioned studies indicate that there is indeed a connection between perceived ethnic or racial discrimination and school climate. Additionally, studies that examine immigrant-origin youth and school climate factors show that school climate and teacher-student relationships have an impact on academic, social, and mental health outcomes for this particular population of students. However, little is known about whether school climate can protect against specific types of discriminations (i.e., microaggressions) and the mechanisms for how school climate impacts experiences of immigrant-origin youth in particular.

Immigrant-Origin Adolescents and Current Political Climate

Immigrant-origin adolescents, defined as youth born outside of the United States as well as second- and third-generation youth from immigrant families, are an important subgroup within the larger population of ethnic minority youth. Demographic information about the United States indicates that immigrant-origin youth are a large percentage of the population. At the time of their publication, Marks and colleagues (2014) stated that "16 million children have at least one immigrant parent comprising 23% of the population" and "25% of the U.S. population under age 10 is either a first- (foreign-born) or second- (U.S.-born to foreign-born parents) generation immigrant" (p. 59). Other research estimates that the children of immigrants will comprise a third of the United States population by 2020 (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2008). Additionally, immigrant-origin adolescents face a different combination of stressors related to development and bicultural identity than non-immigrant adolescents, such as negative stereotyping and racial discrimination, limited financial resources, and language barriers, as well as the challenge of sustaining a connection with the heritage culture and sense of belonging in mainstream context (Tummala-Narra & Sathasivam-Rueckert, 2016). As such, it is important for our study to explore

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microaggression experiences, responses, and outcomes of adolescents within this population in particular, as a subgroup of the larger study.

Furthermore, recent events make the study of immigrant-origin youth experiences both timely and essential. Though anti-immigrant sentiment has existed for years in the United States, the 2016 election season was characterized by mainstream media coverage of racially-loaded anti-immigrant rhetoric and policy which has reverberated through the American psyche and likely has an impact on individual interactions, including in schools. The Southern Poverty Law Center surveyed teachers who said that many students, mainly immigrants, children of immigrants, and Muslims, expressed fears about what might happen to them after the election (Costello, 2016). The study found "an alarming level of fear and anxiety among children of color" and an "inflaming of racial and ethnic tensions in the classroom" (Costello, 2016). Furthermore, there have been increased levels of bullying, harassment, and intimidation amongst students, particularly targeting students whose races, religions, and nationalities have been targets on the campaign trail (Costello, 2016). After the election, these trends continued and even worsened, as large numbers of hate incidents were reported all across the nation, the largest portion of which were in K-12 schools and on university campuses (Potok, 2017). The post-election context includes implementation of campaign promises, including the erection of a wall between Mexico and the United States, the executive order barring entry of refugees from seven Muslim countries, and expanded reach of immigration enforcement and deportation officers (Shear & Nixon, 2017; Stack, 2017). Though recent statements by the President seem more positive towards "Dreamers," the name given to young undocumented immigrants protected by the Obama-era DACA program (Kopan & Jarrett, 2017), the administration has not ruled out ending protections and has done little to quell the fears of these youth (Davis & Steinhauer,

2017). Given that the pre-election season had a strong impact on classroom dynamics and immigrant youth, recent events carrying out campaign promises on immigration likely heighten those effects and therefore make important our inquiry into classroom interactions and immigrant-origin youth's experiences of injustice and discrimination.

Summary

The literature reviewed here has demonstrated the need for further research on immigrant-origin adolescents' experiences of subtle forms of discrimination in school settings to address critical gaps in the existing microaggressions literature. Much of the research on microaggressions focuses on adults and on college settings and populations, leaving out youth experiences. The limited research that has addressed racial discrimination with younger populations more often examines overt racism rather than subtle racism. It is especially necessary to examine experiences of disrespect and discrimination by both peers and adults the educational environment, as well as the impact of school climate, as school is an important setting in which youth spend much of their time. Furthermore, theoretical writing on the uniqueness of immigrant-origin youth experiences, limited prior research with immigrant youth populations, and the current political climate's impact on the school environment demonstrates a clear need for exploration of immigrant-origin youth experiences of microaggressions in schools.

CHAPTER III

Methodology

Purpose of Study

In this study, I will explore immigrant-origin adolescents' experiences of injustice in the classroom. I have a chosen a qualitative framework in order to center youth voices in this research and provide rich descriptions of such experiences. Previous studies have called for such exploration of immigrant origin youth experiences, stating, "there is critical need for in-depth understandings of adolescents' experiences with identity development and stress, and the contexts in which they are produced" (Tummala-Narra & Sathasivam-Rueckert, 2016, p. 308). My primary research question guiding this study is, *how do immigrant-origin adolescents experience disrespect, injustice, and discrimination by teachers and administrators in their school settings?* Within this question, I ask the following questions:

(A) How do immigrant-origin students understand and respond to experiences of disrespect, injustice, and discrimination?

(B) Are the stories of experiences of disrespect, injustice, and discrimination similar or different between immigrant-origin youth and ethnic/racial minority youth who do not have an immigrant background?

(C) Do interpretations of and responses to experiences of disrespect, injustice, and discrimination differ based on generation status of immigrant-origin youth?

To explore these questions, I will also examine whether the stories of these experiences are similar or different for adolescents from immigrant families versus adolescents who are not from immigrant families. Based on previous research (Singer, Huang, & Audley, 2016) I suspect that research participants will describe experiences of microaggressions when asked about injustices and discrimination, and as such, this research will contribute to gaps in the literature around microaggressions in high school settings.

Methodological Framework

This qualitative, exploratory study used narrative methodology to explore immigrant-origin high school students' experiences of disrespect and discrimination in school in addition to utilizing self-report survey data about demographic information and immigration background. I used demographic data about ethnicity, country of origin, generation status of participants and their families, languages spoken, and pride in various aspects of identity to help describe my sample, as these factors have been identified by the literature as important to examine.

I took a qualitative approach in my study of immigrant-origin youth's experiences of microaggressions in high school in order to explore a phenomenon that has been given little attention in the research. As previously demonstrated, the literature on microaggressions focuses on college-aged populations and adults and does not examine high school settings, and does not focus even more particularly on immigrant-origin youth, and therefore this research is exploratory and based primarily in inductive reasoning. A qualitative methodology is most appropriate my exploratory research questions as it is designed "not to test preformulated hypotheses but to discover what people think, how they act, and why, in some social setting" and "determine the meaning people give to their lives and actions" (Engel & Schutt, 2017, p. 258-259). Furthermore, the qualitative methodology of examining narratives allows new information

and themes to come to light and does not limit the responses of participants, and thus empowers youth voices. Additionally, the counter-storytelling theoretical framework informs our choice to use narrative interviews to examine the phenomenon of injustice in school settings. Solórzano and Yosso (2002) note that research about people of color is often distorted, "deficit informed," and racialized, and propose the use of critical race methodology and specifically of "counter-stories" that grounds research in the experiences and knowledge of people of color (p. 26).

Sample

The sample for my study is 12 current high school students and 3 recent high school graduates ranging in age from 15 to 21 (see Table 1). The participant information has been summarized to protect participants' identities and is meant to project an overall snapshot of the sample. The demographic information about participants will be discussed in further detail in the Findings chapter.

Participants from the larger research project were included in my data set if they were currently enrolled in or recently graduated from high school and identified as part of an ethnic or racial minority. My study includes both immigrant-origin adolescents and non-immigrant-origin adolescents in order to compare the experiences of these different categories of students. In this study, immigrant-origin is defined by being born outside of the U.S. or having at least one parent, grandparent, or great-grandparent that was born outside of the U.S. Youth were excluded from the study if they are not U.S. citizens nor fluent in English in order to protect students with undocumented status and because youth needed to speak English fluently be able to participate in the interview. I had originally intended to only include currently enrolled high school students, but because of the difficulty recruiting for this study I expanded my population to include

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emerging adults who were recent high school graduates and could reflect on their high school

experiences in their narratives.

Table 1		
Participant Demographic Form Data		

<u>Age</u>
21 (1)
18 (6)
17 (5)
16 (1)
15 (1)
Unknown (1)
	<u>Gender</u>
	Female (10)
	Male (3)
	Unknown (2)
		<u>Class Year</u>
		High school (12)
		  - Freshman (1)
		  - Sophomore (1)
		  - Junior (1)
		  - Senior (9)
		Recent graduates (3)

<u>Immigrant-Origin & Generation Status</u>
Immigrant-origin (12)
  - First generation (3)
  - Second generation (7)
  - Third generation (2)
Non-immigrant origin (1)
Unknown (2)
	<u>Race/Ethnicity (write-in)</u>
	Korean
	Vietnamese
	Chinese & Vietnamese
	Filipino
	Filipino & Spanish
	Indian
	Eritrean
	White & African American (mixed)
	Black (2)
	Black American
	Black, Caribbean, Jamaican
	Dominican American
	Mexican
	Venezuelan & Native American	

<u>High School Geographic Location</u>
Western Massachusetts (4)
San Francisco Area (8)
Unknown (3)
	<u>School Demographics</u>
	Students
	  - Mostly POC (6)
	  - Evenly POC and White (1)
	  - Mostly White (5)
	  - Unknown (3)
	Teachers
	  - Mostly POC (1)
	  - Evenly POC and White (4)
	  - Mostly White (7)
	  - Unknown (3)
	Ethnicity well-represented at school
	  - Yes (6)
	  - No (8)
	  - Unknown (1)	

In order to compare narratives of immigrant-origin youth and non-immigrant-origin youth, I intended to include equal numbers of participants from each category and use demographic matching of race and ethnicity, gender, and age to select participants for the control group. However, I had trouble recruiting sufficient numbers of adolescents who were not considered immigrant-origin for the comparison group because many students in the United States have parents, grandparents, or great-grandparents who immigrated here. Additionally, I had hoped to have more even distribution of participants with different immigrant generation status but the majority of participants identified as second-generation (at least one parent born outside of the U.S.) and there were fewer first- and third-generation immigrant-origin youth.

It is important to note that our research team recruited participants from two very different geographic locations, and in addition to regional differences, there are also other key differences in these areas including but not limited to racial and ethnic makeup of the population, socioeconomic factors and cost of living, number of immigrants and types of immigrant communities, accessibility of resources, etc. As such, each researcher used a unique code specific to them when de-identifying the data in order to capture the location in which the interview was conducted. Additionally, to gather more information about the environment of the school, students were asked if most students in their school are people of color, if the population of the school is more evenly distributed between White students and students of color, or if most students are White-identified. We also captured the racial makeup of the teacher population by asking students to report on these same three categories.

It is also important to recognize the limitations to generalizability of this study due to my small sample size, the different characteristics particular to our two geographic locations, and the challenges related to self-report data about school demographics. Additionally, because

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participants for my study were recruited primarily in a purposive manner through youth programming in local communities and student leadership groups, my sample omits youth in this population who are not engaged in such programs.

Recruitment

Prior to recruitment for this study, I obtained a waiver from the HSR for approval of this study (Appendix A) as the study was previously approved by Smith College Institutional Review Board in 2015 (Appendix B) and for continuation in 2016 (Appendix C) to ensure that ethical standards were maintained. In addition, because our research team modified the procedures of the approved study to include demographic and survey questions, we also received contingent IRB approval (Appendix D) and then full IRB approval our modified procedures (Appendix E).

Individual recruitment procedure. To recruit participants for this research I used purposive, non-random sampling to find participants that meet the inclusion criteria discussed above. In particular I chose to target local after-school programs, organizations working on youth empowerment, community centers, and individuals connected to youth-focused programming in the Berkshires area of Western Massachusetts. I chose this method because I am unfamiliar with the area in which I conducted my research and do not have connections to the local community, and therefore by going through stakeholders who have already engaged youth and gained their trust would give me access to this difficult-to-reach population. I contacted directors of youth programs, youth and community centers, student of color groups, school adjustment counselors, and organizations serving the local immigrant population by email with letters of interest to describe the purpose of the research project and inclusion information, and ask to recruit through their program or site. If they were interested, and based on their preference, I would either engage in indirect recruitment or direct, in-person recruitment. I created a range of recruitment

options for the organizations and individuals I contacted to choose from so that the recruitment could be appropriate to their needs, policies, and populations. I contacted roughly 30 different organizations or people about my research project and recruitment, received responses from almost all of them either to express interest or state that they could not get involved with the research project, and followed up with 10 for further recruitment.

Indirect recruitment methods took various forms to including paper flyer posted at the program site or electronic distribution of the flyer through email, social media, text-messaging, and message boards. All of the indirect methods of communication included my phone number and email so that youth could reach me with questions or to request to participate (see Appendix F for the flyer image). I would follow-up with these contacts by providing parental consent forms (Appendix G) and arranging times to meet for data collection. For the direct, in-person recruitment option, I arranged with directors to attend meetings to pitch the research project directly to youth. I would go to a regularly-scheduled meeting, program, or class and talk to youth about the study, answer questions, and provide parental consent forms for students to take home. I also provided extra copies of consent forms to my contacts at these organizations in case they wanted to pass them along to others. Parental consent forms were translated into languages identified by the larger group of researchers as appropriate to the community in which we did the research, including Spanish, French, and Mandarin, yet these were not needed during my own direct recruitment process. At some locations, I arranged to return to a subsequent meeting or class to begin collecting data once the parental consent forms had been signed. At others, youth provided contact information so that I could arrange times for data collection with them directly.

When we expanded the study to include emerging adults, I also distributed my flyers at two local colleges through electronic distribution and paper copies. However, I did not have any

participants contact me through this avenue of recruitment. Additionally, I did not intend to recruit through schools themselves as it may be difficult for students to talk about their experiences of discrimination by adults at their school if the study is seen to be affiliated with school faculty and staff. However, through a community engagement and learning program I was put in touch with Mount Greylock High School and conducted in-person recruitment during a peer leadership class and through word-of-mouth. More detailed information on the data collection process is included in the Data Collection section.

Group research members' recruitment procedures. In addition, as this is a group research project, participants were also recruited through purposeful sampling, described previously, and snowball sampling and in both Western Massachusetts and the San Francisco Bay area. Snowball sampling was included because the participants in our study—adolescents of color and immigrant-origin adolescents—are a special population and were difficult to locate (Rubin & Babbie, 2013). Both these types of recruitment procedures are common in qualitative research with "oppressed populations" (Knight, Roosa, & Umaña-Taylor, 2009).

To recruit high school participants through purposeful sampling, group members identified adolescent youth organizations that targeted youth of color or after school programs that were connected with high schools. Then, they emailed letters of interest to the organizations (Appendix H). These letters included the purpose of the study, information related to the research topic, and inclusion information. Group members followed up with additional emails or phone calls where appropriate, and coordinated a time to allow for talking to potential participants, tabling recruitment, or posting flyers. Once participants were interviewed, group members used a snowball procedure to encourage participants to tell their friends about this study.

Emerging adult populations were located by contacting local colleges and organizations that work with youth and either asking the organization to tell potential participants about this study and hand out assent forms, or email students who might be interested in participating in the study. Interested participants responded via email or an assent form indicating their interest worked with the interviewer to coordinate a time to be interviewed.

In order to provide ethical support for our participants, before we collected data at each adolescent after school organization the host site signed an agreement that they understood the purpose of our study and that they gave us permission to interview participants on their site. Recruitment in Western Massachusetts was conducted at multiple sites, including the three sites for which I obtained approval documents (Appendices I-K). Each organization also provided us with a point contact person in case any youth experienced difficulties during the interview or had questions regarding the nature of the interview questions or concerns following their reflection of injustice in schools.

Ethics and Safeguards

In order to maintain the confidentiality of our research participants, we de-identified our data with the following procedure: participant data was assigned a number at the time of the first data collection, whether that be the interview or the survey, and the name that corresponds with each number was kept only for purposes of participant withdrawal. The list of names associated with numbers was kept in hard copy form in a secure, locked location by the principal investigator, Shannon Audley. Interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed at a later date by rev.com and interviewers also took written notes during the interview. If assent was not given for audio recording, interviewers took as detailed notes as possible. Before the interview, participants were informed that they could refuse to answer any questions or stop the interview at

any time. We also cautioned participants not to give names of teachers and peers in their responses nor reveal undocumented status of any individuals identified in the stories. If individuals were named in participant narratives we de-identified them during transcription using fake names. In addition, students were asked to rate their mood before and after the interview (Appendix L) in order to monitor whether or not the interviews were unnecessarily stressful to the participants.

When we asked about experiences of disrespect and unfair treatment, we anticipated the possibility of hearing stories of physical harm or abuse. If physical harm was mentioned in participants' stories of disrespect, and if the participant did not state that they already reported the incident to school authorities, we followed-up with the participant at the end of the interview. We asked, "Is there any incident that you told us about today that you would like for us to report to the school counselor?" If the participant says yes, then we asked if we could provide identifying information to the school counselor and with participant consent, we reported the incident to the school counselor within five days. We also followed the guidelines of mandated reporting in the NASW Code of Ethics. Additionally, we anticipated that students may encounter feelings of distress when talking about experiences of injustice at school in our interviews. As such, we provided a list of resources to participants in case they would like to seek support. These resources included information about local mental health services, social justice organizations, and local and national hotlines, in addition to the point contact person identified by the site/organization (Appendix M).

It is important to note that our researchers' identities play a role in this study. Our research aims to address issues of racial injustice in schools, which research has shown is often perpetrated by teachers, many of whom are White and female. The five researchers in this study

identify as White and female. Students may be hesitant to share their stories about difficult encounters with adults in their school, and particularly if the researchers share similar identities. Conversely, participants may be eager to share their stories with White-identified researchers who are interested in hearing about their experiences. Furthermore, my own personal and professional experiences influence my perspective around this topic. As a former educator and as a professional who has worked with immigrant-origin populations in multiple settings, my experiences may influence the way I am thinking about student stories.

Risks and Benefits of Participation

There were several risks to consider for this study. The participants may have felt uncomfortable when discussing their views on respect or disrespect in the classroom. Participants were reminded that they could stop the interview at any time, or choose to not answer a question in the interview. It is possible that the participants might feel uncomfortable or distressed with the questions concerning disrespect. Participants were reminded that they could skip questions at any time or stop the survey at any time. The order of the questions and the inclusion of positive questions have been purposively arranged to diminish distress, so that participants end thinking about a positive school experience. In addition, all participants were debriefed, reminded about the positive impact of the study, and given the debriefing sheet on discrimination resources.

Although this study had potential risks for participants, it also provides important benefits. Participants may have enjoyed sharing their opinions and experiences with others. Additionally, participants may have benefited from a self-reflection about their own behaviors and their experience with respect and disrespect in the classroom. There was compensation for participants' time as well. For the survey, if a participant filled out at least one question, we

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entered those wishing to participate in a drawing for $25 gift cards. In addition, the participants who completed the interview were given a $5 gift card to Amazon.

We feel that there are additional potential benefits for society from this research. This research provides a more nuanced picture of youth's experiences in schools, both positive and negative experiences. Likewise, we can also compare the school experiences form White students and students of color to document and expose any differences. This will allow, parents, teacher, school administrators, and teacher education to be more informed about microaggressions and their impacts on both the academic and psychosocial functioning of adolescents in high school. This research may also inform school interventions at all levels—on an individual level, in classrooms, and school-wide. More so, by understanding the protective factors that some youth use to navigate both disrespectful and microaggressive experiences, we can inform parents, teachers, school administrators, and the youth themselves of steps that they can take to make the school experience a more harmonious one for everyone.

By understanding how youth successfully navigate disrespectful experiences, and by highlighting what they see as respectful experiences, we can teach children how to effectively deal with feeling disrespected in a way that promotes social harmony, rather than discord, and identify children early on that are experiencing difficulties and provide interventions and classroom solutions. We can also help teachers and social workers identify unintentional behaviors that their students deem disrespectful as a way to promote social harmony in the classroom.

Data Collection

Data for this study was collected by five different researchers: the principal researcher, Shannon Audley, and four MSW students at Smith College School for Social Work. The larger

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study consisted of two parts: an interview and a survey. The interview portion of our study was a brief, semi-structured, narrative-focused, in-person interview that lasted approximately 45 minutes as well as a questionnaire to collect demographic information (see Appendix N for the demographic questionnaire for high school participants and Appendix O for emerging adult participants). To ensure as much consistency as possible across the five researchers conducting interviews, the interview followed a script and had standardized follow-up questions (see Appendix P for the script for high school participants and Appendix Q for emerging adult participants). The design of the interview was heavily based on methodology commonly used in narrative research (Wainryb, Brehl, Matwin, Sokol, & Hammond, 2005), and thus is considered reliable and valid. More so, our particular interview questions were developed through a pilot study with high school students in Western Massachusetts by the principal researcher and undergraduate assistants to determine their suitability for the sample population. The survey portion includes quantitative measures about microaggressions and everyday discrimination, school climate, bystander dynamics, mental health, and academic motivation and took about 40 minutes to complete. As the survey was not included in this study, it will not be discussed further.

The general data collection procedure is as follows. Before collecting any data, parental consent forms were collected first. Once parental consent forms were distributed and completed, youth were contacted about participating in the study. Then, youth assent forms (Appendix R for high school and Appendix S for emerging adult) were signed and collected, and participants were informed of their rights to refuse to answer, stop the interview, or withdraw from the study altogether as detailed in previous sections. Then, the survey was administered. All interactions ended with the debriefing form (described later). My data procedure included the following. At

the time of the interview, I first collected the parental consent form if participants were younger than 18. I then explained the study to the participant and reviewed the youth assent form with them. Participants were informed that they could refuse to answer any questions, that they could stop the interview at any time, and that they have the right to withdraw their data from the research study any time before May 5th, our adjusted final date for data collection. Students chose whether or not to be audio-recorded for the interview. Students signed the consent form and then we began the interview. After the interview, participants completed a demographic information sheet. Participants were also provided with a debriefing form with more information about the study, websites and sources for additional reading, and resources should students want support following their participation in the research project (for more information, see "Ethics and Safeguards").

After interviewing participants, I invited them to participate in the optional survey on their own time and were provided either a hard-copy of the survey or an electronic copy by email. As my particular study is purely qualitative in nature and focuses on narrative data from the interviews, I did not include the quantitative data from the survey in my analysis.

In the interviews, participants provided oral narratives about experiences in their school setting. Part I asked them to talk about a time in school in which they were disrespected or made to feel disrespected by a teacher and a time when they were disrespected by a classmate or peer. The researcher alternated the order of these two types of narratives (i.e., teacher disrespect first versus peer disrespect first) to control for question order. After the student finished telling the full narrative, the interview focused on a series of standardized questions to gather more detail about how participants responded to the disrespect experience, if anyone witnessed the event and intervened, why the participant thought it occurred and what made it disrespectful, and the

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participant's emotional response to the experience at the time using a Likert-type scale for responses such as "angry," "hurt," "humiliated," "sad," "confused," and "ashamed." Participants were also asked how they feel now about the experience, whether or not they forgave the person, and whether or not they retaliated. Part II asked about a time when a teacher or adult at school earned the participant's respect, and followed a similar format to the previous section with follow-up questions. In the Likert-type scale in this section, the emotional responses were "proud," "surprised," "happy," and "grateful." Part III asked general questions about respect and disrespect as well as the treatment of race, ethnicity, and racism at the participant's school (see Appendix P and Q for full set of interview questions). We also asked the participant for the perceived race and gender of the persons included in the story.

Specific to my research questions, I collected demographic information from participants related to their immigrant background. I created these questions based on my review of the literature about immigrant-origin youth which found various factors to be important to identity development and how youth experience discrimination, including generation status, number of years in living in the U.S. for first generation immigrants, language(s) spoken at home and with friends, and pride in ethnic and national identities. Based on what we learned from the pilot study, generation status was assessed by questions about students' family members that they currently live with and whether or not at least one parent, grandparent, or great-grandparent was born outside of the United States.

Racial Concordance

Given that the current study aimed to explore youth experiences of disrespect and microaggressions, and in doing so had students reflect their various social identities (race, class,

immigrant status, gender identity, etc.), it is imperative that the researchers of this study also place ourselves and the present research within the tapestry of social locations and identity.

As a team comprised completely of White-identified, cis-female interviewers, we know that certain visible aspects of our social identities have the potential to proceed us and be apparent in any given interview situation. More so, because we are exploring racial microaggressions, ethnic identity will likely be a present, salient identity for both us and our participants. As such, it is important that we acknowledge the barrier that our own social location might create for some students wanting to be open and honest in an interview. Indeed, this team of researchers likely looks more like the teachers who have committed racial microaggressions and disrespected students than like the students whose voices we are aiming to elevate. We have grounded our thinking about the significance of racial concordance and the researcher-participant dynamic by reviewing literature from the fields of medical services, mental health services, behavioral and social science research and education research.

Significant research has been done regarding racial concordance in physician-patient dyads. Racial concordance, or "race matching," came into focus as health disparities among people of color (in particular, among African Americans) gained increased attention in the medical and research fields (Cooper et al., 2003; Ford & Airhihenbuwa, 2010; Quinn et al., 2012; Street, O'Malley, Cooper, & Haidet, 2008). While some of these disparities have been attributed to systems issues and structural problems, Cooper and colleagues (2003) point to research indicating "that African Americans were almost twice as likely as their White counterparts (16% versus 9%) to report being treated with disrespect during a recent health care visit" (p. 907), which we can contextualize in the medical field which has long been dominated by White providers. Their findings also suggest that race-concordant visits were slightly longer

and had higher rates of positive patient attitudes. Similar to other research findings in this review, Cooper and colleagues' (2003) findings suggest that race concordance is one among several factors that suggest increased positive patient affect. Other factors, related to but also found to be independent of race concordance, are mutual liking and respect, sense of group affiliation, enhanced trustworthiness and positive expectations (Cooper et al., 2003).

Race concordance has also been researched within mental health services and psychiatry (Alegría et al., 2013; Cabral & Smith, 2011; Maramba & Nagayama Hall, 2002). Alegría and colleagues' (2013) research of racial concordance in mental health intake visits supports the assertion that racial concordance "matters for continuance of care" (p. 194). This research used initial mental health visits as a proxy for continuance of care and hypothesized that White and Latino concordant dyads respectively would experience higher levels of working alliance and patient centeredness. Their findings suggest that their hypothesis was correct, particularly with Latino patient-clinician dyads whose sessions had a more socioemotional focus. Latino clinicians in these dyads "tended to express more concern [toward clients] than clinicians in other dyads" (Alegría et al., 2013, p. 195). The results indicate that while racial matching may not be necessary for all, "it's probable that it does matter for certain individuals [...] the challenge is to identify what works and for whom" (Alegría et al., 2013, p. 195).

Maramba and Nagayama Hall's (2002) meta-analysis findings suggest that ethnic matching between therapist and patient is seen as a proxy for cultural match in the therapeutic relationship. They indicate important elements of cultural match as follows: "shared language, understanding the client's cultural background, and an openness to modifying treatment" (p. 294). Cabral and Smith (2011) report similar findings; that race serves as one visibly identifiable marker upon which people look to signal the less visible, more nuanced element of openness and

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ability to build relationship. These findings suggest that perhaps the reality of racial concordance is the bolstering it provides to put people at ease in the early stages of mental health services, regardless of whether it makes a significant difference in long-term effects of treatment.

Another study demonstrates the importance that has been placed on recruiting underrepresented minority populations over the past 20 years in research endeavors (Fryer et al., 2015). Echoing the research previously reviewed, their study suggests that there are factors independent of race that determine researcher ability to recruit participants of color. Studying the impact of racial concordance between investigator and interviewee for behavioral and social science related research, Fryer and colleagues (2015) found that their participants indicated being "really connected" and having "self-reflection" as important in their work (pp. 7-9). These researchers' themes echo those reviewed above: cultural sensitivity, ability to see one's own vulnerabilities, humility, and honesty.

Although the reviewed literature suggests that our lack of racial concordance might inhibit our connection with participants and thus alter the findings of our study, several other studies point to some of the shortcomings of racial concordance when relied upon as the only fixture for relationship building. Cabral and Smith (2011) use "consensus bias" to describe "the assumption of greater similarity than actually exists." They expand upon this, stating: "people of the same race/ethnicity may not share the same worldview, and people of different races/ethnicities may have compatible worldviews" (p. 544). In the present study, the fact that our research is focused on students' experiences of disrespect and microaggressions and centers the voices of students can certainly be understood as a potentially compatible worldview. Meaning, even though we may not have racial concordance with participants of color, the focus of the research itself (and related recruitment materials, information provided to participants

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about the research, etc.), provides some assurance to our participants that we have the sensitivity, humility, and trustworthiness to create a comfortable holding space for their stories to emerge.

In his article "Race, Culture, and Researcher Positionality: Working Through Dangers Seen, Unseen, and Unforeseen," Milner (2007) expands CRT to the work of educational research. Milner (2007) emphasizes the importance of attention to race and racism within educational research, articulating that there are significant dangers in a strictly "color-blind" approach. He specifically advocates for "disrupting and extending notions of normality [...] disrupting deficit discourses and beliefs [... and] disrupting and extending the socioeconomic status rationale" (Milner, 2007, pp. 389-390). As a critical race theorist, Milner reviews educational research and policies that adhere to a color-blind approach and finds that there are often unintended consequences, including a tendency to caste events as isolated incidents or simply silencing the experiences of students of color. Milner's primary recommendation is a framework for researcher racial and cultural positionality which includes critically engaging with self-reflection and examination on the part of the researcher; placing race and racism at the core of the inquiry; and centering the voices of students of color, particularly through narrative and counter-narrative accounts. By acknowledging the value and importance of the voices of students of color, the present research is working against the grain of much of the educational research to which Milner points. Indeed, in alignment with his proposed framework, our study is focused on creating more space for the exploration of the experiences of students of color and their counter-narratives. Careful self-reflection and examination on the part of us as researchers is also a mandate for the success of our research. While we are all White-identified social work students, we are each committed to anti-racism work both in this research, in our various communities, and in our lives.

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In reviewing the literature regarding racial concordance across various fields (medical services, mental health services, behavioral and social science research and education research) there is support for the assertion that "race matching" can put patients, clients and participants at a greater sense of ease. However, there is also significant research to support that "race matching" is not the only factor in successful dyads across the aforementioned fields. In the case of present research, the importance of cultural humility, sensitivity, honesty and compatible world-view between researcher and participant cannot be underestimated. With critical self-reflection and focus on counter-storytelling, our research endeavors to center the experiences of students of color and the conversation about race, racism and disrespect in classrooms.

Data Analysis

My overarching research question is, *how do immigrant-origin adolescents experience disrespect, injustice, and discrimination by teachers and administrators in their school settings?* Within this question, I ask the following questions: *(A) How do immigrant-origin students understand and respond to experiences of disrespect, injustice, and discrimination? (B) Are the stories of experiences of disrespect, injustice, and discrimination similar or different between immigrant-origin youth and ethnic/racial minority youth who do not have an immigrant background? (C) Do interpretations of and responses to experiences of disrespect, injustice, and discrimination differ based on generation status of immigrant-origin youth?*

In the analysis of the participants' narratives, I conducted thematic and content analysis and used a simultaneous inductive and deductive process (Braun & Clarke, 2006). In the deductive approach to my data, I used the findings within the literature about this topic to inform my research questions and generate possible themes for the codebook. These findings include the diverging theories of the immigrant paradox and acculturative stress theory, as well as other

factors that influence immigrant-origin adolescent identity development and experiences of discrimination. In the inductive process, I used early narrative data to inform the variables in my codebook. Specifically, I coded and categorized the text of initial participant interview transcripts into phrases and themes and identified relationships between these units of analysis, and incorporated those into my codebook to use when analyzing the rest of my data. I updated the codebook throughout the analysis process to allow for new information to arise from the narratives, in keeping with the study's exploratory approach.

The narrative analysis took each participant's story of disrespect as a whole and thematic analysis considered different patterns and topics that arise in students' stories and responses to general questions about respect, disrespect, and teacher treatment of race and ethnicity in the classroom and the school. My analysis followed the six phases of thematic analysis described by Braun and Clarke (2006), which are familiarizing yourself with the data, generating initial codes, searching for themes, reviewing themes, defining and naming themes, and producing the report to form a concise, coherent, logical, non-repetitive story of the data. Based on the literature, my deductive themes included experiences of disrespect being related to the students' ethnicity, race, language, academic performance, gender, and immigrant status and perceived level of acculturation, as well as themes of retaliation and/or forgiveness, help-seeking behavior through school structures versus through social supports or patterns of isolation, and wide-ranging emotional reactions to such experiences. In addition to these expectations, in using inductive coding, I also identified other themes within the data that were not identified in the literature. I also conducted content analysis to examine the frequency of occurrences of certain words, phrases, and themes in the data set.

In the interest of time, interviews were transcribed by an outside source—rev.com, a transcribing service chosen by the principal investigator—rather than by the researchers in this project. Given the small data set I was able to code all of the of interview transcripts myself, which eliminates the possibility of coding variability due to having different coders. Additionally, I conducted second and third readings of each transcript in order to maximize the yield from the data.

CHAPTER IV

Findings

This exploratory study sought to elucidate immigrant-origin youth experiences of disrespect and injustice in their school settings and examine the impact of identity factors such as generation status and pride. This chapter contains the findings from 15 participants' semi-structured interviews reflecting on (a) their experiences of disrespect by teachers and administrators in their high schools, (b) their responses to these experiences, and (c) their observations about disrespect in schools and about teacher treatment of race and ethnicity in the classroom. The seven major themes extracted from the data are that (1) immigrant-origin students experience both racial microaggressions and other types of disrespect by teachers; (2) some teacher-student interactions and disrespect experiences relate specifically to immigrant-origin identity; (3) students respond in a wide variety of ways to such experiences including direct confrontation or inaction, retaliation, forgiveness, and by seeking help and reporting incidents; (4) some teachers are sensitive and thoughtful about their treatment race and ethnicity in the classroom and others are unaware and act in harmful ways; (4) teachers' racial sensitivity and school demographics may influences the occurrence and understanding of these experiences (5) teachers are models for student behavior around race and ethnicity; (6) the political climate influences school and classroom dynamics; and (7) disrespect experiences have a long-lasting impact on students.

This chapter will be organized into seven sections and begins with an explanation of the demographic findings. The second section discusses participants' experiences of racial microaggressions by teachers. The third section addresses other types of disrespect and injustice experienced by participants. The fourth section addresses disrespect experiences related to immigrant-origin identity and other participant observations around immigrant status. The fifth section delves into participants' responses to disrespect experiences which includes themes of forgiveness, retaliation, and help-seeking. The sixth section explores relations between immigrant generation status, narratives about teacher disrespect and discrimination, and student responses. The seventh and final section explores teachers' racial sensitivity, school demographics, and the political climate as school climate factors relevant to students' experiences of racial microaggressions and teacher disrespect.

Section One: Demographic Data

A total of 15 individuals participated in in-person interviews about their experiences of disrespect in high school. Almost all participants answered all demographic questions and questions related to immigrant-origin identity. However, two participants did not provide complete demographic data because they were interviewed in the preliminary phase of the study and one participant did not return the demographic form. Additionally, three participants did not answer questions about pride because the interviewer used an incomplete version of the demographic form and one participant did not answer the questions about pride in country of origin for unknown reasons.

The participants' ages ranged from 15 to 21. The average current age for participants was 17.5 with a median age of 18 and a mode age of 18. 12 out of 15 participants were current high school students and the remaining three participants were recent high school graduates. Four

participants currently attend high school in Western Massachusetts and 8 participants attend high school in the San Francisco Bay area. The high school location for the remaining three participants is unknown. The majority of participants (n =13) were asked to write-in their race and/or ethnicity on the demographic form and two participants who were interviewed at an earlier stage in the research project were asked their race and/or ethnicity during the interview. Participants identified as "Korean," "Vietnamese," "Chinese/Vietnamese," "Filipino," "Filipino & Spanish," "Indian," "Eritrean," "White and African American (mixed)," "Black" ($n = 2$), "Black American," "Black, Caribbean, Jamaican," "Dominican American," "Mexican," and "Venezuelan/Native American." Additionally, participants were asked to identify the race that others most often perceive them to be, and these were Asian ($n = 5$), Black ($n = 5$), both White and Black ($n = 1$), both White and Latino ($n = 1$), and White ($n = 1$) (this last participant talked about the experience of being "White passing." The remaining two participants did not identify the racial category in which others see them.

Participants also self-reported on the general racial makeup of their high schools. 40% of participants ($n = 6$) reported that the student body was mostly people of color, 6.7% ($n = 1$) reported that there were equal numbers of students of color and White students, and 33.3% of participants ($n = 5$) reported that their schools were mostly White students. Regarding the racial makeup of teachers in their high schools, 6.7% of participants ($n = 1$) said that teachers were mostly people of color, 26.7% of participants reported equal numbers of teachers of color and White teachers, and 46.7% of participants reported mostly White teachers. Twenty percent of participants ($n = 3$) did not provide this school demographic data.

Participants were asked about their immigrant-origin background and generation status by identifying whether or not they were born outside of the United States (first generation), and

whether or not at least one parent, grandparent, or great-grandparent was born outside of the United States (second generation, third generation, and fourth generation, respectively). Twenty percent of participants ($n = 3$) were categorized as first-generation immigrants, 46.7% ($n = 7$) as second-generation immigrants, 13.3% ($n = 2$) as third-generation immigrants, and 0% as fourth-generation immigrants. Only one participant reported that no immediate family members were born outside of the United States and was classified as non-immigrant origin. Participants were also asked about language spoken at home and with friends and 33.3% ($n = 5$) reported that they speak a language in addition to English at home.

Only 53.3% of participants ($n = 8$) answered our questions about pride, which asked students to rate their pride in their country of origin, their pride in being American, and their pride in their ethnicity or race on a scale from 1 to 5 where 1 means "not proud at all" and 5 means "extremely proud." Two participants reported high and equal numbers of pride across these three categories (one first-generation participant reported all 5s and one second-generation participant reported all 4s). One first-generation participant had incomplete data and did not report anything for pride in country of origin but rated American and racial/ethnic pride equally at "3." Five participants reported lower numbers for American pride and while reporting equal numbers for pride in their country of origin and ethnicity. For these five participants, country of origin pride and racial/ethnic pride was either "5" or "4" whereas American pride was "2" ($n = 2$), "3" ($n = 1$), or "4" ($n = 2$). Additionally, of these five participants who reported less American pride than pride in other categories, three were second-generation immigrants, one was third-generation immigrant, and one reported not having an immigrant-origin background.

Section Two: Experiences of Racial Microaggressions

Of the 15 participants we interviewed, 11 students endorsed experiencing or witnessing seven different types of racial microaggressions by teachers towards students: (1) teachers confuse participants with other students of color; (2) teachers treat students of color differently than their White peers; (3) teachers expect students of color to speak for or represent their ethnicity; (4) teachers compare racial minority experiences oppression to difficulties faced by other groups; (5) teachers make racially-based assumptions about students of color; (6) students of color experience curriculum-related microaggressions; and (7) schools promote diversity but teachers do not live by that in their interactions with students of color. Based on our methods, we asked about disrespect generally and did not ask specifically about disrespect related to racial, ethnic, or immigrant identity so as not to bias the data. However, even though our questions did not ask about racial experiences in the classroom, six participants discussed racial microaggressions when asked about a time when a teacher disrespected them or made them feel disrespected, or a time when they had witnessed a teacher disrespecting another student, and five additional participants brought up racial microaggressions at other points during the interview, either in specific examples or in response to general questions. Furthermore, participants discussed other significant themes regarding racial microaggressions including teacher intention and awareness of racial microaggressions, normalization of such incidents, and the impact of subtle racism on students.

Teachers confuse with other students of color. Two participants discussed experiences in which teachers *confused them with other students of color* in their class, their school, or on their sports team. In these experiences, students were called by the wrong name or addressed with phrases that grouped the students together like "one of you" or "the other girl."

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Teachers treat students of color differently than their White peers. Four participants discussed how *teachers treat students of color differently from their White peers*. In one particular example, a student talked about how the sole two students of color on a sports team are frequently assigned "extra labor" such as manual or technological tasks despite their seniority over other White players on the team. Another participant recounted an experience where a teacher pointed to students of color in the classroom and asked where they were from but did not ask the same of White students. Another participant spoke of a time when multiple students of color of different races had their hands raised but the teacher only called on White students. Finally, one participant witnessed a teacher telling one of three Black students in the class that she did not belong in the advanced program.

Teachers expect students of color to speak for or represent their ethnicity. One participant talked about the ways in which *teachers expect students of color to speak for or represent their race or ethnicity* and gave multiple examples of this. She expanded upon one such incident, saying that because the teacher linked her ethnicity and immigrant status to the character in the story they were reading, her classmates made harmful assumptions about her culture and about immigrants.

Teachers compare racial minority experiences oppression to difficulties faced by other groups. Two participants shared examples of *teachers comparing racial minority experiences oppression to difficulties faced by other groups*: one teacher equated the lack of freedoms of women in the 60s to the experience of slavery or Japanese internment, and another teacher discussed the similarity of the struggles of White people in rural areas to those of "poor Blacks."

Teachers make racially-based assumptions about students of color. One participant discussed an incident when a teacher was asking about Asian students in the class about their ethnicities and incorrectly assumed that she was Chinese, while she identifies as Korean. Another participant talked about her teacher assuming incorrectly that she had similarities to people in Africa and felt comfortable traveling there because of her skin color (she identifies as "Black American" and reports a "Jamaican and Honduran" background) and making incorrect statements regarding African languages. One participant witnessed a teacher making an assumption that a Black female student was aggressive and going to start a fight rather than resolve a conflict with another student verbally, and subsequently called security.

Students of color experience curriculum-related microaggressions. Four participants discussed the ways in which teaching methods make students of color and immigrant-origin students feel devalued and disrespected, in which there was a common theme of generally feeling *disrespected by the teacher's choice around what to include or emphasize in their courses*. Specific examples included a teacher highlighting some events from the news while denying student requests to discuss other news events important to them, a teacher leading a discussion of the Paris attacks and overtones of Islamophobia (perceived by a student who had distant Muslim heritage), a teacher centralizing Whiteness in history lessons by emphasizing European imperialism in the unit on African history while excluding the history of African nations and people, the use of Eurocentric textbooks in history class without acknowledging this bias, and emphasizing women's rights over people of color's rights by assigning more articles and spending more time in the course on women's rights while not assigning sufficient articles on Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Civil Rights Movement. One participant discussed a specific example in which the teacher assigned all of the pages in the textbook on European imperialism

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in Africa, intentionally skipped the two brief pages on the history of Ethiopia and Eritrea that the student had been excited to study because of her family's East-African background, and then denied the student's request for the class to study those pages.

Additionally, one participant reported that *teachers used racial slurs "academically"* because they were in the books that the class was reading and discussing, and allowed students to do so as well. Furthermore, one participant talked about how a teacher used Asian students' ethnicities to augment what they were studying and gave an example of asking Chinese students to share about their families when studying China and asking her, a Korean student, to translate words in their book and point out landmarks from the text on a map.

Another subtheme is that *teachers give assignments that make students feel disrespected and devalued*. Two participants talked about a project in a World History class that required students to present about their family history while focusing on their connection to the United States. One participant felt disrespected by this assignment because she could not share the important parts of her family history that were based outside of the United States, and the other participant felt forced to talk about how her grandmother struggled in America rather than her accomplishments in her country of origin.

Schools promote diversity but teachers do not live by that in their interactions with students of color. Two participants talked about the ways in which *schools promote diversity but teachers do not live by that in their interactions with students of color* in the classroom. One participant discussed that while a program made an effort to promote diversity by drawing in students of color, the teacher only called on White students to answer questions and ignored students of color with their hands up. Another participant talked about how at her mostly White school, her teacher was eager for her to put a pin in a map that shows where students are from, an

activity completed the previous day that she had missed. She reported that he was not sensitive to the fact that she had just returned to school that day after her grandmother passed away.

Participants' additional insights about racial microaggressions. I identified two other significant themes regarding racial microaggression experiences. First, multiple participants (*n* = 5) reported that the *teacher did not intend to be disrespectful* and sometimes the teachers were even well-intentioned when committing racial microaggressions. In some cases, participants mentioned this because it was helpful for them to understand the behavior and be forgiving, but in other cases students discussed this to highlight that the behavior was still harmful despite lack of intent. Two participants urged teachers to be open to hearing feedback, and one explained that this is because teachers can learn from feedback and share this with other teachers and students, and also because it is hard for students to approach teachers with feedback in the first place. The second theme is that multiple participants (*n* = 3) reported that in instances of racial microaggressions *they did not realize that what happened was wrong in the moment* but became aware of it later when talking to others about the experience.

Furthermore, either in response to specific questions about microaggressions or about disrespect in general, participants provided various observations about racial microaggressions. One participant stated that *racial microaggressions are hard to identify* because they are "normalized" and two participants stated that *teachers are not aware that racial microaggressions happen*. Another participant discussed impact and stated that *racial microaggressions affect students more than teachers think*. Another participant reported that *racial microaggressions are less common at her school because the student body is more racially homogenous*.

Section Three: Experiences of Other Types of Disrespect and Injustice

In addition to racial microaggressions, our participants reported three other types of disrespect in their high schools: (1) teachers make students feel inferior, incapable, or incompetent; (2) teachers commit microaggressions related to gender; and (3) teachers make negative assumptions about students.

Teachers make students feel inferior, incapable, or incompetent. Most frequently reported disrespect experiences that were not specifically framed as race-related by participants were incidents when *teachers made students feel inferior, incapable, or incompetent* in multiple areas. This type of disrespect was discussed by five different participants. Three participants talked about insults to their academic performance when asked to recount a time when they felt disrespected by a teacher: one participant reported that the teacher expected the work done sooner than required by his learning plan, another student felt singled out when she was called up to the board and she didn't know how to do the task, and another participant discussed how the teacher would often make comments that made her and her classmates feel stupid and as if they don't know anything. One participant reported that a teacher told her and her friend that their opinions don't matter and that they are inferior because they do not have a degree. Another participant talked about how she was treated as "incompetent" when her teacher would not allow her to do certain tasks on a project despite having experience from previous years.

These stories of disrespect experiences in which teachers made students feel inferior, incapable, or incompetent were not framed as race-related incidents by the participants who discussed them. However, they fit into categories of microaggression created by Sue (2010) such as *"ascription of intelligence"* microaggressions in which people of color are viewed as less intelligent than White people and *"second-class citizen"* microaggressions that indicate groups

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are less important and less worthy and therefore deserving of discriminatory treatment. It is possible that these participants did not perceive these disrespect experiences as racially-motivated due to both their phase of identity development and factors of school climate, and it is also possible that participants did understand these experiences as race-related but did not want to share that openly during the interview. This will be explored further in the Discussion chapter.

Disrespect experiences related to gender. Additionally, three female participants discussed *disrespect experiences related to gender*, including one example of a teacher telling the student that the way she was sitting in her chair was "not ladylike" and another in which a coach called the student a "little brat." Two of these participants talked about the teachers involved in these experiences as having old-fashioned values regarding gender.

Teachers make negative assumptions about students. Furthermore, two participants reported experiences where *teachers made comments based on negative assumptions about the students*, such as stating that a student was only interested in helping because she wanted to "fool around" with her classmate, or expressing disbelief that students won a match in badminton indicating either that teacher thought they were not good enough or thought they cheated.

Again, these two disrespect stories were not framed as race-related by the participants in their narratives. But they are both based on negative teacher assumptions and fall under two different categories of microaggression defined by Sue (2010) such as *sexual objectification* in which intersections of gender and race create expectations about the sexuality of women of color and *assumption of criminal status* in which people of color are more likely to be seen as rule-breaking or anti-social. It is possible that participants did not experience these moments of disrespect as racial microaggressions because of their phase in racial identity development and

because their school was comprised of mostly White students, and this will be explored further in the Discussion chapter).

Section Four: Disrespect Experiences Related to Immigrant-Origin Identity

Certain disrespect experiences within our data are particularly salient and worth highlighting in this study of immigrant-origin student narratives because they insinuate lack of belonging and foreigner status. For example, some of the microaggression experiences described in previous sections can also be understood as *"alien in one's own land" microaggressions*, which is described as incidents when people of color, particularly Asian-Americans and Latinx-Americans, are assumed to be foreign-born and not seen as American (Sue, 2010, p. 39). Examples of this from our data includes the narrative in which the teacher asked only students of color in the class where they were from and did not ask the same of White students. Another example was the narrative in which the teacher overemphasized the student's ethnicity and immigrant background, which made her feel like an outsider and also made her a target for her peers' racist bullying and negative stereotyping. Yet another example was one participant's report that almost all of the teachers at her school repeatedly pronounced her name wrong and she did not feel comfortable correcting them. In contrast, one of her teachers earned respect from her when he took the time to learn and pronounce her name correctly and talked with her about how names are important and have power. All three of these participants have immigrant-origin backgrounds.

Additionally, though the semi-structured interview did not include any direct questions about immigrant-origin background or experience, multiple participants explicitly related disrespect and immigrant identity during either their narratives about disrespect or in their answers to general questions. One participant, a first-generation immigrant, talked about feeling

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very alone when singled out by the teacher for her ethnicity and immigrant status and when her peers began teasing her and making negative assumptions about her family as a result of the teacher's comments, because she did not know of other immigrants in the class and because her friends, though not joining in on the teasing, could not identify with her experience. This participant also talked about the ways in which White immigrants are treated differently than immigrants from racial and ethnic minorities, and gave an example, recounting:

> I was kind of irritated because there was one student who was put on the spot because he was German... but it was in a way that was different from the students of color. Because it was more like, 'Oh, you're German. Can you speak some German?' And it was more of a showoff-y way like, 'I'm bilingual, I'm cool.' Versus with the students of color, it is like a fascinating science experiment. Like, 'Look at these different cultures that we're studying' kind of thing.

Additionally, as described in more detail above, two participants talked about an assignment on family history had to be related to U.S. history and thus excluded stories of students' country of origin and immigrant background. The two participants who discussed this were second- and third-generation immigrants. One participant recounts this experience:

> So [the teacher] just set me up so I can't talk about what happened when my grandma was living in [country of origin] and her life around that. I have to talk about slavery or her immigrating to America and how it turned into a sob story about how no one ever really achieves the American dream. It was just really irritating because the other kids in the class, White kids, were like, "Oh, my dad was in the CIA.' 'My dad did stuff with World War II.' 'My dad did all this other stuff in Russia.' I'm like, 'My grandma did a lot of cool stuff too but all I can say, because it's the only thing that connected to

American history, is that she came here and she didn't struggle really. She had some

property and set herself up and then had a family' and that's pretty much the entire story

that I get to tell about my family history. That was really irritating, frustrating because

my family history doesn't start in America at all.

Furthermore, one second-generation participant shared his observation that American

students prefer their teachers to be respectful and relatable rather than authoritative and discussed

how this is different from his parents' experiences in education in their country of origin. Finally,

one participant who did not have an immigrant background talked about how teachers'

discussion of topics related to immigration has contributed to an atmosphere of suspicion and

fear amongst students about whether or not their peers are Muslim or immigrants or

undocumented students.

Section Five: Student Responses to Disrespect Experiences

Participants in our study reported a wide variety of responses to experiences of disrespect

including action or inaction, retaliation, forgiveness, and help-seeking and reporting of incidents.

Participants who took direct action responded to their teachers in the moment or addressed the

issue in conversations with their teachers after the fact, while some youth reported inaction or

inability to respond to experiences of disrespect. Most participants did not retaliate against their

teachers, and those who did chose subtle forms of retaliation. While some participants forgave

their teachers, some stated specifically that they did not. A large number of participants did not

seek help in response to these experiences, and those participants who did seek help most often

did so from peers and family, while a small number sought help from adults at their school by

reporting incidents.

Direct confrontation versus inaction. Five participants took direct action when they experienced disrespect by teachers. These actions included confronting the teacher in the moment, having a discussion about the experience with the teacher, telling the teacher that what they did was wrong and explaining why, telling the teacher about the emotional impact of the experience (i.e. feeling hurt, uncomfortable), and even apologizing to the teacher when the student felt partially responsible for the incident. Other students took action by seeking help from peers and adults (see Help-Seeking and Reporting).

Conversely, some participants did not take action in response to disrespect experiences. Multiple participants (*n* = 3) participants reported that they felt *unable to act* because they did not know what they could do or because they did not want to interact with the teacher who disrespected them. Additionally, some participants (*n* = 5) talked about *disinterest in participating or inability to participate* in class or an activity after experiencing disrespect by a teacher, either as an intentional form of retaliation against the teacher or an involuntary response and inability to engage and participate.

One subtheme was that participants (*n* = 2) *wished in retrospect that they had done more in response to the experience of disrespect*, either by sharing feedback with the teacher or resisting the teacher more. Furthermore, participants reported a *wide variety of witness/bystander reactions to teacher disrespect experiences* ranging from intervention by other teachers on behalf of the student, to class laughter, to students of color exchanging looks, to complete inaction and lack of awareness.

Retaliation. Sixty percent of participants (*n* = 9) reported that they did not retaliate towards the teacher in response to the disrespect experience. Participants identified multiple reasons for not retaliating: being *afraid to retaliate*, because of a *pre-existing good relationship*

with the teacher, and because they *did not realize it was wrong in the moment*. Thirty-three percent of participants (*n* = 5) retaliated more subtly when disrespected by teachers. One participant responded to the question about retaliation saying that she *tried harder to prove herself*, another participant talked about *hating the teacher* throughout the rest of the class as retaliation, and another participant talked about *outsmarting the teacher with technology* to hide his computer activity from monitoring and instead display a creepy image. Another form of subtle retaliation identified by two participants was *not making effort or not participating* in the class.

Forgiveness. Six participants reported that they forgave the teacher for the disrespect experience and cited reasons for forgiveness because they were *helped by the teacher in other ways*, because the *teacher tried to fix what went wrong*, and because the *teacher apologized*. One participant who forgave the teacher said that she would be more forgiving if the teacher had been receptive to feedback about the situation. Five participants reported that they did not forgive the teacher for the disrespect experience for multiple reasons including *lack of apology from the teacher*, *repetition of the same behavior by the teacher*, and because the student *expected that the teacher would not change their behavior*.

Emotions. Participants rated a list of emotions as prompted by the interviewers (angry, hurt, humiliated, sad, confused, and ashamed) in response to their reported disrespect experiences. Additionally, participants identified other emotions in response to experiences of racial microaggressions including "alone" because the student did not know of others in the class with an immigrant background or sharing her ethnicity, "othered" and "isolated" from the rest of the class, "excluded" when not called upon by the teacher, "uncomfortable," and "deflated" and "reduced" as a student.

Help-seeking and reporting. Participants discussed a wide range of help-seeking and reporting behaviors ranging from no help-seeking, to discussion with peers and parents for support, to reporting to authority figures in order to work towards resolution. Four participants stated that they *did not seek help* in response to experiences of disrespect. Participants cited various reasons for not seeking help or reporting incidents in response to disrespect experiences: *because it felt pointless* to report it and seek help, *because they did not feel as bad about the experience later*, *because adults don't believe students or understand their perspective*, and *because the student had resolved the issue directly with the teacher*.

Most often participants reported that they *talked with their peers and friends about incidents of disrespect by teachers* ($n = 8$). Participants gave multiple reasons for talking to friends: because peers can relate to such experiences, because participants were feeling emotional and venting, and because friends provide them with encouragement. Some participants ($n = 3$) reported that they *talked with adults in their family* about experiences of disrespect by teachers. One participant told his mother because he thought she would feel similarly offended by the incident and wanted her help in intervening with the school. The reasons other participants talked to their parents were similar to the why some participants talked to peers—some wanted to "vent" because they were upset and some students talked to their parents because they were supportive and validating of the student's experience and reaction.

Multiple participants ($n = 7$) stated that they *sought help from adults at their schools* in response to experiences of disrespect by teachers. One student reported that he talked to another teacher because he felt close to her. Other participants were talked to other adults at school because it was required by procedure (i.e. if student was sent somewhere for disciplinary action they had to talk to the teacher in charge). Multiple participants said they explained the incident to

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other teachers/administrators because these adults noticed the student's distress and asked or because they witnessed the aftermath of the incident. Multiple participants ($n = 2$) stated that they intentionally sought help from other adults at school because they wanted support. One participant reported the behavior to other adults at the school because she wanted a resolution but the teacher involved was not approachable.

Section Six: Exploring Generation Status with Racial Microaggressions and Disrespect Experiences and Responses

As one of the goals of this study was to explore the connection, if any, of immigrant generation status to experiences of racial microaggressions, the analysis included a comparison of participant narratives with the demographic self-report data about generation status.

Exploring generation status with experiences of microaggressions and disrespect. Over all, first- and second-generation immigrant status respondents endorsed all seven types of racial microaggressions mentioned above, while third-generation immigrant and non-immigrant-origin respondents endorsed only three of the seven types (students of color treated differently than White peers, teachers making assumptions about students of color based on race, and experiences of curriculum-related microaggressions.

Of the 11 participants who spoke about racial microaggressions during their interviews, 63.6% ($n = 7$) were students with recent immigrant backgrounds (first- and second-generation), 27.2% ($n = 3$) identified with distant immigrant backgrounds or no immigrant origin (third-generation and non-immigrant-origin), and one participant not provide generation status data. Almost all (four out of five) of the participants whose narratives about teacher disrespect were examples of racial microaggressions identified with recent immigrant-origin backgrounds—one identified as a first-generation immigrant, three as second-generation—and we did not have

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generation status data for the remaining participant. This pattern may indicate that students with more recent immigrant-origin backgrounds are more likely to experience racial microaggressions by teachers than their non-immigrant-origin peers. This may also indicate that immigrant-origin students are more likely to understand experiences of disrespect as related to their ethnic and racial minority identity and immigrant identity than their peers of color who do not have immigrant backgrounds. However, this pattern may also be attributable to the fact that we have more students of first- and second-generation immigrant status in our study overall than of third-generation or non-immigrant origin.

Another group of participants talked about disrespect experiences that, in their narratives, they did not specifically relate to their racial or ethnic identity. As previously mentioned, some of the themes that students discussed fall into categories of microaggressions identified in the literature, such as sexual objectification of women of color, assumptions of criminal status, and ascriptions of intelligence, and second-class citizen microaggressions. Of the 8 participants who told narratives about gender-related, devaluing, or assumptive types of disrespect but did not relate them to ethnic, racial, or immigrant identity, 62.5% had more proximal immigrant origins (first- and second-generation) and 37.5% were further removed from immigrant origins or reported not having an immigrant background. This may indicate that more recent immigrants are less likely to frame experiences of disrespect as racially-motivated, but taken alongside our other regarding immigrant status and perceptions of disrespect experiences, it is not conclusive.

More participants with recent immigrant histories (two first-generation immigrants and three second-generation immigrants) spoke about explicitly and implicitly about respect and disrespect related to immigrant identity than did peers with a more distant immigrant history (one third-generation immigrant and one participant without an immigrant background). Taken

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together, it seems that immigrant-origin students highly attuned to the ways in which disrespect by teachers, both in interactions and on a structural and environmental level, is related to their immigrant background, which may have implications for school policy and teacher training.

Exploring generation status with student responses to disrespect experiences.
Overall, our participants were less likely to frame their actions and responses to disrespect by teachers as retaliation. Participants who took direct action in response to experiences of disrespect were evenly distributed between more recent immigrant-origin students (one first- and one second-generation participant) and more distant immigrant origins or no immigrant background (one third-generation immigrant and one participant without an immigrant background). Youth who said they retaliated stated that they did so subtly, and these were four first- or second-generation immigrants and one third-generation immigrant. Most of the 9 participants who said they did not retaliate were first- and second-generation immigrants, while only two were third-generation. Of the participants who said that they were unable to act in response to disrespect experiences, three have more recent immigrant backgrounds (first and second generation), one identified with no immigrant background, and another participant did not report generation status. As such, there are no clear patterns regarding generation status and action, retaliation, and inaction.

Participants talked explicitly about either forgiving their teachers or not forgiving them after disrespect experiences. Of the five participants who reported that they did not forgive their teachers, four were second-generation immigrants and one reports no immigrant background. Of the 6 participants who forgave their teachers, four had recent immigrant origins (two first-generation immigrants and two were second-generation immigrants), one had a more distant immigrant background (third-generation), and we do not have generation status data for the

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remaining participant. As both forgiveness and lack of forgiveness are reported most frequently by participants with recent immigrant origins, it is difficult to draw any conclusions about generation status and patterns of forgiveness in response to teacher disrespect.

Participants sought help from both friends and adults at their schools in response to experiences of teacher disrespect. In our group of participants, more first- and second-generation immigrant youth talked to their friends ($n = 6$) than did the third-generation immigrant student. The three students who spoke with their parents about teacher disrespect were first- and second-generation immigrant students and one stated that they did not have an immigrant background. Of the participants who reported disrespect experiences to adults at their schools, four were second-generation immigrants and two had distant or no immigrant origins. Perhaps significantly, no first-generation participants talked about reporting their experiences of disrespect to other teachers or adults at their schools. This suggests that students with different immigrant generation statuses differentially seek help from authority figures at school, with second-generation students seeking help most often from school-based adults and first-generation students not doing so at all. Reasons for why this may be the case based on the literature will be explored further the Discussion chapter.

All of the three participants who talked about emotional responses of feeling "alone," "isolated," "othered," and "excluded" had more recent immigrant backgrounds (two first-generation immigrants and one second-generation immigrant) and, of the three, two spoke languages other than English in their home. This suggests that disrespect incidents that make students feel out of place and foreign are more likely to happen to more recent immigrant-origin students rather than those whose families have been in the United States for longer.

Section Seven: Racial Sensitivity and School Climate

Our data showed that *teachers' racial sensitivity* and knowledge, as measured through questions about teacher treatment of race and ethnicity in the classroom and general questions about respect and disrespect, and *school demographics* are two relevant factors influencing immigrant-origin students' experiences of disrespect, injustice, and discrimination. The following section will address participant perspectives on positive and negative teacher treatment of race and ethnicity in the classroom and my analysis of the narratives alongside self-report data about school demographics and ethnic representation in schools.

Teacher treatment of race and ethnicity. Following the narrative section of the interviews, participants were asked in what ways, if any, teachers are sensitive to their treatment of race and ethnicity in the classroom. Their responses painted a picture that while some teachers are addressing race and ethnicity dynamics in the classroom minimally, effectively, or even in empowering ways, there are many examples teachers who do not address race and ethnicity in their classrooms at all and some examples of teacher handling race-related comments and incidents very poorly.

All participants endorsed that some teachers are sensitive to race and ethnicity in the classroom and gave examples. The themes related to teachers being sensitive about their treatment of race and ethnicity are as follows: *teachers are cautious because do not want to be wrong* about race and ethnicity, *teachers are cautious about language and words* (both their own and students'), *teachers are aware of possible heightened sensitivity of students of color* related to political climate, and *teachers treating everyone equally and fairly*. Some participants ($n = 3$) talked about particular *teachers not tolerating discrimination in their classrooms*, and these were often related to overt racism such as using racial slurs or stereotyping. Some participants ($n = 4$)

talked about how teachers make race and ethnicity part of the curriculum in overt and positive ways, such as integrating students' immigration history into a math project, playing games and watching videos from other cultures, and teaching students to respect each other. One participant talked about how some teachers are dedicated to treating race and ethnicity in the classroom and do research this topic in order to enhance their teaching. Multiple participants ($n = 4$) cited examples of teachers integrating material from other countries and cultures into lessons. One participant talked about a White teacher bringing in his friend, a Black man, to help teach the class on "The Making of a Slave" and to add a male voice of color to the Willie Lynch speech.

However, despite some teachers doing this well, many participants ($n = 8$) reported a range of ways that teachers are not sensitive to their treatment of race and ethnicity in the classroom in response to this question. Multiple participants talked about *lack of awareness*, stating that teachers neglect race and ethnicity altogether, that teachers are not accommodating racial difference in the classroom, and that teachers act according to a "colorblind" mentality. Two participants talked about how some White teachers in particular are not sensitive to treatment of race and ethnicity. Additionally, participants talked about teachers minimizing racial incidents by citing lack of intent on the part of the perpetrator. Furthermore, one participant reported that teachers make remarks that reveal their racial bias without being overtly racist and another participant talked about past teachers using slang words.

School climate. As discussed in the review of the literature, school climate is an important factor impacting students' experiences in schools, particularly experiences of discrimination. One factor within the broader theme of school climate is school racial demographics, which we examined with self-report data on the racial makeup of the student

body, the teachers at the school, and whether or not a participant's ethnicity was well-represented in the school (see the Methodology chapter for more detail).

Of the 11 participants who reported experiencing or witnessing racial microaggressions by teachers in their schools, 20% ($n = 3$) were in schools with mostly White students, 33.3% ($n = 5$) were in schools with mostly students of color, and 6.7% ($n = 1$) were in schools where the student body was evenly split between White students and students of color The remaining two participants did not report this school climate data. 33.3% of participants ($n = 5$) who endorsed racial microaggressions were in schools in which teachers were mostly White, and four were in schools where the teachers were more evenly distributed between White teachers and teachers of color. More of the participants in schools in which their ethnicity was not well-represented reported racial microaggressions (40% or $n = 6$) than did participants whose ethnicity was well represented in their school (26.7% or $n = 4$). From these percentages, we can see that racial microaggressions by teachers are happening in homogenous schools (whether or not they are majority-White schools or "majority-minority" schools), in diverse schools with even numbers of White students and students of color, and in schools with both homogenous and more diverse teaching staff. As such, it is difficult to draw conclusions regarding school demographics and experiences of racial microaggressions. Possible reasons for this absence of a clear pattern be explored further in the Discussion chapter.

On the other hand, of the remaining three students who did not endorse experiences of racial microaggressions by teachers and reported school demographic data, two participants were in mostly White schools with mostly White teachers and in which their ethnicity was not well-represented, and one participants was in a school comprised primarily of students and teachers of

color in which the student's ethnicity was well-represented. Here it is difficult to draw conclusions because we are working with such small numbers of participants.

Furthermore, students reported disrespect experiences that they did not frame as related to race but, as previously discussed, have similarities with categories of racial microaggressions such as assumptions of hyper sexuality, assumptions of criminality, and ascription of intelligence (or lack thereof). These experiences were reported more often by students in mostly White schools ($n = 4$) rather than students in schools with mostly students of color ($n = 2$), and more often in schools where teachers were mostly White ($n = 5$) than in schools where teachers were more mostly people of color ($n = 1$). This may indicate that without a reference group of peers of color with whom to discuss disrespect experiences, nor teachers of color who may attend to race and ethnicity in their classrooms, teach from an empowerment model, and possibly impact their colleagues and help implement shape school-wide attitudes and policies, students may not view certain experiences of disrespect by teachers as racial microaggressions. Additionally, the two gender-based disrespect experiences from our study were reported in schools with mostly students of color, but were evenly distributed between schools with mostly White teachers and schools with a more even distribution of White teachers and teachers of color, which does seem to offer a broader pattern.

Influence of political climate on classroom and school dynamics. Another key theme present in participant narratives was that the *political climate impacts classroom and school dynamics*. One participant noted a more positive implication in that teachers are taking more care regarding race and ethnicity since the presidential election because they are aware that students of color may be more sensitive. Two participants noticed more negative implications with respect to gender and immigrant status, and one participant talked about how male control of

female bodies is present in the political conversation and that mentality is reflected in the classroom. Further, as described previously in this chapter, another participant spoke to an atmosphere of suspicion and fear amongst students about whether or not their peers are Muslim or immigrants or undocumented, and though the participant did directly attribute this to the political climate, these fears are reflective of anti-immigrant and Islamophobic sentiments that are present in certain political facets in the United States and in Europe.

Remaining themes. Some important remaining themes that I identified during my thematic analysis of participant interview data were that *teachers are models for student behavior regarding treatment of race and ethnicity* and that *teacher disrespect towards students has a long-lasting negative effect.*

Teachers are models for student behavior. Multiple participants ($n = 4$) talked about how the teacher's own harmful, microaggressive behavior makes students think that the behavior is okay and gives them permission to repeat it, and gave examples of expecting students to speak for their ethnicity, equating oppressive experiences, and sexist and homophobic comments or jokes. Additionally, participants talked about how teachers' responses to discriminatory or disrespectful student incidents influences future student behavior. Subthemes related to this were that *teachers need to shut down student discrimination* to teach students that what they are doing is wrong, that *teachers do not respond effectively to discrimination between students* which was exemplified by stories of teacher responses racially-biased allegations and offensive jokes, and that *teachers need to be aware that disrespect between students can be subtle*. Furthermore, one participant talked about how teachers need to be aware of classroom dynamics and who is dominating the class discussion, and make room for unheard voices to come forward.

Lasting impact of teacher disrespect and microaggressions. Finally, three participants spoke directly to the ways in which teacher disrespect and microaggressions have deep and long-lasting impact and implications for student behavior. One participant stated that an experience of teacher disrespect "can still bother some people after a while, like just they'll most likely remember it and probably go off of that for other reasons down the road." Another participant talked in her narrative about how one instance of teacher disrespect, which we categorized as a racial microaggression of the "alien in one's own land" type, "made [her] stop willingly participating in class" and indicated that this held true for her for multiple years. Yet another participant stated specifically that racial microaggressions affect students much more than teachers think that they do, and also affects students "in the long run."

Summary

The main themes identified during the thematic and content analysis of participant interviews are that immigrant-origin students experience both racial microaggressions and other types of disrespect by teachers; that students respond in a wide variety of ways to such experiences including direct confrontation, inaction, seeking help and reporting incidents, forgiveness, and retaliation; that some teachers are sensitive and thoughtful about their treatment race and ethnicity in the classroom and others are unaware and act in harmful ways; that some teacher-student interactions and disrespect experiences relate specifically to immigrant-origin identity; that teachers are models for student behavior around race and ethnicity; and that the political climate influences school and classroom dynamics. These themes provide a more nuanced picture of how immigrant-origin youth are experiencing disrespect and discrimination in their schools and begins to explore the relatively unstudied phenomenon of teacher-perpetrated racial microaggressions experienced by immigrant-origin students. The findings are inconclusive

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regarding whether or not immigrant-origin identity factors (generation status, languages spoken, and national and ethnic pride) impact students' experiences of disrespect by teachers and their responses. The implications of these findings for social workers, teachers, and administrators in educational settings as well as broader implications regarding racial microaggressions and immigrant-origin youth follows in the next chapter. The following chapter also contains a further discussion of the interconnectivity the themes and an outline of study bias and limitations.

CHAPTER V

Discussion

This study addressed the broader inquiry—*how do immigrant-origin adolescents experience disrespect, injustice, and discrimination by teachers and administrators in their school settings?*—through examination of the following three research questions: *(A) How do immigrant-origin students understand and respond to experiences of disrespect, injustice, and discrimination? (B) Are the stories of experiences of disrespect, injustice, and discrimination similar or different between immigrant-origin youth and ethnic/racial minority youth who do not have an immigrant background? (C) Do interpretations of and responses to experiences of disrespect, injustice, and discrimination differ based on generation status of immigrant-origin youth?* In this chapter I will discuss the findings of this study in light of my three original research questions. First, I will present the key findings of the present study and compare my results with the relevant literature in this field. Second, I will discuss both the strengths and the limitations of the present study. Third, I will explore the implications of my results for educational settings and for the field of social work. Finally, I will provide recommendations for future research that arose during this study.

Key Findings: Comparison with the Previous Literature

Experiences of disrespect. The first question that this study addressed was, *how do immigrant-origin students understand and respond to experiences of disrespect, injustice, and discrimination?* When asked about times that they felt disrespected by teachers, racial and ethnic

minority immigrant-origin students often told stories of racial microaggressions. As expected, a portion of the disrespect experiences fell into the category of "alien in one's own land" microaggressions in which participants were made to feel foreign and not American enough (Sue, 2010). These included teachers' emphasis of immigrant identity leading to peer negative stereotyping; teachers assuming foreignness of students of color; and persistent name mispronunciation, which has been demonstrated in the literature as a form of "cultural disrespect" that impacts students' self-perception and worldview (Kohli & Solórzano, 2012). Experiences of these types of microaggressions are important to highlight because they may be particularly salient to immigrant-origin adolescent identity development in which youth are navigating a liminal space between country, culture, and language of origin and mainstream American society in which they currently live (Volkan, 2017).

Other racial microaggressions experienced by our participants included teachers confusing participants with other students of color, teachers treating students of color differently than their White peers, teachers expecting students of color to speak for or represent their ethnicity, teachers comparing racial minority experiences oppression to difficulties faced by other groups, teachers making racially-based assumptions about students of color, students of color experiencing curriculum-related microaggressions, and schools promoting diversity but teachers do not demonstrate that in their interactions with students of color. While our finding that immigrant-origin students of color are experiencing racial microaggressions perpetrated by their teachers in the classroom may seem quite obvious to many readers, it is important to begin documenting these experiences formally through research as few explorations of microaggressions with high school youth have been conducted.

Participants' insights about microaggressions also fit with what we found in the existing literature on microaggressions with college-age and adult populations. Multiple participants cited teachers' lack of intent in disrespect experiences, which is true to the definitions that describe microaggressions as unconscious and unintentional slights (Kohli & Solórzano, 2012; Sue, 2010) and even perpetrated by well-intentioned individuals (Nienhusser et al., 2016). Participants also discussed the need for teachers to be open to hearing feedback, which seems salient in light of studies with college populations that show that teachers need to facilitate dialogue after racialized microaggressions occur in class (Sue et al., 2009; Sue & Constantine, 2007). Building upon what we know from the literature about lack of awareness of microaggressions in other educational contexts (Sue & Constantine, 2007) and contextualizing it within high schools, our findings show that teachers are often unaware of what microaggressions are and don't know when they happen, that microaggressions are more impactful than teachers realize and have a long-lasting effect on students, and are hard to identify due to their frequent and subtle nature.

Furthermore, some of our participants recounted experiences of teacher disrespect that they did not frame as related to race, ethnicity, or nativity in their narratives, such as being made to feel incompetent, inferior, or incapable and also being seen as cheating. However, given the contexts in which they occurred, these incidents of teacher disrespect might be understood as racially motivated and fitting into three common types of racial microaggressions from the literature: ascription of intelligence (or lack of intelligence), second-class citizen treatment, and assumption of deviance (Sue, 2010). Additionally, two female participants talked about experiences in which their gender identity was salient and related to the incident of disrespect, which indicates that further study is needed to incorporate Crenshaw's (1989) theory of

intersectionality and explore particular ways that gender, race, and immigrant status intersect and impact the lived experiences of immigrant-origin youth.

Responses to disrespect. Participant responses to racial microaggressions and other disrespect experiences were varied and ranged from direct action in the moment to inaction, from retaliation to forgiveness, and from reporting incidents to not seeking help from peers and other adults at school. Most participants did not retaliate against their teachers or confront them during experiences of disrespect, and the few who retaliated did so in subtle ways. Multiple participants talked about inability to act or retaliate, either out of fear, because they did not know what they could do, because they didn't realize until later that the teacher's behavior was not okay, or because they wanted to avoid confrontation. Most of these themes speak to the hierarchy in schools in which teachers have authority and more power than their students. It is also important to note multiple participants said they became disinterested in participating in class or activities after these common disrespect experiences by teachers, which has significant implications for students' academic outcomes. The literature demonstrates that general and overt discrimination experiences are associated with negative mental health outcomes, decreased civic engagement, and decreased academic achievement for immigrant-origin youth (Patel et al., 2016; Patel et al., 2014; Sirin et al., 2013; Tummala-Narra & Claudius, 2013). Our study supports our hypothesis that microaggressions in academic settings are also associated with similar negative outcomes for this population and elucidates a specific mechanism (i.e. teacher disrespect experiences in school) that may explain the association between general discrimination, poor academic achievement, and lack of engagement.

Our participants were almost evenly split on whether or not they forgave their teachers when they felt disrespected by them. Students were more likely to forgive their teachers if there

was an attempt to apologize and address what went wrong, or if the teacher helped them in other areas of school, and did not forgive their teachers if there was no apology or if the disrespectful behavior continued and the student expected the teacher not to change their ways. This is in keeping with the literature that shows that racial microaggressions have a profound effect because they are repetitive (Kohli & Solórzano, 2012), because if teachers consistently repeat their behavior or are expected to do so, the effects of the disrespect are magnified and ongoing, and students will not forgive them. This has powerful implications for how teachers respond situations when they have harmed a student and how they handle student feedback about disrespect. In order to have forgiveness, teachers need to hear and acknowledge they have harmed their students rather than reacting defensively, and then take steps to understand and change their ways. We also asked participants about their emotional responses to disrespect experiences, and in addition to the emotions that we expected to find (hurt, humiliated, sad, confused, and ashamed), students also reported feelings of isolation and exclusion as well as discomfort and deflation. While an in-depth analysis of emotional responses was outside the scope of my research question, it is clear that disrespect experiences have a deep emotional impact on students that may change over time is an important avenue for further study.

In keeping with the literature about immigrant-origin youth using social support in the face of racism and discrimination (Tummala-Narra & Claudius, 2013), participants sought help most often by venting to peers who would validate and understand their experience, and a few participants did this with their family members. We also found that participants were more likely to seek help from adults, both at school and in their family, when they wanted to address the situation or incident rather than ignore it and move on. There were a small number of students who did not seek help because (a) they felt it was felt pointless to do so, (b) they were worried

other adults at school wouldn't understand, or (c) their distress about the experience had decreased. This finding is consistent with research amongst adults that demonstrates the harmful nature of "secondary injury," when someone seeking support in the aftermath of racist incident is invalidated and not believed (Lowe et al., 2012).

Comparing immigrant-origin and non-immigrant-origin youth. My second research question was: *Are the stories of experiences of disrespect, injustice, and discrimination similar or different between immigrant-origin youth and ethnic/racial minority youth who do not have an immigrant background?* My intention was to analyze racial and ethnic minority immigrant-origin youth's experiences alongside those of their non-immigrant peers of color to see whether having an immigrant background, or not having one, was significant factor in students' experiences of disrespect, discrimination, and injustice by teachers at school. However, counter to our expectations, our varied recruitment methods did not gather many participants who reported no immigrant background and instead attracted far more youth of color who had immigrant-origin identities. This may be due to the increasing numbers of immigrant-origin youth in the United States. While the number of immigrant-origin youth is not definitive, researchers have demonstrated that first- and second- generation children and adolescents made up at least a quarter of the population three years ago (Marks et al., 2014). That number has likely to have increased in the years since, and our study parameters also included third- and fourth-generation immigrant youth. Additionally, since my expectation was that I would have difficulty recruiting immigrant-origin youth for our study, it is possible that my targeted approach of contacting organizations serving local immigrant communities as well as school adjustment counselors overemphasized the recruitment of immigrant-origin high school students,

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thus altering the ratios within my data pool. As such, our findings cannot address this research question.

Exploring differences in generation status. My third research question asked, *do interpretations of and responses to experiences of disrespect, injustice, and discrimination differ based on generation status of immigrant-origin youth?* Generation status has been shown in the literature to be an important factor in youth well-being and achievement, though researchers support two different theories on how and why. On the one hand, acculturative stress theory suggests that first-generation immigrant youth face specific challenges when immigrating to a new country (language barriers, cultural shifts, immigrant-specific discrimination) that later generations do not have, and therefore predicts immigrant students' outcomes to improve as they spend more time in their new country and as generations increase. The first-generation immigrant experience has been shown to be distinctly different from those of second generation, third generation, and above (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2008). Conversely, researchers who support the immigrant paradox theory state that because first-generation immigrant youth often have specific services tailored to their education and language-learning, and because there are stronger relationships between teachers/schools and immigrant students/their families, that their outcomes would be better than immigrant-origin youth whose families have been in the United States for multiple generations. One of my aims in this study was to see if our findings supported either of these theories.

In order to address this question, and given the fact that my participant data was not evenly distributed between the different generation status categories (participants who identified as first-generation, second-generation, third-generation, fourth generation, and no immigrant background), I split my respondents into two comparison groups: youth with more recent

immigrant backgrounds (first- and second-generation immigrants) and those with more distant or no immigrant histories (third- and fourth-generation immigrants, and respondents with no immigrant background). As we did not have any respondents identifying as fourth-generation, this second group was comprised only of third-generation immigrants and participants with no immigrant background. The analysis method of separating participants up into two distinct groups is a drawback for multiple reasons that will be discussed further in the limitations section of this chapter. However, it is a useful way to compare participant narratives and explore differences in experiences and responses associated with generation status.

First- and second-generation immigrant status respondents endorsed all seven types of racial microaggressions discussed in this study while third-generation immigrant and non-immigrant-origin respondents endorsed only three types: students of color treated differently than White peers, teachers making assumptions about students of color based on race, and experiences of curriculum-related microaggressions. Additionally, more participants with recent immigrant histories spoke about explicitly and implicitly about respect and disrespect related to immigrant identity than did peers with a more distant immigrant history, which demonstrates that first- and second-generation immigrant students may be more keenly aware of how disrespect by teachers is related to their immigrant background. Additionally, our data suggests that some recent immigrants are less likely to frame experiences of disrespect as racially-motivated, but this is not conclusive given the limitations of our study. In terms of discrimination experiences, our data seems to be supporting the *acculturative stress theory* (Closson et al., 2013; Patel et al., 2014; Patel et al., 2016; Sirin et al., 2013; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2008) that more recent immigrants (first- and second-generation) are exposed to, impacted by, and aware of disrespect experiences by teachers more often than their later generation peers of color, and disconfirms the

idea in from the *immigrant paradox* literature (Conger & Atwell, 2012; Marks et al., 2014; Raffaelli et al., 2012; Tummala-Narra & Claudius, 2013) that teachers have better relationships with more recent immigrant youth and their families.

Our findings lacked clear patterns regarding generation status and direct action, retaliation, and inaction: small numbers of participants in both groups directly confronted teachers, and while subtle retaliation was reported by more recent immigrant-origin youth than those with distant or no immigrant backgrounds, more recent immigrant-origin youth also reported inability to respond than later-generation peers. Additionally, both forgiveness and lack of forgiveness were most frequently reported by participants with recent immigrant origins, and thus again there are no clear patterns associating generation status and forgiveness in response to teacher disrespect.

Immigrant-origin youth from both groups most often talked to friends about experiences of disrespect by teachers but also sometimes reported incidents to parents and adults at their school, and our data showed more first- and second-generation youth seeking help overall. This suggests that students with different immigrant generation statuses may differentially seek help from authority figures at school, with second-generation students seeking help most often from school-based adults and first-generation students not doing so at all. This seems to again disconfirm the theory in the immigrant paradox literature that first-generation immigrant youth have better relationships with teachers and schools than their second-generation immigrant-origin peers, but does support the theory in that third-generation immigrants and students with no immigrant backgrounds also do not have strong and trusting relationships with authority figures at school. Furthermore, our findings show that more recent immigrant-origin youth are more

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likely to feel out of place and foreign after incidents of disrespect than those whose families have been in the United States for multiple generations.

Racial sensitivity and school climate. Though I did not originally ask about the impact of racial sensitivity and school demographics in my research questions, it became apparent as I analyzed participant interviews alongside school demographic data that this may be an important factor in immigrant-origin youth's experiences of disrespect. These findings are consistent with Suárez-Orozco and colleagues' research (2008) that highlighted the impact of teacher-student relationships with immigrant and immigrant-origin youth, both positively and negatively, and expands upon their findings to demonstrate that teachers' lack of racial sensitivity plays out in ways that are harmful and disrespectful to students. When asked about ways that teachers were sensitive to race and ethnicity in the classroom, participants shared that while some teachers range from addressing these dynamics and topics minimally, effectively, or even in empowering ways, many teachers either do not address race and ethnicity in the classroom at all or handle race-related comments and incidents very poorly. All participants could identify positive examples and tactics, but over just over half of participants also had negative impressions of teachers' racial sensitivity. The negative impact of teacher colorblindness and lack of racial sensitivity, which participants talked about through discussions of classroom dynamics, textbook choices, and assignments, is consistent with the Critical Race Theory literature that demonstrates how classroom material and curriculum often reflect narratives of White supremacy in ways that harm students of color (Ladson-Billings, 1998).

Student body demographics may not have an impact on teacher disrespect experiences, as participants all three categories of schools (mostly White schools, in schools that are mostly students of color, and schools in which the students are more evenly split between White

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students and students of color) are experiencing racial microaggressions. However, while racial microaggressions were endorsed fairly evenly by participants in schools where teachers and mostly White or split between White teachers and teachers of color, they were not endorsed by the student who reported than most teachers in the school were people of color. These findings are consistent with literature that shows that perpetrators of racial microaggressions are most often White (Wong et al., 2014) and significant in that they show that White individuals, (here, White teachers) are less sensitive to race and ethnicity, less aware of racial microaggressions, and therefore more likely to act in microaggressive ways towards people of color (here, students color). It also may suggest that representation—here, having teachers in positions of power who share identities with their students—is an important factor in preventing racial microaggressions by teachers, building upon the literature about the impact of teacher racial identity in individual interactions (Liggett, 2008) to address the value of teacher racial diversity overall.

Our finding that more of the participants in schools in which their ethnicity was not well-represented reported racial microaggressions by teachers than did participants whose ethnicity was well-represented in their school is also consistent with the literature demonstrating that there is less discrimination in schools with higher numbers of same-ethnicity peers and immigrants (Bellmore et al., 2011; Closson et al., 2013; Georgiades et al., 2013). Another important finding is that the disrespect experiences that were not framed as race-related by participants but could be interpreted as racial microaggressions, discussed earlier, were more often reported in mostly White schools with mostly White teachers. This may indicate that without a reference group of peers of color with whom to discuss disrespect experiences (demonstrated by the literature to be a protective factor against discrimination's harmful effects), and without teachers of color who attend to race and ethnicity in their classrooms more than White teachers, teach from an

empowerment model, and possibly educate their colleagues and help implement shape school-wide attitudes and policies that support ethnic and racial minority youth, students may not perceive certain experiences of disrespect by teachers as racial microaggressions.

Consistent with studies demonstrating or predicting the impact of politics on classroom dynamics, particularly the current presidential administration's anti-immigrant rhetoric and policies, our findings showed that multiple students are aware of how the political climate impacts their teachers and their school atmosphere. Though we did not ask questions about this, two participants explicitly discussed politics, spontaneously, and two others talked about themes related to attitudes of xenophobia and Islamophobia pervading the political conversation in the United States. This is significant and implies that teachers and administrators need to be aware now more than ever of how discriminatory attitudes in the larger political conversation influence themselves and their students, and thus pay attention to their own behavior as well as peer-to-peer bullying that is encouraged by racist and xenophobic political rhetoric. Further, while teachers' racial sensitivity is an important factor in and of itself, our data also shows that teachers are also models for student behavior. Participants discussed the ways in which teachers influence students with their own behavior—ranging from behavior that is sensitive to racial dynamics to perpetrating racial microaggressions themselves—and influence classroom and school dynamics by their response, or lack of response, to peer-to-peer disrespect and discrimination.

Strengths of the Study

This study is a significant addition to the literature on racial microaggressions in that it explores the relatively unstudied high school setting and also builds upon the existing literature focusing on immigrant-origin youth experiences by examining racial microaggression experiences from a student-centered perspective. In using the critical race methodology of

counter-storytelling (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002), we challenge typical research norms of service providers and educators speaking *about* youth and instead focus on students' own perspectives about what's happening in their schools. Our findings not only have implications for teachers, school administrators, school social workers, and teacher training programs, but may also be beneficial for youth empowerment programming and social justice work. The study is also relevant to anyone, including social workers, who works with adolescents in any setting, not just schools, because the findings about how teachers disrespect students can likely be broadened to how other people in power interact with youth and perpetrate dynamics of disrespect and discrimination in subtle and often-unintentional ways. While the findings may seem quite obvious to those who have experienced racial microaggressions, or have heard frequent stories of subtle racial discrimination by teachers towards students, or studied critical race theory, these rich descriptions and narratives of disrespect concretize such experiences in a way that validates student experience and can be used for social justice and educational reform.

The study is also useful because it confirms that certain elements of the existing literature about microaggressions with college and adult populations hold true for racial microaggressions with immigrant-origin youth populations, has mixed support for both acculturative stress theory and the immigrant paradox theory in the examination of immigrant generation status, and highlights avenues for further study.

Limitations of the Study

Our study had a number of limitations including its exploratory nature; the lack of a comparison group in our sample; the creation pseudo-comparison groups due to uneven distribution generation status of participants; the lack of differentiation between different ethnic

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groups' experiences; the lack of racial concordance of researchers and participants; and the methodological focus on disrespect.

Exploratory nature of the study. Given the exploratory nature of this qualitative study, the generalizability of our findings about racial microaggressions experienced by immigrant-origin youth cannot be assumed. Due to the small sample size and diversity of group participants created by different geographic locations, races and ethnicities, ages, genders, immigrant-origin background and generation status, and school demographics, it is not possible to apply our findings to immigrant-origin youth population more broadly. However, this is not the goal of exploratory research, which instead aims to provide rich descriptions of a minimally-studied phenomenon in order to generate themes and factors that can then be used in further study and particularly in quantitative research. Our findings were consistent with the literature on racial microaggressions and, in keeping with the exploratory theoretical framework, generated various important hypotheses for further exploration, which I will discuss in more depth below.

Lack of comparison group. Our sample was comprised mainly of immigrant-origin youth of color rather than being more evenly distributed between students with immigrant-origin backgrounds and students who did not have identify immigrant origins in our demographic self-report data. This may be due to the large percentages of ethnic and racial minority adolescents in the United States who are first-, second-, and third-generation immigrants as demonstrated by population data (Marks et al., 2014). Our lack of even distribution may also be related to the large communities in the San Francisco Bay Area and in parts of Western Massachusetts, and related to my targeted recruitment of immigrant-origin youth. As such, with only one non-immigrant-origin participant and all other students identifying as having an immigrant

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background, I was unable to compare between these two groups and address one of my research questions.

Pseudo-comparison groups. In order to address my research question about generation status despite my sample's unevenly distributed participants from different generations, I split my respondents into two pseudo-comparison groups: youth with more recent immigrant backgrounds (first- and second-generation immigrants) and those with more distant or no immigrant histories (third- and fourth-generation immigrants, and respondents with no immigrant background). This method of analysis is a significant limitation in the study as it combines first- and second-generation immigrant youth whose experiences in educational settings in the United States may be vastly different. Indeed, Suárez-Orozco and colleagues (2008) have criticized previous literature for conflating first-generation students with immigrant-origin youth whose families have been in the country for at least one generation because they do not take into account differences in language, documentation, and disorientation of arriving in a new country. Additionally, combining third-generation youth with participants who do not have an immigrant background also conflates groups that may have very distinct experiences, particularly if these later immigrant-origin adolescents still have strong ties to their immigrant background and culture or family's country of origin (for example, living with a grandparent who is first-generation and speaks their native language at home, or being a part of a community or congregation with many recent immigrants). As such, our tentative conclusions the associative relationships between generation status and disrespect and microaggression experiences by teachers will certainly need to be reexamined in further study.

Lack of differentiation between different ethnic group experiences. One of the missing explorations in the literature which we also did not address in this study is an

examination of different ethnic groups' experiences of disrespect and microaggressions in classroom settings. At the time of Wong and colleagues' (2014) review of the existing microaggressions literature, this differentiation had not yet been explored. Additionally, more recent studies demonstrate how subtypes of racial microaggressions may be different according to ethnicity (Allen, 2012; Henfield, 2011; Nadal et al., 2014; Kiang, Witkow, & Thompson 2015). My study did not attempt to address the question of how immigrant-origin youth from different ethnic and racial backgrounds perhaps experience racial microaggressions and respond differently, and therefore collects narratives without distinguishing between different students of color's experiences.

Lack of racial concordance of researchers and participants. In keeping with critical race theory and methodology and with the anti-racism values in which the researchers in this project were trained, it is important to again revisit the lack of racial concordance between the students of color who participated in this study and the White researchers. Following recommendations by Milner (2007) and Solórzano and Yosso (2002), we attempted to counter the problematic trend of White researchers dictating the conversation about people of color's experiences by critically examining our own identities, using collaborative methods in creating our interview questions with youth of color in after-school programs, using students' own narratives as the basis for our research. The researchers' visible White identities might have made students uncomfortable and may have prevented participants from feeling safe to share their narratives, particularly their experiences of racial microaggressions. It is possible that students who could have talked about racially-related incidents did not do so because they were expecting disbelief and invalidation of their experiences, which we know from the literature and from our findings is how students are often met when they talk about experiences of subtle

racism. However, many participants in our study did share stories of racially-related incidents, and perhaps it was empowering for these students speak about their experiences with adults who expressed interest in their knowledge, took time to listen to their narratives and ask questions, and believed their stories. Additionally, as one of the most important audiences for this research is White-identified teachers who are least aware of and most often perpetrate these types of disrespect, the researchers can use these findings to educate this population. This is in keeping with the social justice value that the burden of educating and explaining racism should not fall on people of color and that White-identified allyship includes educating White communities. As such, our research and the racial identities of the researchers can be used as tools for social justice education and activism.

Analytical focus on disrespect. Our broader research project's methods intentionally included questions about experiences where teachers earned respect from students alongside student experiences of disrespect so as not to be solely deficit-focused and in order to have youth finish their interview with a recollection of a positive story. However, I did not include this in my research questions and analysis due to the time constraints of the thesis project. This is a significant limitation because in order to have effective change, it is important to examine what is lacking and not working but also what is being done effectively. To begin to address this strengths-based perspective, I briefly included participants' thoughts about ways in which teachers are sensitive to race and ethnicity in the classroom. This data produced many recommendations for teachers' behavior and curriculum development.

Implications of the Present Study

The present study is relevant to those who work in schools (teachers, administrators, and social workers) because it provides rich descriptions of racial microaggressions by teachers and

authority figures towards immigrant-origin youth in educational settings, elucidates factors contributing to such events, and provides recommendations for teacher training and school policies and procedures. Our study found that teachers are committing racial microaggressions in schools against immigrant-origin students and that there is often a lack of awareness about the occurrence and impact of such experiences. As such, there should be increased training for educators and administrators about this issue. Teachers not only should learn about what racial microaggressions are and what they look like in schools—both in individual interactions and on a structural level through textbook choice and curriculum development—but they also need to take responsibility for their own contributions to this phenomenon either by perpetration themselves or by creation of an atmosphere that allows for such experiences to occur. Furthermore, in response to students who confront teachers or report racial disrespect indirectly, school-based adults should believe their students, validate the experience, and learn from student feedback. Furthermore, there should be increased awareness of the ways in which the current political climate impacts students experience in schools and affects school atmosphere overall.

The present study also can help school social workers have a broader understanding of how teachers, administrators, and school staff contribute to learning environments that disempower immigrant-origin students when racial microaggressions occur and are not adequately addressed. Given our findings that students have difficulty reporting such teacher disrespect, and also become disengaged or unable to participate after such incidents, social workers need to actively address these issues. For example, if a student is referred to a school counselor for mental health concerns or academic difficulty, it may also be important to explore teacher-student relationships and classroom environments that might be impacting the student's overall well-being and functioning. As students may not readily report experiences of being

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disrespected by teachers, it is important to create a trusting relationship and ask open-ended questions, and then validate student perceptions about such experiences.

Our findings also have implications for clinical service providers and other adults who work with adolescents outside of school settings because it addresses the details of interactional experiences between youth and authority figures. It may be that our some of the recommendations for teachers may also be applied to these adult-youth relationships and interactions.

Recommendations for Future Study

This study developed hypotheses to that add to the literature on racial microaggressions and other disrespect incidents by teachers towards students of color, particularly towards immigrant-origin youth. By providing rich descriptions of this phenomenon through narratives, our research addresses a critical gap in the literature on racial microaggressions and our findings provide insights, which can be used for future study. Time was a limiting factor for the present study and it is hoped that additional research will be conducted with a larger, more representative sample. Future research on racial microaggressions with the immigrant-origin youth population should address the following areas.

First, future research should explore differences across experiences of different ethnic and racial groups. These differences have not been thoroughly and systematically explored by researchers but there are many studies that indicate critical differences in experiences of racism. Second, future research should also look at experiences of peer-to-peer disrespect and racial microaggressions with this population, which the literature has indicated differentially impacts students than experiences of discrimination by teachers. Furthermore, additional research could incorporate a strengths-based perspective rather than a deficit-informed one in order to

incorporate what is working well rather than only focusing on negative experiences with teachers to build more formal support for teacher behavior that is working well.

Another critical area for future study is whether or not factors of generation status and immigrant origin identity impact experiences of disrespect and youth responses to these. My study was unable to address this given the uneven distribution of participants in different categories of generation status, which was overwhelmingly weighted towards second-generation. Additionally, it might be important to ask open-ended questions about immigrant-origin identity factors (country of origin, family members' countries of origin, how much someone identifies with the term "immigrant," languages spoken, pride) to allow for expansive responses rather than having them dictated by the demographic form. Additionally, future research should build on what we found about school climate and racial sensitivity. It would important to look in more depth at school demographics, other relevant school climate measures (school belongingness and affirmation of diversity), and teacher racial sensitivity and think through how this impacts immigrant-origin adolescents in particular.

Conclusion

The present study sought to explore ethnic and racial minority immigrant-origin adolescents' experiences of discrimination by teachers, how students respond such incidents, and whether or not factors of identity accounted for differences in experience. We employed a narrative methodology and spoke to high school students directly about their experiences, in keeping with the critical race methodology of counter-storytelling. As we expected, many of these experiences of discrimination by teachers were racial microaggressions, or subtle racism, a phenomenon that has been little studied in high school settings but which the literature shows to have a great impact on the well-being of people of color due to their repetitive nature.

Our findings show that immigrant-origin youth told stories of racial microaggressions when asked about disrespect by teachers, and that despite the often-unintentional nature of teachers' actions, these experiences of discrimination left lasting impressions on students. While there was a broad range of microaggression experiences reported, some of the narratives were about interactional and environmental disrespect specifically linked to immigrant identity and others can be categorized as "alien in one's own land" microaggressions. Youth responded in a variety of ways to racial microaggressions and disrespect by teachers, ranging from inaction to direct confrontation and from forgiveness to subtle retaliation, and also occasionally used help-seeking behaviors to get support and validation from peers and family and less frequently to get resolution through reporting incidents to school-based adults. The present study highlighted a number of factors impacting both student experiences and responses to disrespect by teachers—generation status, ethnic-group membership, social supports, political climate, teachers' racial sensitivity, teacher-student relationships, and school representation and overall demographics—and these should be explored in more depth by future research.

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Appendix A: HSR Waiver Approval Letter

SMITH COLLEGE

School for Social Work
Smith College
Northampton, Massachusetts 01063

October 27, 2016

Leah Gold

Dear Leah,

The Smith College School for Social Work Human Subjects Review Committee approves your request for exemption from Smith School for Social Work HSR Committee review based on the study's use of data collected by another researcher. This researcher's study was approved by the Smith College Internal Review Board. We wish you the best with your research.

Sincerely,

Elaine Kersten, Ed.D.
Co-Chair, Human Subjects Review Committee

CC: Shannon Audley, Research Advisor

Appendix B: Initial Smith College IRB Approval (2015)

SMITH COLLEGE

NOTICE OF IRB APPROVAL

TO: **SHANNON AUDLEY-PIOTROWSKI**

FROM: PHILIP PEAKE, CHAIR, INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD, SMITH COLLEGE

SUBJECT: HUMAN SUBJECTS PROPOSAL

DATE: MAY 29, 2015

_____

PROPOSAL TITLE: RESPECT INTERVIEWS WITH URBAN YOUTH AND TEACHERS

REVIEW TYPE: FULL REVIEW

PROJECT NUMBER: 1415-131

APPROVAL DATE: 5-21-15

The Institutional Review Board at Smith College has reviewed and approved the research protocol referenced above. **Please note the following requirements**:

Amendments: If you wish to change any aspect of the study (such as design, procedures, consent forms or subject population), you must submit these changes to the IRB by filling out and submitting a Change of Protocol form.

Adverse Event Reporting/Deviations from Approved Procedures: Should any adverse events occur during the conduct of your research, you should report them immediately to the chair of the IRB. Additionally, any procedural deviations from your approved proposal must be reported. Explanations of these events and related forms can be found on the IRB website.

Completion: When you have completed your study (i.e. data collection is finished), you are required to inform the IRB by submitting a signed Research Project Continuation Form with appropriate box checked.

Additional Requirements: None.

Be sure to use the project number provided above in all subsequent correspondence to the Institutional Review Board at Smith College. Please contact me at 413-585-3914 or ppeake@smith.edu if you have any questions.

_____

For Committee Use Only:
Any and all requirements completed, final approval given:

Philip K. Peake, PhD
Chair, Institutional Review Board

Appendix C: Smith College IRB Approval for Continuation (2016)

◆ SMITH COLLEGE

NOTICE OF IRB APPROVAL FOR CHANGE OF PROTOCOL

TO: **SHANNON AUDLEY**

FROM: NNAMDI POLE, CHAIR, INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD, SMITH COLLEGE

SUBJECT: HUMAN SUBJECTS PROPOSAL

DATE: JULY 21, 2016

_____

PROPOSAL TITLE: RESPECT INTERVIEWS WITH URBAN YOUTH AND TEACHERS

REVIEW TYPE: FULL

PROJECT NUMBER: 1415-131

APPROVAL DATE: 21-JUL-2016 ORIGINAL APPROVAL DATE: 21-MAY-2015

The Institutional Review Board at Smith College has reviewed and approved the research protocol referenced above. **Please note the following requirements**:

Amendments: If you wish to change any aspect of the study (such as design, procedures, consent forms or subject population), you must submit these changes to the IRB by filling out and submitting a Change of Protocol form.

Adverse Event Reporting/Deviations from Approved Procedures: Should any adverse events occur during the conduct of your research, you should report them immediately to the chair of the IRB. Additionally, any procedural deviations from your approved proposal must be reported. Explanations of these events and related forms can be found on the IRB website.

Renewal: You must promptly return annual Research Project Continuation Forms sent by the IRB in order to continue to be authorized to conduct research.

Completion: When you have completed your study (i.e. data collection is finished), you are required inform the IRB by submitting a signed Research Project Continuation Form with appropriate box checked.

Consent Forms: All subjects should be given a copy of the consent form. If signed consent is to be collected, as noted in your proposal, you must retain signed consent documents for at least three years past completion of the research activity.

Additional Requirements: None.

Be sure to use the project number provided above in all subsequent correspondence to the Institutional Review Board at Smith College. Please contact me at 413-585-3914 or ppeake@smith.edu, if you have any questions.

For Committee Use Only:
Any and all requirements completed, final approval given:

Nnamdi Pole, Ph.D.
Chair, Institutional Review Board

Appendix D: Contingent Smith College IRB Approval for Modified Procedure (2017)

SMITH COLLEGE

NOTICE OF IRB CONTINGENT APPROVAL – CHANGE OF PROTOCOL

TO: **SHANNON AUDLEY**

FROM: NNAMDI POLE, CHAIR, INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD, SMITH COLLEGE

SUBJECT: HUMAN SUBJECTS PROPOSAL

DATE: FEBRUARY 21, 2017

PROPOSAL TITLE: RESPECT INTERVIEWS WITH URBAN YOUTH AND TEACHERS

REVIEW TYPE: CHANGE OF PROTOCOL - EXPEDITED

DATE OF CONTINGENT APPROVAL: 21-FEB-2017

ORIGINAL REVIEW: FULL REVIEW AND APPROVAL ON 21-JUL-2016

Dear Shannon Audley,

The Smith Institutional Review Board has reviewed your Change of Protocol proposal and decided to approve it **contingent upon the following revisions:**

- This approval is contingent upon you obtaining signed letters from the after school programs and submitting them to the IRB. That is, you may begin collecting data from a specific site once the IRB is in possession of signed letters indicating that the specific after school program is aware of your procedures and supportive of you recruiting students from their site and conducting your study there.
- Please remove the following from the signature prompt of the parental consent document: "Please which part of the research study you consent to have your child participate in."

Please note: This is for the amended Change of Protocol request that was submitted on February 16, 2017. A full review of the Change of Protocol request that was submitted on February 2, 2017 will be conducted on March 2, 2017.

- We reserve the right to reconsider elements of this approval once the full board has had a chance to consider the larger project and the new elements that you are proposing to carry out. In other words, we may ask for changes in procedures that are currently approved based on feedback from the full board.

Again, approval of this proposal is contingent upon the request above. Once requested revisions are made, we will review your documents, and you will be contacted for clarification and/or confirmation of approval.

We are available to discuss any aspect of this response and to assist with your revised proposal. Feel free to contact me at npole@smith.edu, or the IRB office at irb@smith.edu, or 413-585-3562.

Sincerely,

Nnamdi Pole, Ph.D.
Chair, Institutional Review Board

Appendix E: Full Smith College IRB Approval for Modified Procedure (2017)

SMITH COLLEGE

NOTICE OF IRB APPROVAL

TO: **SHANNON AUDLEY**

FROM: NNAMDI POLE, CHAIR, INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD, SMITH COLLEGE

SUBJECT: HUMAN SUBJECTS PROPOSAL

DATE: MARCH 10, 2017

PROPOSAL TITLE: THE RETROSPECTIVE EXPLORATION OF (DIS)RESPECT AND SUBTLE RACISM IN US HIGH SCHOOLS

REVIEW TYPE: EXPEDITED

PROJECT NUMBER: 1617-047

APPROVAL DATE: 8-MAR-2017

The Institutional Review Board at Smith College has reviewed and approved the research protocol referenced above. **Please note the following requirements**:

Amendments: If you wish to change any aspect of the study (such as design, procedures, consent forms or subject population), you must submit these changes to the IRB by filling out and submitting a Change of Protocol form.

Adverse Event Reporting/Deviations from Approved Procedures: Should any adverse events occur during the conduct of your research, you should report them immediately to the chair of the IRB. Additionally, any procedural deviations from your approved proposal must be reported. Explanations of these events and related forms can be found on the IRB website.

Completion: When you have completed your study (i.e. data collection is finished), you are required to inform the IRB by submitting a signed Research Project Continuation Form with appropriate box checked.

Additional Requirements: None.

Be sure to use the project number provided above in all subsequent correspondence to the Institutional Review Board at Smith College. Please contact the IRB office at 413-585-3562 or irb@smith.edu if you have any questions.

For Committee Use Only:
Any and all requirements completed, final approval given:

.Nnamdi Pole, Ph.D.
Chair, Institutional Review Board

Appendix F: Recruitment Flyer

SHARE YOUR STORY!

HIGH SCHOOL PARTICIPANTS NEEDED

WE ARE SEEKING
CURRENT HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS &
RECENT HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES
TO PARTICIPATE IN A STUDY ABOUT THEIR
EXPERIENCES OF DISRESPECT, INJUSTICE,
OR DISCRIMINATION AT SCHOOL

Participation involves a confidential in-person interview and/or survey. If you want more information, just ask!

To participate, or with any questions, please contact Leah Gold

This study is being conducted by Smith College faculty and graduate students at Smith College School for Social Work. This study protocol has been reviewed and approved by the Internal Review Board of Smith College.

Appendix G: Parental Assent for High School Age Participants

SMITH COLLEGE

Parent Consent to Participate in a Research Study

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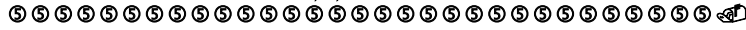
Title of Study: *Everyday Injustice In Schools*
Investigator(s): Shannon Audley, Education and Child Study, (413) 585-3257
⬡⬡⬡⬡⬡⬡⬡⬡⬡⬡⬡⬡⬡⬡⬡⬡⬡⬡⬡⬡⬡⬡⬡⬡⬡⬡⬡⬡⬡⬡⬡⬡⬡
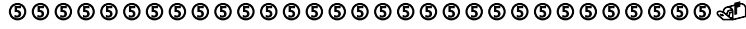
Introduction
- School is a very important setting for social interactions. Two important aspects of social interaction are (dis)respect and social identity, which includes ethnicity and heritage.
- Your child is being asked to be in a research study about his or her experiences about respect, disrespect, social and personal identity, school climate, and subtle or unintentional racism in school.

Purpose of Study
- A goal of the study is to understand how respect, disrespect, and social identity influence the school experience. This will help teachers better promote positive interactions among students in the school setting.
- If you agree to allow your youth to participate, your child will also be asked for his or her written consent.

Description of the Study Procedures
- Your child will be asked to complete a survey that will take approximately 40 minutes to complete. The survey will ask them about their experiences of subtle or unintentional racism, also known as microaggressions, in the school setting. It will also include questions about school climate, school motivation, and levels of general depression and stress, as well as self-esteem and self-respect.
- We will also ask your child to participate in one audio-recorded 45-minute interview that encourages him or her to discuss the ways in which they perceive teachers, their fellow students to be both respectful and disrespectful in the classroom.
- Children will not be asked for teachers' names.
- Participants will be told that they do not have to complete any part of the survey or interview that they do not wish to complete. They will be assured that there will be no consequences should they decide not to participate.
- Both the survey and interview will occur in a location that is comfortable to your child.
- You can choose to have your child participate in the interview, survey, or both.

At the end of both the interview and the survey, your child will be debriefed about the survey/interview and will be given a chance to ask any questions that may have resulted from your participation in the study.

Risks/Discomforts of Being in this Study
- We believe there are minimal physical and psychological risks involved for children who participate in this study. Children often talk about their experiences with fellow students and teachers as part of the normal, everyday classroom experience. They may feel tired after completing the written survey.

Benefits of Being in the Study
- Sometimes children feel empowered telling researchers about their own experiences in school. Your child will be encouraged to talk about their answers or concerns with the researcher or with you.

Confidentiality

- No one affiliated with the school will read any child's responses.
- No information about any individual child will be made available to any teacher or administrator. Our information will be kept completely confidential. No real names, schools, or locations will be used. If writing styles requires quotes, a pseudonym will be given and identifying information will be changed.
- Again, no individual participant will ever be identified by name.

Payments

- For completing at least one question of the survey, the child can choose to be entered in a drawing for a $25 Amazon gift card.
- For completing at least one interview question the child will be given a $5 Amazon gift card.

Right to Refuse or Withdraw

- The decision to have your child participate in this study is entirely up to you and your child. Declining to have your child participate in this study will not affect your relationship with the [afterschool program], the researcher, or Smith College.

Right to Ask Questions and Report Concerns

- You have the right and are welcome to ask questions about this research study and to have those questions answered by me before, during, or after the research.
- If you have any questions about the study, feel free to contact me, Shannon Audley at saudley@smith.edu or by telephone at 413-585-3257.
- If you have any problems or concerns that occur as a result of your participation, you can report them to Nnamdi Pole, the Smith College Institutional Research Board (IRB) Chairperson, (413-585-3936).
- Alternatively, concerns can be reported by completing a Participant Complaint Form, which can be found on the IRB website at www.smith.edu/irb/compliance.htm

Consent

- Your signature below indicates that you consent to having your child participate in this study, and that you have read and understood the information provided above. A copy of this form is enclosed for you to keep for your records.

1.) Please which part of the research study you consent to have your child participate in.
I give my consent for my child to participate in the

_____ research survey
_____ interview
_____ both

Name of Youth : _____

Name of Parent/Guardian (print): _____

Signature of Parent/Guardian: _____   Date: _____

Signature of Investigator(s): _____   Date: _____

Appendix H: Recruitment Letter of Interest Template

Smith College of Social Work Email Recruitment

Hi,

My name is Leah Gold. I'm a graduate student at Smith College School for Social Work. I am currently working on a thesis project centering on the voices of youth. The research project is about young people's experiences of disrespect and respect in schools (e.g., how teachers can earn respect, subtle racism). We are looking for participants of all racial backgrounds. Participation involves participating in an in-person interview and completing a demographic questionnaire, which should take around 45 minutes to complete. Participants must be current high school students or recent HS graduates. Parental consent is required for all participants under the age of 18. Participants will be compensated with a $5 gift card to amazon.com.

In order uplift youth voices, I am hoping to recruit teens in programs such as [insert program name] and would like to know if you would allow me to recruit students from your site.

You can reach me via this e-mail address or via phone: XXX-XXX-XXXX

Warm wishes,

Leah Gold

Social Media Recruitment

Hello friends and colleagues!

I am currently recruiting participants for my master's thesis and would like to see if you know anyone who might be interested! The research project is about young people's experiences of disrespect and respect in schools (e.g., how teachers can earn respect, subtle racism). We are interested in youth from all racial backgrounds. Participation involves participating in an in-person interview and completing a demographic questionnaire, which should take around 45 minutes to complete. Participants must be current high school students or recent HS graduates. Parental consent is required for all participants under the age of 18. Participants will be compensated with a $5 gift card to amazon.com.

If you know of any students or recent grads who qualify and might be interested, please send them my way!

I have attached the recruitment flyer for your reference. To participate, or with any questions, please contact me by email at XXXXX or by phone at XXXXX.

This study is being conducted by Smith College faculty and graduate students at Smith College School for Social Work. This study protocol has been reviewed and approved by the Institutional Review Board of Smith College.

Thank you for your time and help!

Leah Gold
Master of Social Work Candidate, 2017
Smith College School for Social Work

Appendix I: Site Approval Letter – Mount Greylock High School
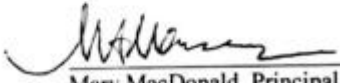
Mount Greylock Regional School District
1781 Cold Spring Road
Williamstown, MA 01267
413-458-9582
FAX (413) 458-9581
www.mgrhs.org

April 4, 2017

To the Smith College IRB,

As a representative of the Mount Greylock Regional High School, I confirm that the afterschool program/school grants permission for the proposed research to use our site to recruit participants once IRB approval has been obtained. In addition we will allow the research to take place on our premises and Emily Leitt will be this studies point of contact person should a participant or other student want to talk about issues relating to the study.

We will send home a consent form with our afterschool/high school students, however, we will not include a letter to accompany the consent form.

_____
Mary MacDonald, Principal

_____
Emily Leitt, Teacher

Peer Team_____
Title of Afterschool Program

The Greylock Way ~ Integrity, Responsibility, Perseverance

Appendix J: Site Approval Letter – UniTY Youth Leadership Program

To the Smith College IRB,

As a representative of the UNiTY Youth Leadership Program, I confirm that the afterschool program/school grants permission for the proposed research to use our site to recruit participants once IRB approval has been obtained. In addition we will allow the research to take place on our premises and Tim Shiebler will be this studies point of contact person should a participant or other student want to talk about issues relating to the study.

We will send home consent form with our afterschool/high school students, including a letter to accompany the consent form.

Tim Shiebler
Printed Name of Afterschool Official

UNiTY Youth Leadership Program
Title of Afterschool program

[signature]
Signature of Afterschool Official

_4/12/17_
Date

Appendix K: Site Approval Letter – ROOTS Teen Center

To the Smith College IRB,

As a representative of the <<insert afterschool program/school name>>, I confirm that the afterschool program/school grants permission for the proposed research to use our site to recruit participants once IRB approval has been obtained. In addition we <<will/will not>> allow the research to take place on our premises and <<name of contact person>> will be this studies point of contact person identff as participant or other student want to talk about issues relating to the study.

We will send home consent forms with our afterschool/high school students, <<including or we will not include >> a letter to accompany the consent form.

Jessica Summerlux   _ROOTS Teen Center Drop In_
Printed Name of Afterschool Official   Title of afterschool program

[signature]   _4/19/17_
Printed Name of Afterschool Official   Date

Appendix L: Pre- and Post-Interview Mood Rater

Post- Survey Mood Rater

Please circle the number the best corresponds to how you are feeling **RIGHT NOW.**

1	2	3	4	5
Very bad	Bad	OK (not good or bad)	Good	Really good

ID:_____

Pre- Survey Mood Rater

Please circle the number the best corresponds to how you are feeling **RIGHT NOW.**

1	2	3	4	5
Very bad	Bad	OK (not good or bad)	Good	Really good

Appendix M: Debriefing Form (Template)

Debriefing Form for Participation in a Research Study
Smith College

Thank you for your participation in our study! Your participation is greatly appreciated.

Purpose of the Study:
We previously informed you that the purpose of the study is to understand how respect, disrespect, and social identity influence the school experience, including witnessing or experiencing microaggressions. The goal of our research is help teachers and other school administration understand the ways in which teachers can promote positive student teacher interactions and the ways in which teachers may unknowingly promote subtle racism in their classrooms. We hope to use this information to shape teacher education and help schools rethink how they approach racial and ethnic diversity in their schools.

We realize that some of the questions asked may have provoked strong emotional reactions. As researchers, we do not provide mental health services and we will not be following up with you after the study. However, at your <school/afterschool program>, <name of point contact> is willing to talk with you about any issues that questions in this study may have brought up for you.

In addition, we want to provide every participant in this study with a comprehensive and accurate list of clinical resources that are available, should you decide you need assistance at any time. Please see information pertaining to local resources at the end of this form.

Confidentiality:
You may decide that you do not want your data used in this research. If you would like your data removed from the study and permanently deleted please email Shannon Audley [saudley@smith.edu] and let her know that you do not want your data used in this research. Because this research will be used for research presentations and papers, requests to have data removed from the study must occur by June 1st, 2017.

Whether you agree or do not agree to have your data used for this study, you will still receive a $5 amazon gift card for your participation.

Final Report:
If you would like to receive a copy of the final report of this study (or a summary of the findings) when it is completed, please feel free to contact us.

Useful Contact Information:
If you have any questions or concerns regarding this study, its purpose or procedures, or if you have a research-related problem, please feel free to contact the researcher(s), **Shannon Audley, saudley@smith.edu, 413-585-3257**

If you have any questions concerning your rights as a research subject, you may contact

the Smith College Institutional Research Board (IRB) Chairperson, **Nnamdi Pole** **413-585-3936, *irb@smith.edu*.**

If you feel upset after having completed the study or find that some questions or aspects of the study triggered distress, talking with a qualified clinician may help. If you feel you would like assistance please contact <clinical resources in the area near where the research occurred>.

The following websites may also connect you with others who have had similar experiences.

Spaces of Solidarity

- **Microaggressions.com**
  A tumblr that posts anonymous microaggression experiences.
- **Speakyourstory.net**
  A webpage that collects and shares stories about microaggressions against women in STEM.

International Movement Against All Forms of Discrimination and Racism (IMADR)

http://imadr.org/

This international non-profit, non-governmental human rights organization devoted to eliminating discrimination and racism, forging international solidarity among discriminated minorities and advancing the international human rights system

Hotlines

Discrimination and Anti-Hate Line

1-800-649-0404

Minority Health Resource Center

800-444-6472

www.omhrc.gov

An informative public health site which focuses on issues affecting American Indians and Alaska Natives, Asian Americans, Native Hawaiians and other Pacific Islanders, Black/African Americans, and Hispanics/Latinos.

Further Reading(s):

If you would like to learn more about *microaggressions* please see the following references:

- Microaggressions in Everyday Life: Race, Gender, and Sexual Orientation, by Derald Wing Sue. (Wiley, 2010)
- Microaggressions and Marginality: Manifestation, Dynamics, and Impact, edited by Derald Wing Sue (Wiley, 2010)

Please keep a copy of this form for your future reference. Once again, thank you for your participation in this study!

Appendix N: Demographic Questionnaire for High School Participants

Section A. Background Information

> The items in this section include questions about your background.
> Please read each question carefully and thoughtfully.

A1. Age ( ) ☐ 13 ☐14 ☐15 ☐16 ☐17 ☐18 ☐19 ☐Other:_____

A2. Class year (circle one): Freshman Sophomore Junior Senior

A3. How would you describe your High School grades? Circle one:

Mostly A's	Mostly B's	Mostly C's	Mostly D's	Mostly F's
A's and B's	B's and C's	C's and D's	D's and F's	

A4. How many times have you gotten into trouble for your behavior during this school year (i.e., sent to the office, detention, suspension, etc?)

☐ none   ☐ 1-2   ☐ 3-4   ☐ 5 or more

A5 Gender (write in) _____

A6. Where were you born? State:_____ Country:_____

A7. Where did you grow up? State:_____ Country:_____

A8. If you were born outside the US, how many years have you lived in the US?_____

A9. When thinking about your family, check all that apply:
☐ at least one parent was born outside of the U.S.
☐ at least one grandparent was born outside of the U.S.
☐ at least one great-grandparent was born outside of the U.S.
☐ none of the above

A10. What language(s) do you speak at home? _____

A11. What language(s) do you speak with friends? (e.g., English, Spanish, etc.) _____

A12. Please select the category that best describes your family's average annual income (before taxes)? ☐ I don't know

Less than $6,000	$9,000-$11,999	$16,000-$19,999	$25,000-$29,999	$50,000-$69,999	$100,000-$119,999
$6,000-$8,999	$12,000-$15,999	$20,000-$24,999	$30,000-$49,999	$70,000-$99,999	$120,000 or more

A13: Think about the parent or guardian you spend the most time with: which of the following best describes their relationship status?

Married or living together   Separated   Divorced   Never married   Widowed

A14: Parent(s) Educational Level: At least ONE parent or guardian has the equivalent of (US or abroad schooling):

Completed some high school or less	Completed some college	Completed some graduate work
Graduated High school	Has a bachelor's degree	Has a graduate degree

In the United States, people come from many different countries and cultures, and there are many different words to describe ethnicities or ethnic groups that people come from. Some examples of ethnicity are Dominican, Mexican, Puerto Rican, Black, Chinese, White, and many others.

A15: What is your ethnic group or ethnicity (you may write in more than one)? _____

A16: What is the race or ethnicity that OTHER PEOPLE most often see you as?
☐ White   ☐ Black   ☐ Latino/a   ☐ American Indian   ☐ Asian

1

For the next few questions, think about the school that you currently attend, and answer to the best of your knowledge.

A17. In my school ( ) ☐most students are people of color
  ☐ there are about equal numbers of students who are people of color and white
  ☐ most students are white

A18. In my school ( ) ☐ most teachers are people of color
  ☐ there are about equal numbers of teachers who are persons of color and white
  ☐ most teachers are white

A19. In my school, my ethnicity is well represented within the student body ( ) ☐ yes ☐no

*Please circle the number that BEST corresponds to how you feel **right now***
1= Not Proud at all and 5 = Extremely Proud

A20. How much pride do you feel about you/your family's country of origin?	1	2	3	4	5
A21. How much pride do you feel about being American?	1	2	3	4	5
A22. How much pride do you feel about your race or ethnicity?	1	2	3	4	5

2

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Appendix O: Demographic Questionnaire for Emerging Adult Participants

ID:_____

Background Information

```
The items include questions about your background.
Please read each question carefully and thoughtfully.
```

A1. Age ( ) □18 □19 □ 20 □ 21 □ 22 □ 23 □ 24 □ 25 Other:_____

A2. College class year (circle one): Freshman Sophomore Junior Senior

A3. Name of College:_____

A4. Gender (write in) _____

A5. Where were you born? State:_____ Country:_____

A6. Where did you grow up? State:_____ Country:_____

A7. If you were born outside the US, how many years have you lived in the US?_____

A8. When thinking about your family, check all that apply:
□ at least one parent was born outside of the U.S.
□ at least one grandparent was born outside of the U.S.
□ at least one great-grandparent was born outside of the U.S.
□ none of the above

A9. What language(s) do you speak at home? _____

A10. What language(s) do you speak with friends? (e.g., English, Spanish, etc.) _____

A11. Please select the category that best describes your family's average annual income (before taxes)? □ I don't know

Less than $6,000	$9,000-$11,999	$16,000-$19,999	$25,000-$29,999	$50,000-$69,999	$100,000-$119,999
$6,000-$8,999	$12,000-$15,999	$20,000-$24,999	$30,000-$49,999	$70,000-$99,999	$120,000 or more

A12: Parent(s) Educational Level: At least ONE parent or guardian has the equivalent of (US or abroad schooling):

Completed some high school or less Completed some college Completed some graduate work
Graduated High school Has a bachelor's degree Has a graduate degree

In the United States, people come from many different countries and cultures, and there are many different words to describe ethnicities or ethnic groups that people come from. Some examples of ethnicity are Dominican, Mexican, Puerto Rican, Black, Chinese, White, and many others.

A13: What is your ethnic group or ethnicity (you may write in more than one)? _____

A14: What is the race or ethnicity that OTHER PEOPLE most often see you as?
□ White   □ Black   □ Latino/a   □ American Indian   □ Asian

ID:_____

For the next few questions, think about YOUR HIGH SCHOOL and answer to the best of your knowledge.

A15. How would you describe your **High School grades**? Circle one:

Mostly A's	Mostly B's	Mostly C's	Mostly D's	Mostly F's
A's and B's	B's and C's	C's and D's	D's and F's	

A16. In my high school ( ) ☐ most students were people of color
☐ there were about equal numbers of students who were people of color and white
☐ most students were white

A17. In my high school ( ) ☐ most teachers were people of color
☐ there were about equal numbers of teachers who were people of color and white
☐ most teachers were white

A18. In my high school, I took classes that included lessons, readings, or other information that positively portrayed people of my ethnicity ( ) ☐ yes ☐ no

A19. In my high school, my ethnicity was well represented within the student body ( ) ☐ yes ☐ no

---

Please circle the number that BEST corresponds to how you feel RIGHT NOW
1= Not Proud at all and 5 = Extremely Proud

A20. How much pride do you feel about you/your family's country of origin?	1	2	3	4	5
A21. How much pride do you feel about being American?	1	2	3	4	5
A22. How much pride do you feel about your race or ethnicity?	1	2	3	4	5

Appendix P: Interview Script for High School Participants

"We're going to ask about your experiences with teachers and peers during the interview and we may ask you for their genders and ethnicities, but we won't ask for names. So if you could, give them a fake name. However, if you give us a name, we'll change it so their identity remains confidential. Please make sure to also not disclose any other information, such as undocumented status, about those you talk about in the interview."

PART I
1. **Tell me about a time when a teacher or another adult at school disrespected you or made you feel disrespected. Pick a time you remember really well and tell me everything you can remember.**
    a. Is there anything else you remember about that time?
    b. Did anyone witness this event? If so who? What did they do (i.e., walk away, intervene?) Why do you think they responded the way that they did?
    c. Did you report the incident to other adults [parents/teachers/administrators] or other peers [friends/classmates]? Why/Why not?
    d. Did you get back [retaliate] (or try to get back) at the [teacher/other adult] for [behavior/incident?] Why/why not?
    e. Did you forgive the [teacher/other adult] for [behavior/incident]? Why/why not?
    f. Do you think it was okay or not okay for [teacher/other adult] to do [behavior/incident]?
    g. Why do you think it was [okay/not okay] for [teacher/other adult] to do that?"
    h. When the [teacher/other adult] did [behavior/incident], why do you think [he/she] did that?
    i. Do you think this was a good reason, or not a good reason? Why was it a good reason/not a good reason?
    j. Why do you think [behavior] was disrespectful?
    k. *(if they say NO the do not ask and circle a 0)* On a scale from 1 (little bit) to 4 (A lot) how disrespectful was the experience?
    l. *Now I am going to ask you how you felt at the time of the experience, using the same scale as before. If you did not experience the emotion, then say zero.*
       "How… did you feel at the time?"
         i. angry
        ii. hurt
       iii. humiliated
        iv. sad
         v. confused
        vi. ashamed
       vii. Were there any other emotions that you felt that I didn't ask about (if so, ask how much, and have them describe)?

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m. I want to you think about how you FEEL NOW about the experience. "How… do you feel now about the experience?"

    i. angry

    ii. hurt

    iii. humiliated

    iv. sad

    v. confused

    vi. ashamed

    vii. Were there any other emotions that you felt that I didn't ask about (if so, ask how much, and have them describe)?

2. **Tell me about a time when a classmate or another kid at school disrespected you or made you feel disrespected. Pick a time you remember really well and tell me everything you can remember.**

a. Is there anything else you remember about that time?

b. Did anyone witness this event? If so who? What did they do? (i.e., walk away, intervene) Why do you think they responded the way that they did?

c. Did you report the incident to other adults [parents/teachers/administrators] or other peers [friends/classmates]? Why/Why not?

d. Did you get back [retaliate] (or try to get back) at the [classmate] for [behavior/incident?] Why/why not?

e. Did you forgive the [classmate] for [behavior/incident]? Why/why not?

f. Do you think it was okay or not okay for [classmate/kid] to do [behavior]?

g. Why do you think it was [okay/not okay] for [classmate/kid] to do that?

h. When the [classmate/kid] teacher did [behavior], why do you think [he/she] did that?

i. Do you think this was a good reason, or not a good reason? Why was it a good reason/not a good reason?

j. Why do you think [behavior] was disrespectful?

k. *(if they say NO the do not ask and circle a 0)* On a scale from 1 (little bit) to 4 (a lot) how disrespectful was the experience?

l. *Now I am going to ask you how you felt at the time of the experience, using the same scale as before. If you did not experience the emotion, then say zero.* "How… did you feel at the time?"

    i. angry

    ii. hurt

    iii. humiliated

    iv. sad

    v. confused

    vi. ashamed

     vii. Were there any other emotions that you felt that I didn't ask about *(if so, ask how much, and have them describe)?*

  m. I want to you think about how you FEEL NOW about the experience. "How… do you feel now about the experience?"

     i. angry

     ii. hurt

     iii. humiliated

     iv. sad

     v. confused

     vi. ashamed

     vii. Were there any other emotions that you felt that I didn't ask about *(if so, ask how much, and have them describe)?*

3. **Is there anything else you would like to tell me about those experiences that I hadn't asked?**

PART II

1. **Tell me about a time when a teacher or another adult at school earned your respect. Pick a time you remember really well and tell me everything you can remember.**

  a. Is there anything else you remember about that time?

  b. Did you share this experience to other adults [parents/teachers/administrators] or other peers [friends/classmates]? Why/Why not?

  c. Did you make it a special point to show this teacher respect after [he/she] [behavior]? Why/why not?

  d. When the [teacher/other adult] teacher did [behavior], why do you think [he/she] did that?

  e. Do you think this was a good reason, or not a good reason? Why was it a good reason/not a good reason?

  f. What specifically about [behavior] made it respectful or earned your respect?

  g. On a scale from 1 (little bit) to 4 (a lot) how much respect did the teacher earn?

  h. *Now I am going to ask you how you felt at the time of the experience, using the same scale as before. If you did not experience the emotion, then say zero.* "How… did you feel at the time?"

     i. proud

     ii. surprised

     iii. happy

     iv. grateful

     v. Were there any other emotions that you felt that I didn't ask about *(if so, ask how much, and have them describe)?*

  i. I want to you think about how you FEEL NOW about the experience. "How… do you feel now about the experience?"

i. proud
　ii. surprised
　iii. happy
　iv. grateful
　v. Were there any other emotions that you felt that I didn't ask about *(if so, ask how much, and have them describe)?*

PART III – General Questions
1. What is one thing you wish your teachers knew about how to earn students' respect?
2. What is one thing you wish your teachers knew about disrespect in the classroom?
3. In what ways, do you think your teachers, either in the present or the past, are sensitive and thoughtful about their treatment of race and ethnicity in the classroom?
4. Is there anything else you would like to tell me about respect or disrespect in the classroom or school that I hadn't asked?

Appendix Q: Interview Script for Emerging Adult Participants

"We're going to ask about your experiences with teachers and peers during the interview and we may ask you for their genders and ethnicities, but we won't ask for names. So if you could, give them a fake name. However, if you give us a name, we'll change it so their identity remains confidential. Please make sure to also not disclose any other information, such as undocumented status, about those you talk about in the interview."

PART I: Disrespect Stories
1. **Tell me about a time when a teacher or another adult at school disrespected you or made you feel disrespected. Pick a time you remember really well and tell me everything you can remember.**
   a. Is there anything else you remember about that time?
   b. Did anyone witness this event? If so who? What did they do (i.e., walk away, intervene?) Why do you think they responded the way that they did?
   c. Did you report the incident to other adults [parents/teachers/administrators] or other peers [friends/classmates]? Why/Why not?
   d. Did you get back [retaliate] (or try to get back) at the [teacher/other adult] for [behavior/incident?] Why/why not?
   e. Did you forgive the [teacher/other adult] for [behavior/incident]? Why/why not?
   f. Do you think it was okay or not okay for [teacher/other adult] to do [behavior/incident]?
   g. Why do you think it was [okay/not okay] for [teacher/other adult] to do that?"
   h. When the [teacher/other adult] did [behavior/incident], why do you think [he/she] did that?
   i. Do you think this was a good reason, or not a good reason? Why was it a good reason/not a good reason?
   j. Why do you think [behavior] was disrespectful?
   k. *(if they say NO the do not ask and circle a 0)* On a scale from 1 (little bit) to 4 (A lot) how disrespectful was the experience?
   l. *Now I am going to ask you how you felt at the time of the experience, using the same scale as before. If you did not experience the emotion, then say zero.*
      "How… did you feel at the time?"
        i. angry
        ii. hurt
        iii. humiliated
        iv. sad
        v. confused
        vi. ashamed
        vii. Were there any other emotions that you felt that I didn't ask about *(if so, ask how much, and have them describe)?*

m. I want to you think about how you FEEL NOW about the experience. "How… do you feel now about the experience?"

    i.   angry

    ii.   hurt

    iii.   humiliated

    iv.   sad

    v.   confused

    vi.   ashamed

    vii.   Were there any other emotions that you felt that I didn't ask about *(if so, ask how much, and have them describe)?*

2. **Tell me about a time when a classmate or another kid at school disrespected you or made you feel disrespected. Pick a time you remember really well and tell me everything you can remember.**

a. Is there anything else you remember about that time?

b. Did anyone witness this event? If so who? What did they do? (i.e., walk away, intervene) Why do you think they responded the way that they did?

c. Did you report the incident to other adults [parents/teachers/administrators] or other peers [friends/classmates]? Why/Why not?

d. Did you get back [retaliate] (or try to get back) at the [classmate] for [behavior/incident?] Why/why not?

e. Did you forgive the [classmate] for [behavior/incident]? Why/why not?

f. Do you think it was okay or not okay for [classmate/kid] to do [behavior]?

g. Why do you think it was [okay/not okay] for [classmate/kid] to do that?

h. When the [classmate/kid] teacher did [behavior], why do you think [he/she] did that?

i. Do you think this was a good reason, or not a good reason? Why was it a good reason/not a good reason?

j. Why do you think [behavior] was disrespectful?

k. *(if they say NO the do not ask and circle a 0)* On a scale from 1 (little bit) to 4 (a lot) how disrespectful was the experience?

l. *Now I am going to ask you how you felt at the time of the experience, using the same scale as before. If you did not experience the emotion, then say zero.* "How… did you feel at the time?"

    i.   angry

    ii.   hurt

    iii.   humiliated

    iv.   sad

    v.   confused

    vi.   ashamed

      vii. Were there any other emotions that you felt that I didn't ask about *(if so, ask how much, and have them describe)?*

  m. I want to you think about how you FEEL NOW about the experience. "How… do you feel now about the experience?"

      i. angry

      ii. hurt

      iii. humiliated

      iv. sad

      v. confused

      vi. ashamed

      vii. Were there any other emotions that you felt that I didn't ask about *(if so, ask how much, and have them describe)?*

3. **Is there anything else you would like to tell me about those experiences that I hadn't asked?**

4. **What is one thing you wish your teachers knew about disrespect in the classroom?**

PART II: Microaggressions At School

[*read definition first; you can re-read it if participant wants OR you can reword it if a participant asks*]

Racial Microaggressions are defined as "brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioral and environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory or negative racial slights (Solórzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000)." These are comments that may be unintentionally racist as well.

Some examples include ……"when I look at you I don't see color, you speak good English, you are so articulate, where were you born."

Do you have any questions about microaggressions as I described them? Can you think about one that you have experienced or witnessed?

FOR PARTICIPANTS WHO IDENTIFY AS STUDENTS OF COLOR:

1. **Tell me about a time when a teacher or other adult at your high school acted in a way that was microaggressive towards you. If this has never happened to you, can you tell me about a when you witnessed a microaggression from a teacher or another adult to a classmate or another student at school? Pick a time you remember really well and tell me everything you can remember.** *[If the participant doesn't have a story go to the microaggressive question #2]*

FOR PARTICIPANTS WHO IDENTIFY AS WHITE:

2. **Tell me about a time when you witnessed or heard about a teacher or other adult at your school act in a way that could be considered microaggressive towards a classmate or another student of color. Pick a time you remember really well and tell me everything you can remember.** *[If the participant doesn't have a story go to the microaggressive question #2]*

    a. Is there anything else you remember about that time?

    b. Did anyone witness this event? If so who? What did they do (i.e., walk away, intervene?) Why do you think they responded the way that they did?

    c. Did you report the incident to other adults [parents/teachers/administrators] or other peers [friends/classmates]? Why/Why not?

    d. Did you get back [retaliate] (or try to get back) at the [teacher/other adult] for [behavior?] Why/why not?

    e. Did you forgive the [teacher/other adult] for [behavior]? Why/why not?

    f. Do you think it was okay or not okay for [teacher/other adult] to do [behavior]?

    g. Why do you think it was [okay/not okay] for [teacher/other adult] to do that?"

    h. When the [teacher/other adult] did [behavior], why do you think [he/she] did that?

    i. Do you think this was a good reason, or not a good reason? Why was it a good reason/not a good reason?

    j. Do you think [behavior] was disrespectful? Why or why not? *[If the participant answers that the behaviors was not disrespectful, then circle a 0 and do not ask the next question]*
    On a scale from 1 (little bit) to 4 (A lot) how disrespectful was the experience?

    l. Now I am going to ask you how you felt at the time of the experience, using the same scale as before. If you did not experience the emotion, then say zero.
    How……………..… did you feel AT THE TIME the incident occurred?

        1. angry   0 1 2 3 4
        2. hurt   0 1 2 3 4
        3. humiliated 0 1 2 3 4
        4. sad   0 1 2 3 4
        5. confused   0 1 2 3 4
        6. ashamed   0 1 2 3 4
        7. Were there any other emotions that you felt that I didn't ask about? *[if so, ask how much, and have them describe].*

    h. I want to you think about how you FEEL NOW about the incident.
    How……………… do you feel NOW about the experience?

        1. angry   0 1 2 3 4
        2. hurt   0 1 2 3 4
        3. humiliated 0 1 2 3 4
        4. sad   0 1 2 3 4
        5. confused   0 1 2 3 4
        6. ashamed   0 1 2 3 4
        7. Were there any other emotions that you felt that I didn't ask about? *[if so, ask how much, and have them describe]*?

Microaggression question #2 [skip here if there wasn't a story about microaggression; have ALL participants answer these questions]

2. **In what ways, if any, do you think teachers, from the past or present, have expressed microaggressions in the classroom?**
3. **In what ways, do you think your teachers, either in the present or the past, are sensitive and thoughtful about their treatment of race and ethnicity in the classroom?**
4. **What is one thing you wish your teachers realized about microaggressions or racism in the classroom?**
5. **Is there anything else you would like to tell me about microaggressions or racism in the classroom that I hadn't asked?**

PART III

1. **Tell me about a time when a teacher or another adult at school earned your respect. Pick a time you remember really well and tell me everything you can remember.**
   a. Is there anything else you remember about that time?
   b. Did you share this experience to other adults [parents/teachers/administrators] or other peers [friends/classmates]? Why/Why not?
   c. Did you make it a special point to show this teacher respect after [he/she] [behavior]? Why/why not?
   d. When the [teacher/other adult] teacher did [behavior], why do you think [he/she] did that?
   e. Do you think this was a good reason, or not a good reason? Why was it a good reason/not a good reason?
   f. What specifically about [behavior] made it respectful or earned your respect?
   g. On a scale from 1 (little bit) to 4 (a lot) how much respect did the teacher earn?
   h. *Now I am going to ask you how you felt at the time of the experience, using the same scale as before. If you did not experience the emotion, then say zero.*
      "How… did you feel at the time?"
         i. proud
         ii. surprised
         iii. happy
         iv. grateful
         v. Were there any other emotions that you felt that I didn't ask about *(if so, ask how much, and have them describe)?*
   i. I want to you think about how you FEEL NOW about the experience. "How… do you feel now about the experience?"
         i. proud

       ii. surprised

     iii. happy

     iv. grateful

      v. Were there any other emotions that you felt that I didn't ask about *(if so, ask how much, and have them describe)?*

2. **What is one thing you wish your teachers knew about how to earn students' respect?**

Part IV: Final Thoughts

1. **Is there anything else you would like to tell me about you experience at school classroom or school that I hadn't asked?**

Appendix R: Youth Assent Form for High School Participants

SMITH COLLEGE

Assent to Participate in an Interview Research Study

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Title of Study: *Everyday Injustice In Schools*
Investigator(s): Shannon Audley, Department of Education and Child Study, 413-585-3257

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We are doing a study to understand how students think about respect, disrespect, and social identity, which includes ethnicity and heritage, in the classroom.

We are asking you to help because we don't know very much about how youth experience respect and disrespect, in the classroom. What we learn in this research may help teachers promote respect in their classrooms.

You parent/guardian has said it is OK for you to participate, but it is up to you to decide if you want to or not. If you agree to be in our study, we will ask you to answer questions about how you think about respect and disrespect at school, and your experiences with respect and disrespect among your classmates and teachers. At the end of the survey, you will be debriefed about your participation and be given a chance to ask any questions that may have resulted from your participation in the study.

You will be interviewed once for approximately 30 minutes. You might feel tired after answering the questions. If you feel tired you can take a break or stop completely. You may be worried that you will feel bad after answering these questions. If you feel bad you can stop, talk about it with the researcher or with someone at home. Some youth find it empowering to share their experiences with researchers.

You may ask us questions if you don't understand. You may ask us questions at any time.
You may ask to skip a question, or to stop at any time. No one will be upset. The questions we ask are only about what you think. There are no right or wrong answers.

No information about you or anything else will be made available to any teacher or administrator. Our information will be kept completely confidential.

For completing at least one interview question you will be given a $5 Amazon gift card.

If you sign this paper, it means you have read and have been told about our study and you want to be in it. If you don't want to be in the study, don't sign the paper. Being in the study is up to you, and no one will be upset if you don't sign the paper, or if you change your mind later.

    1.) I agree to be audio recorded for this interview.

Name of Participant (print): _____
Signature of Participant: _____ Date: _____
Signature of Researcher(s): _____ Date: _____

    2.) I agree to be interviewed, but I do not want the interview to be taped.

Name of Participant (print): _____
Signature of Participant: _____ Date: _____
Signature of Researcher(s): _____ Date: _____

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Appendix S: Youth Assent Form for Emerging Adult Participants

SMITH COLLEGE

[School for Social Work]

Youth Assent Form

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[Introduction Title]

[You are invited to be in a research study of respect, disrespect, and subtle racism.]

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Introduction

- School is a very important setting for social interactions. Two important aspects of social interaction are (dis)respect and social identity, which includes ethnicity and heritage.
- You are being asked to be a participant in a research study about your high school experiences about respect, disrespect, and social and personal identity.
- We ask that you read this form and ask any questions that you may have before agreeing to be in the study.

Purpose of Study

- A goal of the study is to understand how respect, disrespect, and social identity influence the school experience. This will help teachers better promote positive interactions among students in the school setting.
- Ultimately, this research may be published as a paper or used to facilitate teacher training.

Description of the Study Procedures

- If you agree to be in this study, we will ask you to participate in one audio-recorded 45-minute interview that encourages you to discuss the ways in which you perceived your teachers in high school, or your peers, to be both respectful and disrespectful in the classroom. We will also ask about whether you experienced or witnessed subtle racism in your high school.
- In addition you will fill out a brief demographic survey asking general information about yourself your high school.
- The interview will occur in a private space on your college campus.

Risks/Discomforts of Being in this Study

- We believe there are minimal physical and psychological risks involved for participation in this study. People often talk about their experiences with fellow students and teachers as part of the normal, everyday classroom experience. However, we do acknowledge that you might become upset after talking to the researchers.
- You will receive a list of resources that offers guidance about dealing with disrespect and subtle racism in schools. In addition, we will also debrief with you after the interview to address any further questions or concerns that you may have.

Benefits of Being in the Study

- Sometimes people feel empowered telling researchers about their own experiences in school.

Confidentiality

- All information will be kept completely confidential. No real names, schools, or locations will be used. If writing styles requires quotations, a pseudonym will be given and identifying information will be changed. We will not include any information in any report we may publish that would make it possible to identify you.
- The records of this study will be kept strictly confidential. Research records will be kept in a locked file, and all electronic information will be coded and secured using a password protected file. Audio recordings will be transcribed verbatim, and once transcribed, the audio file will be

deleted from the hard drive of the computer.

Payments
- For completing at least one interview question you will be given a $5 Amazon gift card.

Right to Refuse or Withdraw
- The decision to participate in this study is entirely up to you. You may refuse to take part in the study *at any time* without affecting your relationship with the your college, the researcher, or Smith College.
- Your decision to refuse will not result in any loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. You have the right not to answer any single question, as well as to withdraw completely from the study at any point during the process; additionally, you have the right to request that the researcher not use any of your study material.

Right to Ask Questions and Report Concerns
- You have the right and are welcome to ask questions about this research study and to have those questions answered by me before, during, or after the research.
- If you have any questions about the study, feel free to contact me, Shannon Audley at saudley@smith.edu or by telephone at 413-585-3257.
- If you have any problems or concerns that occur as a result of your participation, you can report them to Nnamdi Pole, the Smith College Institutional Research Board (IRB) Chairperson, (413-585-3936).
- Alternatively, concerns can be reported by completing a Participant Complaint Form, which can be found on the IRB website at www.smith.edu/irb/compliance.htm

Consent
- Your signature below indicates that you have decided to volunteer as a research participant for this study, and that you have read and understood the information provided above. You will be given a signed and dated copy of this form to keep, along with any other printed materials deemed necessary by the study investigators.

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1. I agree to be audio taped for this interview:

Name of Participant (print): _____

Signature of Participant: _____ Date: _____

Signature of Investigator(s): _____ Date: _____

2. I agree to be interviewed, but I do not want the interview to be taped:

Name of Participant (print): _____

Signature of Participant: _____ Date: _____

Signature of Investigator(s): _____ Date: _____