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Exploring experiences of, and responses to, microaggressions as disrespect from teachers in high school classrooms : a person-centered approach

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ABSTRACT

The present study examined the relationship among high school students' experiences of

microaggressions and disrespect perpetrated by teachers and their perceptions of school

connectedness and projections of their own bystander intervention behaviors. There is reason to

believe that peer bystanding behavior, defined as either intervention in the moment, or active

supporting after the event, are protective in terms of the otherwise cumulative impact of

microaggressions. Using interviews from seventeen high school students, and quantitative data

from nine participants, this research prioritized the voices of students, their narratives, and their

meaning making process after such events occur. Findings suggest that participants with low

scores for school climate might be in the best position to "take the risk" of intervening (in the

moment) in situations of subtle racism and that students who have a more comfortable perception

of school climate might be likely to prioritize classroom harmony over a sense of justice.

EXPLORING EXPERIENCES OF, AND RESPONSES TO, MICROAGGRESSIONS AS

DISRESPECT FROM TEACHERS IN HIGH SCHOOL CLASSROOMS:

A PERSON-CENTERED APPROACH

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

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

The present study aims to examine the relationship between high school students' experiences of subtle racism or microaggressions perpetrated by teachers and their perceptions of school connectedness and projections of their own bystander intervention behaviors in those situations.

For many living in the United States today, there is a fantasy that as a society we have moved past our unsavory racist history and now live in a post-racial world. As Crosby (2015) articulates, "The United States is currently in a unique juncture where racial prejudice is clearly condemned by a majority of individuals, yet at the same time, the definition of discrimination and the appropriate responses to discrimination are not always clear" (p. 539). The collective disavowal of overt forms of racism has pushed many experiences of racism into less-discernable and more covert experiences of *subtle racism* and *microaggressions*. Sue et al. (2007) identify the term *microaggression* as "brief, everyday exchanges that send denigrating messages to people of color because they belong to a racial minority group […] they impair performance in a multitude of settings by sapping the psychic and spiritual energy of recipients and creating inequities" (p. 273).

The present study focuses specifically on microaggressions perpetrated by teachers towards students in high schools. Compounding the subversive nature of microaggressions and the difficulty one faces when trying to define or "prove" them, looking at occurrences between teachers and students has an added element of the power dynamics inherent in teacher-student interactions. There is reason to believe that microaggressions perpetrated by teachers may result in potentially more harmful impacts for students. Since these situations rarely occur in a vacuum,

the present study is oriented toward exploring the role that the larger school climate and peers can play for students impacted by subtle racism perpetrated by teachers.

While there has been considerable research on discrimination in schools and school climate, my research will contribute to understandings about the potentially ameliorating impact of active bystanders in these situations. There is reason to believe that peer bystanding behavior, defined as either (a) interruption of the "abuse" in the moment, or (b) active supporting after the event, are protective in terms of the otherwise cumulative impact of microaggressions on students of color. Indeed, due to the nature of microaggressions, peer support during or after the event may greatly validate a student's experience and positively impact their sense of self.

This research will build upon several already existing bodies of research examining contemporary forms of racism, discrimination and microaggressions in schools, school climate and connectedness and bystander experiences and interventions (terms that will be expanded upon in sections that follow). Using semi-structured interviews from seventeen high school students, this research will prioritize the voices of students, their narratives, and their meaning making process after such events occur. Nine of these participants also completed survey questions pertaining to school climate and connectedness as well as a bystander intervention measure.

Questions guiding this research include: (1) what are students' experiences of disrespect and subtle racism, perpetrated by teachers?; (2) what are students' reactions to these disrespectful and subtly racist experiences?; (3) what are students' responses to these experiences?; (4) how do items of WHITS measure and items of and bystander intervention measure relate to participant profiles?; and (5) how do participant profiles relate to participant responses (bystander behavior)? The present study engaged in researching these questions with the following

hypothesis: that racial microaggressions are a part of high school students' experiences of their

teachers, that students have myriad internal reactions and external responses to these

experiences, and that obtaining support from a peer after experiences of microaggressions in the

classroom is a valuable part of students' experience.

CHAPTER II

Literature Review

The following literature review will cover four sections relating to the present study's examination of the relationship between high school students' perceptions of school connectedness and projections of their own bystander intervention behaviors in instances of subtle racism perpetrated by teachers in the classroom. The first section provides grounding in the theoretical framework of Critical Race Theory. The second section offers a review of the literature regarding microaggressions. The third section examines school climate and connectedness. The fourth section of this literature review focuses on the role of bystanders, first in general terms of bystander theoretical models and how it pertains to the present study.

Critical Race Theory

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 Critical Race Theory.

Primary tenets. The primary guiding tenets of Critical Race Theory, as elucidated by Delgado and Stefancic (2001), are as follows. First, is the assertion that racism exists, is ordinary and not the exception but rather the rule; our society is constructed around a system that privileges and advantages Whites 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 what Delgado and Stefancic (2001) refer to as "interest convergence" (p. 7), that whites have a vested interest in maintaining the hierarchical nature of racism in society and only when there is some incentive for whites to benefit from racial justice will they be motivated

to create change. Delgado and Stefancic (2001) provide the example of Derrick Bell's proposal that *Brown v. Board of Education* was more a result of self-interested White elites than the motivation to help Blacks (p. 7). Milner (2007) writes this of "interest convergence",

> 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 Whites have little incentive to alter the *status quo* as it would require examination of our own position of privilege.

Third, is that race is a social construction and not biologically based. This principle holds that, while there are phenotypic similarities between people with shared ancestral origins, the *meaning* and significance given to phenotypic similarities is created through social relations not biology. To clarify what has been an adulterated implication by some that if race is a social construction there is no basis for talking about racism, Miller and Garran (2008) write "that *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. That is, 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; once needed for labor and agriculture, Japanese Americans 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).

Fifth, is the tenet of anti-essentialism and intersectionality. Informed heavily by Black feminist legal scholarship, particularly Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989), this tenet highlights that there is no single identity of a person or race. 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 and *intersectional* 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 main-stream knowledge. By centering voices of color, CRT also promotes the post-structuralist idea that there is no one master truth, but that meaning is made through acknowledging many voices and perspectives (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001).

In K-12 education. Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) brought Critical Race Theory into the field of education (Milner, 2007, p. 390) with their pointed assertion that the 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

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sustain inequities experienced by students of color (Ladson-Billings, 1998).

In seminal 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. By dismantling a color-blind approach, we allow for the legitimization of experiences of microaggressions and other subtle racism. A CRT approach is essential in better informing educators and social workers on how to serve all students effectively and equitably.

In the field of social work & 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, appealing to a more incrementalist-minded, broader (and more white middle-class) demographic base has been the idea of *cultural competency*. Today, cultural competency is marked as a standard of the National

Association of Social Work (NASW) Code of Ethics (1996) as well as by the National Education Association (NEA) (n.d.). 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 as well as 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, the present study begins with the CRT assertion that racism exists in the lives of students of color.

For the present study, Critical Race Theory (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. With the hypothesis that racism of today likely looks and feels different than the racism of the 1950's or even early 2000's for example, we seek to explore the various ways that racism expresses itself in potentially subtler but continuously devastating ways in classrooms today. The form that this racism takes will be discussed more in the sections that follow.

Microaggressions

Derald Wing Sue has written extensively on the subject of racial microaggressions and has been a leader in defining terms and providing scholarly engagement with the real-life experiences of these subtler forms of racism. Sue et al. (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 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, according to Kohli and Solórzano (2012), are "often carried out automatically or unconsciously" (p. 447). Kohli and Solórzano (2012) have emphasized that microaggressions' "layered" and "cumulative" nature take their toll on people of color because, while in isolation they may not have much meaning or impact, taken together as repeated slights they have a profound effect (p. 447).

Impact of microaggressions. A comprehensive literature review on racial discrimination amongst adults by Williams, Neighbors and Jackson (2003) has shown that the stress often

resulting from such incidents can have severe and long-lasting psychological and physical health implications. Williams and colleagues (2003) suggest that the literature demonstrates that perceived racial bias is an important determinant contributing to racial health disparities in the United States. Focusing more closely on microaggressions, Levine et al. (2014) investigated the relationship between discrimination and social anxiety disorder and found that "everyday discrimination," defined as "consistent, less overt forms of intolerance (e.g. being treated with less respect)" predicted the presentation of social anxiety more than overt and major incidents of discrimination (p. 224). This suggests that subtle nature of microaggressions may increase the impact that they have on one's sense of self.

      Microaggressions in educational settings. According to Suárez-Orozco and colleagues (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2015) microaggressions in educational settings create "invalidating and hostile learning experiences" (p. 151). Multiple studies show that experiencing 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). Unfortunately, there is scant research specifically regarding the impact of racial microaggressions on adolescents within school settings. Much of the research either addresses (a) impacts on populations of emerging adults or adults (expanded upon below) or (b) the impact of *discrimination*, a term often describing situations more overt than microaggressions, on adolescents not specifically in school settings.

      Much of the literature on microaggressions in school settings thus far has focused on higher education and participants in emerging adulthood. For example, Donovan et al., (2013), in a study of eight different ethnic groups on multiple college campuses, found that perceived

discrimination was positively associated with depressive symptoms, and found that factors related to identity confusion did not mediate this relationship. Sue and colleagues (Sue et al., 2007; Sue, Lin, Torino, Capodilupo & Rivera, 2009) found that microaggressions in college classrooms caused powerful cognitive, behavioral, and emotional reactions often resulting in difficult dialogues about race and defensiveness on the part of White students. Boysen (2012) as well as Sue and colleagues (2009) focused on college classrooms and suggest that instructors need to facilitate dialogue when microaggressions occur, however, it is not always clear to the instructor when a microaggression has occurred. Lowe, Okubo and Reilly (2012) explored common responses to experiences of racism among college students and found that students demonstrated an inability to respond in the moment, risked feeling re-traumatized when telling the story to a minimizing confidant, fantasized about what could have happened differently, and incorporated coping skills transmitted intergenerationally.

There is reason to believe that the impact of racial microaggressions in high school settings may be particularly devastating as it is a place where adolescents, in the prime of their identity development, spend a significant amount of time. For example, in a study of twelfth grade 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). Another study found that discrimination, alongside alcohol and tobacco use, increased chances of panic attacks amongst minority American adolescents (Hearld et al., 2015). Gillen-O'Neel, Huynh & Fuligni (2013) examined the relationship between discrimination, race-based stress, and sleep problems. Their findings suggest that school belonging may be a possibly ameliorating factor for adolescents who experience racial discrimination (another subject discussed in a later section).

Additionally, in a theoretical article incorporating Trauma Theory, Helms, Nicolas and Green (2012) posit that experiences of racism, including microaggressions and vicarious experiences of ethnoviolence, can cause victims to experience symptoms of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). This article demonstrates the critical need for further study of the outcomes of microaggressions. A plethora of research suggests that adolescents experience "everyday" discriminations outside of school and that there are negative socioemotional, academic, and mental health outcomes associated with such experiences (Clark, Coleman, & Novack, 2004; Pahl & Way, 2006; Sue et al., 2009).

In the literature reviewed here, there was very little distinction made regarding the perpetrator of the microaggressions or discrimination. Understanding whether or not the perpetrator (the who) 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; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004). Indeed, Suárez-Orozco and colleagues (2015) conducted an exploratory study of four community college campuses and found that microaggressions, specifically those undermining intelligence, were most frequently perpetrated by instructors. Though this research was not conducted with high school participants, it can reasonably be hypothesized that present research might have similar findings. Specifically, teachers perpetrate microaggressions (intended or not) to the detriment of their students. Though it will not be within the parameters of the present study, further research might focus on the disparate (or not) impacts of microaggressions perpetrated by teachers as opposed to those perpetrated by peers.

Several studies reviewed here do provide consideration for the increased impact that might be a result of microaggressions committed by teachers or other adults. Kohli and Solórzano (2012) emphasize the role of "cultural respect" in regards to students' names in K-12

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education. Their findings suggest that things such as repeatedly mispronouncing students' names are the types of microaggressions that have lasting impact on the self-perception and worldview of students. There is reason to believe that these types of microaggressions, especially when perpetrated by people in positions of power, impact students' sense of self and sense of belonging.

School Climate

School climate affects students interpersonally and relationally, as well as on the structural and systemic levels. For example, at the interpersonal and relational 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). In terms of the structural and systemic level, positive school climate is touted as a major contributor for effective schooling (Hoy, 1990), impacts bullying and risk-taking behaviors (Eliot, Cornell, Gregory & Fan, 2010; Klein, Cornell & Konold, 2012), and promotes resilience in youth (Liebenberg, Theron, & Malindi, 2014).

Every school site has its own institutional climate and this climate is paramount to the academic, emotional, social and physical well-being of its students (Bellmore, Nishina, You & Ma, 2011; Stone & Han, 2005). Numerous studies examine how the climate of a school can either improve or impair the student academic and social-emotional development. School climate has been described as the *milieu, atmosphere,* or *ecology,* of a school (Anderson, 1982) and 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, reflected in the norms, goals, values, interpersonal relationships, teaching and learning practices, as well as organizational structures of a school (Cohen, McCabe, Michelli & Pickeral, 2009).

School climate and growing sense of self. For many adolescents, school is a significant experience in terms of their own identity development and creation of a sense of self. 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, 2011). The task of achieving a self also includes establishing a sense of unity and sameness with others (Hamman & Hendricks, 2007). For many, this task takes place, at least to some degree, within the school setting. According to Wilson (2004),

> Children's experiences in school are fundamental to their successful transition into adulthood. In school, children negotiate and renegotiate their relationships, self-image, and independence. They cultivate interpersonal skills, discover and refine strengths, and struggle with vulnerabilities. As such, schools must provide a safe environment for children to develop academically, relationally, emotionally, and behaviorally...Various studies have examined how the educational and social climate of a school can enhance or impair student development and achievement (p. 293).

Indeed, the supportive or harmful experiences of school can have lasting effects on students and their development of self. Expanding on Erikson's theory of identity development, Berzoff (2011) 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 [...]negative identifications" (p. 109). Erikson's understanding of "negative identities" parallels the more recently appreciated concept of internalized oppression or internalized racism (Berzoff, 2011).

Impact of school climate on experiences of discrimination. 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, extensive research exists focusing on school climate and the experiences of LGBTQ identified youth (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2009; Eliot et al., 2010; Kosciw, Greytak, Bartkiewicz, Boesen & Palmer, 2012; McLaren, Schurmann & Jenkins, 2015; Murdock & Bolch, 2005; Toleson, 2014).

Acknowledging that the experiences of discrimination on LGBTQ identified youth are not the same as experiences of discrimination of students of color, the existing research on LGBTQ identified youth can provide some insight into the potentially protective factors of school climate on marginalized communities. For example, Eliot and colleagues(2010) found in a study of 7,318 9th grade students, that a favorable school climate increased students' willingness to seek help against bullying, further indicating that more vulnerable students are supported by positive school climates to make decisions that would support themselves, support their peers, and that would perpetuate the trend of an overall positive school climate. It would follow that students might feel similarly willing to interrupt and seek help for incidents of racism and discrimination.

Murdock and Bolch (2005), in a study of 101 self-identified LGB students, found that school climate was positively related to school adjustment as measured by grades, school belonging, and disruptive behavior. While this study is limited in the number of its subjects, it highlights the multidimensional impact school climate can have on youth. In a similar study, Birkett, Espelage and Koenig (2009), found in analyzing survey responses from 7,376 middle

schoolers, that LGB youth were more likely to report high levels of bullying and homophobic victimization than heterosexual youth and concluded that a positive school climate was in part able to moderate these negative outcomes. Likewise, Klein, et al. (2012) concluded in a study of 3,635 high schoolers, that a positive school climate - which in this study was limited to three domains relevant to bullying prevention efforts - was associated with lower levels of student involvement in risky behaviors.

These studies indicate that school climate significantly affects various aspects of a student's experience and plays an important role in mediating pro-social behaviors. Thus, based on the existing literature, the present study hypothesizes that a positive school climate has a protective effect on students who are victimized because of their racial and ethnic identities by teachers at their school. While these results point to the importance of school climate and its effects on LGBTQ populations, there is limited research examining the connection between school climate and students of color who are being victimized (Bellmore et al.,, 2011; Benner & Graham, 2011; Stone & Han, 2005). Furthermore, all of the aforementioned studies focus on peer-to-peer aggression and victimization, without examination of the possibility that the adults on campuses can also play a role in victimizing students.

Voight, Hanson, O'Malley & Adekanye (2015) suggest that the concept of school climate requires greater interrogation. Their research found that both 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. These lower levels of connectedness, safety and relationships were, as might be expected, significantly related with achievement outcomes. This study highlights a significant limitation within school climate research, namely that of aggregation. When school climate is measured as an aggregate, instead

of on a level stratified by race and ethnicity, researchers are bound to miss significant gaps in students' experiences when studying schools with diverse student bodies.

Such gaps were examined by Benner and Graham (2011) in a study that measured changes in perceived discrimination in Latinx high-school aged youth and examined the connection between perceived discrimination, subsequent negative regard of school climate, and the ultimate effects on academic achievement. The authors of this study assumed that perceived discrimination would lead students to feel mistrustful of school staff, to believe that rules were unfair, and to feel alienated and academically disengaged. Through a quantitative longitudinal study of 668 Latinx students, the researchers 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 for 5,262 Mexican-American students, perceived school "quality"- here understood as school climate - was a relevant factor in predicting experiences of discrimination.

The study by Benner and Graham (2011) is somewhat limited in its assumption that the process of perceiving discrimination, perceiving a negative school climate, and subsequent academic regression follow a linear order rather than a cyclical one. It is, for example, possible that poor academic success leads to heightened sensitivity around discrimination and perception of negative school climate. Nevertheless, the results of the literature reviewed in this section indicates that there is indeed a connection between perceived ethnic/racial discrimination and school climate. However, in light of the findings of Voight and colleagues (2015), the present review aims to foreground students' perceptions of school climate and connectedness rather than the aggregate school climate metrics. Indeed, as the present study is being conducted on the

individual participant scale, as opposed to school based participation, this will not be a limitation with which to contend.

Aldridge and Ala'i (2013) emphasize the importance in collecting student's assessments of school climate in their development of the What's Happening In This School (WHITS) questionnaire. Like Voight et al., (2015) they too acknowledge the dominance of school climate measures being utilized to create aggregate scores and they indicate that often these measures are created and completed by teachers or administrators. According to Aldridge and Ala'i (2013) the WHITS questionnaire was developed and validated to fill the gap they observed of measures for use in high schools that are culturally and linguistically diverse (p. 53). The WHITS questionnaire, utilized by the present study, asks students to evaluate their school climate based on items on the following six topics: teacher support, peer connectedness, school connectedness, affirming diversity, rule clarity, and reporting and seeking help. This measure will be discussed more in the methodology section.

School connectedness. The aforementioned literature provides insight into school climate, and the dimensions of student life that are impacted by school climate. As demonstrated in the prior section, the study of school climates encompasses a broad spectrum of dimensions, often causing disagreements amongst researchers who have opposing ideas on what dimensions ought to be included in their study of school climate. When Ramelow, Currie and Felder-Puig (2015) took a closer look at the various measures that had been established to assess a school's climate, they found that while the definitions and dimensions of school climate varied widely, all twelve psychometric measures they explored had in common a measure on relationships and school connectedness, even when other dimensions, such as safety and physical facilities, were not universally represented in the literature. Of the research reviewed here, there seemed to be

agreement in the inclusion of school connectedness, sometimes referred to as school belonging, in evaluation and measurement of school climate. The two terms are henceforth used interchangeably.

Wilson (2004) defines school connectedness as "the degree to which a student experiences a sense of caring and closeness to teachers and the overall school environment" (p. 298). Wilson (2004) connected school climate and school connectedness with student experiences of aggression and victimization, and found that, regardless of perceived school climate, a strong sense of school connectedness yields protective qualities. In other words, school connectedness was a better predictor of aggression and victimization than school climate as a whole. Though the present study does not measure peer-to-peer aggression and victimization, Wilson's work lends itself to adaptation in so far as *microaggressions* are in fact aggressions perpetrated by an oppressor onto a victim. Wilson's study falls short in isolating student behaviors from their social context by aggregating school climate data instead of assessing differences between social groups. Further, this study does not provide any insight into victimization of students who were the targets (whether intentional or not) of teachers' aggression. The present study aims to fill these gaps by contextualizing school connectedness in the domains of race and ethnicity, as well as asking students about their experiences of racialized aggressions perpetrated by teachers.

The importance of school connectedness is further outlined by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (2009), which report that the two main protective factors for school-aged students and youth are 1) adequate parenting by their caregivers and 2) school belonging. In support of Wilson's argument that school connectedness alone can be responsible for positive outcomes, Bond et al. (2007) found in a school-based longitudinal study of 2,676 students, that

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even when general social connection to peers was high, a report of low school connectedness at the middle school level was correlated with depression, anxiety, and higher rates of tobacco and marijuana use later in life. School connectedness has also been associated with higher grade point averages (Newman, Lohman, Newman, Myers & Smith, 2000). Just like most of the research in this field, these studies assume that what students need protection from are low academic achievement and emotional and developmental stress rather than microaggressions from their teachers. The present study attempts to fill this gap by asking whether the protection of school connectedness extends to discriminatory teacher behavior on students of color.

School connectedness and present study. No known research has been conducted on the experiences of microaggressions and school connectedness in students of color in the secondary education setting. Educational outcome research tells us that students of color are still disproportionately disciplined (Losen, 2011), have lower academic achievement than their White peers (Lewis & Diamond, 2015), and typically have more negative regard of their school climate (Benner & Graham, 2011; Stone & Han, 2005). Where the research is limited, and where the present study aims to situate itself, is in the examination of effects that positive school connectedness can have on the outcomes of students of color, specifically with regard to experiences of discrimination. Further, the present study aims to evaluate the connection between students' perception of school connectedness and their likelihood to recognize subtle racism as an event worth intervention and/or action. To address this last element, this review will now turn to literature regarding the role of bystanders.

The Role of Bystanders

Having provided grounding in Critical Race Theory, implications and impacts of microaggressions, the role of social identity development for adolescents and literature

examining school climate and connectedness, this literature review will now focus on the role of bystanders in situations of microaggressions, or *subtle racism* (used interchangeably henceforth). Though there is little known literature to reference for the role of bystanders in microaggressions - especially in high school settings - there is significant research examining the roles and characteristics of bystanders more broadly. By examining some of the literature regarding bystanding behavior, the present study aims to use this research as a starting point in situating the following hypothesis: There is a positive correlation between student's sense of school connectedness and their likelihood to determine subtle racism, perpetrated by a teacher at their school, as worthy of intervention (bystander behavior).

Much of the literature examining the role of bystanders relates to three topics: bullying in schools (generally regarded as peer-to-peer conflict), sexual violence, and emergency situations. This review will examine literature with emphasis on research of bullying in schools as it shares significantly more in common with the hypothesis of the present study, both in terms of the setting where it occurs and the psychological impacts. The literature reviewed here will be organized into the following topics: origins of bystander research, bystander roles, bystander characteristics and determinants of intervention, forecasted intervention versus action and the role of bystanders in present research.

Origins of bystander research. According to Nelson, Dunn and Paradies (2011) "In the field of psychology, the term 'bystander' refers to an individual who is present or witnesses a situation of interest" (p. 264). The focus on bystanders was originally based upon understandings of social behavior in emergency situations. Notably, Darley and Latané (1968) brought attention to the role of bystanders in their examination of the 1964 murder of Kitty Genovese in New York City. According to reports, 38 people had seen the murder take place over the half-hour in which

Ms. Genovese was stabbed to death, yet no one intervened. It is reasonable to suggest that if one of the 38 bystanders had intervened, there might have been a distinctly different outcome for Ms. Genovese. Curious about not only what possible good could have come from bystander intervention, but also the question of what determines a bystander's likelihood to intervene, Darley and Latané (1968) conducted experiments on the role of bystanders in emergency situations.

Their research had two findings that are relevant to the present study. First, they found that even the individuals who did not respond or intervene, were highly conflicted about whether or not to respond to the situation, which implies that they might have intervened had they knowledge of how to be effective. Second, Darley and Latané (1968) found that participants experienced what is called "diffusion of responsibility". Diffusion of responsibility refers to the phenomenon that when more people are present for an event, each person will feel a decreased sense of individual responsibility to change the course of the event. Both of these findings are significant to the present study as they suggest that something other than simply recognizing an event as an emergency is required to induce action on the part of bystanders. Darley and Latané's (1968) work is seminal in the study and research of bystander roles and intervention; much of the literature reviewed here relies upon or is informed by their work.

Bystander roles in bullying. In the research and related literature pertaining to bullying in schools, there is a consensus that bullying is a significant issue warranting attention (Byers, 2016; Gini, Albiero, Benelli & Altoè, 2008; Gini, Pozzoli, Borghi & Franzoni, 2008; Nickerson, Aloe, Livingston & Feeley, 2014; Polanin, Espelage & Pigott, 2012; Salmivalli, Lagerspetz, Björkqvist, Österman & Kaukiainen, 1996; Salmivalli, Voeten & Poskiparta, 2011; Twemlow, Fonagy & Sacco, 2004); some going so far as to call it an international public health problem

(Gini & Pozzoli, 2009, as cited in Pozzoli & Gini, 2012). Many who conduct research in this field use the following definition provided by Olweus (1997) to describe situations of *bullying* and *victimization,* "A student is being bullied or victimized when he or she is exposed, repeatedly and over time, to negative actions on the part of one or more other students" (p.496). Originally, time, attention and research were focused around the bully-victim dyad (Boulton & Underwood, 1992; Olweus, 1997) and according to Gini et al., (2008) review it included characterological exploration of bullies and victims, as well as their respective attachment styles, social cognitive abilities and upbringing. Recently, the examination of bullying has incorporated a more socio-ecological framework to examine the various social contexts, in and outside of the school setting, that impact behavioral development (Lim & Hoot, 2015). Among the many social factors that impact bullying is the role of bystanders, which has gained increased focus over the past several decades.

As the role of bystanders has gained focus, there has been increased exploration of the various roles that bystanders play in instances of bullying. The research by Salmivalli et al., (1996) is a seminal work in the study of participant roles. Based on the student nominations of their peers and self-reports from 573 sixth grade children, Salmivalli and colleagues (1996) identified bullying as a group process, where all present play some role. In addition to the roles of bully and victim, their findings suggest four other roles, previously all of which would have been under the umbrella of bystander: reinforcer of the bully, assistant of the bully, defender of the victim and outsider. They found that a majority of students fell into one of these categories but that each of these have distinct characteristics in situations of bullying.

By extrapolating these roles to the present study, we might imagine the various implicit and explicit messages that an individual in each role might send. For example, imagine that there

is a situation of subtle racism occurring in a high school classroom; a teacher repeatedly mispronounces a student's name or mixes them up with the one other student of color in the class. In this example, we would identify the teacher as the "bully" and the targeted individual(s) as the "victim(s)". According to Salmivalli and colleagues (1996) the remaining individuals in the classroom would fall into one of the other four participant role categories: (1) reinforcer of the bully, this individual might participate by laughing when the mispronunciation or mix-up occurs, reinforcing to the perpetrator and the victim(s) that it was acceptable; (2) assistant of the bully, in this example the assistant might add to event by adopting the mispronunciation or perpetuating the mix-up, participating by fueling the fire or denying any wrongdoing should it be addressed; (3) defender of the victim(s), this individual might either intervene in the moment, correcting the teacher's error or provide the victim(s) with support after the situation passed; and (4) outsider, this individual exhibits no defending behavior toward either bully nor victim. Salmivalli and colleagues (1996) suggest that many students fall into the role of outsider and that, while these students make no gesture towards the position of the bully or victim, their inaction is interpreted as implicitly supporting the action of the bully.

Bystander characteristics and determinants of intervention. Echoing earlier attempts to research the characterological make-up of bullies and victims, there has been more recent attention paid to what developmental characteristics and personality traits determine bystander action or inaction. For example, Twemlow et al., (2004) assert that the inability to adequately *mentalize*, empathize or see themselves in the victim is a determining factor in whether or not bystanders will intervene on behalf of the victim. According to Gini et al., (2008), however, the ability to empathize with the victim is only a part of what determines a bystander's likelihood to intervene or take some active role.

Utilizing the participant roles indicated above by Salmivalli and colleagues (1996), Gini et al., (2008) research focused on the determinants of active defending (defender of victim) versus passive bystanding (outsider) behavior. Their research, which sampled 294 Italian youth ages 12-14, focused on two personality characteristics: empathy and social self-efficacy. It is important to note that their research defined active defending not only in terms of intervening in the bullying episode but to also include other prosocial behaviors such as providing support to the victim after the event and standing by, or playing with, the victim at recess. In contrast, outsiders are those who made no attempts to intervene nor exhibited prosocial behaviors after the event. Their findings suggest that both active defenders and outsiders have high levels of empathy, however, social self-efficacy, or the perceived ability of one to be effective in creating change in interpersonal relationships, was higher in students identified as active defenders than those identified as passive bystanders; this suggests that social self-efficacy is a more reliable determinant for active defending behaviors than empathy alone.

As the present study is focused on experiences of subtle racism perpetrated by teachers, individuals with additional power and privilege over students, the role of empathy to motivate active bystanding behavior seems especially limited. The present study hypothesized that students' perception of school climate, particularly the WHITS items related to "school connectedness" and "reporting and seeking help," will be similarly predictive of students' likelihood to forecast active bystanding. It is the aim of the present study to determine if these items of the WHITS scale capture students' perceived ability to be effective in creating change in interpersonal relationships as measures of social self-efficacy did for Gini and colleagues (2008).

Measuring bystander intervention. Regardless of a student's perceived ability to help in a situation - whether measured by social self-efficacy or in the case of the present study,

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students' assessment of school climate - the student must also recognize that an event occurring is worthy of intervention. According to Nickerson et al., (2014) factors such as environmental stimuli and focus on the self may hinder an individual's ability to recognize an event that warrants action. It is worth noting that, particularly in the case of subtle racism and microaggressions, there is a significant chance that non-target group members may not recognize that an event is happening let alone know how to respond.

Accounting for this possibility Nickerson and colleagues(2014) developed and validated a measure that captures participants' responses beginning with awareness of an event to the predicted bystander behavior. Based on the five sequential steps of Latané and Darley's (1970) bystander intervention model in emergency situations, Nickerson and colleagues (2014) developed this measure in their research on bystander intervention in cases of sexual harassment. Regardless of the research area the five steps remain consistent: (1) notice the event; (2) interpret the event as an emergency; (3) accept responsibility to help; (4) know how to help; and (5) implement intervention decision. In this way, the present study addresses the concern that participants may not recognize subtle racism as an event by simply including that as an item. As the steps are sequential, participants are hypothesized to only know how to help or be able to implement an intervention if they have recognized an event. This, however, still requires participants to forecast or predict their bystander behavior.

Forecasted intervention versus action. As stated above the present study aims to examine the relationship between students' perception of school climate and their likelihood to forecast active bystanding. A limitation of the present study is that it examines *forecasted* active bystanding behavior as opposed to actual bystanding behavior. Due to the nature of the present study, which is based on self-reports and not observed behavior, predicted behavior is all that

will be collected. It is important to recognize this is limitation of the present study as individuals often forecast or predict higher levels of intervention than they actually exhibit when observed.

Kawakami, Dunn, Karmali and Dovidio (2009) examined the relationship between 120 all White participants' predicted responses to racist comments and how participants actually responded when witnessing a racially discriminatory exchange. Their hypothesis, based on aversive racism theory, was that individuals with egalitarian beliefs "harbor unconscious negative feelings toward blacks" (p. 276) and these are demonstrated by relatively low levels of distress when witnessing racial slurs targeted at Blacks. Findings suggest that participants' forecasted higher levels of distress when facing a racial slur (categorized as either moderate or extreme) than the level of distress actually exhibited when faced with an opportunity to interrupt the racially charged exchange. Their research paints an unfortunate but very real picture of one explanation of the continued prevalence of racism and discrimination; people (primarily White people) think that they are more likely to intervene than they actually are, allowing others, who transgress egalitarian norms, to continue in perpetuating subtler forms of racism (p. 278).

Kawakami and colleagues' (2009) research did not address the cause of this discrepancy, however, Crosby (2015) and Byers (2016) provide some insight into why this might occur. Crosby (2015) suggests that a factor for Whites in determining whether or not to intervene or interrupt a racially discriminatory situation is the tendency to look to people of color as the authority in determining whether or not something is offensive. In this suggestion, if the people of color in the room are not showing signs of distress, Whites consider themselves off-the-hook to respond to the acts of discrimination. This type of social referencing places an undue and unfair burden on people of color to not only subjectively experience the racially discriminatory situation but also act as a guide to Whites' understanding of what is and isn't worth interrupting.

In this case, well-meaning people who might forecast high rates of distress leading to intervention or interruption may not act as forecasted when relying on social referencing as their moral compass (Crosby, 2015).

Byers (2016) also points to the role that perceived affinity with the victim can play in bystander responses to events. His research suggests that undergraduate college students, who reported trying to help in bullying situations, noted being able to identify with the victim as a primary factor in their responsiveness. Related to, but slightly different from, the power of mentalizing and empathy discussed earlier, Byers (2016) writes, "many participants suggested it felt risky to help strangers or people across social identity differences, as well as potentially inappropriate or ethically wrong" (p. 337). This suggests that one factor in forecasted intervention versus action might be how the bystander predicts the intervention would be accepted by the victim, and that this might be more difficult to predict for people with whom we do not readily see an affinity or shared identity. For example, there may be trepidation on the part of bystanders of one race to intervene on behalf of a "victim" of another race for fear of this being interpreted as patronizing or implying the "victim" is not strong enough to take care of themselves. This likely contributes to people not intervening across race (or gender, sexuality, etc.) lines for fear that their intervention might be unwelcome.

These factors - social referencing and perceived affinity - may be mitigated in the present study in situations of microaggressions perpetrated by teachers, as students may see more in common with one another in classroom situations. On the other hand, the fact that the perpetrator is a teacher may create other hesitations, namely fear of retribution or punishment. Given that the present study design does not allow for collection of observed bystander behavior, one control was instituted in the adaptation of the Bystander Intervention Model (Nickerson et al.,, 2014);

the inclusion of two sets of parallel questions that differentiate between peer perpetrators and teacher perpetrators.

Though forecasted or predicted interventions are an imperfect proxy for actual behavior in a given situation, they do provide us with some scale of information about the thinking of youth experiencing or witnessing discrimination or injustices at school. Moreover, perhaps the presentation of these questions in the survey might help students feel more confident to act if they witness or experience a similar situation in the future.

Role of bystanders in present research. Though the literature reviewed here does not all pertain to situations of racial discrimination, research in related fields suggests that bystander action, either in the form of interrupting the perpetrator or providing support to the victim afterwards, provides a reparative experience for the victim. This suggests that in situations of subtle racism, bystander intervention may well serve as an ameliorating factor for some of the negative outcomes associated with racism, discussed in earlier sections. Similarly, bystander intervention - feeling supported by peers or other staff - may contribute positively to a student's racial identity development in protecting against a victim questioning their own feelings about an event or feelings of minimization.

Summary

The literature reviewed here has demonstrated the need for further research on the youth experiences of microaggressions and subtle racism in the classroom and the role of school connectedness and bystander intervention in these experiences. As indicated throughout this review, there is a lack of research in each of these areas: impact of microaggressions in high school education, relations among microaggressions and factors of school connectedness, role

and potentially ameliorating impact of bystander intervention in situations of microaggressions in high school education.

The present study aims to begin the work of delving deeper into this area of research by exploring the ways in which teachers perpetrate subtle racism and microaggressions in the classroom and how student reactions and responses might relate to factors such as school connectedness and reporting and seeking help and their own forecasted intervention behaviors.

Critical Race Theory and Sue et al.'s (2007) work on microaggressions are foundational underpinnings for expanding research into high school experiences. The very nature of microaggressions - the fact that they are subtle, insidiousness and difficult to identify in the moment, as well as cumulative - makes them difficult to research. Further, conducting research among high school aged youth holds many obstacles. However, by centering these experiences and the voices of youth we are investing in anti-racism work that will hopefully pay dividends for generations to come.

CHAPTER III

Methodology

Study Rationale

The primary aim of the present study was to examine if there are relations among high school students' perceptions of school connectedness and projections of their own bystander intervention behaviors in instances of subtle racism perpetrated by teachers in the classroom. Much of the literature pertaining to bystander behavior has focused on bullying utilizing Olweus' (1997) definition as follows, "A student is being bullied or victimized when he or she is exposed, repeatedly and over time, to negative actions on the part of one or more other students" (p. 497). The present study seeks to expand the current literature on bystander behavior in several key areas: (1) to focus specifically on subtle racism and microaggressions as the behavior warranting intervention; (2) by expanding the understanding of perpetrators to include teachers in schools and classrooms; and (3) by examining the role that students' school connectedness plays in their likelihood to act on behalf of another student.

To address the first of these, the present study seeks to focus more specifically on instances of subtle racism and microaggression, as opposed to the more general understanding of bullying. Though Olweus' definition above could certainly include the "negative actions" of subtle racism and microaggressions, the present study focuses more specifically on these types of injustices as, by their very nature, they often occur under the radar of bystanders (particularly white bystanders) but with no less impact to their victims. Indeed, as previously discussed, microaggressions have severe and detrimental impact on students (and people) of color with the intrinsic complication of their subtlety. This element of subtlety is why the Bystander

Intervention Scale (adapted for use in this study) was selected, as it measures on a continuous scale participants' awareness of subtle racism as an issue at their school.

Secondly, most of the literature on bystander behavior in schools has focused on injustices (bullying and sexual harassment) where all "victim," "victimizer" and "bystander" have relatively equal social power (i.e. student-on-student injustices). Though social capital and individual characteristics of students have been explored as they relate to power differentials between students, expanding the literature to incorporate teachers as perpetrators will address another layer of bystanders' likelihood to intervene. The Bystander Intervention Scale (as adapted for use in this study) asked students to rate their likelihood to intervene in situations where they witnessed a student perpetrating subtle racism and situations where they witnessed a teacher perpetrating subtle racism. With the inclusion of both student and teacher perpetrators in this measure, the present study aims to examine the differences in behaviors that participants forecast based on this power differential.

Third, many studies have examined the relationship between various individual characteristics of students and their projected bystander behavior; there has, however, been significantly less literature that examines the role of students' sense of connectedness and general school climate in relation to bystander intervention behaviors. Gini et al., (2008) found that, more so than empathy, it was the students who rated high on *social self-efficacy* who were most likely to intervene in bullying situations. This finding suggests that students are more likely to intervene when they determine that they will be effective and successful (as opposed to students who determine that intervention would shift the target of bullying to themselves or not change the behavior at all). This finding prompted the present study to examine school climate

and school connectedness as they are hypothesized to be similar determinants of students'

perception of efficacy in intervention, on a more global scale of the school.

This study is part of a larger research project examining high school students'

experiences of, and reactions to, disrespect and microaggressions perpetrated by teachers in

schools. The present study analyzed data from semi-structured interview questions, quantitative

data from two measures and demographic information provided.

Choice of Methodology

The present study elected to analyze data from both qualitative and quantitative (mixed

methods) perspectives to be able to capture the greatest depth of participant experiences.

According to Engel & Schutt (2013) incorporating a mixed methods approach provides the

strength of both inductive (qualitative) and deductive (quantitative) oriented research. Qualitative

elements allowed participants' experiences to come forward through their own words,

expressions and stories, reflecting not only content but also the meaning that participants'

derived from the experiences (Engel & Schutt, 2013). Quantitative data was also analyzed to

collect students' perspectives on elements that might otherwise be difficult to capture. The

measures analyzed in the present study, as discussed in greater detail below, ask students to

reflect on elements of school climate and bystander activity. As these were the basis for several

questions of the present study, it was determined that they would be helpful to incorporate into

analysis.

Participants and Procedures

Recruitment of adolescents is a decidedly difficult task in the research of human subjects

(Levine, 2008). Both types of recruitment procedures utilized for the present study, purposeful

and snowball sampling, are common in qualitative research in oppressed populations (Knight,

Roosa & Umaña-Taylor, 2009). Participants were recruited in both Western Massachusetts and the San Francisco Bay area. Students were recruited through advertisement and outreach (Appendix A) to youth serving organizations, after school programs and summer camps. Recruitment materials provided prospective participants with both email and phone number of researcher. As such, correspondence was conducted through whichever of these two means selected by each participant. 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).

Researchers made efforts to cast a wide net and reach out to many youth serving organizations and potentially interested parties (purposeful sampling), however, most participant engagement was the result of snowball sampling. Thus, most participant recruitment began when an initial participant was identified by a teacher or staff at youth serving organization, this initial participant then identified others who might be interested in participation. One of the shortcomings of snowball sampling is that there is often some affinity or similar status among those recruited, meaning participants often do not represent the whole of a population as might be expected in other recruitment methods (Engel & Schutt, 2013). However, in light of this difficult to reach population, snowball sampling provided the research project with interested in engaged participants.

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 (Appendix B). 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.

All high school students and recent graduates (students who graduated in 2016) were eligible to participate. Parental consent and participant assent for participants under 18 and participant consent for those over 18 were required for participation in this research (Appendices C through E). For participants under the age of 18, parental consent was administered either in person or by hardcopy in the mail, as applicable. Participant assent or consent was obtained at the beginning of the in-person interview. For interviews conducted over the phone, participant assent or consent was obtained by hardcopy in the mail or by email prior to interview. All participants were informed that they could refuse to answer any of the questions asked and that they had the right to withdraw from the research project at any time before May 5, 2017.

Data was collected largely through in-person collection sessions. Demographic information and responses to survey questions were collected with hardcopy print-outs or by sending materials to participants electronically. Data was then entered into google sheets document, omitting any identifying information of participants. Semi-structured interview was administered with the aid of recording device (cell phone) for later transcription. The order of survey and interview, individual questions asked, and measures completed were randomized as much as possible to ensure that the order of questions would not have any sizable impact on the results.

Prior to recruitment of this study, a waiver from the HSR for approval of this study was obtained (Appendix F). This exemption was approved on October 27, 2016, by Committee Co-Chair, Elaine Kersten. As part of a larger research project with Internal Review Board approval (Appendices G & H) through Smith College, the present study was exempt from Smith College

School for Social Work Human Subjects Review Committee approval. In addition, because we modified the procedures of the approved study to include demographic and survey questions, we also received IRB approval for our modified procedures (Appendix I & J).

Ethics and Safeguarding

Protection of confidentiality. Confidentiality was assured to all participants and ensured by the following methods. First, all data collected was assigned an identification number so that participant names were not used on any of the materials as an identifying component. A key was created with identification numbers and corresponding names and this was stored in a locked facility by the lead researcher. Second, participants were asked not to reveal the names of themselves, teachers or peers in their answers, pseudonyms were encouraged if applicable for the use of narrative answers and storytelling. Third, after data collection sessions, recordings of the interviews were immediately removed and deleted from cell phone (or other recording device), and stored on secure google drive. Fourth, data from surveys completed by hardcopy was entered into spreadsheet using ID numbers and no identifying information and hardcopy was shredded.

Risks and benefits. In consent and assent materials, participants were cautioned of possible 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 the microaggressions. 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 a general resource sheet on discrimination resources (Appendix K).

Although this study had risks, 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 entered those wishing to participate in a drawing for a $25 gift cards. In addition, for 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- the individual, the classroom, and the school itself. 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.

Racial Concordance and Researcher Self-Reflection

As a team of all White and cis-female identified interviewers, we know that certain parts of our social identities have the potential to proceed us in any given interview situation. More so, because we are exploring racial microaggressions, ethnic identity was a present and salient identity for both our participants and us. 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 might very well look more like the teachers who have committed microaggressions or been disrespectful than the students whose voices we are aiming to elevate.

Researchers for this research project grounded our thinking about the significance of racial concordance and the researcher-participant dynamic by reviewing literature from the fields of medical services (Cooper et al., 2003; Quinn et al., 2012; Street, O'Malley, Cooper & Haidet, 2008), mental health services (Alegría et al., 2013; Cabral & Smith, 2011; Maramba & Nagayama Hall, 2002), behavioral and social science research (Fryer et al., 2015; Johnson-Bailey, 1999) and education research (Milner, 2007).

In reviewing the literature regarding racial concordance across various fields 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 above-mentioned 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-narrative our research endeavors to center the experiences of students of color and the conversation about race, racism and disrespect in classrooms.

Measures

Demographic information. Participants were asked to provide information regarding their age, gender, year in school, general grades in school, country of origin for participant and three previous generations, language spoken at home and with friends, family's approximate annual income, parent/guardian relationship status, parent/guardian education level, self-identified ethnic group or ethnicity, race or ethnicity other people identify/assume, and representativeness of students and teachers of color within school population (Appendix L).

What is happening in this school? Developed and validated by Aldridge and Ala'i (2013), this measure was designed to evaluate school climate. The original measure includes 48 items with six different scales: teacher support, peer connectedness, school connectedness, affirming diversity, rule clarity, and reporting and seeking help. Participants were asked to rate their agreement with each question on a 5-point Likert scale, with 1 representing "almost never" and 5 representing "almost always". In the development of this measure, Aldridge and Ala'i (2013) demonstrate construct validity, criterion validity, internal consistency, concurrent and predictive validity. Nine items were removed from Aldridge and Ala'i's (2013) original measure as they were redundant with items in other measures used in this research project (Appendix L).

Bystander intervention measure. The measure used here (Appendix M), was adapted from a 16-item measure, *Bystander Intervention in Bullying and Sexual Harassment*, originally created, validated and used by Nickerson et al., (2014). Permission was received from the lead

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researcher to adapt the items to focus on subtle racism. Originally, the items were going to use the language *microaggressions*, however, pilot testing suggested that high school aged students had a difficult time defining and identifying *microaggressions* without prompting that was by its nature suggestive. As such this term was ruled out and instead students were asked about experiences of *subtle racism*, as defined in the survey as "when someone says something or does something to someone because of his or her race or ethnicity but it is intended to be or seems harmless. It can include verbal, nonverbal or visual insults directed towards someone's race or ethnicity".

The original measure was designed based on the following five steps of bystander intervention, first identified by Latané and Darley (1970): notice the event, interpret the event as an emergency, accept responsibility to help, know how to help, and implement intervention decision. These sequential and continuous steps were originally understood in the context of emergency situations, however, they have been adapted for use in various other bystander behavior research (Nickerson et al., , 2014). Participants are asked to rate their level of agreement with each statement on a 5-point Likert scale with 1 representing "strongly disagree" and 5 representing "strongly agree".

Semi-structured interviews. Semi-structured interviews were conducted to focus on participant perspective. According to Engel and Schutt (2013), "depth interviewing is a qualitative method of finding out in-depth about people's experiences, thoughts, and feelings on their own terms" (p. 288). The present study benefited greatly from pilot testing on the part of the larger research project. Pilot testing helped to reveal appropriate language and necessary follow-up questions.

Pilot testing of semi-structured interview questions specifically addressing bystander intervention in situations of subtle racism, suggested that students had difficulty identifying and remembering enough details of the events relating to bystanders. As such, there was not a question directly pertaining to bystander behavior included in the semi-structured interview items and the present study was going to focus solely upon quantitative data. However, throughout data collection participants' interviews included elements relevant to the role of bystanders in instances of microaggressions. The fact that this study is part of a larger research project, in which semi-structured interviews were still conducted with all participants, there was flexibility to determine whether or not the present study would utilize interview data.

Pilot testing of semi-structured interview questions also revealed that high school students were unable to independently define the term microaggressions (consistent with pilot testing of language for adaption of the Bystander Intervention Measure, stated above). In an effort to make these interview questions open for participant interpretation, the term *disrespect* was elected. During piloting, researchers found that when asked about teacher disrespect participants often spontaneously shared experiences of microaggressions and subtle racism.

Because we collected demographic information, survey data and conducted interviews, there was some variation in the order of events and time allotted for each data collection session (some participants elected to complete survey information electronically on their own time, etc.). However, each data collection session began with confirmation of signatures on parental consent and assent paperwork. Each interview began with a pre-survey mood-rater, measured by a prompt for participant to rate their mood on a scale from 1 (very bad) to 5 (very good). After this, participants were told the following: "I'm going to ask about your experiences with teachers and peers during the interview and I may ask you for their genders and ethnicities, but I won't

ask for names. So if you could, give them a fake name. However, if you give a name, I'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."

Participants were asked a series of open-ended questions (Appendix N) about their experiences of disrespect at school. I utilized "Voice Recorder" to take verbatim voice recording of all interviews (upon participant consent to record, which all provided). The semi-structured interview questions included prompts for clarification and detail-capturing. Due to the open-ended nature of the interview, some participants provided multiple stories or answers to any one given question. Upon concluding the interview, I conducted a post-survey mood-rater, identical to the pre-survey mood-rater. Interview recordings were then uploaded to a secure Google drive and immediately removed from cell phone. Audio files were transcribed verbatim by rev.com and reviewed for accuracy.

Data Analysis

Thematic analysis of semi-structured interview data. As Braun and Clarke (2006) write, "Thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analyzing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data". This approach to the qualitative data was elected in part because Braun and Clarke (2006) identify and clearly articulate a step-by-step process for what can be a very overwhelming process, especially to this novice researcher. Braun and Clarke (2006) identify the following steps, all of which were employed for the present study, in the process of thematic analysis:

1. "Familiarizing yourself with the data" (p. 16)

    This step included first reading the transcripts of participant interviews, jotting down informal notes and observations, then rereading transcripts in order to be very familiar with the data.

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2. "Generating initial codes" (p. 18)

   Using an inductive approach - which Braun and Clarke (2006) describe as a "bottom-up" (p. 12) process, as opposed to making the data fit into predetermined codes and themes - was used to create codes, based on the notes and observations from the previous step.

3. "Searching for themes" (p. 19)

   Themes were determined by seeing where various codes overlapped or interacted with one another. Internal reliability was enhanced by two researchers working on this task separately and reviewing themes with each other. Most of the codes fell into natural themes, corroborated through our "comparing notes". Those codes that did not easily fall into one of the emerging themes, were further discussed and eventually found to fit in one of the themes.

4. "Reviewing themes" (p. 20)

   Due to the nature of our process for step 3, there was minimal work to be done in reviewing themes. Some minor adjustments were made to accommodate various codes, however, the codes naturally fell into themes very cooperatively.

5. "Defining and naming themes" (p. 22)

   This step involves looking at each theme, ensuring internal consistency within the theme and distilling the story that this theme plays in the broader portrait of the data.

Interview data was organized according to each participant account of an individual teacher, meaning that one teacher might have committed multiple acts of disrespect or subtle racism but they were coded as one data point. Many participants' recounted stories with multiple teachers, thus each teacher (coach or administrator) has their own data point.

Analysis of WHITS and bystander intervention measure: Person centered analysis.

While semi-structured interview data was collected for all participants, survey data was only

obtained from nine participants. Given the small sample size and nature of the analysis, person

centered analysis was conducted to see if there were relationships between items of *school*

connectedness, *reporting and seeking help* (items within of the WHITS measure), knowing how

to help, and implement intervention decision (items within the Bystander Intervention Measure).

This quantitative data was organized according to a person-centered approach where the

focus is on, "the identification of groups of individuals who function in a similar way at the

organism level and in a different way relative to other individuals at the same level"

(Magnusson, 2003, p. 16). These analyses identify groups or types of individuals who

share particular attributes or relations among attributes, and thus can allow us to see how a

constellation of concepts may form and interact within different sets of individuals in a

systematic way to relate to other outcomes, in this case actual responses to experiences of

disrespect. The steps for analyzing the data according to person-centered analysis were as

follows. Data from the items of the measures listed above were recorded for each participant.

All participant responses were then organized according to similarities with other participant

responses based on high, medium and low response scores to the measures being analyzed.

Instead of looking for cut-off scores, however, participants were grouped based on their own

similar profiles of scores across all four measures. Thus, high, moderate, and low scores were

relative to the data, not to previously identified cutoff scores. As participants were organized

based on their own unique personal profiles of scores, patterns among and between participants

emerged, creating participant profiles categories as follows: comfortable and cautious,

disenchanted and active, unaware and complacent and connected and unsure. These profiles will

be discussed in greater detail in the chapters that follow.

CHAPTER IV

Findings

This chapter reviews the findings from 17 semi-structured interviews and nine surveys completed with current high school participants. Surveys were only administered to this subset of nine participants due to timing and access to use the survey as determined by the Internal Review Board. Data collected through these interviews and surveys provides a window into experiences of disrespect, microaggressions and subtle racism as it exists in these high school students' campuses. Students' stories and reflections on the meaning that they have derived from these experiences provide a broad cross-section of experiences despite the limited sample size. Though their experiences vary, their stories speak to the ways in which subtle racism is an issue facing adolescents today.

This review of findings will begin with a presentation of demographic information of all 17 interview participants and proceed in presenting the data according to several questions that guided this research. The questions were as follows: (1) what are students' experiences of disrespect and subtle racism, perpetrated by teachers?; (2) what are students' reactions to these disrespectful and subtly racist experiences?; (3) what are students' responses to these experiences?; (4) how do items of WHITS measure and items of and bystander intervention measure relate to participant profiles?; and (5) how do participant profiles relate to participant responses? In this case, "reactions" and "responses" are distinguished as follows: reactions are meant to capture internal processing and meaning making for students while responses are meant to capture behavior presumably based on those reactions. This will be further expanded upon in those sections.

Demographic Information

Of the 17 participants interviewed, 12 (71%) identified as female and 5 (29%) identified as male. Their ages ranged from 15 to 19, with a mean age of approximately 17 and median age of 17. A majority of the participants were seniors (13) in high school, providing them more experience in high school to reflect upon. Participants were asked how they self-identify their race/ethnicity and in addition to how others identify their race/ethnicity. Participants self-identified races/ethnicities include the following: Venezuelan/Native American; Black; White; Jewish; Indian; Chinese; Vietnamese; German; Filipino; Spanish; Jamaican; Eritrean; Mixed, and; Korean. To capture the race with which others often identify them, we provided the following five options: White, Black, Latino/a, American Indian and Asian. Four participants selected White, six selected Black, five selected Asian, one participant selected White and Latino/a, and one participant selected both White and Black. Meaning, in this participant group there were 13 (76%) participants who are "seen by others" as people of color and four (24%) students who selected White as the race that they are identified as by others.

Q1. What are Students' Experiences of Disrespect and Subtle Racism, Perpetrated by Teachers?

Given the semi-structured nature and broad language of the interview, participants had the ability to share experiences of teacher (or other adult school authority) disrespect in their own terms. Some participants shared narratives of events in which they were the targeted student and others where another student was the target of the event. As such, in the sections that follow "students" will refer to the person to whom the subtle racism or disrespect was directed (who might also be a participant) and "participant" will be used to refer to the youth who were interviewed. While there were 17 participants interviewed, 32 narratives of disrespect or subtle

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racism emerged. Of these 32 narratives, 28 (88%) of them included an act of subtle racism or microaggression (as determined by the nature of the disrespect and the student to whom it was directed) and four (12%) did not.

Within these 32 narratives, 17 (53%) were an act of disrespect or subtle racism directed at an individual student, six (19%) were acts of disrespect or subtle racism directed at a group of three or more students (such as an entire classroom), another six (19%) narratives represented acts directed towards the group and an individual and three (9%) narratives including an act directed towards a group of two students (for example, cases of teachers repeatedly misidentifying a student of color for another student of similar ethnic background).

The following are five themes that emerged from participant interviews: (1) not seeing student as an individual and stereotyping, (2) invisibility of difference or color blindness, (3) singling students out or calling out difference, (4) misuse of power, and (5) minimizing student concerns. Themes were not mutually exclusive, as many students' had experiences with several elements from the themes presented. This section will be organized according to the above themes, presenting examples and excerpts from students' narratives.

Not seeing student as an individual and stereotyping. This was by far the most represented theme in the narratives, with 26 (81%) of the 32 narratives expressing this theme. Within this theme, the narratives captured ways that students were not seen as individuals, asked to speak for their race or assumed to have certain proficiencies or characteristics based on their race.

One participant, a high school senior who identified as Indian, described his experience being repeatedly mistaken by the baseball coach for the other student of color on the team, both of whom were regularly asked to do technical and laborious tasks when other, younger members

of the team would have been more appropriate. In the following quote names have been changed for the protection of the participants' identity. Dave is the participant's pseudonym and Shane is the teammate who also identifies as Indian.

> [The coach] often times confuses our names when we do not lookalike at all [...] There are two technological aspects in a game that need to be controlled, one is the iPad when someone keeps track of what's going on through the game and the other's the scoreboard to change it. And without giving it a second look, he gave the other Indian kid the iPad and told me to do the scoreboard, even though we're seniors and I've been on the team for four years.
>
> We were disrespected that he was making us still do the labor when there were young kids on the bench. That wasn't the worst part. Something happened like in the field and he turns around and he goes ... This was the iPad person's job, so [Shane's] job. And he goes, "[Dave] did you get that?" And I just like looked around and [...] I was like, "What?' And he goes, "Oh [Shane] one of you.' And that *one of you* that he said was what made me feel disrespected and I think my friend also felt disrespected (italics added).
>
> Whenever [a tarp held down with a zip-tie over the fence] needs to be fixed, he doesn't call in anyone else to do it, he sees either me or [Shane] and makes us do it.

This participant clearly identifies the "one of you" as being particularly troubling in this narrative. Disrespect of this nature made this participant feel as though he were indistinguishable from the other Indian student on the team and free labor in the eyes of the coach.

Another participant shared their experience of microaggression in the form of stereotyping that was enacted by her Spanish teacher, when discussing traveling outside of the US.

> I was like, "Yeah. When I went to Africa I felt very out of place." She [the teacher] said something [...] like, "Well, if a white person went to Africa then they would probably feel more out of place than you would feel." She was saying that to me. I said, "But that's not true, because white people live in Africa and the thing is we're from two different continents." [...] She was like, "No. But you're like, eat closer to what they eat. You act closer to what they act. Your holidays are like more linked towards theirs." She was like, "Yeah!" Trying to tell me. I'm like no. I said, "If anything I'm not even African. I'm Jamaican and I'm Honduran." Those are two different nationalities.

This participant narrative highlights the teacher's conflation between a Black identified student and the culture and practices of Africans (not even to mention the cultural heterogeneity throughout Africa).

Teacher disrespect in the form of not seeing students as individuals and stereotyping students or cultures was a theme in a majority of the narratives. This was both the most widely attributed theme and also the most unyielding in terms of definition, however, the narratives share a common thread.

Invisibility of difference or color blindness. Sue et al. (2007) write that color blindness is reflected in "statements that indicate that a White person does not want to acknowledge race" (p. 276). More than half the narratives participants provided expressed a teacher's ascription to "color blindness" or attempts erasing difference and diversity in the classroom. Of the 32 narratives, 17 (53%) shared this theme. Participants' narratives reflected the various forms this

could take from white teachers being uncomfortable with students of color identifying each other by their skin tone to teachers not acknowledging that ways that racial identity might change students' relationship to history lessons (expanded upon further below). Several examples included teachers privileging elements of their own identities in a way that resulted in participants feeling minimized.

The following example, from a participant interview where the class was discussing what types of jokes were inappropriate.

> My teacher, was a white woman, was saying how the only things that she thinks you can never joke about are the Holocaust and rape jokes. Then the student who is a person of color was saying how she thought that you shouldn't joke about race or something. Then my teacher was like, "No. That's not true." She [...] like brushed it off and was like, "No, that's not how it works." The Holocaust and rape jokes, are obvious. She's a Jewish white woman. Very specific to her. Then race is specific to the other person so I thought it was unfair for her to be like, "No."

This type of dismissal of the student of color's concern suggests a color blind stance on the part of the teacher. In a similar vein, another participant shared her experience of a white identified female teacher who equated the oppression of women in the 50's and 60's with slavery of African Americans and Japanese internment during World War II. Again, disavowing the real and lasting impacts of these histories of racism for a more color blind approach to history. Sue et al. (2007) write, "color blindness is a major form of microinvalidation because it denies the racial and experiential reality of people of color" (p. 278).

Another example was provided by multiple participants all of whom were in the same history class. The teacher assigned a project in a World History class that asked students to find

out about their family history. Part of the assignment was to then relate your family history to the United States. One participant shared,

> He made us do this assignment towards the end of the year about you need to write what your family roots are, where do you come from and stuff like that. He was like this bald, white guy. I'm like obviously not white. The thing is, you have to relate the things back to American History. So you just set me up so I can't talk about what happened when my grandma was living in Jamaica 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 and stuff like that [...] That was really irritating, frustrating too because I'm like, my family history doesn't start in America at all.

Another participant also shared the example of this assignment and reported feeling as though it reduced down the family stories for many of the students of color to stories of oppression or hardship, while promoting a sense of pride and achievement for many of the White students. Creating assignments like this that have one set of implications (those of pride or achievement) for White students and another impact (potentially reductionistic stories of oppression) for students of color seems based in a color blind mindset. History impacts different students differently, a fact that this teacher was more comfortable glossing over.

Singling students out or calling out difference. On the other side of the aisle from color blindness and rendering difference invisible, is the act of teachers singling students out or calling out difference. Interestingly this theme had the same frequency as the color blindness theme. Of the 32 narratives, 17 (53%) participants shared experiences where a teacher singled them out or called out difference in class. As previously discussed, because the narratives were organized by teacher it is possible that one participant had an experience with "teacher A" acting on a color

blind mindset and also had an experience with the same "teacher A" calling out difference or singling a student out.

Narratives that fall into this theme also represent a wide range of teacher behavior and often overlap with stories of not seeing students as an individuals and stereotyping. One of the patterns within this theme was students of color feeling, what Sue et al. (2007) call, "alien in own land", wherein students of color were assumed to be from a foreign land and were compelled, to a greater or lesser degree, to explain their existence. This was captured by one participant's experience in a class where the teacher went around the room and asked all the students of color where they were from.

So she went around pointing to different people to ask, which now sounds really bad because she wasn't just asking everyone like "Everyone, go down and say where you're from," she was kind of like "Oh, you, you, you" [later clarified, only to students of color] and when she came to me I answered that my mom is from France and that my dad is from Florida and literally everyone in the class started laughing and then I started laughing because I was like "Oh, I made them laugh, cool," you know? I didn't even know what I did, I was like "Great, okay, I guess that worked," and she laughed, everyone laughed and looking back it's kind of like I don't really know what she expected from me. I think asking such an open-ended question with the intent to ask about your ethnicity is kind of passive-aggressive. Your masking what you really want to know. I don't know, it felt really weird being called out and singled out now, especially.

This participant highlights how uncomfortable she felt with the implicit nature of the question. Finding out that she was from Florida was apparently not the goal the teacher had in mind. It seems clear that the teacher was actually trying to ask this mixed race identified students about

her ethnicity but it so in an indirect way that put this student (and other students of color) on the spot.

A Korean identified participant shared her story about being asked to speak on behalf of an experience because when her class was reading a book about a Korean immigrant.

We were reading a book [...] It was written by a Korean immigrant and it was kind of just her story of how she came to America and dealing with all the family and the culture and America and things like that, you know? [...] And it deals with stuff such as abuse, right, and domestic violence. And so the teacher, upon finding out that I was Korean, she was so excited and so like, "Oh, my God. You're Korean [...]" And she had a whole, I think it was unnecessary, thing where she stopped the class and she was like, "Oh, my gosh. Your classmate is actually Korean." And she pulled up a bunch of things about Korea and like, "Can you point out like, oh, where were you born on this map? Do you know what this landmark is?" And things like that. It was just so extra. You really didn't need to do that in order for us to read this book. That was the instance that made me stop willingly participating in class [...] Because then my peers, the students, were then ... They weren't really teasing. It was more ... I'm not sure of a word for it. But it was just kind of ... They were like, "Oh, you're Korean? Oh, my gosh. Wait, so is this like how it was for you? Oh, so your dad beats you too at home and stuff like that?" [...] I didn't really know how to be in that situation which made me really uncomfortable because the teacher kind of set it up so that I was a representation of my entire culture and then entire experience of immigrants to America. And so that was not good. I didn't like that at all [...] I felt very alone. I don't think we had any students who were Korean or immigrants in that class.

Though it is not clear how this participant identified the not "really teasing" from her peers but

these types of situations can have the result of making students (and people of color) feel

"exoticized" and "othered" which in this case was set in motion, at least in part, by this teacher's

approach. This participant identified that this experience of being made to feel different was so

uncomfortable for her that it impacted how she participated in class. She later stated that her now

quieter nature in classes ended up playing into a "quiet Asian girl" stereotype, an extra layer of

impact that this experience had for her.

Misuse of power. Narratives related to unfair discipline practices, teachers acting

inappropriately and unprofessionally all fall under the theme of misuse of power. Within the 32

narratives shared, 23 (72%) expressed misuse of power on the part of the teacher. Narratives in

this theme varied from participants of color regularly receiving unfair and unjustifiably harsh

discipline, to teachers losing their temper and yelling at students, to sexual harassment and

misconduct.

One participant told the story of a peer with whom the teacher had engaged in regular

almost daily power struggles. The narrative below occurred after a particularly unprofessional

power struggle where the teacher ripped up the student's hall pass and mocked her in front of the

class because she was going to talk to an administrator about her conflicts with this teacher. She

was subsequently switched out of the class, but apparently the teacher had not been notified.

> And she switched classes, and she said [the teacher] keeps calling her mom and saying
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> she's not coming to class and he keeps harassing her. And the mom doesn't really care
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> because the mom knows what's going on [...] she was going to the hospital or like we
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> have a student clinic. And you're not allowed to ask them, you're not [supposed] to
>
> question people when they say they're going to the student clinic. So he called the clinic

in front of the entire class and said her full name, was she there or not. To make sure she wasn't skipping, and they told him they can't disclose when a person is here or not and then hung up the phone and told everyone in the class, "If you don't want me to know where you're at just say you're going to the hospital." So I told her, he put all your business in front of the class.

Clearly there are several layers of unprofessional conduct in this narrative. While there can be a he said/she said quality to narratives about power struggles and possible "adolescent attitude" there is never a case where it is appropriate to share any type of medical information of a student. This narrative highlights the misuse of power and unprofessional behavior on the part of this teacher.

Two female identified students shared narratives of sexually inappropriate comments or touching by male teachers in their school, clearly a misuse of power and inappropriate behavior.

I had this one teacher last year who got fired who was kinda creepy to girls. The lines are little blurred but he made some inappropriate comments and I guess that counts as disrespect [...] I was just walking and then he put his hand like ... I don't know if it was an accident or not but he touched my butt but [...] I know other people who've had experiences with teachers saying inappropriate things [...] Just like sexual things to girl [...] I know one teacher got suspended because the students talked to the counselor about it.

This participant's narrative includes a resolution of the teacher getting fired, which is more than can be said for most. There is clearly a power differential between teachers and students already inherent in the school setting, but this narrative also points to power in terms of gender as well.

That this male teacher thought that it was ok to make sexual comments to a student and touch her body is an unarguable misuse of his power.

Minimizing student concerns. The final theme identified in the narratives was teacher's minimizing student concerns. Of the 32 narratives, 15 (47%) reported experiences where teachers minimized or disregarded student concerns. Again, this theme represents a wide cross-section of participant experiences. Some were stand-alone experiences of students' concerns simply not being acknowledged and others are more related to an initial event. For example, the narrative highlighted under the theme of *Invisibility of Difference or Color Blindness*, where a student expressed concerns that the teacher implicitly said that racist jokes are ok, and the teacher disregarded this student concern and moved on. As stated before, many of these narratives overlap.

One Eritrean participant shared her experience when trying to self-advocate in her history class.

> When we learned about Africa it was always Imperialism. Even the map in the text book ... I remember two pages front to back ... one page technically on East Africa and it was about Ethiopia and Eritrea and I was "that's me" so I was "Yeah, I'm excited" and he was "We're going to skip ..." It was two-pages right? Because it was within ... it was Imperialism, this one solid page in European History again and he was just "Oh we're going to skip that page" and I was [...] "Yo, can we not? Can we just learn about this chapter?" And he was "Don't question my teaching methods. Don't question my authority, if you have a problem then get out." I was like "Woah I'm not trying to offend you but it's a page. Can we just read this bad paragraph? Can we just acknowledge this positive African experience without Imperialism being tied to it?" And he was just "don't

question my authority" and I was "I'm not even trying to be rude or anything ... Aahh ...okay I'm not trying to get kicked out." [...] Why did you pull that so quick we can't even have a conversation, you're trying to flex your authority over me.

This student had a legitimate request that was quickly minimized and the teacher response was disproportionate to the request, implying that she would be kicked out of class for wanting to read the one page in a textbook about her country of origin.

The present study is particularly concerned with this theme as many narratives reflect students' unheeded attempts to self-advocate or disrupt something troubling occurring in class. As such, many of the narratives relevant to this theme were captured in earlier sections.

Q2. What are Students' Reactions to These Disrespectful and Subtly Racist Experiences?

Students' reactions to experiences of disrespect and subtle racism fell into four broad themes: (1) sympathetic towards teacher; (2) indignation toward teacher; (3) feeling disconnected or alone; and (4) feeling scared or vulnerable. As stated previously, "students' reactions" are centered around how participants explained feeling in the moment and their internal process of disrespect or subtle racism by teachers. As with the themes presented in the previous section, these themes are not mutually exclusive and many participants shared, for example, feeling both indignation about teacher behavior and feeling disconnected and alone. As opposed to the previous section, this was not a specific question on the semi-structured interview so the themes that emerged here are those that arose organically from the participant's narratives. This section will include brief or composite examples of participants' responses on these themes.

Sympathetic towards teacher. Of the 32 narratives of disrespect or subtle racism, 12 (38%) of participants expressed a sense of sympathizing with the teacher. Patterns within this theme included participants' wishing that they were able to provide the teacher with an

opportunity for learning. For example, one participant who had experienced a microaggression in class stated in her narrative:

> I have felt at times that I should try to find a nice way, like a very positive and loving way to share how some of the things she addresses in class pertaining to race are very sensitive and somewhat not executed the right way and just say it out of love or care [...] I feel like I don't have the right vocabulary to express it.

This was seen in students who clearly liked the teacher about whom they were sharing a narrative of disrespect or subtle racism. Some students expressed discomfort advocating against teacher behavior. This came through in trying to protect the teacher after the narrative or understanding the motivation or intent behind why the teacher did something, even though the outcome was disrespectful.

Indignation toward teacher. Slightly more than half (17 out of 32, 53%) of participants shared narratives that expressed indignation for the teacher and their behavior. These narratives expressed the desire for accountability and for teachers to realize that their disrespectful or subtly racist behaviors and comments implicitly condone this in another students. Participant narratives that fell under this theme, expressed frustration that teachers did not seem to realize that they are role models in the classroom and that students look to their behavior as a standard for what students might be able to get away with.

> If a dude's making a rape joke [...] later the teacher's like, "Guys, didn't you say [insert this rape joke]?" And then be like ... all the boys are like, "Oh yeah, hahaha. That's so funny!" And all the other girls are like, "Um that's really not funny". That would be a thing. It happened a lot, not just with that kind of thing.

Feeling disconnected or alone. The majority (28 out of 32, 86%) of participants'

narratives expressed feeling disconnected or alone. The disconnected element of this theme came

through participant reports of feeling that an event was not a big enough deal to try and address

in the moment or in feeling confused or unaware in the moment, as in the following example.

> I don't know, it felt really weird being called out and singled out now, especially. I didn't
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> realize in the moment, I thought it was just a funny thing I said. I didn't even realize how
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> uncomfortable I was until like a year after, when I was talking about it to people and I
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> also didn't realize what it meant until talking to people, people being actually being
>
> spoken about. But yeah, I definitely felt that that wasn't respectful at all. I don't know
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> what she really wanted from me.

Feeling scared or vulnerable. Several students (6, 19%) reported feeling scared or

vulnerable in the moment. These included the participants who experienced sexual harassment

from teachers and those whose primary response in the face of disrespect or subtle racism was

that of fear.

Q3. What are Students' Responses to These Disrespectful Experiences?

Participants reported myriad responses to experiences of disrespect and subtle racism. As

previously stated, here "response" refers to any action taken (as opposed to "reaction" from the

previous section, meant to address how participants internally reacted). Attention will now turn

to the responses that students had to teacher disrespect and subtle racism, particularly in the form

various actions or inaction. This is an appropriate place to acknowledge the various other types

of responses that came through the narratives provided. For example, several participants who

had been undermined or assumed incompetent by teachers reported that their "revenge" was

doing really well in the class and proving the teacher wrong. Unfortunately, the converse was

also true as several participants reported that experiences of subtle racism and disrespect made them intentionally less engaged in their class or made them avoid their teacher.

There are three ways that the present study categorized students' responses: (1) inaction in the moment, (2) action that intervened in the moment, and (3) providing or seeking support after the event as a way of processing the experience. The work of Byers (2016) and Gini, Albiero, Benelli & Altoè (2008) suggest that support from a peer or trusted adult after a stressful experience (cyberbullying among emerging adults and on-campus bullying among adolescents, respectively) significantly moderates the effects of stress.

Inaction in the moment. Of the 32 narratives provided, 18 (56%) reported that there was no action taken in the moment. Two of these narratives included situations where the event happened in private allowing no opportunity for a bystander to intervene. For the other 16 narratives, there was at least one other person present, often times an entire class.

Intervention action in the moment. Participants' narratives reflected 18 times (out of 32, 56%) that some sort of action was taken in the moment to interrupt the disrespectful or subtly racist behavior of the teacher. Of these, there was one instance where action was by an adult, six where peers intervened in the moment, five where the student intervened on their own behalf, and six where both peers and the student of primary target intervened.

Providing or seeking support after the event. In 25 out of 32 narratives (78%) the participant noted that there was support provided after the event. Participants characterized this support as meaningful in terms of their cognitive and emotional response to the event. Adults provided support in eight of the narratives, peers provided support 17 times. Many of the narratives did not clearly identify if the student of primary target initiated the support or if their peers initiated.

Q4. How do Items of WHITS Measure and Items of Bystander Intervention Measure Relate to Participant Profiles?

Here, the present study turns to quantitative data collected for a subset of nine participants. These participants answered survey questions related to school climate, using the What's Happening In This School? measure and bystander behavior as forecasted using the Bystander Intervention Measure.

Items of what's happening in this school? measure. Within the What's Happening In This School? measure, the *school connectedness* and *reporting and seeking help* items were specifically looked at as possible determinants for bystander behavior. Each of these items included seven different question. These items were scored by participants on a Likert scale accordingly: 1 = almost never; 2 = not often; 3 = sometimes; 4 = often; and 5 = almost always.

School connectedness. Questions included within the school connectedness item are as follows: (1) I look forward to coming to school; (2) I enjoy being at school; (3) I feel included at school; (4) I feel welcome; (5) I am part of a community; (6) I am respected; and (7) I am valued.

Reporting and seeking help. Questions included within the reporting and seeking help item are as follows: (1) I can report bad behaviors to school officials; (2) I am encouraged to report incidents; (3) I am confident to talk to a teacher if I am bullied; (4) I am encouraged to report bullying; (5) I know how to report problems; (6) I can report incidents without others finding out; and (7) It is okay to tell a teacher if I feel unsafe.

Bystander intervention measure. The original measure was designed based on the following five steps of bystander intervention, first identified by Latané and Darley (1970): (1) notice the event, (2) interpret the event as an emergency, (3) accept responsibility to help, (4)

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know how to help, and (5) implement intervention decision. These sequential and continuous steps were originally understood in the context of emergency situations; however, they have been adapted for use in other bystander behavior research (Nickerson et al., 2014). These items were scored by participants on a Likert scale accordingly: 1 = strongly disagree; 2 = disagree; 3 = neither agree or disagree; 4 = agree; and 5 = strongly agree.

Know how to help. Questions included within know how to help item are as follows: (1) I have the skills to support a student who is experiencing subtle racism; (2) I know what to say to get someone to stop making racial jokes or comments, and; (3) I can help get someone out of a situation where he or she is experiencing subtle racism.

Implement intervention decision. Questions included within implement intervention decision are as follows: (1) I would tell a group of my friends to stop using racially charged language or behaviors if I see or hear them; (2) I would say something to a student who is using racial jokes or language to student because of their race; (3) I would say something to a teacher who is making racial jokes or comments to a student based on their race; (4) If I witnessed a student(a) make a racially-based comment or joke to another student(b) I would step in to defend student(b), even when student(a) was still there; (5) If I witnessed a student(a) say something subtly racist to another student(b), I would check in with student(b) after the event to make sure they are ok or to offer support; (6) If I witnessed a teacher make a racially-based comment or joke to another student I would step in to defend the student, even when the teacher was still there, and; (7) If I witnessed a teacher say something subtly racist to another student, I would check in with the student after the event to make sure they are ok or to offer support.

Relating WHITS items and bystander intervention measure items. Two items of the WHITS measure, namely *school connectedness* and *reporting and seeking help*, and two items of

the Bystander Intervention Measure, namely *knowing how to help* and *implement intervention decision*, were analyzed here. Table 1 represents participant scores for these four items.

Table 1
Data for School Connectedness & Reporting and Seeking Help (of WHITS Measure) and Know How to Help & Implement Intervention Decision (of Bystander Intervention Measure), by Individual Participants

ID #	School Connectedness	Reporting and Seeking Help	Know How to Help	Implement Intervention Decision
1000*	4.00	3.43	2.33	4.00
1001	4.57	4.71	4.33	4.14
1002	3.71	4.43	3.00	3.57
1003**	2.00	1.57	2.67	4.14
1004	3.71	4.14	3.33	3.43
1005	4.00	3.71	2.67	4.57
1006**	2.43	1.43	5.00	5.00
1007*	4.71	3.14	2.67	4.00
1008*	3.14	2.71	3.00	3.86

* participants who provided more than one narrative
** participants who provided three or more narratives

Using person-centered analysis, participants' scores were determined as being high, medium or low for each of these items. For most, a score of four or greater was categorized as high, scores between three and four were categorized as medium and scores lower than three were categorized as low. Participant profiles were then organized according to patterns observed in high to low scores, meaning that participants who had similar patterns of high, medium and low responses to these four items were clustered together. Each profile will be described in detail in the following section.

Table 2

Data for School Connectedness & Reporting and Seeking Help (of WHITS Measure) and Know How to Help & Implement Intervention Decision (of Bystander Intervention Measure), by Emergent Participant Profiles

Profile	ID #	School Connectedness	Reporting and Seeking Help	Know How to Help	Implement Intervention Decision
1	1002	3.71	4.43	3.00	3.57
1	1004	3.71	4.14	3.33	3.43
1	1008*	3.14	2.71	3.00	3.86
2	1003**	2.00	1.57	2.67	4.14
2	1006**	2.43	1.43	5.00	5.00
3	1001	4.57	4.71	4.33	4.14
4	1000*	4.00	3.43	2.33	4.00
4	1005	4.00	3.71	2.67	4.57
4	1007*	4.71	3.14	2.67	4.00

* participants who provided more than one narrative
** participants who provided three or more narratives

Participant profiles. Based on the organization of participants represented in the table 2, the following profiles emerged: comfortable and cautious, disenchanted and active, unaware and complacent, and connected and unsure. Averages of each participant' scores organized by these profiles provides a greater understanding of the themes represented within, as shown in figure 1 below.

Figure 1

Average Scores for School Connectedness & Reporting and Seeking Help (of WHITS Measure)
and Know How to Help & Implement Intervention Decision (of Bystander Intervention
Measure), Analyzed per Participant Profile
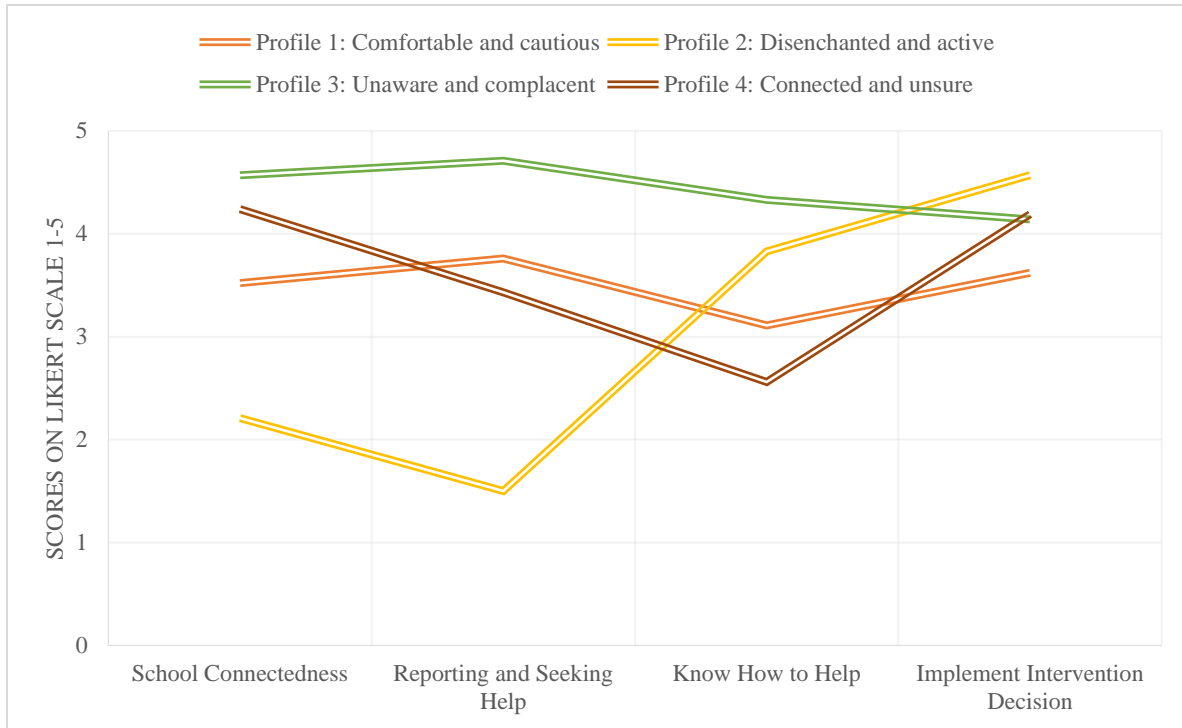
Profile 1: Comfortable and cautious. Participants who fell into this profile ($N = 3$) show

moderate levels of school connectedness (3.52) and reporting and seeking help (3.76) as well as

moderate scores for know how to help (3.11) and implement intervention decision (3.62).

Profile 2: Disenchanted and active. Participants who fell into this profile ($N = 2$) show

low levels of school connectedness (2.21) and reporting and seeking help (1.5), moderate scores

for know how to help (3.83) and high scores for implement intervention behavior (4.57).

Profile 3: Unaware and complacent. This profile includes only one participant ($N = 1$)

who showed high levels of school connectedness (4.75) and reporting and seeking help (4.33) as

well as high levels for know how to help (4.33) and implement intervention decision (4.14). The

naming for this title is better understood when considering that this participant, in their interview,

was unable to recall any instances of teacher disrespect. Further in the interview they recounted a partial story but seemed unable to provide any details of the event.

Profile 4: Connected and unsure. Participants who fell into this profile ($N = 3$) show high levels of school connectedness (4.24), moderate levels of reporting and seeking help (3.43), low levels for know how to help (2.56) and high levels for implement intervention decision (4.19). Somewhat similar in character to profile 1: comfortable and cautious, these participants' scores reflect their interest in taking action in events of subtle racism but limitations in knowing how to help; in contrast they show much higher levels of school connectedness and reporting and seeking help.

Q5. How Do Participant Profiles Relate to Participant Responses?

The above profiles reflect participant responses to items of the WHITS measure, namely *school connectedness* and *reporting and seeking help*, and items of the Bystander Intervention Measure, namely *knowing how to help* and *implement intervention decision*. Using the profiles that emerged from this analysis, the present study now turns to examine how these profiles relate to students' responses as depicted in their narratives.

For the purposes of organizing students' responses as depicted in participant narratives, data was organized by participant rather than narrative according to perpetrating teacher. For example, participant 1006 shared narratives with three different teachers,in previous sections, this participant's responses were appreciated as three responses. For this section they are aggregated and combined.

Table 3 illustrates how participant profiles relate to student responses to events of subtle racism and teacher disrespect. There are three ways that the present study categorized students'

responses: (1) inaction in the moment, (2) action that intervened in the moment, and (3)

providing or seeking support after the event as a way of processing the experience.

Table 3
Participant Profiles, Based on Data for School Connectedness & Reporting and Seeking Help (of WHITS Measure) and Know How to Help & Implement Intervention Decision (of Bystander Intervention Measure), and Participant Responses Collected from Narratives

Profile	ID #	Inaction in the moment	Intervention action in the moment	Support after the event
1	1002	x		x
1	1004		x	x
1	1008*	x		x
2	1003**	x	x	x
2	1006**	x	x	x
3	1001	x		
4	1000*		x	x
4	1005		x	x
4	1007*	x		x

* participants who provided more than one narrative
** participants who provided three or more narratives

Narratives from participants in *profile 1: comfortable and cautious* all reflect that they

provided or sought support after the event from peers. Narratives from participants in *profile 2:*

disenchanted and active reflect that they share having utilized all forms of responses. The

narrative provided by the participant in *profile 3: unaware and complacent* reflects that inaction

in the moment was the only response utilized. Similar to those reflected in profile 1, the

narratives provided by participants in *profile 4: connected and unsure* reflect that they all

provided or sought support after the event from peers. The implications of these findings will be

reviewed in the follow chapter.

CHAPTER V

Discussion

The present study sought to explore the ways in which teachers perpetrate subtle racism and microaggressions in the classroom and to see how student reactions and responses might relate to factors such as *school connectedness* and *reporting and seeking help*, as measured using the What's Happening In This School? measure. The present study also sought to compare students' bystander behavior in these experiences with forecasted bystander behavior, as measured using the Bystander Intervention Measure, adapted for the present study.

The present study hypothesized that students' perception of school climate, particularly the WHITS items of *school connectedness* and *reporting and seeking help*, would be related to participants' likelihood to forecast active bystanding. This specific hypothesis was derived from the literature of Gini, Albiero, Benelli and Altoè's (2008) that found students' levels of social self-efficacy were highly correlated with active bystanding behavior in situations of bullying, in addition to, but more so than, empathy. The present study sought to determine if WHITS items related to *school connectedness* and *reporting and seeking help* would represent social self-efficacy and have similar correlations. Due to the very small sample size ($N = 9$), the quantitative data collected for the study neither confirms nor denies a conclusive relationship between items of the WHITS measure, items of the Bystander Intervention Measure and bystander behavior. That said, there are interesting patterns that did emerge through the data that suggest a relationship among the heteronomous personal-centered profiles reflecting a constellation of measures across persons and their actual responses to disrespect experiences.

Findings of the present study definitively confirm several broader hypotheses: that racial microaggressions are a part of high school students' experiences of their teachers, that students

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have myriad internal reactions and external responses to these experiences, and that obtaining support from a peer after experiences of microaggressions in the classroom is a valuable part of students' experience. Participants reported a wide range of experiences in the classroom, experiences of disrespect and respect, intervention and inaction. Participants' interviews provide a window into a depth of experience often difficult for human subjects researchers to access; the minds and lived reality of high school students.

The sections that follow will address the findings in the order they were presented: (1) what are students' experiences of disrespect and subtle racism, perpetrated by teachers?; (2) what are students' reactions to these disrespectful and subtly racist experiences?; (3) what are students' responses to these experiences?; (4) how do items of WHITS measure and items of and bystander intervention measure relate to participant profiles?; and (5) how do participant profiles relate to participant responses? Again, "reactions" and "responses" are distinguished as follows: reactions are meant to capture internal processing and meaning making for students while responses are meant to capture behavior presumably based on those reactions. Included in the review of these sections will be discussion of related literature, followed by limitations and strength, implications for social work practice, and areas for future research.

Q1. What are Students' Experiences of Disrespect and Subtle Racism, Perpetrated by Teachers?

Narratives regarding participants' experiences of disrespect and subtle racism perpetrated by teachers was the largest contribution of the present study. Participants' narratives are consistent with the literature of Critical Race Theory and one of the primary tenets therein; the assertion that racism exists, is ordinary, and is not the exception but rather the rule. As the literature on microaggressions, and the work of Sue and colleagues (Sue et al., 2007; Sue et al.,

2009) suggests, the subtlety of these experiences is a significant part of what makes them difficult to address.

Of the 17 participants interviewed and 32 narratives shared, nearly all (28, 88%) reported disrespect towards a person of color that constituted a microaggression. Though the language of the semi-structured interview was that of "disrespect", students clearly had significant exposure to microaggressions and subtle racism from teachers. White identified participants and participants of color reported narratives that exposed teachers engaging in microaggressive behaviors. Some participants articulated and labeled such experiences as microaggressions or subtle racism while others simply reported narratives that the present researcher identified as such.

Participants' narratives demonstrated that experiences occurred on the group level - for example, an assignment that impacted students of color differentially from their White peers - on an individual level - for example a black student being identified as "belligerent" by a teacher assuming criminality (a type of microaggressive attitude put forth by Sue et al., 2007) even though the student was just asking to speak with another student - and those that impact smaller groups - for example, two students of color being repeatedly mixed up or called each others' name. Only one participant of the 17 interviewed stated that he had never experienced any form of disrespect from a teacher.

Q2. What Are Students' Reactions to These Disrespectful and Subtly Racist Experiences?

As discussed in Chapter IV, students' reactions to experiences of disrespect and subtle racism fell into four broad themes: (1) sympathetic towards teacher; (2) indignation toward teacher; (3) feeling disconnected or alone; and (4) feeling scared or vulnerable. As stated

previously, "students' reactions" are centered around how participants explained feeling in the moment and their internal process of disrespect or subtle racism by teachers.

As opposed to the previous section, there was not a specific question in the semi-structured interview that elicited participants to specifically share their internal reactions to experiences of disrespect and subtle racism; however, nearly all of the narratives (31 of 32, 97%) included some reaction on the part of the participant. Participants' reactions to events of subtle racism varied however, it is clear that these were events that stuck with, and for some nagged, them long after the event had passed. Several students reported that something that happened in middle school or early high school still impacted how they decided to engage in class four or five years later. Consistent with Sue et al. (2007), these narratives and the reactions of participants reveal the way that subtly racist acts linger, sometimes unresolved for long periods of time.

Participants also expressed some internal reactions that implied ambivalence about the perpetrating teacher, as elucidated by the theme of sympathetic towards teacher. For example, there were several students who shared an event of subtle racism perpetrated by a teacher and subsequently reported that the same teacher had helped them significantly in a given subject and had demonstrated a dedication to teaching. It was unclear if these participants were feeling responsible for having shared something "bad" about their teacher and were attempting to make up for this negative light cast on the teacher or if they genuinely had an integrated understand that people can possess both negative and positive qualities.

Students who recounted both good and bad elements of the same teacher's behavior were largely students who reported higher rates on WHITS items of *school connectedness* and *reporting and seeking help* but lower scores for the Bystander Intervention Measure item of *know how to help.* As the narratives confirm, this suggests that these students might feel aware

that something is happening but have a difficult time articulating or recognizing it as an issue (perhaps, precisely because they like the teacher so much they cannot imagine them doing something microaggressive) and have difficulty speaking up or intervening due to their high regard for the teacher.

Alternatively, there were teachers whose microaggressive behaviors clearly had a cumulative impact on how students felt about them and their class. A number of participants reported multiple instances of subtle racism from one teacher and their internal reactions more frequently erred on the side of indignation and did not reflect a desire for reconciliation. It is easy to imagine that these types of experiences would leave students with much lower levels for WHITS items of *school connectedness* and faith in *reporting and seeking help*. Generally, students who expressed these more layered and cumulative experiences, scored relatively high on the Bystander Intervention Measure of *implement intervention decision* (meaning that they predicted taking action either in the moment or by providing/obtaining support after the event). Consistent with one of the profiles discussed shortly, these students may not feel a sense of allegiance to the teacher or school that would curtail intervention, promoting their motivation to seek justice.

Q3. What are Students' Responses to These Disrespect Experiences?

Because the present study did not obtain data from direct observation, the interviews and narratives obtained therein constitute the total of the data reviewed here. There are three ways that the present study categorized students' responses: (1) inaction in the moment, (2) action that intervened in the moment, and (3) providing or seeking support after the event as a way of processing the experience. Bystander behavior of *inaction in the moment* and *intervention action in the moment* were represented with the same level of frequency. A significant majority (78%)

of participant narratives revealed defending behavior that took the form of *providing or seeking support after the event*. While supporting the victim after the event may not seem as robust as interrupting teacher disrespect in the moment, there is reason to support this behavior especially in the context of subtle racism and microaggressions. Sue et al. (2007) share a narrative where the lead writer, Derald Wing Sue, an Asian American identified man, experienced a microaggression in the presence of a colleague, "Were it not for my colleague who validated my experiential reality [after the event occurred], I would have left that encounter wondering whether I was correct or incorrect in my perceptions" (p. 275). This highlights the power of support in the case of microaggressions as validating a "victim's" experience and how this may help alleviate them from the process of self-doubt that so often accompanies these events.

Participants' responses reflected that validation of the experience was a significant aspect of support from peers. Several participants, all of whom shared an experience with a history class assignment (featured in the *invisibility of difference or color blindness* section of the findings), reported that the act of discussing this experience after class, even a year later, helped them make sense of what felt "off" about it. Though they had not been able to identify this in the moment, let alone interrupt, the role of validation in events of microaggressions cannot be underestimated.

It is the speculation of this writer that these reparative experiences, obtaining support after the event, have a significant impact on how students relate to their peers and larger school environment. Participant narratives suggest that the revelation that can take place in these types of supportive moments might make them more aware of teacher perpetrated subtle racism or disrespect in future occurrences. Once more aware of them, and hopefully with the confidence of knowing you have your peers' support, students might feel more equipped to take more active responses in the future.

Q4. How do Items of WHITS Measure and Items of Bystander Intervention Measure Relate to Participant Profiles? How do Participant Profiles Relate to Participant Responses?

The present study sought to examine a relationship between two items of the What's Happening In This School? measure, namely *school connectedness* and *reporting and seeking help*, two items of the Bystander Intervention Measure, namely *knowing how to help* and *implement intervention decision*, and participant bystander behavior, as determined through narratives. As demonstrated in Chapter IV, participant profiles emerged through person centered analysis of the quantitative data scores. Based on this organization of participants, the following profiles emerged: comfortable and cautious, disenchanted and active, unaware and complacent, and connected and unsure. The sections herein will expound on this researcher's understanding of these profiles as well as how they relate to the participants' bystanding behaviors as elucidated from their narratives (addressing Q5).

Profile 1: Comfortable and cautious. Participants in this profile represent students who had moderate levels of *school connectedness* and *reporting and seeking help* as well as moderate levels of *know how to help* and *implement intervention decision*. These profile characteristics suggest that these participants feel relatively comfortable in their school setting but show limitations in knowing what to do in events of subtle racism perpetrated by teachers in the classroom. Indeed, this profile expressed one of the lowest scores for *know how to help*, despite expressing moderate scores in the other items. This suggests that even moderate levels of *school connectedness* and *reporting and seeking help* are not enough to determine motivation for bystanding behavior.

Relating to participant responses. In many ways, this profile represents students who might most appreciate the ability to "fly under the radar" and as such might not feel compelled to intervene in the moment should they have the skills to do so. However, all narratives from participants in this profile reflect providing or seeking support from peers after the event. This is an important feature especially in terms of the reparative possibilities of support after the event. The participants in this profile may not have the interest or social self-efficacy to be able to manage in the moment intervention but their use of support after the event is important.

Profile 2: Disenchanted and active. Participants in this profile represent students who showed very low levels of *school connectedness* and *reporting and seeking help*, disparate levels for *know how to help* (one participant scored 5, an extreme outlier in this item, the other 2.67, out of 5) and high levels for *implement intervention decision*. Characteristics found in this profile are extremely interesting to the present study as they suggest that there may be an inverse relationship between WHITS items and bystander behavior as captured in the Bystander Intervention Measure. This suggests that these participants are disenchanted by the school systems otherwise understood to be supportive of students. They imply the feeling of "there's nothing to lose, I may as well stand up for what I believe in". It is noteworthy that both participants represented in this profile shared multiple narratives (nine in total) and they were both black young women.

Relating to participant responses. The narratives of participants in this profile demonstrated execution of all three-bystander behaviors: inaction in the moment, action in the moment and providing or seeking support after the event. Contrary to the present study's hypothesis that *school connectedness* and *reporting and seeking help* would serve as a proxy for social self-efficacy, these participants demonstrated high levels of social self-efficacy (though

not formally measured here) through their actions. Their narratives suggest that they prioritize a sense of justice over a desire to maintain the status quo. While they may not demonstrate high levels for the WHITS items, it can be implied that they do significantly care about their school environment in that they want it to shift. For this researcher, these participants represent change makers in the school climate.

In terms of the present study's original hypothesis, there are several features that distinguish participants in this profile from the "defenders" as described by Gini et al., (2008) and add nuance to the contrary findings. Gini and colleagues (2008) write, "defenders, that is pupils who stand up for the victims and intervene to defend and help them […] are able to avoid harassment for themselves" (p. 94-95). Based on the narratives shared by participants in this profile, they are not "able to avoid harassment for themselves", indeed, they were the targets of a majority of the microaggressions described. As such, this shifts the range of characteristics that might be expectable in determining their responses to these events. Meaning, if "defenders" in Gini and colleagues' (2008) understanding *are not* the targets of the harassment, but active bystanders in the present study *are* the targets of harassment, it may have been misguided to assume that rates of social self-efficacy (even if WHITS items served as a valid proxy) would be relevant.

Profile 3: Unaware and complacent. This profile includes only one participant, who showed high levels of *school connectedness* and *reporting and seeking help* as well as high levels for *know how to help* and *implement intervention decision*. The naming for this title is better understood when considering that this participant, in their interview, was unable to recall any instances of teacher disrespect. Further in the interview they recounted a partial story but seemed unable to provide any details of the event, suggesting that they may be very internally

focused or focused on their work but not attuned to the social interactions playing out in the classroom. In many ways, this participant represents an outlier in the data.

Relating to participant responses. In their work on bystander behaviors in bullying situations, Gini et al., (2008) identify "outsiders" in the following way, "those who usually withdraw from the scene, deny any bullying is going on, become avoidant onlookers, or remain as a silent audience" (p. 94). The participant in this profile matches this description very closely. This is the only participant who not only struggled to articulate one instance of disrespect from a teacher, but was also the only participant to only indicate inaction in the moment as their response. In an ideal world, this might reflect that teacher disrespect was simply not occurring in the presence of this participant. However, it is appreciated by this researcher that this participant attended the same high school as the two participants in profile 2: disenchanted and active. As such, this participant's suggestion that there were no instances of disrespect or microaggressions is viewed here as a lack of attunement and identification with the experiences of those around the participant as opposed to a truly anomalous lack of disrespect. This profile suggests a limited ability to develop increased capacity for bystanding behavior.

Profile 4: Connected and unsure. Participants in this profile show high levels of *school connectedness*, moderate levels of *reporting and seeking help*, low levels for *know how to help* and high levels for *implement intervention decision*. Somewhat similar in character to profile 1: comfortable and cautious, these participants' scores reflect their interest in taking action in events of subtle racism but limitations in knowing how to help; in contrast to those of profile 1, however, the participants in this profile show much higher levels of *school connectedness* and *reporting and seeking help*.

Relating to participant responses. The participants in this profile all identified providing or obtaining support from peers after the event. Based both on the quantitative data and the narratives provided by participants in this profile, these participants demonstrate the strongest likelihood to, with increased knowledge of how to help, enact bystanding behaviors in the moment. Their strong regard for *school connectedness* and *reporting and seeking help* and interest in *implementing intervention decision* suggests that the primary missing piece for them is *knowing how to help.* In addition, within this profile are participant narratives that express uncertainty about what was happening in the moment, when a microaggression was taking place. They had the awareness that something felt "off" but had difficulty identifying the subtle racism in the moment, let alone intervening in the moment. It is this researcher's speculation that participants in this profile are particularly well-suited to learn from experiences of providing or obtaining support after the event to potentially more acutely identify microaggressions in the moment and intervene.

Summary

The most significant findings of the present study relate to the exploratory elements of the data, reflecting information about participants' experiences of subtle racism and disrespect perpetrated by teachers, participants' internal reactions and external responses. Using person centered analysis to review participants' perception of school climate, particularly the WHITS items of *school connectedness* and *reporting and seeking help*, and predicted bystander behavior, specifically the Bystander Intervention Measure items of *know how to help* and *implement intervention decision,* participant profiles emerged. The profiles described in the sections above represent a departure from the "bystander roles" supported by Gini and colleagues (2008) and Salmivalli and colleagues (1996).

The present study suggests that there is greater variation within the "defender" category in terms of how students engage in bystanding behavior and that this is associated with participants' to relationship to their school. The profiles of comfortable and cautious, disenchanted and active, unaware and complacent and connected and unsure, shed some light on the relationship between school climate and bystander behavior and support the suggestion that there is not a direct correlation between these measures. Indeed, there appears, from the discussion in sections above, to be a tipping point at which high scores in the WHITS items are contra-indicated for bystanding behavior, as described in the disenchanted and active profile section. However, there are also indications throughout the participant profiles, regardless of other items, that there is a pervasive limitation in knowledge of what to do in situations of subtle racism perpetrated by teachers, as reflected in nearly ubiquitous low scores on *know how to help*.

Findings suggest, contrary to the primary hypothesis, that participants with demonstrably low scores for school climate might be in the best position to "take the risk" of intervening (in the moment) in situations of subtle racism. The present study also suggests that students who have a more comfortable or outright positive perception of school climate might be more likely to prioritize classroom harmony over a sense of justice.

Departure from previous research. There are several explanations for the differences between previous research and present study findings. First, as discussed in profile 2: disenchanted and active, previous research on bystander behavior in situations of bullying, determines defenders to be those outside of the target of the "abuse". It is clear from participant narratives that many were both the targets and witnesses but that they were not protected from experiencing subtle racism themselves. Second, as opposed to bullying, the nature of subtle racism and microaggressions makes them difficult to identify and, as such, more often difficult to

interrupt in the moment. Third, the power dynamics between peer-on-peer bullying is inherently different than disrespect perpetrated by a teacher targeting a student. This power dynamic limits the extrapolations that can be made about bystanding behavior between previous research and the present study (and vise versa). Finally, the present study utilized the WHITS items, namely *school connectedness* and *reporting and seeking help*, as a proxy for social self-efficacy, determined as influential by Gini and colleagues (2008). It is possible that the discrepancy in our findings is in part because these items of the WHITS measure simple do not capture a similar characteristic as social self-efficacy.

 Resonance with previous research. Though there are several areas of the present study that represent a departure from previous research, there are also areas that reflect resonance with various research and theorizing. First, narratives of participants in the present study support the primary tenet of Critical Race Theory as set forth by Delgado and Stefancic (2001), that racism exists, is ordinary and not the exception but rather the rule. Second, the present study reflects agreement with the nature of microaggressions as set forth by Sue et al. (2007), as difficult to determine and define. The present study furthers this work by incorporating the experiences of high school students. Third, participant narratives support related research (Byers, 2016; Gini et al., , 2008; Salmivalli et al., 1996; Sue et al., 2007) that providing support after the event has a positive impact on the "victim". Perhaps especially in cases of microaggressions, given the difficulty in defining them, the role of supportive peers after the event seemed consistently important to participants in the present study.

Limitations and Strengths

The present study had several limitations and areas of strength in terms of design and execution. Reviewed below, these areas of limitations and strength include: sample, reliability, validity, data analysis and elements relating to researcher social location and potential bias.

Sample. The very small size of the sample, especially for the subset of those who completed quantitative data, limits generalizability. Since snowball sampling was the primary method of recruitment, several participants shared experiences, further limiting generalizability. The sample did represent a broad range of racial identities, however, was limited in that a majority of participants 12 (71%) identified as female and 5 (29%) identified as male. It was not adequately determined if data collection from two geographic locations, San Francisco Bay Area and Western Massachusetts, had any impact on the findings. Quantitative data was only collected from participants from the San Francisco Bay Area as such this data did not reflect participants in Western Massachusetts.

Though there were some limitations regarding the sample, this small number of participants allowed in-depth collection through the semi-structured interviews that might not have been possible with a larger sample, simply due to researcher time constraints. Participants in the present research represent a population that is extremely difficult to reach and gather data from (Knight et al., 2009). High school students are truly experts of their experiences, and it is the belief of this researcher that we were very fortunate to be able to sit and conduct lengthy interviews with the young people we were able to reach.

Reliability. Reliability was ensured in several ways: first, the language for semi-structured interview questions and survey language (in the case of adapted measures, such as the Bystander Intervention Measure) had the benefit of pilot testing with adolescents. This step

helped to ensure that the language used was accessible and appropriate for the target

demographic of participants. Second, internal reliability was bolstered for the present study by

two researchers coding together and comparing codes. Third, semi-structured interview questions

were administered in an alternating order and responses remained similar.

Validity. The quantitative measures evaluated in the present study as well as the larger

research project were shown to have strong validity. The Bystander Intervention Model was the

only measure adapted for use in the present study and through pilot testing it was also

determined to have strong validity. Utilizing the WHITS items, *school connectedness* and

reporting and seeking help, as a measure for social self-efficacy was not determined to support

validity, as discussed above.

Data analysis. Qualitative data was organized and analyzed per student then by teacher,

as opposed to each event standing as its own data point. In some ways, this limited the level of

specificity in looking to the individual events and individual bystander behaviors as sometimes

several events were captured together. In other ways, this organization assisted researchers in

being able to see the teachers with whom one student had many, cumulative experiences.

Because researchers tended to only ask follow up questions (such as, "did anyone else witness

this?" and "if so, what did they do?"; see Appendix O) for the first event shared by participants,

the organization utilized in the present study was selected for consistency. It was evaluated by

this researcher to be preferable to include as many narratives and events as possible even if they

did not all incorporate the same level of detail.

Researcher social location and potential biases. All researchers for the research

project, including this writer, are white identified, cis-women. It would be naïve to think that

researchers of this project are free from our own subtle racism, implicit biases and

microaggressive behaviors. With this in mind, researchers for this project exercised caution in not perpetrating microaggressions with participants by conducting semi-structured interviews according to the script provided and centering the narratives of participants. As discussed in the methodology section on racial concordance there has been evidence which points to "race matching" as valuable for some research participants of color and less important for others. Much of the research points to the significance of cultural humility, sensitivity, honesty and compatible world-view between researcher and participant. These are all characteristics that were foregrounded in researchers' minds when engaging with participants.

Implications for Social Work Practice

The field and practice of social work is considered by many to represent a commitment to social justice. Currently, *cultural competency* is marked as a standard of the National Association of Social Work (NASW) Code of Ethics (1996) as well as by the National Education Association (NEA) (n.d.). It is the suggestion of this writer that cultural competency is an extremely limited approach to anti-oppression work. Cultural competency, in addition to implying that we can simply learn about "another's" culture and then absolve ourselves of any role we play in White supremacy, it does not acknowledge the various systemic and institutionalized forms of oppression operating in our society. Thus, while cultural competency may be the standard in the field of social work practice more broadly, the present study implores social workers to engage more firmly with the CRT assertion that racism exists in the very foundation of our systems, institutions, and certainly in the lives of people of color. The present study supports the suggestion that we are far from the egalitarian society that many Whites believe we have achieved. The participants of the present study, their narratives and myriad experiences, shed light on how much work there still is to do.

In terms of tangible suggestions and goals for the field of social work, the present study speaks to the role that school social workers could potentially have in the lives of our students and the school culture at large. Many White clinicians struggle to discuss race with clients, afraid they might say the wrong thing or inadvertently perpetrate a microaggression in the act of attempting to talk to students of color about race. We as clinicians must find space for self-reflexive work in the company of other anti-oppression oriented clinicians to bring humility and increased capacity to our clients and schools. School social workers have the responsibility to engage with students in critical conversations about student experiences of racism on campus and in their lives in general. School social workers are often in a position to work with administrators and faculty to implement trainings and advocate for institutional changes on behalf of the students of color in the school.

If the present study has no other impact, it is this writer's hope that it encourages social workers to realize the various ways that racism is being perpetrated by teachers and felt by students. We still have a long way to go and social workers are in a position to work with educators to promote anti-oppression pedagogy and practices in schools.

Recommendations for Future Research

Future research on the topic of bystander behaviors in events of subtle racism perpetrated by teachers in high schools would benefit from several key considerations. First, in order to derive meaning and relatedness to the literature on bystander behavior in bullying situations, future research would benefit from a more precise measure for social self-efficacy than the present study employed in the form of WHITS items, *school connectedness* and *reporting and seeking help.* Second, future research would benefit from a more robust sample size. Third, identifying differences between student experiences on campuses that are largely White versus

campuses that have majority students of color would be an interesting area for future research. Though the present study did collect this information, nearly all the participants who completed the quantitative data identified as being from schools with a majority students of color, while those from majority White schools did not complete quantitative data, significantly limiting the possibility for comparisons between these groups. Finally, future research could also look more specifically at the events in which bystander behavior was employed and potentially capture students' feelings before and after bystander intervention to better understand what exact emotions motivate students to either actively intervene in the moment or provide support after the event.

Conclusion

The present study explored high school student's experiences of teacher perpetrated microaggressions and disrespect, their reactions and responses, as well as the relationship between these events and several items related to school climate and predicted bystander behavior. Consistent with previous related research, the present study determined that racial microaggressions are a part of high school students' experiences of their teachers, that students have myriad internal reactions and external responses to these experiences, and that obtaining support from a peer after experiences of microaggressions in the classroom is a valuable part of students' experience.

Findings suggest, contrary to the primary hypothesis, that participants with demonstrably low scores for school climate might be in the best position to "take the risk" of intervening (in the moment) in situations of subtle racism. The present study also suggests that students who have a more comfortable or outright positive perception of school climate might be more likely to prioritize classroom harmony over a sense of justice.

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Appendix A: Recruitment Flyer

High School
Participants Needed
....

Share your story!

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 taking a confidential survey and/or an in-
person interview. If you want more information, just ask!
To participate, or with any questions, please contact Emily Peck
by email at epeck@smith.edu or by phone at 415.799.1173.

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 B: Site Agreement

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 should an 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 or we will not include >> a letter to accompany the consent form.

_____   _____
Printed Name of Afterschool Official   Title of Afterschool program

_____
Date

Appendix C: Parental Consent

SMITH COLLEGE

Parent Consent to Participate in a Research Study
Smith College • Northampton, MA
....
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 D: Participant Assent – Survey

SMITH COLLEGE

Youth Assent to Participate in a Survey Research Study
Smith College ● Northampton, MA

....

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

....

We are doing a study to understand how students think about respect, disrespect, social identity (which includes ethnicity and heritage), school climate, and subtle or unintentional racism in the classroom.

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

Your 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, you will be asked to answer survey questions about how you think about respect and disrespect at school, school climate, and your experiences or witnessing your classmates experiences of subtle or unintentional racism in the school setting. The survey will take you approximately 40 minutes to complete. 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 might feel tired after answering the survey 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 question of the survey, you will be given a chance to enter a drawing for a $25 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.

Name of Participant (print): _____

Signature of Participant: _____ Date: _____

Signature of Researcher(s): _____ Date: _____

We also want to interview about your experiences at school involving respect and disrespect from your classmates and teachers. **We will give you a $5 dollar amazon gift card for your time.**

If you are interested in please leave us with your name and a way to contact you (email or phone number). This is not a promise to participate in the interview process. This only gives us information to contact you at a later time about a follow-up interview.

Email: _____
Phone: _____
Preferred contact (circle one): email   call   text

Appendix E: Participant Assent – Interview

SMITH COLLEGE

Assent to Participate in an Interview Research Study
Smith College ● Northampton, MA

....

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

....

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: _____

1

Appendix F: Human Subjects Review Waiver

SMITH COLLEGE

School for Social Work
Smith College
Northampton, Massachusetts 01063

October 27, 2016

Emily Peck

Dear Emily:

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 your study's use of secondary data. 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 G: Internal Review Board 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 H: Internal Review Board Approval (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 I: Internal Review Board, Change of Protocol Approval

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 J: Internal Review Board, Full Approval

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 K: Participant Debrief and Resources

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 L: Demographics

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

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

Appendix M: What's Happening In This School? Measure

Section D. School Climate

> The items in this section ask about your perceptions of how often certain things happen at your school. Please think about the most recent school year when you answer these questions, and **circle the number** that most resembles your experiences at your school.

At my school…	Almost Never	Not Often	Some times	Often	Almost Always
Teacher Support					
1 Teachers know my name	1	2	3	4	5
2 Teachers try to understand my problems	1	2	3	4	5
3 Teachers listen to me	1	2	3	4	5
4 Teachers take an interest in my background	1	2	3	4	5
5 Teachers treat me fairly	1	2	3	4	5
6 Teachers support me when I have problems	1	2	3	4	5
7 Teachers go out of their way to address my needs	1	2	3	4	5
8 Teachers are willing to listen to my problems	1	2	3	4	5
Peer Connectedness					
9 I get along with other students	1	2	3	4	5
10 I belong to a group of friends	1	2	3	4	5
11 I make friends with students from different backgrounds	1	2	3	4	5
12 I socialize with students from different cultures	1	2	3	4	5
13 Students talk to me	1	2	3	4	5
14 Students support me	1	2	3	4	5
15 Students help me	1	2	3	4	5
16 I feel accepted by other students	1	2	3	4	5
Rule Clarity					
17 The rules at this school are clear to me	1	2	3	4	5
18 The school rules help me to feel safe	1	2	3	4	5
19 School rules protect me	1	2	3	4	5
20 The rules make it clear to me that certain behaviors are unacceptable	1	2	3	4	5
School Connectedness					
21 I look forward to coming to school	1	2	3	4	5

22	I enjoy being at school	1	2	3	4	5
23	I feel included at school	1	2	3	4	5
24	I feel welcome	1	2	3	4	5
25	I am part of a community	1	2	3	4	5
26	I am respected	1	2	3	4	5
27	I am valued	1	2	3	4	5

Affirming Diversity

28	My cultural background is valued	1	2	3	4	5
29	Days that are important to my culture are recognized	1	2	3	4	5
30	I am encouraged to understand the culture of others	1	2	3	4	5
31	My background is known by student and teachers	1	2	3	4	5
32	I am taught about the backgrounds of others	1	2	3	4	5

Reporting and Seeking Help

33	I can report bad behaviors to school officials	1	2	3	4	5
34	I am encouraged to report incidents	1	2	3	4	5
35	I am confident to talk to a teacher if I am bullied	1	2	3	4	5
36	I am encouraged to report bullying	1	2	3	4	5
37	I know how to report problems	1	2	3	4	5
38	I can report incidents without others finding out	1	2	3	4	5
39	It is okay to tell a teacher if I feel unsafe	1	2	3	4	5

Appendix N: Bystander Intervention Measure

Section F. Bystander Intervention Scale - Subtle Racism

These questions ask about subtle racism at your school. Subtle racism is **when someone says or does something to someone because of his or her race or ethnicity but it is intended to be or seems harmless.** It can include verbal, nonverbal or visual insults directed towards someone's race or ethnicity.

*Please think about the most recent school year when you answer these questions, and **circle the number** that most resembles your experiences at school.*

		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Notice the event						
1	Subtle racism happens at this school.	1	2	3	4	5
2	I am aware that students at my school are bothered by subtle racism.	1	2	3	4	5
3	I have seen other students experience subtle racism at my school this year.	1	2	3	4	5
Interpret event as emergency						
4	I believe that someone experiencing subtle racism needs help.	1	2	3	4	5
5	If someone makes racial comments, the student on the receiving end should realize that is it just a joke.	1	2	3	4	5
6	I think that racial comments and jokes are hurtful and damaging to others.	1	2	3	4	5
Accept responsibility to help						
7	I feel personally responsible to intervene and assist in resolving incidents involving subtle racism.	1	2	3	4	5
8	If I am not the one making subtly racist comments, it is still my responsibility to try to stop it when I see it.	1	2	3	4	5
9	I believe that my actions can reduce subtle racism at my school.	1	2	3	4	5
Know how to help						
10	I have the skills to support a student who is experiencing subtle racism.	1	2	3	4	5
11	I know what to say to get someone to stop making racial jokes or comments.	1	2	3	4	5
12	I can help get someone out of a situation where he or she is experiencing subtle racism.	1	2	3	4	5
Implement intervention decision						
13	I would tell a group of my friends to stop using racially charged language or behaviors if I see or hear them.	1	2	3	4	5
14	I would say something to a student who is using racial jokes or language to student because of their race.	1	2	3	4	5
15	I would say something to a teacher who is making racial jokes or comments to a student based on their race.	1	2	3	4	5
16	If I witnessed a **student(1)** make a racially-based comment or joke to another **student(2)** I would step in to defend **student(2)**, even when **student(1)** was still there.	1	2	3	4	5
17	If I witnessed a **student(1)** say something subtly racist to another **student(2),** I would check in with **student(2)** after the event to make sure they are ok or to offer support.	1	2	3	4	5
18	If I witnessed a **teacher** make a racially-based comment or joke to another **student** I would step in to defend the **student,** even when **the teacher** was still there.	1	2	3	4	5
19	If I witnessed a **teacher** say something subtly racist to another **student,** I would check in with the **student** after the event to make sure they are ok or to offer support.	1	2	3	4	5

Appendix O: Semi-Structured Interview Questions

Youth Interview - Version A

1. Make sure you have consent form or a sheet with the consent form checked off.
2. Go over the assent form with the youth. Make sure they sign before continuing. Check yes or no. No assent means NO INTERVIEW.
3. Make sure that the youth signs whether not they want to be audio recorded.
   ○ If okay, start recording and check to make sure recording is on.
   ○ If not okay, take very detailed, clear notes.
4. Turn on Audio device (Make sure Audio is on).
5. Make sure you are taking notes.
6. State the date, the time, your name, and the person you are interviewing.
7. Next, tell the participant:
   "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.

DURING THE INTERVIEW, MAKE SURE TO ENCOURAGE THE STORY ALONG BY SAYING...UH-HUH.. OR Directly repeating what was just said, "so she told you…"

DO NOT ASK QUESTIONS DURING THE STORY!!!!!

(EXCEPT: You may ask for gender and ethnicity of the other people in the story if those attributes are not stated).

PART I: Teacher disrespect

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. [If you have never experienced this, tell me about a time you saw a teacher or another adult at school disrespect another student].**

   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. On a scale from 1 (little bit) to 4 (A lot) how disrespectful was the experience? 0   1   2   3   4

l. Now I am going to ask you how you **felt at the time** of the experience. If you did not experience the emotion, then say zero.

How… did you **feel at the time**?

Angry	0	1	2	3	4
Hurt	0	1	2	3	4
Humiliated	0	1	2	3	4
Sad	0	1	2	3	4
Confused	0	1	2	3	4
Ashamed	0	1	2	3	4

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?

Angry	0	1	2	3	4
Hurt	0	1	2	3	4
Humiliated	0	1	2	3	4
Sad	0	1	2	3	4
Confused	0	1	2	3	4
Ashamed	0	1	2	3	4

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

PART II: Teacher Respect

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.**

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?**

Other notes:

THANK THE PARTICIPANT FOR PARTICIPATING!!!
SHOW LOTS OF GRATITUDE!!!!!