

INVESTIGATING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN STUDENT RACE AND ACADEMIC
EXPECTATIONS AMONG HIGH SCHOOL COUNSELORS AND TEACHERS

by

Rachel Mae Saunders

A dissertation submitted to the faculty of
the University of North Carolina at Charlotte
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in
Counselor Education and Supervision

Charlotte

2020

Approved by:

Dr. Clare Merlin Knoblich

Dr. Sejal Parikh Foxx

Dr. Lyndon Abrams

Dr. Claudia Flowers

Dr. Jae Hoon Lim

©2020
Rachel Mae Saunders
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

ABSTRACT

RACHEL SAUNDERS. Investigating the relationship between student race and academic expectations among high school counselors and teachers. (Under the direction of DR. CLARE MERLIN-KNOBLICH)

The enrollment of racial and ethnically diverse students has increased over the years, with nearly half of all students enrolled in K-12 schools identifying as students of color (U.S. Census, 2018). Given the increase in student racial diversity throughout public schools in the U.S., a need for multicultural understanding and acceptance is becoming increasingly critical for both students and staff (Banks, 2008). The academic racial disparities and the negative outcomes of racism in schools highlight the need to explore the implicit biases of the educators working directly with students (Freudenberg & Ruglis, 2007; Rumberger & Losen, 2016; Trent, Dooley, & Douge, 2019). Unfortunately, current literature indicates that school counselors (Akos & Kretchmar, 2016; Corwin et al., 2004) and teachers (Hope, Skoogs, & Jagers, 2014; Saft & Pianta, 2001) often possess negative biases towards students of color. These race-related biases can further add to existing achievement gaps (Suttie, 2016). Therefore, the purpose of this study was to examine and compare teachers' and school counselors' academic expectations towards students of color, specifically male students of color. The researcher used a true experimental design to assess the impact of student race and professional role on participants' ($N = 88$) academic expectations. I analyzed data using a 2 x 3 factorial analysis of variance, and results indicated no statistical difference between student race and academic expectations ($F = .270$, $p > .05$) or between professional role and academic expectations ($F = .077$, $p > .05$). I discuss the implications of these findings for teachers, school counselors, and researchers studying implicit bias in both fields.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this accomplishment to the past, present, and future. To the past, my parents, thank you for challenging me to be a better person and loving me enough to do so. To the present, Otto, thank you for laying on my lap while I typed on the computer, reminding me to find stillness in moments of chaos. And finally, to my future, Robert, thank you for being the best part of my time in Charlotte.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

They say it takes a village to raise a child. I would like to add that it takes two cities, full of people, to raise me. Although I decided to attend UNC Charlotte for my doctorate before I met him, I would like to thank my partner, Robert, for being the reason why I am able to accomplish all of this. From the financial, emotional, and physical support, you have been my rock. I look forward to the next stage of my life because I know you will be there to share it with me.

I also thank Dr. Clare Merlin-Knoblich for never losing faith in me throughout this process. You are the most kind-hearted, genuine, and understanding person I have ever met. I am fortunate every day that you were willing to serve as my dissertation chair. Thank you for being a source of strength and showing me what it means to be a good mentor, counselor educator, and person. I will try to be more like you every day.

To Dr. Foxx, I've said it once and I will say it again, you are a phenomenal human being in every aspect of the word. Thank you for your compassion and leadership. I am the counselor educator I am today because of you. To the rest of my dissertation committee - Dr. Abrams, Dr. Flowers, and Dr. Lim – thank you for helping me navigate this process and showing me endless amounts of support.

This journey wasn't always easy, but I knew I could rely on my friends for strength when I was feeling weak. To Nikki, thank you for being my best friend for more than 20 years. It is your perseverance and humility that I admire the most about you. I look forward to 20 more years of friendship. To Bethani, Tanna, and Lindsay, I am thankful to have met all of you in Charlotte. Thank you for being there and supporting me for the last eight years of my life.

Last, but certainly not least, I would like to say thank you to my family. To my mom and dad for teaching me that it was possible to achieve anything if I willing to work hard. To my

sisters, Amanda and Kim, thank you for the years of support and encouragement. Finally, to Owen, thank you for being the reason I smile every day. The greatest job I will ever have is being your Aunt Ray Ray.

“Teddy Roosevelt once said: ‘Far and away the best prize that life has to offer is a chance to work hard at work worth doing.’

And I would add that what makes work worth doing is getting to do it with people that you love.”

- Leslie Knope

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Tables	x
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
Discrimination in Schools	2
Classroom Teachers	7
Professional School Counselors	7
Significance of the Study	9
Theoretical Framework	10
Predictor Variables	11
Student race	11
Professional role	11
Criterion Variable	12
Academic Expectations	12
Purpose of the Study	13
Research Questions(s)	14
Operational Definitions	14
Student Race (Predictor)	15
Professional Role (Predictor)	15
Academic Expectations (Criterion)	15
Assumptions	16
Delimitations	16
Limitations	16
Summary	17
Study Proposal	18
Chapter 2: Review of the Literature	19
Introduction	19
Theoretical Framework	20
Population of Interest	22
Classroom Teachers	22
Professional School Counselors	25
Comparing Teachers and School Counselors	27

Implicit Biases.....	29
Related Research.....	30
Race.....	34
Related Research.....	34
Race and Implicit Biases.....	38
Gender.....	39
Gender and Implicit Biases.....	41
Summary and Conclusion.....	41
Chapter 3: Methodology.....	43
Research Design.....	43
Instrumentation.....	44
Student Vignette.....	45
Pre-Pilot and Pilot Studies.....	46
Participant Recruitment.....	48
Academic Expectations.....	49
Data Collection Procedures.....	50
Participants.....	52
Research Questions.....	57
Data Analysis.....	58
Chapter 4: Results.....	60
Introduction.....	60
Results.....	60
Instrument Reliability and Validity.....	60
Data Screening.....	61
Data Analysis.....	63
Research Question 1.....	65
Research Question 2.....	65
Research Question 3.....	65
Summary.....	66
Chapter 5: Discussion.....	68
Overview.....	68
Discussion of Results.....	69

Discussion of Demographic Data	69
Analysis of Variance	70
Making Sense of the Results	75
Contributions of the Study	76
Limitations of the Study	78
Implications of the Findings	80
Implications for Practitioners	80
Implications for Higher Education.....	83
Recommendations for Future Research.....	86
Concluding Remarks	88
References	90
Appendices	103
Appendix A: Vignettes	103
Appendix B: Student Academic Expectations	105
Appendix C: Demographic Questions	106
Appendix D: Pre-Pilot Study Feedback.....	108
Appendix E: Pilot Study Feedback.....	109
Appendix F: Newsletter to Potential Participants	110
Appendix G: Social Media Posting to Potential Participants	112
Appendix H: Informed Consent	113

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Demographic Characteristics of Participants.....	55
Table 2: Independent, Dependent, and Instruments.....	59
Table 3: Item Statistics	61
Table 4: Means, Standard Deviations, Skewness, and Kurtosis for Student Race and Academic Expectations.....	63
Table 5: Means, Standard Deviations, Skewness, and Kurtosis for Professional Role and Academic Expectations	64
Table 6: Cell Means and Standard Deviations for Interaction of Variables.....	64
Table 7: Results of the 2 x 3 Between Subjects ANOVA for Dependent Variable, Student Race, and Professional Role.....	64

Chapter 1: Introduction

In 2007, the majority of students enrolled in K-12 schools in the United States were White, non-Hispanic students (U.S. Census, 2018). However, the enrollment of racial and ethnically diverse students has increased over the years, with nearly half of all students enrolled in K-12 schools identifying as non-White (U.S. Census, 2018). This change in student enrollment within the education system emulates the demographic shift currently occurring in the U.S. as a whole (U.S. Census, 2018). The purpose of the K-12 education system is to facilitate a process through which all students graduate with the academic and learning skills necessary to be agents of their own success (Lopez, Patrick, & Sturgis, 2017). Because of the transformation in student enrollment, school systems need to ensure that all students receive necessary support and equitable access to education (Banks, 2008; Clayton, 2011; Mar, 2018).

Given the increase in student racial diversity throughout public schools in the U.S., a need for multicultural understanding and acceptance is becoming increasingly critical for both students and staff (Banks, 2008). Administrators and educators need to develop a school environment that positions all students for equal educational opportunities (Mueller & O'Connor, 2007). When educators are able to create a welcoming school environment for all, students are more likely to respond to cross-cultural issues more effectively (Mar, 2018). This is especially important for students who do not receive healthy culturally-related behaviors and beliefs at home, as school can become their sole educational avenue to celebrate diversity (Markowitz & Puchner, 2014). Unfortunately, not all students feel like their culture or background is celebrated or accepted, creating a feeling of unsafety in school (Lacoe, 2015).

Discrimination in Schools

Research on educator perceptions indicates that teachers are more likely to hold negative views towards students of color than White students (Hope, Skoog, & Jagers, 2014; Saft & Pianta, 2001). Some students require more individualized instruction, and for educators who are not adequately prepared to offer various learning or coping strategies, they often find working with students of color to be stressful (Mar, 2018). Unfortunately, this additional stress can lead to misconceptions of racial and ethnic students (Markowitz & Puchner, 2014).

Furthermore, educators in the school system are mostly White (Vervaeet, Houtte, & Stevens, 2018) and generally lack cross-cultural interaction and personal experience of other cultures (Benson & Fiarman, 2019). In addition to the lack of contact with diverse group members, researchers have also found that educators often evaluate students of color more negatively (Glock & Karbach, 2015; Ready & Wright, 2011) and expect lower performance (Tenenbaum & Ruck, 2007; Tobisch & Dresel, 2017). These lower expectations and evaluations can be attributed to the stereotypes and biases educators have towards students of color.

Despite the increase in students of color enrolled in public schools, biases held by others against these students often make students of color the target of discrimination and prejudice (Swearer & Hymel, 2015). For example, in a qualitative study exploring Black students' experiences related to discrimination in schools ($N = 8$), researchers found that each participant described a personal experience in which a teacher or school staff member treated them unfairly based on race (Hope et al., 2014). An additional study conducted by Seaton and Douglass (2014) found similar results regarding racial discrimination. By distributing daily surveys to a population of Black adolescents ($N = 75$), they found that 97% of the participants reported at least one discriminatory act over a two-week period. On average, students reported experiencing a

discriminatory event 2.5 times per day. Pachter, Bernstein, Szalcha, & Coll (2010) also examined perceived racism and discrimination experienced by administering a questionnaire to students of color ages 8 to 16. Of the 277 children who participated in the survey, 88% of the participants identified at least one experience involving racial discrimination. More than 11% of the children also reported experiencing racism in at least half of the settings, which included both school and community environments.

Current literature indicates that students of color are less likely to meet academic standards than their White peers (Bromberg & Theokas, 2014). For example, even with more students of color attending school in the 21st century, Black and Hispanic students make up only 17% of students scoring in the highest achievement quartile (Bromberg & Theokas, 2014). Similarly, 57% of all students enrolled in Advanced Placement (AP) courses are White, compared to only 8% of the enrollment consisting of Black students and 16% of Hispanic students (Theokas & Sarris, 2013). Uncovering the barriers and challenges that prevent these students from enrolling in these types of courses is crucial for student equity and success (Theokas & Sarris, 2013).

In addition to this gap in advanced placement courses, a gap also exists among White students and students of color in academic achievement. Using data from the Stanford Education Data Archive (SEA), an analysis of test scores from 2009 to 2013 indicate that on average, White students score one and a half or more grade levels higher than Black and Hispanic students, even when the students are enrolled in socioeconomically similar school districts (Reardon, 2016). Out of the 964 school districts with at least 100 Black students per grade, there are only 19 districts in which Black students' average test scores are at or above the national average (Reardon, 2016). This difference in test scores is often referred to as the achievement gap, which

occurs when one group of students outperforms another group of students (National Center for Education Statistics, 2019). Recent scholars have noted that this gap continues to persist in schools, although the term “opportunity gap” may more accurately describe the phenomenon of injustice of achievement between students of color (Darden & Cavendish, 2012; Miretzky, Chennault, & Fraynd, 2016).

Beyond the academic achievement gap, additional concerns arise when looking at the suspension rates for Black and Hispanic students. School suspension rates have been increasing since the early 1970’s, especially for students of color (Rumberger & Losen, 2016). Horner, Fireman, & Wang (2010) found that among students identified as overly aggressive, Black students were more likely to be disciplined than any other racial or ethnic group. The same students punished in schools tend to match those within the prison system (Xie, 2015). Because Black and Hispanic students are more likely to be suspended and expelled, with higher school dropout rates, they are ultimately stuck in a cycle that could learn to prison (Xie, 2015).

This concept of the *School-to-Prison Pipeline* highlights that the disproportionality of exclusionary discipline of students of color directly contributes to their overrepresentation in the criminal justice system (Noguera, 2003; Xie, 2015). These students are alienated from the learning process and ultimately steered away from classroom and academic achievement, a basic right all students should have in the school system (Walden & Losen, 2003; Xie, 2015; Zeiderberg & Schiraldi, 2002). Given that students who are suspended are excluded from classroom activities, scholars suggest that suspensions lead to poor academic achievement (Owen, Wettach, & Hoffman, 2015). The more time a student spends in school and engaged in their learning, the higher the student’s academic achievement (Owen et al., 2015). Unfortunately, students who are suspended once are more likely to be suspended again. Researchers indicate

that thirty to fifty percent of students who have been suspended are repeat offenders, resulting in excessive absences and less time in the classroom, which limits opportunities for academic achievement (Owen et al., 2015).

Given the lower academic achievement scores and higher discipline rates for students of color, it is not surprising that high school graduation rates for this population also reveal discrepancies based on race (National Center for Education Statistics, 2017). Even when adjusting for retention, the cohort graduation rate of public high school students is lower for students of color. Although 88% of White students graduated high school in 2016, only 76% of Black students and 79% of Hispanic students graduated (National Center for Education Statistics, 2017). Among students who drop out of school, on average, Black students drop out at a higher rate than White students (National Center for Education Statistics, 2017). Students have attributed school safety, disciplinary policies, and high levels of racial segregation as some of the factors associated with their decision to drop out of school (Freudenberg & Ruglis, 2007).

Discrimination has adverse effects beyond academic outcomes, as well. Trent, Dooley, & Douge (2019) found that racism is a core determinant of adolescent health. When students experience chronic stress as a result of being victims of discrimination and systemic racism, their bodies become predisposed to chronic diseases (Trent et al., 2019). Even if children are not consciously aware of the direct connection between stress and racism, children raised in Black and Hispanic homes continue to experience higher risks of parental unemployment and live in households of lower house net wealth compared to White children. These barriers to equal opportunities also create more stress hormones, therefore increasing racially diverse adolescents' exposure to chronic diseases (Trent et al., 2019).

In summary, researchers have consistently demonstrated the presence of racial discrimination in schools (Bromberg & Theokas, 2014; Theokas & Sarris, 2013) and the negative results because of racism in schools and communities (Freudenberg & Ruglis, 2007; Rumberger & Losen, 2016; Trent et al., 2019). Educators are expected to provide equitable services to all students, but it is evident through the literature that they are not always providing those equitable services in schools. To determine why students are not receiving equitable access, the biases of educators directly working with the students should be more thoroughly understood (Theokas & Sarris, 2013).

Implicit bias refers to attitudes or stereotypes that unconsciously and unintentionally influence human behavior in a positive or negative manner that sometimes does not reflect one's explicit, or endorsed, beliefs and values (Greenwald & Krieger, 2006; Staats, Capatosto, Wright, & Jackson, 2016). When examining the implicit biases of educators, researchers Glock, Kneer, and Kovacs (2013) found that pre-service teachers had a positive unconscious bias for students similar to them and a neutral or negative implicit bias towards other students. Their findings indicated that pre-service teachers preferred students who looked more like them, which highlights the concept of implicit biases of racial matching. In an additional study, Gershenson, Holt, and Papageorge, (2015) found that non-Black teachers had lower expectations of Black students with regards to future attainment compared to Black teachers. Wright (2015) also examined implicit biases of teachers in regards to race and found that White teachers perceived problems in Black male students much more than Black teachers.

Educators' implicit biases, the automatic, unconscious stereotyping and judgments of certain groups (Xie, 2015), may help explain the lower test scores and graduation rates experienced by students of color. Therefore, an investigation of the implicit biases of educators

could help researchers and practitioners understand the impact those biases might have on academic achievement for students of color. Teachers and school counselors are two primary groups of educators who work in the school building and have a direct role in students' academic achievement.

Classroom Teachers

In 2016, approximately 3.6 million full-time teachers taught at an elementary or secondary school (U.S. Department of Education, 2018). The role teachers have in the academic development of their students is important, as teachers are responsible for designing and implementing curriculum to help students master a variety of subjects (U.S Bureau of Labor, 2019). They also act as classroom managers who reinforce appropriate behavior, measure student outcomes, and create inclusive learning environments. Seventy-seven percent of the 3.6 million teachers in 2016 are women (U.S. Department of Education, 2018) and approximately 80% of the teachers in the U.S. currently identify as White (Loewus, 2017) and middle class (Landsman & Lewis, 2012). Although teachers are expected to interact with all students from various backgrounds and cultures, some teachers may lack multicultural experiences and awareness which can lead them to take on a deficit-based approach when working with students of color (Jackson, Bryan, & Larkin, 2016). Without adequate understanding of the power teachers have over students of color, teachers may enter the classroom unaware of their internal and external biases (Bales & Saffold, 2001; Keegwe, 2010).

Professional School Counselors

Like teachers, school counselors also play a vital role in the development of students. The responsibilities of school counselors have transformed over the years with today's school counselors in charge of developing comprehensive school counseling programs and providing

responsive and supportive services to all students (ASCA, 2012; Stahl-Ladbury, 2012). School counselors also participate on educational teams within their schools to lead and collaborate with colleagues and promote systemic change. A primary role of school counselors is to provide services to meet students' immediate needs and concerns. For students of color, these counseling services can be essential (ASCA, 2019). However, like with teachers, the school counseling profession is comprised mostly of White, middle-class females (ASCA, 2018; Erford, 2007). According to the American School Counselor Association (ASCA), the leading national organization for school counselors, 85% of their members are female and 81% of their members are White (ASCA, 2018).

Leaders in ASCA have promoted the importance of multicultural competence, advocacy, and social reform through the development of the American School Counselor Association (ASCA) National Model (ASCA, 2019). The Council for Accreditation of Counseling & Related Programs (CACREP, 2016) has also set standards for school counselors to promote equity in student achievement. In order to work effectively with all students, school counselors should be able to demonstrate and communicate appropriate counseling skills with various student populations on a number of cultural factors (ASCA, 2012; Harris, 2013). With the majority of school counselors identifying as White and female, their worldviews may impact counseling relationships between themselves and the students they are trying to serve (Holcomb-McCoy, 2001). Despite the multicultural training school counselors receive in their programs, school counselors may lack the cultural competence to support students of color adequately (Holcomb-McCoy, 2001). Because of their direct role with students, investigating the implicit biases school counselors may have towards students of color is imperative.

Significance of the Study

In order for the educational system to support the needs of all its students, educators need to be trained appropriately to work with students of color (Muller & Connor, 2007). The challenging task of preparing educators, including teachers and school counselors, often falls on the shoulders of education programs (Muller & Connor, 2007). Because teachers and school counselors need to be aware of their attitudes towards students of color, these education programs become responsible for helping to create competent educators. The way in which educators frame the world around them can have important implications for how they make meaning of, understand, and make decisions in their professional work (Mueller & O'Connor, 2007).

Researchers have highlighted the racial discrepancies within academic achievement with differences in students' academic test scores (Reardon, 2016), advanced placement coursework (Theokas & Sarris, 2013), and graduation rates (Rumberger & Losen, 2016). Developing an understanding of educators' implicit biases may help explain the lower test scores and graduation rates experienced by students of color. One of the most common ways to measure implicit bias is with the Harvard Implicit Association Test (IAT) created by Greenwald, McGhee, and Schwartz (1998). The IAT measures the strength of associations between two concepts. Unfortunately, the IAT is a computer-based measurement system that utilizes an electronic time clock to record processing time. Over the years, researchers have criticized the IAT in terms of its validity and reliability to measure implicit biases (Bartlett, 2017; Oswald, Mitchell, Blanton, Jaccard, & Tetlock, 2013). Because implicit associations are not necessarily tied to declared beliefs (Staats et al., 2016), measuring implicit bias can be difficult. Therefore, in this study, I measured implicit bias as the academic expectations of students of color as it relates to their advanced

course placement, ability to graduate, end of the year test scores, ability to follow classroom expectations, completion of classroom assignments on time, grade point average (G.P.A), promotion to the next grade level, and ability to participate meaningfully in class. I explored educator implicit bias by examining the relationship between student race and academic expectations among school counselors and teachers.

Theoretical Framework

A theoretical framework helps to understand a phenomenon and serve as the foundation of a study (Grant & Osanloo, 2014). In my study, I used Allport's (1954) research, which introduced the concept of prejudice and social learning. Allport suggested that children learn prejudice by observing and imitating important others, which leads to those children becoming more racially prejudiced as they grow up. In his seminal work, *The Nature of Prejudice*, Allport advocated that individuals mimic, and then come to believe, what they are exposed to in their environments. For example, a child might overhear an important adult in their life use a racial slur. As a result, that child is more likely to repeat that word and begin to associate negative beliefs about the group who that individual might hold membership.

School counselors and teachers play a direct role in the lives of their students. Using Allport's (1954) theory of racism and social learning, I attempted to understand teachers' and school counselors' biases towards students of color. Therefore, I conducted a study that examined the relationship between a student's race and the academic expectations of that student among school counselors and teachers.

Predictor Variables

A predictor variable is referred to as the independent variable (Patten & Newhart, 2018).

I examined the following predictor variables in the study: (a) student race and (b) professional role.

Student race

The Census Bureau defines race as a person's self-identification with one or more social groups (U.S. Census, 2018). However, in society, race is used as a classification system to assign dominance of some groups over others (Templeton, 2016). Although anthropologic science has indicated there is only one biological race, it has become a social construct to solidify the permanence of race on the phenotypic differences in skin color and bone structure (Templeton, 2016). The combination of racism and disparities in educational access can limit students of color from achieving the same academically as compared to their White peers (Bromberg & Theokas, 2014). Race-related biases that school counselors and teachers may have towards students of color can further add to existing achievement gap (Suttie, 2016). Because teachers and school counselors are required to support the needs of all students, it is important to examine how systemic and institutionalized racism, in the form of implicit biases, impacts the academic achievement of students of color.

Professional role

This study explored school counselors and teachers' academic expectations towards male students, specifically comparing the potential biases between school counselors and teachers and their expectations towards male students of color. Scholars have demonstrated the biases held by teachers (Gershenson et al., 2015; Glock et al., 2013, Wright, 2015) and school counselors (Akos & Kretchmar, 2016; Corwin et al., 2004). As groups of educators who work in the school

building, school counselors and teachers have a direct role in students' academic achievement. Both these groups of educators are expected to provide equitable services to all students. To ensure this, this study examined and compared the academic biases of teachers and school counselors.

Criterion Variable

A criterion variable is referred to as the dependent variable (Patten & Newhart, 2018). In order to investigate the relationship between student race and academic expectations among school counselors and teachers, I examined the following criterion variable in the study: (a) academic expectations.

Academic Expectations

Implicit bias refers to attitudes or stereotypes that unconsciously and unintentionally influence human behavior in a positive or negative manner (Greenwald & Krieger, 2006; Staats et al., 2016). Several factors can impact the development of these biases, including social, emotional, historical, experiential, and political influences (Gullo, 2017). It is important to understand teachers' and school counselors' biases towards students of color, as research has indicated that implicit biases exist among these groups of educators (Gershenson et al., 2015; Glock et al., 2013; Wright, 2015).

Like previously mentioned, the Implicit Association Test (IAT) is one of the most common ways to measure implicit bias. The purpose of the IAT is to measure the strength between two concepts or variables. Since the IAT became debuted in 1998, over millions of individuals have used the online test to investigate potential hidden attitudes (Banaji & Greenwald, 2013). Because the IAT is a computer-based test using reaction time to measure biases, it is not an ideal instrument to use for the purposes of measuring academic biases of

school counselors and teachers. One of the major drawbacks of the IAT is the criticism the creators have received in regards to the inconsistent measures of reliability and validity (Bartlett, 2017; Oswald et al., 2013). Staats et al. (2016) suggests that implicit associations are not necessarily connected to declared beliefs. Given the lack of reliability and validity of the instrument and the inconvenience of accessing the online test, the IAT may not be the best way to measure biases of teachers and school counselors. Therefore, I measured the *academic expectations* school counselors and teachers hold towards students of color as it approximates the implicit bias construct. In this study, I defined academic expectations in eight ways, each informed by literature on the topic. They are: (1) ability to graduate high school, (2) ability to earn a passing grade on an end of year course exam, (3) ability to succeed in advanced placement courses, (4) ability to follow classroom expectations, (5) ability to complete assignments on time, (6) ability to earn a G.P.A. above 2.0, (7) ability to be promoted to the next grade level, and (8) ability to participate meaningfully in class.

Purpose of the Study

The academic racial disparities between students and the negative outcomes of racism in schools highlight the need to explore the implicit biases of the educators working directly with students (Freudenberg & Ruglis, 2007; Rumberger & Losen, 2016; Trent et al., 2019). The race-related biases that school counselors and teachers may have towards students of color can further add to existing achievement gaps (Suttie, 2016). To date, there is no found research or literature that examines the academic expectations of both teachers and school counselors towards students of color. Therefore, the purpose of this study was to examine and compare teachers' and school counselors' academic expectations towards students of color, specifically male students of color.

Research Questions(s)

I addressed the following three research questions in this study.

- (1) Is there a difference in academic expectations for Black, Hispanic, and White male students?

To answer this question, I addressed these three sub-questions: (a) Do participants have the same academic expectations for Black students as they do White students? (b) Do participants have the same academic expectations for Hispanic students as they do White students? (c) Do participants have the same academic expectations for Hispanic students as they do Black students?

- (2) Do teacher and counselor participants have different academic expectations for male students of different races?

To address the second research question, I answered the following sub-questions: (a) Do teachers have the same academic expectations for Black male students as school counselors? (b) Do teachers have the same academic expectations for Hispanic male students as school counselors? (c) Do teachers have the same academic expectations for White male students as school counselors?

- (3) Is there an interaction between students of color and the role of participants on their academic expectations?

Operational Definitions

The purpose of an operational definition is to limit or constrain the variables of interest (Patten & Newhart, 2018). The operational definitions for the variables included in this research were as follows:

Student Race (Predictor)

For the purpose of this study, the concept of student race was operationalized as the racial and ethnic identity of the student proposed in a vignette. To assess the impact of the independent variables in the study (student race) on the dependent variable (school counselors' and teachers' academic expectation of the student), I constructed a vignette that depicted a hypothetical situation in which a student is struggling academically in some courses and facing personal challenges, as well. Each of the three vignettes depict an identical scenario, with one difference: the student race. In order to determine if student race impacts the academic expectations of school counselors and teachers, the race of the student was randomly assigned to the participants. The options for random assignment for the vignette include: Black, White, or Hispanic.

Professional Role (Predictor)

For the purpose of this study, the concept of professional role was operationalized as the participants' role within the school building as either a high school teacher or school counselor. Given the scenario presented in the student vignette focused on a high school student, it was important to define the professional role as an individual working in a high school setting. In order to determine if professional role impacts the academic expectations, I collected this predictor variable information on the demographic questionnaire when participants indicated their role as either a teacher or school counselor.

Academic Expectations (Criterion)

Implicit bias is operationalized as actions or judgements that are under the control of automatically activated evaluation, without the performer's awareness of that causation (Boysen, 2011; Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998). Given the difficulty in measuring implicit biases (Bartlett, 2017; Oswald et al., 2013; Staats et al., 2016), I measured the academic expectations

school counselors and teachers hold towards students of color as an approximation of implicit bias. I operationalized academic expectations as teachers and school counselors' perceived abilities of students in relation to graduation, passing course exams, advanced course work, ability to follow classroom expectations, ability to complete assignments on time, overall G.P.A., promotion to the next grade level, and ability to participate meaningfully in class.

Assumptions

I maintained the following assumptions for this study:

1. Participants responded truthfully and accurately to the survey items.
2. The instrument used in this study was reliable and valid.
3. Participants comprehended and responded to each survey item.

Delimitations

I identified the following delimitations for this study:

1. Participants were professional school counselors or teachers identified through the appropriate databases or social media platforms.
2. Participants were required to read and respond to surveys in English.
3. Information was obtained via self-reported surveys.

Limitations

I identified the following limitations for this study:

1. Participants may have answered the questionnaire items in a way that, to them, appears more favorable to others, particularly the researcher.
2. A convenience sample was dependent upon the participant's choice of whether or not to participate in the study.

Threats to Validity

The results of the study were impacted by both internal and external threats of validity. Internal validity is at risk when changes in the outcome variable are influenced by the independent variables, rather than an unintended or extraneous variable (Mertens, 2015). External validity is the extent to which the findings of a study can be generalized to other vignettes (Mertens, 2015). In response, I took several measures to reduce the amount of threats to validity.

The primary threat to internal validity in this study was my instrumentation. In an attempt to reduce this threat, I implemented both a pre-pilot and pilot study to assess participant understanding and clarity of the study questionnaire. Another threat of internal validity was social desirability due to the nature of self-report bias. I provided anonymity and confidentiality to the participants to reduce this threat.

In order to draw inferences from the research findings to other situations or groups of people, I needed to address external validity (Mertens, 2015). In an attempt to reduce the amount of this threat, I originally obtained the sample for this study using a randomized selection from two identified databases for professional organizations. However, I made additional recruitment efforts through social media platforms to increase sample size. Given the total sample consisted of non-members and members of the organizations, the results from this study are generalizable to professional school counselors and to teachers who may or may not be active members of ASCA or AAE.

Summary

In this chapter, I provided a statement and overview of the problem, presented the predictor and criterion variables for the study, addressed both the significance and the need for

the study, and identified the gaps in existing literature as it relates to the implicit biases of teachers and school counselors and the negative impacts of biases on student development. Furthermore, I identified the purpose of the study, the research questions that guided the study, operational definitions of the variables, assumptions, delimitations, and both threats to external and internal validity.

Study Proposal

This research proposal consists of five chapters. In chapter one, I provided an overview of the study. In chapter two, I included a detailed review of the current literature, including literature regarding the predictor variable (race) and the criterion variable (academic expectations). In chapter three, I presented the research methodology used for this research study. I also discussed information regarding the participants, research questions, procedures, instrumentation, research design, and data analysis. Chapter four described the results. Finally, chapter five included a discussion of the results, as well as implications for practitioners and counselor educators

Chapter 2: Review of the Literature

The purpose of this study was to examine the relationship between a student's race and academic expectations of that student among school counselors and teachers. This chapter is divided into several sections. In the first section, I provide a brief overview of the change in student enrollment and the challenges that students of color may experience within the school system. In the second section, I offer a theoretical framework for the study. In the third section, I present information on the populations of interest: teachers and school counselors. In the fourth section, I provide a conceptual understanding of implicit biases. In the final sections, I discuss the relationship between the predictor variables (student race and professional role) and the criterion variable (academic expectations) as evidence for the need for this research.

Introduction

In the fall of 2018, approximately 56.6 million students attended elementary and secondary schools in the U.S. (National Center for Education, 2018). Among these students, the number of students of color has consistently increased over the past ten years. Out of the 50.7 million students enrolled in public schools, an estimated 24.1 million students are White, non-Hispanic, while the remaining 26.6 million students are non-White students, representing 52% of the student population (National Center for Education Statistics, 2018). Furthermore, the percentage of White students enrolled in public schools is projected to continue to decline, while the percentage of non-White students will continue to increase (National Center for Education Statistics, 2018). This change in the student population reinforces the need for educators to fully understand and be familiar with the culture of their schools' students and the racial/ethnic backgrounds with which they identify (Bray, 2014).

It is imperative to consider the impact of prejudice in schools in light of these changing demographics. Developing an understanding of the ways in which racism, privilege, and oppression function in school and society is important for all individuals to be aware of (Ashby, Collins, Helms, & Manlove, 2018). Students and educators of all races may lack the knowledge, attitudes, and skills to function in a multicultural setting (Merlin, 2017; Banks & Banks, 2010). When school staff members create a safe and culturally-responsive school environment, prejudice and its resulting negative impacts can be reduced, and with time, eliminated (Banks & Banks, 2010). Prejudice reduction can occur in schools when these concepts of biases, racism, and oppression are addressed (Banks & Banks, 2010).

Theoretical Framework

Researchers have consistently demonstrated the presence of racial discrimination in schools (Hope, Skoog, & Jagers, 2014; Saft & Pianta, 2001) and the negative results because of racism in schools and communities (Freudenberg & Ruglis, 2007; Rumberger & Losen, 2016; Trent, Dooley, & Douge 2019). Researchers, educators, and students would benefit from understanding how and why discrimination exists in school systems today. Allport (1954) proposed one explanation when he suggested that children learn prejudice by observing and imitating important others, which leads to those children becoming more racially prejudiced as they grow up. In his seminal work, *The Nature of Prejudice*, Allport (1954) advocated that individuals mimic, and then come to believe, what they are exposed to in their environments. For example, a child may learn a particular belief from watching a television show that negatively portrays a particular group. As the child ages and those negative beliefs are portrayed in other media outlets or in the family, those stereotypes will be cemented into the child's beliefs. Unfortunately, it is hard for children to disassociate, so if a child develops a negative belief about

a person or group, that child will blindly condemn all individuals who fall into that category or group membership. However, it appears that individuals who grew up in households where neutral racial beliefs are shared also cannot escape the impacts of social learning and prejudice (Levy, Rosenthal, & Herrera-Alcazar, 2009). For example, Aboud and Amato (2001) found that parents from racial-majority groups rarely discuss prejudice with their children. They speculated that parents and guardians who are racially tolerant do not discuss issues of race and racism in fear of bringing attention to those issues. However, given the research on social learning and prejudice, it is evident that children may be socialized from the lack of discussion (Levy, et al., 2009). Moreover, because social learning can occur through social media, movies, and books, individuals who are not engaging in meaningful discussion are still exposed to the negative impacts of social learning and prejudice (Levy et al., 2009).

Allport's (1954) theory of Intergroup Contact emphasized the notion that interpersonal contact is one of the most effective ways to reduce prejudice among different racial group members. If individuals do not regularly interact with someone from outside their racial group membership, they may continue to possess inaccurate stereotypes or beliefs about certain groups. Researchers found that approximately 75% of White Americans do not have friends of a difference race (Cox, Navarro-Rivera, & Jones, 2016). When examining individuals who belong to racially diverse groups, 67% of Blacks do not have friends outside their own racial group. Even if unintentional, this segregation creates limited opportunities to interact with people from a different race or ethnic background, often perpetuating inaccurate beliefs or misconceptions of others.

In the current study, Allport's (1954) theory of prejudice and social learning served as a useful theoretical framework, as it highlighted how prejudice forms for individuals, like the

educators I researched. The theory provides a basis for investigating the potential biases school educators have towards students of color, specifically, the academic expectations held by both teachers and school counselors. To date, there is no found research that examines the academic expectations of both teachers and school counselors towards students of color. Understanding this relationship can be influential in helping to ensure equal educational access for students of color. Therefore, in this study, I examined the relationship between student race and academic expectations of school counselors and teachers.

Population of Interest

Classroom Teachers

In 2016, approximately 3.6 million full-time teachers taught at an elementary or secondary school (U.S. Department of Education, 2018). Within that 3.6 million, 77% of the teachers are women. Although there was an 8% increase in Hispanic teachers from 2012 to 2016, about 80% of the teachers in the U.S. are White (Loewus, 2017). Despite changes in student demographics, the nation's teaching force is still majority White and female (Loewus, 2017).

This contrast in cultures and experiences between teachers and students may create a challenge for White teachers. Although teachers are expected to interact with all students from various backgrounds and cultures, some teachers may lack multicultural experiences and awareness, which can lead them to take on a deficit-based approach when working with students of color (Jackson, Bryan, & Larkin, 2016). Researchers have also indicated that people of all backgrounds show implicit preferences based on race (Banaji & Greenwald, 2013). According to decades of results from the Harvard Association Test created by Greenwald, McGhee, and Schwartz (1998), people tend to favor the group they are a member of, despite claiming they have no group preference. Therefore, without adequate understanding of the power teachers have

over students of color, teachers may enter the classroom unaware of their internal and external biases (Bales & Saffold, 2001; Keegwe, 2010).

In an attempt to help teachers dismantle the issue of systemic racism in schools, Gloria Ladson-Billings (1994) proposed the concept of culturally responsive teaching in her book, *The Dreamkeepers*. Through extensive research, she identified eight guiding principles that define culturally responsive teaching: (1) communication of high expectations, (2) active teaching methods, (3) practitioner as facilitator, (4) inclusion of culturally and linguistically diverse students, (5) cultural sensitivity, (6) reshaping the curriculum or delivery of services, (7) student-controlled discourse, and (8) small group instruction. The eight principles of culturally responsive teaching are grounded in the notion that students' cultural identity should be infused in all areas of learning, including the teaching methods of the instructor (Ladson-Billings, 1994).

Even with the proposed eight principles guiding culturally responsive teaching methods, students of color still experience discrimination from their teachers. Research on racial perceptions indicate that teachers are more likely to hold negative views towards students of color than White students (Hope et al., 2014; Saft & Pianta, 2001). Additional results of the IAT indicate that approximately one-third to one-half of individuals who belong to racially diverse groups tend to favor White individuals (Morin, 2015). Moreover, preservice teachers rarely have the opportunity to explore their own beliefs and attitudes and how their teaching aligns with effective multicultural learning (Assaf, Garza, & Battle, 2010).

Teachers do not have a single unified national organization that promotes standards within the profession. However, the National Education Association (NEA) outlines a code of ethics for education professionals to strive to uphold. Yet, within this code of ethical behaviors to guide teachers, multiculturalism, diversity, and inclusion are not mentioned (NEA,2019).

Another organization, the Association of Teacher Educators (ATE), successfully outlined standards for teacher educators. One of these standards addresses the importance of understanding diversity as it relates to instruction to meet the needs of society (ATE, 2019). However, neither of these organizations mandate an infusion of multicultural content in teacher education programs.

The Council for the Accreditation of Educator Preparation (CAEP) is an accreditation program attempting to advance equity and excellence in educator preparation through evidence-based accreditation that provides continuous improvement to strengthen P-12 student learning (CAEP, 2019). The CAEP program consists of five standards: (1) Content and Pedagogical Knowledge, (2) Clinical Partnerships and Practice, (3) Candidate Quality, Recruitment, and Selectivity, (4) Program Impact, and (5) Provider Quality Assurance. Although standard 1 emphasizes that all P-12 students have access to rigorous college-and-career-ready standards (1.4), it does not emphasize the importance of multiculturalism or equity in this process. Standard 2 outlines partnerships for clinical preparation (2.2), but again, despite outlining the importance of having a positive impact on the learning and development of all students, it does not highlight the need for advocacy, social justice, or equity within the schools. Lastly, standard 3, the plan for recruitment of diverse candidates (3.1), does mention the importance of hiring candidates from a broad range of backgrounds and diverse populations, but it does not mention the impact of representation in the school systems or the need to increase student equity in the schools.

Furthermore, in one recent study, Williams & Glass (2019) examined multicultural education course offerings and teacher graduate data of a selection of North Carolina's public institutions ($N = 15$), which collectively graduate the largest number of preservice teachers. In

this descriptive study, Williams and Glass (2019) found that a prospective teacher has only a 53% chance of taking a course in multicultural education (Williams & Glass, 2019). Given their important role working with students from a variety of backgrounds, it is imperative that teachers are given the opportunity to explore the concept of privilege, oppression, and stereotypes.

Professional School Counselors

School counselors are called to ensure that all students of diverse backgrounds have equal access to appropriate services and opportunities (ASCA, 2019). They serve in a unique role to provide services to students through individual and group counseling, where they can explore and celebrate student differences. In order to work effectively with all students, school counselors should be able to demonstrate and communicate appropriate counseling skills with various student populations on a number of cultural factors (ASCA, 2012; Harris, 2013). These ideas are reflected in the American School Counselor Association (ASCA) National Model, in which ASCA addresses the importance of multicultural competence, advocacy, and social reform (ASCA, 2019). In particular, the ASCA National Model guides school counselors in the development of a comprehensive school counseling program that aids in closing achievement and opportunity gap (ASCA, 2019).

School counseling preparation programs have also increased their attention to multicultural counseling (Holcomb-McCoy, 2005). For example, the Council for Accreditation of Counseling and Related Programs (CACREP, 2016) has specific standards for school counselors-in-training to promote equity in student achievement. CACREP (2016) mandates that students enrolled in accredited counseling programs learn appropriate strategies for identifying and eliminating barriers, prejudices, and oppression (2.F.2.h). They also require school

counselors to be competent in addressing multicultural issues upon graduation from their counseling program (2.F.2.c).

Given these multicultural standard requirements in school counseling programs, Sammons and Speight (2008) conducted a qualitative study to explore the experiences of graduate counseling students enrolled in a multicultural course. The researchers found that students ($N = 124$) reported positive changes in terms of increase multicultural knowledge, self-understanding, attitudes, and behavior. Additional researchers have highlighted the relationship between the amount of multicultural training students receive and the levels of multicultural competence they report in graduate-level counseling (Celinska & Swazo, 2016; Constantine, Arorash, Barakett, Blackmon, Donnelly, & Edles, 2001; Holcomb-McCoy & Myers, 1999). Given these findings, it appears that school counselors who graduate from CACREP-accredited programs possess adequate levels of multicultural competence.

Although school counselors-in-training may graduate with reported adequate levels of multicultural competence, it is important to examine how that translates to working as a professional school counselor in the school setting. Holcomb-McCoy (2005) examined school counselors' perceptions of their own multicultural counseling competence. The results suggested that participants ($N = 209$) perceived themselves to be *somewhat competent* on all domains of the Multicultural Counseling Competence and Training Survey-Revised (MCCTS-R). In a similar study, Holcomb-McCoy (2001) found that elementary school counselors perceive themselves to be *highly* multiculturally competent. Notably, the school counselors rated themselves most competent on discussing their own ethnicity and cultural background, but least competent in areas of racial identity development and multicultural knowledge (Holcomb-McCoy, 2001).

These findings highlight that just because a school counselor can articulate his or her own biases, he or she is not necessarily knowledgeable of other cultures.

Although school counselor multicultural counseling competence has been discussed throughout research (Holcomb-McCoy, 2005; Holcomb-McCoy & Chen-Hayes, 2006; Holcomb-McCoy, et al., 2008), these findings are limited by self-reported data. For example, in both of Holcomb-McCoy's research studies (2001; 2005), school counselors reported their self-perceived multicultural competence, and this self-report nature is a major limitation. Although school counselors may believe they are multiculturally competent, that competence could be inaccurate, and its reporting may be skewed by personal biases. Researchers have also found that higher perceived competency and multicultural training do not necessarily translate into counseling outcomes (Smith, Constantine, Dunn, Dinehart, & Montoya, 2006). The biases that some school counselors carry with them may impact how they interact with students of diverse backgrounds and ought to be examined. In this study, I added to the current literature by exploring the biases of school counselors through a vignette approach that may provide more accurate information about school counselor biases than previous self-report studies on multicultural competence. Furthermore, I compared the potential biases of school counselors to those of teachers.

Comparing Teachers and School Counselors

Given the unique and important roles teachers and school counselors can have in the lives of students, it is useful to explore differences in the multicultural training of both populations of interest. For school counselors-in-training, one required common core area in CACREP-accredited programs is *social and cultural diversity*. This area contains eight specific standards that counselor educators must teach counseling students about, including multicultural and

pluralistic characteristics among diverse groups (2.b), the impact of attitudes and beliefs on individual's views of others (2.d), and the effects of power and privilege for counselors and clients (2.e). In addition to these standards, Section 5-G of CACREP standards highlights additional areas specifically for school counselors, which include strategies to promote equity in student achievement and college access (G.3.k) and using data to advocate for students (G.3.o). In an attempt to determine if multicultural courses adhere to the knowledge, skills, and awareness of multicultural competence, researchers (Pieterse, Evans, Risner-Butner, Collings, & Mason, 2009) examined 54 syllabi of required multicultural courses in a CACREP-accredited program. In this descriptive analysis, the researchers found 41 out of 54 multicultural courses included a required textbook about counseling diverse populations, but only two of the courses had a specific focus on systemic racism (Pieterse et al., 2009). Beyond having a stand-alone multicultural course, some counseling programs offer an infusion model of multicultural training. Celinska and Swazo (2016) compared these two multicultural curriculum designs (single multicultural course verse infusion through the curriculum). They found that counselors-in-training ($N = 87$) who were taught in the form of a single multicultural course reported significantly higher levels of openness and comfort in interactions with diverse populations compared to the counselors-in-training who were taught through infusion of concepts and skills (Celinska & Swazo, 2016).

Like school counselors who have the ASCA National Model and the CACREP-accredited standards to refer to national competencies within school counseling, teachers do have CAEP as a unified national organization that promoted standards within the profession. However, the standards outlined in CAEP do not highlight the need for multicultural training or outline specific multicultural competencies required of the profession. Scholars have asserted

that preservice teachers rarely have the opportunity to explore their own beliefs and attitudes and how their teaching aligns with effective multicultural learning (Assaf et al., 2010). Furthermore, many teachers enter classrooms with minimal exposure to diverse environments (Benson & Fiarman, 2019), which can make them more susceptible to bias and more likely to draw false conclusions and to make negative racial generalizations (Benson & Fiarman, 2019; Williams & Glass, 2019). For pre-service teacher programs, several Educator Preparation Program (EPP) leaders have been hesitant to require students to take a course that addressed race-related inequalities specifically or more than one semester's worth of courses related to multiculturalism (Williams & Glass, 2019).

This lack of multicultural training and awareness may impact the relationship between educators and students of color. Students of various backgrounds may not feel connected, supported, or welcomed in their school, especially if their school counselor or teacher does not demonstrate appropriate multicultural skills and knowledge. The biases that some school counselors and teachers carry with them into the school environment may impact how they interact with students of diverse backgrounds. Thus, the purpose of this study was to explore the implicit biases of school counselors and teachers in relation to their academic expectations of students of color.

Implicit Biases

Implicit bias refers to attitudes or stereotypes that unconsciously and unintentionally influence human behavior in a positive or negative manner that sometimes does not reflect one's explicit, or endorsed, beliefs and values (Greenwald & Krieger, 2006; Staats, Capatosto, Wright, & Jackson, 2016). People cannot process all the information they are constantly absorbing throughout their experiences, so they tend to rely on shortcuts to remember information (Benson

& Fiarman, 2019). By doing this, they are making associations rather than considering each situation on an individual basis. Because these shortcuts and associations occur so rapidly, they are not usually aware that they are doing them, which makes them unconscious (Benson & Fiarman, 2019). Implicit biases often develop as a result of a large collection of social and emotional influences as well as historical, experiential, educational, and political impacts (Gullo, 2017). Implicit bias is prevalent within social interactions (Jost, et al., 2009). Benson and Fiarman offer the analogy that individuals often unconsciously associate the words “peanut butter” with “jelly”, which does not hurt anyone. However, when people think of a Black individual, they may unconsciously associate that person with the word “criminal”, which can negatively hurt someone or the group they belong.

Related Research

In previous research, implicit bias has been nearly exclusively measured using the IAT. The IAT offers several different tests that measure implicit biases on various topics, including race, sexual orientation, skin tone, and gender. For example, researchers have examined the impact of implicit biases based on gender and found an unconscious bias among employers to exhibit an increased dislike for women who succeeded in male-typical jobs (Heilman, Wallen, Fuchs, & Tamkins, 2004). In relation to race, researchers found a relationship between racial bias and racial slurs, indicating that racial implicit biases have significantly predicted violent and racial slur use within college students (Rudman & Ashmore, 2007). Researchers also found a connection between racial bias and trustworthiness (Stanley, Sokol-Hessner, Banaji, & Phelps, 2011). In their study, Stanley and colleagues asked participants to rate the level of trustworthiness of individuals based on pictures differing only by race and found that individuals tended to rate those belonging to the group they belonged to as being more trustworthy.

When examining implicit biases and educators, researchers Glock, Kneer, and Kovacs (2013) found that pre-service teachers had a positive implicit bias for students like them and a neutral or negative implicit bias towards other students. Their research findings indicated that pre-service teachers preferred students who looked more like them, and highlights the concept of implicit biases of racial matching. In an additional study, Gershenson, Holt, and Papageorge (2015) found that non-Black teachers had lower expectations of Black students with regards to future attainment compared to Black teachers. Wright (2015) also examined implicit biases of teachers in regards to race, and found that White teachers found problems in Black male students much more than Black teachers. These studies demonstrate the hidden biases educators have towards students of color and the need for further to understand the biases of students of color held by teachers.

Despite the extensive research on implicit biases and teachers, limited research exists regarding school counselors and their biases towards students of color. To date, only one found study addressed school counselors and implicit biases. In the study, researchers attempted to understand the relationship between letters of recommendations written by school counselors and student race, which highlights potential implicit biases of school counselors. Akos and Kretchmar (2018) compared college letters of recommendation written for White students to letters written for students of color. Their findings indicated that letters of recommendation for students of color contained a lower proportion of grind-stone adjectives and a higher proportion of communal adjectives. This represents a 10% decrease in achievement-related words and an 11% increase in communal adjectives. Results also showed a significant interaction between the gender and the race of the applicant for achievement words. Recommenders used fewer achievement words to describe racially diverse male students relative to racially diverse female

students. They concluded that even when writing positive letters of recommendations, school counselors tend to show negative implicit bias towards students of color (Akos & Kretchmar, 2018). This study may provide tentative evidence for implicit biases school counselors' have against students of color.

Although no other studies directly examine school counselors and their implicit biases towards students of color, one additional study focused on perceptions of school counselors held by students of color. Corwin, Venegas, Oliverez, and Colyar (2004) found that students of color expressed a lack of confidence in receiving college information from their school counselor. Additional findings in the study highlighted students' hesitance to seek help, indicating that their school counselors were barriers to college access as they were too busy to change their schedule to reflect the requirements for a certain college. Students of color even shared that they felt school counselors favored certain students and they did not get the same support. School counselors are often expected to provide adequate services despite large student caseloads, extensive and inappropriate counseling duties, and limited access to student resources (Corwin et al., 2004). It is not uncommon then that both counselors and student express frustration at these limitations (Corwin et al., 2004). However, regardless of how school counselors may feel pulled in multiple directions, advising and scheduling are important aspects of their role that can affect the educational experiences and access to higher education and career endeavors of all students. Without equal opportunity for advisement and college support, school counselors may be unconsciously contributing to the continued underachievement and academic disparities of students of color. This study can be indicative of the implicit biases among school counselors towards students of color.

Research has indicated the impacts of implicit biases on several different facets of education (Gershenson et al., 2015; Glock et al., 2013; Wright, 2015). However, to date, researchers have not compared the implicit biases between teachers and school counselors. Such research could highlight if teachers and school counselors are providing services that are not culturally responsive (Benson & Fiarman, 2019; Williams & Glass, 2019). Not all teachers and school counselors are aware of their implicit biases, so starting the process to begin to understand themselves as educators and others within a cultural context can help bring these biases to light (Bales & Saffold, 2011). Although we know that teachers and school counselors may possess biases that negatively impact students of color, researchers have not previously focused on the differences between the implicit biases of school counselors and teachers regarding students of color, representing a gap in the current literature.

Although most teachers and school counselors are not aware of their implicit biases, starting the process to begin to understand themselves and others within a cultural context can help bring these biases to light (Bales & Saffold, 2011). Unfortunately, the implicit biases of educators can negatively impact the academic and social development of students. However, understanding the implicit biases of both teachers and school counselors can serve as key a factor in closing the achievement gap in schools (Schlosser, 2017).

Current research highlights the implicit biases of teachers within the K-12 school setting. Unfortunately, there is a dearth of literature that examines the implicit biases of school counselors in relation to their students. In particular, there is no research that explores the differences in biases between school counselors and teachers. Given the difficulty in measuring implicit biases, I measured academic expectations of students to approximate the construct of

implicit biases. To enhance the literature, I further explored student race and educator biases in relation to academic expectations among school counselors and teachers.

Race

Current literature indicates that students of color are less likely to meet academic standards than their White peers (Bromberg & Theokas, 2014). Although 55% of the students enrolled in public schools identify as students of color, Black and Hispanic students only make up 17% of the students scoring in the highest achievement quartile (Bromberg & Theokas, 2014). Teachers and school counselors are required to support the needs of all students, and it is important to understand how systemic and institutionalized racism impacts the performance of students of color (Lewis, James, Hancock, & Hill-Jackson, 2008).

Related Research

Despite the increase in students of color enrolled in public schools, biases held by others against these students often make students of color the target of discriminations and prejudice (Swearer & Hymel, 2015). Hope et al. (2014) explored Black students' ($N = 8$) experiences in schools related to racial discrimination. All of the participants in the study described at least one personal experience in which a teacher or school employee treated them unfairly based on race. Pachter and colleagues (2010) also examined perceived racism and discrimination experienced by children of color ages 8 to 16. Using a questionnaire, researchers assessed the number of reported experiences related to racial discrimination. The results of the quantitative study reported that out of the 277 children who participated in the survey, 88% of the participants identified at least one experience with racial discrimination. More than 11% of the children also experienced racism in at least half of the situations in both the school and community setting. Additional researchers, Seaton and Douglass (2014), found similar results regarding racial

discrimination. Using daily surveys, their study explored the number of times participants of color experienced discriminatory acts over a given period of time. The results of the study indicated that 97% of the Black students who participated ($N = 75$) reported at least one discriminatory act during a two-week period. Furthermore, students experienced an average discriminatory event 2.5 times a day.

Researchers have consistently found that students of color, specifically Black and Hispanic students, are treated differently than White students (Minkos, Sassu, Gregory, Patwa, Theodore, & Fenc-Bagwell, 2017). For example, approximately 57% of all students enrolled in Advanced Placement (AP) courses are White, compared to only 8% of the enrollment consisting of Black students and 16% of Hispanic students (Theokas & Sarris, 2013). However, there is limited research that examines the relationship between student treatment and academic performance. Uncovering the barriers and challenges that prevent these students from enrolling in these types of courses is crucial for student equity and success (Theokas & Sarris, 2013).

In addition to this gap in advanced placement courses, a gap also exists among White students and students of color in academic achievement. Reardon (2016) investigated the differences in academics by analyzing test scores from 2009 to 2013. The results of his quantitative study suggestion that White students score one and a half grade levels higher than Black and Hispanic students. These discrepancies in test scores exist even when the students are enrolled in socioeconomically similar school districts, indicating that the socioeconomic status of the school does not influence test scores in regards to student race and ethnicity (Reardon, 2016). Furthermore, out of the 964 school districts with at least 100 Black students per grade, there are only 19 districts in which Black students' average test scores are at or above the national average (Reardon, 2016). The difference in test scores is often referred to as the achievement gap, which

occurs when one group of students outperforms another group of students (National Center for Education Statistics, 2019). Recent scholars have noted that this gap continues to persist in schools. Although there are notable differences in academic achievement between students of color and White students, the term ‘academic gap’ may not accurately reflect the truth behind the disparities. The term “opportunity gap” may more accurately described the phenomenon of injustice of achievement between students of color (Darden & Cavendish, 2012; Miretzky, Chennault, & Fraynd, 2016).

Beyond academic achievement gaps, additional concerns arise when looking at the suspension rates for students of color. School suspension rates have been increasing since the early 1970s, especially for students of color (Rumberger & Losen, 2016). Horner, Fireman, & Wang (2010) found that among students who were identified as overly aggressive, Black students were more likely to be disciplined than any other racial or ethnic group. Students who are disciplined more frequently in schools tend to match those within the prison system (Xie, 2015). Because Black and Hispanic students are more likely to be suspended and expelled, with higher school dropout rates, they are ultimately stuck in a cycle that could lead to prison (Xie, 2015).

This cycle of specific students being led to prison is referred to as the *School-to-Prison Pipeline*. This concept highlights that the disproportionality of exclusionary discipline of students of color directly contributes to their overrepresentation in the criminal justice system (Noguera, 2003; Xie, 2015). The more time a student spends in school and engaged in their learning, the higher the student’s academic achievement (Owen et al., 2015). Unfortunately, students who get suspended once are more likely to get suspended again. Research indicates that thirty to fifty percent of students who have been suspended are repeat offenders, resulting in

excessive absences and less time in the classroom. The time lost in the classroom limits opportunities for academic achievement (Owen et al., 2015). Despite that all students have the right to achieve academically, certain students, specifically students of color, are often alienated from the learning process and steered away from classroom and academic achievement (Walden & Losen, 2003; Xie, 2015; Zeiderberg & Schiraldi, 2002).

Although grade point average (G.P.A) is not universally measured throughout the United States, it is important to explore the differences in G.P.A as students prepare for college and career opportunities. According to a national report card, as of 2009, Asian/Pacific Islander students had the highest G.P.A average for students enrolled in school in the United States (National Center for Education Statistics, 2017). The G.P.A was calculated in core academic courses only, including English, mathematics, science, and social studies. White students had the second highest G.P.A. average following Asian/Pacific Islander students. Both Hispanic and Black students had the lowest G.P.A. averages compared to all other students.

Given the lower academic achievement scores and higher discipline rates for students of color, it is not surprising that high school graduation rates for this population also reveal discrepancies based on race (National Center for Education Statistics, 2017). Even when adjusting for retention, the cohort graduation rate of public high school students is lower for students of color. Although 88% of White students graduated high school in 2016, only 76% of Black students and 79% of Hispanic students graduated (National Center for Education Statistics, 2017). Among students who drop out of school, Black students drop out at a higher rate than White students (National Center for Education Statistics, 2017). Students have attributed school safety, disciplinary policies, and high levels of racial segregation as some of the factors associated with their decision to drop out of school (Freudenberg & Ruglis, 2007).

Race and Implicit Biases

People are not born with innate implicit bias, but rather, it is learned through interactions with others, referred to as Allport's (1954) prejudice and social learning theory. Families who reveal their biases outwardly tend to pass those attitudes and beliefs to the next generation (Benson & Fiarman, 2019). When an educator and parent avoid discussing race, it strengthens the association within the children that the topic of race is taboo. Unfortunately, the research on student race and discrimination highlights the important need for additional research on implicit biases and educators within the school systems. Without awareness of their implicit biases, teachers and school counselors can harbor feelings and attitudes about other people based on characteristics and appearance such as race and ethnicity (Benson & Fiarman, 2019). Individuals tend to maintain implicit biases that favor their own group membership. For example, racial implicit biases can influence some individuals to see harmless objects as weapons in the hands of Black men, and individuals are more likely to dislike abstract images that are paired with Black faces (Payne, Niemi, & Doris, 2018).

Furthermore, the statistics of the disproportionate number of people of color that live in poverty may encourage someone to believe that racially diverse people are not hardworking (Benson & Fiarman, 2019). However, those disparities are the result of systemic policies over many years that have prevented families of color from accumulating wealth and property (Benson & Fiarman, 2019). Unfortunately, these negative associations continue to develop over the course of a lifetime, beginning at a very young age through exposure to direct and direct societal messages, following them into adulthood and into the school building in which teachers and school counselors will work (Payne et al., 2018). Racial biases can also extend to the

classroom environment. Researchers have found that these biases exist in the school setting and can limit students of color' educational achievement (Gershenson et al., 2015).

School counselors and teachers are responsible for providing equitable educational opportunities for all students. Without an awareness or understanding of their implicit biases, teachers and school counselors may bring in their own ideas or stereotypes about the students they are trying to serve. The purpose of multicultural education or related professional development is to promote the development of cultural awareness and responsiveness so as educators, they do not impose their personal biases within the school environment (Mitcham, Portman, & Dean, 2009). Unfortunately, teacher education programs appear to lack consistency in regards to the type and level of multicultural education they receive before working with students (Williams & Glass, 2019). In regards to school counseling program, CACREP has instituted standards for counseling program to require multicultural training. However, practicing school counselors were “grandparented” in and not required to retroactively take multicultural courses (West-Olatunji, Goodman, & Shure, 2011). Furthermore, school counselor trainees attending a non-CACREP accredited program may or may not be exposed to any multicultural education (Boes, Snow, & Chibarro, 2009). Teachers and school counselors may be providing curriculum or services that are not culturally responsive. Not all teachers and school counselors are aware of their implicit biases, so starting the process to begin to understand themselves as educators and others within a cultural context can help bring these biases to light (Bales & Saffold, 2011).

Gender

Up this point, I have presented research suggesting that racial minority students, regardless of gender, are less likely to meet the academic standards than their White peers

(Bromberg & Theokas, 2014). However, it is important to understand the intersectionality of both gender and race. Intersectionality refers to the interconnected nature of social categorization, such as race, gender, and class (Collins, 2000). In particular, intersectionality highlights the importance of the connectedness of individuals' multiple oppressive identities. Specifically, researchers would benefit from addressing the intersectionality of race and gender as it relates to the academic expectations of students.

Related Research

School suspension rates have been increasing for students of color for more than forty years (Rumberger & Losen, 2016) and research has indicated that Black students are more than 3 times more likely to be disciplined than any other racial or ethnic group (Horner, Fireman, & Wang, 2010). Although males and females each represent about half of the student population, males represent nearly three out of four students suspended and expelled (U.S. Department of Education Office for Civil Rights). When comparing suspension rates for males who received an out-of-school suspension in 2011-2012, Black males had higher suspension rates than any of their peers, making up 20% of boys suspended. Both Hispanic males and males of two or more races each made up 11%, whereas White males only made up 6% of the total males suspended (U.S. Department of Education Office for Civil Rights).

In addition to gender discrepancies in student suspensions, differences exist in graduation rates between males and females. Recent data provided by the National Center for Education Statistics indicated that in 2017, regardless of ethnicity or gender, males were less likely to graduate from high school than females. Dropout rates were higher for boys than for girls among White students (4.9% boys versus 3.6% girls), Black (8.0% versus 4.9%), Hispanic (10.0% versus 6.4%), and American Indian/Alaska Native (11.6% versus 8.5%) students, and students of

two or more races (5.2% versus 3.9%). However, data indicate no measurable differences in status dropout rates between boys and girls for Asian students and Pacific Islander students. In regards to special education enrollment, boys also make up 70% of the students in special education classes. More specifically, 80% of those boys are Black and Hispanic (U.S. Department of Education). In addition, boys are currently diagnosed with behavioral disorders such as Attention Deficit Disorder or Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder at four times the rate of girls (National Center for Education Statistic, 2018).

Gender and Implicit Biases

In addition to the research study conducted by Akos and Kretchmar (2018) revealing disparities in letters of recommendations for students of color, it also exposed gender discrepancies as well, highlighting the importance concept of intersectionality. The results of the study showed a significant interaction between gender and the race of the applicant for achievement. Specifically, the study revealed that recommenders used fewer achievement words to describe male students of color relative to female students of color. Given that male students of color are suspended at higher rates (U.S. Department of Education Office for Civil Rights), are less likely to graduate from high school (National Center for Education Statistics, 2017), and tend to perform at academically lower rates than girls (Reardon et al., 2018), it is necessary to explore the biases school counselors and educators have towards students of color. Therefore, in this study, I examined teachers' and school counselors' academic expectations towards male students of color.

Summary and Conclusion

The research on the academic disparities between students of color and their White peers is evident. There is a large amount of evidence that suggests differences in graduation rates,

suspension rates, advanced coursework, and test scores between White and students of color students. Furthermore, teachers and school counselors, who serve in direct roles with these students can carry racial biases with them into the school system, which further adds to the academic disparities. Additional research also suggests that males of color are less likely to graduate and more likely to be suspended (U.S. Department of Education Office for Civil Rights).

Although some researchers have attempted to address these biases, no research study to date has examined the impact of student race and gender on academic expectations in the eight domains of advanced coursework, graduation rates, test scores, ability to follow classroom expectations, completion of assignments on time, overall G.P.A., ability to be promoted to the next grade level, and ability to participate meaningfully in class. Moreover, no other researchers have attempted to compare the academic expectations held by both school counselors and teachers. Given the evident academic disparities that exist between White, Black and Hispanic students (Bromberg & Theokas, 2014), it was important to explore the biases of educators in regards to students of color. Therefore, in this study, I examined and compared teachers' and school counselors' academic expectations towards male students of color, more specifically, Black and Hispanic male students.

Chapter 3: Methodology

The purpose of this study was to examine and compare high school teachers' and school counselors' academic expectations towards male students of color. In the following chapter, I describe the participants, data collection procedures, instrumentation, research design, and the data analysis procedures I used in this study.

Research Design

I used a true experimental design in this quantitative study to examine the impact of race on academic expectations of male students among teachers and school counselors. Experimental design is the most powerful type of research design that can establish cause-and-effect relationships (Mertens, 2015). In order to implement an experimental design, some fundamental characteristics are required to promote casual inferences, including random assignment, manipulation of an intervention/treatment, measurement of outcomes, control of extraneous variables, and making comparisons between participant groups (Sheperis, Young, & Daniels, 2017).

In an experimental study, the researcher manipulates the independent variable, and the dependent variable is, in turn, affected by the independent variable (Mertens, 2015). For the purposes of this study, the independent variables were the race of the male student presented in the vignette (i.e., Black, Hispanic, or White) and the professional role of the participant (i.e., teacher or school counselor). The dependent variable was the academic expectations that the participants had towards the student in the vignette. Using Qualtrics, a web-based survey platform, participants were randomly assigned to read a vignette (the manipulation) and then asked to respond to a survey to determine the effect of the students' race on their responses. The use of random selection into the groups helped to reduce sampling error (Dillman, 2000). Once I

collected the data, I ran a 2 x 3 factorial univariate analysis of variance (ANOVA) for data analysis. The first factor was the race of the student (i.e., Black, White, and Hispanic) and the second factor was the participants' professional role in the school (i.e., teacher or school counselor). The dependent variable of academic expectations was measured using eight variables: ability to graduate high school, ability to earn a passing grade on an end of year course exam, ability to succeed in advanced placement course, ability to follow classroom expectations, ability to complete assignments on time, ability to earn a G.P.A. above 2.0, ability to be promoted to the next grade level, and ability to participate meaningfully in class.

Instrumentation

The instrument used in this study was a questionnaire that I designed to assess school counselors' and teachers' academic expectations based on a specific student vignette. The use of vignettes in an experimental study have been used in other research studies, including research conducted by Walzer (2019) that examined attitudes towards transgender students and by Dameron, Foxx, and Flowers (2019) that explored decisions to place students in alternate learning placements. In Walzer's study, participants ($N = 436$) read a vignette about a student who is having conflicts in school. The gender of the student was varied across participants, with random assignment into either cisgender or transgender groups. The results of the study were statistically significant indicating participants had more supportive attitudes toward a transgender teen experiencing issues in school related to a name change and a behavior concern than toward a cisgender teen with the same issues. The second study, conducted by Dameron and colleagues. (2019), explored the impact of student race, gender, and socioeconomic status on school counselors' decisions to place students in alternate learning programs using vignettes. They used eight different vignettes to depict the same scenario, randomly assigning participants ($N = 334$)

into groups based on students' race, gender, and socioeconomic status. The results of the study indicated no statistically significance between the various groups and alternative learning programs. In both of these studies, the researchers used an experimental design to randomly place participants into two or more groups to assess the impact of their variables. I used a similar experimental vignette design in this study.

Student Vignette

To assess the impact of the independent variables in the study (student race and professional role) on the dependent variable (school counselors' and teachers' academic expectation of the male student), I constructed a vignette that depicted a hypothetical situation in which a student is struggling academically in some courses and facing personal challenges, as well. Each of the three vignettes depicted an identical scenario, with one difference: the student race. I intentionally designed the vignette to have both positive and negative characteristics to present a complex situation that wasn't easily labeled.

Evans et al. (2015) discussed the use of vignettes in studying clinical decision making and suggested that the participant perceptions of and responses to vignettes seems to resemble their responses to real life situations. Based on the literature, clinical experience, and research, Evans and colleagues made several recommendations for vignette content, which I took into consideration when creating the vignettes for this study. These included keeping the length between 50 and 500 words, basing the vignettes on the literature and clinical experience, following a narrative, and using present tense. The vignette used in this study consisted of 195 words and was written based on realistic student scenarios and behaviors from literature and clinical experience. The description of Jamie in the vignette followed a narrative providing specific details about Jamie and his environment using present tense. In addition to Evans et al.

(2015) research on vignettes, a meta-analysis (Murphy, Herr, Lockhart, & Maguire, 1986) of 111 studies revealed that, overall, vignette methodologies tend to align with actual behavioral observations.

The vignette used in this study read: *Jamie, a 14-year old [Race of student] is a Freshman student at your high school. Some of your co-workers are concerned with his academic performance and classroom behavior. In his core courses, he usually earns C's. This semester, he is passing math, but currently failing English. He does well his elective courses, and is making A's in Visual Art and Band. You have some knowledge of his home life and are aware that Jamie comes from a single-parent home. His dad works 12 hours a day, leaving little time to help Jamie with schoolwork. Jamie is mostly home with his siblings after school. Jamie has two older brothers: one who has graduated high school and currently attends community college, and one who unenrolled from high school in the 11th grade. He also has a younger sister currently enrolled in middle school. Jamie's retired neighbor often checks in on him and his sister to help with any school work. He has missed a lot of school, and when he is at school, he tends to be disruptive in the classroom. As it stands now, Jamie is in danger of failing his 9th grade English course.*

Pre-Pilot and Pilot Studies

Before data collection, I conducted a pre-pilot and pilot study to strengthen the validity of the instrument. For the pre-pilot study, I recruited school counseling Master-level students ($N = 5$) enrolled at a large University in the southeast region of the U.S. The students were asked to read the instructions and complete the survey. I asked follow-up questions to assess the understanding of the instrument and to clarify any questions. Feedback from the pre-pilot participants ($N = 5$) included suggestions for grammar and spelling errors. They reported that the

instructions seemed to make sense and they were not confused on what I asked them to do. When asked if they could decipher the purpose of the study, one student suggested that the purpose of the study was to examine the impact of multicultural education and/or training on student expectations. Another student suggested that the purpose was to examine how much school counselors know about the relationship between a child's academic/school life and home life and the outcomes for opportunities at school and outside of school. Given that these aims were not the purpose of the study, their feedback suggested that the use of the experimental design and the sixteen questions, including the eight dummy questions, the vignette may be measuring honest reactions or preventing social desirability.

Using the feedback provided by the pre-pilot participants, I revised the instrument, then conducted a pilot study by providing the electronic survey to a group of currently employed high school counselors and teachers ($N = 7$) in an urban area in the southeastern U.S. Relying on their expertise in the fields of both teaching and school counseling, I assessed for readability and clarity, as well as discussed the purpose of the study. This helped to determine if the purpose of the study seemed to match the questions asked. Like the pre-pilot results, participants reported no confusion on the instructions or what I was asking them to do. Further grammatical errors were brought to my attention. When asked if they could decipher the purpose of the study, one participant suggested it was to evaluate counselor competence in multicultural issues at their school and with their students. None of the participants mentioned teacher or school counselor bias in relation to students of color. Again, given that their responses did not align with the true purpose of the study, it is possible that the vignette may be capturing their responses to a real-life scenario. After incorporating their feedback, I finalized the instrument and survey instructions in the study.

Participant Recruitment

I initially recruited participants from two organizations, the American School Counselor Association (ASCA) and the Association of American Educators (AAE). Both organizations provided a brief summary of my research study and included the survey link in an electronic newsletter sent out to their members. If a member was interested in participating in the survey, the individual clicked on the link, read the informed consent, and proceeded to the survey. After two weeks, I asked the organizations to send a second request to their members in their electronic newsletter. Prior to my social media recruitment efforts, I had only 56 participants. Due to an initial low response rate, I made an IRB amendment and revised my recruitment plan to increase recruitment efforts beyond the two organizations and include social media platforms.

I posted the purpose of the study and a link to the survey on social media platforms targeted towards school counselors and teachers through Facebook. Specifically, I made a post to the Association of American Educators and the High School Counselor Connection Facebook group pages with information on the purpose of the study and a link to the survey. I made two posts over the course of two weeks to the Facebook groups. Regardless of how I recruited the participants for the study (i.e., via ASCA, AAE, or social media), all participants were randomly assigned to one of three groups when they clicked on the survey link. One group was assigned a vignette describing a Black male student. The second group was assigned to read a vignette about a White male student, while the third group was assigned to a vignette describing a Hispanic male student. Each participant read the same vignette, but the group assignment determined the student's race in the vignette. Qualtrics, a web-based software system, randomly placed participants into one of the groups.

Academic Expectations

The purpose of the study was to explore the implicit biases of teachers and school counselors towards male students of color. Given the difficulty in measuring implicit bias (Blanton, Jaccard, & Tetlock, 2013; Staats, Capatosto, Wright, & Contractor, 2016), to approximate implicit bias, I measured the academic expectations school counselors and teachers hold towards male students of color. For the purpose of the study, I defined academic expectations in eight ways: (1) ability to graduate high school, (2) ability to earn a passing grade on an end of year course exam, (3) ability to succeed in advanced placement course, (4) ability to follow classroom expectations, (5) ability to complete assignments on time, (6) ability to earn a G.P.A. above 2.0, (7) ability to be promoted to the next grade level, and (8) ability to participate meaningfully in class.

In order to assess participants' academic expectations of the student in this vignette, the instrument included sixteen items for participants to evaluate. Participants indicated their agreement with the sixteen items using a Likert scale from 1 to 6 [1 = Strongly Disagree, 2 = Disagree, 3 = Slightly Disagree, 4 = Slightly Agree, 5 = Agree, and 6 = Strong Agree]. When developing questions to assess satisfaction, scholars suggest that the end points of preference response scales should be words or phrases that denote bi-polar extremes, and that all anchoring points should be suitably spaced along the semantic continuum connecting the end points (Braunsberger & Gates, 2009). Using the inventories for satisfaction and Likert scales established by Braunsberger and Gates (2009), the scale I created for the study included options between 1-6, with a score of 1 indicating strongly disagree and a 6 as strongly agree. Eight of the items assessed the academic expectations, which are as follows: (1) Jamie is likely to be recommended for advanced course work, (2) Jamie is likely to graduate high school, (3) Jamie is

likely to earn a passing grade on his final end of year English test, (4) Jamie is likely to receive a discipline referral for misbehavior from a teacher this year, (5) Jamie is likely to complete his assignments on time, (6) Jamie is likely to earn a G.P.A above 2.0 by the end of his 9th-grade year, (7) Jamie is likely to earn enough credits to be promoted (not retained) to the 10th grade, and (8) Jamie is likely to participate actively in classroom discussions.

The other eight items were dummy items unrelated to academic expectations intended to reduce and prevent social desirability. They read: (9) Jamie is likely to have a larger social circle of friends, (10) Jamie is likely in a band (unaffiliated with the school), (11) Jamie is likely to have a significant other, (12) Jamie is likely to play a recreational sport, (13) Jamie is likely to attend a school dance, (14) Jamie is likely to play video games, (15) Jamie is likely to have an after-school job, (16) and Jamie is likely to eat dinner at home every night.

Data Collection Procedures

Prior to data collection, I obtained permission to conduct the study from the Institutional Review Board for Human Subjects of the University of North Carolina at Charlotte. The participants either received a link in their ASCA or AAE electronic newsletter or in a social media post through their membership in a Facebook group. The electronic newsletter and the Facebook post provided potential participants information about the purpose of the study and a link to the survey provided they choose to participate. I also informed participants that the risk of breaching confidentiality was extremely low and I would take precautions to prevent a breach by maintaining confidentiality and anonymity of their responses, as well as ensuring that I was not collecting any identifying information, like names or email addresses. By informing the participants that their responses would be kept anonymous, I addressed the issue of error-reduction (Dillman, 2014). Upon completing the consent form, participants chose whether to

participate or not. Those who were willing to participate in the research study selected the “I accept” option, which prompted the screen to continue to the survey. For those who choose not to accept the invitation to participate, they selected “I do not accept” and the survey ended.

The first section of the survey included the student vignette. Once the participants read the vignette, they were asked to respond to the sixteen questions in regards to their academic expectations for the student. After the sixteen vignette-related questions, participants were asked an open-ended question. The purpose of the open-ended question was to provide further understanding of participant perceptions and reasons for their response. The answers to the open-ended questions were not used for data analysis. Upon completion of the instrument, participants were asked to respond to demographic questions. Demographic information was asked in regards to participant gender, race/ethnicity, age, years of experience working in schools, school type, level and area of education, multicultural education, multicultural training, and racial percentages of student body. The survey link was available to participants for four weeks, with a follow-up email sent to all potential participants after two weeks.

Upon completion of the survey, participants had the option to enter a random drawing to receive one of five \$20 Amazon gift cards as an incentive for participating in the study (Dillman et al., 2009). According to Dillman and colleagues (2009), providing an incentive to participants is likely to increase response rates. If a participant chose to enter the random drawing, the participant then clicked on a separate survey link, which asked for a name and preferred email address. Because the participants entered their information into a separate survey link, their information was not attached to any data or information. At the conclusion of the study, 40 participants elected to enter their names into the drawing.

Participants

According to Dillman (2014), an adequate response rate for surveys is suggested to be at least 50% or greater. However, Bech and Kirstensen (2009) have acknowledged that Web-based surveys typically deliver lower response rates than other conventional methods. For example, Watt, Simpson, McKillop, and Nunn (2002) estimated an overall response rate for online surveys to be approximately 32%. When I conducted an *a-priori* power analysis using G*Power, it indicated that a total sample of at least 85 participants would be necessary to achieve a large effect size at .95 statistical power, therefore my target number of participants was 85 total participants, including both school counselors and teachers.

A total of 114 individuals participated in the study. After removing incomplete surveys ($n = 16$), the data set included 98 participants. Of these 98 participants, some individuals ($n = 10$) did not indicate if they were a teacher or school counselor, thus I removed their data from the analysis. The final data set consisted of 88 participants who self-reported that they were licensed professional school counselors or teachers currently practicing in the high school setting. This final sample size ($N = 88$) met my original goal of at least 85 participants for a large effect size.

Demographic data collected included gender, race and ethnicity, years of experience, location of school, and type of school community. The demographic questionnaire also included questions about the student race/ethnicity at the participants' school, participant exposure to multiculturalism in undergraduate or graduate degree, and participants' professional development related to multiculturalism. After I made the amendment to increase recruitment efforts to social media platforms, I added an additional question to the survey asking participants if they were a member of ASCA or AAE. The purpose of adding this question was to differentiate between participants who were either members of the organization or not.

More than half of the participants identified as a school counselor ($n = 60$), while the remaining participants identified as a teacher ($n = 28$). Nearly 85% of the participants identified as female ($n = 75$), while the remaining participants identified as male ($n = 13$). More than 79% ($n = 70$) of participants identified their race as White, followed by 9.1% participants as Hispanic or Latino/a ($n = 8$) and 5.7% as Black or African American ($n = 5$). One participant identified as Bi-racial and one participant identified their race as American Indian. Three participants elected not to identify their race. Regarding years of experience, more than 23% of the participants indicated they had 10-14 years of experience working in the school setting ($n = 21$), followed by 22% of participants with more than 20 years of experience ($n = 20$). Nineteen participants indicated they had 5-9 years of experience and 18 participants indicated they had 0-4 years of experience. A little more than 11% of the participants had 15-19 years ($n = 10$). Nearly 30% of the participants were 29-38 years of age ($n = 26$), 23.9% were 49-58 years of age ($n = 21$), and 22.7% of the participants indicated they were 39-48 years of age ($n = 20$). More than 14.8% indicated they were 18-28 years of age ($n = 13$). Lastly, 9% of the participants were 59-68 years of age ($n = 8$).

The participants indicated they lived across the United States, with one participant indicating they currently live in Canada. However, 33% of the participants indicated they live in North Carolina ($n = 29$). Nearly 13% of the participants lived in California ($n = 11$) and approximately 7% lived in New York ($n = 6$). See Table 1 for the remainder of participant location by state. Regarding participants' degree-level attainment, nearly 68% of the participants indicated they had a Master's degree ($n = 60$). Fifteen percent of the participants reported they had a Bachelor's degree ($n = 13$), all of whom identified as teachers. More than 10% of the

participants indicated they had a specialist degree ($n = 9$) and 6.8% indicated they had a doctoral degree ($n = 6$).

When asked to describe the community in which their school was located, 44.3% indicated suburban ($n = 39$), 36.4% indicated rural ($n = 32$), and 19.3% selected urban ($n = 27$). I also asked the participants to approximate the percentage of the students that are Black, White, Hispanic, and additional races (such as Asian/Asian American, Indian American, Middle Eastern, or Pacific Islander) in their schools. According to their self-report, the participants had an average of 22% Black students, 57.03% White students, 19.28% Hispanic students, and 11.25% students of additional races and/or ethnicities.

Finally, I asked participants if they were a member of either AAE or ASCA. Out of the 88 participants, 71.6% ($n = 63$) were members of either ASCA or AAE and 28.4% ($n = 25$) were not members of either organization. Out of the 60 participants who were school counselors, more than half of them were members of ASCA ($n = 42$). Out of the 28 participants were teachers, approximately 75% of the participants ($n = 21$) were members of AAE.

Table 1

Demographic Characteristics of Study Participants

Characteristic		Frequency (n)	Percentage
<i>Gender</i> (N = 88)	Female	73	85.1
	Male	13	14.9
<i>Age</i> (N = 88)	18-28 years old	13	14.8
	29-38 years old	26	29.5
	39-48 years old	20	22.7
	49 – 58 years old	21	23.9
	59 – 68 years old	8	9.1
	Older than 68 years old	0	0
<i>Race</i> (N = 88)	White	70	79.5
	Black	5	5.7
	Hispanic/Latino/a	8	9.1
	Other	2	2.3
	Prefer not to answer	3	3.4
<i>Years of Experience</i> (N = 88)	0-4 years	18	20.5
	10-14 years	21	23.9
	15-19 years	10	11.4
	5-9 years	19	21.6
	More than 20 years	20	22.7
<i>School Community</i> (N = 88)	Suburban	39	44.3
	Rural	32	36.4
	Urban	17	19.3
<i>Degree Earned</i> (N = 88)	Bachelors	13	14.8
	Masters	60	68.2
	Specialist	9	10.2
	Doctoral	6	6.8
<i>School Location by State</i> (N = 88)	AZ	1	1.1
	CA	11	12.5
	Canada	1	1.1
	CO	3	3.4
	FL	1	1.1
	GA	5	5.7
	HI	1	1.1

	IL	3	3.4
	KY	1	1.1
	MI	3	3.4
	MO	3	3.4
	NC	30	33.0
	NJ	3	3.4
	NM	1	1.1
	NY	6	6.6
	PA	1	1.1
	SC	4	4.5
	TN	2	2.3
	TX	1	1.1
	UT	2	2.3
	VA	1	1.1
	WA	2	2.3
	WV	1	1.1
<i>Multiculturalism in Undergraduate Coursework (N = 88)</i>	Yes	30	34.1
	No	45	51.1
	Unsure	13	14.8
<i>Multiculturalism in Master's Program Coursework (N = 88)</i>	Yes	53	60.2
	No	19	21.6
	Unsure	9	10.2
<i>Participants who Received Multicultural Professional Development or Training</i>	Yes	48	54.5
	No	40	45.5
<i>Number of Professional Development Workshops or Sessions on Multiculturalism (N = 48)</i>	0-3	23	47.9
	4-7	8	16.6
	8-12	2	4.2
	Unsure	15	31.3

<i>Average Percentage of Student Body Racial Make-up</i> (N = 88)	Black	21.53	
	White	57.03	
	Hispanic	19.28	
	Other Race/Ethnicity	11.25	
<i>Member of Organization</i> (N = 88)	Yes	63	71.6
	No	25	28.4

Research Design

This experimental study used a randomized design that consisted of two independent variables (student race in the vignette and professional role). Participants were randomly assigned into one of the three conditions: (a) student in the vignette is Black; (b) student in the vignette is White; and (c) student in the vignette is Hispanic. The dependent variable was academic expectations assessed by the eight questions.

Research Questions

In this study, I examined three primary research questions and six sub-questions to understand the relationship between student race and school counselor/teacher academic expectations. I measured academic expectations through advanced course work, end of course test, ability to graduate high school, ability to follow classroom expectations, timely assignment completion, overall G.P.A., grade level promotion, and participation in class discussion. The research questions were:

- (1) Is there a difference in academic expectations for Black, Hispanic, and White male students?
- (2) Do teacher and counselor participants have different academic expectations for male students of different races?
- (3) Is there an interaction between male students of color and role of participant on their academic expectation?

Given the literature that suggests educators hold negative biases towards students of color, I hypothesized that there would be a difference in academic expectations for Black, Hispanic, and White Students. Given the literature on multicultural training and preparation in teacher and counseling programs, I further hypothesized that there would be a difference in academic expectations between teachers and school counselors.

Data Analysis

I conducted all statistical procedures using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS, 2015). Prior to running the analyses, I screened data for missing data and to test all assumptions. These assumptions included normality, homogeneity of variance, and absence of outliers. In order to analyze the three research questions, I ran a factorial univariate analysis of variance (ANOVA), a data analysis procedure used for comparing sample means. A factorial ANOVA is appropriate when examining the main effects and interactions between independent variables and one dependent variable. Because there were more school counselor participants than teachers, thus creating uneven groups to analyze, I adjusted the analysis to reflect the unequal groups. When I was preparing for analysis, I selected "Sum of squares - Type 1" within the model.

The first research question examined the effect of the independent variable (student race) on the dependent variables (academic expectations). The second research question examined the differences in academic expectations between school counselors and teachers. The third research question explored the interaction between student race and academic expectations of school counselors and teachers. Using a factorial ANOVA for statistical analysis allowed me to test all three research questions at once. The independent variables, dependent variable, and the corresponding instruments used to measure each are illustrated in Table 2.

Table 2

Independent, Dependent, and Instruments

Type of Variable	Variable Name	Instrument
Independents	Student Race Black White Hispanic Participants Role Teacher School Counselor	Vignette
Dependent	Academic Expectations	Likert-Scale Statements

Summary

In this chapter, I outlined the methods I used to investigate the academic expectations of high school teachers and school counselors towards male students of color. The previous sections detailed the description of participants, data collection procedures, instrumentation, research design, research questions, and data analysis used in this study. Given the extensive literature on the differences in student achievement between White students and students of color, it was necessary to explore reasons for these differences. Therefore, the purpose of this study was to examine the relationship between student race and academic expectations of male students among school counselors and teachers. In addition, the study examined the difference in academic expectations of male students of color between teachers and school counselors.

Chapter 4: Results

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to examine and compare teachers' and school counselors' academic expectations towards male students of color, specifically Black and Hispanic students. To address this, I asked three research questions: (1) Is there a difference in academic expectations for Black, Hispanic, and White male students? (2) Do teacher and counselor participants have different academic expectations for male students of different races? and (3) Is there an interaction between male students of color and role of participant on their academic expectation?

In this chapter, I present the findings of this study. The first section includes reliability and validity measures. In the second section, I provide information regarding data screening. Finally, in the third section, I share the results of the statistical analyses utilized in this study.

Results

Instrument Reliability and Validity

This section provides a description of instrument reliability. Prior to data analysis, I calculated Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficients to estimate the internal consistency of the instrument. The dependent variable was an 8-item instrument that I created to measure academic expectations. The Cronbach's alpha ($\alpha = .83$) indicated an acceptable level of reliability of the eight items used in the instrument. Participants indicated their agreement with the eight items using a Likert scale from 1 to 6 [1 = Strongly Disagree, 2 = Disagree, 3 = Slightly Disagree, 4 = Slightly Agree, 5 = Agree, and 6 = Strong Agree]. Table 3 shows the item statistics for the reliability of the instrument.

Although I cannot use Cronbach's alpha to assess the reliability of the vignettes, it still important to recognize the reliability of the student vignette used in the study. Evans et al. (2015) made several recommendations for vignette content, which I took into consideration when creating the vignettes for this. In addition to Evans et al. (2015) research on vignettes, a meta-analysis (Murphy et al., 1986) of 111 studies revealed that, overall, vignette methodologies tend to align with actual behavioral observations. However, it is important to know that the use of vignettes may lead to larger effect sizes.

Table 3

Item Statistics

	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Advanced Course Work	1.50	.930	87
Graduate High School	3.70	1.105	87
Pass English	2.98	1.144	87
Receive Discipline Referral	2.08	1.096	87
Complete Assignments	2.61	1.011	87
Earn Above a 2.0 G.P.A.	3.23	1.111	87
Promote to 10 th Grade	3.63	1.197	87
Participate in Discussions	2.43	1.102	87

Data Screening

I ran 2 x 3 between-subjects factorial analysis of variance (ANOVA) to examine the three research questions. The dependent variable was academic expectations as measured with the researcher designed instrument and the independent variables were race of student (i.e., white, black, and Hispanic) and survey participant's professional role in school (i.e., counselor or

teacher). Prior to running the analyses, I screened data for missing data and to test all assumptions. These assumptions include normality, absence of outliers, and homogeneity of variance. It was also important to address missing values in the data set. The online survey platform, Qualtrics provided information regarding the number of participants who started the survey but did not complete it. I kept the incomplete ($n = 16$) responses separate from the completed data set ($N = 88$). I also reverse coded the responses to question six: Jamie is likely to receive a discipline referral for misbehavior from a teacher this year.

Normality. The first assumption, normality, assumes that the data is normally distributed, meaning the dependent variable should be normally distributed across the groups. The tests of normality indicated that five out of six groups had a Shapiro-Wilk significance value above .05 ($p > .05$), indicating that the dependent variable was normally distributed throughout those groups. However, for student race (black) and professional role (school counselor), data analysis indicated a Shapiro-Wilk value of $p = .028$, but an examination of the Q-Q plot suggested the assumption of normality was tenable.

Outliers. The second assumption, absence of outliers, assumes that there are no dependent outliers within the six groups. After examining a stem-and-leaf plot for each group, data analysis indicated that five out of the six groups did not have outliers. The same group that also violated the assumption of normality also violated the assumption of outliers indicating one outlier for Group 1 (student race = black and professional role = school counselor). I ran the ANOVA analysis with and without the outlier, and it did not significantly impact the results. Therefore, I decided to retain the univariate outlier.

Homogeneity of variance. I tested the third and final assumption, homogeneity of variance, using Levene's Test of Equality of Error of Variances. The error of variance should be

greater than .05. The data analysis indicated a Levene's test of $p = .002$, therefore I rejected the null hypothesis and the assumption of homogeneity of variance was violated, indicating the dependent variable was not equal across groups. Statistical adjustments were made to help protect against a Type I error (i.e., Type I sums of squares).

Data Analysis

I used a 2 x 3 between-subjects factorial ANOVA for statistical analysis to test all three research questions. To answer the first two research questions, I used a factorial ANOVA to test the main effects related to the two independent variables to a single dependent variable. Specifically, I performed a factorial ANOVA to assess the impact of the IVs (student race and professional role) on participants academic expectations of the student presented in the vignette. For student race, the levels were Black, White, and Hispanic. For professional role, the levels were teacher or school counselor. To assess the DV, participants answered eight questions on a Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly Disagree) to 6 (strongly agree) regarding their academic expectations of the student presented in the vignette. I also used a factorial ANOVA to analyze the interaction between the student race and the professional role of the participant on their academic expectations of the student. Given the uneven distribution of school counselors and teachers who participated, prior to the analysis, I used a Type 1 sum of squares in the model. The results of the mean scores and standard deviations for each independent variable are presented in Table 4 and 5 and the results of the ANOVA are presented in Table 7.

Table 4

Means, Standard Deviations, Skewness, & Kurtosis for Professional Role

Professional Role	Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Skewness	Kurtosis
School Counselor	2.76	60	.77	.54	.34
Teacher	2.79	28	.64	.82	.30
Total	2.77	88	.74	.58	.35

Table 5

Means, Standard Deviations, Skewness, & Kurtosis for Academic Expectations

Vignette Race	Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Skewness	Kurtosis
Black	2.78	34	.55	1.11	2.27
White	2.69	29	.68	.70	.40
Hispanic	2.84	25	.96	.26	-.70
Total	2.77	88	.73	.58	.35

Table 6

Cell Means for Interaction of Variables

	Professional Role	
	School Counselor	Teacher
Student Race		
Black	2.77	2.82
White	2.67	2.72
Hispanic	2.82	2.87

Table 7

Results of the 2 x 3 Between Subjects ANOVA for Dependent Variable, Student Race, and Professional Role

Source	<i>df</i>	<i>Mean Square</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Sig.</i>	<i>Partial Eta Squared</i>
Corrected Model	5	.18	.34	.89	.02
Intercept	1	675.16	1231.55	.00	.94
Student Race	1	.15	.27	.76	.00
Professional Role	2	.04	.08	.78	.00
Student Race * Professional Role	2	.29	.53	.59	.01
Error	82	.55			
Total	88				
Corrected Total	87				

Research Question 1

The first research question examined the main effects of the independent variable (student race) on the dependent variable (academic expectations). To answer this question, I also addressed the question, Is there a difference between academic expectations for Black, Hispanic, and White students?

The results of the ANOVA main effect for race indicated no statistical difference in the mean scores of academic expectations between student race ($F = .270, p > .05$). With a p -value of greater than .05, I failed to reject the null hypothesis. The results suggest that the participants had similar academic expectations for Black, White, and Hispanic male students.

Research Question 2

The second research question examined the differences in academic expectations between school counselors and teachers. To address the second research question, I answered the following question, Is there a difference between the professional roles on academic expectations?

The results of the ANOVA data analysis indicated no statistical difference between professional role and academic expectations ($F = .077, p > .05$). With a p -value of greater than .05, I failed to reject the null hypothesis. The results suggest that school counselors and teachers did not differ in their academic expectations for students, regardless of student race.

Research Question 3

The third research question explored the interaction between student race and academic expectations of school counselors and teachers. The results of the two-way factorial analysis indicated no interaction effect between student race and professional role on academic expectations ($F = .528, p > .05$). With a p -value greater than .05, I failed to reject the null

hypothesis. This suggests that there was no difference between the professional role (school counselor or teacher) and the student race presented in the vignette (Black, White, Hispanic) on academic expectations.

Descriptive Statistics

When examining descriptive statistics, all participants, without differing between teachers and school counselors, tended to hold the highest academic expectations for Hispanic male students ($M = 2.8400$), followed by Black male students ($M = 2.6940$), and then White male students ($M = 2.7831$). Given the current literature on student bias, these mean scores do not support my hypothesis that the participants would hold negative biases towards male students of color. The descriptive statistics also showed that teachers' ratings were slightly higher than school counselors' ratings, which also conflicted with my hypothesis that there would be a significant difference between school counselors and teachers. The means and standard errors of participants' academic expectations as a function of student race and professional role are depicted in Table 5.

Summary

The purpose of this experimental study was to examine how participants' professional role and student race impact the academic expectations of students. This chapter described the results of the study. The first section described instrument reliability and validity. The second section described the data screening procedures. The third and final section described the results of the ANOVA analysis used to examine the research questions and its corresponding sub-questions.

Results indicated that student race presented in the vignette did not significantly impact participants' academic expectations towards students of color. Results also indicated that there

was no significant difference in academic expectations between school counselor and teachers. In addition, there was no interaction between the student race and the role of the participant and the impact they have on academic expectations. The following chapter provides a discussion of the results.

Chapter 5: Discussion

In this experimental study, I examined and compared teachers' and school counselors' academic expectations towards male students of color. The results of this research are discussed in this chapter. This chapter includes an overview, a discussion of the results of the study, the contributions of the study, limitations of the study, implications of the findings, recommendations for future research, and concluding remarks.

Overview

Educators are expected to provide equitable services to all students, but it is evident through the literature that they are not always providing those equitable services in schools. Specifically, regarding teachers, research on educator perceptions indicates that teachers are more likely to hold negative views towards students of color than White students (Hope, Skoog, & Jagers, 2014; Saft & Pianta, 2001). An analysis of test scores from the years 2009 to 2013 indicate that on average, White students score one and a half or more grade levels higher than Black and Hispanic students, even when the students are enrolled in socioeconomically similar school districts (Reardon, 2016). Regarding school counselors, Akos and Kretchmar (2018) compared college letters of recommendation written for White students to letters written for students of color. Their findings indicated a 10% decrease in achievement-related words in letters of recommendations for students of color. The authors concluded that even when writing positive letters of recommendations, school counselors tend to show negative implicit bias towards students of color (Akos & Kretchmar, 2018).

In addition to student race and ethnicity, when comparing suspension rates for males who received an out-of-school suspension in 2011-2012, both Black and Hispanic males had higher suspension rates than their White peers (U.S. Department of Education Office for Civil Rights).

Beyond gender discrepancies in student suspensions, differences also exist in graduation rates between males and females. Recent data provided by the National Center for Education Statistics indicated that, in 2017, regardless of ethnicity or gender, males were less likely to graduate from high school than females.

Given both the racial and gender disparities in schools across the United States, I examined the impact of student race on school counselors' and teachers' academic expectations towards male students of color. Additionally, I explored how the role of the participant, either as a school counselor or teacher impacted their academic expectations. After thoroughly reviewing the literature, I determined that an examination of the impact of student's race and participant professional role was appropriate. I used a 2 x 3 between factors factorial analysis of variance (ANOVA) to determine the impact of each independent variable (IV; i.e., student race and professional role) on the dependent variable (academic expectations).

Discussion of Results

In this section, I discuss both the results of the study in relation to the independent variables and the dependent variable, as well as the demographic data that I collected as part of the research.

Discussion of Demographic Data

Although I did not analyze all the demographic data that I collected in the study, it is important to thoroughly examine the demographic data of the participants. Within the sample ($N = 88$), 85% of the participants were female ($N = 73$) and approximately 80% identified as White ($N = 70$). Out of the 88 participants, 65 of the participants were both female and White, making up approximately 74% of the sample. Despite the lack of racial and gender diversity in the sample, it does accurately reflect the population of school counselors and teachers. Within the

United States, 77% of the teachers are women and about 80% of the teachers are White (Loewus, 2017). School counselors also have a similar demographic make-up with 85% of ASCA members identifying as female and 81% identifying as White (ASCA, 2018). In terms of years of experience, more than 23% of the participants had 10-14 years of experience working in the high school setting. Their decade or more of experience working with students may have impacted the results of this study. Approximately 80% of the participants had more than 10 years of experience, with 22% of the sample having more than 20 years of experience working in schools. The extensive experience working with students of all backgrounds may have influenced the results of the study suggesting that as teachers and school counselors gain experience, they have more opportunity to explore and challenge their biases and stereotypes.

In terms of generalizability, the participants in the sample represented more than 22 states within the United States. However, more than 30% of the participants ($N = 30$) identified as working in North Carolina. In terms of community, there was a representative sample of participants from suburban, rural, and urban schools.

Analysis of Variance

In order to properly answer the three research questions, I ran a 2 x 3 between-subjects factorial ANOVA. To answer the first two research questions, I used a factorial ANOVA to test the main effects related to the two independent variables to a single dependent variable. Specifically, I performed a factorial ANOVA to assess the impact of the IVs (student race and professional role) on participants academic expectations of the student presented in the vignette. For student race, the levels were Black, White, and Hispanic. For professional role, the levels were teacher or school counselor. To assess the DV, participants answered eight questions on a Likert scale regarding their academic expectations of the student presented in the vignette. I also

used a factorial ANOVA to analyze the interaction between the student race and the professional role of the participant on their academic expectations of the student.

Student race. The first research question examined the effect of an independent variable (student race) on the dependent variable (academic expectations), specifically asking: Is there a difference in academic expectations for Black, Hispanic, and White male students? To answer this question, I also addressed these three sub-questions: (a) Do participants have the same academic expectations for Black students as they do White students? (b) Do participants have the same academic expectations for Hispanic students as they do White students? (c) Do participants have the same academic expectations for Hispanic students as they do Black students?

The results of the ANOVA data analysis indicated no statistical difference between student race and academic expectations ($F = .270, p > .05$), which suggest that the participants, regardless of professional role, had similar academic expectations for Black, White, and Hispanic male students. These results contradict current literature that suggests educators may hold biases towards students of color (Akos & Kretchmar, 2016; Corwin et al., 2004; Hope et al., 2014; Pachter et al., 2010; Saft & Pianta, 2001).

Although the results were not statistically significant, the mean scores for academic expectations for each vignette regardless of participant role are worth exploring. All participants, without differing between teachers and school counselors, tended to hold the highest academic expectations for Hispanic male students ($\bar{X}=2.8400$) following Black male students ($\bar{X}=2.6940$) and then White male students ($\bar{X}=2.7831$). Although researchers have indicated academic achievement disparities between students of color and White students, the results of this study suggest there is no difference in academic expectations held by the participants. If the results are generalizable, it would indicate that educators do not hold academic bias towards student of

color, which suggests there are other reasons beyond academic expectations for the achievement or opportunity gap that is present among students of color in the United States (Darden & Cavendish, 2012; Miretzky, Chennault, & Fraynd, 2016).

Professional role. The second research question examined the differences in academic expectations between school counselors and teachers. Specifically, the research questions asked: Do teacher and counselor participants have different academic expectations for male students of different races? To address the second research question, I answered the following sub-questions: (a) Do teachers have the same academic expectations for Black students as school counselors? (b) Do teachers have the same academic expectations for Hispanic students as school counselors? (c) Do teachers have the same academic expectations for White students as school counselors?

The results of the ANOVA data analysis indicated no statistical difference between professional role and academic expectations ($F = .077, p > .05$). Given the statistically insignificant results, the study suggests that school counselors ($\bar{X}=2.7583$) and teachers ($\bar{X}=2.7946$) did not differ in their mean academic expectations regardless of the student race presented in the vignette. The literature on the amount of multicultural training school counselors and teachers receive prior to entering the school system is inconsistent (Boes, Snow, & Chibarro, 2009; Williams & Glass, 2019). Despite the non-statistically significant results, it is worth noting the mean academic expectation scores for teachers and school counselors. Although school counselors showed a slightly lower mean score, both populations had an average score below 3, indicating that they tended to either disagree or slightly disagree with the eight statements. For example, the measure of advanced course work had a mean score of 1.50, indicating that based on their knowledge of the vignette, both school counselors and teachers strongly disagreed or

disagreed with Jamie taking honors or advanced placement courses regardless of race. Given the low mean scores for teachers and school counselors, these individuals appear to have low academic expectations for the student. Current literature indicates that negatively biased educator expectations have a detrimental influence on student achievement (De Boer, Bosker, & Van der Werf, 2010). Although it was not a part of the study, it would be worth to continue to explore the relationship between educator expectations and student achievement.

Interaction of variables. The third research question explored the interaction between student race and academic expectations of school counselors and teachers. Specifically, the research question asked: Is there an interaction between male students of color and role of participant on their academic expectation? The results of the two-way factorial analysis indicated no interaction effect between student race and professional role on academic expectations ($F = .528, p > .05$). This suggests that there was no difference between the professional role (school counselor or teacher) and the student race presented in the vignette (Black, White, Hispanic) on academic expectations. Current literature has suggested that teachers and school counselors possess bias towards students of color. However, the results of the study suggest there is no difference between academic expectations of school counselors and teachers towards students of color.

Despite statistically non-significant results, the mean scores between school counselors and teachers in relation to student race is worth exploring. For Black students, school counselors had a lower mean academic expectation score ($\bar{X}=2.773$) compared to teachers ($\bar{X}=2.821$). This trend was also found in White and Hispanic students, with school counselors possessing a lower mean academic expectation score than teachers, 2.674 versus 2.722 and 2.823 versus 2.871, respectively. Given the almost daily interaction with students, teachers may have had a better

understanding of academic expectations or felt more equipped to support the student in vignette resulting in higher mean scores of academic expectations. School counselors, on the other hand, are not only tasked with supporting students academically, but to also provide mental health services related to social and emotional development. This notion that the vignette was more aligned with the role of teachers may also explain why despite school counselor participants having Masters, teacher participants with Bachelor's degrees had higher ratings of Jamie. At face-value it may appear that having more degrees would lead participants to rate Jamie lower. This seems to be the opposite of one might think. However, given the possibility that the structure of vignette aligned more with the academic roles of teachers, it may be that school counselors were cognizant of other non-academic factors. Given the scenario, school counselors may have interpreted the scenario in the vignette to have concerns larger than academia resulting in lower academic expectations.

The purpose of the experimental vignette was to measure teacher and school counselor academic expectations as a measure of implicit bias. Because implicit biases are the attitudes or stereotypes that unconsciously influence human behavior (Greenwald & Krieger, 2006; Staats, Capatosto, Wright, & Jackson, 2016), it is important to examine how systemic and institutionalized racism, in the form of implicit biases, impacts the academic achievement of students of color. Because implicit biases often develop as a result of a large collection of emotional influences and political impacts (Gullo, 2017), they are often prevalent within social interactions (Jost, et al., 2009). These social interactions are especially important in the relationship between educators and students of color. Although the results were not what I initially expected, it worth making sense of the results and the connect to implicit biases.

Making Sense of the Results

These results were not what I hypothesized and there are several possible reasons for this. One possible reason for these results may be the participants do not have biases towards students of color. However, suggesting that school counselors and teachers do not have any biases is a problematic conclusion given the literature on educator bias towards male students of color (Akos & Kretchmar, 2016; Corwin et al., 2004; Hope et al., 2014; Pachter et al., 2010; Saft & Pianta, 2001). A second reason for the results may be the participant sample. Given the large number of participants who held a Masters, Specialist, or Doctoral degree ($n = 75$), it may be possible that an advanced degree and coursework provided the participants the opportunity to learn more about multicultural issues, stereotypes, and biases. Although I collected demographic data on multicultural courses and professional development, I did not analyze that data for the purpose of this study. However, given the strong emphasis on multiculturalism-infused professional development in the last few years, it may be that educators have received multicultural training or education and are actively working towards their biases and stereotypes within the school environment. With the advanced training and education, it may be that these professors were more aware of their own implicit biases and how their own beliefs impact their interactions with students of color.

According to data collection, more than half the participants ($N = 48$) have received professional development and/or training on multiculturalism while working in the school system. Thus, their initial biases reduced and not reflected in this study. However, it is also important to note the role of social desirability. If participants were aware of the student race presented in the vignette, they may have answered the academic expectation instrument in a way that would be socially acceptable, reducing the accuracy of the results.

Additionally, it may be possible that the participants in this sample do not accurately reflect the general population of school counselors and teachers. There may be inherent differences between educators who are members of an organization versus those who are not. A fifth reason for these results is the research design. It may be that the use of an experimental vignette does not accurately depict how a participant would respond in real-life situations. The use of an experimental vignette has been used in similar studies (Dameron, Foxx, & Flowers, 2019; Walzer, 2019) to measure bias. Dameron and colleagues (2019), using a factorial ANOVA, revealed no statistically significant differences in school counselors' likelihood of placing students in ALPs for disciplinary reasons based on students' race, gender, or socioeconomic status. However, Walzer (2019), who also utilized a factorial ANOVA, revealed statistically significant results indicating that participants had more supportive attitudes toward a transgender teen experiencing issues in school related to a name change and a behavior concern than toward a cisgender teen with the same issues. Given the inconsistent results in both studies, the results of my study add to the conflicting literature on the potential effectiveness of experimental vignettes as a valuable research method.

Finally, there may be a reason for the insignificant differences in academic expectations between school counselors and teachers. Perhaps my hypothesis was wrong and there are no actual differences between school counselors and teachers and their biases towards students of color. However, given the sample consisted of only one third teachers ($N = 28$), a larger sample with equal numbers of teachers and school counselors may have produced different results.

Contributions of the Study

Despite my non-significant results, this study provides several important contributions to the current literature. There is a growing body of literature examining the biases of educators in

relation to students of color and their academic achievements (Bromberg & Theokas, 2014; Fireman, & Wang, 2010; Rumberger & Losen, 2016). However, there is no currently published literature specifically examining and comparing the academic expectations of students of color for both school counselors and teachers. Previous research looked at the biases of teachers (Hope, Skoog, & Jagers, 2014; Saft & Pianta, 2001) and school counselors (Akos & Kretchmar, 2016; Corwin et al., 2004) as separate professional roles, but no study as compared the academic expectations between school counselors and teachers, specifically examining male students. While scholars are continuing to study the role of biases held by educators in schools, these studies do not address school counselors and teachers' academic expectations towards male students of color.

Additionally, this study is the first to examine academic expectations for school counselors and teachers on a national level. Previous studies explored the biases for school counselors and teachers separately or used purposeful sampling to gather participants. Although this study had a small sample size, it was the first study to attempt to understand the academic biases of teacher and school counselors, both influential adults in a student's life, on a national level. Given the research indicating the impact of implicit biases on student success (Gershenson et al., 2015; Glock et al., 2013; Wright, 2015), it is important to continue to explore how these biases interact in the larger context of educational systems, and with a larger sample, it would be worth researching implicit biases in the forms of academic expectations on students of color.

The results of this study did not indicate a difference in academic expectations between students of color and White students. The results also suggest that there was no difference between school counselors and teachers in their academic expectations towards students. In addition, there was no interaction between student race and professional role as it relates to

academic expectations. This is a very important finding for school counselors and teachers, as it suggests they are unbiased educators. However, given the vast literature on educator biases (Akos & Kretchmar, 2016; Corwin et al., 2004; Hope et al., 2014; Pachter et al., 2010; Saft & Pianta, 2001), the absence of biases towards students of color is unlikely.

Limitations of the Study

There are several limitations to the current study that one should take into consideration when interpreting the findings. One of the major limitations of the study is the sample size. Although I made efforts to recruit both school counselors and teachers, the overall small sample size may not be generalizable to the population. In addition, there were more school counselor participants than teachers, creating uneven groups to run a data analysis. Although I adjusted the analysis to reflect the unequal groups, this is still a limitation to the generalizability of the results.

The second limitation relates to the study's participants and the generalizability of the results. I originally limited responses to ASCA and AAE members who self-identified as licensed high school counselors or teachers currently practicing in a high school setting. However, I made additional recruitment efforts to increase the same size, recruiting from social media. Although the participants were still high school counselors and teachers, not all the participants who I recruited from social media groups were members of ASCA or AAE. It is possible that there are differences between school counselors who are members of the ASCA and those who are not, differences between teachers who are members of AAE and those who are not, and between those who chose to respond and those who did not.

A third limitation of the current study is the use of an eight-item Likert scale as the measure for the dependent variable, academic expectations. Although Cronbach's alpha indicated a strong reliability coefficient of ($\alpha = .827$), the validity of the instrument is still a

cause for concern. Pertaining to the use of vignettes, a fourth limitation of the current study is the use of the vignettes to control one of the independent variables, student race. While Evans and colleagues (2015) suggest the use of vignettes is predictive of future behavior, I acknowledge that it is possible that the way the participants responded to the vignette may be different than how they would respond in real-life situations. Given this possibility, it is important to note that this survey experimental context may be different from an actual school counseling or teaching context.

A fifth limitation is the potential for social desirability. In addition to informing the participants that their responses were anonymous and confidential, I also prevented them from going back to edit their answers once they completed the vignette-related questions. However, it is possible that school counselors and teachers noticed that I clearly identified the race and gender of the students depicted in the vignettes, and that the participants answered in such a way as to not appear biased.

When discussing social desirability, it is important to note that there are two parts to social desirability: self-deception and impression management. Impression management refers to the deliberate tendency to give favorable descriptions to others, coming close to lying and falsification (Paulhus, 1991; Paulhus & Reid, 1991; Verkasalo & Lindeman, 1994). On the other hand, self-deception refers to unintentional tendency to self-describe one's self more positively (Verkasalo & Lindeman, 1994). Participants in this study may have answered in a way that was favorable to the researcher, trying to provide results that were more socially acceptable. On the other hand, participants may have answered the questions in a favorable way unintentionally, attempting to deceive their own ideas or beliefs. Without knowing the participant's true

intentions when completing the survey, it is uncertain to what extent social desirability may have limited the study.

Implications of the Findings

The results of this study contribute to the literature on academic biases by being the first study to examine teacher and school counselors' academic expectations towards students of color. This need for inquiry is based on findings that Black and Hispanic students do not meet the same academic standards compared to White students in the United States (Bromberg & Theokas, 2014; Fireman, & Wang, 2010; Rumberger & Losen, 2016). It is also rooted in the idea that teachers and school counselors may have preconceived ideas and biases about students of color that can negatively impact the students they are trying to serve (Akos & Kretchmar, 2016; Corwin et al., 2004; Hope, Skoog, & Jagers, 2014; Saft & Pianta, 2001). Using an experimental design, this study is the first to examine the interaction between school counselors, teachers, and student race. The results of the study, then, have important implications for both practicing school counselors and teachers, educators, and training programs.

Implications for Practitioners

This study examined the academic expectations of both school counselors and teachers. The results of the study indicate that there was no difference in academic expectations towards male students of color between school counselors and teachers. However, it is necessary to address implications for each group and acknowledge how teachers and school counselors can work together to create a more multiculturally-inclusive school environment for all students.

Teachers. Teachers possess a unique role in the academic development of their students, as they are responsible for designing and implementing curriculum to help students master a variety of subjects (U.S Bureau of Labor, 2019). They also act as classroom managers who reinforce appropriate behavior, measure student outcomes, and create inclusive learning environments. Although teachers are expected to interact with all students from various backgrounds and cultures, some teachers may lack multicultural experiences and awareness which can lead them to take on a deficit-based approach when working with students of color (Jackson, Bryan, & Larkin, 2016).

The results of the study suggest that teachers do not demonstrate an academic bias towards students of color. This contradicts the current literature, which indicates that teachers do have biases towards students of color (Gershenson et al., 2015; Glock et al., 2013; Wright, 2015). Given the small sample size in this study, it is not enough to conclude that teachers are free from biases towards students of color. Teachers should use this information to continue to challenge their stereotypes and preconceived beliefs about their students and their capabilities. Because teachers are often a part of a department team or professional learning community, teachers who have taken part in a plethora of multicultural-infused professional development or training should lead their teams in addressing multicultural issues. As leaders in multiculturalism, these teachers can act as change agents in their school environment, promoting multicultural education in all aspects of the school level from staff meetings to classroom activities.

Some teachers may have attended teacher preparation programs that neither infused or required teachers-in-training to attend a course on multiculturalism. Other teachers may neglect to attend or participate in professional development surrounding multicultural education under

the impression that it does not imply to them. It may be beneficial if these individuals prioritize engaging in multicultural-related trainings and attempt to understand how their identity can either support or hinder their students. From a district-level, being more intentional on the professional development offered to teachers is important. Although the beginning of the school year can be a busy time preparing curriculum, many schools offer professional development and school-wide training. Multicultural training sessions should be an essential part aspect of the professional development, particularly as it relates to expectations and biases. impacting student achievement.

School Counselors. Today, school counselors are in charge of developing comprehensive school counseling programs and providing responsive and supportive services to all students (ASCA, 2012; Stahl-Ladbury, 2012). School counselors participate on educational teams within their schools to lead and collaborate with colleagues and promote systemic change. A primary role of school counselors is to provide services to meet students' immediate needs and concerns. For students of color, these counseling services can be essential (ASCA, 2019).

According to the results of this experimental research, professional school counselors were no more likely to have bias towards students of color. This finding is critical because research indicates students of color feel as if school counselors favored certain students and they do not receive the same academic and social support (Corwin et al., 2004). However, CACREP-accredited programs require a common core area, *social and cultural diversity*, which can be taught as a standalone course or infused throughout the program. Given the likelihood of recent school counselors receiving multicultural education, it may be likely that current school counselors are aware of their biases and take an active effort to serve as social justice leaders in their schools and communities.

School counselors, if they are not already, should engage in multicultural-related professional development and training. Packer-Williams, Jay, and Evans (2010) found that less than half (47%) of school counselors integrate multicultural considerations into their school counselor programs because of their unique student body makeup. With the responsibility to ensure that all students of diverse backgrounds have equal access to appropriate services and opportunities (ASCA, 2019) it is imperative that these individuals have access to professional development that centers on social justice reform, student equity, and advocacy. Although school counselors may not have control over what professional development is offered, by advocating to administrators at the school and district-level for the need for such training, school counselors can be the voice needed to bring about social reform.

The challenge school counselors often face is how to provide adequate services despite large student caseloads, extensive and inappropriate counseling duties, and limited access to student resources (Corwin et al., 2004). For school counselors who have taken on an active role in multicultural education, functioning as a collaborator within their school, school counselors can educate teachers, administrators, stakeholders, and students on multicultural-related issues. From exploring person biases to discussing the impact of privilege, school counselors can be at the forefront of leading multicultural efforts. By providing multicultural consultation to large groups of faculty members, school counselors can deliver a direct service to these individuals, who then provide direct services to students in classrooms and other settings, thus ultimately serving more students in less time.

Implications for Higher Education

The challenging task of preparing educators, including teachers and school counselors, often falls on the shoulders of education programs (Muller & Connor, 2007). Because teachers

and school counselors need to be aware of their biases towards students of color, these education programs become responsible for helping to create competent educators.

Teacher Preparation. Teachers have a variety of organizations to use as models for behaviors and expectations. The National Education Association (NEA) outlines a code of ethics for education professionals to strive to uphold. Yet, within this code of ethical behaviors to guide teachers, multiculturalism, diversity, and inclusion are not mentioned (NEA, 2019). Another organization, the Association of Teacher Educators (ATE), successfully outlined standards for teacher educators. One of these standards addresses the importance of understanding diversity as it relates to instruction to meet the needs of society (ATE, 2019). However, neither of these organizations mandate an infusion of multicultural content in teacher education programs. The Council for the Accreditation of Educator Preparation (CAEP) is an accreditation consisting of five standards to help teachers maintain high expectations and quality teaching (CAEP, 2019). Unfortunately, without any of these organizations or accreditation programs requiring that teachers-in-training take courses related to multiculturalism or the history of privilege and oppression, teachers may be entering the school building with unchecked biases.

Teacher preparation programs and CAEP would benefit from coming together to establish standards that center on the importance of multicultural education and requirements for trainees to be exposed to multiculturalism in some form. However, a number of Educator Preparation Program (EPP) leaders have been hesitant to require students to take a course that addressed race-related inequalities specifically or more than one semester's worth of courses related to multiculturalism (Williams & Glass, 2019). Through collaboration, EPP leaders, program educators, and accreditation programs can attempt to establish a minimum requirement

that exposes teachers to multiculturalism or work with the previously established courses to infuse this topic into discussions, assignments, and student learning outcomes.

For teacher preparation programs that already require students to take a multicultural course(s) or infuse multiculturalism throughout the program, it is important to assess the transformative learning that takes place during those courses. Transformative learning is characterized by individuals reinterpreting past experiences from a new perspective (Mezirow, 1991). Teacher preparation programs should explore if the courses designed to enhance multicultural awareness indeed permits students from transforming their preconceived notions of self and others into a new perspective.

Counselor Education. The results of this research also have important implications for school counselor educators and training programs. CACREP-accredited counselor education programs must provide school counseling students the ability to learn appropriate strategies for identifying and eliminating barriers, prejudices, and oppression (CACREP, 2016). School counselors who graduate from an accredited program must be competent in addressing multicultural issues (CACREP, 2016). However, despite the focus on preparing school counselors to develop multicultural competencies, research highlights the biases school counselors may have towards students of color (Akos & Kretchmar, 2016; Corwin et al., 2004).

The results of this study suggest that school counselors do not demonstrate bias towards students of color, which contradicts previously established literature. Unfortunately, the small sample size may not accurately reflect the biases that may exist. The implication for counselor educators and training programs is that they may want to assist school counselors in training in examining their multicultural knowledge, attitudes, and beliefs.

Part of school counseling training programs should also explore culturally responsive school counseling. Holcomb-McCoy & Myers' (1999) Multicultural Counseling Competence and Training Survey-Revised (MCCTS-R) could be use in school counseling training programs to assess multicultural awareness, knowledge, and skills. It is 32 item self-report instrument that reflects the language used in school settings compared to language that is more typically used in a clinical setting (i.e., students versus clients). Given the inconsistent results in literature demonstrating biases towards students of color, including this study, school counselor educators should continue to evaluate the content of their courses to ensure that school counselor trainees are receiving the appropriate training and education in all domains of multicultural competence and social justice advocacy.

Recommendations for Future Research

This study adds to the school counseling and teacher literature research base, as well as literature related to racial biases towards students of color. This research has important implications for practicing school counselors, teachers, and educator preparation programs. Given these implications, recommendations for future research emerge. Although the sample size was adequate for analysis, future research studies should attempt to increase the sample size by recruiting from additional organizations or groups. Although this research study did recruit both members of ASCA and AAE and non-members, additional research could focus on potential differences between participants who belong to organizations versus those who are not. With a larger sample size, research could also expand to explore the academic expectations of male students of color to other educational stakeholders, including social workers, psychologists, grade-level administrators, and district-level administrators. By increasing the sample size of

future studies, more accurate data analysis is possible in order to generalize to the populations under investigation.

A second recommendation is to strengthen the measure for the dependent variable created an 8-question instrument utilizing a six-point Likert scale to measure academic expectations, which may have limited the variability of the responses. Potential ways to strengthen this measure is to introduce other measures or instruments to combat social desirability beyond the eight additional questions I asked that were unrelated to academic expectations. Finding evidence-based ways to reduce social desirability would be essential in future research.

A third recommendation for future research would be to compare the eight aspects of academic expectations as individual units. In this study, I examined the impact of student race and professional role on academic expectations as an average score across the eight questions. Additional research could explore possible differences in academic expectations. For instance, although school counselors and teachers may hold similar beliefs in a student's ability to graduate high school, they may possess differences in their expectations about students being placed in honors or advanced placement programs.

A fourth recommendation would be to introduce gender as a covariate. This study only examined gender as it relates to only male students of color. Additional research replicates this study and alter the vignette to reflect a story of a female student. Furthermore, research could examine gender as an additional variable or covariate and run an analysis for the impact of student gender and race on academic expectations.

Although I collected demographic data in regards to multicultural training and professional development, a fifth recommendation includes future research to more thoroughly explore the impact of meaningful and transformative multicultural courses and professional

development on educators' biases towards students of color related to academic expectations. Additional research could highlight the relation between participant race and the racial and ethnic student body make-up of their school to determine if teachers or school counselors who work with students who are of the same race or ethnicity impact the academic expectations they have towards those students. It is also important to note that the percentage of students of color in the classrooms or school may influence participant multicultural biases. It would be worth investigating the relationship between student racial demographics and educator biases, thus highlighting intergroup contact theory in future research.

Finally, a recommendation for future research would be to explore the relationship between professional role and other variables, such as belief in a just world, multicultural competence, or attitudes and behaviors towards students of color. In the current study, there was no difference in professional role and student race in relation to academic expectations. By adding additional instruments, such as measuring multicultural competence, researchers could investigate relationships between teachers' and school counselors' beliefs, attitudes, and competencies held towards students of color and the impact it may have on academic expectations. This would align with research by Parikh et al. (2011) and Jones (2013) that revealed school counselors' belief in a just world related to their social justice advocacy attitudes and multicultural counseling awareness, respectively.

Concluding Remarks

Both the Association of Teacher Educators (ATE) and the American School Counselor Association (ASCA) address the importance of multicultural competence and social reform in some way. Part of their vital role as educators is to understand diversity as it relates to supporting the needs of all students (ASCA, 2019; ATE, 2019). Researchers have previously examined the

biases of teachers (Hope et al., 2014; Saft & Pianta, 2001) and school counselors (Akos & Kretchmar, 2016; Corwin et al., 2004) in relation to students of color. Yet there is limited research comparing teachers' and school counselors' academic expectations towards students of color.

Unfortunately, prior literature indicates that students of color are less likely to meet academic standards than their White peers (Bromberg & Theokas, 2014). In addition to academic disparities, students of color receive more disciplinary referrals (Fireman, & Wang, 2010) and suspended at higher rates (Rumberger & Losen, 2016). Researchers have attempted to address this gap in academic achievement and have attributed the possible stereotypes and biases that teachers and school counselors may bring with them into the school building.

This experimental study is the first to examine both school counselors' and teachers' academic expectations. In particular, this study explored the potential biases these professional may have towards male students of color. It adds to the large base of literature related to academic disproportionality, also referred to as the achievement gap or opportunity gap by extending the knowledge base by providing an experimental examination of the impact of student race and professional role on academic expectations towards students of color. The results of this study are a call to professional school counselors, teachers, and both counselor and teacher training programs to consider the role that teachers and school counselors have in the academic success of every student. This critical examination and the purposefulness of exploring educators' biases, stereotypes, and preconceived ideas may have the potential to alter the course of many students' lives both academically and socially. Whether it be every day in math class or once a week in an individual counseling session, these individuals have the unique and privileged opportunity to help and support students achieve their highest potential.

REFEERENCES

- About, F. E., & Amato, M. (2001). Developmental and socialization influences on intergroup bias. In R. Brown & S. Gaertner (Vol. Eds.), *Blackwell handbook in social psychology*, Vol. 4: *Intergroup processes*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Akos, P., & Kretchmar, J. (2016). Gender and ethnic bias in letters of recommendation: Considerations for school counselors. *Professional School Counseling*, 20, 102-113. doi:10.5330/1096-2409-20.1.102
- Allport, G. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Cambridge, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- American School Counselor Association. (2012). *The ASCA national model: A framework for school counseling programs* (3rd ed.). Alexandria, VA: Author.
- American School Counselor Association. (2018). *ASCA Membership Demographics*. Retrieved from www.schoolcounselor.org/asca/media/asca/home/Member-Demographics.pdf
- American School Counselor Association. (2019). *The ASCA national model: A framework for school counseling programs* (4th ed.). Alexandria, VA: Author.
- Ashby, K. M., Collins, D. L., Helms, J. E., & Manlove, J. (2018). Let's talk about race: Evaluating a college interracial discussion group on race. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development*, 46, 97-114. doi:10.1002/jmcd.12095
- Assaf, L. C., Garza, R., & Battle, J. (2019). Multicultural teacher education: Examining the perceptions, practices, and coherence in on one teacher preparation program. *Teacher Education Quarterly*, 37, 115-135.
- Association of Teacher Educators. (2019). *Standards for teacher educators*. Retrieved from www.ate1.org/standards-for-teacher-educators.
- Bales, B. L., & Saffold, F. (2011). A new era in the preparation of teachers for urban schools:

- linking multiculturalism, disciplinary-based content, and pedagogy. *Urban Education*, 46, 953-974.
- Banks, J. A. (2008). Diversity, group identity, and citizenship education in a global age. *Educational Researcher*, 37, 129-139. doi:10.3102/0013189X08317501
- Banks, J. A., & Banks, C. A. M. (2010). *Multicultural education: Issues and perspectives*. (7th ed.). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.
- Bartlett, T. (2017). Can we really measure implicit bias? Maybe not. *The Chronicle of Higher Education*. Retrieved from www.chronicle.com/article/Can-We-Really-Measure-Implicit/238807
- Bech, M., & Kristensen, M. B. (2009). Differential response rates in postal and Web-based surveys among older respondents. *Survey Research Methods*, 3, 1-6.
- Benson, T. A., & Fiarman, S. E. (2019). *Unconscious bias in schools*. Harvard Education Press.
- Boes, S. R., Snow, B. M., & Chibbaro, J. S. (2009). The production of professional school counselors in Alabama: Graduation rates of CACREP and non-CACREP programs. *The Alabama Counseling Association Journal*, 35, 1.
- Boysen, G. A. (2011). Integrating implicit bias into counselor education. *Counselor Education and Supervision*, 49, 210-227. doi:10.1002/j.1556-6978.2010.tb00099.x
- Braunsberger, K., & Gates, R. (2009). Developing inventories for satisfaction and Likert scales in a service environment. *Journal of Services Marketing*, 23, 219-225.
- Bray, B. (2014). Shifting student demographics shine light on need for greater cultural awareness in schools. *Counseling Today*. Retrieved from ct.counseling.org
- Bromberg, M., & Theokas, C. (2014). Falling out of the lead: Following high achievers through high school and beyond. *The Education Trust: Shattering Expectation Series*, 1-28.

- Retrieved from <https://edtrust.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/FallingOutOftheLead.pdf>
- Celinska, D., & Swazo, R. (2016). Curriculum designs in counselor education programs: Enhancing counselors-in-training openness to diversity. *Journal of Counselor Preparation & Supervision, 8*, 71-92. doi:10.7729/83.1124
- Clayton, J. K. (2011). Changing diversity in U.S. schools: The impact on elementary student performance and achievement. *Education and Urban Society, 43*, 671-695. doi:10.1177/0013124510380909
- Collins, P. H. (2000). *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment* (2nd ed.). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Constantine, M. G., Arorash, T. J., Barakett, M. D., Blackmon, S. M., Donnelly, P.C., & Edles, P. (2001). School counselors' universal-diverse orientation and aspects of their multicultural counseling competence. *Professional School Counseling, 5*, 13-18
- Corwin, Z. B., Venegas, K. M., Oliverez, P. M., & Coylar, J. E. (2004). School counsel: How appropriate guidance affects educational equity. *Urban Education, 39*, 442- 457. doi:10.1177/0042085904265107
- Council for the Accreditation of Counseling and Related Educational Programs. (2016). *2016 Standards*. Retrieved from <http://www.cacrep.org/for-programs2016-cacrep-standards/>
- Council for the Accreditation of Educator Preparation. (2019). *Introduction: the CAEP Standards*. Retrieved from <http://caepnet.org/standards/introduction>
- Cox, D., Navarro-Rivera, J., & Jones, R. P. (2016). *Race, religion, and political affiliation of Americans' core social networks*. Washington, DC: Public Region Research Institute.
- Dameron, M. L., Foxx, S. P., & Flowers, C. (2019). The impact of race, gender, and socioeconomic status on school counselors' alternative learning program placement

- decisions: An experimental study. *The Urban Review*, 1-25.
doi:10.1007/s11256-01900502-9
- Darden, E. C., & Cavendish, E. (2012). Achieving resource equity within a single school district: Earing the opportunity gap by examining school board decisions. *Education and Urban Society*, 44, 61-82.
- De Boer, H., Bosker, R. J.m Van der Werf, M. P. C. (2010). Sustainability of teacher expectation bias effects on long-term student performance. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 102, 168-179. doi:10.1037/a0017289
- Dillman, D. A. (2014). *Mail and telephone surveys*. New York: Wiley.
- Dillman, D. A. (2000). *Mail and internet surveys: The tailored design method*. (2nd ed.). New York: J. Wiley.
- Dillman, D. A., Smyth, J. D., & Christian, L. M. (2009). *Internet, mail, and mixed-mode surveys: The tailored design method*. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley & Sons.
- Erford, B. E. (2007). *Transforming the school counseling profession* (2nd ed.). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Merrill Prentice Hall.
- Evans, S. C., Roberts, M. C., Keely, J. W., Blossom, J. B., Amaro, C. M., Garcia, A.M., ...Reed, G. M. (2015). Vignette methodologies for studying clinicians' decision making: Validity, utility, and application in ICD-11 field studies. *International Journal of Clinical and Health Psychology*, 15, 160-170. doi:10.1016/j.ijchp.2014.12.001
- Freudenberg, N., & Ruglis, J. (2017). Reframing school dropout as a public health issue. *Preventing Chronic Disease*. Retrieved from www.cdc.gov/pcd/issues/2007/oct/07
- Gershenson, S., Holt, S. B., & Papageorge, N. (2015). Who believes in me? The effect of student-teacher demographic match on teacher expectations. *Economics of Education*

- Review*, 52, 209-224.
- Glock, S., & Karbach, J. (2015). Preservice teachers' implicit attitudes toward racial minority students: Evidence from three implicit measures. *Studies in Educational Evaluation*, 45, 55-61.
- Glock, S., Kneer, K., & Kovacs, C. (2013). Preservice teachers' implicit attitudes towards students with and without immigration background: A pilot study. *Studies in Education Evaluation*, 39, 204-210.
- Grant, C., & Osanloo, A. (2014). Understanding, selecting, and integrating a theoretical framework in dissertation research: Creating the blueprint for your house. *Administrative Issues Journal: Connecting Education, Practice, and Research*, 4, 12-26.
- Greenwald, A. G., & Krieger, L. H. (2006). Implicit bias: Scientific foundations. *California Law Review*, 94, 945-967.
- Greenwald, A. G., McGhee, D. E., & Schwartz, J. L. K. (1998). Measuring individual differences in implicit cognition: The Implicit Association Test. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 74, 1464-1480.
- Gullo, G. L. (2017). *Implicit bias in school disciplinary decision*. (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global. (Accession No. 2289586450).
- Harris, H. L. (2013). A national survey of school counselors' perceptions of multicultural students *Professional School Counseling*, 17, 1-19. doi:10.5330/PSC.n.2013-17.1
- Heilman, M. E., Wallen, A. S., Fuchs, D., & Tamkins, M. M. (2004). Penalties for success: Reactions to women who succeed at male gender-typed tasks. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 89, 416-427.
- Holcomb-McCoy, C. (2001). Exploring the self-perceived multicultural counseling competence

- of elementary school counselors. *Professional School Counseling*, 4, 195-201.
- Holcomb-McCoy, C. (2005). Investigating school counselors' perceived multicultural competence. *Professional School Counseling*, 8, 414-423.
- Holcomb-McCoy, C., & Chen-Hayes, S. (2006). Multiculturally competent school counselors: Affirming diversity by challenging oppression. In B. Erford (Ed.), *Transforming the school counseling profession* (pp. 98-120). New York: Merrill/Prentice Hall.
- Holcomb-McCoy, C., Harris, P., Hines, E. M., & Johnson, G. (2008). School counselors' multicultural self-efficacy: A preliminary investigation. *Professional School Counseling*, 11, 166-178.
- Holcomb-McCoy, C., & Myers, J. E. (1999). Multicultural competence and counselor training: A national survey. *Journal of Counseling and Development*, 77, 294-302.
doi:10.1002/j.1556-6676.1999.tb02452.x
- Hope, E. C., Skoog, A. B., & Jagers, R. J. (2014). It'll never be the white kids, it'll always be us: Black high school students' evolving critical analysis of racial discrimination and inequity in schools. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 30, 83-112.
doi:10.1177/0743558414550688
- Horner, S. B., Fireman, G. D., & Wang, E. W. (2010). The relation of student behavior, peer status, race, and gender to decisions about school discipline using CHAID decision trees and regression modeling. *Journal of School Psychology*, 48, 135-161.
- Jackson, T. O., Bryan, M. L. & Larkin, M. L. (2016). An analysis of a white preservice teacher's reflections on race and young children within an urban school content. *Urban Education*, 51, 60-81.
- Jost, J. T., Rudman, L. A., Blair, I. V., Carney, D. R., Dasgupta, N., Glaser, J., & Hardin, C. D.

- (2009). The existence of implicit bias beyond reasonable doubt: A refutation of ideological and methodological objections and executive summary of ten studies that no manager should ignore. *Research in Organizational Behavior*, 29, 39-69.
- Keengwe, J. (2010). Fostering cross cultural competence in preservice teachers through multicultural education experiences. *Early Childhood Education Journal*, 38, 197-204.
- Lacoe, J. R. (2015). Unequally safe: The race gap in school safety. *Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice*, 13, 143-168. doi:10.1177/1541204014532659
- Ladson-Billings, G. (1994). *The dreamkeepers*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishing Co.
- Landsman, J., & Lewis, C. W. (2012). *White teachers/diverse classrooms: Creating inclusive schools, building on students' diversity, and providing true educational equity*. Stylus Publishing, LLC.
- Levy, S. R., Rosenthal, L., & Herrera-Alcazar, A. (2009). Racial and ethnic prejudice among children. In M. Kite & B. E Whitley (3rd ed.): *The Psychology of Prejudice and Discrimination*. New York: Routledge.
- Lewis, C. W., Marlon, J., Hancock, S., & Hill-Jackson, V. (2008). Framing Black students' success and failure in urban settings: A typology for change. *Urban Education*, 43, 127-153.
- Loewus, L. (2017). The nation's teaching force is still mostly white and female. *Education Week*. Retrieved from edweek.org.
- Lopez, N., Patrick, S., & Sturgis, C. (2017). *Quality and equity by design: Charting the course of the next phase of competency-based education*. Retrieved from www.inacol.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/Competencyworks.html
- Mar, D. (2018). Racial diversity and academic test scores in public elementary schools. *Applied*

- Economics Letters*, 25, 768-771. doi:10.1080/13504851.2017.1366632
- Markowitz, L., & Puchner, L. (2014). Racial diversity in the schools: A necessary evil? *Multicultural Perspective*, 16, 72-78. doi:10.1080/15210960.2014.889568
- Merlin, C. (2017). School counselors and multicultural education: Applying the five dimensions. *Journal of School Counseling*, 15(6), 1-31
- Mertens, D. M. (2015). *Research and evaluation in education and psychology* (4th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Minkos, M. L., Sassu, K. A., Gregory, J. L., Patwa, S. S., Theodore, L. A., & Fenc-Bagwell, M. (2017). Culturally responsive practice and the role of school administrators. *Psychology in the Schools*, 54, 1260-1266.
- Miretzky, D., Cheenault, R. E., & Fraynd, D. J. (2013). Closing an opportunity gap: How a modest program made a difference. *Education and Urban Society*, 8, 48-76.
doi:10.1177/0013124513501320
- Mitcham, M., Portman, T. A., & Dean, A. A. (2009). Role of school counselors in creating equitable education opportunities for students with disabilities in urban settings. *Urban Education*, 44, 465-482
- Mueller, H., & O'Connor, C. (2007). Telling and retelling about self and others: How pre-service teachers (re)interpret privilege and disadvantage in one college classroom. *Teaching and Teacher Education: An International Journal of Research and Studies*, 23, 840-856.
doi:10.1016/j.tate.2006.01.011
- Murphy, K.R., Herr, B. M., Lockhart, M. C., & Maguire, E. (1986). Evaluating the performance of paper people. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 71, 654-661
- National Center for Education Statistics. (2017). *Public high school graduation rates*. Retrieved

from nces.ed.gov/programs/coe/indicator_coi.asp.

National Center for Education Statistics. (2018). *Back to school statistics*. Retrieved from nces.ed.gov.

National Educators Association. (2019). *About NEA*. Retrieved from www.nea.org/

Oswald, F. L., Mitchell, G., Blanton, H., Jaccard, J., & Tetlock, P. E. (2017). Predicting ethnic and racial discrimination: A meta-analysis of IAT criterion studies. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 105*, 171-192. doi:10.1037/a0032734

Owen, J., Wettach, J., & Hoffman, K. C. (2015). Instead of suspension: Alternative strategies for effective school discipline. *Education NC*. Retrieved from www.ednc.org/instead-of-suspension-alternative-strategies-for-effective-school-discipline/

Pachter, L. M., Bernstein, B. A., Szalacha, L. A., & Coll, C. G. (2010). Perceived racism and discrimination in children and youths: An exploratory study. *Health and Social Work, 35*, 61-69.

Packer-Williams, C. L., Jay, M. L., & Evans, K. M. (2010). Understanding the contextual factors that influence school counselors' multicultural diversity integration practices. *Journal of School Counseling, 8*, 1-34.

Patten, M. L., & Newhart, M. (2018). *Understanding research methods: An overview of the essentials* (10th ed). New York: Routledge.

Paulhus, D. L. (1991). Measurement and control of response bias. In Robinson, J. P., Shaver, P. R. & Wrightsman, L. E. (Eds), *Measures of personality and social psychological attitudes* (pp. 17-59). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.

Paulhus, D. L. & Reid, D. B. (1991). Enhancement and denial in socially desirable responding. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 60*, 307-317.

- Payne, K., Niemi, L., & Doris, J. M. (2018). How to think about implicit bias. *Scientific American*. Retrieved from www.scientificamerican.com/article/how-to-think-about-implicit-bias/
- Pieterse, A. L., Evans, S. A., Risner-Butner, A., Collins, N. M., & Mason, L. B. (2008). Multicultural competence and social justice training in counseling psychology and counselor education: A review and analysis of a sample of multicultural course syllabi. *The Counseling Psychologist, 37*, 93-115.
- Ready, D. D., & Wright, D. L. (2011). Accuracy and inaccuracy in teachers' perceptions of young children's cognitive abilities: The role of child background and classroom context. *American Educational Research Journal, 48*, 335-360. doi:10.3102/0002831210374874
- Reardon, S. F. (2016). *School segregation and racial academic achievement gaps*. Stanford, CA: Working Paper Series, Center for Education Policy Analysis, Stanford University.
- Reardon, S. F., Fahle, E., Kalogrides, D., Podolsky, A., & Zarate, R. C. (2018). Gender achievement gaps in the U.S. school districts. *Center for Education Policy Analysis*. Retrieved from <https://cepa.stanford.edu/content/gender-achievement-gaps-us-school-districts>
- Rudman, L. A., & Ashmore, R. D. (2007). Discrimination and the implicit association test. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations, 10*, 395-372. doi:10.1177/1368430207078696
- Rumberger, R. W., & Losen, D. J. (2016). The high cost of harsh discipline and its disparate impact. *The Center for Civil Rights Remedies*. Retrieved from files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED566130.pdf
- Saft, E., & Pianta, R. (2001). Teachers' perceptions of their relationships with students: Effects

- of child age, gender, and ethnicity of teachers and children. *School Psychology Quarterly*, 16, 124-141. doi:10.1521/scpq.16.2.125.18698
- Sammons, C. & Speight, S. (2008). A qualitative investigation of graduate-student changes associated with multicultural counseling courses. *Counseling Psychologist*, 36, 814-838.
- Schlosser, E. (2017). *Race, socioeconomic status, and implicit bias: Implications for closing the achievement gap* (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global. (Accession No. 3523989).
- Seaton, E., & Douglass, S. B. (2014). School diversity and racial discrimination among African-American adolescents. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 20, 156-165. doi:10.1037/a0035322
- Sheperis, C. J., Young, J. S., & Daniels, M. H. (2017). *Counseling research: Quantitative, qualitative, and mixed method*. (2nd Ed). Pearson.
- Staats, C., Capatosto, K., Wright, R. A., & Jackson, V. W. (2016). *2016 State of the science: Implicit bias review*. Columbus, OH: Kirwan Institute for the Study of Race and Ethnicity. Retrieved from kirwaninstitute.osu.edu/wpcontent/uploads/2016/07/implicitbias-2016.pdf
- Stahl-Ladbury, J. L. (2012). *School counseling supervision: A qualitative summary from the perspective of school counseling site-supervisor* (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global. (Accession No. 3523989).
- Stanford Education Data Archive. (2019). *Average test scores for all students in the U.S.* Retrieved from <https://edopportunity.org/>
- Stanley, D. A., Sokol-Hessner, P., Banaji, M. R., & Phelps, E. A. (2011). Implicit race attitude

- predicts trustworthiness judgements and economic trust decisions. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, *108*, 7710-7715
- Suttie, J. (2016). Four ways teachers can reduce implicit bias. *The Greater School Science Center*. Retrieved from greatergood.berkeley.edu/article/item/four_ways_teachers_can_reduce_implicit_bias
- Swearer, S., & Hymel, S. (2015). Bullying and discrimination in schools: Exploring variations across student subgroups. *School Psychology Review*, *44*, 504-509. doi:10.17105/15-0133.1
- Templeton, A. R. (2016). Biological races in humans. *Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences*, *44*, 262-271. doi:10.1016/j.schpsc.2013.04.010
- Tenenbaum, H.R., & Ruck, M.D. (2007). Are teachers' expectations different for racial minority than for European American students? A meta-analysis. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, *99*, 253-273.
- Theokas, C., & Saaris, R. (2013). Finding America's missing Ap and IB students. *The Education Trust*. Retrieved from edtrust.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/Missing_Students.pdf
- Tobisch, A., & Dresel, M. (2017). Negatively or positively biased? Dependencies of teachers' judgements and expectations based on students' ethnic and social backgrounds. *Social Psychology of Education*, *20*, 731-752. doi:10.1007/s11218-017-9392-z
- Trent, M., Dooley, D. G., & Douge, J. (2019). The impact of racism on child and adolescent health. *American Academy of Pediatrics*, *144*, 1-16. doi:10.1542/peds.2019-1765
- U.S. Bureau of Labor (2019). *U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics Occupational Outlook Handbook*. Retrieved from <https://www.bls.gov/ooh/education-training>
- U.S. Census. (2018). *Classrooms more racially and ethnically diverse*. Retrieved from

- www.census.gov/newsroom/press-releases/2018/school-enrollment.html.
- U.S. Department of Education. (2018). *Fast facts: Teacher trends*. Retrieved from www2.ed.gov/teachers/landing.jhtml
- Verkasalo, M. & Lindeman, M. (1994). Personal ideals and socially desirable responding. *European Journal of Personality*, 8, 358-393.
- Vervaet, R., Van Houtte, M., & Stevens, P. A. (2018). Multicultural school leadership, multicultural teacher culture, and the ethnic prejudice of Flemish pupils. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 76, 68-77. doi:10.1016/j.tate.2018.08.009
- Walzer, A. (2019). *An experimental vignette study of school psychology student's attitudes towards transgender youth*. (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global. (Accession No. 2289586450).
- Watt, S., Simpson, C., McKillop, C., and Nunn, V. (2002). Electronic course surveys: does automating feedback and reporting give better results? *Assessment & Evaluation in Higher Education* 27, 325-337.
- West-Olatunji, C., Goodman, R. D., & Shure, L. (2011). Use of multicultural supervision with school counselors to enhance cultural competence. *Journal of School Counseling*, 9, 16.
- Williams, J. & Glass, T. S. (2019). Teacher education and multicultural courses in North Carolina. *Journal for Multicultural Education*, 13, 155-168.
- Wright, A. C. (2015). Teachers' perceptions of students' disruptive behavior: The effect of racial congruence and consequences for school suspension. [Unpublished manuscript] Santa Barbara, CA: University of California Department of Economics. Available from <https://aefpweb.org/sites/default/files/webform/41/Race%20Match,%20Disruptive%20Behavior,%20and%20School%20Suspension.pdf>

Appendix A: Vignettes

Directions: Please read the scenario below and answer the questions.

Vignette 1

Jamie, a 14-year old Black male is a Freshman student at your high school. Some of your co-workers are concerned with his academic performance and classroom behavior. In his core courses, he usually earns C's. This semester, he is passing math, but currently failing English. He does well his elective courses, and is making A's in Visual Art and Band. You have some knowledge of his home life and are aware that Jamie comes from a single-parent home. His dad works 12 hours a day, leaving little time to help Jamie with schoolwork. Jamie is mostly home with his siblings after school. Jamie has two older brothers: one who has graduated high school and currently attends community college, and one who unenrolled from high school in the 11th grade. He also has a younger sister currently enrolled in middle school. Jamie's retired neighbor often checks in on him and his sister to help with any school work. He has missed a lot of school, and when he is at school, he tends to be disruptive in the classroom. As it stands now, Jamie is in danger of failing his 9th grade English course.

Vignette 2

Jamie, a 14-year old White male is a Freshman student at your high school. Some of your co-workers are concerned with his academic performance and classroom behavior. In his core courses, he usually earns C's. This semester, he is passing math, but currently failing English. He does well his elective courses, and is making A's in Visual Art and Band. You have some knowledge of his home life and are aware that Jamie comes from a single-parent home. His dad works 12 hours a day, leaving little time to help Jamie with schoolwork. Jamie is mostly home

with his siblings after school. Jamie has two older brothers: one who has graduated high school and currently attends community college, and one who unenrolled from high school in the 11th grade. He also has a younger sister currently enrolled in middle school. Jamie's retired neighbor often checks in on him and his sister to help with any school work. He has missed a lot of school, and when he is at school, he tends to be disruptive in the classroom. As it stands now, Jamie is in danger of failing his 9th grade English course.

Vignette 3

Jamie, a 14-year old Hispanic male is a Freshman student at your high school. Some of your co-workers are concerned with his academic performance and classroom behavior. In his core courses, he usually earns C's. This semester, he is passing math, but currently failing English. He does well his elective courses, and is making A's in Visual Art and Band. You have some knowledge of his home life and are aware that Jamie comes from a single-parent home. His dad works 12 hours a day, leaving little time to help Jamie with schoolwork. Jamie is mostly home with his siblings after school. Jamie has two older brothers: one who has graduated high school and currently attends community college, and one who unenrolled from high school in the 11th grade. He also has a younger sister currently enrolled in middle school. Jamie's retired neighbor often checks in on him and his sister to help with any school work. He has missed a lot of school, and when he is at school, he tends to be disruptive in the classroom. As it stands now, Jamie is in danger of failing his 9th grade English course.

Appendix B: Student Academic Expectations

Using the scale provided below, please indicate your level of agreement with the following statements.

1 2 3 4 5 6
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Slightly Disagree Slightly Agree Agree Strongly
 Agree

1. Jamie is likely to have a large social circle of friends.	1	2	3	4	5	6
2. Jamie is likely to be recommended for advanced course work. (definition of Advanced coursework).	1	2	3	4	5	6
3. Jamie is likely in a band (unaffiliated with school).	1	2	3	4	5	6
4. Jamie is likely to graduate high school.	1	2	3	4	5	6
3. Jamie is likely to have a significant other.	1	2	3	4	5	6
4. Jamie is likely to earn a passing grade on his final end of year English test.	1	2	3	4	5	6
5. Jamie is likely to play a recreational sport.	1	2	3	4	5	6
6. Jamie is likely to receive a discipline referral for misbehavior from a teacher this year.	1	2	3	4	5	6
7. Jamie is likely to attend a school dance.	1	2	3	4	5	6
8. Jamie is likely to complete his assignments on time.	1	2	3	4	5	6
9. Jamie is likely to play video games.	1	2	3	4	5	6
10. Jamie is likely to earn a G.P.A above 2.0 by the end of his 9th-grade year.	1	2	3	4	5	6
11. Jamie is likely to have an after-school job.	1	2	3	4	5	6
12. Jamie is likely to earn enough credits to be promoted (not retained) to the 10th grade.	1	2	3	4	5	6
13. Jamie is likely to eat dinner at home every night.	1	2	3	4	5	6
14. Jamie is likely to participate actively in classroom discussions.	1	2	3	4	5	6
15. What is informing your decision on the previous statements?						

Appendix C: Demographic Questions

Please answer the following questions to the best of your ability.

1. What is your primary role in the school building?
 - School Counselor
 - Teacher

2. How many years of experience do you have working in K-12 schools?
 - 0-4 Years
 - 5-9 Years
 - 10-14 Years
 - 15-19 Years
 - More than 20 years

3. What is your self-identified gender?
 - Female
 - Male
 - Non-binary
 - Transgender
 - Other

4. What type of school do you work in?
 - Rural
 - Suburban
 - Urban

5. What is your age?
 - 18-28 years of age
 - 29-38 years of age
 - 39-48 years of age
 - 49-58 years of age
 - 59-68 years of age
 - More than 68 years of age

6. Please use the dropdown box to select which state you currently work in.

7. What is your highest degree earned?
 - Bachelor's degree
 - Master's degree
 - Specialist Degree
 - Doctoral degree
 - Other

8. Please use the dropdown box to select what content area the degree was earned.
9. Did you take any multicultural education courses in your college program?
 - Yes
 - No
10. If answered “Yes” to number 9, how many?
11. If you answered “Yes” to number 9, what were the course titles?
12. Was multiculturalism infused in your undergraduate program curriculum?
 - Yes
 - No
 - Unsure
13. Was multiculturalism infused in your Master’s program curriculum?
 - Yes
 - No
 - Unsure
 - Not applicable
14. Have you ever had any professional development on multiculturalism?
 - Yes
 - No
14. If you answered “Yes” to number 11, how many?
15. If you answered “Yes” to number 11, what was the name or topic of the multicultural
16. Using the scale below, approximately what percentage of the students at your school identify as White?
17. Using the scale below, approximately what percentage of the students at your school identify as Black?
18. Using the scale below, approximately what percentage of the students at your school identify as Hispanic?

Appendix D: Pre-Pilot Study Feedback

Instructions: If you are willing to help, you just need to click on the link below. Once you begin the survey, please check for readability, grammar, spelling, or any questions that might confuse you along the way. If it is easiest for you, you can just type up any of the concerns in a reply email. If you would also include a sentence or two about what you think the survey is measuring, that would be great. The survey will take about 5-10 minutes to complete, however, you may spend more time providing feedback on the survey itself.

Pre-Pilot Participants: Master-level school counseling students ($N = 5$).

1. 6 minutes and 18 seconds
2. 10 minutes and 41 seconds
3. 14 minutes and 13 seconds
4. 12 minutes and 7 seconds
5. 9 minutes and 28 seconds

The average completion time was 11 minutes and 5 seconds.

Feedback: Feedback from the pre-pilot participants ($N = 5$) included suggestions for grammar and spelling errors. Some suggest that the purpose of the study was to examine the impact of multicultural education and/or training on student expectations.

Appendix E: Pilot Study Feedback

Instructions: If you are willing to help, you just need to click on the link below. Once you begin the survey, please check for readability, grammar, spelling, or any questions that might confuse you along the way. If it is easiest for you, you can just type up any of the concerns in a reply email. If you would also include a sentence or two about what you think the survey is measuring, that would be great. The survey will take about 5-10 minutes to complete, however, you may spend more time providing feedback on the survey itself.

Pilot Participants: High school counselors or teachers ($N = 7$)

1. 6 minutes and 05 seconds
2. 5 minutes and 56 seconds
3. 10 minutes and 41 seconds
4. 9 minutes and 25 seconds
5. 12 minutes and 35 seconds
6. 7 minutes and 33 seconds
7. 9 minutes and 16 seconds

The average completion time was 9 minutes and 16 seconds.

Feedback: The academic expectation questions did not pose any confusion for the pilot participants. One participant did mention the use of “final exam” as her school called them End of Year or End of Grade tests, but final exam seemed to be more neutral to counselors and teachers across the country.

Appendix F: Newsletter to Potential Participants

[Recruitment for School Counselors]

Dear School Counselors,

We are excited to provide you with the opportunity to contribute to the growing field of school counseling. This dissertation study is spearheaded by Rachel Saunders, a doctoral student at UNC Charlotte, with the support of Dr. Merlin-Knoblich as her dissertation chair.

The purpose of this study is to explore students' abilities to succeed both academically and socially. The results of the study will be used to help school counselors create a comprehensive school counseling program that promotes success for all students.

You are eligible to participate in this study if you: (a) a professional high school counselor working in the school setting. As a thank you, participants have the chance to enter a random drawing to win one of five \$20 Amazon gift cards.

Listed below is the link to the survey. The survey should take 5-10 minutes to complete.

{Enter survey link}

This study has been approved by the UNC Charlotte IRB (uncc-irb@uncc.edu), IRB# 19-0463.

Thank you for considering to participate.

Sincerely,

Rachel Saunders, Doctoral Student (rsaund13@uncc.edu) &

Dr. Merlin-Knoblich, Assistant Professor of Counseling at UNC Charlotte (cmerlin1@uncc.edu)

[Recruitment for Teachers]

Dear Teachers,

We are excited to provide you with the opportunity to contribute to the growing field of teaching. This dissertation study is being spearheaded by Rachel Saunders, a doctoral student at UNC Charlotte, with the support of Dr. Merlin-Knoblich as her dissertation chair.

The purpose of this study is to explore students' abilities to succeed both academically and socially. The results of the study will be used to help teachers create an educational program that promotes success for all students.

You are eligible to participate in this study if you: (a) a licensed high school teacher working in the school setting. As a thank you, participants have the chance to enter into a random drawing to win one of five \$20 Amazon gift cards.

Listed below is the link to the survey. The survey should take 5-10 minutes to complete.

{Enter survey link}

This study has been approved by the UNC Charlotte IRB (uncc-irb@uncc.edu), IRB# 19-0463.

Thank you for considering to participate.

Sincerely,

Rachel Saunders, Doctoral Student (rsaund13@uncc.edu) &

Dr. Merlin-Knoblich, Assistant Professor of Counseling at UNC Charlotte (cmerlin1@uncc.edu)

Appendix G: Social Media Posting to Potential Participants

Dear School Counselors and Teachers,

Are you interested in winning a \$20 Amazon gift card?

We are excited to provide you with the opportunity to contribute to the growing field of school counseling. This dissertation study is being spearheaded by Rachel Saunders, a doctoral student at UNC Charlotte, with the support of Dr. Merlin-Knoblich as her dissertation chair.

The purpose of this study is to explore students' abilities to succeed both academically and socially. The results of the study will be used to help school counselors create a comprehensive school counseling program that promotes success for all students.

You are eligible to participate in this study if you: (a) a professional high school counselor working in the school setting. As a thank you, participants have the chance to enter a random drawing to win one of five \$20 Amazon gift cards.

Listed below is the link to the survey. The survey should take 5-10 minutes to complete.

{Enter survey link}

This study has been approved by the UNC Charlotte IRB (uncc-irb@uncc.edu), IRB# 19-0463.

Thank you for considering to participate.

Sincerely,

Rachel Saunders, Doctoral Student (rsaund13@uncc.edu) &

Dr. Merlin-Knoblich, Assistant Professor of Counseling at UNC Charlotte (cmerlin1@uncc.edu)

Appendix H: Informed Consent

Title: Investigating Academic and Social Abilities of Students in the High School Setting.
Principal Investigator: Rachel Saunders, M.A., NCC, Doctoral Student at UNC Charlotte.
Faculty Advisor: Dr. Clare Merlin, Assistant Professor at UNC Charlotte
IRB Number: 19-0463

You are invited to participate in a research study. Participation in this research study is voluntary. The information provided is to help you decide whether or not to participate. If you have any questions, please ask.

Important Information You Need to Know

Key information:

1. The project is a research study that examines a high school student's ability to achieve academically and socially. Participant in this research study is voluntary and you may withdraw at any time.
2. Participation will require completion of a 5-10-minute survey that is anonymous and does not require identifying information or names.
3. There are no major known risks for your participation in this study. However, the project may involve risks that are not currently known.
4. Although there is no direct benefit to you as a participant, you will have the opportunity to enter your name and email address into a random drawing for one of five Amazon Gift Cards (\$20 each).
5. After this study is complete, study data may be shared with other researchers for use in other studies without asking for your consent again or as may be needed as part of publishing our results. The data we share will NOT include information that could identify you.

Please read this form and ask any questions you may have before you decide whether to participate in this research study.

Why are we doing this study?

The purpose of the research project is to explore a student's perceived ability to achieve academically and socially. Specifically, participants will read a made-up vignette about a high school student and his academic and social challenges.

Why are you being asked to be in this research study?

You are being asked to be in this study because you are either (a) a professionally licensed high school counselor currently working in the school setting or (b) a licensed high school teacher currently working in the school setting.

What will happen if I take part in this study?

You will be asked to complete an online survey that will take approximately 5 to 10 minutes to complete. Upon completion of the survey, you will have the opportunity to enter your name into a random drawing to win one of five Amazon gift cards (\$20 each).

What benefits and risks might I experience?

There are no major known risks for your participation in this study. However, the project may involve risks that are not currently known. Other than the possibility of minimal discomfort related to survey questions, there are no other psychological, academic, economic, or legal risks associated with participating in this study.

What other choices do I have if I don't take part in this study?

You are a volunteer. The decision to participate in this study is completely up to you. If you decide to be in the study, you may stop at any time. You will not be treated any differently if you decide not to participate in the study or if you stop once you have started.

How will my information be protected?

All survey data collected will be managed by the primary researcher (Rachel Saunders). No identifying information such as name, title, address, or phone number will be asked of you. If you choose to enter your name into the drawing to win one of five Amazon Gift Cards, you will be asked to supply this information in a separate survey link not associated with the survey data and results.

Who can answer my questions about this study and my rights as a participant?

UNC Charlotte wants to make sure that you are treated in a fair and respectful manner. Contact the University's Research Compliance Office (704)-687-1871 if you have questions about how you are treated as a study participant (IRB # 19-0463). If you have any questions about the actual project or study, please contact Rachel Saunders (rsaund13@uncc.edu) or Dr. Clare Merlin (cmerlin1@uncc.edu).

Consent to Participate

I have read the information in this consent form. I have had the chance to ask questions about this study, and those questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I am at least 18 years of age, and I agree to participate in this research project. I understand that I can print a copy of this form.

To ensure confidentiality and anonymity, your electronic signature is not required. By clicking "I Accept", you are agreeing to participate and the screen will continue to the survey.

If you have agreed to participate in this research project, please click on the "I Accept" button to begin the survey.

If you have chosen not to participate in the survey, please select the "I Do Not Accept" button to end the survey.

Sincerely,

Rachel Saunders
Doctoral Student
(rsaund13@uncc.edu)

Dr. Clare Merlin
Assistant Professor of Counseling
(cmerlin1@uncc.edu)

- I Accept
- I Do Not Accept