

Examining the Racial Attitudes of White PreK-12 Educators

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Abstract

As the racial/ethnic makeup of the US student population becomes increasingly diverse, the teaching force has remained primarily White. Given this mismatch, and the consequences that educators' racial attitudes have for students' academic and developmental outcomes, it is important to understand the racial attitudes of White educators and how those attitudes differ from those of racially minoritized Americans. Using nationally-representative data from 1975-2016, we find that compared to racially minoritized respondents, White educators are less supportive of government equalizing efforts, hold more negative racial stereotypes of African Americans, and express more social distance from minoritized groups. Through future research, we must develop a greater understanding of how these attitudes manifest in the classroom to affect students, and how problematic attitudes of educators can be improved.

Key words: racial attitudes; teacher attitudes; teacher beliefs; racial stereotypes; General Social Survey

Examining the Racial Attitudes of White PreK-12 Educators

As the racial/ethnic makeup of the US student population becomes increasingly diverse, the teaching force has remained primarily White. In 2012, 82% of public school teachers were non-Hispanic White, compared to 51% of students (US Department of Education, 2016). This discrepancy between the racial/ethnic makeup of the student and teacher populations raises concerns for several reasons. First, racial mismatch of students and teachers can have adverse effects on the educational outcomes of students of color (Dee, 2005; Egalite, Kisida, & Winters, 2015; Gershenson, Hart, Lindsay, & Papageorge, 2017; Lindsay & Hart, 2017). Second, many White teachers are uncomfortable acknowledging or discussing race and racism (Pollock, 2004), and are unaware of their own biases and stereotypes (Warikoo, Sinclair, Fei, & Jacoby-Senghor, 2016). This is especially troublesome under the present sociopolitical conditions: When incidents of racial harassment spiked in the wake of the 2016 presidential election, K-12 schools were the most common location for episodes to occur (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2016 & 2017). Students are coming to school with issues on their minds such as the empowerment of White supremacists, disproportionate use of police force, and the President's denigration of immigrants of color. Teachers must have the comfort and skill required to address these issues appropriately. Finally, student/teacher racial mismatch raises concerns because White teachers are particularly prone to committing racial microaggressions, which can negatively impact students of color (Sue, Lin, Torino, Capodilupo, & Rivera, 2009; Sue, Torino, Capodilupo, Rivera & Lin, 2009).

Within this context, it is important for us to understand the racial attitudes of White educators, given that attitudes affect words and deeds (Fazio, 2001; Wilson, Lindsey, & Schooler, 2000). Additionally, we should understand how White educators' racial attitudes may

differ from those of racially minoritized¹ populations they serve. Such racial divisions contribute to the reproduction of current forms of social organization and inequalities (Bobo, Charles, Krysan, & Simmons, 2012; Massey, 2007). Furthermore, group differences in attitudes reveal information about the identities and assumptions that people carry with them into all social interactions (Bobo et al., 2012), including those taking place in schools.

Past research shows that White Americans overall tend to hold less progressive racial attitudes compared to Americans from minoritized groups (Bobo, et al., 2012). On the other hand, the average educator holds more positive racial attitudes compared to the average non-educator (Quinn, 2017). The nature of White educators' racial attitudes, and how they differ from those of minoritized Americans, is less clear. In this study, we use nationally-representative data spanning over 40 years from the General Social Survey (GSS) to investigate several dimensions of White educators' racial attitudes, how they may be changing over time, and how they may differ from the racial attitudes held by people of color.

Background

“Racial attitudes” are the beliefs, stereotypes, and affective orientations that people hold regarding different racial groups (Bobo et al., 2012). While racial beliefs are propositions that one accepts to be true, stereotypes can be thought of as the “cognitive component of prejudiced attitudes” (Devine, 1989, p5). That is, someone might have knowledge of a particular stereotype without personally endorsing it. Affective orientation refers to one's feeling of closeness or distance toward members of a group (Bobo et al., 2012). As discussed in the remainder of this section, these dimensions of White educators' racial attitudes – and how they compare to the attitudes of racially minoritized Americans – are important to understand for several reasons.

To begin with, a description of such attitude differences is important if we are to understand the context in which racially minoritized students are being educated, and into which new education policies are being introduced. Such exploratory research calls attention to basic facts that should be considered by practitioners and policymakers as they go about their work (Dewey, 1929). Descriptive findings can also spark new hypotheses and questions for future investigation, ultimately leading to research designs that support causal inferences about effective ways to pursue racial equity in education. Racial attitude differences between White educators and minoritized adult Americans are (a) directly relevant to White teachers' interactions with students' families, and (b) indirectly relevant to White teachers' interaction with students, given the established relationship between parents' and children's racial attitudes (Aboud & Doyle, 1996; Degner and Dalege, 2013). In particular, racial attitude differences between White educators and minoritized populations: 1) may directly or indirectly contribute to student/teacher racial mismatch effects, 2) are relevant to how racial conversations or issues play out in school settings, and 3) provide context for understanding racial microaggressions in the classroom. Next, we provide a brief overview of the research on these three topics in order to motivate our descriptive analyses of racial attitudes.

Student/Teacher Racial Mismatch

The adverse effects of student/teacher racial mismatch for students of color have been well-documented (e.g., Dee, 2005; Egalite et al., 2015; Gershenson, et al., 2017; Lindsay & Hart, 2017; Penney, 2017; Yarnell & Bohrnstedt, 2017). Black students score higher on standardized tests when they are taught by Black teachers (Dee, 2005), and importantly, racial mismatch effects are long-lasting. Black males who are taught by a Black male teacher in elementary school have a reduced probability of dropping out of high school and increased college

aspirations (Gershenson et al., 2017). Some of these effects may be mediated by the lower expectations that White teachers hold of Black students (Papageorge, Gershenson, & Kang, 2016),

Racial mismatch also affects disciplinary outcomes. When taught by Black teachers, Black students receive fewer office referrals and suspensions, compared to when they are taught by White teachers (Lindsay & Hart, 2017). Furthermore, in a nationally-representative sample, White teachers were more likely than Black teachers to rate Black students as being disruptive or argumentative (Bates & Glick, 2013; Wright, 2015). Black and Latino students being evaluated by White teachers had lower odds of being rated as attentive compared to White students (McGrady & Reynolds, 2012). These findings raise questions about the racial attitudes of White teachers that may contribute to these effects.

Racial Issues and Classroom Conversations

Educators' racial attitudes also have implications for conversations about race in the classroom. Conversations about race must involve interrogating, and reflecting on, common racial stereotypes (Carter, Skiba, Arrendondo & Pollock, 2017). However, White teachers are often uncomfortable discussing, or even acknowledging, race (Pollock, 2004), and often do not know how to respond when students ask questions about race (Chang & Conrad, 2008). Fear of appearing prejudiced or of disclosing racially biased beliefs can affect a White educator's ability to engage in dialogues around race in the classroom, with detrimental effects for students of color (Sue, Lin, et al., 2009; Sue, Torino, et al., 2009). White teachers' lack of comfort discussing racial issues can stem from the extent to which their racial attitudes differ from those of their minoritized students and students' families (Priest, Walton, White, Kowal, & Paradies,

2016). As in other settings, classroom discussion on race is often shaped by the perceptions and attitudes of those in power – in this case, the White teacher (Chang & Conrad, 2008).

Racial Microaggressions

The literature on racial microaggressions is useful for understanding the more subtle ways in which White teachers' racial attitudes can manifest with meaningful effects for students of color. Microaggressions have been defined as “brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioral and environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights and insults to the target person or group” (Sue et al., 2007, p. 273). Microaggressions can take many forms, and can stem from any one of the three dimensions of racial attitudes named above. An education-specific example from the stereotype dimension would be a White teacher expressing surprise upon learning that a Black student scored in the “Advanced” category on the state test. In the “racial beliefs” dimension, an educator who believes that racial discrimination is not a serious problem in modern America is liable to express “microinvalidations,” such as responding to a student’s concern about a racial slight by telling the student that he or she is being overly sensitive (Sue et al., 2007). Finally, when educators feel a negative affective orientation toward members of a racial group, these feelings can reveal themselves through nonverbal “microinsults,” such as when a White teacher fails to acknowledge, or make eye contact with, a student of color (Sue et al., 2007).

White teachers' racial attitudes are not only relevant to whether they themselves commit microaggressions, but also to whether they recognize and address microaggressions that are committed by other students or that are communicated through curricular materials. Whether they come from teachers, classmates, or curricula, microaggressions can create a hostile and invalidating learning environment for students (Solorzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000).

Why White Educators' Racial Attitudes Matter

The three dimensions of White educators' racial attitudes introduced above are of interest in part due to research suggesting a connection between these dimensions and mechanisms that may lead to student/teacher racial mismatch effects. In this section, we provide an overview of the research providing the theoretical basis for connecting teachers' attitudes to students' racialized experiences and educational outcomes.

Racial beliefs. Racial beliefs can be divided into three categories: 1) racial principles, or beliefs about how race relations and speech should be governed, 2) beliefs about how social inequalities by race can be explained, and 3) beliefs about policies aimed at equalizing opportunities across racial lines (Bobo et al., 2012). Each category has unique relevance for racial mismatch effects.

Clearly, White educators who hold explicitly racist beliefs are liable to discriminate against students of color. Discrimination can come in the form of withholding access to educational resources, biased grading or evaluation practices, or prejudicial disciplinary practices (Farkas, 2003). Secondly, White teachers who believe that disparities in social outcomes by race are due to inherent racial differences (in intelligence, motivation, etc.) will be less likely to invest effort in educating minoritized students; in contrast, educators who believe that social inequalities by race result from unequal access to education are more likely to be motivated to provide high quality education to students from disadvantaged groups.

White educators' beliefs about government equalizing efforts (such as affirmative action policies) may reflect the extent to which they value efforts to overcome inequities, and the extent to which they believe inequities are due to malleable social structures (as opposed to inherent racial differences). Additionally, voicing opposition to such initiatives can operate as racial

microaggressions in the classroom. For example, a White teacher expressing that “the most qualified person should get the job, regardless of race” can send the message to minoritized students that he or she believes that people of color are less qualified than Whites (Sue et al., 2007; Sue et al., 2009). Similarly, a White teacher’s claim that reverse discrimination exists can be an example of the “denial of racial reality” category of microaggression (Sue et al., 2009). The commission of microaggressions such as these can create an unwelcoming environment for minoritized students that is un conducive to learning.

Racial stereotypes. Common racial stereotypes relate to how intelligent or unintelligent, hardworking or lazy, and violent or nonviolent members from different racial groups tend to be. Stereotypes held by White teachers regarding intelligence and motivation can affect students of color through mechanisms such as teacher expectancy effects and stereotype threat. Stereotypes held by White teachers regarding other groups’ proclivities toward violence have implications for racial disparities in school discipline.

One pathway through which White educators’ intelligence- and motivation-related stereotypes can affect minoritized students’ learning is that of the expectations they hold for these students (Farkas, 2003; McKown & Weinstein, 2003). Teachers often communicate their expectations in subtle ways, such as through body language or the length of wait time they give students for answering questions (Babad, 1993; Babad, Bernieri, & Rosenthal, 1991). Students pick up on these cues (Babad et al., 1991), which can affect their mood, attention, motivation, effort level, and self-concept, impacting their performance and learning (McKown & Weinstein, 2003; Wheeler & Petty, 2001).

Stereotypes held by White teachers regarding other groups’ proclivities toward violence have implications for racial disparities in school discipline. Teachers will be more likely to

interpret minoritized students' behaviors as threatening and hence to discipline them (Ferguson, 2000). Racially disproportionate discipline is a concern because suspensions and expulsions contribute to racial achievement gaps through missed school days, and because frequent discipline can disinvest students from school more generally (Gregory, Skiba, & Noguera, 2010). Furthermore, some evidence suggests that disconnection from school may increase students' risk of breaking the law, and that school suspensions may actually increase, rather than decrease, the risk of antisocial behavior (Hemphill, Toumbourou, Herrenkohl, McMorris, & Catalano, 2006).

Affective Orientation. Affective orientation can refer to how close one feels toward members of other racial groups, one's comfort or interest in social contact across races, or one's resentments toward racial groups (Bobo et al., 2012). White educators' affective orientations toward minoritized groups are important because teachers who lack feelings of warmth toward students of color can behave anxiously and uncomfortably around them and their families. Such cues are often detectable (Dovidio, Kawakami, & Gaertner, 2002), and thus have the potential to communicate a lack of interest or confidence in students (Babad, 1993). As such, White educators' affective orientations toward different groups may contribute to teacher/student mismatch effects through mechanisms such as expectancy effects, stereotype threat triggers, and other microaggressions.

Research on Racial Attitudes

Research shows improvement over time in Americans' racial attitudes, though White Americans tend to hold less progressive attitudes compared to Black Americans (Bobo et al., 2012). In the area of racial beliefs, early public opinion studies showed that Americans increasingly expressed support for integrationist views from the mid-1950s through the late 70s (Bobo et al., 2012). Research from the GSS showed that from the early 1970s through the

2000s, White Americans became less inclined to support a homeowner's right to discriminate in home sales. In 1974, approximately 65% of White respondents supported this right, and this decreased to 28% by 2008. Support was lower among Black Americans, of whom approximately 10% supported a homeowner's right to discriminate (Bobo et al., 2012).

In the area of racial stereotypes, GSS data show that the majority of White respondents in 1990 believed that White Americans were more hardworking and more intelligent than Black Americans (approximately 65% and 60%, respectively; Bobo et al., 2012). These negative stereotypes declined during the 90s and remained relatively stable through the 2000s. In 2008, a nontrivial minority of Whites expressed these stereotypes (approximately 40% and 25%, respectively; Bobo et al., 2012).

In recent years, each surveyed subgroup (White, Asian, Hispanic, Black) was more likely to rate Black and Hispanic Americans as lazier than White and Asian Americans. However, Black and Hispanic respondents were less likely than White and Asian respondents to rate Black and Hispanic people as lazy. White and Asian respondents were more likely than Black and Hispanic respondents to believe that Black and Hispanic people were less intelligent than White or Asian people. Hispanic respondents were more likely to rate Black people as less intelligent than Hispanic people, and Black respondents were more likely to rate Hispanic people as less intelligent than Black people (Wodtke, 2012).

While many White Americans show socioemotional distance from African Americans, attitudes have nevertheless improved over time (Bobo et al., 2012). On the 2008 GSS, approximately 20% of White respondents were opposed to living in a neighborhood where half of their neighbors were Black (down from 47% in 1990), while less than 10% of Black respondents were opposed to living in a neighborhood that was half White (which had changed

little over the preceding ten years; Bobo et al., 2012). In 2000, the GSS surveyed respondents on the desired racial/ethnic make-up of their neighborhoods in more detail. While all groups showed some level of preference for their in-group, White respondents were relatively more likely to prefer their in-group. Approximately 20% preferred no Black neighbors, and 33% preferred no Hispanic or Asian neighbors. In contrast, approximately 10% of Black respondents preferred a neighborhood with no White neighbors, but 40% preferred no Hispanic or Asian neighbors (Bobo et al., 2012).

Educators' racial attitudes. In previous work (Quinn, 2017), the first author of this article used the GSS to compare the racial attitudes of preK-12 and postsecondary educators to the attitudes of the general population of non-educators. These results showed that although educators were not free of worrisome racial attitudes, their racial attitudes were more positive - or less negative - compared to the average American's in each attitude dimension. For example, PreK-12 educators were less likely to explain existing Black/White inequalities in income by a lack of motivation or inborn ability to learn on the part of Black Americans, were less likely than the general public to hold stereotypes of African Americans as lazy or violent, and more willing to live in a neighborhood with a high percentage of Black or Hispanic residents. These results suggested that on average, students may be more likely to encounter more positive (or less negative) racial attitudes in school compared to out of school.

Most of the observed attitude differences between PreK-12 educators and the general public were explained by education level. People with a bachelor's degree or above tend to report less negative racial attitudes (compared to those without a bachelor's degree), and educators are more likely than the average American to hold a bachelor's degree. Consequently, students whose caregivers hold less than a bachelor's degree may be more likely to encounter

more positive/less negative racial attitudes from adults in schools compared to in the home, while students whose caregivers hold a bachelor's degree or higher may be more likely to encounter similar racial attitudes in school and at home. However, this result could mask important variation by race. These analyses did not address the question of how the racial attitudes encountered in school may differ from those encountered at home for a student from a minoritized background whose teacher is White. These racial attitude comparisons are the ones that are most relevant to student/teacher racial mismatch effects, and are the comparisons we make in the present study.

Summary and Research Questions

Given the racial mismatch among educators and students in the United States, it is important to understand the racial attitudes of White educators and how those attitudes differ from those held by minoritized Americans. Incongruent racial attitudes across racial lines between educators and students can affect student/teacher relationships, classroom conversations about race and racism, and ultimately may affect student learning outcomes. While previous research has shown that educators overall hold more positive or less negative racial attitudes compared to the general public, the extent to which White teachers' attitudes may differ from those held by minoritized Americans is unknown. In the present study, we address this gap in the literature by using nationally-representative data from the General Social Survey to examine the following research questions:

RQ1) What are the racial attitudes of White preK-12 educators in the United States? How do their attitudes differ from those of the general population of minoritized Americans?

RQ2) What are the racial attitude trends over time, and do trends differ for White educators and minoritized respondents?

RQ3) To what extent do background characteristics explain White educator/minoritized respondent differences in attitudes or attitude trends?²

Methods

Data

To assess the racial attitudes of White preK-12 educators and the general population of racially minoritized Americans, we use data from the General Social Survey (GSS; Smith, Harden, & Hout, 2015), which regularly interviews nationally-representative U.S. samples of non-institutionalized adults. We use all available years of data (up to 2016) from the cross-sectional cumulative data file from the GSS, which excludes the panel respondents (i.e., each year of data is comprised of an independent random sample). The GSS collects information on respondents' occupations, allowing us to identify preK-12 educators. We include teachers and administrators, given that both interact with students (see online Appendix A for detail on occupation codes and data). We use only data from English-speaking White educators and minoritized respondents (across survey years, the GSS used the racial categories of White, Black, and "other").³

Outcomes. We examined responses on 33 surveys items from the GSS related to racial attitudes, and we include data from each year that the item was administered with consistent wording. The GSS removes and introduces items over time, resulting in variation in the survey years for each item. We organized the items into the three attitude dimensions described above (beliefs, stereotypes, and affective orientation). These dimensions were inspired by Bobo and colleagues' (2012) classifications for the GSS items (except that we consolidated some of these authors' seven categories into the broader "beliefs" and "affective orientation" categories).

We derive stereotype difference measures by subtracting respondents' ratings of White Americans on each dimension from their rating ratings of Black, Asian, or Hispanic Americans on the dimension. That is, this outcome expresses the extent to which respondents rated each minoritized group differently from Whites. We operationalize stereotypes in this way because White teachers may respond neutrally toward minoritized students while responding positively toward White students; this difference would likely have consequences for minoritized students, but would be missed if we considered White teachers' ratings of minoritized students in isolation. The original stereotype items used a 7-point scale on which one extreme indicates that the respondent believed that "almost all" people in a given group have a particular trait (e.g., hardworking), while the other extreme indicates that the respondent believed that "almost all" members of the group have the opposite trait (e.g. lazy), with 4 being neutral (for descriptive statistics on the original stereotype scales and all other outcomes, see online Appendix B).

Analytic Plan

RQs 1 and 2. To answer research questions 1 and 2 for the various non-binary outcomes, we begin by fitting a weighted least squares model (applying sampling weights), using only data from White preK-12 educators and minoritized respondents of all occupations (in Appendix C, we compare White preK-12 educators' attitudes to those of all other White respondents and find mean differences on the majority of items). For items that specifically ask about Black issues (e.g., stereotypes about African Americans), we use only data from Black respondents for the group of minoritized respondents; for items that ask specifically about Asian or Hispanic issues, we remove Black respondents from the sample (comparing White educators to the "other race" respondents, as the data do not allow us to distinguish between Asian and

Hispanic respondents). For items that do not reference a specific racial group, we include all minoritized respondents.

Following Quinn (2017), we begin by fitting models of the form:

$$Y_i = \alpha + \pi(PK12_i) + \Sigma\beta_j(PK12_i \times YEAR_i) + \Sigma\gamma_jYEAR_i + \epsilon_i \quad (1)$$

where $PK12_i$ is a binary indicator for whether person i is a (White) preK-12 educator (versus a minoritized respondent of any occupation), $\Sigma\gamma_jYEAR_i$ is a vector of survey year fixed effects (with the first included year of administration as the omitted year), and $(PK12_i \times YEAR_i)$ is a vector of interactions between the each of the $YEAR$ indicators and the $PK12$ indicator. With these interactions, we test whether attitude trends differ between the general population of minoritized respondents and White preK-12 educators (RQ2b). Specifically, we test whether the coefficients for $(PK12_i \times YEAR_i)$ are jointly zero and whether the attitude difference in the first survey year differs from that in the final survey year. If we reject the null on both tests (at $\alpha = .05$), we report trends separately by subgroup. If we fail to reject the null on these tests, we reduce to the more parsimonious model:

$$Y_i = \alpha + \pi(PK12_i) + \Sigma\gamma_jYEAR_i + \epsilon_i \quad (2)$$

In order to document attitude trends over time (RQ2a), we obtain model-predicted outcome values for minoritized respondents in the base year and test the significance of the difference between this value in the base compared to the final survey year.⁴

For binary outcomes, we use logistic regression to model the probability that person i responded affirmatively ($1=Y$, $0=N$) to survey item Y (applying sampling weights):

$$P(Y_i = 1 | \mathbf{X}_i) = \frac{1}{1 + \exp(-(\alpha(PK12_i) + \sum \gamma_j YEAR_i))} \quad (3)$$

where variables are as defined above. To test for changes in attitudes over time with binary outcomes (RQ2a), we obtain model-predicted proportions of minoritized respondents answering “yes” in the base year and test whether this proportion differs significantly in the final survey year. In order to determine whether attitude differences between White educators and minoritized respondents changed over time (RQ2b), we test whether each educator/non-educator gap is significantly different in the base year and final year for each item. When it is, we report model-derived educator/non-educator probability differences separately for the first and final years.⁵ If we find no evidence of changing marginal effects over time, we report the overall model-derived differences in predicted proportions of affirmative responses across years (holding year dummies constant at their means).⁶

RQ3. Finally, we answer RQ3 by adding the following vector of controls to each model above: binary indicator for gender, vectors of dummy variables representing fifths of the age and income distributions, and vector of dummy variables for educational attainment (where possible categories are: less than high school, high school degree, junior college, college degree, graduate degree).

In all models, we include only observations with complete data on the relevant outcome and the key predictor and control variables. This has a relatively small impact on the sample size (reducing by approximately 15%; see Appendix D for a comparison of available outcome data for those with and without full control variable data)

Results

In Tables 1-3, we present the results for racial beliefs, stereotypes, and affective orientation, respectively (see online Appendix B for descriptive statistics, including the full list of years of data that appear in our models for each survey item). In each table, the first column

summarizes the text of the survey item and gives the response scale and first and last year of data included in the model for each item (note that all available years of data between the first and last years are also included in the model). The second and third columns give, respectively, the estimated unadjusted and adjusted differences between White preK-12 educators and minoritized respondents. The fifth column gives the expected value on the item for minoritized respondents for the first included survey year, while column 4 gives the estimated change in this expected value from the first to the last included survey year. As such, the expected value for minoritized respondents in the final survey year can be found by adding the estimate in column 4 to the estimate in column 5; by adding to that sum the estimate in column 2, we retrieve the expected value for White preK-12 educators in the most recent year. Finally, the rightmost column gives the unweighted sample sizes by item for White preK-12 educators and minoritized respondents.

When the difference between White educators and minoritized respondents on an item changes significantly over time, four rows are required in the table. For these items, the first row gives the expected value for minoritized respondents in the first survey year and the change over time for this group (columns 5 and 4, respectively). The second row gives the unadjusted and adjusted differences between White educators and minoritized respondents in the first survey year (columns 2 and 3, respectively), while the third row gives these estimates for the final survey year. The fourth row gives the estimated change in unadjusted and adjusted differences over time.

As noted earlier, the comparison group for White educators changes depending on the content of the survey item. With items that ask about attitudes toward African Americans specifically (for example, “Should there be law against inter-marriage of Whites and Blacks?”), we compare White educators to Black respondents only. For items that ask about race generally

(e.g., “Should people prejudiced against any racial or ethnic group be allowed to hold public meetings?”), we compare White educators to all minoritized respondents (Black, and “other race,” the only consistent GSS race categories). As such, when we refer to attitudes of “minoritized respondents,” we mean Black and “other race” respondents.

Racial Beliefs

In Table 1, we present the results for racial beliefs. The table is divided into the three sub-dimensions of racial principles, explanations for social inequality, and government policy initiatives. In Figures 1 and 2, we present attitude trends on select racial belief survey items over time, separately for White preK-12 educators the relevant comparison group.

<Insert Table 1>

<Insert Figures 1 and 2>

Racial principles.

Attitudes and attitude differences. When racial equality ideals conflicted with free speech or the protection of racist views, White educators were less likely than minoritized respondents to side with racial equality ideals. Specifically, compared to Black respondents, White educators were more likely to feel that a person should be allowed to make a speech in their community claiming that Blacks are inferior (72% vs. 59% in 2016), more likely to believe that someone racist towards Blacks should be allowed to teach at a college (55% vs 40% in 2016), less likely to believe that a book claiming Blacks are inferior should be removed from the public library (19% vs. 43% in 2016), more likely to support a law banning Black/White inter-racial marriage (4% vs. 2% in 2002), and more likely to support a law allowing a homeowner to refuse to sell to African Americans (25% vs. 12% in 2016). White educators were also more

likely than minoritized respondents to believe that racists should be allowed to hold public meetings (42% vs. 21% in 2014).

Time trends. For many items, Black or minoritized respondents did not show significant change in their beliefs over time, and the belief difference between White educators and Black or minoritized respondents did not change significantly. An exception was the item asking whether respondents supported a law allowing homeowners to refuse to sell their home to African Americans. We present trends for this item graphically in Figure 1. In 1978, an estimated 34% of Black respondents supported such a law, compared to 12% in 2016. Additionally, White educators supported the law at a rate of 22 percentage points higher than Blacks in 1978, while their support was 13 percentage points higher in 2016. The opinion gap also changed over time regarding the miscegenation item. In 1980, approximately 21% of White educators supported outlawing inter-marriage, compared to 12% of Black Americans. In 2002, these estimates were 4% and 2%, respectively.

Adjusted differences. For many items, the belief difference between White educators and Black or minoritized respondents narrowed, but remained statistically significant, after adding the controls to the model. However, with controls in the model, the difference became even larger for the miscegenation item (with White educators being 5 percentage points, as opposed to 2 percentage points, more likely to support a law against intermarriage in 2002). A similar pattern occurs on the homeowner item, for which controls widen the belief gap (with White educators more likely to support the law allowing homeowners to discriminate in both cases).

Explanations for social inequality. The next series of questions asked respondents to indicate their explanations for why African Americans have worse outcomes in jobs, income, and housing compared to European Americans.

Attitudes and attitude differences. White educators were less likely than Black respondents to believe that Black/White differences were mainly due to discrimination (33% vs. 62% in 2016), less likely to believe inequalities were mainly due to differences in in-born ability to learn (4% vs 11% in 2016), statistically equally likely to attribute gaps to African Americans not having educational opportunities (56% vs. 54% in 2016), and statistically equally likely to attribute gaps to a lack of motivation on the part of African Americans (39% vs. 42% in 2016).

Time trends. Descriptively, Black respondents' levels of agreement with most of the possible explanations declined slightly over time. However, this change was only statistically significant for one item: Black respondents went from an estimated 70% believing in 1985 that differences were mainly due to lack of educational opportunities for African Americans, to 54% believing this in 2016. We did not find evidence that the White educator/Black respondent difference changed over time.

Adjusted differences. For the “in-born ability to learn” explanation for inequalities, group differences statistically disappeared after adding controls. The difference on the discrimination explanation remained large, with White educators 32 percentage points less likely (compared to the unadjusted 30 percentage points) than Black respondents with similar control values to agree with the discrimination explanation. White educators were 10 percentage points more likely than similar Black respondents to endorse the motivation explanation.

Government policy.

Attitudes and attitude differences. On average, White preK-12 educators were less supportive than Black respondents of policy initiatives aimed at helping African Americans generally, and on preferential hiring/promotion specifically. Black respondents were more likely than White educators to believe that it is “not very likely” that a White person would fail to be hired or promoted while an equally or less qualified Black person would. White educators were more likely than minoritized respondents to oppose government assistance to ethnic minorities for preserving customs and traditions.

Time trends. From 1975 to 2016, Black respondents showed slight movement away from the belief that government has an obligation to help improve Blacks’ living standards (closer to neutral), and minoritized respondents moved closer to neutral (away from agreement) on the question of whether ethnic minorities should be given government assistance to preserve customs and traditions (from 1994 to 2016). There was no strong evidence that the opinion differences between White educators and Black or minoritized respondents changed over time.

Adjusted differences. Most items show similar gaps after adding controls, and all differences remained statistically significant. For the item on how likely the respondent believed it would be that a White person would not get a job or promotion while an equally or less qualified Black person would, the gap widened with controls (with White educators more likely to believe this would happen).

Racial Stereotypes

In Table 2, we present the results for the stereotype difference scores. Again, the outcomes here are the differences between a respondent’s rating on a particular trait for Whites and the respondent’s rating for Black-, Hispanic-, or Asian-Americans on the same trait. Positively-signed predicted values on these outcomes indicate that respondents gave higher

ratings to the minoritized group than to Whites, on average. For items about stereotypes of African Americans, Black respondents are the comparison group; for items about stereotypes of Asian or Hispanic Americans, “other race” respondents comprise the comparison group (recall the GSS only consistently uses “Black,” “White,” and “other race” categories over time).

<Insert Table 2>

Attitudes and attitude differences. On most items, White educators and Black or minoritized respondents showed similar stereotype difference ratings. Exceptions were with the hardworking vs. lazy stereotype for African Americans (with White educators more likely than Black respondents to rate Blacks as lazier than Whites) and the intelligence stereotype for African Americans (with White educators more likely than Black respondents to rate Blacks as less intelligent than Whites).

Time trends. While Black respondents, on average, viewed African Americans as being less intelligent than Whites in 1990, by 2016 this difference disappeared (and changed direction descriptively). Descriptively, results for Black respondents on the other Black stereotype items showed narrowing perceptions of Black/White differences over time (though trends were marginally significant). We did not find evidence of changes over time for other items, or evidence that trends were different for White educators and minoritized respondents.

Adjusted differences. Most group comparisons remained similar after adding control variables. One exception was the violence stereotype for African Americans. Here, the difference between White educators and Black respondents became significant, with White educators more likely than Black respondents with similar control values to believe that African Americans are more violence-prone than White Americans.

Affective Orientation

In Table 3, we present results for the affective orientation items. In Figures 3 and 4, we present time trends on select items.

<Insert Table 3>

<Insert Figures 3 and 4>

Attitudes and attitude differences. On average, minoritized respondents reported less social distance from other minoritized groups than did White educators. Approximately 61% of minoritized respondents in the final survey year of 2006 reported having had an opposite-race friend over for dinner in the past few years, compared to approximately 50% of White educators. White educators were also more likely than Black respondents to believe that Blacks should work their way up without special favors.

Time trends. Over time, Black respondents expressed stronger disagreement with the idea that African Americans should not push themselves where they're not wanted (going from being more neutral than disagreeing in 1980 to more disagreeable, on average, in 2002). As seen in Figure 3, White educators and minoritized respondents become more likely over time to report having had an opposite-race friend home for dinner over the past few years, with 61% of minoritized Americans responding affirmatively in 2006, compared to 47% in 1980 (and White educators consistently approximately 11 percentage points lower). Compared to Black Americans, White educators in 1990 were more opposed to living in a neighborhood where half of their neighbors were Black; however, by 2016, there was no longer a statistically significant difference between White educators and Black Americans on this question. As seen in Figure 4, the gap between White educators and Black respondents narrowed over time regarding their feelings about a relative or family member marrying an African American: In 1990, White educators were, on average, opposed to this; by 2016, they were closer to favoring it, on average.

“Other race” respondents also became more favorable toward a relative marrying an Asian or Hispanic spouse, and their opinions did not differ from those of White educators on this item. On average, “other race” respondents became more favorable over time toward the idea of living in a neighborhood where half of their neighbors were Asian.

Adjusted differences. For many items, adjusted and unadjusted attitude gaps were similar. Interestingly, the gaps between White educators and Black respondents grew after adding controls for the questions of whether Blacks shouldn’t push themselves where they’re not wanted (with no significant unadjusted difference, but White educators disagreeing less strongly than similar Black respondents) and of whether Blacks should work their way up without special favors. On the question of whether the respondent had an opposite-race friend over for dinner, the adjusted White educator/minoritized respondent gap (20 percentage points) was approximately double that of the unadjusted gap.

Discussion

This study brings us closer to understanding the racial attitudes of White educators in the US, and how those attitudes differ from those of racially minoritized Americans. Results show that White educators generally hold less positive racial attitudes than minoritized respondents. Given the descriptive aims of this study, it would be unwise to make causal connections between these attitudes and specific teacher- or student-outcomes, or to draw conclusions about the likely effects of particular equity-focused policies or practices. We therefore focus our discussion on new questions and hypotheses that these findings raise. Before turning to that discussion, we note some limitations of the study.

Limitations

As with all self-report surveys on sensitive topics, there is potential for social desirability bias on these items. Respondents may not feel comfortable disclosing their true attitudes, and may therefore provide answers that they believe will make them appear more virtuous to the interviewer. If social desirability bias differs by race – e.g., if White educators are less likely to reveal their true attitudes than minoritized respondents, the attitude differences estimated here could also be biased. An additional complication that arises when interpreting these data is the existence of “race of interviewer” effects. Other analyses of the GSS have shown that when interviewed by a Black researcher, respondents expressed more support for government programs to help Black people and rated Blacks’ intelligence more highly (compared to Whites); furthermore, these effects were stronger for non-Black respondents than for Black respondents (An & Winship, 2017).

In the GSS data, there is potential for the meaning of racial categories to change across survey years. First, given that racial/ethnic categories and their labels vary over time and contexts (Phinney, 1996), we must keep in mind that the race/ethnicity dummy variables in these analyses are not as clearly defined or temporally stable as we might be tempted to imagine. Introducing further complication is the fact that the GSS changed its procedure for coding racial/ethnic categories in 2002. Prior to 2002, GSS interviewers coded respondents’ race based on the respondent’s appearance, and queried respondents only if the interviewer was unsure. In 2002, the GSS began having respondents self-identify their race/ethnicity (GSS, n.d.).

Another limitation is that we are unable to identify the demographics of the schools in which these White educators work. It may be that White educators who work in predominantly minoritized schools hold different racial attitudes, on average, compared to teachers who teach in predominantly White schools. If this is the case, then the attitudes of the average White educator

estimated here may not represent the attitudes that students in schools primarily serving minoritized students are expected to encounter when taught by a White teacher. Instead, these attitudes may be more reflective of the attitudes that minoritized students in predominantly White contexts encounter from White teachers.

When interpreting attitude trends, it is also worth keeping in mind that the make-up of the groups of minoritized respondents changes over time, as the share of “other” (not Black, not White) grows, and the share of Black respondents shrinks (in the first include survey year of 1975, Black respondents were 98.5% of the unweighted minoritized sample, compared to 67% in 2016). Consequently, opinion trends on items that compare White educators to all minoritized respondents may reflect demographic changes as opposed to within-group changes in attitudes over time.

Finally, when it comes to examining teachers’ stereotypes and considering their potential role in student/teacher mismatch effects, an informative comparison would be that of White teachers to minoritized teachers (as opposed to comparing White teachers to all minoritized respondents). As noted, however, the sample sizes for minoritized educators are prohibitively small in the GSS, preventing us from making such comparisons.

Beliefs

White educators and minoritized Americans showed a fair amount of disagreement on racial principles, with White educators more likely to value free speech and protection of racist views over racial equality ideals (compared to minoritized respondents). Some, but not all, of this disagreement is statistically explained by gender, age, income, and education. This raises questions of how White educators might address such issues in classroom discussions. Do they defend racist speech, downplay its negative effects, or fail to distinguish between free speech and

hate speech? If so, such handling of racial issues in the classroom has potential to inhibit the development of student/teacher relationships.

White teachers were also much less likely (30 percentage points) than Black respondents to believe that differences between Black and White Americans in jobs, income, and housing were mainly due to discrimination. This finding is important as it relates to the “denial of racial reality” category of microaggressions. The majority of White educators apparently deny that discrimination is an important factor in social inequalities, while the majority of African Americans see discrimination as an important factor. Consequently, White teachers are liable to downplay students’ experiences with prejudice or accuse them of misattributing prejudice to one’s intentions against them. Again, this could have the negative effects of preventing the building of trust between teacher and student, making students feel unheard or invalidated, or even potentially closing students’ eyes to actual instances of prejudice.

Unexpectedly, White educators were less likely than Black respondents to believe that social inequalities were due to African Americans having less in-born ability to learn (the difference disappeared after adding controls). Perhaps this may be due to White respondents’ lack of willingness to disclose such a belief. If this result reflects true attitude differences, however, it may be due to teachers being more likely than the general public to have faith in everyone’s innate ability to learn. It may also reflect the power of negative social messages to influence people’s perceptions about their own racial group (Valenzuela, 2008).

White educators were equally likely, compared to Black respondents, to attribute social inequalities to lack of educational opportunities for Black Americans (53% of Black respondents in 2016, compared to 55.8% of White educators, n.s.). Overall, there was approximately a 16 percentage-point decline from 1985 to 2016 in the predicted share of African Americans who

attributed inequalities mainly to education, which could either reflect an increasing confidence in the quality of education that Black students have access to, or a decreasing faith in the power of quality education to open up opportunities.

On average, Black respondents were closer to being opposed (compared to neutral) to preferential hiring or promotion for African Americans, and White educators were even more opposed. Relatedly, White educators were slightly less convinced than Black respondents that a White person was unlikely to be turned down for a job/promotion in favor of an equally or less qualified Black applicant. Such opinion differences raise questions about how White teachers may handle classroom discussions of affirmative action and related policies. When a White person expresses the opinion that “the most qualified person should get the job, regardless of race,” it is usually not in the context of an argument that too many unqualified Whites are being hired at the expense of more qualified minoritized candidates. This therefore raises the question of how the person expressing this view explains the fact that Whites, on average, have jobs with higher salaries and more prestige compared to Blacks. Do they believe that this is because Whites are inherently more qualified? Similarly, the reverse discrimination item relates to the “denial of racial reality” microaggression, given that it positions Whites as racially victimized, as opposed to as the beneficiaries of racist structures.

Stereotypes

Compared to Black Americans, White educators held different Black/White racial stereotypes for intelligence and work ethic. Descriptively, White educators – but not Black respondents – tended to believe that Blacks are somewhat lazier and less intelligent than Whites. This raises concerns about student/teacher racial mismatch effects for academic outcomes. The effects of these stereotypes may be strongest in integrated schools or classrooms, in which Black

students are able to perceive differences in how teachers view Black versus White students. While we do not find statistically significant evidence that White educators are more likely than Black respondents to perceive African Americans as more violent than Whites, descriptively the result is in that direction (and sample sizes are smaller for this item than the other items). This does not provide strong evidence that stereotypes regarding violence play a role in observed racial mismatch effects on discipline outcomes, but we also cannot rule out the possibility. Additionally, as noted above, we are unable to examine teachers' implicit stereotypes, and it may be that White educators have stronger implicit biases associating Black students with violence.

Affective Orientation

Compared to minoritized respondents, White educators express more social distance from minoritized groups and more collective resentment. As discussed above, comfort levels in cross-racial interactions are detectable, and teachers' higher levels of comfort and feelings of closeness toward some racial groups over others will likely negatively impact relationships with students, potentially triggering stereotype threat or expectancy effects.

Two items suggested progress in White educators' affective orientations. Regarding respondents' feelings about a relative marrying an African American, it is encouraging to see that the gap between White educators and Black respondents has statistically disappeared in more recent years, with both groups favoring such a marriage, on average. Similarly, White educators became more favorable over time to living in a neighborhood where half of their neighbors were Black. In 2016, White educators and Black Americans did not differ in their preferences on this item, with both groups feeling somewhere between neutral and favorable, on average.

Future Research

Because we are unable to examine educators' implicit racial attitudes in this study, we are missing important information relevant to how White educators interact with, and evaluate, minoritized students (Warikoo et al., 2016). For example, teachers who do not express negative racial stereotypes on the explicit stereotype ratings may nevertheless hold these stereotypes implicitly (or indeed even explicitly, but are reticent to disclose), which could affect minoritized students through many of the same mechanisms discussed above for explicit racial attitudes. Future work should examine teachers' implicit racial attitudes, what explains variation in implicit attitudes, how they might differ from those of non-educators, and how they relate to teachers' classroom behaviors and student evaluations.

Conclusion

Previous work has shown that educators, on average, have more positive (or less negative) racial attitudes compared to the general population, and that most of the differences can be explained by education level (Quinn, 2017). This suggested that for students whose parents or caregivers had education levels similar to their teachers (bachelor's or above), the racial attitudes they encountered in school would likely be similar to those they encountered at home. For students with parents holding less than a bachelor's, the expectation is that they would be exposed to more liberal racial attitudes from adults in school than out. The present study suggests that patterns of exposure to differing racial attitudes at school and home likely vary by student race. Through future research, we must develop a greater understanding of how interventions can raise educators' awareness of problematic attitudes, how these attitudes affect their students, and how educators can take control of monitoring and improving their attitudes.

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Notes

¹ We follow past scholars in using the term “racially minoritized” as opposed to “racial minority” (e.g., Benitez, 2010; Gillborn, 2008; Harper, 2012) to highlight the historical marginalization and subjugation of groups based on socially-constructed racial identities; the term also highlights that people born into racial minority status (i.e., in the present day U.S., racial identities other than White) are not minoritized in all contexts (Harper, 2012). Like others who have analyzed racial attitudes in the GSS (e.g., Bobo et al., 2012), we view race as a historically contingent social construction that has material consequences.

² Our focus on between-group differences should not obscure the fact that substantial within-group variation in attitudes exists. While a comparison of White and minoritized educators would also be informative, the sample of minoritized educators in the GSS is unfortunately prohibitively small.

³In some survey years, more detailed race/ethnicity information was collected; however the lack of consistency over time prevents us from using more detailed race/ethnicity data in our analyses.

⁴ Ordered logit models for the Likert-type outcomes show largely consistent results in terms of direction and significance.

⁵Note that in this main effects logistic regression model, educator/non-educator differences can vary over time in the probability scale, but not in the log-odds scale. Because our interest is in the probability scale, we focus on the significance of the difference-in-difference for predicted probabilities (as opposed to logits).

⁶ We use the *margins* command in Stata to obtain predicted means and mean differences; we use *lincom* to test the statistical significance of model-predicted differences.

Table 1.

Racial Beliefs of White Educators and Black/Minoritized Respondents, and Belief Trends over Time.

	White pK-12 – Black/Minoritized Respondents Diff (SE)		Black/Minoritized Respondents Expected Values		Ns
	Unadjusted Diff.	Adjusted Diff.	Change over Time (Final Svy Yr - First Svy Yr)	First Incl. Yr (SE)	
Racial Principles					
Should a person be allowed to make a speech in your community claiming that blacks are inferior? (0=N, 1=Y) (1976- 2016)	.127*** (.022)	.002 (.031)	.049 (.072)	.543 (.064)	1202 4098
Should a person who believes blacks are genetically inferior be allowed to teach at a college? (0=N, 1=Y) (1976-2016)	.147*** (.023)	.069* (.03)	.054 (.066)	.348 (.049)	1181 4067
Should a book claiming that blacks are inferior be removed from the public library? (0=N, 1=Y) (1976-2016)	-.239*** (.021)	-.129*** (.03)	-.078 (.095)	.511 (.08)	1191 4054

Should people prejudiced against any racial or ethnic group be allowed to hold public meetings? (0=N, 1=Y) (2004-2014)	.212*** (.061)	.191** (.069)	-.074~ (.044)	.282 (.036)	112 503
Support law allowing homeowner to refuse to sell home to African Americans, as opposed to law preventing homeowner from discriminating (or no law at all)? (0=N, 1=Y) (1978-2016)			-.222*** (.045)	.339 (.037)	
1978	.217*** (.028)	.318*** (.038)			972
2016	.128*** (.027)	.199*** (.039)			3090
2016-1978 Difference	-.09***	-.119***			
Should there be law against inter-marriage of whites and blacks? (0=N, 1=Y) (1980-2002)	.043* (.018)	.107** (.038)	-.094~ (.053)	.118 (.054)	706 2560
<hr/> Explanations for Social Inequality					
<i>On average, African-Americans have worse jobs, income, and housing than white people. Do you think these differences are .</i>					
..					
Mainly due to discrimination? (0=N, 1=Y) (1985-2016)	-.298*** (.027)	-.315*** (.035)	-.109~ (.063)	.732 (.046)	915 2964

Because most Af. Am. have less in-born ability to learn? (0=N, 1=Y) (1985-2016)	-.064*** (.012)	.028 (.022)	-.041 (.06)	.147 (.052)	942 3043
Because most Af. Am. don't have the chance for education that it takes to rise out of poverty? (0=N, 1=Y) (1985-2016)	.021 (.026)	-.041 (.035)	-.16* (.064)	.696 (.051)	938 3027
Because most Af. Am. don't have the motivation or will power to pull themselves up out of poverty? (0=N, 1=Y) (1985-2016)	-.029 (.025)	.102** (.035)	.038 (.066)	.382 (.044)	908 2978
<hr/> Government Policy Initiatives					
For or against preferential hiring and promotion of blacks? (1=strongly oppose, 4=strongly favor) (1994-2016)	-.772*** (.062)	-.820*** (.08)	-.175 (.156)	2.564 (.116)	624 2122
Does govt. have obligation to help improve blacks' living standards? (1=no special treatment, 5=govt should help) (1975-2016)	-1.127*** (.053)	-1.128*** (.073)	-.412** (.156)	4.051 (.123)	1108 3618
How likely that white person not get a job/promotion while equally or less qualified black person does? (1=not v. likely, 3=v. likely) (1990-2016)	.236*** (.045)	.382*** (.057)	.127 (.096)	1.493 (.06)	615 2089

Ethnic minorities should be given govt. assistance to preserve customs and traditions (1=agree strongly; 5=disagree strongly) (1996-2014)	.926*** (.112)	.891*** (.133)	.376*** (.108)	2.84 (.086)	148 633
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Note. pK-12=White preK-12 educators. Only Black respondents are included in comparison group for items that ask about Black Americans; other items include all racially minoritized respondents (Black and “other race”). Separate models were fit for each survey item; all models incorporate appropriate sampling weights and adjust standard errors based on primary sampling unit. Date ranges shown for items are first and most recent year on survey, but additional years may be included. Black/Minoritized expected values show the predicted means for Black or minoritized respondents (depending on item) in the first survey year, and the mean change from the first to most recent survey year.

~*p*<.10, **p*<.05, ***p*<.01, ****p*<.001

Table 2.

Differences in Black/Minoritized-White Stereotypes Held by White Educators and Black/Minoritized Respondents, and Trends over Time.

	White pK-12 – Black/Minoritized Respondents Diff (SE)		Black/Minoritized Respondents Expected Values		Ns
	Unadjusted Diff.	Adjusted Diff.	Change over Time (Final Svy Yr - First Svy Yr)	First Incl. Yr (SE)	pK-12 Minoritized
Difference, Af. Am.-White: tend to be hard-working or lazy? (1=lazy, 7=hardworking) (1990-2016)	-.518*** (.076)	-.62*** (.106)	.394~ (.211)	-.347 (.15)	656 2279
Difference, Af. Am.-White: tend to be violence prone or not? (1=not violent prone, 7=violent) (1990-2000)	.332 (.21)	.646* (.314)	-.34~ (.192)	.342 (.17)	90 267
Difference, Af. Am.-White: tend to be unintelligent or intelligent? (1=unintelligent, 7=intelligent) (1990-2016)	-.231*** (.065)	-.311*** (.085)	.521** (.169)	-.355 (.117)	604 2117
Difference, Asian-White: tend to be hard- working or lazy? (1=lazy, 7=hardworking) (1990-2000)	-.027 (.341)	-.001 (.314)	.592 (.529)	-.025 (.59)	136 158

Difference, Asian-White: tend to be violence prone or not? (1=not violent prone, 7=violent) (1990-2000)	-.031 (.187)	-.035 (.295)	-.18 (.187)	.028 (.182)	87 105
Difference, Asian-White: tend to be unintelligent or intelligent? (1=unintelligent, 7=intelligent) (1990-2000)	.561~ (.282)	.281 (.313)	.1 (.36)	-.559 (.417)	88 103
Difference, Hispanic-White: tend to be hard-working or lazy? (1=lazy, 7=hardworking) (1990-2000)	-.539 (.34)	-.174 (.356)	.459 (.52)	-.303 (.581)	136 163
Difference, Hispanic-White: tend to be violence prone or not? (1=not violent prone, 7=violent) (1990-2000)	-.194 (.255)	.032 (.33)	-.181 (.252)	.597 (.275)	89 108

Difference, Hispanic-White: tend to be unintelligent or intelligent? (1=unintelligent, 7=intelligent) (1990-2000)	.268 (.374)	-.017 (.359)	-.001 (.465)	-.804 (.584)	88 108
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Note. Outcome is the difference between individual's rating on the stereotype scale for given minoritized group and their rating for Whites. p K-12=White preK-12 educators. Only Black respondents are included in Black items; Black respondents are excluded from items about Asians and Hispanics. Separate models were fit for each survey item; all models incorporate appropriate sampling weights and adjust standard errors based on primary sampling unit. Date ranges shown for items are first and most recent year on survey, but additional years may be included. Black/Minoritized expected values show the predicted means for Black/minoritized respondents in the first survey year, and the mean change from the first to most recent survey year.

$\sim p < .10$, $*p < .05$, $**p < .01$, $***p < .001$

Table 3.

Racial Affective Orientation of White Educators and Black/Minoritized Respondents, and Trends in Affective Orientation over Time.

	White pK-12 – Black/Minoritized Respondents Diff (SE)		Black/Minoritized Respondents Expected Values		Ns
	Unadjusted Diff.	Adjusted Diff.	Change over Time (Final Svy Yr - First Svy Yr)	First Incl. Yr (SE)	K-12 Minoritized
Affective/Socioemotional Evaluations					
In general, how close do you feel to Blacks? (1=very close; 9=not close at all) (1996-2016)	2.003*** (.118)	2.181*** (.15)	-.282 (.236)	2.463 (.171)	556 1905
Collective Resentments					
Af. Am. shouldn't push themselves where they're not wanted. (1=disagree strongly; 4=agree strongly) (1980-2002)	-.027 (.076)	.353*** (.1)	-.734*** (.179)	2.571 (.157)	433 1563
Other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without special favors. (1=disagree strongly; 5=agree strongly) (1994-2016)	.397*** (.083)	.88*** (.099)	-.055 (.178)	3.245 (.118)	646 2222
Social Distance					
During last few years, anyone in your family brought friend who was (opposite race) home for dinner? (0=N, 1=Y) (1980-2006)	-.106*** (.032)	-.202*** (.034)	.136* (.066)	.471 (.054)	585 2709

Favor living in neighborhood where half of neighbors were...

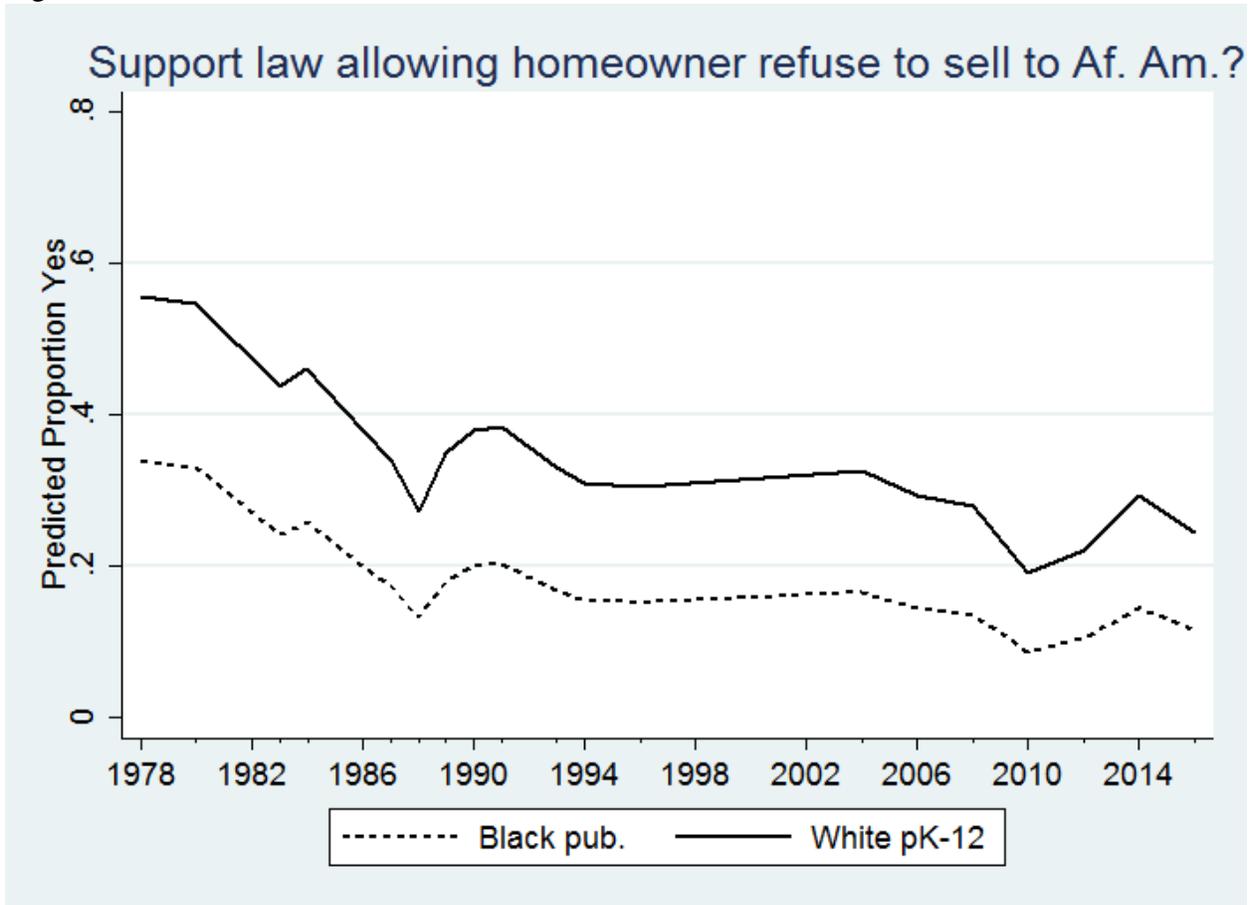
Black? (1=strongly oppose; 5=strongly favor) (1990-2016)	-.465*** (.059)	-.49*** (.077)	-.168 (.117)	3.726 (.094)	620 2157
Asian? (1=strongly oppose; 5=strongly favor) (1990-2000)	.068 (.153)	-.022 (.21)	.627*** (.166)	2.844 (.152)	94 113
Hispanic? (1=strongly oppose; 5=strongly favor) (1990-2000)	-.212 (.239)	-.07 (.327)	.376 (.292)	3.059 (.329)	94 117
<i>How feel about close relative or family member marrying...</i>					
Af. Am? (1=strongly oppose; 5=strongly favor) (1990-2016)			.214~ (.122)	3.908 (.097)	
1990	-1.679*** (.211)	-1.534*** (.216)			621
2016	-.34 (.221)	-.23 (.225)			2153
2016-1990 Difference	-1.339***	-1.304***			

Asian? (1=strongly oppose; 5=strongly favor) (1990-2016)	-0.043 (.076)	-.1 (.085)	1.004*** (.157)	2.71 (.133)	473 814
Hispanic? (1=strongly oppose; 5=strongly favor) (1990-2016)	-.091 (.084)	.097 (.097)	.702** (.249)	3.026 (.221)	472 815

Note. pK-12=White preK-12 educators. Only Black respondents are included in comparison group for items that ask about Black Americans; other items include all racially minoritized respondents (Black and “other race”). Separate models were fit for each survey item; all models incorporate appropriate sampling weights and adjust standard errors based on primary sampling unit. Date ranges shown for items are first and most recent year on survey, but additional years may be included. Black/Minoritized expected values show the predicted means for Black or minoritized respondents (depending on item) in the first survey year, and the mean change from the first to most recent survey year.

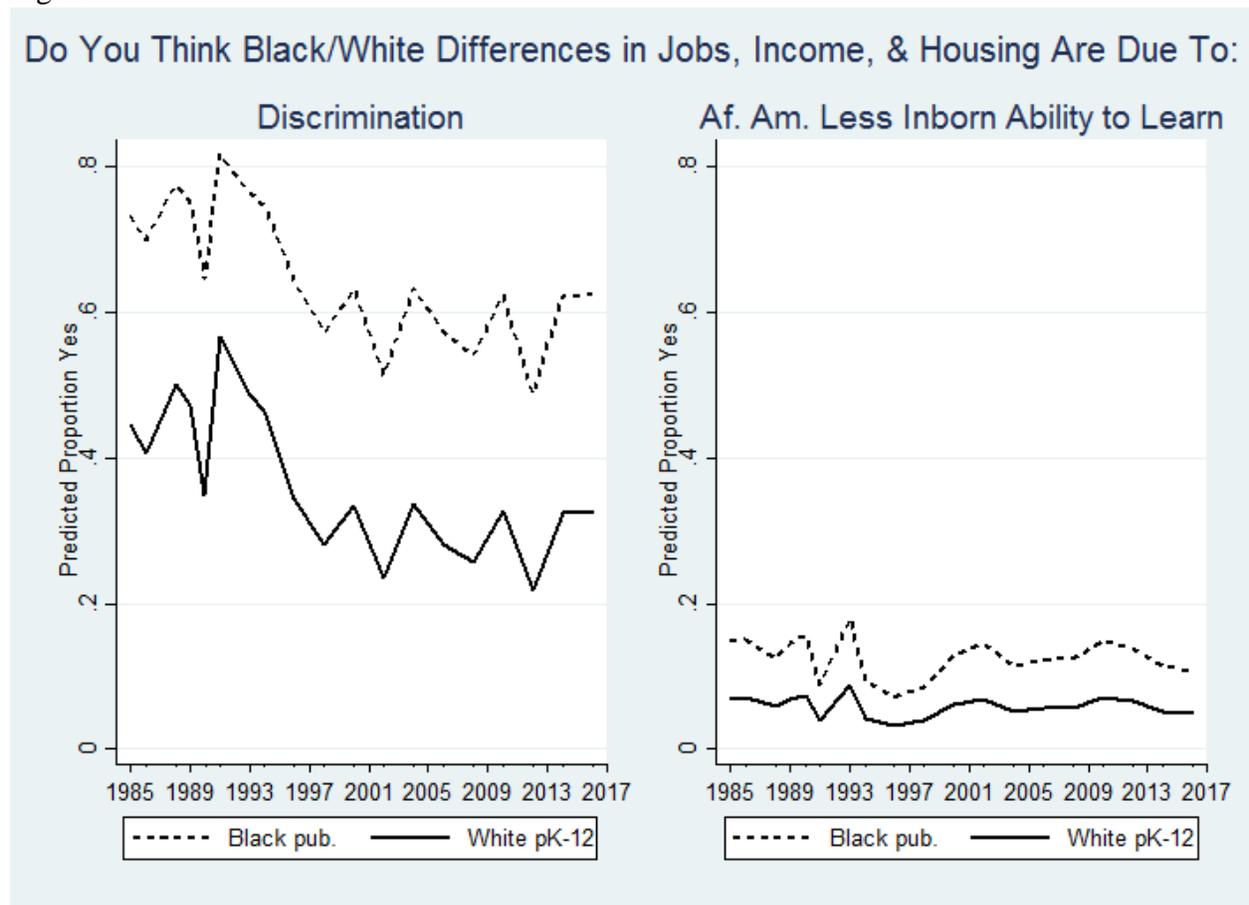
~ $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Figure 1.



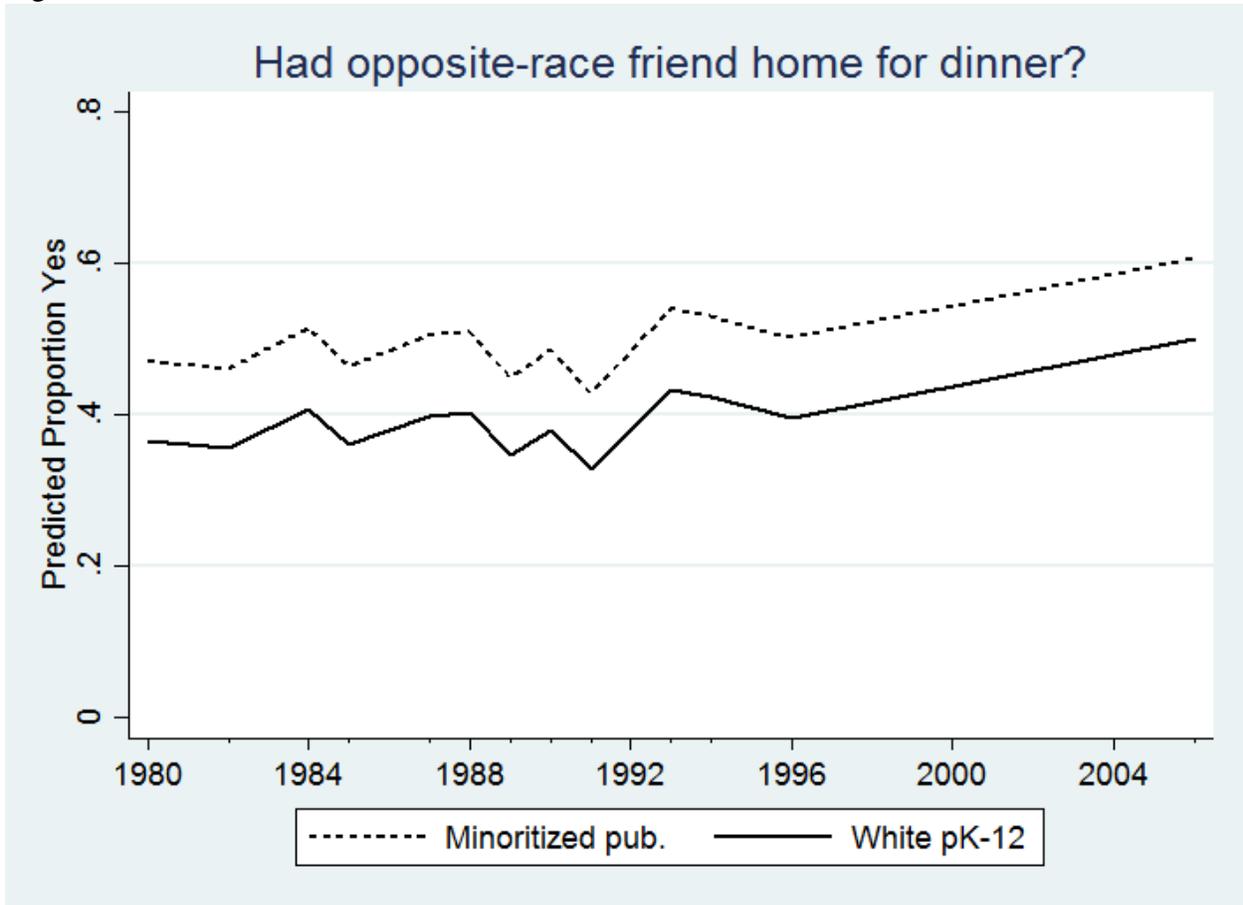
Note. Question stem for item: “Do you support law allowing homeowner to refuse to sell home to African Americans, as opposed to law preventing homeowner from discriminating (or no law at all)?” Trends represent predicted values by year from model 3 in text; trend lines are interpolated between years in which item was administered. all Black respondents.

Figure 2.



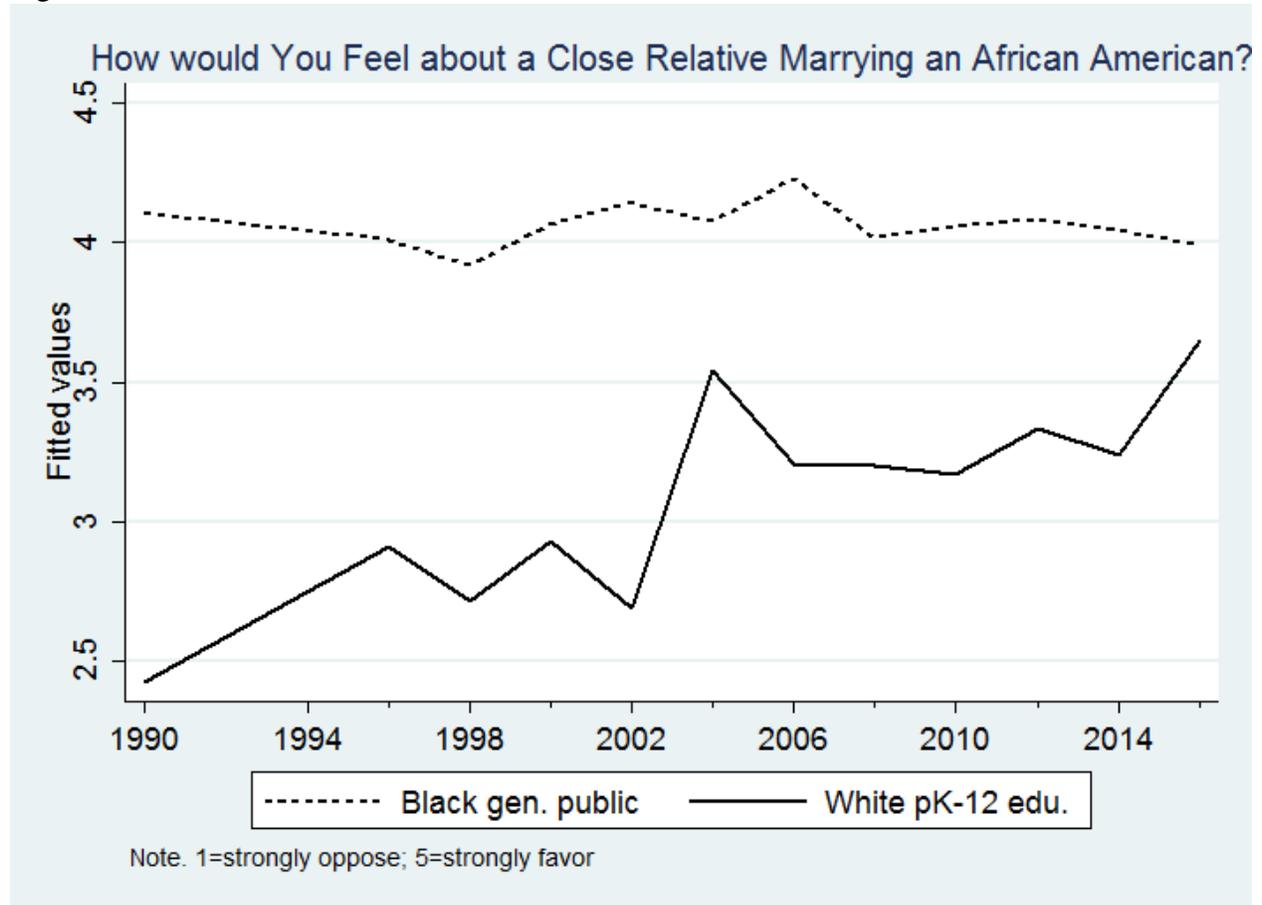
Note. Question stem for item: “On average, African-Americans have worse jobs, income, and housing than white people. Do you think these differences are . . .” Responses shown for “Mainly due to discrimination” option and “Because most African Americans have less in-born ability to learn” ? Trends represent predicted values by year from model 3 in text; trend lines are interpolated between years in which item was administered. Black pub.= all Black respondents.

Figure 3.



Note. Question: "During last few years, anyone in your family brought friend who was (opposite race) home for dinner?" Trends represent predicted values by year from model 3 in text; trend lines are interpolated between years in which item was administered (item was not administered between 1996 and 2006). Minoritized pub.= racially minoritized general public (Black, "other race").

Figure 4.



Note. Trends represent predicted values by year from model 1 in text; trend lines are interpolated between years in which item was administered. Black gen. public = all Black respondents.

Supplementary Online Material

Online Appendix A: GSS Data and Occupation Coding.

For over four decades, the National Opinion Research Center has interviewed Americans on a wide variety of social issues through the General Social Survey, for the purpose of documenting and explaining trends in attitudes, behaviors, and attributes of American society. The GSS uses a multi-stage sampling procedure, though some of the design specifics have varied across years (see Smith et al., 2015, Appendix A). From 1972 to 2004, each survey drew an independent sample of English-speakers who were 18 years or older and living in non-institutional settings. Since 2006, non-English-speaking Spanish-speakers have been included in the target population (Smith et al., 2015). In the present study, we exclude these respondents from the sample for population consistency over time.

Educator occupation coding. The GSS classifies interviewees' occupations according to census codes. The 1972-2016 cumulative data set includes occupation codes from the 2010 census for all survey years. For a minority of observations in years pre-2010, 1970 or 1980 census occupation codes are available but 2010 codes are not. In all cases for which a 2010 occupation code is available, we use this code to identify educators. When a 2010 code is unavailable but a prior year code is available, we use the prior year. The relevant educator categories we include for the 2010 census codes are "education administrators," "preschool and kindergarten teachers," "elementary and middle school teachers," "secondary school teachers," "special education teachers," and "teacher assistants" (prior year codes are more detailed, in that they provide subject area information). In the supplementary analyses in which we compare White preK-12 educators to White non-preK-12 educators, we include postsecondary teachers in the comparison group.

Outcomes. In some cases, we reverse-coded or collapsed response categories on outcome variables to facilitate interpretation. Some items were asked only of White respondents in early years but were asked of all respondents in later years; for these items, we included only the years in which all groups were surveyed, so as to maintain a consistent target population over time. Finally, we excluded any items that were removed from the survey prior to the year 2000. Following Bobo et al. (2012), we treat all “I don’t know” responses as missing data (these responses are relatively rare, ranging from 0% to 12% across outcomes, median=2%).

Appendix B. Descriptive Statistics.

In Table B1, we present weighted descriptive statistics for White preK-12 educators and minoritized respondents on the outcome variables.

Table B1.

Weighted Descriptive Statistics for Outcome Variables by Black/Minoritized or Educator Status, and Years Included on GSS.

	Black/Minoritized respondents			White Pre-K -12 educators			Survey Years
	M	SD	N	M	SD	N	
On average, African-Americans have worse jobs, income, and housing than white people. Do you think these differences are . . .							1985 1986 1988 1989 1990 1991 1993 1994 1996 1998 2000 2002 2004 2006 2008 2010
Mainly due to discrimination? (0=N, 1=Y) (1985-2016)	0.64	0.48	2964	0.36	0.48	915	2012 2014 2016
Because most Af. Am. have less in-born ability to learn? (0=N, 1=Y) (1985-2016)	0.12	0.33	3043	0.06	0.23	942	1985 1986 1988 1989 1990 1991 1993 1994 1996 1998 2000 2002 2004 2006 2008 2010 2012 2014 2016
Because most Af. Am. don't have the chance for education that it takes to rise out of poverty? (0=N, 1=Y) (1985-2016)	0.56	0.50	3027	0.59	0.49	938	1985 1986 1988 1989 1990 1991 1993 1994 1996 1998 2000 2002 2004 2006 2008 2010 2012 2014 2016
Because most Af. Am. don't have the motivation or will power to pull themselves up out of poverty? (0=N, 1=Y) (1985-2016)	0.42	0.49	2978	0.39	0.49	908	1985 1986 1988 1989 1990 1991 1993 1994 1996 1998 2000 2002 2004 2006 2008 2010 2012 2014 2016
Af. Am. shouldn't push themselves where they're not wanted. (1=disagree strongly; 4=agree strongly) (1980-2002)	2.09	1.16	1563	2.09	1.02	433	1980 1982 1984 1985 1994 1996 1998 2000 2002
Other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without special favors. (1=disagree strongly; 5=agree strongly) (1994-2016)	3.31	1.47	2222	3.71	1.28	646	1994 1996 1998 2000 2002 2004 2006 2008 2010 2012 2014 2016
Af. Am. tend to be hard-working or lazy? (1=lazy, 7=hardworking) (1990-2016)	4.36	1.33	2285	3.89	0.93	657	1990 1994 1996 1998 2000 2002 2004 2006 2008 2010 2012 2014 2016

Af Am. tend to be unintelligent or intelligent? (1=unintelligent, 7=intelligent) (1990-2016)	4.58	1.17	2121	4.22	0.91	604	1990 1996 1998 2000 2002 2004 2006 2008 2010 2012 2014 2016
Af. Am. tend to be violence prone or not? (1=not violent prone, 7=violent) (1990-2000)	4.32	1.42	270	4.30	1.07	90	1990 2000
Asians tend to be hard-working or lazy? (1=lazy, 7=hardworking) (1990-2000)	5.11	1.28	158	5.21	1.19	136	1990 1994 2000
Asians tend to be unintelligent or intelligent? (1=unintelligent, 7=intelligent) (1990-2000)	4.62	1.30	103	4.72	1.13	88	1990 2000
Asians tend to be violence prone or not? (1=not violent prone, 7=violent) (1990-2000)	3.58	1.41	105	3.70	1.10	87	1990 2000
Hispanics tend to be hard-working or lazy? (1=lazy, 7=hardworking) (1990-2000)	4.60	1.58	163	4.18	1.21	136	1990 1994 2000
Hispanics tend to be unintelligent or intelligent? (1=unintelligent, 7=intelligent) (1990-2000)	4.27	1.17	108	4.16	1.07	88	1990 2000
Hispanics tend to be violence prone or not? (1=not violent prone, 7=violent) (1990-2000)	4.25	1.41	108	4.10	1.02	89	1990 2000
Whites tend to be hard-working or lazy? (1=lazy, 7=hardworking) (1990-2016)	4.46	1.26	3362	4.46	0.89	657	1990 1994 1996 1998 2000 2002 2004 2006 2008 2010 2012 2014 2016
Whites tend to be unintelligent or intelligent? (1=unintelligent, 7=intelligent) (1990-2016)	4.68	1.29	3137	4.52	0.91	606	1990 1996 1998 2000 2002 2004 2006 2008 2010 2012 2014 2016
Whites tend to be violence prone or not? (1=not violent prone, 7=violent) (1990-2000)	4.01	1.51	377	3.79	1.07	91	1990 2000

For or against preferential hiring and promotion of blacks? (1=strongly oppose, 4=strongly favor) (1994-2016)	2.39	1.22	2122	1.62	0.90	624	1994 1996 1998 2000 2002 2004 2006 2008 2010 2012 2014 2016
Does govt. have obligation to help improve blacks' living standards? (1=no special treatment, 5=govt should help) (1975-2016)	3.56	1.26	3618	2.44	1.12	1108	1975 1983 1984 1986 1987 1988 1989 1990 1991 1993 1994 1996 1998 2000 2002 2004 2006 2008 2010 2012 2014 2016
How likely that white person not get a job/promotion while equally or less qualified black person does? (1=not v. likely, 3=v. likely) (1990-2016)	1.59	0.72	2089	1.83	0.70	615	1990 1994 1996 1998 2000 2002 2004 2006 2008 2010 2012 2014 2016
Ethnic minorities should be given govt. assistance to preserve customs and traditions (1=agree strongly; 5=disagree strongly) (1996-2014)	2.95	1.06	633	3.83	1.00	148	1996 2004 2014
Should there be law against inter-marriage of whites and blacks? (0=N, 1=Y) (1980-2002)	0.06	0.23	2560	0.10	0.30	706	1980 1982 1984 1985 1987 1988 1989 1990 1991 1993 1994 1996 1998 2000 2002
Should a person who believes blacks are genetically inferior be allowed to teach at a college? (0=N, 1=Y) (1976-2016)	0.37	0.48	4067	0.51	0.50	1181	1976 1977 1980 1982 1984 1985 1987 1988 1989 1990 1991 1993 1994 1996 1998 2000 2002 2004 2006 2008 2010 2012 2014 2016
Should a book claiming that blacks are inferior be removed from the public library? (0=N, 1=Y) (1976-2016)	0.48	0.50	4054	0.24	0.43	1191	1976 1977 1980 1982 1984 1985 1987 1988 1989 1990 1991 1993 1994 1996 1998 2000 2002 2004 2006 2008 2010 2012 2014 2016
Should people prejudiced against any racial or ethnic group be allowed to hold public meetings? (0=N, 1=Y) (2004-2014)	0.25	0.43	503	0.47	0.50	112	2004 2014
Should a person be allowed to make a speech in your community claiming that blacks are inferior? (0=N, 1=Y) (1976-2016)	0.55	0.50	4098	0.68	0.47	1202	1976 1977 1980 1982 1984 1985 1987 1988 1989 1990 1991 1993 1994 1996 1998 2000 2002 2004 2006 2008 2010 2012 2014 2016

During last few years, anyone in your family brought friend who was (opposite race) home for dinner? (0=N, 1=Y) (1980-2006)	0.52	0.50	2171	0.40	0.49	585	1980 1982 1984 1985 1987 1988 1989 1990 1991 1993 1994 1996 2006
Support law allowing homeowner to refuse to sell home to African Americans, as opposed to law preventing homeowner from discriminating (or no law at all)? (0=N, 1=Y) (1978-2016)	0.18	0.38	3090	0.35	0.48	972	1978 1980 1983 1984 1986 1987 1988 1989 1990 1991 1993 1994 1996 2004 2006 2008 2010 2012 2014 2016
Favor living in neighborhood where half of neighbors were...							
Black? (1=strongly oppose; 5=strongly favor) (1990-2016)	3.40	1.06	3197	3.18	0.95	620	1990 1996 1998 2000 2002 2004 2006 2008 2010 2012 2014 2016
Asian? (1=strongly oppose; 5=strongly favor) (1990-2000)	3.23	1.01	373	3.24	0.88	94	1990 2000
Hispanic? (1=strongly oppose; 5=strongly favor) (1990-2000)	3.19	1.05	379	3.04	1.06	94	1990 2000
How feel about close relative or family member marrying...							
Af. Am? (1=strongly oppose; 5=strongly favor) (1990-2016)	4.05	1.02	2153	3.12	1.12	621	1990 1996 1998 2000 2002 2004 2006 2008 2010 2012 2014 2016
Asian? (1=strongly oppose; 5=strongly favor) (1990-2016)	3.52	0.95	814	3.44	0.98	473	1990 2000 2004 2006 2008 2010 2012 2014 2016
Hispanic? (1=strongly oppose; 5=strongly favor) (1990-2016)	3.55	1.02	815	3.44	1.00	472	1990 2000 2004 2006 2008 2010 2012 2014 2016

In general, how close do you feel to Blacks?
(1=very close; 9=not close at all) (1996-
2016)

	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004	2006	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016
	2.37	1.93	1.905	4.37	1.82	556					

Note. Only Black respondents are included in comparison group for items that ask about Black Americans; other items include all racially minoritized respondents (Black and “other race”).

Appendix C. Models Comparing White PreK-12 Educators to all other White Respondents.

Table C1.

Racial Beliefs of White Educators and White Non-educators, and Belief Trends over Time.

	White pK-12 - White Non-edu. Diff (SE)		White Non-edu. Expected Values		Ns
	Unadjusted Diff.	Adjusted Diff.	Change over Time (Final Svy Yr - First Svy Yr)	First Incl. Yr (SE)	
Racial Principles					
Should a person be allowed to make a speech in your community claiming that blacks are inferior? (0=N, 1=Y) (1976-2016)	.028~ (.016)	-.065*** (.019)	-.005 (.022)	.658 (.016)	1202 22468
Should a person who believes blacks are genetically inferior be allowed to teach at a college? (0=N, 1=Y) (1976-2016)	.03~ (.017)	-.047* (.019)	.052* (.026)	.435 (.02)	1181 22143
Should a book claiming that blacks are inferior be removed from the public library? (0=N, 1=Y) (1976-2016)	-.072*** (.015)	.04* (.02)	-.058* (.03)	.373 (.023)	1191 22285

Should people prejudiced against any racial or ethnic group be allowed to hold public meetings? (0=N, 1=Y) (2004-2014)	.033 (.061)	-.124* (.057)	.084** (.03)	.405 (.018)	112 1643
Support law allowing homeowner to refuse to sell home to African Americans, as opposed to law preventing homeowner from discriminating (or no law at all)? (0=N, 1=Y) (1978-2016)					
1978	-.05** (.019)	.018 (.02)			972
2016	-.033** (.012)	.013 (.014)			17910
2016-1978 Difference	.017*	-.006			
Should there be law against inter-marriage of whites and blacks? (0=N, 1=Y) (1980-2002)	-.094*** (.013)	.039~ (.023)	-.188*** (.021)	.288 (.017)	706 14032
Explanations for Social Inequality					
On average, African-Americans have worse jobs, income, and housing than white people. Do you think these differences are . . .					
Mainly due to discrimination? (0=N, 1=Y) (1985-2016)	.021 (.02)	-.035~ (.02)	-.026 (.029)	.404 (.02)	915 17086

					942
Because most Af. Am. have less in-born ability to learn? (0=N, 1=Y) (1985-2016)	-.057*** (.009)	.006 (.015)	-.146*** (.017)	.21 (.015)	17288
				0.529	
					938
Because most Af. Am. don't have the chance for education that it takes to rise out of poverty? (0=N, 1=Y) (1985-2016)	.128*** (.02)	-.024 (.022)	-.019 (.032)	.517 (.024)	17297
					908
Because most Af. Am. don't have the motivation or will power to pull themselves up out of poverty? (0=N, 1=Y) (1985-2016)	-.14*** (.02)	.012 (.022)	-.206*** (.029)	.614 (.02)	16892
<hr/>					
Government Policy Initiatives					
					624
For or against preferential hiring and promotion of blacks? (1=strongly oppose, 4=strongly favor) (1994-2016)	.04 (.045)	-.052 (.049)	.264*** (.05)	1.51 (.035)	10964
					1108
Does govt. have obligation to help improve blacks' living standards? (1=no special treatment, 5=govt should help) (1975-2016)	.191*** (.04)	-.021 (.043)	.196** (.075)	2.273 (.058)	20518

How likely that white person not get a job/promotion while equally or less qualified black person does? (1=not v. likely, 3=v. likely) (1990-2016)	-0.032 (.036)	.096** (.036)	-.267*** (.045)	1.99 (.035)	615 11006
Ethnic minorities should be given govt. assistance to preserve customs and traditions (1=agree strongly; 5=disagree strongly) (1996-2014)	.16 (.097)	.095 (.103)	.08 (.057)	3.754 (.04)	148 2388

Note. Separate models were fit for each survey item; all models incorporate appropriate sampling weights and adjust standard errors based on primary sampling unit. Date ranges shown for items are first and most recent year on survey, but additional years may be included. White non-edu values show the predicted means for White non-educators in the first survey year, and the mean change from the first to most recent survey year.

~p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

Table C2.

Differences in Minoritized-White Stereotypes Held by White Educators and White Non-educators, and Trends over Time.

	White pK-12 –White Non-edu.		White Non-edu. Expected Values		Ns
	Diff (SE)		Change over Time (Final Svy Yr - First Svy Yr)	First Incl. Yr (SE)	
	Unadjusted Diff.	Adjusted Diff.			
Difference, Af. Am.-White: tend to be hard-working or lazy? (1=lazy, 7=hardworking) (1990-2016)	.179*** (.052)	-.031 (.055)	.934*** (.081)	-1.36 (.068)	656 11758
Difference, Af. Am.-White: tend to be violence prone or not? (1=not violent prone, 7=violent) (1990-2000)	-.405** (.138)	-.183 (.154)	-.384*** (.086)	1.1 (.073)	90 1778
Difference, Af. Am.-White: tend to be unintelligent or intelligent? (1=unintelligent, 7=intelligent) (1990-2016)	.133** (.047)	-.025 (.05)	.768*** (.062)	-.993 (.052)	604 10754
Difference, Asian-White: tend to be hard-working or lazy? (1=lazy, 7=hardworking) (1990-2000)	.388** (.125)	-.051 (.121)	.375*** (.089)	-.187 (.062)	136 2615

Difference, Asian-White: tend to be violence prone or not? (1=not violent prone, 7=violent) (1990-2000)	-.095 (.124)	.039 (.122)	-.298*** (.081)	.151 (.064)	87 1678
Difference, Asian-White: tend to be unintelligent or intelligent? (1=unintelligent, 7=intelligent) (1990-2000)	.274* (.123)	-.016 (.118)	.348*** (.078)	-.396 (.062)	88 1691
Difference, Hispanic-White: tend to be hard-working or lazy? (1=lazy, 7=hardworking) (1990-2000)	.126 (.116)	-.045 (.124)	.702*** (.087)	-1.074 (.055)	136 2654
Difference, Hispanic-White: tend to be violence prone or not? (1=not violent prone, 7=violent) (1990-2000)	-.368** (.134)	-.227 (.143)	-.335*** (.082)	.846 (.07)	89 1714

Difference, Hispanic-White: tend to be unintelligent or intelligent? (1=unintelligent, 7=intelligent) (1990-2000)	.366** (.11)	.103 (.105)	.252*** (.072)	-1.029 (.064)	88 1719
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Note. Outcome is the difference between individual's rating on the stereotype scale for given minoritized group and their rating for Whites. Separate models were fit for each survey item; all models incorporate appropriate sampling weights and adjust standard errors based on primary sampling unit. Date ranges shown for items are first and most recent year on survey, but additional years may be included. White non-edu values show the predicted means for White non-educators respondents in the first survey year, and the mean change from the first to most recent survey year.

~p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

Table C3.

Racial Affective Orientation of White Educators and White Non-educators, and Trends in Affective Orientation over Time.

	White pK-12 - White Non-edu. Diff (SE)		White Non-edu. Expected Values	Ns preK-12 Non-edu
	Unadjusted Diff.	Adjusted Diff.	Change over Time (Final Svy Yr - First Svy Yr)	
Affective/Socioemotional Evaluations				
				556
In general, how close do you feel to Blacks? (1=very close; 9=not close at all) (1996-2016)	-.098 (.091)	.011 (.097)	-.771*** (.117)	4.849 (.085) 9809
Collective Resentments				
				433
Af. Am. shouldn't push themselves where they're not wanted. (1=disagree strongly; 4=agree strongly) (1980-2002)	-.351*** (.057)	.086 (.058)	-.768*** (.061)	2.913 (.038) 8694
				646
Other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without special favors. (1=disagree strongly; 5=agree strongly) (1994-2016)	-.328*** (.064)	.071 (.068)	-.385*** (.069)	4.143 (.042) 11348
Social Distance				

During last few years, anyone in your family brought friend who was (opposite race) home for dinner? (0=N, 1=Y) (1980-2006)	.082*** (.024)	-.001 (.023)	.154*** (.029)	.268 (.019)	585 11562
Favor living in neighborhood where half of neighbors were...					
Black? (1=strongly oppose; 5=strongly favor) (1990-2016)	.21*** (.048)	.118* (.05)	.657*** (.048)	2.496 (.038)	620 10964
Asian? (1=strongly oppose; 5=strongly favor) (1990-2000)	.342*** (.1)	.205~ (.107)	.488*** (.046)	2.643 (.029)	94 1784
Hispanic? (1=strongly oppose; 5=strongly favor) (1990-2000)	.271* (.123)	.121 (.135)	.454*** (.057)	2.535 (.04)	94 1799
How feel about close relative or family member marrying...					
Af. Am? (1=strongly oppose; 5=strongly favor) (1990-2016)			1.228*** (.062)	2.031 (.048)	
1990	.403* (.194)	.284 (.178)			

					621
2016	.403*	.253			10995
	(.157)	(.153)			
2016-1990 Difference	-.001	.031			
Asian? (1=strongly oppose; 5=strongly favor) (1990-2016)	.271***	.141*	.936***	2.47	473
	(.055)	(.057)	(.048)	(.034)	8016
Hispanic? (1=strongly oppose; 5=strongly favor) (1990-2016)	.263***	.129*	.889***	2.527	472
	(.056)	(.059)	(.053)	(.041)	8026

Note. Separate models were fit for each survey item; all models incorporate appropriate sampling weights and adjust standard errors based on primary sampling unit. Date ranges shown for items are first and most recent year on survey, but additional years may be included. White non-edu values show the predicted means for White non-educators respondents in the first survey year, and the mean change from the first to most recent survey year.

~p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

Appendix D.

Table D1.

Weighted Descriptive Statistics for Outcome Variables by Analytic Sample and Participants Dropped for Missing Control Variables.

	Analytic Sample			Dropped			P	Survey Years
	M	SD	N	M	SD	N		
On average, African-Americans have worse jobs, income, and housing than white people. Do you think these differences are . . .								1985 1986 1988 1989 1990 1991 1993 1994 1996 1998 2000 2002 2004 2006 2008 2010
Mainly due to discrimination? (0=N, 1=Y) (1985-2016)	0.57	0.50	3879	0.64	0.48	484	0.039	2012 2014 2016
Because most Af. Am. have less in-born ability to learn? (0=N, 1=Y) (1985-2016)	0.10	0.31	3985	0.14	0.34	499	0.119	1985 1986 1988 1989 1990 1991 1993 1994 1996 1998 2000 2002 2004 2006 2008 2010
Because most Af. Am. don't have the chance for education that it takes to rise out of poverty? (0=N, 1=Y) (1985-2016)	0.57	0.50	3965	0.61	0.49	504	0.256	2012 2014 2016
Because most Af. Am. don't have the motivation or will power to pull themselves up out of poverty? (0=N, 1=Y) (1985-2016)	0.41	0.49	3886	0.35	0.48	473	0.075	1985 1986 1988 1989 1990 1991 1993 1994 1996 1998 2000 2002 2004 2006 2008 2010

Af. Am. shouldn't push themselves where they're not wanted. (1=disagree strongly; 4=agree strongly) (1980-2002)	2.09	1.13	1996	1.93	1.04	245	0.111	1980 1982 1984 1985 1994 1996 1998 2000 2002
Other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without special favors. (1=disagree strongly; 5=agree strongly) (1994-2016)	3.41	1.44	2868	3.30	1.46	363	0.318	1994 1996 1998 2000 2002 2004 2006 2008 2010 2012 2014 2016
Af. Am. tend to be hard-working or lazy? (1=lazy, 7=hardworking) (1990-2016)	4.25	1.26	2942	4.38	1.42	361	0.182	1990 1994 1996 1998 2000 2002 2004 2006 2008 2010 2012 2014 2016
Af Am. tend to be unintelligent or intelligent? (1=unintelligent, 7=intelligent) (1990-2016)	4.49	1.13	2725	4.45	1.30	327	0.651	1990 1996 1998 2000 2002 2004 2006 2008 2010 2012 2014 2016
Af. Am. tend to be violence prone or not? (1=not violent prone, 7=violent) (1990-2000)	4.32	1.34	360	4.58	1.16	56	0.112	1990 2000
Asians tend to be hard-working or lazy? (1=lazy, 7=hardworking) (1990-2000)	5.16	1.24	294	4.75	1.78	26	0.553	1990 1994 2000
Asians tend to be unintelligent or intelligent? (1=unintelligent, 7=intelligent) (1990-2000)	4.66	1.23	191	4.56	1.05	20	0.716	1990 2000
Asians tend to be violence prone or not? (1=not violent prone, 7=violent) (1990-2000)	3.63	1.29	192	3.87	1.56	21	0.662	1990 2000
Hispanics tend to be hard-working or lazy? (1=lazy, 7=hardworking) (1990-2000)	4.42	1.45	299	4.01	1.59	26	0.428	1990 1994 2000
Hispanics tend to be unintelligent or intelligent? (1=unintelligent, 7=intelligent) (1990-2000)	4.22	1.13	196	3.86	0.78	21	0.230	1990 2000

Hispanics tend to be violence prone or not? (1=not violent prone, 7=violent) (1990-2000)	4.19	1.27	197	4.11	1.25	22	0.808	1990 2000
								1990 1994 1996 1998 2000 2002 2004 2006 2008 2010 2012 2014
Whites tend to be hard-working or lazy? (1=lazy, 7=hardworking) (1990-2016)	4.46	1.20	4019	4.45	1.41	475	0.887	2016
								1990 1996 1998 2000 2002 2004 2006 2008
Whites tend to be unintelligent or intelligent? (1=unintelligent, 7=intelligent) (1990-2016)	4.66	1.24	3743	4.60	1.27	436	0.498	2010 2012 2014 2016
Whites tend to be violence prone or not? (1=not violent prone, 7=violent) (1990-2000)	3.97	1.44	468	4.16	1.69	64	0.342	1990 2000
For or against preferential hiring and promotion of blacks? (1=strongly oppose, 4=strongly favor) (1994-2016)	2.20	1.19	2746	2.57	1.29	334	0.001	1994 1996 1998 2000 2002 2004 2006 2008 2010 2012 2014 2016
								1975 1983 1984 1986 1987 1988 1989 1990 1991 1993 1994 1996 1998 2000 2002 2004 2006 2008 2010 2012
Does govt. have obligation to help improve blacks' living standards? (1=no special treatment, 5=govt should help) (1975-2016)	3.29	1.32	4726	3.50	1.36	557	0.020	2014 2016
								1990 1994 1996 1998 2000 2002 2004 2006 2008 2010 2012 2014
How likely that white person not get a job/promotion while equally or less qualified black person does? (1=not v. likely, 3=v. likely) (1990-2016)	1.65	0.72	2704	1.72	0.75	340	0.201	2016
Ethnic minorities should be given govt. assistance to preserve customs and traditions (1=agree strongly; 5=disagree strongly) (1996-2014)	3.13	1.11	781	3.02	1.23	71	0.571	1996 2004 2014

Should there be law against inter-marriage of whites and blacks? (0=N, 1=Y) (1980-2002)	0.07	0.25	3266	0.08	0.27	392	0.555	1980 1982 1984 1985 1987 1988 1989 1990 1991 1993 1994 1996 1998 2000 2002
Should a person who believes blacks are genetically inferior be allowed to teach at a college? (0=N, 1=Y) (1976-2016)	0.40	0.49	5248	0.36	0.48	631	0.207	1976 1977 1980 1982 1984 1985 1987 1988 1989 1990 1991 1993 1994 1996 1998 2000 2002 2004 2006 2008 2010 2012 2014 2016
Should a book claiming that blacks are inferior be removed from the public library? (0=N, 1=Y) (1976-2016)	0.43	0.50	5245	0.47	0.50	630	0.213	1976 1977 1980 1982 1984 1985 1987 1988 1989 1990 1991 1993 1994 1996 1998 2000 2002 2004 2006 2008 2010 2012 2014 2016
Should people prejudiced against any racial or ethnic group be allowed to hold public meetings? (0=N, 1=Y) (2004-2014)	0.29	0.45	615	0.31	0.47	67	0.738	2004 2014
Should a person be allowed to make a speech in your community claiming that blacks are inferior? (0=N, 1=Y) (1976-2016)	0.58	0.49	5300	0.53	0.50	642	0.094	1976 1977 1980 1982 1984 1985 1987 1988 1989 1990 1991 1993 1994 1996 1998 2000 2002 2004 2006 2008 2010 2012 2014 2016
During last few years, anyone in your family brought friend who was (opposite race) home for dinner? (0=N, 1=Y) (1980-2006)	0.50	0.50	2756	0.40	0.49	332	0.041	1980 1982 1984 1985 1987 1988 1989 1990 1991 1993 1994 1996 2006

Support law allowing homeowner to refuse to sell home to African Americans, as opposed to law preventing homeowner from discriminating (or no law at all)? (0=N, 1=Y) (1978-2016)	0.22	0.41	4062	0.24	0.43	436	0.570	1978 1980 1983 1984 1986 1987 1988 1989 1990 1991 1993 1994 1996 2004 2006 2008 2010 2012 2014 2016
Favor living in neighborhood where half of neighbors were...								
Black? (1=strongly oppose; 5=strongly favor) (1990-2016)	3.36	1.05	3817	3.32	1.03	477	0.529	1990 1996 1998 2000 2002 2004 2006 2008 2010 2012 2014 2016
Asian? (1=strongly oppose; 5=strongly favor) (1990-2000)	3.23	0.99	467	2.99	1.10	71	0.228	1990 2000
Hispanic? (1=strongly oppose; 5=strongly favor) (1990-2000)	3.16	1.05	473	2.80	0.93	72	0.007	1990 2000
How feel about close relative or family member marrying...								
Af. Am? (1=strongly oppose; 5=strongly favor) (1990-2016)	3.83	1.12	2774	3.76	1.16	357	0.393	1990 1996 1998 2000 2002 2004 2006 2008 2010 2012 2014 2016
Asian? (1=strongly oppose; 5=strongly favor) (1990-2016)	3.49	0.96	1287	3.36	1.02	140	0.381	1990 2000 2004 2006 2008 2010 2012 2014 2016
Hispanic? (1=strongly oppose; 5=strongly favor) (1990-2016)	3.51	1.01	1287	3.34	1.00	138	0.195	1990 2000 2004 2006 2008 2010 2012 2014 2016

									1996	1998	2000	2002
									2004	2006	2008	2010
									2012	2014	2016	
In general, how close do you feel to Blacks? (1=very close; 9=not close at all) (1996-2016)	2.84	2.09	2461	2.78	2.01	317	0.712					

Note. P-value is for test of null hypothesis of equal means between analytic sample and dropped observations (based on linear WLS regression). Dropped observations are observations with outcome data but missing on one or more control variable.

References (Appendices)

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GENERAL SOCIAL SURVEYS, 1972-2014 CUMULATIVE CODEBOOK.