

DISSERTATION

MINORITY STRESS, WORK STRESS, AND HEALTH INEQUITY FOR
HISPANIC/LATINX K-12 TEACHERS IN COLORADO: A MIXED METHODS STUDY

Submitted by

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ABSTRACT

MINORITY STRESS, WORK STRESS, AND HEALTH INEQUITY FOR HISPANIC/LATINX K-12 TEACHERS IN COLORADO: A MIXED METHODS STUDY

While stressors related to teaching are already concerning (AFT, 2017; NIOSH, 2016), particularly amid the COVID-19 pandemic, Hispanic/Latinx teachers likely experience identity-related stressors in addition to occupational stressors (e.g., see NIOSH Occupational Health Equity Program, 2018). According to the Allostatic Load Model (McEwen & Stellar, 1993) and the Minority Stress Model (Meyer, 2006), these combined stressors may lead to increased strain on the body, taking a toll on the overall health and wellness of this group. Using a mixed-methods design, I recruited participants in partnership with the CEA (CEA; teachers union) in November 2020. The sample consisted of 851 Colorado teachers and union members who completed an online survey on their experiences of discrimination, stress, and health in their workplace. Twenty-six of these teachers (most of whom were Hispanic/Latinx or Teachers of Color) were interviewed for 45-60 minutes on these experiences as well as their feelings regarding diversity affinity groups as a practice to celebrate diverse identities in their workplace. First, I found that Hispanic/Latinx teachers experienced more intersectional discrimination than white teachers; however, there were no group differences in workplace discrimination or work-related stress in this study. Secondly, Hispanic/Latinx teachers did not have poorer health than white teachers, though they had marginally poorer health than non-Hispanic Teachers of Color. Finally, while I hypothesized that organizational support would moderate the relationship between workplace discrimination and health conditions, I found that work discrimination did

not predict more health conditions/symptoms, but organizational support did predict fewer health conditions/symptoms. Nearly every Hispanic/Latinx interviewee reported workplace hostility, and most had experienced one or more forms of discrimination at work. Many teachers responded favorably to the idea of diversity affinity groups to celebrate diversity and deter feelings of isolation, but there were also several concerns (i.e., the potential for isolation or surface-level efforts) regarding their implementation. While discrimination in the workplace did not impact Hispanic/Latinx teachers' health, these results suggest that organizational support can have a powerful and positive effect on teachers' health, as other occupational literature suggests (Baran et al., 2012). Future research should study these variables longitudinally and outside of a pandemic and consider other implications of discrimination in the workplace besides its effect on health within this population. The results from this dissertation suggest that diversity affinity groups may be an excellent resource for repairing harm and making change, but above all, Hispanic/Latinx teachers simply need to be heard.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

A. Problem

In the United States, there exist significant health disparities among Hispanic and Latino/a/x populations. Those who identify as Hispanic and/or Latinx¹ have a higher risk of developing asthma; HIV/AIDS; liver disease; diabetes; lung, stomach, liver, and cervical cancer; obesity; and dying by suicide or homicide relative to non-Hispanic white people (who, in comparison do not experience race/ethnicity-based discrimination in the U.S.; U.S. Office of Minority Health, 2019; Vega et al., 2009). Disproportionality in health outcomes (i.e., health disparities)² often manifests as a result of health inequity—that is, unequal opportunity for all individuals to reach their health potential that is avoidable, unfair, and unjust (Office of Disease Prevention and Health Promotion [ODPHP], 2019).

In considering the etiology of health disparities among Hispanic/Latinx populations, it is essential to understand social determinants of health. Social determinants of health include social and environmental factors (e.g., education, neighborhood, workplace, income, housing) that deter or promote one's health potential (Marmot & Wilkinson, 2005). Race/ethnicity-based segregation in the U.S. plays a large role in differentially distributing social determinants of health (via redlining, “white flight,” and gentrification; see White & Borrell, 2011 for a review). These practices have historically afforded greater health opportunity to white people relative to People of Color (including Hispanic/Latinx people), as “white spaces”—that is, higher income

¹“Hispanic” and “Latino/a/x” are often used interchangeably. Latino/a/x refers to someone from Latin American descent, while Hispanic refers to someone from Spain or a Spanish speaking country *or* a Spanish speaking person living in the United States, typically of Latin American descent. Thus, someone can be Latinx, Hispanic, or Latinx and Hispanic. I use Hispanic/Latinx throughout this dissertation to acknowledge the numerous identities one might hold.

²For a full list of key definitions relevant to this dissertation, see Appendix A.

spaces traditionally dominated by white people— tend to have more resources (green spaces, sidewalks, parks, access to healthy food, clean air and water, etc.) for optimal health attainment (Anderson, 2015; Bohonos, 2019; Goodman, 2016). Yet, research suggests “healthier” white spaces paradoxically often negatively impact the health of People of Color, as People of Color in white spaces are likely to experience race/ethnicity-based prejudice, discrimination, microaggressions, etc. (Anderson, 2015; Goodman, 2016; ODPHP, 2020; Tatum, 1987).

The United States K-12 public education system is a white space of large scale. While the U.S. K-12 student body itself is diverse (with nearly 50% of students identifying as People of Color), an overwhelming majority (82%) of public-school teachers are white (U.S. Department of Education, 2016). This homogeneity in leadership has devastating consequences for students and society at large. Consider: a mostly white teaching staff (or on the other side of the coin, few Teachers of Color) is related to higher rates of absenteeism and attrition, and lower academic achievement, high school graduation rates, and college enrollment rates among Students of Color (Gershenson et al., 2017; Miller et al., 2007). Put another way, the whiteness in K-12 teaching staff seems to indirectly exacerbate the existing whiteness in colleges and certain workplaces, and in turn, many neighborhoods and schools remain insidiously (but seemingly “inadvertently”) segregated, with white people afforded more health opportunity than People of Color. Moreover, as mentioned previously, the People of Color (e.g., Teachers of Color) within these white spaces often experience worsened health disparities, furthering the state of racial/ethnic inequities.

A.1. Situating the Current Study

Considering the white space as a social determinant of health, I propose that K-12 schools and districts, as white spaces, may be contributing to health disparities for Hispanic/Latinx K-12 teachers in Colorado and the larger United States. Specifically,

discrimination against Hispanic/Latinx teachers in conjunction with the existing disparities among this population likely affects the recruitment and retention of current and future Hispanic/Latinx teachers, maintaining the lack of diversity in this space (The Education Trust, 2018). Furthermore, Hispanic/Latinx K-12 teachers in Colorado and the U.S. likely experience stressors related to discrimination *in addition to* an already stressful work environment (K-12 teaching).

While health disparities among Hispanic/Latinx groups (including Hispanic/Latinx teachers) in the U.S. include an array of ailments, this dissertation focuses on general health, broadly. I focus on general health as opposed to any one particular health ailment for a few reasons. First, I consider the definition of health from the World Health Organization ([WHO], 1948), which is, “a state of *complete* [emphasis added] physical, mental, and social wellbeing and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity.” As this dissertation is predominately inspired by a public health perspective and the larger context of health equity, this definition makes the case for studying health disparities at a large scale in that it allows for a focus on a wide range of health ailments within a given population (Matney, 2017). Second, the population under study (Hispanic/Latinx teachers) lacks a comprehensive literature on the state of their specific health disparities (e.g., Shafer, 2018; Vega et al., 2009). For example, there exists little research on teacher health disparities, much less, racial/ethnic health disparities between teachers. Finally, literature has long suggested that various biological (e.g., genetics), psychological (e.g., emotional regulation), and social-cultural (e.g., education) factors interact to determine the stressor-strain process between individuals (Frankel et al., 2003). Thus, a widened scope to “health disparities” acknowledges the diversity of genetic-environment interactions that may influence health outcomes within a specific population.

A.1.a. The populations of study. While the outcome under study is quite broad, I narrow the span of this larger research issue by studying Hispanic/Latinx teachers only (as opposed to all Hispanic/Latinx individuals or all teachers). My rationale for this decision to focus on just Hispanic/Latinx K-12 teachers is threefold. First, a breadth of diversity exists among Hispanic/Latinx employees, and experiences in one occupational or institutional sector are unlikely to directly generalize to another. Second, intersectionality— the theory that dimensions of identity such as race, ethnicity, class, gender, sexual orientation, etc., all *intersect* to create unique experiences of privilege and oppression between individuals in a given group— posits that health disparities are best understood in the context of one’s many identities (Crenshaw, 1989). Occupational identity is a particularly salient dimension of identity in this study, as licensed Hispanic/Latinx teachers in the U.S. are more likely than Hispanic/Latinx people in the U.S. as a whole to have U.S. citizenship, a degree in higher education, English language-proficiency, health insurance access, and income attainment, all of which are related to discrimination, stress, and health status (García Bedolla, 2003; Pérez et al., 2008; Viruell-Fuentes et al., 2012). Third, speaking to restricting the focus of racial/ethnic identity to just Hispanic/Latinx individuals, the homogeneity among Colorado educators is more severe (i.e. more homogeneous) than the general U.S. with 34% of Colorado students identifying as Hispanic/Latinx, relative to just 6% of Colorado teachers; in the U.S., these numbers are 27% and 9%, respectively (National Center for Education Statistics, 2020; Colorado Department of Education [CDE], 2020). Thus, I maintain the importance of studying the current research question in the context of this historically understudied and underserved population in Colorado.

Still, it is important to note that Hispanic/Latinx teachers fit into other communities within this K-12 sample (e.g., all K-12 Teachers of Color, all Colorado K-12 teachers). Because I

collected data from as many Colorado K-12 teachers as possible, I have data on a larger group of Teachers of Color (some of whom are Hispanic/Latinx and some of whom are non-Hispanic/Latinx). Ideally, this project will lead to many studies among several groups of Colorado teachers (including Teachers of Color, broadly). However, given the scope of this dissertation and the aforementioned reasons to focus primarily on Hispanic/Latinx teachers in Colorado, my research questions and analyses remain narrowed to Hispanic/Latinx teachers. Nonetheless, some of the important literature reviewed in this dissertation involves race and racism corresponding to People of Color as a whole, and I will discuss Teachers of Color and teachers of other races/ethnicities as I see fit in my literature review and discussion.

B. Purpose, Significance, and Innovation

The purpose of this study is to understand the roles of occupational and minority stress as they relate to health outcomes for Hispanic/Latinx teachers in K-12 public schools. Therefore, this study has the potential to contribute to the knowledge base around the health, retention, and recruitment of Hispanic/Latinx K-12 teachers in Colorado and the larger United States.

It is well established that teachers' occupational stress is high: 46% of teachers report high daily stress—the highest rate among 15 similar professionals (e.g., nurses, doctors, bankers)—and 78% report feeling physically and emotionally exhausted at the end of the workday (PDK International, 2019). While stressors related to teaching are already concerning (American Federation of Teachers [AFT], 2017; National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health [NIOSH], 2016), Hispanic/Latinx teachers likely experience identity-related stressors in addition to occupational stressors (e.g., see NIOSH Occupational Health Equity Program, 2018). According to the Allostatic Load Model (McEwen & Stellar, 1993) and the Minority Stress Model (Meyer, 2006; see Chapter 1, Section D.2), these combined stressors among

Hispanic/Latinx teachers may lead to increased strain on the body, taking a toll on the overall health and wellness of this group.

This research is innovative in that it considers two insidious forms of stress in conjunction with one another. There is a body of research on minority stress, which is the chronic stress one experiences as a result of minority status, often as a result of direct or indirect discrimination toward Hispanic/Latinx populations (see Pérez et al., 2008 for a review). There also exists a literature on occupational stress—the stress one experiences as a result of their occupation—particularly as it relates to teaching (see Ganster & Rosen, 2013 for a review and Stewart, 2015 for a meta-analysis). However, comparatively little research exists that considers minority and occupational stress in combination with one another (e.g., Bloudoff-Indelicato, 2016) and far fewer studies consider these stresses in the K-12 education setting (The Education Trust, 2016; The Education Trust, 2018; Shafer, 2018).

Accordingly, this study has the potential to contribute to occupational, education, and public health literature in a number of important ways. First, this research provides a framework for considering minority and occupational stress together. This is an important innovation, considering research and testimony suggest that People of Color may experience higher occupational stress at work, relative to white people (Roberts et al., 2004; Shafer, 2018), and K-12 teaching is a historically underserved population sector. Second, a qualitative component to this study (see Chapter 3, Sections C and G) yields the potential to provide important insight on the culture of Colorado's K-12 schools from the perspective of Hispanic/Latinx teachers. Moreover, this portion of the study further provided an opportunity for Hispanic/Latinx teachers to offer individual feedback or recommendations for organization-level changes that may mitigate any occupational- and/or identity-related stress. Finally, this study involved working

closely with a community partner, the Colorado Education Association (CEA), Colorado's chapter of the National Education Association (NEA); the NEA is the largest teacher's union in the United States. The CEA aided in participant recruitment and data collection, and, in turn, the results and accompanying recommendations were shared with CEA leadership and members (which includes teachers and administration across the state). Thus, this partnership increases the likelihood that the findings and conclusions from this research will be applied and implemented in Colorado K-12 schools and beyond.

Importantly, the impact of this research has the potential to extend to students, families, and communities, as the wellbeing and retention of Teachers of Color is closely linked to a number of positive outcomes for Students of Color including reduced absenteeism, increased graduation rates, and higher college admittance and attendance rates (Carver-Thomas & Darling Hammond, 2017; Miller et al., 2007). Thus, this project has the potential to create public health impacts beyond the duration of this study including improved health among Hispanic/Latinx teachers and students in Colorado and the larger U.S., and reduced absenteeism and attrition among Hispanic/Latinx teachers and students. As a final point, the aforementioned health impacts to Hispanic/Latinx students and teachers have the potential to extend for years, as improved health and academics among minority students provide the potential for greater diversity among high school graduates, university students, and the workforce as a whole.

C. Research Questions

Each of the research questions pertains to patterns in Colorado K-12 public schools, with the hope that these findings can be applied more broadly to K-12 education in the United States.

Minority Stress

1. Do Hispanic/Latinx teachers (relative to white teachers) experience more workplace discrimination and/or general discrimination?
2. Do Hispanic/Latinx teachers (relative to white teachers) experience more work-related stress?

Health Disparities

3. Does identifying as Hispanic/Latinx predict poorer general health among teachers?

Moderators

4. Does organizational support moderate the influence of workplace discrimination on Hispanic/Latinx teachers' levels of general health?

Exploratory Research Questions: Diversity Affinity Groups

5. Is there a perceived need or desire for diversity affinity groups for Hispanic/Latinx teachers in Colorado school districts?
- 5a. If there is a need/desire for diversity affinity groups for Hispanic/Latinx teachers in Colorado school districts, how—based on teacher feedback— are these groups best implemented in Colorado K-12 school districts?

D. Theoretical Framework

D.1. The Allostatic Load Model

Researchers have long acknowledged the need to understand the physiological effects of occupational stress (i.e., work stress; Caplan et al., 1975; Ganster et al., 1982), despite many organizations only recently taking measures to deter work stress among their employees. The Allostatic Load Model (McEwen & Stellar, 1993) is a particularly useful application of work stressors and stress to human physiology, as it outlines the ways that occupational stressors may negatively affect workers' health and wellness (Ganster & Rosen, 2013). The Model suggests

that the body responds to demands (e.g., psychosocial work stressors) through psychological, physiological, and psychosomatic stress processes. In turn, these processes allow for the body to adapt to added strains without disrupting the body's allostasis—that is, the body's ability to cope and adjust to challenges or strains on its various systems (McEwen & Stellar, 1993).

According to the Allostatic Load Model, there are three processes, often referred to as mediators, by which the body responds. First, the *primary allostatic load process* reflects the initial adaptation the body undergoes in response to stress. At the psychological level, the body reacts with fear, tension, and anxiety; at the physiological level, the body releases key stress hormones including cortisol, epinephrine, norepinephrine, and interleukin-6; and at the psychosomatic level, the individual may experience sleep disturbance, headache, and fatigue, among other symptomatology (Ganster & Rosen, 2013; McEwen & Stellar, 1993). If primary mediators are consistently activated, the body then defers to its secondary mediators. The *secondary allostatic load process* involves “set point adjustments” within the metabolic, cardiovascular, and immune systems; during this stage, the body's insulin, glucose, cholesterol, triglycerides, blood pressure, and fibrinogen levels (among other key health indicators) may be disrupted. Abnormalities in these mediators are viewed in the larger health literature as risk factors for chronic disease, and thus tend to be indicators for clinical intervention (Ganster & Rosen, 2013; McEwen & Stellar, 1993). Should one not appropriately intervene during the secondary processes, the body transitions to the *tertiary allostatic load process*, which involves the emergence of adverse health outcomes including cardiovascular disease, type two diabetes, depression, bipolar disorder, and other disease endpoints. In some cases, the tertiary process ends in mortality.

Across many fields of study, the Allostatic Load Model has provided a helpful framework for understanding the development of morbidity and mortality (see Juster et al., 2010 for a review). While mapping progressions from the primary to tertiary stages in the context of occupational stress is beyond the scope and intent of this research, this model underscores the role of work, and in particular, work stress (i.e., occupational stress), as a critical social determinant of health in the short and long term by outlining the ways in which stressors lead to eventual strain in the form of health disparities (Ganster & Rosen, 2013; Sonnentag & Fritz, 2006). Thus, given the data on teacher stress and racial/ethnic disparities in K-12 education, I maintain that the role of occupational stress is a valuable avenue of study in an effort to address larger health disparities in the United States.

D.2. The Minority Stress Model.

While the Allostatic Load Model provides a framework for understanding workplace stressors, there are individual differences in stressors and coping (i.e., additional social determinants of health) between teachers, which should be accounted for to best understand health disparities among and between populations. According to the Minority Stress Model (Meyer, 2003), health disparities can be explained, in part, by the level of chronic stress one experiences as a result of their minority status (i.e., “minority stress”). Meyer (2003) posits that the social stress (chronic strain that manifests as a product of an individual’s social environment) associated with minority status is indirectly and directly related to health disparities among these populations (see Meyer et al., 2007 for a review). Accordingly, social stress among marginalized populations may manifest as a function of prejudice or discrimination at the individual, interpersonal, institutional, and systemic levels, which may (further) result in lower socioeconomic status, lower health status, limited education, employment, and/or healthcare

access, among other negative outcomes (Cavanagh et al., 2017; Dunlop et al., 2003; Evans & Erickson, 2019; Meyer, 2003). Though originally applied to lesbian, gay, and bisexual populations, this model can also be applied to dimensions of race/ethnicity, gender, class, as well as the intersection of said identities (Calabrese et al., 2016; Meyer, 2003; Stojanovski et al., 2017).

To be sure, minority stress (e.g., discrimination) permeates into workplace settings at the interpersonal and systemic levels. Moreover, in support of the current study, Hispanic/Latinx teachers are a minority in Colorado school districts, comprising only 6% of Colorado's K-12 teaching force, despite Colorado's population being 22% Hispanic/Latinx (and Colorado's K-12 student population being 34% Hispanic/Latinx; U.S. Census Bureau, 2019; CDE, 2019). While there is no available research or data on discrimination amongst Hispanic/Latinx teachers (underscoring the importance of this work), Colorado and the larger U.S. have no shortage of cases of direct and indirect workplace discrimination targeted at Hispanic/Latinx workers across employment sectors. This indicates that minority stress is salient for this group in the state and country, and that this group's safety may be compromised in the workplace, especially in K-12 education (e.g., see Blakemore, 2016; Colorado Wins, 2016; Hindi, 2019).

In accordance with the Minority Stress Model, minority stress in the form of discrimination leads to worsened health outcomes among and between historically marginalized groups, including Hispanic/Latinx people. For example, research using the Minority Stress Model suggests that Black and Latino/a/x sexual minorities had worsened rates of suicidality, mental health disorders, eating disorders, and lower physical and mental wellbeing overall (relative to their white and straight counterparts; Calabrese et al., 2015; Feldman & Meyer, 2010; O'Donnell et al., 2011), and these adverse outcomes were indeed attributed to experiences of

daily discrimination. Unfortunately, little research exists on racial/ethnic health and safety disparities among Hispanic/Latinx teachers. In fact, a psycINFO search of “health disparities” and “teachers” yielded 195 results, but no studies on health disparities among K-12 teachers at all. Rather, many of the yielded studies were about *teaching* health disparities or diversity, equity, and inclusion topics; the relationship between educational attainment and health disparities; disparities in health education/physical education; health disparities interventions in K-12 education; referral disparities; adult education and health; etc.

Still, it is well-established that Hispanic/Latinx individuals have worsened health outcomes in the short and long term, particularly in Colorado and the Mountains and Plains region³ (The U.S. Office of Minority Health, 2020; Vega et al., 2009). For example, Hispanic/Latinx Coloradans have higher rates of obesity and inactivity, chronic disease (i.e., liver disease, cirrhosis, diabetes), and infectious disease, relative to white Coloradans (Colorado Office of Health Equity, 2015). Moreover, experiences of marginalization and discrimination negatively contribute to perceptions of safety in the workplace, which is related to health (Industrial Safety and Hygiene News, 2019). Together these data suggest that systemic minority stress in the workplace may be contributing to health and safety disparities in this racial/ethnic group across the United States, Colorado, and importantly, in Colorado K-12 schools. These patterns simply have yet to be studied.

D.3. Critical Race Theory and Latino Critical Theory

While the Allostatic Load Model and the Minority Stress Model orient the study of stress and strain in the current research, it is important to root this project in Critical Race Theory

³The Mountains and Plains region encompasses Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Montana, Wyoming, North Dakota, and South Dakota.

(CRT) and Latino Critical Theory (LatCrit), as both inform the epistemological approach to the research questions at hand.

D.1.a. Critical Race Theory. Critical Race Theory (CRT) was developed by legal scholars (most of whom were People of Color) to challenge the idea that scholarship and science (and particularly social science) are objective and independent from their social, political, and economic environments (Crenshaw et al., 1995). CRT argues, rather, that “intellectual work is always situated, reflective to varying degrees of the cultural, historical, and institutional conditions of its production.” (Crenshaw et al., 1995, p. xxvi). In the context of this study, in taking a CRT approach, I therefore acknowledge that educational systems at the small and large scale are situated within a United States culture that has been created and maintained by mostly white people (and mostly men, straight people, cisgender people, able-bodied people, educated people, and middle- and upper-class people). I acknowledge that school segregation and racism constructed the U.S. education system and these forces continue to play out in every school district across the country. Moreover, I acknowledge that much of the science and scholarship I use for this dissertation has been and continues to be colonialized and influenced by white-dominant culture (Roy, 2018; Tanmoy Das, 2020). In acknowledging these truths, I maintain that racism exists in the historical and contemporary backdrop of this work, despite my efforts to incorporate diverse scholarship and perspectives.

While CRT has several major themes situated in this larger narrative, the most salient themes in this research are storytelling and intersectional theory (i.e., intersectionality). The first, storytelling (i.e. “counter-storytelling”), acknowledges that in addition to or beyond traditional academic scholarship, personal narratives serve as exceptional tools for understanding instances of race and racism (Crenshaw et al., 1995). In fact, storytelling circumvents and challenges the

hierarchy that maintains whose and what stories get told and how they are told. For example, in collecting personal narratives (i.e., stories) from Hispanic/Latinx teachers on experiences of racism, as I do in this study, one side-steps the white-dominant legal, scientific, or institutional barriers that often stand in the way of such narratives reaching the academic discourse on racism or the organizational culture in K-12 education. In other words, storytelling via interviews yields the opportunity to hear from perspectives that may be otherwise muted in professional, educational, or scientific contexts.

Secondly, intersectional theory argues that facets of identity (e.g., gender, race/ethnicity, sexual orientation) must not be considered exclusively from one another, but rather as interwoven, interacting identities that contribute to unique experiences of oppression and opportunity (Crenshaw, 1989; Carbado et al., 2013). Intersectionality was first developed by legal scholar, Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989; 1991) and other Women of Color to address the experiences of Black women (who experience racism *and* sexism) in the legal system. Crenshaw argued that racism and sexism should not be considered unidimensional oppressors (as they were and are in the legal system) but rather, as intersecting oppressors. Put another way, Crenshaw argued that the racism experienced by Black women is different than that of Black men, and the sexism experienced by Black women is different than that of white women, and thus, the intersectional oppression faced by Black women cannot be viewed as a “sum” of identities or oppressors (e.g., a sum of racism and sexism or as Dr. Lisa Bowleg (2008) so powerfully argues in her pivotal article, “Black + lesbian + woman \neq Black lesbian woman”), but rather a unique and intersectional experience. Since its genesis, intersectionality has been extended to encompass a variety of identity sectors including sex, gender, race, ethnicity, class, sexual orientation, ability, education, etc. In the current study, I acknowledge that teachers have unique occupational experiences as a result of their differing intersectional identities, which should be accounted for in the methodology and larger dialogue concerning this work.

In sum, CRT provides a framework for recognizing discrimination and bias in the systemic and social structures under study. Thus, I incorporated CRT components of storytelling and intersectionality, particularly within the qualitative portions of this study (i.e., phone interviews). Whereas quantitative analyses tend to consider oppression in an “additive” way by default (i.e., “someone with one marginalized identity is 50% as oppressed as someone with two marginalized identities), qualitative data collection allows individuals themselves to address their experiences and label their identities in the context of the “stories” brought upon by interview questions (Collins, 1993; Windsong, 2016).

D.1.b. Latino Critical Theory. Latino Critical Theory (“LatCrit”) is an application and expansion of Critical Race Theory to issues concerning Latino/a/x people in the United States such as “language, immigration, ethnicity, culture, identity, phenotype, and sexuality” (Degado Bernal, 2002; Valdes, 2005). Importantly, LatCrit uses the term “Latino” rather than the term “Hispanic”, as “Hispanic” is a label that was believed to, at least partially, come from white and/or Anglo origin in the 1980s. Thus, many scholars prefer the term Latino/a/x as it does not take away from the diversity of this group.⁴ LatCrit acknowledges that white supremacy culture often paints Latino/a/x populations as a monolith (e.g., everyone in this population is Roman Catholic, heterosexual, Hispanic, etc.). Instead, LatCrit centers the diversity among Latino/a/x populations while outlining the relationship between race and ethnicity among this population.

LatCrit is comprised of three basic “insights”: 1) intersectionality, 2) multiple consciousness, and 3) looking to the bottom. Multiple consciousness is similar to the aforementioned intersectionality (see above in the section on CRT) in that it argues that people

⁴I use “Hispanic/Latinx” in this dissertation because while the term, “Hispanic” may have white supremacy roots, many people identify with this terminology (Meraji, 2020). Moreover, the origin and distinction of Latino/a/x from Hispanic in social, political, and historical contexts is often afforded to those who are able to attain higher levels of education.

hold many identities, and thus, the study of people must transcend single, “unidimensional” groups. Looking to the bottom, on the other hand, attests that LatCrit scholars and leaders should align their goals with the goals of those “at the bottom of social hierarchies” (Valdes, 2005). Thus, research investigating issues affecting the Latino/a/x community, particularly in the context of race and racism, should be carefully oriented in these principles.

In considering the current study, LatCrit serves as a framework and reminder for the ways in which the United States and white supremacy culture incorrectly assumes homogeneity among Hispanic/Latinx people and/or affords power and privilege based on an unjust social hierarchy. I use these principles of LatCrit as a reminder to continuously and critically consider the diversity of identities within the Hispanic/Latinx teachers I interview and survey. Moreover, I employed methods to give voice to those “at the bottom of social hierarchies” in this sample (e.g., in this case, teachers who may not otherwise have power or safety to speak up regarding issues of discrimination in their workplace); such methods occurred in the data collection, data analysis, and results interpretation phases (e.g. via member checking, see Chapter 3, Section G).

E. Terminology Decisions

E.1 Latino/a/x

The term “Latinx” is a gender-neutral application to “Latino/a”, which is the more traditional terminology for people from the Latin American region of the world. This application of “x” to Latino/a is currently under debate among Latino/a/x and Hispanic scholars. On one hand, some argue that the term, “Latinx” is linguistically imperialistic, as its pronunciation is tailored toward English speakers; in Spanish, the “x” can take on a “s” or “h” sound (referring to the “x”, “s”, and “h” sounds made by the English language), and thus those who are not fluent in English may not know the intended pronunciation (Guerra & Orbea, 2015). Moreover, those opposed to

this terminology argue that white and/or English-speaking cultures imposed this specification of the word without adequately consulting those within the culture. On the contrary, others, including Latino/a/x genderqueer scholars, praise the term, appreciating its application of “mestizaje”—a tradition of Latin American culture to avoid racial/ethnic or gender binaries (Scharrón-del Río & Aja, 2015). These scholars and activists further point out that not all people who identify as Latino/a/x speak Spanish, which acknowledges and perhaps even refutes the pronunciation criticism (depending on the applications of the term). Moreover, they note that racism, sexism, and homophobia are largely embedded in most cultures, and their remedy is structural change (Scharrón-del Río & Aja, 2015). Ultimately, I believe that this is not my decision or argument to weigh in on (as I am neither a member of the Hispanic/Latino/a/x or LGBTQIA communities). However, in considering both arguments, my decision for this dissertation is to use the term “Latinx” unless otherwise specified, given the values and foundation of intersectionality and intersectional Latino/a/x Hispanic scholars and activists. That said, when I review literature that specifies “Hispanic” or “Latino/a” as the authors’ preferred terminology, I will respect the original scholars’ word choices by using the terminology that they first employed. For a full list of terminology used for this dissertation see Appendix A.

E.2 white vs. White

Scholars differ in their opinions regarding the capitalization of “white” as it pertains to one’s race. On one hand, some argue that “white” should be capitalized any time it is used (or any other color is used) to describe race (Painter, 2020). Similarly, some argue that white people in the U.S. do not identify with a race and are often times not expected to identify with a race, and that is a privilege. Some scholars in favor of capitalizing “white” argue that doing so forces white people to acknowledge their racial identity (and challenges the idea that white is “the norm,” while also

acknowledging white supremacy that has permeated much of Western culture). On the other hand, scholars argue that Black (and Hispanic, Asian-American, etc.) should be capitalized, and white should not be capitalized. These scholars advise against capitalizing white noting that doing so risks “following the lead of white supremacists” (Laws, 2020). Others attest that white people do not share history and culture in the way that Black or Hispanic/Latinx people do, nor do they have experience being discriminated against on the basis of their skin color, and thus, white should remain lowercase, despite the capitalization of other racial/ethnic identities. Professor Kimberlé Crenshaw, whose work serves as the foundation for this dissertation recommends keeping “white” lowercase while capitalizing all other races/ethnicities. Again, I think that as a white person, this is not my matter to weigh in on (rather, I should rely on Scholars of Color and other People of Color who have been most impacted by white supremacy and whiteness). In considering the opposing arguments on this matter, I have elected to capitalize “Black”, “People of Color”, etc. and keep “white” lowercase.

F. Research Positionality Statement

As a diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) researcher, it is important that I situate this research in the context of my own unique identity, biases, values, and experiences (Crenshaw, 1989). All ultimately shape the research process, including (but not limited to) “what [the researcher(s)] choose(s) to investigate, the angle of the investigation, the methods judged most adequate for this purpose, the findings considered most appropriate, and the framing and communications of conclusions” (Malterud, 2001). I first acknowledge that I only have true experience living in my own unique identities (i.e., my positionality). Thus, my research cannot fully capture reality for the participants in my study; rather, I can only report and attempt to interpret the data reported by participants.

Moreover, my own identities ultimately influence the way that I model, report, and interpret the variables in my study. I am a white woman and graduate student. I do not have lived experience as a Hispanic/Latinx person in the United States and I have never worked as a K-12 teacher. Thus, I am personally unfamiliar with the identity-related stress (racial/ethnic discrimination) and occupational stress I am researching. While many CRT scholars (Crenshaw, 1989; Valdes, 2005) have supported a large, diverse community of researchers in lines of diversity, equity, and inclusion work (provided those in the community are respectful and conscientious of the work they are doing and do not compete with or drown out the voices of People of Color), the blind spots that come with my privilege and positionality should not be overlooked. Much of my knowledge on health disparities and discrimination comes from educational or advocacy work—in respect to the former, I have a Bachelor's degree in Psychology with a minor in Women's Health and Wellness and a Master's degree in Applied Social and Health Psychology. I have also interned for Dr. Kimberlé Crenshaw, which greatly supports my knowledge of CRT and Intersectionality. An educational perspective to occupational- and identity-related stressors as they relate to disparities in the Hispanic/Latinx K-12 teaching force is valuable but ultimately incomprehensive in that (except for the case of hearing from Dr. Crenshaw herself) it is sourced and filtered through academic research and narrative (which, as I noted earlier in this document, is situated in a white supremacy and masculine and heteronormative culture). In respect to the latter, I immerse myself in antiracist and anti-white supremacy groups, media, literature, and politics. I believe that these experiences and perspectives strengthen my work; however, these social justice tools are incomprehensive in comparison to lived experience, and I do not believe that my perspective as an activist compares

to personal perspectives. Thus, I acknowledge that this work cannot comprehensively answer the research questions, despite my very best efforts.

Nonetheless, I believe in the importance of this work. I believe that despite the limitations that accompany my positionality with the research questions, this work must be done. I do not believe that it is practical or appropriate to solely rely on those with more comprehensive, personal experiences with discrimination and/or occupational stress to contribute to this literature. To be sure, teachers are overworked and underpaid as is. Rather, I feel that it is important to use my privilege and training to elevate this work, while acknowledging my limitations and relying heavily on the existing narratives and theory presented by those before me (and especially narratives from those who are Hispanic/Latinx and/or not white; e.g., Bailey, 2016; Crenshaw, 1989; Delgado Bernal, 2002; Meyer, 2003; Valdes, 2005). I also wish to defer to any dissertations, research, or dialogue presented by People of Color or teachers that exist alongside or after the publication of this dissertation. It is my utmost goal to use my position with the research questions responsibly, and ultimately for the benefit of others, particularly the Hispanic/Latinx community. Still, I acknowledge that my position undoubtedly affects the work that I do and the conclusions that I make, despite my efforts to approach this work objectively. My research—particularly my understanding of the results—should be interpreted (and challenged, when appropriate) accordingly. In order to aid in this challenging, I employed “member checking”—checking my interpretation of results in partnership with the members of the groups under study (Hispanic/Latinx K-12 teachers) in an effort to best serve this group and supplement my blind spots as a white woman and researcher outside of K-12 education (see Chapter 3, Sections C and G for details). I also elevate the voices of People of Color and rely on work by People of Color whenever possible. To conclude, I quote the late Dr. Toni Morrison,

whose words ultimately serve as an inspiration for pursuing this work: *“When you get these jobs that you have been so brilliantly trained for, just remember that your real job is that if you are free, you need to free somebody else. If you have some power, then your job is to empower somebody else.”*

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

The following literature review can be organized into four sections. Section A provides the foundation for the etiology of health disparities explored in this work. In Section A, I discuss the stressor-strain process by differentiating stress from stressors from strain and connecting each of these terminologies to the etiology of health and health disparities in the workplace. Sections B and C orient the stressor-strain process, more specifically, to the study at hand. Section B outlines the stressor-strain process specific to occupational stress experienced by Teachers of Color, and in particular, Hispanic/Latinx teachers in Colorado. Section C focuses on the stressor-strain process specific to identity-related stress among Teachers of Color, and in particular, Hispanic/Latinx teachers in Colorado (i.e., Hispanic/Latinx teachers' potential experiences of discrimination in schools). Last, Section D consists of a brief, exploratory review of the literature on diversity affinity groups as tools to mitigate the interactive occupational and minority stress among employees; in this section, I position the potential effectiveness of diversity affinity groups in the context of K-12 education. I follow these sections with a brief discussion of intersectionality.

A. Stressors, Strain, and Health in the Current Study

It is important to situate this study in the larger dialogue of stress, stressors, strain, and health. Occupational health psychology researchers have discussed the nuances of studying “stress” in the workplace and otherwise, as the term is often used broadly and indiscriminately (McEwen, 2005). This is generally unsurprising, as stress can encompass the feeling one may experience after a physically demanding workout or exciting activity (“eustress”), the intense excitement or nervousness felt before or during public speaking (“acute stress”), or the subtle,

unrelenting fatigue and anxiety one feels in a day-to-day job (“chronic stress”). Stress can motivate and protect, and yet, stress can lead to a host of mental and physical health ailments. In short, stress can be both good and bad for the body, depending on the purpose it is serving in the individual and situational contexts.

In addition to these nuances, stress is often used interchangeably with “stressors” and/or “strain.” Stress is defined in psychology as a type of *emotional or mental response* resulting from adverse or demanding circumstances (Thatcher & Miller, 2003). Stressors, on the other hand, are “*stimuli* that produce a stress response in most individuals” (Thatcher & Miller, 2003). Finally, strain is the “individual’s *internal response* (i.e., effect) in which the demand(s) are excessive and perceived as being beyond the individual’s ability to cope with them” (Scott & Charteris, 2003). Importantly, strains can be physiological (e.g. heart disease, cancer), psychological (e.g., depression, anxiety), or behavioral (e.g., lower productivity, turnover; Kahn & Byosiére, 1992) in the workplace. In the current study, I view occupational stress and minority stress as forms of chronic stress, work demands and discrimination as stressors, and physical and mental health ailments as strains. I expand on each of these variables and their accompanying definitions in the following paragraphs.

A.1. Chronic Stress.

Chronic stress is one of the most detrimental forms of stress in that its effects are subtle and unrelenting. While the human physiological system is designed to effectively manage acute stress and eustress, which tend to be more short-lasting, the body is relatively inept at adapting to chronic stress (Centre for Studies on Human Stress, 2017). Moreover, individuals, workplaces, and health care providers are less likely to recognize chronic stress (relative to acute stress or eustress), and therefore, this type of stress is less likely to be acknowledged, accommodated,

and/or treated accordingly (American Psychological Association [APA], 2019). For example, an organization might recognize an employee's recent car accident or public speaking opportunity as stressful and thus offer appropriate time off or interpersonal or organizational support to help the employee prepare for or recover from this event. Unfortunately, organizations have fewer safeguards in place for helping employees manage their chronic stress, particularly when the chronic stress is personal. Consider: most organizations in the United States lack any sort of policy for Paid Family and Medical Leave (i.e., parental leave), leaving employees with the difficult task of managing their chronic stress related to caring for a sick or dying family member, battling chronic illness or pain, or adjusting to life with a new child *in addition to* any physical, financial, and occupational demands they are managing (National Partnership for Women & Families, 2020). Likewise, few workplaces have any sort of policy for accommodating employees who are victims of abuse, going through divorce, managing financial hardship, or otherwise (Sirgy & Lee, 2013), accentuating the comparative incapacity that organizations have in supporting their employees undergoing chronic stress. Occupational stress and minority stress are both critical and common forms of chronic stress that workplaces, including K-12 education, are recognizing and addressing amongst their employees to differing degrees.

A.1.a. Occupational Stress. Occupational stress can encompass a variety of experiences in the workplace, depending on the worker and their respective context. The National Institute of Occupational Safety and Health ([NIOSH], 1999) defines occupational stress (i.e., job stress) as “the harmful physical and emotional responses that occur when the requirements of the job do not match the capabilities, resources, or needs of the worker. Worker characteristics and work conditions both contribute to the development of occupational stress, and occupational stress

therefore leads to individual strain via disruptions to the nervous system. In accordance with the aforementioned literature, early warning signs of occupational stress are in line with the symptomatology in the *primary allostatic load process* (e.g., headache, sleep disturbances, upset stomach, etc.). Thus, organizations and researchers can work to mitigate occupational stress via targeted organization-wide efforts to eradicate occupational stressors (NIOSH, 1999).

Organizations, researchers, and public health officials have begun to acknowledge the role of occupational stress as a common form of chronic stress and as a predictor of poor health (e.g., see Ganster & Rosen, 2013 for a multidisciplinary review). Acknowledging sources of workplace stress is a critical first step to supporting employees and reducing strain via the workplace. Encouragingly, the World Health Organization ([WHO], 2019) recently deemed “burn-out” an occupational phenomenon in the International Classification of Diseases-11 (ICD-11) influencing health status and/or contact with health services, increasing the likelihood that employers and healthcare professionals will address and treat occupational stress. While most organizations have far to go in deterring and treating their employees’ organizational stress as a whole, chronic stress from one’s workplace is increasingly acknowledged as a contributor to strain among employees.

A.1.b. Minority Stress. On the contrary, minority stress is a form of chronic stress that individuals, institutions, and societies are only just beginning to acknowledge, though it is certainly not new (Meyer, 2003). Minority stress is defined as, “the relationship between minority and dominant values and resultant conflict with the social environment experienced by minority group members” (APA, 2020). Thus, this type of chronic stress stems from a hostile or dominant environment whereby minority group members experience marginalization or conflict, for example, through prejudice, discrimination, harassment, or victimization (Meyer, 2003).

Importantly, members of minority or marginalized groups are not predisposed to minority stress and the strain that ensues. In fact, epidemiologists very rarely attribute health disparities (largely agreed upon as outcomes of minority stress, and thus, “strains”, according to the aforementioned definitions) to biological differences among racial/ethnic groups (National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, & Medicine, 2017). Rather, minority stress develops in response to one’s social environment as one constantly adapts and responds to negative social stressors (Meyer, 2003). Thus, while often unbeknownst to organizations, minority stress is a critical form of chronic stress to take into consideration upon studying work-related health disparities at the macro (societal), meso (state), and micro (organizational) levels.

Hispanic/Latinx-Specific Minority Stress. As discrimination (i.e., “minority stress”) is the unfair behavior directed toward people based on their group membership(s), it is important to acknowledge that group memberships vary among and between people and thus, minority stress can present and manifest differently between identity groups. It is nonsensical to assume that the intent and impact of race/ethnicity-based discrimination is the same across those with varying racial/ethnic identities. Rather, scholars and activists attest that discrimination manifests differently from group to group and person to person (Crenshaw, 1989; 1991). In fact, Scheim and Bauer (2019) argue that discrimination is best understood and measured intersectionally, taking into consideration all of one’s identities (e.g., sex, gender, race, sexual orientation, etc.). In an effort to synthesize this body of research for the purposes of this research question and for social, political, and public health concerns, I include research on both Hispanic/Latinx discrimination and race/ethnicity-based discrimination, broadly. I also include literature on intersectional Hispanic/Latinx populations (e.g., Latina women). I believe that in order to understand minority stress at the interpersonal *and* institutional levels, one must consider the

nature of racism in the United States as a whole, and in conjunction with the racism and discrimination that Hispanic/Latinx people face specifically (not to mention the intersectional oppressions faced by Hispanic/Latinx people).

Experiences of race/ethnicity-based discrimination (i.e., minority stress) are not uncommon among Hispanic/Latinx populations. Roughly 40% of Hispanic/Latinx people report having experienced discrimination in the last year, with most common experiences including: being called offensive names, being told to go back to their country (regardless as to whether the individual is a U.S. citizen, U.S. born, etc., though it is worth noting that this treatment is offensive regardless of its relevance), receiving harsh criticism for speaking Spanish in public, or receiving general unfair treatment because of their Hispanic/Latinx identity (Hugo Lopez et al., 2018). Moreover, Hispanic/Latinx culture tends to hold more collectivist values, whereas Eurocentric U.S. culture tends to hold more individualistic values, indicating that discrimination toward the group (and not just at the individual level) may be especially salient (Rinderle & Montoya, 2008; Krogstad & Lopez, 2016; Shorey et al., 2002). In fact, one study found that Hispanic/Latinx people reported more group discrimination than personal discrimination (Shorey et al., 2002), and the majority (78%) of Hispanic/Latinx people believe there to be discrimination against their group (National Public Radio [NPR], 2017).

Evidence of Hispanic/Latinx Minority Stress. Unsurprisingly, there tends to be a negative relationship between discrimination and general health among Hispanic/Latinx people (Finch et al., 2009; Howarter & Bennett, 2013; Lee & Ahn, 2012; Perreira et al., 2015). More specifically, higher rates of discrimination are positively associated with higher depressive symptoms and lower physical health-related quality of life (Molina et al., 2019). For example, studies suggest that Latinos who experience(d) race/ethnicity-based discrimination are/were

more likely to have a higher resting systolic blood pressure (Salomon & Jaguszyn, 2008), higher propensities for hypertension (Albert et al., 2008), and increased risk for cardiovascular disease (see Balfour et al., 2016 for a review). Another study found that mental health was poorer among Latinos in New York City who reported more race/ethnicity-based discrimination (Stuber et al., 2003), relative to those who reported less race/ethnicity-based discrimination; these mental health consequences persist in studies even after accounting for overarching stress (Flores et al., 2008). Importantly, Hispanic/Latinx people are also more likely to experience race/ethnicity-based discrimination in the healthcare system, which may exacerbate health disparities (Shavers et al., 2012). In fact, disparate breast cancer care among Latina women was linked to experiences of systematic discrimination (Haas et al., 2008). To conclude, while minority stress is a somewhat broad concept, there is little question as to whether minority stress exists among this population given the disparate health outcomes among Hispanic/Latinx groups, further situating the importance of this work.

A.2. Stressors.

Stressors (i.e., events or variables that cause stress) relevant to this study include occupational demands (e.g., pressure from administration, time constraints, monitoring or disciplining children), and identity-related demands (that is, the interpersonal, systemic, and institutional discrimination in the workplace).

A.2.a. Occupational Demands. Occupational demands vary between work sectors, depending on the nature and context of the work. However, most people experience occupational demands in their careers to some degree; in fact, 25% of employees view their jobs as the top source of stressors in their lives and 40% of workers say their job is “very or extremely stressful.” (NIOSH, 1999; 2016). Generally, occupational demands include heavy workload, fast

work pace, infrequent rest breaks, long hours, poor management style, conflicting or unclear job expectations, lack of social support, lack of job control, job uncertainty, poor leadership or interpersonal relationships, telepressure (the pressure to respond to electronic communication quickly during or outside of work hours; Barber & Santuzzi, 2015), emotional labor, unhealthy organizational culture or climate, poor work-life balance, harassment, discrimination, unsupportive supervision, unclear or unfair performance evaluation systems, low compensation, low status, lack of promotion opportunities, among others (NIOSH, 1999; WHO, 2007). To be sure, occupational demands vary as a function of employer, employee, employment sector, supervisor, etc. However, organizations can design their work environment and content to prevent their respective occupational demands from exceeding employees' resources to cope in an ultimate effort to interrupt or mitigate the stressor-strain process in the workplace (Bakker & Demerouti, 2007).

A.2.b. Identity-Related Demands. Though employees within work sectors tend to share occupational stressors, there also exist differential individual stressors that may exacerbate or add to the stressor-strain process in workplaces. Individual stressors can encompass an array of variables (e.g., familial or marital problems, financial strain, physical or mental illness); however, this study focuses on the individual stressors of race/ethnicity-based discrimination (i.e., racism) experienced by historically marginalized groups in the workplace. In the following paragraphs, I describe several different ways race/ethnicity-based discrimination may show up in a workplace setting.

It is important to note up front that racism is a “loaded” term that brings out a host of negative emotions (e.g., anger, guilt, shame) among people, especially when they are white. Importantly, racism is not always explicit (e.g. physical or verbal) harassment or discrimination

from an individual (or group of individuals) based on the color of someone's skin. In fact, these forms of *explicit racism* are far rarer today than in previous decades (DiAngelo, 2018). More often in the 21st century than in previous centuries, racism is systematic and subtle, operating through unconscious biases and policies shaped by white dominant culture (Came & Griffith, 2017). As Dr. Robin DiAngelo (2018), puts it in her book *White Fragility*, "All of us are shaped by the forces of racism; *no one* is exempt." In fact, many people argue that everyone is at least implicitly (i.e., unconsciously) racist (e.g., Kendi, 2019; Ketchum & Pierce, 1976). This sentiment is not meant to excuse explicit or implicit racism, but rather to draw attention to the many faces of racism in a country like the U.S. When we are able to look at the stressor of racism (i.e., race/ethnicity-based discrimination) as a force permeating all parts of Western society, including ourselves, as opposed to seemingly rare acts committed by "others", we can better address racism in communities and organizations, including those in the education system. Examples of interpersonal discrimination at work include unfairly treating Employees of Color as if they are unfriendly, untrustworthy, or incompetent (even if the perpetrator does not realize they are doing so); treating Employees of Color with less respect or courtesy than white colleagues; addressing Employees of Color unprofessionally or asking them overly personal questions; making racist jokes or jokes at the Employee of Color's expense (even if the perpetrator perceives these jokes as harmless); diverting difficult or "dirty" work to Employees of Color; biased hiring practices; and, of course, using race/ethnicity-based slurs toward Employees of Color (Cortina et al., 2001; Williams, 2016).

It is also important to acknowledge that many workplaces, including K-12 education, are largely and critically considered "white spaces" or "predominately white spaces;" and racism is much more likely to permeate such spaces unnoticed. Dr. Elijah Anderson (2015) defines "The

White Space” as a post-Civil Rights Movement phenomenon where “Black people [and/or People of Color] are typically absent, not expected, or marginalized when present.” A white space or predominately white space can be a stressor in and of itself in that People of Color are often forced to conform to the norms, ideals, and values construed by white people in the space as to not disrupt the status quo or experience retaliation—whether that be direct or indirect (Anderson, 2015).

Consider, for example, Goffman (1963) and Yoshino’s (2006) concept of “covering.” When one holds a marginalized identity in their workplace (and that workplace is a white space), they may “cover” parts of their identity in order to blend into the mainstream. Thus, while a Person of Color may not experience direct interpersonal or even institutional discrimination at work every day, the pressure to “cover” their identity in an effort to conform to the white space can be a stressor that their white colleagues do not experience and/or may not even be aware of. Examples of covering might include a Black person straightening their hair to de-emphasize their race or a Latinx person eliminating their accent or speaking in only English around their colleagues (despite, perhaps normally or sometimes speaking Spanish with their family members on the phone or otherwise) in an effort to de-emphasize their race/ethnicity (Smith & Yoshino, 2019). In sum, the focus of this study is race/ethnicity-based discrimination at the systematic and/or interpersonal levels. However, I emphasize that there are many ways in which one may experience identity-related stressors in their workplace, and these should not be overshadowed by more explicit stressors or what is traditionally thought of as discrimination.

A.3. Strains.

Recall, in the occupational health literature, strains are products of occupational stressors that can be physiological (e.g. heart disease, cancer), psychological (e.g., depression, anxiety), or

behavioral (e.g., lower productivity, turnover; Kahn & Byosiene, 1992). In this project, I focus on mental and physical health disparities, and thus, the following section reviews the physiological and psychological strains that occur as a product of the stress process (Ganster & Rosen, 2013; McEwen & Stellar, 1993; Sterling & Eyer, 1988).

According to the Allostatic Load Model (Ganster & Rosen, 2013), strains are the *long-term* changes in mental and physical health that occur as the body attempts to adapt to the stressors (i.e., demands) in its environments. In this context, strains include a variety of long-term health ailments, for example, cardiovascular disease, diabetes, cancer, clinical depression or depressive symptoms, other psychological disorders including substance use disorders, insomnia, anemia, arthritis, colitis, stroke, gastritis, etc. While a review of each of the aforementioned health conditions is beyond the scope of this project, I will review disease/disorder categories most common for contributing to disability adjusted life years in the United States as outlined by the World Health Organization (National Institute on Mental Health [NIMH], 2013). Disability adjusted life years or “DALYs” “represent the total number of years lost to illness, disability, or premature death within a given population.” The leading disease categories in the United States are 1) Neuropsychiatric disorders (mental and behavioral disorders, for example, clinical depression and neurological disorders such as Alzheimer’s; 18.7% of total disability adjusted life years), 2) cardiovascular and circulatory diseases (e.g., congenital heart disease, coronary artery disease; 16.8% of DALYs), 3) neoplasms (e.g., cancer; 15.1% of DALYs; U.S. Burden of Disease Collaborators, 2013). In the following paragraphs, I will briefly review these top 3 causes of DALYs as the strains under study.

A.3.a. Neuropsychiatric Disorders: Depression. While neuropsychiatric disorders encompass a variety of health ailments, clinical depression is by far the most common disorder

of this disease categorization. Unsurprisingly, chronic stress is a major contributor to the development of depressive symptomatology (APA, 2019; Tafet & Bernardini, 2003). According to the National Institute of Mental Health (2019), nearly 10% of adults had a major depressive episode in 2019 in the United States. Research suggests that the pressures of stress and stressors (particularly when they are chronic) play a significant role in the development of major depression (Hammen, 2005; Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration [SAMHSA], 2016). Moreover, one study found that depression was just as debilitating or more debilitating than a host of leading health conditions including hypertension, diabetes, arthritis, back problems, etc. (Wells et al., 1989). Considering these statistics, I understand the prevalence of depressive symptoms to be a key indicator of health and health disparities in this study.

A.3.b. Cardiovascular and Circulatory Diseases. Cardiovascular and circulatory disorders (in particular, heart disease) comprise the leading cause of death in the United States (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention [CDC], 2019). Indeed, research suggests there exists a relationship between chronic stress and cardiovascular disease, particularly considering the racial/ethnic disparities in hypertension (a prominent risk factor for heart disease; American Heart Association, 2014; CDC, 2019). In fact, relative to white adults, non-Hispanic Black adults and Hispanic adults tend to have higher rates of hypertension, obesity, and diabetes, which are the leading risk factors for heart disease according to the CDC (2019). The relationships between chronic stress, heart disease, and health disparities situate the importance of considering cardiovascular and circulatory diseases as a strain in this study.

A.3.c. Neoplasms. The most common example of neoplasms is cancer. While prevalence varies between cancers, the American Cancer Society (2020) estimates that roughly 40% of people in the U.S. will develop cancer in their lifetime, and roughly 20% will die from cancer. Researchers are unsure as to whether stress is linked to the initiation of cancer (the research is

somewhat mixed; e.g., see Moreno-Smith et al., 2010 for a review); more certainty exists around the role of chronic stress in cancer metastasis (i.e., progression). However, as in the case of depression and heart disease, there are racial/ethnic disparities in cancer diagnoses in the U.S., which many researchers attribute to psychosocial factors associated with privilege and oppression (National Cancer Institute, 2019).

In this dissertation, I study health broadly, acknowledging that health is both absence of disease and the presence of mental, physical, and social wellbeing. Thus, I emphasize that strain, in this study and as a whole, is much more than the presence of depression, heart disease, or cancer. Further, diverse biological, psychological, and social cultural factors interact with stressors to construct strains beyond these three categories at the individual level. Despite taking somewhat of a narrow focus in the previous section (by focusing on the most pervasive types of strains affecting the U.S. today), I consider a wide range of mental and physical strains to be important in this study as evidenced by the diversity of the top contributors to DALYs, and thus, construct my methodology to reflect this relative scope. I will measure the presence of strains in accordance with the cut-offs established by the authors of the measures included in Chapter 3.

B. Occupational Stress, Stressors, and Strain in K-12 Teaching

In the following section I outline the occupational stressors in K-12 teaching. I conclude by taking a special focus on Colorado K-12 teaching.

B.1. Occupational Stress in Education

According to the National Institute of Occupational Safety and Health (2009), “education is the second largest U.S. industry with 13.3 million employees,” and yet, schools remain vastly understudied work sectors, particularly in regard to organizational stress and strain. To be sure, K-12 educators report pervasive job stress (AFT, 2019; CDE, 2017; Borg & Riding, 1991; PDK

International, 2019). Commonly cited stressors among K-12 teachers include: large student to teacher ratios, heavy workloads, poor relationships with colleagues, role conflict, emotional labor, student misbehavior, time and resource constraints, class discipline problems, conflict with coworkers or supervisors, low wages, training and/or professional development deficits, and poor school and classroom facilities, (Kyriacou & Sutcliffe, 1978b; van Dick & Wagner, 2001). Thus, while many of the stressors experienced by K-12 teachers are common across organization sectors (i.e. employees in other fields also experience time constraints and heavy workloads), many of these stressors are specific to K-12 teaching (student misbehavior, large student to teacher ratios), which sets the importance of studying occupational stressors as they predict strain among teachers, specifically. Moreover, most agree that teachers are underpaid and this contributes to teacher stress. Teachers earn 19% less annually than other similar professionals, adjusting for inflation, education, experience, geographic region, and demographic factors—and it is worth noting that while estimates vary, teachers’ annual workload (measured in hours) tends to match those of other similar professionals who do not have summers off (Economic Policy Institute, 2018; NEA, 2018; Scholastic & The Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, 2012). In sum, extant research suggests that unique and shared occupational stressors in K-12 education contribute to teachers’ occupational stress.

B.2. Occupational Stressors in K-12 Education

There are a number of contributors (i.e., stressors) to high teacher stress and its consequent strain. First, teaching is a profession that requires a fair amount of emotional labor, as teachers are expected to maintain positive relationships with students, parents, other teachers, and administrative employees. Emotional labor is the work one does to manage their feelings or expressions in order to fulfill the requirements of a job and/or “keep the peace” in a given setting

(Jeung et al., 2018). Indeed, a recent meta-analysis indicates that engagement in emotional labor in teaching is associated with increased burnout and decreased teaching satisfaction (Yin et al., 2019). Larger student to teacher ratios, lower salaries, and pressure regarding student assessments and accountability measures further contribute to worsened stress among U.S. teachers (Carver-Thomas & Darling-Hammond, 2017). Consider: teachers have immense pressure to meet state- and nationwide-test standards with relatively few resources and supports, while managing with the other stressors that exist within the classroom. Teachers consistently cite classroom management as a major source of stress, especially in districts with large student to teacher ratios—which can be as big as 35 to 1 (Ratcliff et al., 2010). While many are under the illusion that teacher pay is increasing as a result of teacher protests and walkouts in recent years (Barnum, 2018), The Economic Policy institute indicates that, adjusting for inflation, the teacher pay gap (teachers’ compensation in comparison with other college graduates in similar fields) is at an all-time high (Allegretto & Mischel, 2018).

B.3. Occupational Strain in K-12 Education

The outcomes of teacher stress highlight the importance of the proposed project. Of course, teachers’ health and wellbeing is certainly at stake as indicated by the stressor-strain process—commonly cited adverse health consequences among teachers include poor sleep, poorer physical health, physical illness, disrupted eating habits, exhaustion and fatigue, negative mood, depression, anxiety, elevated cortisol levels, and lower quality of life (Greenberg et al., 2016; Shernoff et al., 2011). Beyond health, however, in the United States, the K-12 teaching profession has a 9% turnover rate, with the majority of employees leaving the profession for reasons other than retirement (Carver-Thomas & Darling-Hammond, 2017). This rate amounts to nearly 100,000 new teaching hires each year. Moreover, teacher turnover rates in the United

States are nearly double what they were 30 years ago and nearly triple that of countries with high achieving education systems (e.g., Finland, Canada, Japan). Teachers consistently attribute leaving their jobs or the teaching profession as a whole to stress and “dissatisfaction”— that is, dissatisfaction with administration, compensation, the career, and the overall lack of support received from schools/districts (Carver-Thomas & Darling-Hammond, 2017). Additionally, consequences of teacher stress and burnout include absenteeism among teachers and students. Students of stressed teachers also tend to struggle academically and socially (Greenberg et al., 2016). Such statistics indicate that addressing teacher stress is urgent and feasible (Darling-Hammond et al., 2017).

B.4. Focusing on Occupational Stressors in Colorado K-12 Teaching

The aforementioned risk factors situate the importance of addressing the stress and health of Colorado K-12 teachers. Consider: Colorado’s public education system has one of the highest student to teacher ratios (31 to 1) nationwide, and teachers receive one of the lowest starting salaries in the country, painting a grim picture of the demands to resources ratio Colorado teachers face (CDE, 2017). In fact, Colorado teachers have the fourth highest pay gap, whereby Colorado teachers, on average, receive just 64.9 cents to every dollar that other comparable college graduates earn in the state (Allegretto & Mischel, 2018). Thus, it is somewhat unsurprising that statewide, districts have an annual turnover rate of 15%, which amounts to roughly 5,000 openings each year and can cost the state upwards of 61 million dollars⁵ (Alliance,

⁵Costs related to teacher attrition that are considered in this statistic include costs related to: 1) recruitment and advertising, 2) special incentives (e.g., signing bonuses, relocation, reduced teaching load, etc.), 3) administrative processing, 4) training for new hires, 5) training for first-time teachers, 6) training for all teachers, 7) learning curve (the cost to student learning that comes with having new teachers), and 8) transfer (salaries for substitutes, transfer paperwork, etc.; Barnes et al., 2007)

2014), not to mention the tuition dollars lost for those who received a teaching degree or certification.

C. Identity Stress, Stressors, and Strain in K-12 Teaching

The following section situates identity stress, stressors, and strain in K-12 teaching. First, I outline the research on the various forms of discrimination experienced by Employees of Color, and then more specifically, Hispanic/Latinx employees. As in the previous section, I follow this discussion with a focus on identity stressors in Colorado K-12 teaching.

While K-12 teachers share occupational stressors, there is a host of diversity within and between K-12 teachers. Regrettably, organizations and policymakers are just beginning to understand the individual-level stressors employees may experience as a result of systematic and individual racist responses to their varying identities (despite these stressors existing long before they were recognized). Still, this work is on the rise. While a host of research now indicates that People of Color in the U.S. workforce experienced and are experiencing discrimination at higher rates than white employees (e.g., Roberts et al., 2004), less is known regarding discrimination among *Teachers* of Color, and specifically Hispanic/Latinx teachers, relative to white teachers. The Education Trust, a national organization fighting for equity and representation of Students and Teachers of Color in the U.S. K-12 system, is leading the way in this area of work. This organization emphasizes that Teachers of Color—particularly Black and Hispanic/Latinx teachers— frequently experience identity stressors such as discrimination and these experiences affect retention, recruitment, and health (see Chapter 2, Section A.2; The Education Trust, 2016; 2018). As a whole, the Education Trust maintains that more research is needed regarding the identity stressors experienced by Teachers of Color in order to further diversity and equity work in this sector.

C.1. Discrimination as Identity Stressors Among K-12 Teachers of Color

C.1.a. Microaggressions. Not unlike Hispanic/Latinx people in other work sectors, Hispanic/Latinx teachers may experience discrimination directly or indirectly at the interpersonal and organizational level. One common form of interpersonal discrimination in the workplace is the microaggression—that is, a verbal or behavioral remark, question, or action towards someone that are related to their group membership(s) (Sue et al., 2007a, b; Sue, 2010). Sue (2007a, b) indicates that racial microaggressions are, “everyday, unintentional, and unconscious [and] are perpetrated by ordinary citizens who believe they are doing right,” (p. 108). Racial microaggressions can be both conscious and unconscious to the individual committing the microaggression and may be more common in predominately white spaces including education (McCabe, 2009). Commonly cited microaggressions toward Hispanic/Latinx people include speaking Spanish to them, assuming they are from Mexico or were not born in the U.S., assuming they eat Mexican food every day, remarking that they are “articulate”, treating them differently because of their race, or approaching or perceiving them as if they are sexually available or exotic (McCabe, 2009; Nadal, 2011). While a compliment from a supervisor or colleague regarding an Employee of Color’s “good English” may be considered (by the committer) harmless, or even kind, scholars and activists (particularly Scholars and Activists of Color) attest that receiving a remark like this is harmful and detrimental to people’s physical and psychological health, wellbeing, and sense of belonging (which, to be sure contributes to health and wellbeing; Nadal, 2011; Wong et al., 2016). Interpersonal discrimination can, of course, be more obvious, as mentioned above (in Section A.1.b).

C.1.b. Discrimination in an Educational Setting. Teachers of Color may also experience discrimination specific to the teaching profession. Teachers of Color, and Black,

Indigenous, and Hispanic/Latinx teachers in particular, are often asked to manage “difficult” Students of Color. It is important to note that Students of Color are disproportionately and unfairly perceived as difficult or deviant as a result of teacher or administrator biases and cultural incompetence (see Welsh & Little, 2018 for a review). Likewise, research indicates that Teachers of Color tend to have higher expectations (relative to white teachers) for their Students of Color, which may further add to the level of mentoring and teaching they undertake (e.g., Douglas et al., 2008; Liou & Rotheram-Fuller, 2016). Indeed, this “managing” asked of Teachers of Color often translates to extra mentoring of Students of Color who are vastly underrepresented in their teaching staff (i.e., being a “cultural guardian”; Flores, 2017). Teachers who are Spanish-English bilingual are often asked to be translators for parents or students who speak Spanish in addition to their teaching duties, but without additional compensation for this difficult work. Indeed, teachers attest that this translating also happens in the classroom, which can amount to double the work and even more pressure to keep up with the pace of curriculum (The Education Trust, 2016; The Education Trust, 2018). And yet, many Hispanic/Latinx teachers feel that they are often viewed as competent teachers for Hispanic/Latinx kids only and that they have to prove their worth as a good teacher to all students (The Education Trust, 2018). Teachers of Color also report the undervaluing or denying of their perspectives on curricula—for example, Latinx teachers report criticism from their colleagues on incorporating Latino/a/x culture or Spanish into their classrooms (The Education Trust, 2018); Black educators have also historically been denied or dismissed when challenging the historically “white-washed” narratives around slavery and Civil Rights movements in U.S. History classes or units (e.g. Cokley, 2019; Thompson, 2020).

C.1.c. A White-Dominant Culture. One should also consider the “white dominant” culture that exists in K-12 education and how this culture contributes to identity stress for

Teachers of Color. Of course, there are many People of Color *in* K-12 education, with only half of today's K-12 students identifying as white (U.S. Department of Education, 2016). However, educators maintain that whiteness in the U.S. education system is both “omnipresent and elusive” (Rosser, 2017). When schools are constructed and managed by and comprised of mostly white people, the white-dominant homogeneity undoubtedly permeates the cultural values, norms, and rules in place. Consider: just 18% of the U.S. K-12 teaching force is not white. Moreover, only 11% of principals are Black, just 9% are Hispanic, and less than 2% are Asian American or American Indian/Alaskan Native (National Center for Education Statistics, 2020). These statistics, with the sociological and educational discussions of K-12 education as a white space, point to an organizational culture where whiteness is overwhelmingly “the norm.” While majority white spaces themselves do not necessarily equate to explicit, interpersonal discrimination (though, this behavior is much more likely in predominately white spaces, rather than diverse spaces; Anderson, 2015), research and testimony affirm that being the only or one of the few People of Color in these spaces is stressful and may lead to strain (e.g., Anderson, 2015; Goodman, 2016; Tatum, 1987). As one Hispanic/Latinx teacher put it, “... it becomes uncomfortable when you're the only one who is pointing things out. ... Any time you speak up [about discrimination] you're perceived as aggressive, adversarial, noncompliant, defiant.” (The Education Trust, 2018, p. 8).

C.2. Focusing on Identity Stressors in Colorado K-12 Teaching

In 2016, Dr. Sharon Bailey released what has come to be known across the state of Colorado as “The Bailey Report” (Bailey, 2016). The Bailey Report outlines the results of a qualitative study of “student and educator experiences in Denver Public Schools through the voices of African-American teachers and administrators” in an effort to address potentially

hostile work and educational environments for Denver's African American community.

Qualitative data from this study indicated that African American teachers felt isolated as a result of being among very few Teachers of Color in their districts; African American teachers felt as if they were under attack or their voices were not heard, that they were stereotyped or had to be "twice as good [as their white counterparts]," and that they had to "code switch" in order to fit the mold of behavior deemed appropriate in their school districts. All of these themes suggest that workplace discrimination is salient in Colorado Public Schools, situating the importance of this study (Bailey, 2016).

Bailey (2016) acknowledges that while a lack of diversity in Denver Public Schools is detrimental to all People of Color, People of Color should not be treated as a monolith, and experiences of discrimination (i.e., identity stressors) differ among and between identity groups. Therefore, while Dr. Bailey paved the way for examining discrimination and isolation for Black/African American teachers in Colorado, and specifically, Denver Public Schools, research does not yet exist regarding the experiences of Hispanic/Latinx teachers in these settings. This is concerning, as Hispanic/Latinx people are the largest racial/ethnic group besides white people in the state of Colorado (U.S. Census Bureau, 2020). In fact, Colorado has the 8th largest Hispanic/Latinx population nationwide. Regrettably, beyond the Bailey Report (which, as mentioned previously, focuses on Black/African American teachers, specifically), there are no public data on race/ethnicity-related stressors among teachers in Colorado. It is possible that underrepresentation and its concomitant stress contributes to Hispanic/Latinx students having almost triple the dropout rate (3.2%) of White students (1.1%; CDE, 2019). Research suggests that students and teachers fare better in their academics and health when they feel their identities are represented by their teachers/coworkers (Gershenson et al., 2017). Thus, this research has the

potential to contribute to the long-term health, achievement, and retention of Hispanic/Latinx students and teachers in Colorado and beyond.

D. Exploring Organizational Support

Fortunately, there exist organizational-level interventions to mitigate the interactive occupational and minority stress among employees, and specifically, teachers. Diversity affinity groups (i.e., employee resource groups, belong groups, employee networks, affiliation groups, etc.) are employer-recognized groups that “bring together employees with similar backgrounds or interests and can have a powerful impact on the workplace” (Kossek et al., 2005). Teachers who participate in diversity affinity groups can obtain community, stress relief, and support (Welbourne et al., 2015). Though diversity affinity groups are relatively new to human resource departments, many organizations have begun implementing said groups (e.g., 3M, General Electric, American Express, AT&T, Cisco Systems, State Farm Insurance, Xerox; Diversity Best Practices, 2020). In the education sector, Denver Public Schools has implemented diversity affinity groups (which they call Belong Groups) across numerous, and sometimes intersecting identity sectors, including an Asian Belong Group, a Hispanic/Latinx Belong Group, an LGBTQ+ Belong Group, a People with Disabilities Belong Group, a Women of Color Belong Group, etc. Denver Public Schools also offers a number of interest-based belong groups including the Deconstructing Privilege Belong Group, Beyond Parenting Belong Group, and Citizens of the World Belong Group (Denver Public Schools, 2020). According to Diversity Best Practices, “an organization for mid- to large-size organizational diversity thought leaders” (2020), diversity affinity groups have the potential to aid employee health and wellness as well as bridge a critical relationship between management and employees. Both outcomes can considerably impact recruitment and retention efforts as well as the health and wellbeing of employees.

Importantly, my research questions around diversity affinity groups are exploratory, as it is entirely possible that diversity affinity groups are not wanted or needed in Colorado K-12 schools. Likewise, formal or informal diversity affinity groups may already exist in many Colorado schools, and their information is just not publicly available. “Misdiagnosing” an issue or need from an outside perspective is not uncommon in this type of work, especially when the researchers do not share the identities or experiences of the sample (this tendency is often referenced in the White Saviorism Complex; Holkup et al., 2004). Furthermore, it is worth noting that this dissertation studies the potential needs of Colorado Educators of Color predominantly from an academic lens, which has been historically rooted in white dominant culture. In an effort to develop a “critical consciousness” of the white saviorism (Willer, 2019) that may exist in the research and methodology in this study, I lend power to the participants in this study to inform and/or prescribe remedies or solutions to stressors in the workplace. I will use this project to research the need, reception, and fit for diversity affinity groups for Hispanic/Latinx teachers across Colorado districts (and, ideally this work will extend to other identity-based groups and other employers in time). Specifically, I will ask participants of their knowledge of and/or interest in diversity affinity groups as a way to build community, and I will ultimately rely on the opinions of K-12 teachers regarding whether a support of this type would be necessary or feasible.

E. Intersectional Considerations

The above-mentioned research indicates that minority status alone can exacerbate occupational stress for workers. In other words, just being a member of a minority group in a white-, male-, or heteronormative-dominant work environment can exacerbate the impact of day-to-day work stressors. However, importantly, individual experiences are best understood in the

context of individuals' many identities, as opposed to their singular identities. In this study race/ethnicity-based discrimination and occupational stress likely interact with one another to create unique experiences of stress and strain among Hispanic/Latinx teachers. Moreover, Hispanic/Latinx teachers have many other identities—for example, people identify with a sexual orientation, gender, class, ability, socioeconomic status, and educational attainment; all of these identities interact with and influence one another. This idea is the foundation of intersectional theory (i.e., intersectionality)—that one's many identities must not be considered exclusive from one another, but rather as interwoven, interacting identities that contribute to unique experiences of oppression and opportunity (Carbado et al., 2013; Crenshaw, 1989). Importantly, an intersectional lens is inspired by the bases of Critical Race Theory to narrow the scope of health disparities literature by addressing the unique needs and challenges faced by specific populations, which thereby provides the opportunity to tailor health interventions more appropriately and effectively. In an increasingly diverse nation, intersectionality-based approaches to health disparities are necessary endeavors from both economic, psychological, and social justice perspectives.

The interaction of two identities—occupation and race/ethnicity—is at the core of this project. Thus, in collecting, analyzing, and interpreting the data and results in this project, I do not intend to study the potential stressors related to these two identities separately (e.g., “A is the occupational stress participants experience and B is the identity-related stress participants experience), but rather, intersectionally. In doing so, I rely heavily on qualitative methodology. Qualitative research methods allow respondents to offer more robust, comprehensive experiences of their own identities in their own words (see Bowleg, 2008 for examples). Consider: interview questions in qualitative research are open-ended, offering the opportunity to capture more data and perspective of participants' realities.

Current Study

This sample will consist of a diverse group of Colorado K-12 teachers who are Colorado Education Association (CEA; union) members. I attempted to oversample Hispanic/Latinx teachers. I recruited over 800 teachers, 116 of whom were Hispanic/Latinx. Participants must have been currently teaching K-12 education at a Colorado public school for 24+ hours/week; they must have taught in Colorado for at least one academic year (this could include the 2019-2020 AY). Paraprofessionals were not eligible to participate.

Hispanic/Latinx representation in Colorado K-12 educators is a top priority from both research and practice perspectives statewide. Firstly, there are no public data on teacher stress or health by demographic in Colorado. Secondly, Colorado student to teacher ratios paint a grim picture of representation and diversity, which are related to teachers' and students' health and retention. It is possible that this underrepresentation and its concomitant (minority) stress for teachers and students contributes to Hispanic/Latinx students having almost triple the dropout rate (3.2%) of white students (1.1%) across the state (CDE, 2019). Research suggests that students and teachers fare better in their academics and health when they feel their identities are represented by their teachers/coworkers (Gershenson et al., 2017). Thus, this research can contribute to the long-term health, achievement, and retention of Hispanic/Latinx students and teachers in Colorado and beyond.

Hypotheses

Minority Stress Hypotheses

H1. *Hispanic/Latinx teachers will experience more workplace and/or general discrimination than white teachers, holding constant covariates.*

The qualitative data from Hispanic/Latinx teachers will contain more themes related to discrimination than the qualitative data from white teachers.

H2. *Hispanic/Latinx teachers will experience more work-related stress than white teachers, holding constant covariates.*

The qualitative data from Hispanic/Latinx teachers will contain more themes related to work-related stress than the qualitative data from white teachers.

Health Disparities Hypotheses

H3. *Hispanic/Latinx group status will predict poorer general health (more adverse health conditions), holding constant covariates.*

The qualitative data from Hispanic/Latinx teachers will contain more themes related to poor health than the qualitative data from white teachers.

Moderation Hypotheses

H4. *Although Hispanic/Latinx teachers as a whole will experience negative health effects of workplace discrimination, these effects will be larger among those with low organizational support.*

Chapter 3

METHODOLOGY

A. Sampling

This sample consisted of a diverse group of K-12 teachers who are Colorado Education Association (CEA) (union) members. Teachers were recruited via their membership to the CEA by email listserv. According to its website, the CEA is “the largest union of educators in the state with more than 38,000 teachers, higher ed faculty, and education support professionals, as well as students preparing to become teachers, and retired educators,” and thus made for an excellent sampling pool for this work (CEA, 2020). Upon electing to participate, participants needed to meet eligibility criteria: teachers needed to formally teach K-12 education at a Colorado public school at least 24 hours/week (they could not be student teachers, administrators, custodial staff, paraprofessionals, etc.); beyond this criterion, participants could be at any level of career attainment and could have other sources of work or income besides their teaching position. Upon verifying teaching status, participants were asked to answer a series of demographic questions.

B. Procedures

To recruit my sample, I utilized purposive sampling via the CEA listserv, which was pre-approved by CEA community outreach coordinator, Ali Cochran, and CEA president, Amie Baca-Oehlert.

All CEA members received the following recruitment message in a union-wide email with the subject line “Paid Research Study on Teacher Stress & Health”:

Hello Colorado educator,

My name is Abby Johnson Holm and I am a researcher from Colorado State University in the Department of Psychology. I am working with the CEA to conduct a study on Colorado

teachers' health and wellbeing, placing a special emphasis on the heightened stress that may accompany holding varying identities as educators in Colorado's K-12 schools. The title of this project is "Minority Stress, Work Stress, and Health Inequity for Hispanic/Latinx K-12 Teachers in Colorado." You do **not** have to identify as Hispanic/Latinx to participate, and thus, racial/ethnic status is **not** an exclusion criterion for this study. The Principal Investigator is Dr. Dan Graham from the Department of Psychology., and I am the Co-Principal Investigator. This project is supported by funding for the Center for Health, Work, and Environment under the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH).

This work is part of my dissertation at CSU. In an effort to answer my research questions (which, I hope will ultimately contribute to a supportive and welcoming climate for all individuals at K-12 Colorado schools), I am conducting an online survey in which I will ask teachers to answer a series of questions about their experiences in their school and/or district.

We would like you to take an online survey, in which all personal identifiers (e.g., email) will be stripped. Participation will take approximately 30-40 minutes. Your participation in this research is voluntary. If you decide to participate in the study, you may withdraw your consent and stop participation at any time without penalty.

We will not collect your name or personal identifiers. When we report and share the data to others, we will combine the data from all participants. While there are no direct benefits to you, we hope to gain more knowledge on the health and wellness of Colorado's teachers and the experiences among and between teachers. **I value your time as an educator. For this reason, 100 participants will be randomly selected to win a \$50 Visa gift card. In addition, upon completion of the survey, some participants will be offered an opportunity to take part in an additional 45-60-minute phone interview in which they will be compensated \$45-50 for their time** (participants

will receive \$45 for completing the phone interview and an additional \$5 for completing the phone interview at least 45 days after completion of the survey for timeliness and validity purposes). After 60 days post-survey completion, we cannot guarantee your interview will take place, as we need to start data analysis.

The risks of participating in this study include worrying about or thinking of any potential negative experiences you’ve had as an educator for Colorado public schools. It is not possible to identify all potential risks in research procedures, but the researcher(s) have taken reasonable safeguards to minimize any known and potential (but unknown) risks.

To indicate your consent to participate in this research and to continue on to the survey, please click here: <insert link>.

If you have any questions about the research, please contact Abby Johnson Holm at abby.johnson@colostate.edu or Dr. Dan Graham at dan.graham@colostate.edu. If you have any questions about your rights as a volunteer in this research, contact the CSU IRB at: RICRO_IRB@mail.colostate.edu; 970-491-1553.

Dan Graham, PhD Abby Johnson Holm, M.S.

Associate Professor Graduate student

Colorado State University Colorado State University

Participants were first directed to the online Qualtrics survey. After providing informed consent and confirming they met eligibility requirements (assessed via demographics directly after informed consent), participants were asked to respond to a series of measures meant to assess their occupational- and identity-related stressors and general health. At the end of the survey, respondents were directed to a second “survey” (to assure confidentiality and anonymity) where

they could volunteer to be selected to participate in a paid phone interview. A portion of participants out of this sample ($n = 26$) received an additional \$50 for completing a 45-60-minute (qualitative) phone interview regarding their identity as an educator, their perceptions of their school's climate around diversity and equity, as well as their attitudes toward implementing diversity affinity groups or other similar programming.

C. Mixed Methods Research

Mixed methods designs involve integrating at least one quantitative and one qualitative research approach “for the broad purposes of breadth and depth of understanding and corroboration” (Johnson et al., 2007, p. 123). A mixed methods approach was essential to my research questions, as I used the quantitative data collection and analysis to understand general patterns of stress, support, and health among Colorado K-12 educators. This first (quantitative) component provided a clearer sense of the general climate and norms in Colorado schools, which was essential for implementing organizational interventions and fostering organization- and state-wide change. In turn, qualitative data collection and analysis was used to supplement the quantitative data and to understand the unique experiences, perspectives, and needs of Hispanic/Latinx teachers in the micro (e.g., schools, districts, towns), meso (Colorado and the Mountains and Plains region), and macro (the K-12 education system at the national level) contexts in which they reside (see also Hammarberg et al., 2016). Thus, the intended utility of both methods best suits a convergent triangulation (mixed methods) design (Creswell, 1999; Creswell et al., 2003), as I collected, analyzed, and interpreted the qualitative and quantitative data concurrently but independently. After both sets of results were interpreted, I converged (or “triangulated”) the results in an attempt to answer the research questions (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011).

A convergent triangulation design is best suited for studies where the researcher intends to reach a valid and thorough conclusion around the research questions (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011), which is the case in this dissertation. However, as with any research design, it is important to consider the benefits and limitations to this approach. First, a convergent triangulation mixed methods approach (i.e., a convergent parallel design) is beneficial for this project in that it lends well to those new to mixed methods research, it is time- and resource-efficient (as data are collected at the same time), and it draws on methodological techniques that may already be familiar to the researcher (e.g., quantitative data analysis; Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). The limitations to this design include its differing sample sizes (qualitative samples tend to be much smaller than quantitative samples), the challenge of converging two different data and results (especially when the results do not agree), and the intensity and expertise required to successfully implement and integrate both designs (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). Considering these nuances in conjunction with the research questions and the expertise from my committee members, I concluded that a convergent parallel triangulation design was the best path forward.

In considering the unique contributions of each respective method, mixed methods researchers should address six key dimensions of this methodology in an effort to underscore the approach's utility for answering the research question(s). These six dimensions are: the purpose of mixing, theoretical drive, timing, point of integration, typological use, and degree of complexity (Schoonenboom & Johnson, 2017). Each dimension is described in greater detail below:

C.1. Purpose of Mixing

Speaking first to the purpose (or rationale; Bryman, 2006) of mixing methods, Greene and colleagues (1989), highlight the purpose of *expansion*, which is when one “[seeks] to extend the breadth and range of inquiry by using different methods for different inquiry components.”

Expansion was a suitable purpose for this design because I aimed to understand the occupational- and identity-related stressors among educators via the quantitative components of the study from a macro-level, while evaluating individual participants' unique experiences of these stressors in combination with their perceptions towards the implementation of diversity affinity groups in their districts. Put another way, it is reasonable to examine general trends in the quantitative data as it allows for general, broad conclusions around the research questions. However, while participants (i.e., teachers) shared a common occupational identity, and many teachers shared racial/ethnic identities, there was a host of diversity among participants in my sample. This diversity translated into unique interactions between individuals and the systems in which they operate, which was accounted for in this research. Intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989) is an especially helpful framework for considering varying identity-based experiences, and historically, qualitative approaches have most effectively addressed the diversity of experiences and oppressions extending from intersecting identities (i.e., intersectionality; Bowleg, 2008). Thus, while the quantitative data spoke to the general patterns in the sample, the qualitative data spoke to unique experiences; both were necessary for comprehensively answering the research questions. In sum, the purpose of using two methods (as opposed to one) was to widen the scope of data collection and analysis in an effort to address multiple elements of the applied research questions at the macro, meso, and micro levels.

C.2. Theoretical Drive

The theoretical drive of a mixed-methods study is *either* inductive (i.e., qualitative: exploration and descriptive) or deductive (i.e., quantitative: testing and predicting; Morse & Niehaus, 2009). The “drive”, therefore, consists of the core component (either inductive *or* deductive), which should be rigorously executed and able to stand on its own in the study.

Whichever is not the core component is the supplemental component. This study's theoretical drive is its deductive (quantitative) component with a supplemental inductive (qualitative) component. It is a "quantitative dominant" study (Johnson et al., 2007) because the research questions largely depend on the overall patterns and findings from the study's macro-level data. While it is essential that teachers of varying identities and perspectives are able to share their unique experiences through the qualitative portion of the study, the research question is relevant for the entire state of Colorado, and potentially K-12 education at the national level, and thus participants will be recruited from the entire state. While obtaining qualitative data from every participant is certainly ideal for generalizability, it was beyond the scope of this project (though I attempted to collect qualitative data from educators in varying parts of the state). Thus, in order to make macro-scale recommendations and conclusions (which are major goals of this study), I primarily relied on and drew from data that were representative (or as close to representative as possible) of Colorado educators. Put another way, the macro-level data from the quantitative portion of the study provided the means to make conclusions and recommendations to the CEA, and the qualitative interviews supplemented and added critical perspective to these recommendations (rather than the other way around; Schoonenboom & Johnson, 2017).

As I reflect on the results and the final document, I believe that my study was less "quantitative dominant" than I had expected. The qualitative research played an exceptionally strong role in supplementing this research, and thus, I argue that the qualitative and quantitative portions of the study equally drove and supported my results and conclusions.

C.3. Timing

A third element to consider in mixed methods designs is the timing of the quantitative and qualitative components (Guest, 2013). Broadly, timing is concurrent or sequential and

characterized by the components' simultaneity (which usually speaks to data collection) and dependence (which usually speaks to data analysis). First, simultaneity speaks to the ordering (concurrent or sequential) of data collection among the two methods. Although there were some naturally sequential elements of my design (such that data collection in the qualitative portion depended on the completion of data collection in the quantitative portion), at the macro- or sample-level my design was concurrent in that I did not halt the data collection of one method before I started another. At the micro- or person-level, however, the design may be considered sequential such that it was impossible for me to collect qualitative and quantitative data from one person simultaneously (i.e., in the same window; Guest, 2013; Schoonenboom & Johnson, 2017). Rather, by design, participants who were recruited to take part in the qualitative portion (the phone interview) did so days, or even weeks, after their participation in the quantitative portion (the online survey) was complete. Despite this caveat, I considered the timing of my data collection to be concurrent for the aforementioned macro-level reasoning.

While simultaneity speaks to the ordering of timing, dependence speaks to the data's relationships to one another. Typically, sequential designs are dependent, and concurrent designs are independent, though there is some debate as to whether simultaneity and dependence should be different dimensions (Schoonenboom & Johnson, 2017). I consider this design independent, as I conducted the qualitative and quantitative data analysis separately in an effort to triangulate independent data. Specifically, I conducted some qualitative analysis as data were being collected, so I was able to determine adequate saturation (i.e., "[the point] where no new information is discovered in data analysis"; Faulkner & Trotter, 2017; Saunders et al., 2018) of the qualitative data, in an effort to know when to cease qualitative data collection.

C.4. Point of Integration

The fourth piece of mixed methods research refers to the “point of integration” by which the data are carefully integrated (i.e., “mixed”; Morse & Niehaus, 2009; Guest, 2013). This is often also referred to as “the mixing decision” (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). Typically data are integrated at the “results point” where the researcher presents the results of the first method in concordance with the results of the second method, which is fairly common in mixed methods work (Schoonenboom & Johnson, 2017). In this study, considering the theoretical drive, the quantitative results will be “primarily” presented with the qualitative results added and integrated to “support” the quantitative drive. Put another way, the qualitative data will be used to *expand* (see also, the discussion on purpose, above) the quantitative findings. This approach is often referred to as “merging.” According to Creswell and Plano Clark (2011), “the data are merged when the researcher takes the two data sets and explicitly brings them together or integrates them.” Specifically, I present the results of the quantitative and qualitative data analysis separately and then integrate (“merge”) the results during the discussion chapter of my dissertation (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011).

In considering the point of integration, one must determine the strategies one would employ should there be diverse or divergent results. While my results were convergent, there were three options I would have employed if the results were divergent: 1) to collect more data (Cook, 1985; Greene & Hall, 2010), 2) to find a theoretical foundation to support such results (Erzberger & Prein, 1997), or 3) question the result of divergence via quality audits (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009; Yancher & Williams, 2006).

C.5. Typological Use

The typology of mixed methods research refers to the formal design one uses to collect, analyze, and interpret their quantitative and qualitative data. There are a number of typologies of

mixed methods designs including the convergent parallel design, the explanatory sequential design, the exploratory sequential design, the embedded design, the transformative design, and the multiphase design (for a review of each design, see Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). This research best reflects the convergent parallel design (“parallels design”) in that it involved independent data collection and analysis (i.e., data being collected and analyzed ‘in parallel’) and results were integrated or “converged” thereafter (see Chapter 3, Sections C.3 and C.4; Schoonenboom & Johnson, 2017).

C.6. Dimension of Complexity

The final dimension of mixed method designs is known as the “dimension of complexity”, that is, whether the design is simple or complex. Two of the most common examples of *complex* mixed methods designs are multilevel designs and fully integrated mixed designs (Teddlie & Tasshakkori, 2009). In some ways, this design is complex in that it surveyed stressors, support, and strain of Hispanic/Latinx teachers (a minority group in Colorado schools), but also that of white teachers and other Teachers of Color in an effort to make important comparisons and inferences about Colorado schools. Thus, the design incorporated a between-group (race/ethnicity) comparison while integrating the qualitative and quantitative data from all groups. However, considering race/ethnicity in addition to the mixed methodology is not considered “multilevel” by traditional standards (Yin, 2013). Moreover, this added complexity did not require integrating the methodologies at multiple points (only at the results point of data analysis as mentioned above). Thus, I considered this mixed methods approach to be simple with complex components given the health disparities lens and its integration of intersectionality (Bowleg, 2008; Schoonenboom & Johnson, 2017; Yin, 2013).

In sum, mixed methods designs are undoubtedly valuable and rigorous practices that offer the potential to uniquely and robustly contribute to complex research questions (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011; Morse & Niehaus, 2009; Schoonenboom & Johnson, 2017; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). However, they are best employed when they are carefully constructed by the researcher; that is, when the design's purpose, drive, timing, point of integration, typology, and complexity are intentionally crafted based on the research question. Based on my review of these dimensions in mixed methods research, this study was defined as a simple, expansionary, deductive-driven, concurrent, and convergent parallel design. The following sections outline the details of the quantitative and qualitative methods, considering these decisions.

D. Quantitative Measures

After providing informed consent, I asked participants to complete a 30-40-minute survey including the following measures.

D.1. Demographic/Eligibility Variables

First, I assessed participants' demographics. I asked teachers to select their school district from a dropdown menu so I could identify district representation in the sample and teaching region (e.g., suburban, urban, rural). To assess *teaching employment status*, participants were asked in a "Part 1" question, "During the school year, on average, how many hours do you work each week in your school? If COVID-19 requires you to work remotely, please write the number of hours you worked inside the school pre-COVID-19 measures." In a "Part 2" question they were asked, "Not counting the adjustments you made/are making for safety around COVID-19, how many hours do you typically spend working for the school district outside of the classroom/school environment (e.g. how much time do you spend prepping class lectures or activities at home, grading exams/papers, etc.?)" In an effort to supplement and clarify, participants were given the following

prompt in regard to Parts 1 and 2. “For example, if your typical work hours are 7:30-3:30 Monday-Friday at your school and you normally spend an hour grading each night, the answer to Part 1 would be ‘40 hours’ and Part 2 would be ‘5 hours.’” Teachers delivered content via an array of methods during the 2020-2021 school year due to restrictions around COVID-19. Thus, I asked teachers how they began the school year teaching (1 = “online”, 2= “hybrid”, or 3 = “in-person”) and how they are currently teaching (same responses). I then asked participants, “Do you have any other jobs you work during the school year?” 0 = “no”, 1 = “yes” [If participant answers, “yes”] “What are they?” and “How many hours do you spend working at your other jobs during the school year?” Participants were able to indicate number of hours worked on a sliding numeric scale and were able to indicate their potential other job(s) via a textbox. To be eligible to participate, teachers must typically (pre-COVID-19 restrictions) work “in” the school district for at least 24 hours/week during the school year. If participants began teaching 24+ hours “in” the schools during the COVID-19 stay at home orders, they were eligible to participate. If participants worked in the schools for at least 24 hours and also work other jobs, they were eligible to participate. If participants did not *currently* teach for at least 24 hours “in” (or for) Colorado public schools, they were ineligible to participate; for example, retired and student teachers who do not meet this threshold were ineligible to participate.

To assess ***K-12 teaching experience/tenure***, participants were asked, “How long have you worked as an educator (e.g., paraprofessional, teacher, substitute teacher) for K-12 education?” 1 = “less than 6 months”, 2 = “6-12 months”, 3 = “1-2 years”, 4 = “3-5 years”, 5 = “6-10 years”, 6 = “11-15 years”, 7 = “16-25 years”, 8 = “26-35 years”, 9 = “36 years or more.” To assess ***Colorado K-12 teaching experience/tenure***, participants were asked, “How long have you been a K-12 teacher in Colorado? Please do not include years served teaching in another state or working as a

paraprofessional or in an administrative role” 1 = “less than 6 months”, 2 = “6-12 months”, 3 = “1-2 years”, 4 = “3-5 years”, 5 = “6-10 years”, 6 = “11-15 years”, 7 = “16-25 years”, 8 = “26-35 years”, 9 = “36 years or more.”

To assess *gender* participants were asked to respond to the following prompt: “The term, gender, refers to the ‘socially constructed characteristics of women and men—such as norms, roles, and relationships of and between groups of women and men.’ *Cisgender* means that your gender corresponds to your sex assigned at birth, while *transgender* means that your gender does not correspond to your sex assigned at birth. What do you consider your gender to be?” 1 = “cisgender woman”, 2 = “transgender woman”, 3 = “nonbinary”, 4 = “cisgender man”, 5 = “transgender man”, and 6 = “prefer not to answer.”

To measure participants’ *sexual orientation* participants were asked, “Which of the following do you consider yourself to be?” 1 = “heterosexual, that is, straight”, 2 = “gay”, 3 = “lesbian”, 4 = “bisexual”, 5 = “something else”, and 6 = “I don’t know the answer/I prefer not to answer.” If participants answered “something else”, they were directed to the following prompt: “By something else, do you mean you identify as...” 1 = “queer”, 2 = “trisexual”, 3 = “omnisexual”, 4 = “pansexual”, 5 = “asexual”, 6 = “transgender, transsexual, or gender variant”, 7 = “you have not figured out your sexuality or are in the process of figuring it out”, 8 = “you do not think of yourself as having a sexuality”, 9 = “you do not use labels to identify yourself”, 10 = “you made a mistake and did not mean to pick this answer”, or 11 = “you mean something else.”

To measure *race*, participants were asked, “What is your race? Check all that apply” 1 = “Indigenous” and 1a = “Inuit”, 1b = “Native American”, 1c = “Native Hawaiian”, 1d = “Pacific Islander”, 2 = “Black or African American”, 3 = “Asian American”, 4 = “White”, 5 = “Prefer not to answer”, and 6 = “Not listed” whereby participants could fill in their race via textbox. To

measure *ethnicity*, participants were asked, “What is your ethnicity? Check all that apply” 1 = “Hispanic”, 2 = “Latino/Latina/Latinx”, 3 = “Chicano/Chicana/Chicanx”, 4 = “non-Hispanic/Latinx/Chicanx”, and 5 = “Prefer not to answer” and 6 = “Not listed” whereby participants could fill in their ethnicity via textbox. While I most value participants’ avowed racial/ethnic identities (racial/ethnic identities they claim for themselves), it was important to account for participants’ ascribed racial/ethnic identities (racial/ethnic identities that others assign to the individual). For example, someone may identify themselves as Hispanic/Latinx (their avowed identity), while the majority of others perceive that person’s identity as white (their ascribed identity). To tap into ascribed identities, I asked participants, “How do you believe others perceive your racial/ethnic identity?” The aforementioned races/ethnicities were listed along with “Prefer not to answer” and “Not listed” whereby participants could fill in their ascribed race/ethnicity.

To measure *ability*, participants were asked, “Do you have or have you had a physical, emotional/mental, or developmental condition that limits your movement, senses, or activities?” 1 = “yes, I have a physical condition/disability (e.g., multiple sclerosis, amputation, arthritis, etc.)”, 2 = “yes, I have an emotional or mental condition/disability (e.g., clinical depression, bipolar disorder, post-traumatic stress disorder, etc.)”, 3 = “yes, I have a developmental condition/disability (e.g., autism, brain injury, attention-deficit/hyperactivity disorder (ADHD))”, 4 = “I do not have a physical, emotional/mental, or developmental condition/disability”, and 5 = “I don’t know/I prefer not to answer.”

Other demographics included *age* (“How old are you?” measured on a numeric sliding scale), *educational attainment* assessed by asking participants, “What is the highest level of educational attainment you have achieved?” 1 = “less than high school”, 2 = “high school graduate

or GED”, 3 = “some college”, 4 = “associate’s degree”, 5 = “bachelor’s degree”, 6 = “master’s degree”, 7 = “professional degree”, and 8 = “doctoral degree.”

To measure ***nationality***, participants were asked, “What is your nationality (i.e., country of origin)?” whereby participants were asked to write in their country of origin or select “prefer not to answer.” To assess ***income***, participants were asked, “What was your total household income before taxes during the past 12 months?” 1 = “less than \$25,000” 2 = “\$25,000-\$34,999”, 3 = “\$35,000-\$49,999”, 4 = “\$50,000-\$74,999”, 5 = “\$75,000-\$99,999”, 6 = “\$100,000-\$149,999”, 7 = “\$150,000-\$199,999”, and 8 = “\$200,000 or more.”

To measure ***marital status*** participants were asked “What is your marital status?” 1 = “single (never married)”, 2 = “married”, 3 = “separated”, 4 = widowed”, 5 = “divorced”, and 6 = “prefer not to answer.” To measure ***parent-status*** participants were asked, “Do you have children/dependents?” 1 = “no”, 2 = “yes.” If participants answer “yes”, they will be asked a follow up question, “How many children do you have? (Include step-children)” where participants answered on a numeric sliding scale.

D.2. Predictor Variables

Those who were eligible to participate were asked a series of questions to assess the stressors they experience in relation to their occupation and identity in their workplace. The following measures were used for the planned quantitative (i.e., online survey) analyses only. To assess ***discrimination*** (a key cause of, and measurable proxy for minority stress), I used The Intersectional Discrimination Index (Scheim & Bauer, 2019) and The Everyday Discrimination Scale (Williams et al., 1997). The Intersectional Discrimination Index consisted of 13 items in which participants were asked about experiences related to “who they are” (e.g., “Because of who you are, have you ever had to move to another neighborhood, town, city, state, province, or

country?” 0 = “never”, 1 = “once”, 2 = “more than once.” If participants answered “once” or “more than once”, they were then asked, “Has this happened to you in the past 12 months?” 0 = “no”, 1 = “yes.”; Scheim & Bauer, 2019). The Everyday Discrimination Scale (EDS; Williams et al., 1997) consisted of eight items asking participants about experiences, if any, of unfair treatment in their everyday lives (e.g., “How often do you feel that you are treated with less respect than other people are?” 0 = “never” 1 = “anytime”). For each question, if the participant answered “anytime”, they were asked to indicate whether they attributed this particular experience to an array of identifying variables (“What do you think is the main reason for these experiences?” 1 = “your gender”, 2 = “your physical appearance”, 3 = “your sexual orientation”, 4 = “your race/ethnicity”, 5 = “other”). Participants could attribute the experience (i.e., item) to any or all of these identities.

To assess *workplace discrimination*, I used a modified version of the Workplace Incivility Scale (Cortina et al., 2001) and the Chronic Work Discrimination and Harassment scale (Williams, 2016, adapted from McNielly et al., 1996 and Bobo & Suh, 2000). The Workplace Incivility Scale consisted of seven items by which participants were asked to report the frequency of acts of uncivil workplace behavior (e.g., “Have you ever been in a situation where any of your superiors or coworkers made demeaning or derogatory remarks about you?” 0 = “never”, 1 = “once or twice”, 2 = “often”, 3 = “many times”; Cortina et al., 2001). The Chronic Workplace Discrimination and Harassment scale consisted of 12 items meant to measure experiences of discrimination or harassment at work (e.g., “Here are some situations that can arise at work. Please report how often you have experienced them during the last 12 months” 0 = “never”, 1 = “less than once a year”, 2 = “a few times a year”, 3 = “a few times a month”, 4 = “once a week or more.”; Bobo & Suh, 2000; McNielly et al., 1996; Williams, 2016).

To assess *general stress*, I utilized the Perceived Stress Scale (PSS; Cohen et al., 1994), which was comprised of 10 items meant to assess participants' levels of stress in the last month (e.g., "In the last month, how often have you been upset because of something that happened unexpectedly?" 0 = "never" ... 4 = "very often").

I used the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health's (NIOSH) Generic Job Stress Questionnaire (Nurrell & McLaney, 1988) to tap into *work-related stress*. The NIOSH Generic Job Stress Questionnaire tapped into several elements of job-related stress including Conflict at Work (16 items, e.g., "The members of my group [my school's teaching team, including leadership (i.e., principals)] are supportive of each other's ideas" 1 = "strongly disagree"... 5 = "strongly agree"), Employment Opportunities (two items; e.g., "How easy would it be for you to find a suitable job with another employer?" 1 = "very easy" ... 5 = "not at all easy"), Workload and Responsibility (11 items; "What quantity of work do others expect you to do?" 1 = "hardly any" ... 5 = "a great deal"), and Job Satisfaction (four items; "If you were free right now to go into any type of job you wanted, what would your choice be?" 1 = "I would take the same job", 2 = "I would take a different job", 3 = "I would not want to work").

I used the Teacher Stress Inventory to assess *teacher related stress* (Fimian, 1988). Because the Teacher Stress Inventory is long (49 items) and overlapping with many of the NIOSH items, I used two of the 10 subscales (i.e., factors) from the scale which comprised a total of 12 items: Discipline and Motivation (six items; e.g., "I have discipline problems in my classroom" 1 = "never"...5 = "often") and Work Related Stress (six items; e.g., "The school day pace is too fast" 1 = "strongly disagree" ... 5 = "strongly agree").

D.3. Moderator Variables

To assess *perceived organizational support*, I utilized the Survey of Perceived Organizational Support (short form; Eisenberger et al., 1986) and a subscale of the NIOSH Generic Job Stress Questionnaire (Nurrell & McLaney, 1988). The Survey of Perceived Organizational Support (short form) consisted of 12 items (e.g., “[My district] values my contributions to its wellbeing” 0 = “strongly disagree”... 6 = “strongly agree”). The NIOSH Generic Job Stress Questionnaire social support construct included 12 items (e.g., “How much [does your immediate supervisor] go out of their way to do things to *make your work life easier* for you?” 1 = “very much” ... 4 = “not at all”, 5 = “don’t have any such person.”

D.4. Outcome Variables

To assess *general health* I utilized subscales of the NIOSH Generic Job Stress Questionnaire (Nurrell & McLaney, 1988): General Health (17 items; “How often have you experienced any of the following during the past month?” e.g., “You had trouble sleeping at night” 1 = “never”... 5 = “very often”); Health Conditions (24 items; “Within the past twelve months, has a doctor ever treated you for, or told you that you had any of the following?” e.g., “Diabetes” 0 = “no”, 1 = “yes”). The DSM-5 Cross Cutting Scale is a 23 item measure by the American Psychological Association (2013) that is meant to assess the presence of 13 different domains of symptom presentation including depression, anger, mania, anxiety, somatic symptoms, suicidal ideation, psychosis, sleep problems, memory, repetitive thoughts and behaviors, dissociation, personality functioning and substance use (e.g., “During the past TWO (2) WEEKS, how much (or how often) have you been bothered by the following problems?: Thoughts of actually hurting yourself” 0 = “none at all”... 4 = “nearly every day”). Finally, I assessed Depressive Symptoms via the Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale (CES-D; Radloff, 1977), which is a widely used measure of depressive symptoms with good reliability and validity among diverse

populations (Dibble et al., 2012; Roberts & Vernon, 1983). The CES-D consisted of 20 items intended to reflect the major features of depression. Participants self-reported depressive symptoms in the last week (e.g., “During the past week, how often did you feel depressed?”) with values ranging from 0 (“rarely or none of the time, < 1 day”) to 3 (“most or all of the time, 5-7 days”).

D.5. Covariates

To assess *identity salience and importance*, I utilized the Social and Personal Identities Scale (Nario-Redmond, Biernat, Eidelman, & Palenske, 2001), which consisted of 16 items meant to assess the varying importance people assign to their group and personal identities (e.g., “The places where I have lived” 1 = “not at all important to who I am”...9 = “extremely important to who I am.”)

D.6. COVID Adjustments and Considerations

Several of the measures in this study asked about stress and health, which were likely impacted by the COVID-19 pandemic. To account for the potential additional stress and health ailments resulting from the pandemic, I asked participants follow up questions after the respective measures, for example, “How much of your total current stress do you attribute to COVID-19?” Participants could answer on a sliding scale labeled “percent” that ranged from 0-100%. These questions followed the Perceived Stress Scale, the Conflict at Work subscale (“How much of the current stress within your workplace (e.g., among coworkers, supervisors, the district) do you attribute to COVID-19?”), the Workload and Responsibility subscale (“How much of your current work stress do you attribute to COVID-19?”), the Teacher Stress Inventory subscale (“How much of your stress related to teaching do you attribute to COVID-19?”), the General Health subscale (“How much of your current general health state do you attribute to COVID-19?”), the CES-D scale, and Cross Cutting DSM-5 scale (“How much of your current mental health concerns do you attribute to COVID-19?”).

After the Health Conditions subscale, participants were asked “How many of the above health conditions have developed or worsened since the start of COVID-19? If you did not select any health conditions move the slider to 0.” Participants answered on a sliding scale labelled “conditions” ranging from 0-24. After being asked about the number of sick days participants took in the last month, participants were asked, “How many of these sick days were related to COVID-19? If you did not take any sick days, move the slider to 0.” I also asked participants if they ever tested positive for COVID-19 (0 = “no”, 1 = “yes). If they responded “yes”, I asked them to list the date of their positive test.

E. Quantitative Analytic Plan

All quantitative analyses took place via R (R Development Core Team).

E.1. Descriptive and Bivariate Statistics

I assessed descriptive and bivariate statistics via R for the sample as a whole and between groups (e.g., between genders, races/ethnicities, etc.).

E.2. ANCOVAs with Planned Comparisons

E.2.a. Overview of ANCOVAs. I conducted a series of one-way Analyses of Covariances (ANCOVAs) via the “aov()” function in R, in which I examined between-group (between race/ethnicity, etc. see below) differences in variables, ***discrimination*** (Model 1 via the Intersectional Discrimination Index and the Everyday Discrimination scale), ***workplace discrimination*** (Model 2 via the Workplace Incivility Scale and the Chronic Work Discrimination and Harassment scale), ***work-related stress*** (Model 3 via NIOSH subscales and the Teacher Stress Inventory). Groups for the ANCOVA were modeled based on race/ethnicity whereby Group 1 = Hispanic/Latinx teachers (the teachers of focus in this study), Group 2 = white teachers (the majority and privileged group in this study), and Group 3 = other Teachers of Color.

Covariates in ANCOVA Analyses. The covariates in the ANCOVAs included *gender*, *sexual orientation*, *income*, *education*, *teaching tenure*, and *identity salience/importance*.

E.2.b. Assessing Planned Comparisons. After modeling differences in each of the aforementioned variables via ANCOVAs and assessing the significance of the models as a whole (via the omnibus F-test), I compared identity-based groups' means via orthogonal contrasts in R via the “contrasts()” function. Specific to Hypotheses 1-2, I tested planned comparisons in general discrimination (corresponding with ANCOVA Model 1), workplace discrimination (corresponding with ANCOVA Model 2), and work-related stress (corresponding with ANCOVA Model 3). I tested comparisons via racial/ethnic groups (Group 1 = white, Group 2 = Hispanic/Latinx, Group 3 = other People of Color, with comparisons between Group 1 and Group 2 being of most interest to the hypotheses). Given the large number of comparisons, the chance for making a Type I error was be inflated. I adjusted p-values for multiple comparisons via the Bonferroni correction (Dunn, 1961). For exploratory purposes, I also calculated the raw and adjusted means with 95% confidence intervals for outcome variables among all groups.

E.2.c. Checking ANCOVA Assumptions. After conducting the ANCOVAs and planned comparisons, I tested key assumptions in each model. An ANCOVA test assumes homogeneity (i.e., the variance across the groups is relatively similar) and normality (i.e., the data are normally distributed). I assessed homogeneity via the *residual versus fits plot* method via the “plot()” function in R, and normality via the *Quantile-Quantile plot of residuals* (i.e., “qq plots”) also via the “plot()” function in R—both via the Companion to Applied Regression (“car”) package (Fox et al., 2011). I also checked visually that the variability in the (ANCOVA) outcome variable was similar across groups, once covariates were adjusted. My qq plots indicated that I violated the assumption of normality in my workplace incivility ANCOVA; I remedied this assumption violation by taking the natural log of workplace civility and adding one.

E.3. Multiple Linear Regression Analyses

E.3.a. Overview of Multiple Linear Regression. Multiple linear regression (MLR) is used to measure a single, continuously distributed outcome variable with multiple continuously distributed (and dummy coded, as needed, see Chapter 3, Section D) predictor variables. In the case of my analyses, I fit one MLR model for ***general health***. This model served to test Hypothesis 3. In the MLR model, I regressed the outcome variable on predictor and control variables, using the “lm()” function in R. Predictor variables of interest included ***race/ethnicity*** (this variable pertains to Hypothesis 3), ***discrimination***, ***workplace discrimination***, ***work-related stress***, and ***teacher-related stress*** (testing these variables serves to supplement Hypotheses 1 and 2). The control variables of interest included ***gender***, ***sexual orientation***, ***educational attainment***, ***income***, and ***teaching tenure***. Control variables, ***gender*** and ***sexual orientation*** were dummy coded.

E.3.b. Checking MLR Assumptions. There are several assumptions that accompany tests of linear regression models. I used the “car” package in R (Fox & Weisberg, 2011) to examine these assumptions. The first were assumptions of linearity and additivity between the predictors (and controls) and the outcomes. To test linearity and additivity, I examined the *residual plots* and *component + residual plots* for relevant outcomes against each predictor (and controls) within each regression model. I tested the assumption of homoscedasticity via a non-constant variance score test. Finally, I determined if there were problematic outliers by assessing each case’s leverage value and Cook’s D (Cook, 1977). My multiple linear regression violated the assumption of homoscedasticity; I remedied this by taking the natural log and adding one to everyday discrimination and general health composite variables.

E.4. Moderation Analyses

E.4.a. Overview of Moderation Analyses. Moderation analyses are used to determine the degree to which the effect of an antecedent (X) on an outcome variable (Y) is changed by (i.e., is moderated by, depends on) a third moderating variable (Z ; Kenny, 2018). More specifically, moderation models can allow one to determine if the third variable (Z) changes the *direction and/or strength* of a slope (the slope between X and Y). In this study, I assessed moderation amongst Hispanic/Latinx teachers only via *perceived organizational support* (Model 1 used to test Hypothesis 4).⁶ The single predictor under consideration was *workplace discrimination*, and the outcome variable was *general health*. More specifically, assessed whether *perceived organizational support* moderated the relationships between *workplace discrimination* and *general health*. In order to test moderation, I employed three steps. First, I centered the predictor and moderator variables so that there was a meaningful zero point. Second, I created an interaction term, which was the product of the centered predictor and moderator variables. Finally, I fit a regression model via the “lm()” function in R in which the outcome variable was regressed on the centered predictor variable, centered moderator variable, and the interaction term (and relevant controls). Evidence of moderation was determined by a significant interaction term. I produced Johnson-Neyman (1936) graphs to demonstrate the values of the moderator by which the slope between the predictor and outcome was statistically significant.

E.4.b. Checking Moderation Assumptions. Since moderation models utilize a series of linear regression models, I tested the aforementioned assumptions of linearity, additivity, and

⁶I chose to examine moderation within this group only because, in accordance with the research questions, I was most interested in whether perceived organizational support makes a difference for (i.e., mitigates the effect of discrimination on) the health and wellness of Hispanic/Latinx teachers. While subsequent moderation analyses could examine these relationships between racial/ethnic groups, genders, etc. my first priority is to examine moderation among Hispanic/Latinx teachers only, and thus, that is the focus of this dissertation.

homoscedasticity. I also checked for outliers via Cook's D (Cook, 1977). My moderation model did not violate any assumptions.

E.5. Missing Data

Missing data are common in studies involving surveys with human subjects, and thus, it is helpful to have a plan for dealing with missing data. Upon determining the mechanism for missing data (missing completely at random, missing at random, and/or missing not at random), I used stochastic regression techniques. Stochastic regression created a regression model with the existing data; this model was then used to create predicted values to "fill in" the missing values. In other words, this technique used the complete data to estimate a model to predict the values of the missing data. *Stochastic* regression goes a step beyond regression imputation to add normally distributed residual terms to each new estimated value (i.e., "filled-in" data). This technique did not account for the uncertainty associated with using a regression model to predict data values, and as a result the standard errors could be underestimated. I took this into consideration when handling and interpreting the results.

E.6. Power Analyses

To determine the sample size I needed to detect a small effect using the aforementioned models, I used GPower (a power analysis software program) to conduct a priori power analyses (Faul & Erdfelder, 1992; for a full description of GPower, see Erdfelder et al., 1996). Per recommended guidelines, I used a power of $(1 - \beta)$ set at .80 and $\alpha = .05$ for all models. Though recommended small effect sizes vary between models (and in general), I maintained a conservative approach for my ANCOVA and multiple regression analyses whereby a small effect size = .1 (Cohen, 1988). Within my ANCOVA analyses, considering a total of three subgroups and up to six covariates (gender, sexual orientation, income, education, identity salience/importance, and teaching tenure), I determined that I needed a sample size of $N = 967$ to detect a small effect ($\eta^2 = .1$), $N = 158$ to detect a medium effect

($\eta^2 = .25$), and $N = 64$ to detect a large effect ($\eta^2 = .4$). Next I turn to power analyses in my multiple linear regression. Considering six key predictors (and a total of 11 predictors including five covariates, see Chapter 3, Section D), I determined I needed a sample size of $N = 143$ to detect a small effect, $N = 62$ to detect a medium effect, and $N = 42$ to detect a large effect. Finally, I turn to my moderation analyses. Cohen (1988) and Kenny (2018) recommend taking a more conservative approach to moderation analyses, using effect sizes of .02, .15, and .35 for small, medium, and large effect sizes, respectively. I conducted my power analysis using multiple linear regression (F tests), with three tested predictors (including the interaction coefficient). To detect a small effect I needed a sample size (of only Hispanic/Latinx teachers) of $n = 550$; to detect a medium-size effect I need a sample size of $n = 78$; to detect a large effect I need a sample size of $n = 37$. Thus, I determined that with a sample size of roughly 800 teachers (116 who were Hispanic/Latinx), I have the ability to detect a medium effect in all of my analyses (with ANCOVAs being the exception).

F. Qualitative Measures

Qualitative data were collected via semi-structured phone interviews. Semi-structured interviews are generally based on a script prearranged by the researcher, which consists of a series of open-ended questions that are followed up with additional probing questions as needed.

F.1. Interview Script

After obtaining informed consent, I followed the interview script provided below:

Hello [participant], my name is Abby Holm and I am a graduate student in the Applied Social and Health Psychology program at Colorado State University. As you know from your participation in my survey, I am conducting this project as part of my dissertation in an attempt to understand how climate, diversity, and equity efforts in Colorado K-12 public schools relate to health disparities. I would like to spend the next 45-60 minutes talking with you about your

experience as a teacher for [school district]. The information you provide in this interview will be used:

1) to better understand the climate around diversity and equity in Colorado K-12 districts and schools

2) to determine how districts can better support their Teachers and Students of Color; and

3) to gauge teachers' responses toward diversity affinity groups in their district or schools

*Before we start, I want to emphasize that this interview is completely confidential, and your participation is voluntary; you can withdraw your participation at any time. If we come to any question you do not wish to answer, please let me know and we can move on to the next question. I will be recording these interviews, but the recordings will not contain any identifying information beyond what you provide in the interview, and the only people with access to these recordings will be me, four research assistants, and my supervisors. The interviews will be transcribed, anonymized, and all recordings will be deleted after transcription is complete. The data from these interviews will be presented to districts and the Colorado Education Association, but names, school districts, teaching assignments, and other identifying characteristics beyond demographics like race/ethnicity, gender, etc. will not be tied to your responses. Districts will not have access to the data and your school/district will have no knowledge that you participated in this research unless **you** disclose this information with them. Do you have any questions for me before we get started?*

The purpose of the first few questions is to learn more about your interest and involvement with K-12 education in your district. What questions do you have for me before jumping into this part of the interview?

Table 1

Part 1. Warm-up and Background

Initial Questions	Probing Questions
<i>1. What area or grade do you teach? How did you become interested in being a teacher?</i>	<i>a. Do you remember how old you were when you first “saw” yourself as a teacher? b. How did you decide what age/grade/subject you wanted to teach?</i>
<i>2. What made you decide to teach for [school district]?</i>	<i>a. Can you talk more about what the hiring process was like for this district?</i>
<i>3. What is your favorite thing about working for [school district]?</i>	<i>a. Can you say more about that?</i>
<i>4. What is your least favorite thing about working for [school district]?</i>	<i>a. Can you say more about that?</i>

The next few questions concern your identities in relation to your occupation as a teacher. You might consider your race/ethnicity, your gender identity, sexual orientation identity, all three of these identities, or any other identities you hold. What questions do you have for me before jumping into this part of the interview?

Table 2

Part 2. Identity and Discrimination

Initial Questions	Probing Questions
<i>1. When you were a K-12 student, did you feel like your identities were adequately represented by your teachers?</i>	<i>a. Was there anyone in your school that you “looked up to” as a student?</i>
<i>2. When you think about the students you teach today, how do you feel that their identities are represented by the teaching staff in your school?</i>	<i>a. Without using names, who (students or staff) come(s) to mind when I ask that question? Can you tell me about a specific story or incident that comes to mind?</i>
<i>3. Tell me about a time that your students or coworkers were unfairly stereotyped based on the identities they hold.</i>	<i>a. Can you say more about these stereotypes? b. Why do you think this sort of stereotyping happens in your school/district?</i>

<i>4. Tell me about a time you felt unfairly stereotyped based on your own identities.</i>	<i>a. Can you say more about these stereotypes?</i> <i>b. Why do you think this sort of stereotyping happens in your school/district?</i>
<i>5. Have you ever experienced any kind of discrimination at work on the basis of any of your identities?</i>	<i>a. Do you know of anyone else (teacher, staff, or student) that has experienced discrimination in your school/district on the basis of their identities?</i> <i>b. [if yes to #5] What was that like for you?</i> <i>c. [if yes to #5a] What do you think that was like for them?</i>

These next questions ask about the level of effort your district puts into celebrating diversity and promoting equity and inclusion. What questions do you have for me before we jump into this next section?

Table 3

Part 3. Diversity and District Involvement

Initial Questions	Probing Questions
<i>1. What efforts does your district make around celebrating the diversity of its staff members' and students' identities?</i>	<i>a. How do you think that these efforts benefit you and/or your fellow teachers/students?</i> <i>b. What do you think about these efforts?</i>
<i>2. How well do you think your coworkers in the district are educated in issues of discrimination, equity, and inclusion in your school?</i>	<i>a. Can you say more about why you feel this way?</i>
<i>3. When you think about the coworkers that you spend the most time with, do you feel that these coworkers' identities are more similar or different to your own identities?</i>	<i>a. Can you say more about that?</i> <i>b. Do/would you prefer to spend more time with coworkers that share more of your identities? Why/why not?</i>
<i>4. Describe your level of involvement with your school or the district outside of your day to day work.</i>	<i>a. For example, when your district or school holds optional (perhaps social) events for staff do you often attend these events?</i> <i>b. [if they attend most/all of the offered events] What do you think of these events?</i> <i>c. [if they don't attend most/all of the offered events] Would you like to be more involved?</i>

	<i>d. [if they don't attend most/all of the offered events] Is there a reason you are not more involved?</i>
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These next questions ask about potential strategies your district could use to promote equity and inclusion among teachers. What questions do you have for me before we jump into this section?

Table 4

Part 4. Diversity Affinity Group Involvement

Initial Questions	Probing Questions
<i>1. Some districts across the U.S. have begun implementing diversity affinity groups⁷ in an effort to better promote diversity and inclusion in their district. Have you heard of diversity affinity groups?</i>	<i>a. What are your general impressions of these groups?</i>
<i>2. If [school district] were to implement diversity affinity groups, for example for [group relevant to the participant e.g., Teachers of Color, Hispanic/Latinx teachers], what are your feelings about joining one?</i>	<i>a. So, how likely is it that you would join a diversity affinity group? b. Why/why not? c. Can you expand on this?</i>
<i>3. What are some perceived benefits to your district implementing diversity affinity groups?</i>	<i>a. Can you say more about that?</i>
<i>4. What are some perceived barriers (or concerns) you have about your district implementing diversity affinity groups?</i>	<i>a. Can you say more about that?</i>

G. Qualitative Analytic Plan

Qualitative data analysis took place in Nvivo (QSR International, 1999) and a shared Google drive.

G.1. Data Corpus

⁷Read: Diversity affinity groups are employer-recognized groups that “bring together employees with similar backgrounds or interests and can have a powerful impact on the workplace” (Kossek et al., 2005). Teachers who participate in diversity affinity groups can obtain community, stress relief, and support (Welbourne et al., 2015).

The qualitative data in this study consisted of transcribed phone interviews. I coded relevant pieces of data (as opposed to only some pieces of data) in accordance with thematic analysis methodology as recommended by Guest et al. (2012), Strauss (1987), and Wolcott (1999).

G.2. Data Analysis in Nvivo.

The qualitative analyses in this study took place in Nvivo (Richards, 1999) and Google Drive (Google Drive was used to collaborate with Research Assistants). Nvivo is a qualitative data analysis software that allows researchers to organize their data according to a variety of qualitative data analysis methods (Richards, 1989). Upon purchasing an Nvivo license, I used the software to classify, organize, sort, and model pieces of data in accordance with the phronetic iterative qualitative research method (see Chapter 3, Section G.3). While I refer to theme-based categorizations as “codes”, categorizations are called “nodes” in Nvivo; they can be subdivided into “parent” and “child” (i.e., sub) nodes.

G.3. The Phronetic Iterative Approach with Thematic Analysis

A phronetic (a Greek term meaning reasoned action or common sense) iterative approach to qualitative data analysis blends both inductive and deductive approaches in that it focuses on “[narrowing] aspects of the data that have the potential to extend specific theories or address practical problems” (Tracy, 2018, p. 62). In this way, a phronetic iterative approach allows for the researcher to rely on past empirical or theoretical research as a way to streamline and contextualize the current findings while allowing new findings, (which may extend past research) to emerge. In a phronetic iterative approach, data analysis can begin while the data are being collected, as this allows for the researcher to identify foci for analysis and/or modify the qualitative prompts as needed. In fact, Tracy (2018) recommends that the researcher briefly analyzes the just-collected data in an effort to identify any additional questions or points of focus for the following interview.

Contrary to the recommendations for other qualitative methods (Glaser, 1992), a phronetic iterative approach should involve researchers collaborating and speaking about their data as they are listening to and reading the data (Tracy, 2018).

G.3.a. Coding with Thematic Analysis in a Phronetic Iterative Approach. A critical piece of qualitative data analysis is the researchers' approach to coding. Coding is "the process of labeling certain excerpts or chunks of the data as representing or fitting into some type of phenomenon" (Tracy, 2018, p. 64). For example, one might create a "racism" code/theme (to draw from *thematic analysis* terminology, with which the coding phase of the phronetic iterative approach overlaps; Braun & Clarke, 2006) to compile participants discussing their experiences with race/ethnicity-based discrimination in their workplace. It is important to note that data pieces do not have to reach a specific prevalence threshold to warrant their inclusion as a code/theme (Braun & Clarke, 2006). A code/theme emerges in its relevance to the research question(s), though researchers should make an effort to be consistent with their process of developing codes. For example, I coded a piece of data as "Religious Discrimination", even though it only showed up in one interview, because I coded other forms of discrimination throughout the document.

In phronetic iterative approaches, the coding process is further broken down into two phases: a primary and secondary phase of coding. During the primary phase, I remained open-minded to various interpretations of the data (i.e., "open coding" or similar to the "inductive" approach), and codes remained broad and simple (e.g., Tracy (2013) recommends "who, what, when, and where"-type codes). Codes/themes including brief excerpts from the language participants use were also included (i.e., "in vivo codes"; e.g., Bailey, 2018, uses the codes/themes, "Angry Black woman", "need to 'fit in'", and "too Black" in the Bailey Report; in vivo codes from this project were "surface level efforts" and "silo-ing groups"). I ceased the first "open coding"

phase when few or no new codes/theme emerged from the data analysis. I conducted the open coding phase by myself, with supervision from relevant committee members. The open coding phase took place in Nvivo.

During the secondary phase, I began to narrow my coding scheme (this phase is often called “focused coding” where the coding/thematic analysis becomes more inductive; Braun & Clarke, 2006). Specifically, I evaluated my existing (open) codes/themes and conceptualized them according to theoretical and empirical work in the field of study. During secondary coding, taking terminology from the literature is encouraged (Tracy, 2018). Codes/themes (and their groupings) can and should be flexible based on the data. I conducted the focused coding phase by myself, in Nvivo, with supervision from relevant committee members.

G.3.b. Creating a Codebook. Experts in phronetic iterative approaches to qualitative research advise that the researcher create the codebook after roughly 20% of data have been openly coded by the lead researcher (Tracy & Hinrichs, 2017). In this approach, creating the codebook should be done in the context of the research question. Importantly, codes/themes emerged that were unrelated to the primary research question and/or did not extend theory. For example, I asked teachers about what made them decide to be a teacher, and thus themes/codes emerged that were completely unrelated to questions around diversity, equity, and inclusion in Colorado K-12 schools. Only the decided upon (most important and relevant) codes/themes went into the final codebook. Single codebooks should generally not exceed 25 codes/themes. My codebook included 25 themes. Like codes/themes, codebooks should be flexible and change over time (Tracy, 2018). I created the codebook in Nvivo and Google Sheets (as to collaborating with research assistants). After the codebook was complete, a team of four research assistants assisted me in coding the data. A summary of the codes/themes and summaries in the codebook can be found in Table 5.

G.4. Thematic Analysis in the Phronetic Iterative Approach

After coding 20% of the data, I met with four research assistants to discuss the process of thematic analysis (the analytic method used within the larger phronetic iterative process). There are six, nonlinear steps to thematic analysis; I completed the first three stages, “familiarizing yourself with the data”, “generating initial codes”, and “searching for themes” alone during the larger phronetic iterative process. Research assistants joined me for the fourth and fifth stages of thematic analysis (“reviewing themes”, and “defining and naming themes”). During the fourth phase, “reviewing for themes”, I created a thematic map (see Figure 1 for the final thematic map) and we began sorting data into the existing identified codes/themes. I first trained my research assistants in thematic analysis: Each research assistant read the seminal Braun and Clarke (2006) text on thematic analysis and psychology, and I provided a one-page summary of my notes and instructions (see Appendix B). We then coded an interview together in a large group meeting as part of our training.

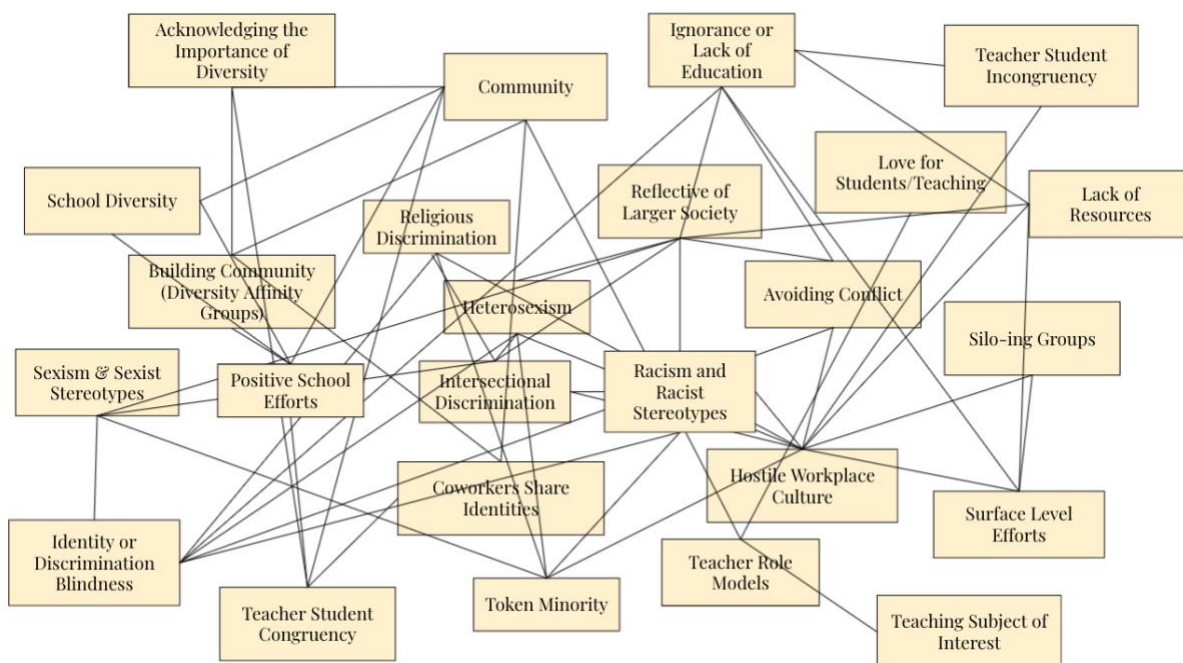


Figure 1

Thematic map

Note. Rectangles represent codes. Lines represent the theoretical connectedness of codes to one another.

Following the training and group analysis, I divided research assistants into pairs to conduct thematic analysis in rounds. Each research assistant independently read three interview transcripts and conducted thematic analysis on said transcripts according to their training; following their independent thematic analysis, they met with their partner to review any discrepancies between their results. As part of step four (“reviewing themes”) and five (“defining and naming themes”), we met as a large group to discuss any further discrepancies and refine each theme (Braun & Clark, 2006). During these meetings, we discussed subthemes of the existing themes and the possibility of new themes that better fit the data. We continued this process until all 26 interviews were coded (approximately three times). In total, the coding process (not including transcription, training, validity checks, or reporting) took about 70 hours. In addition to our large group meetings, I reviewed each interview as the lead researcher and added/corrected codes as necessary. The sixth stage of thematic analysis is “producing the report.” In an effort to produce an organized, comprehensive report, I counted and sorted all of the pieces of data, pages of transcripts, and instances of each code/theme. There were a total of 25 codes/themes (see Table 5).

Table 5

Summary of Emergent Themes

Theme	Brief Description
Acknowledging the Importance of Diversity	Participant acknowledges importance of diversity efforts for their students, staff, or school.
Avoiding Conflict	Participant expresses wanting to avoid conflict in their school/community.

Building Community (Diversity Affinity Groups)	Participant expresses that Diversity Affinity Groups have the potential to build community in their district.
Community	Participant expresses a positive community in or around their school.
Coworkers Share Identities	Participant talks about sharing identities with coworkers.
Heterosexism*	Participant expresses experiences of heterosexism
Homogeneity	Participant discusses homogeneity in their school or community
Hostile Workplace Culture	Participant expresses poor or unhealthy workplace dynamics between coworkers
Identity or Discrimination Blindness*	Participant expresses that they do not see discrimination or the differences among people in their school or participant discusses others expressing that they do not see discrimination or differences among people
Ignorance or Lack of Education*	Participant expresses ignorance or lack of education as contributing to discriminatory behavior
Intersectional Discrimination	Participant discusses single experiences of discrimination on the basis of one or more identities
Lack of Resources	Participant discusses a lack of resources (time, money, etc.) in their role or experience as a teacher
Love for Students/Teaching*	Participant expresses a love for teaching students or teaching in general
Positive School Efforts	Participant acknowledges or expresses positive efforts around diversity, equity, and inclusion in their school
Racism and Racist Stereotypes	Participant describes of racism in their community or school
Reflective of Larger Society*	Participant shares that the issues at their school are reflective of the issues in larger society
Religious Discrimination*	Participant describes discrimination on the basis of religion
School Diversity	Participant discusses diversity in their school/district

Sexism and Sexist Stereotypes*	Participant expresses experiencing sexism in their school/district
Silo-ing Groups	Participant talks about silo-ing groups based on identities, usually in regard to diversity affinity groups (can be in a negative or positive light)
Surface-Level Efforts	Participant discusses surface-level or “performative” efforts for diversity and equity in their school
Teacher Role Models	Participant speaks about a teacher role model they had as a student or the role model they want to be for their students
Teacher-Student Congruency	Participant discusses that students’ identities are well represented by teachers at their school
Teacher-Student Incongruency	Participant discusses that students’ identities are not represented by teachers at their school
Teaching Subject of Interest*	Participant discusses that they teach a subject out of their love for that subject (e.g., writing, science)
Token Minority	Participant discusses being one or one of very few people of their identities at their school and the subsequent pressure to “speak for” that identity

Note. *indicates theme was not discussed in the results section due to its unrelatedness to the research questions in this dissertation and/or for conciseness

G.5. Determining Validity

In any qualitative study, it is crucial that one considers how they will determine validity in their qualitative data analyses. While there are numerous terms and constructions of validity in the qualitative context, it is generally defined as, “how accurately the account represents participants’ realities of the social phenomena and is credible to them” (Schwandt, 1997, as cited in Creswell & Miller, 2000, p. 125). According to Creswell and Miller (2000), the method(s) one employs for establishing validity should depend on two dimensions: the lens and the paradigm assumptions. The qualitative lens is the perspective or viewpoint the researcher brings to a study, for example, that of the *researcher*, *participants*, or *those external to the study*. Paradigm assumptions, on the

other hand, are the researchers' "worldviews." Paradigm assumptions can look one of three ways in qualitative research and are generally defined and described based on their chronological emergence in the qualitative literature. While a *postpositivist* perspective takes a systematic and methodical approach to interpreting the validity of qualitative data (e.g., Maxwell, 1996), a *constructivist* approach is more open-ended and places a greater emphasis on the contextual backdrop in which the research is conducted (e.g., Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Finally, the *critical* perspective, which aims to increase representation and acknowledgment of the historical context in qualitative research, requires that the researcher "uncover the hidden assumptions about how narrative accounts are constructed, read, and interpreted [for example, based on] ... social, political, cultural, economic, ethnic, and gender antecedents of the studied situations" (Creswell & Miller, 2000, p. 126). Importantly, a critical perspective requires that the researcher reflects and challenges their interpretation of the data as it relates to their positionality (i.e., social perspective, see Chapter 1, Section D.3) in the context of the research.

Considering these dimensions in the context of my research study, I conducted research from the lenses of the researcher, the study participants, and the people external to the study, based on the critical paradigm. Thus, I used three methods to assess validity based on the recommendations of Creswell and Miller (2000): peer debriefing, collaboration, and researcher reflexivity. These practices are further supported by Tracy and Hinrichs (2017), who emphasize the importance of multivocality (the inclusion of different viewpoints and voices within the research question). First, peer debriefing speaks to the lens of people external to the study; it involves reviewing the data and research process with someone familiar with the research question and processes to validate the results. My CEA contact, Ali Cochran, and CEA's data analyst and researcher, Sarah Siegel, served as peer debriefing partners, as they are more familiar with the

climate and concerns in regard to Colorado K-12 education and union members' (teachers') experiences. I also believed it was important to debrief with someone who identifies with the Hispanic/Latinx community and the teaching community; to fill this role, I consulted with Sarah, Ali, and two members of CEA's equity committee. I asked these four people to review my qualitative results (Chapter 4, Section B) along with my positionality statement (Chapter 1, Section F). Appendix C contains my email transcript where I asked the employees/members to read the results and reflect on the five questions:

1. Are the conclusions I make accurate, in your eyes? Why or why not?
2. Which contextual variables did I miss?
3. Which quotes and themes did you find most interesting?
4. Which quotes and themes were you most surprised by?
5. Which quotes and themes were you least surprised by?

I paid the two CEA equity committee members \$50 for their time (the two CEA employees completed this process as part of their work). I spoke with each debriefing individual separately for approximately 30 minutes over the phone or via video conferencing (we were unable to find a shared time that worked for everyone). I discuss the results of my debriefing with CEA members and employees in Chapter 4. My committee members also (by default) serve as peer debriefing partners. I consulted these members regarding my positionality, ethical listening, and suggested peer debriefing practices.

I also used collaboration to validate my results. Collaboration involves the lens of participants and includes participant involvement in some capacity throughout the research process. Because this dissertation is being conducted in partnership with the Colorado Education Association, there is already some collaboration taking place, as CEA members have assisted in narrowing the research question(s), determining the best time to distribute surveys, etc. I also intend to work with the CEA in writing and presenting reports that extend from the dissertation.

Finally, I used researcher reflexivity as my third method of validation. Researcher reflexivity is inspired by the critical paradigm approach and Tracy and Hinrichs' (2017) emphasis on sincerity in a quality qualitative research design. It requires that the researcher *reflects* on their "assumptions, beliefs, and biases" early on in the study so that they and the reader understand the positionality the researcher has going into the project in the social, historical, and cultural backdrops of the study. For example, I have reflected on my identities (my gender, race/ethnicity, socioeconomic status, occupation, education, etc.) and how these identities influence the assumptions I make about the participants, school districts, union, and research question involved in the forthcoming research. These reflections can be found primarily in the introduction and discussion of this dissertation; they are most salient in the positionality statement (Chapter 1, Section F).

Chapter 4

RESULTS

A. Quantitative Results

A.1. Descriptive Statistics and Correlations

After accounting for missing data via stochastic regression, I conducted descriptive and bivariate statistics. Descriptive statistics for key variables can be found in Table 6. A total of 1,217 teachers participated in the study; however, 346 completed less than 50% of the survey and 20 were missing data on significant variables of interest. Thus, the final sample consisted of 851 teachers.

The majority of participants identified as cisgender women (84.39%), while 12.86% of participants identified as cisgender men, 1.26% preferred not to answer, 0.46% identified as nonbinary, 0.11% identified as transgender men, and 0.09% answered that their identity was not listed.

In terms of race, most participants identified as white (87.72%); 2.76% identified as Black, 2.41% identified as Indigenous- Native American and white, 2.30% preferred not to answer, 2.18% identified as Asian American, 0.69% as Indigenous- Native American, 0.57% as Asian American and white, 0.46% as Black and white, 0.23% as Black and Asian American, 0.23% as Indigenous- Pacific Islander and white, 0.22% as Indigenous- Native Hawaiian, 0.22% as Indigenous- Native Hawaiian, 0.11% as Indigenous- Native Hawaiian and white, and 0.11% as Indigenous- Pacific Islander and Asian American and white.

The majority of participants identified as non-Hispanic/Latinx/Chicanx (78.26%), while the remainder identified as Hispanic, Latinx, or Chicanx. Most participants identified as heterosexual or straight (89.31%), while 3.91% identified as bisexual, 2.53% identified as

lesbian, 2.10% identified as gay, 1.40% identified as “something else”, and 0.80% shared that they did not know their sexual orientation or were still figuring it out.

Most participants did not have a physical, emotional, or developmental disability (72.68%), while 15.57% had an emotional disability, 6.43% had a physical disability, 2.00% had a developmental disability, and 3.33% shared that they did not know whether they had a disability. Of the 23.99% of participants who had a disability, 7.12% had more than one type of disability.

Participants’ average age was 41.38 years old ($SD = 10.24$). In regard to education, 71.87% of participants had a master’s degree, 22.04% had a Bachelor’s degree, 2.76% had a professional degree, 2.5% had a doctorate degree, 0.34% completed some college, 0.23% completed high school, and 0.23% completed less than a high school degree.

Most participants’ income was between \$50-74,000 (25.71%), while 23.31% of participants’ income was between \$100-149,000, 22.27% was between \$75-99,000, 13.66% was between \$35-49,000, 8.72% was between \$150-199,000, 3.67% was more than \$200,000, 2.0% was between \$25-34,000, and 0.68% was less than \$25,000.

At the time of the survey, 2.90% of participants had ever tested positive for COVID-19 (97.11% had not tested positive). Over half (55.11%) of teachers started the school year teaching via an online learning model, with 24.57% starting in an in-person model, and 20.32% in a hybrid model. By the time of the survey (November/December 2020), 70.38% of teachers were in an online learning model, with 16.07% in a hybrid model, and 13.55% in an in-person model.

Participants reported working an average of 45.42 hours per week ($SD = 6.90$) in the “building” during a normal school year. On average, participants worked 13.36 hours outside of the building during a normal school year ($SD = 11.69$).

The variable, health conditions/symptoms, was modeled as a composite variable. I did, however, look at the conditions/symptoms that were most common for participants. These included: trouble sleeping (53.5% reported that this happened “fairly often” or “very often”), muscle tension/tightness (50.6% reported that this happened “fairly often” or “very often”), headache (44.4% reported that this happened “fairly often” or “very often”), emotional problems (26.7% said they had been diagnosed with or treated for this in the last year), back problems (20.7% said they had been diagnosed with or treated for this in the last year), and insomnia (15.4% said they had been diagnosed with or treated for this in the last year).

Correlation matrices are provided in Tables 6, 7, 8, and 9. I will review correlations for the general sample, but note that Tables 7, 8, and 9 contain descriptive statistics and correlation matrices for Hispanic/Latinx teachers, non-Hispanic white teachers, and non-Hispanic teachers of Color, respectively. To simplify matrices, I created several composite variables. The first composite variable, labeled “General Discrimination”, was the sum of the Intersectional Discrimination and Everyday Discrimination scales. The second composite variable, labeled “Work Discrimination”, was the sum of the Workplace Incivility Scale and the Chronic Workplace Discrimination and Harassment scales. “Work Stress” is a composite variable consisting of the NIOSH Conflict at Work, Employment Opportunity, Workload Responsibility, and Job Satisfaction subscales. The “Total Support” composite variable is the sum of the Perceived Organizational Support Scale and the Support subconstruct in the NIOSH Generic Job Stress Questionnaire. Finally, the composite variable labeled “Health Conditions and Symptoms” was the sum of the NIOSH health scales (health conditions, health symptoms, number of sick days in last 30 days), the Center for Epidemiological Studies Depression scale, and the Cross-Cutting DSM-V scale.

Of note, the variable, hours worked in the building, was positively correlated with general discrimination, workplace discrimination, teaching specific stress, general stress, and health conditions/symptoms.⁸ The variable, hours worked in the building, was negatively correlated with support. The variable, hours worked outside the building, followed a similar pattern, except it was not positively correlated with general discrimination, general stress, or health conditions/symptoms; however, it was positively correlated with identity salience and importance. The variable, years taught in Colorado, was negatively correlated with general stress and health conditions/symptoms and positively correlated with age, education, and income. Interestingly, age was negatively correlated with general stress and health conditions/symptoms, such that those who were older had fewer health conditions/symptoms and less general stress overall. Education was positively correlated with income and total general discrimination; education was negatively correlated with health conditions/symptoms (more education was related to fewer health conditions/symptoms). Income was negatively correlated with general discrimination, workplace discrimination, general stress, teaching-specific stress, and health conditions/symptoms.

General discrimination was positively correlated with workplace discrimination, work stress, general stress, teaching specific stress, health conditions/symptoms, and identity salience and importance. General discrimination was negatively correlated with support. Work discrimination was positively correlated with work stress, general stress, teaching-specific stress, health conditions/symptoms, and identity salience and importance. Work discrimination was negatively correlated with support. Work stress was positively correlated with general stress,

⁸Note that “General Health” was measured by the number of adverse health conditions/symptoms (see Chapter 3, Section D.4), and thus, I report the variable as, “health conditions/symptoms”, in this section to aid in interpretation of the results.

teaching specific stress, and health conditions/symptoms; it was negatively correlated with support. General stress was negatively correlated with support. Support was negatively correlated with teaching specific stress and health conditions/symptoms. Teaching-specific stress was positively correlated with health conditions/symptoms.

The largest correlations were between general stress and health conditions/symptoms ($r(849) = .70, p < .01$), age and years taught in Colorado ($r(849) = .62, p < .01$), and general discrimination and work discrimination ($r(849) = .57, p < .01$).

Table 6*Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations with Confidence Intervals for all Teachers*

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Hours SY	45.38	6.88								
2. Hours Outside	13.21	11.57	.22** [.16, .29]							
3. CO Years	5.42	1.48	-.04 [-.10, .03]	.06 [-.01, .13]						
4. Age	41.35	10.25	-.07 [-.13, .00]	.08* [.02, .15]	.62** [.57, .66]					
5. Education	5.83	0.64	-.00 [-.07, .06]	.03 [-.04, .10]	.20** [.13, .26]	.14** [.07, .20]				
6. Income	4.91	1.42	-.03 [-.09, .04]	-.03 [-.10, .04]	.30** [.24, .36]	.30** [.24, .36]	.26** [.19, .32]			
7. General Discrim.	1.33	0.45	.08* [.01, .15]	.06 [-.01, .12]	-.04 [-.10, .03]	-.03 [-.10, .03]	.09* [.02, .15]	-.09** [-.16, -.02]		
8. Work Discrim.	1.66	0.55	.11** [.04, .17]	.12** [.05, .19]	.02 [-.05, .08]	.01 [-.05, .08]	.05 [-.02, .11]	-.11** [-.17, -.04]	.57** [.53, .62]	
9. Work Stress	3.11	0.39	.16** [.09, .22]	.09** [.02, .16]	.05 [-.02, .12]	.05 [-.01, .12]	.00 [-.06, .07]	-.05 [-.12, .01]	.27** [.21, .33]	.45** [.39, .50]
10. General Stress	3.27	0.61	.10** [.03, .17]	.00 [-.06, .07]	-.11** [-.17, -.04]	-.20** [-.26, -.13]	-.03 [-.10, .03]	-.09** [-.16, -.03]	.27** [.20, .33]	.28** [.22, .34]
11. Support	3.75	1.25	-.14** [-.21, -.08]	-.10** [-.16, -.03]	-.02 [-.09, .05]	.02 [-.04, .09]	.03 [-.04, .09]	.05 [-.02, .12]	-.25** [-.31, -.18]	-.42** [-.47, -.36]

12. Teaching Stress	3.35	0.72	.22** [.15, .28]	.09** [.03, .16]	-.01 [-.08, .05]	-.03 [-.09, .04]	-.05 [-.12, .01]	-.08* [-.15, -.01]	.28** [.21, .34]	.32** [.26, .38]
13. Health Cond. & Symptoms	8.32	1.82	.12** [.05, .19]	.04 [-.03, .10]	-.10** [-.17, -.04]	-.12** [-.19, -.06]	-.07* [-.14, -.00]	-.17** [-.23, -.10]	.30** [.24, .36]	.39** [.33, .44]
14. IID Importance	4.54	1.33	.03 [-.04, .10]	.11** [.05, .18]	-.04 [-.10, .03]	-.04 [-.11, .02]	.05 [-.02, .12]	.02 [-.05, .09]	.21** [.15, .28]	.12** [.05, .18]
9	10	11	12	13						
.37** [.31, .43]										
-.48** [-.53, -.42]	-.37** [-.42, -.31]									
.43** [.37, .48]	.41** [.35, .46]	-.45** [-.50, -.40]								
.35** [.29, .41]	.70** [.66, .73]	-.40** [-.45, -.34]	.40** [.34, .46]							
.04 [-.03, .11]	.04 [-.03, .10]	.02 [-.05, .08]	.04 [-.03, .10]	.05 [-.01, .12]						

Table 7*Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations with Confidence Intervals for Hispanic/Latinx Teachers*

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Hours SY	45.03	7.50								
2. Hours Outside	15.55	14.66	.22* [.04, .39]							
3. CO Years	5.50	1.57	-.14 [-.32, .04]	-.15 [-.32, .03]						
4. Age	41.93	10.81	-.08 [-.26, .10]	.02 [-.17, .20]	.61** [.49, .72]					
5. Education	5.84	0.80	-.14 [-.31, .05]	-.09 [-.27, .09]	.27** [.09, .43]	.11 [-.07, .29]				
6. Income	4.81	1.42	-.22* [-.39, -.04]	-.12 [-.30, .06]	.38** [.21, .52]	.33** [.15, .48]	.21* [.03, .38]			
7. General Discrim.	1.39	0.47	.11 [-.07, .29]	-.08 [-.26, .11]	-.08 [-.26, .10]	-.10 [-.27, .09]	.22* [.04, .39]	-.22* [-.39, -.04]		
8. Work Discrim.	1.70	0.56	.08 [-.10, .26]	-.04 [-.23, .14]	.07 [-.11, .25]	-.02 [-.21, .16]	.06 [-.13, .24]	-.14 [-.32, .04]	.56** [.42, .67]	
9. Work Stress	3.17	0.39	.10 [-.08, .28]	-.08 [-.25, .11]	-.00 [-.18, .18]	.04 [-.14, .22]	-.18* [-.35, -.00]	-.06 [-.24, .12]	.20* [.02, .37]	.35** [.18, .50]
10. General Stress	3.29	0.66	.07	-.10	-.14	-.16	.03	-.02	.20*	.25**

			[-.12, .25]	[-.28, .08]	[-.31, .05]	[-.34, .02]	[-.16, .21]	[-.20, .16]	[.02, .37]	[.07, .41]
11. Support	3.81	1.31	-.10 [-.27, .09]	.02 [-.16, .20]	-.12 [-.30, .06]	.03 [-.15, .21]	.02 [-.16, .21]	-.02 [-.20, .17]	-.22* [-.39, -.04]	-.45** [-.58, -.29]
12. Teaching Stress	3.33	0.73	.13 [-.06, .30]	-.07 [-.25, .11]	-.01 [-.20, .17]	.05 [-.14, .23]	-.09 [-.27, .09]	-.09 [-.27, .09]	.26** [.08, .42]	.28** [.11, .44]
13. Health Cond. & Symptoms	8.41	1.85	.10 [-.09, .28]	-.08 [-.26, .11]	-.10 [-.28, .09]	-.16 [-.34, .03]	.01 [-.18, .20]	-.03 [-.22, .16]	.25* [.06, .41]	.30** [.12, .47]
14. ID Importance	4.74	1.27	.10	.06	-.12	-.06	.21*	.11	.25**	.15
	45.03	7.50	[-.09, .28]	[-.12, .24]	[-.29, .07]	[-.24, .12]	[.03, .38]	[-.07, .29]	[.07, .42]	[-.03, .32]
9	10	11	12	13						
.43** [.27, .57]										
-.52** [-.64, -.38]	-.43** [-.57, -.27]									
.44** [.28, .58]	.49** [.33, .61]	-.47** [-.60, -.32]								
.35** [.17, .51]	.77** [.68, .84]	-.43** [-.58, -.27]	.47** [.30, .60]							
-.00 [-.19, .18]	.12 [-.06, .30]	.06 [-.13, .24]	-.05 [-.23, .13]	.02 [-.17, .21]						

Note. *M* and *SD* are used to represent mean and standard deviation, respectively. Values in square brackets indicate the 95% confidence interval for each correlation. The confidence interval is a plausible range of population correlations that could have caused the sample correlation (Cumming, 2014). Hours SY = hours worked in the school year; Hours Outside = hours worked outside of school day, CO Years = years taught in Colorado; General Discrim = sum of

Intersectional Discrimination scale and Everyday Discrimination scale; Work Discrim = sum of Workplace Incivility scale and Chronic Workplace Discrimination and Harassment scale; Work Stress = sum of NIOSH work stress scales; Support = sum of Perceived Organizational Support scale and the support subscale of the NIOSH Generic Job Stress Questionnaire; General Stress = Perceived Stress Scale; Health Cond. and Symptoms = sum of NIOSH health scales (health conditions, health symptoms, number of sick days in last 30 days), Center for Epidemiological Studies Depression scale, and Cross-Cutting DSM-V scale; ID Importance = Identity Salience and Importance Scale.* indicates $p < .05$. ** indicates $p < .01$.

Table 8*Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations with Confidence Intervals for White Teachers*

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Hours SY	45.52	6.69								
2. Hours Outside	12.26	10.20								
3. CO Years	5.43	1.46	.25** [.18, .32]							
4. Age	41.38	10.11	-.03 [-.11, .04]	.10** [.02, .17]						
5. Education	5.82	0.61	-.07 [-.15, .00]	.09* [.02, .17]	.61** [.56, .66]					
6. Income	4.95	1.41	.04 [-.04, .12]	.04 [-.03, .12]	.19** [.12, .27]	.14** [.07, .22]				
7. General Discrim.	1.29	0.42	-.02 [-.10, .06]	-.00 [-.08, .07]	.28** [.21, .35]	.31** [.24, .38]	.27** [.20, .34]			
8. Work Discrim.	1.63	0.52	.10** [.03, .18]	.04 [-.04, .11]	-.02 [-.10, .05]	-.01 [-.09, .06]	.04 [-.04, .12]	-.04 [-.12, .03]		
9. Work Stress	3.10	0.40	.17** [.09, .24]	.15** [.07, .22]	.01 [-.06, .09]	.02 [-.06, .10]	.03 [-.04, .11]	-.08* [-.16, -.01]	.56** [.50, .61]	
10. General Stress	3.27	0.60	.19** [.12, .26]	.13** [.05, .20]	.07 [-.01, .15]	.07 [-.00, .15]	.03 [-.04, .11]	-.05 [-.12, .03]	.30** [.23, .37]	.49** [.43, .55]

11. Support	3.72	1.24	.12** [.05, .20]	.04 [-.04, .11]	-.11** [-.18, -.03]	-.20** [-.28, -.13]	-.05 [-.13, .03]	-.09* [-.16, -.01]	.29** [.22, .35]	.30** [.23, .36]
12. Teaching Stress	3.35	0.72	-.15** [-.23, -.08]	-.15** [-.22, -.07]	-.00 [-.08, .08]	.02 [-.05, .10]	.03 [-.05, .10]	.06 [-.02, .13]	-.28** [-.35, -.21]	-.43** [-.49, -.37]
13. Health Cond. & Symptoms	8.33	1.80	.13** [.05, .20]	.07 [-.01, .14]	-.10* [-.17, -.02]	-.12** [-.19, -.04]	-.10* [-.18, -.02]	-.18** [-.25, -.10]	.34** [.27, .41]	.44** [.38, .50]
14. ID Importance	4.43	1.30	.05 [-.02, .13]	.07 [-.01, .15]	-.02 [-.09, .06]	-.04 [-.11, .04]	-.00 [-.08, .07]	.02 [-.05, .10]	.16** [.08, .23]	.09* [.01, .16]
<hr/>										
	9	10	11	12	13					
	.36** [.30, .43]									
	-.48** [-.54, -.42]	-.34** [-.41, -.28]								
	.45** [.39, .51]	.39** [.32, .45]	-.44** [-.50, -.38]							
	.36** [.29, .43]	.68** [.64, .72]	-.40** [-.46, -.33]	.40** [.34, .47]						
	.04 [-.03, .12]	.05 [-.03, .12]	-.03 [-.10, .05]	.08* [.01, .16]	.08 [-.00, .15]					

Note. *M* and *SD* are used to represent mean and standard deviation, respectively. Values in square brackets indicate the 95% confidence interval for each correlation. The confidence interval is a plausible range of population correlations that could have caused the sample correlation (Cumming, 2014). Hours SY = hours worked in the school year; Hours Outside = hours worked outside of school day, CO Years = years taught in Colorado; General Discrim = sum of Intersectional Discrimination scale and Everyday Discrimination scale; Work Discrim = sum of Workplace Incivility scale and Chronic Workplace Discrimination and Harassment scale; Work Stress = sum of NIOSH work stress scales; Support = sum of Perceived Organizational Support scale and the support subscale of the NIOSH Generic Job Stress Questionnaire; General Stress = Perceived Stress Scale; Health Cond. and Symptoms = sum of NIOSH health scales (health conditions, health symptoms, number of sick days in last 30 days), Center for Epidemiological Studies Depression scale, and Cross-Cutting DSM-V scale; ID Importance = Identity Salience and Importance Scale.* indicates $p < .05$. ** indicates $p < .01$

Table 9*Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations with Confidence Intervals for other Teachers of Color*

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Hours SY	44.57	7.57								
2. Hours Outside	18.47	15.65	.16 [-.07, .39]							
3. CO Years	5.16	1.58	.09 [-.15, .32]	.22 [-.02, .43]						
4. Age	40.13	10.63	.00 [-.23, .24]	.19 [-.05, .41]	.62** [.44, .74]					
5. Education	5.88	0.58	-.07 [-.30, .17]	.15 [-.09, .38]	.07 [-.17, .30]	.14 [-.10, .37]				
6. Income	4.65	1.48	.21 [-.02, .43]	.01 [-.22, .25]	.32** [.09, .52]	.14 [-.09, .37]	.29* [.06, .50]			
7. General Discrim.	1.69	0.56	.00 [-.23, .24]	.05 [-.19, .28]	.02 [-.22, .25]	-.02 [-.26, .21]	.13 [-.11, .35]	-.10 [-.33, .14]		
8. Work Discrim.	1.86	0.80	-.16 [-.38, .08]	.09 [-.15, .32]	.01 [-.22, .25]	.06 [-.18, .29]	.11 [-.13, .34]	-.16 [-.39, .08]	.63** [.46, .75]	
9. Work Stress	3.14	0.38	-.05 [-.28, .19]	.05 [-.18, .29]	-.05 [-.28, .19]	-.10 [-.32, .14]	.13 [-.11, .36]	-.06 [-.29, .18]	.20 [-.04, .42]	.32** [.09, .51]
10. General Stress	3.24	0.62	-.02 [-.25, .22]	-.02 [-.26, .21]	-.09 [-.32, .15]	-.24* [-.45, -.00]	-.03 [-.26, .21]	-.26* [-.47, -.03]	.34** [.11, .53]	.27* [.03, .47]

11. Support	3.87	1.26	-.13 [-.35, .11]	-.05 [-.28, .19]	-.01 [-.24, .23]	.03 [-.21, .26]	.02 [-.22, .26]	.14 [-.10, .37]	-.19 [-.41, .04]	-.37** [-.56, -.15]
12. Teaching Stress	3.38	0.81	.12 [-.12, .35]	.05 [-.19, .28]	.01 [-.23, .25]	-.01 [-.25, .22]	-.28* [-.48, -.05]	-.24* [-.46, -.01]	.25* [.01, .46]	.18 [-.06, .40]
13. Health Cond. & Symptoms	8.09	1.94	.08 [-.17, .31]	.05 [-.19, .29]	-.23 [-.45, .01]	-.15 [-.38, .10]	.07 [-.17, .31]	-.28* [-.49, -.05]	.26* [.02, .48]	.24 [-.00, .46]
14. ID Importance	5.28	1.49	-.16 [-.39, .07]	.21 [-.02, .43]	-.01 [-.25, .22]	-.04 [-.27, .20]	.19 [-.05, .41]	-.03 [-.26, .21]	.20 [-.04, .42]	.13 [-.11, .35]
<hr/>										
9	10	11	12	13						
.36** [.13, .55]										
-.42** [-.60, -.21]	-.46** [-.63, -.25]									
.28* [.04, .48]	.41** [.19, .59]	-.51** [-.66, -.31]								
.27* [.02, .48]	.70** [.55, .81]	-.33** [-.53, -.09]	.29* [.05, .50]							
-.01 [-.24, .23]	-.15 [-.37, .09]	.24* [.00, .45]	-.20 [-.42, .04]	-.01 [-.26, .23]						

Note. *M* and *SD* are used to represent mean and standard deviation, respectively. Values in square brackets indicate the 95% confidence interval for each correlation. The confidence interval is a plausible range of population correlations that could have caused the sample correlation (Cumming, 2014). Hours SY = hours worked in the school year; Hours Outside = hours worked outside of school day, CO Years = years taught in Colorado; General Discrim = sum of Intersectional Discrimination scale and Everyday Discrimination scale; Work Discrim = sum of Workplace Incivility scale and Chronic Workplace Discrimination and Harassment scale; Work Stress = sum of NIOSH work stress scales; Support = sum of Perceived Organizational Support scale and the support subscale of the NIOSH Generic Job Stress Questionnaire; General Stress = Perceived Stress Scale; Health Cond. and Symptoms = sum of NIOSH health scales (health conditions, health symptoms, number of sick days in last 30 days), Center for Epidemiological Studies Depression scale, and Cross-Cutting DSM-

V scale; ID Importance = Identity Salience and Importance Scale.* indicates $p < .05$. ** indicates $p < .01$.

A.2. Boxplots.

Before estimating my analyses of covariance (ANCOVA) models, I created boxplots to visualize the outcome variables between subgroups (see Figures 2 - 6 below). First, turning to the boxplot for intersectional discrimination (Figure 2), it appeared that the distribution was widest among non-Hispanic People of Color as indicated by the widest interquartile range (IQR). Non-Hispanic People of Color also had the highest median. Non-Hispanic white people and Hispanic/Latinx people had relatively similar medians and IQRs.

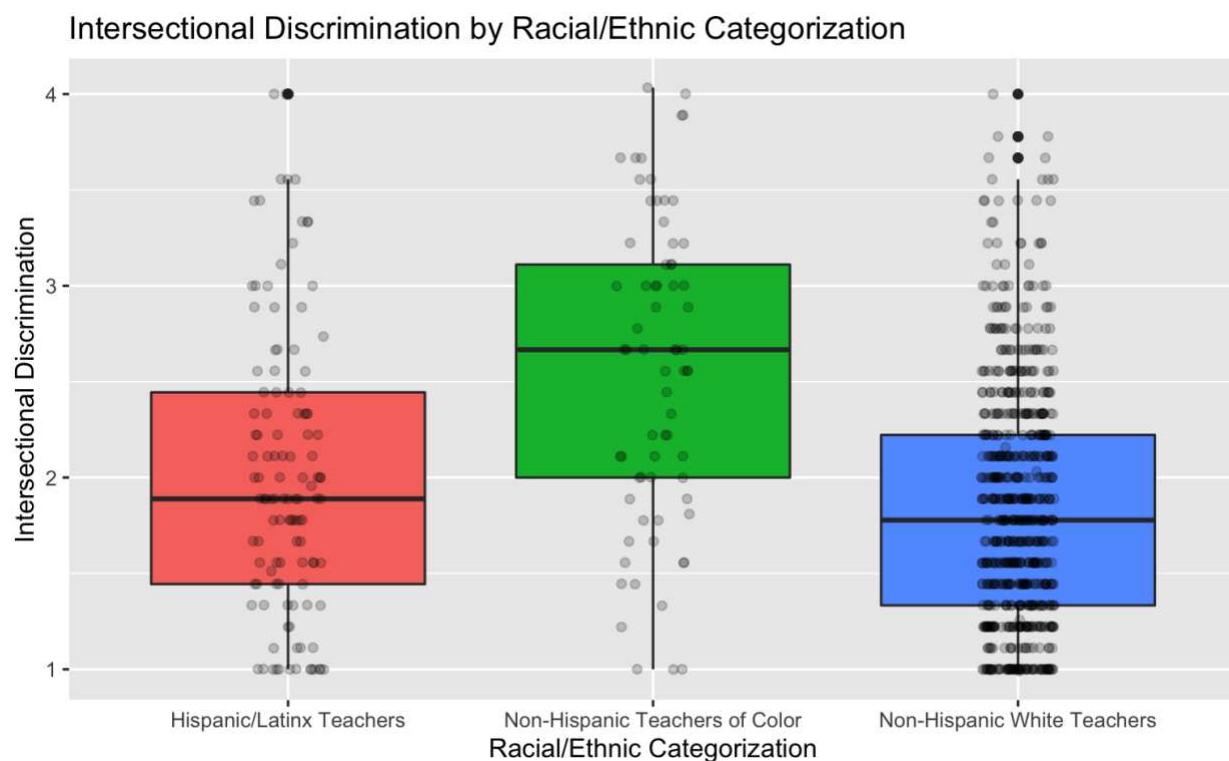


Figure 2

Intersectional Discrimination by Racial/Ethnic Categorization.

The boxplot for total everyday discrimination (Figure 3) indicated that medians were relatively similar across racial/ethnic groups. Non-Hispanic POC had the largest IQR and also the highest median. Again, non-Hispanic white people and Hispanic/Latinx people had relatively similar

medians and IQRs. Every group had several outliers. Recall, I tested for significant outliers using Cook's D (Cook, 1977). Significant outliers were excluded from all analyses.

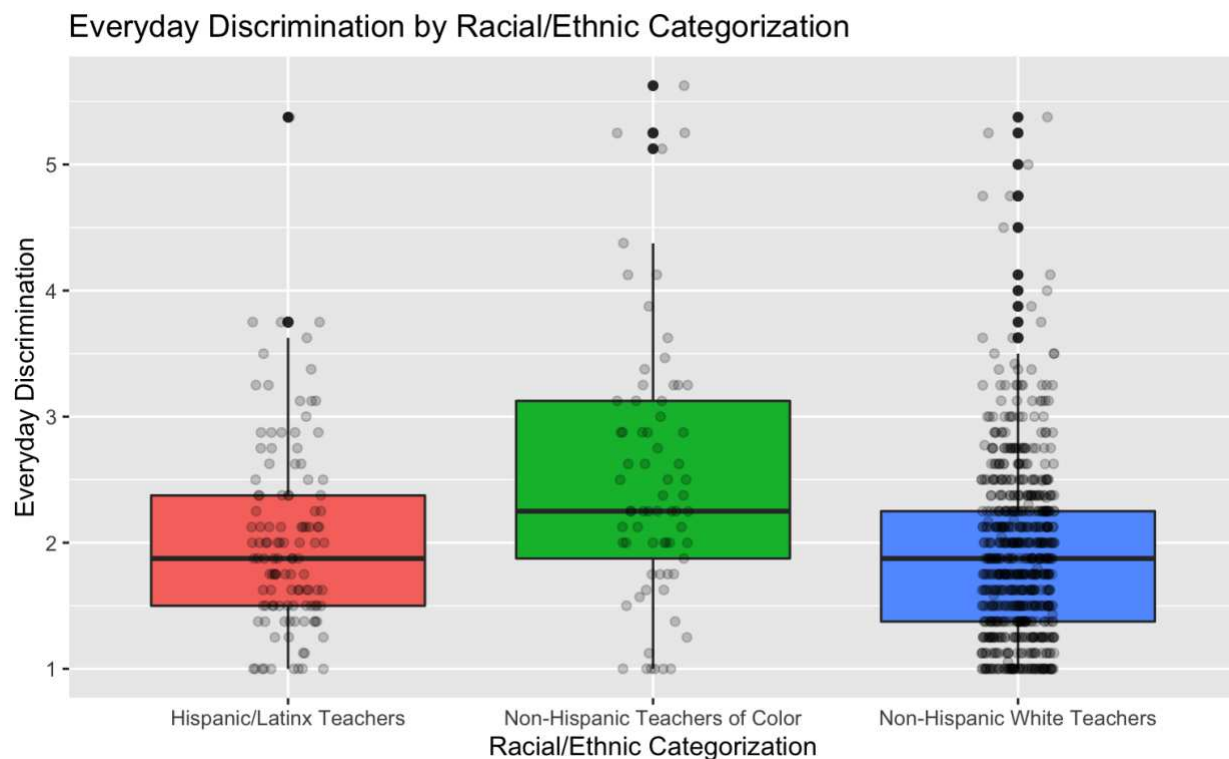


Figure 3

Everyday Discrimination by Racial/Ethnic Categorization.

The boxplot for workplace incivility (Figure 4) indicated that medians were relatively similar across groups. Non-Hispanic POC had noticeably larger IQRs, and the IQR for Hispanic/Latinx people was slightly larger than that of non-Hispanic white people.

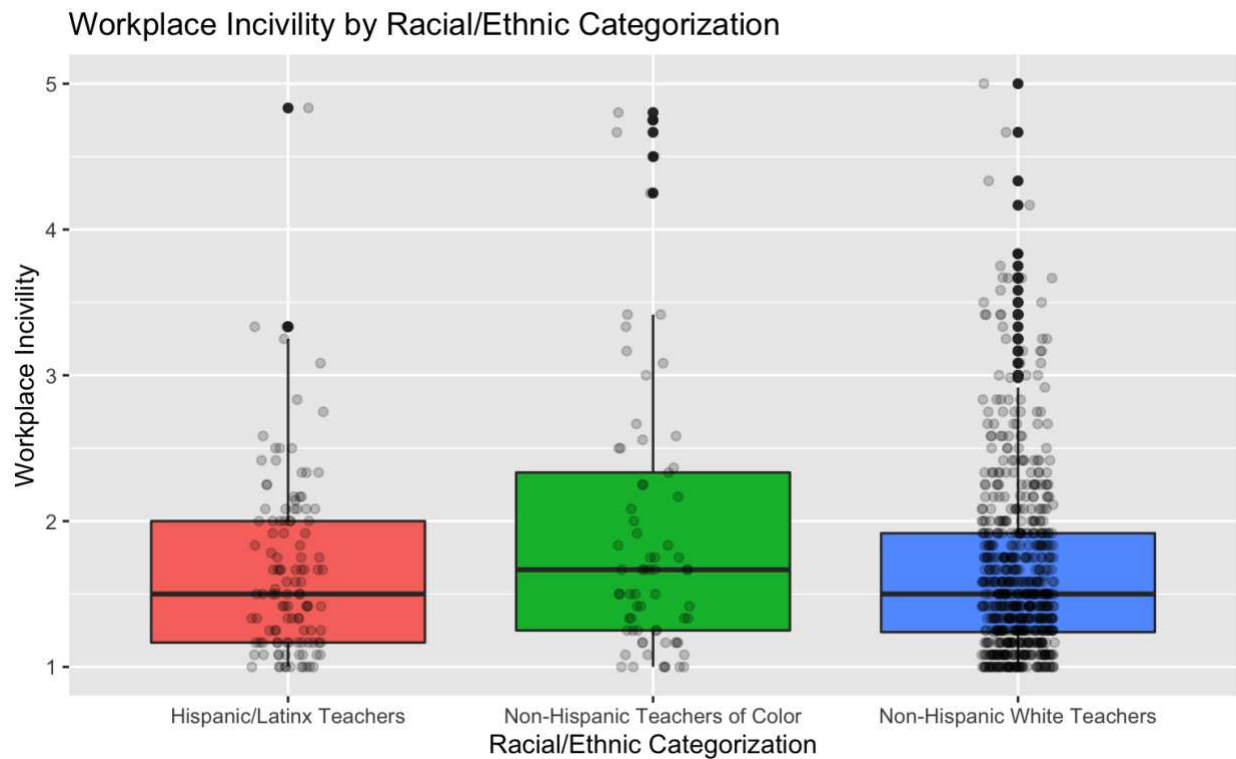


Figure 4

Workplace Incivility by Racial/Ethnic Categorization

The boxplot for chronic workplace discrimination and harassment (Figure 5) indicated noticeably larger variability for Hispanic/Latinx people and non-Hispanic POC compared to non-Hispanic white people, as evidenced by the IQRs. The medians were relatively similar across groups with non-Hispanic People of Color having a slightly higher median than the other two groups.

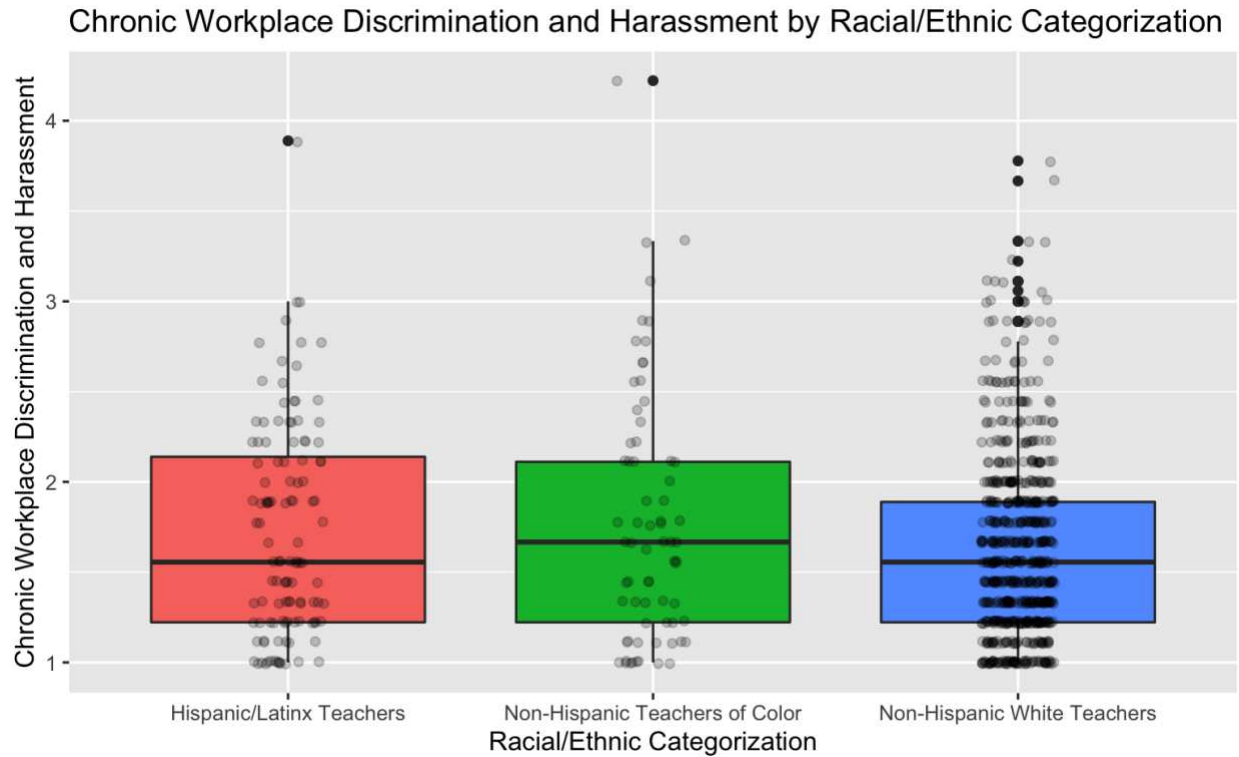


Figure 5

Chronic Workplace Discrimination and Harassment by Racial/Ethnic Categorization.

The boxplot for work-related stress (Figure 6) indicated that groups had relatively similar medians; however, non-Hispanic POC appeared to have noticeably a smaller IQR than the other two groups.

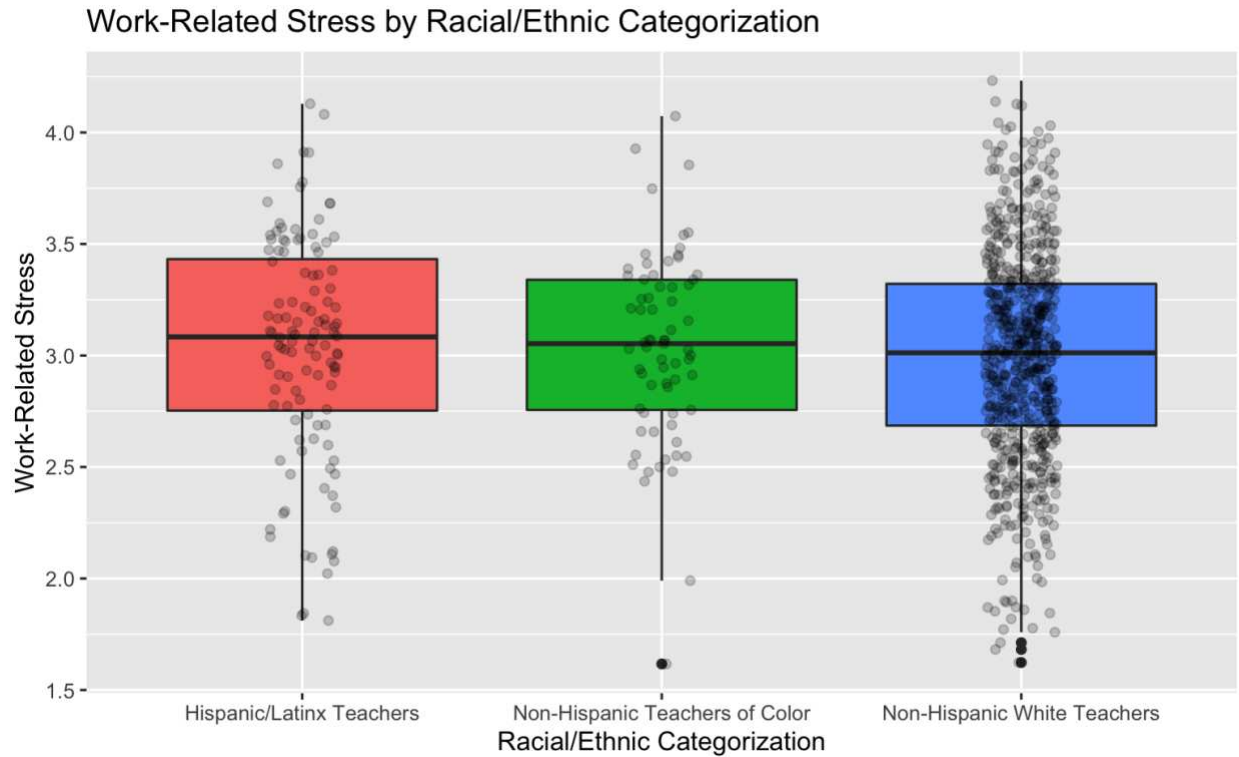


Figure 6

Work-Related Stress by Racial/Ethnic Categorization.

The boxplot for teaching-specific stress showed that groups had relatively similar medians; however, non-Hispanic POC had a noticeably larger IQR than the other two groups.

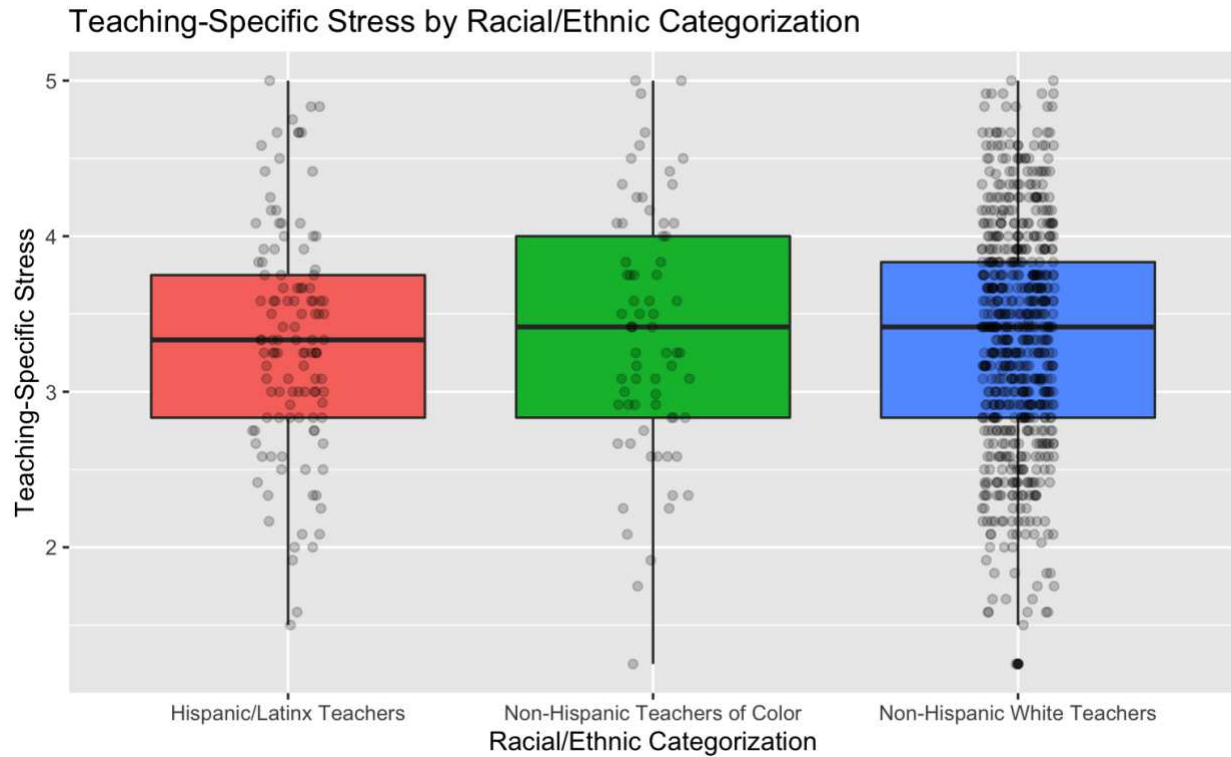


Figure 7

Teaching-Specific Stress by Racial/Ethnic Categorization

A.3. ANCOVAs

I used ANCOVAs to test Hypotheses 1 and 2. Regarding my first hypothesis, (i.e., that Hispanic/Latinx teachers would experience more workplace and/or general discrimination than white teachers, holding constant covariates), workplace discrimination and general discrimination were the dependent variables; racial/ethnic group (a factor) was the quasi-independent variable (IV; meaning that subgroup was not assigned, but treated as the predictor variable in these models); controls were modeled as covariates. I conducted four ANCOVAs—one for each measure. To assess group differences in general discrimination, I conducted ANCOVAs for 1) intersectional discrimination and 2) everyday discrimination. To assess group differences in workplace discrimination, I conducted ANCOVAs for 3) workplace incivility and 4) chronic workplace discrimination and harassment.

A.3.a. General Discrimination. Consistent with H1, there were significant differences in intersectional discrimination between the three subgroups ($F(2, 842) = 41.46, p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = 0.06$). Likewise, there were significant differences in everyday discrimination between the three subgroups ($F(2, 842) = 23.58, p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = 0.04$). Gender (a factor), sexual orientation (a factor), education, and identity salience and importance all significantly predicted intersectional discrimination. More education and higher identity salience and importance significantly predicted more intersectional discrimination.

A.3.b. Workplace Discrimination. There were significant differences in workplace incivility between the non-Hispanic white people, Hispanic/Latinx people, and non-Hispanic POC subgroups ($F(2, 842) = 7.08, p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = 0.01$). Further, there were significant differences in chronic workplace discrimination and harassment between the three subgroups ($F(2, 842) = 3.71, p < .05$, partial $\eta^2 = 0.01$).

A.3.c. Work-Related Stress. Regarding my second hypothesis (i.e., that Hispanic/Latinx teachers will experience more work-related stress than white teachers, holding constant covariates), I conducted two ANCOVAs: the first was for work-related stress per the NIOSH work stress inventory, and the second was for teaching-specific stress. Contrary to my second hypothesis, there were not significant differences in the NIOSH work stress inventory between the three subgroups ($F(2, 842) = 0.43, p = .65$). Further, there were not significant differences in teaching-related stress between the three subgroups ($F(2, 842) = 0.11, p = .90$).

Raw and adjusted means for intersectional discrimination, everyday discrimination, workplace incivility, chronic workplace discrimination and harassment, NIOSH work stress, and teaching-related stress can be found in Table 10. Raw and adjusted means for total discrimination were relatively similar (each adjusted mean fell within one standard deviation of

the raw mean). The patterns between racial/ethnic groups (e.g., higher or lower means relative to other groups) remained the same.

Table 10

Raw and Adjusted Means for Each Group with 95% CIs*

Racial/Ethnic Group	Raw Mean Int. Discrim.	Adjusted Mean Int. Discrim.
Hispanic/Latinx	2.01 [1.88, 2.15]	1.97 [1.86, 2.09]
Non-Hispanic POC	2.55 [2.36, 2.75]	2.47 [2.33, 2.62]
Non-Hispanic White	1.86 [1.81, 1.90]	1.87 [1.82, 1.92]
Racial/Ethnic Group	Raw Mean Everyday Discrim.	Adjusted Mean Everyday Discrim.
Hispanic/Latinx	2.03 [1.89, 2.17]	1.99 [1.86, 2.12]
Non-Hispanic POC	2.52 [2.27, 2.80]	2.46 [2.29, 2.63]
Non-Hispanic White	1.91 [1.86, 1.97]	1.93 [1.87, 1.98]
Racial/Ethnic Group	Raw Mean of the Natural Log of Workplace Incivility	Adjusted Mean of the Natural Log of Workplace Incivility
Hispanic/Latinx	0.96 [0.92, 1.00]	0.95 [0.92, 0.99]
Non-Hispanic POC	1.03 [0.96, 1.10]	1.02 [0.97, 1.07]
Non-Hispanic White	0.95 [0.93, 0.96]	0.95 [0.93, 0.97]
Racial/Ethnic Group	Raw Mean CWDH	Adjusted Mean CWDH
Hispanic/Latinx	1.72 [1.62, 1.83]	1.71 [1.62, 1.81]
Non-Hispanic POC	1.78 [1.62, 1.95]	1.77 [1.64, 1.90]
Non-Hispanic White	1.63 [1.59, 1.67]	1.63 [1.60, 1.68]
Racial/Ethnic Group	Raw Mean NIOSH Stress	Adjusted Mean NIOSH Stress

Hispanic/Latinx	3.03 [2.94, 3.12]	3.02 [2.94, 3.12]
Non-Hispanic POC	3.04 [2.93, 3.14]	3.05 [2.94, 3.16]
Non-Hispanic White	3.00 [2.96, 3.03]	3.00 [2.96, 3.03]
Racial/Ethnic Group	Raw Mean Teaching Stress	Adjusted Mean Teaching Stress
Hispanic/Latinx	3.33 [3.19, 3.46]	3.32 [3.19, 3.45]
Non-Hispanic POC	3.38 [3.19, 3.57]	3.37 [3.19, 3.55]
Non-Hispanic White	3.35 [3.30, 3.40]	3.35 [3.30, 3.41]

Note. Int Discrim. = Intersectional Discrimination, POC = People of Color, Everyday Discrim. = Everyday Discrimination, CWDH = Chronic Workplace Discrimination and Harassment, NIOSH = National Institute on Occupational Safety and Health.

*Continuous and ordinal covariates, years taught in Colorado, identity salience and importance, income, and education, were held constant at their mean values (see Table 6). Factor covariates were held constant at 1 (1 = “Cisgender Woman”; 1 = “Heterosexual, that is, straight”).

A.3.d. ANCOVA Assumptions. It is important that ANCOVA models do not violate assumptions of homogeneity of variance and normality. I tested the assumption of normality for all models using Quantile-Quantile (QQ) plots. The data appeared to be normally distributed, except for the workplace incivility ANCOVA. I remedied this violation by taking the natural log of workplace incivility and adding one. I tested the assumption of homogeneity of variance via the plots() function in R and via Levene’s Test for Homogeneity of Variance (Levene, 1960). Results for Levene’s test were nonsignificant for the ANCOVAs, indicating this (corrected) model did not violate the assumption of homogeneity of variance.

A.4. Planned Comparisons

A.4.a. Non-Hispanic white teachers vs. Hispanic/Latinx teachers.

A.4.a.1. General discrimination. Data visualization of discrimination among subgroups can be found via boxplots in Figures 2 and 3. To test Hypothesis 1 (i.e., that Hispanic/Latinx teachers will experience more general discrimination than non-Hispanic white teachers, holding

constant covariates), I used Tukey tests (adjusted via the Bonferroni correction). Results for intersectional discrimination were significant such that non-Hispanic white people experienced significantly less intersectional discrimination than Hispanic/Latinx people ($b = -0.16, p < .05$; see also Figure 2). Results for everyday discrimination were not significant such that non-Hispanic white people did not experience significantly less intersectional discrimination than Hispanic/Latinx people ($b = -0.11, p = .24$; see also Figure 3). Thus, Hypothesis 1 was partially supported.

A.4.a.2. Workplace discrimination. Data visualization of depressive symptoms among subgroups can be found via boxplots in Figures 4 and 5. To test Hypothesis 1 (i.e., that Hispanic/Latinx teachers will experience more workplace discrimination than non-Hispanic white teachers, holding constant covariates), I used Tukey tests (adjusted via the Bonferroni correction). Results for workplace incivility were not significant such that non-Hispanic white people did not experience significantly less workplace incivility than Hispanic/Latinx people ($b = -0.01, p = .77$; see also Figure 4). Results for chronic workplace discrimination and harassment were not significant such that non-Hispanic white people did not experience significantly less chronic workplace discrimination and harassment than Hispanic/Latinx people ($b = -0.09, p = .18$; see also Figure 5). Thus, Hypothesis 1 was only partially supported.

A.4.a.3. Workplace stress. Data visualization of workplace stress among subgroups can be found via boxplots in Figures 6 and 7. To test Hypothesis 2 (i.e., that Hispanic/Latinx teachers will experience more workplace stress than non-Hispanic white teachers, holding constant covariates), I used Tukey tests (adjusted via the Bonferroni correction). Results for the NIOSH general work stress inventory were not significant such that non-Hispanic white people did not experience significantly less general work stress than Hispanic/Latinx people ($b = -0.03, p = .75$;

see also Figure 6). Results for teaching-specific stress were not significant such that non-Hispanic white people did not experience significantly less teaching-specific stress than Hispanic/Latinx people ($b = 0.02, p = .95$; see also Figure 7). Thus, Hypothesis 2 was not supported.

A.5. Multiple Linear Regression

To test Hypothesis 3 (i.e., that Hispanic/Latinx group status will predict poorer general health – that is, more adverse health conditions/symptoms— holding constant covariates), I conducted a multiple linear regression whereby race, ethnicity, intersectional discrimination, everyday discrimination, workplace incivility, chronic workplace discrimination and harassment, NIOSH work stress, teaching-specific stress, and identity salience and importance were predictor variables and the natural log of health conditions/symptoms was the outcome variable (see assumptions section below). I included gender, sexual orientation, educational attainment, income, teaching tenure, a COVID-19 adjustment measures for NIOSH-work stress, teaching-specific stress, and health conditions/symptoms as covariates. My results partially supported this hypothesis, such that Hispanic/Latinx group membership did predict more health conditions/symptoms than those in the non-Hispanic/Latinx People of Color group ($b = -0.04, t(796) = -1.90, p = .06$) (though note that this beta is marginally significant) but Hispanic/Latinx group membership did not predict more health conditions/symptoms relative to non-Hispanic white people ($b = 0.01, t(796) = 0.76, p = .45$). Workplace incivility significantly predicted health conditions/symptoms ($b = 0.03, t(796) = 2.17, p < .05$), as did chronic workplace discrimination and harassment ($b = 0.05, t(796) = 2.69, p < .01$), NIOSH work stress ($b = 0.03, t(796) = 2.32, p < .05$), teaching-specific stress ($b = 0.07, t(796) = 7.94, p < .001$). Bisexual identity predicted significantly more health conditions/symptoms ($b = 0.09, t(796) =$

2.99, $p < .01$). Income significantly predicted fewer health conditions/symptoms ($b = -0.01$, $t(796) = -2.55$, $p < .05$), such that every one unit⁹ increase in income was associated with a -0.01 unit decrease in health conditions/symptoms. Years taught in Colorado (i.e., teaching tenure) significantly predicted fewer health conditions/symptoms ($b = -0.01$, $t(796) = -2.36$, $p < .05$) such that each additional year taught in Colorado was associated with a 0.01 unit decrease in health conditions/symptoms. Finally, the number of health conditions that arose after COVID-19 significantly predicted more health conditions/symptoms ($b = 0.002$, $t(796) = 7.20$, $p < .001$), such that with each additional percentage point that participants attributed their current health state to COVID-19 there was a 0.002 unit increase in the natural log of one's total health conditions/symptoms ($SE = 0.0002$, $\beta = 0.24$). In sum, while a number of variables predicted health conditions/symptoms, Hypothesis 3 was only partially supported.

A.5.a. Regression Assumptions. The multiple regression model did not violate assumptions of linearity and additivity per *residual plots* and *component + residual plots*. There were also no problematic outliers per Cook's D (Cook, 1977). My regression model did, however, violate the assumption of homoscedasticity per a significant non-constant variance score test. To remedy this violation, I tried taking the natural log of the predictor variables that appeared to be the most problematic (per their cone shape in the component + residual plots) and added one; these variables included everyday discrimination, intersectional discrimination, and chronic workplace discrimination and harassment. These transformations did not fix the issue. I then took the natural log of the dependent variable (health conditions/symptoms) and added one. This transformation did remedy the issue of heteroscedasticity, and thus the final model was estimated with a log transformed outcome variable.

⁹Recall, income was an ordinal variable, so one unit is one interval on the options provided to participants. See Chapter 3, Section D.1 for reference.

A.6. Moderation Model

To test Hypothesis 4 (i.e., that although Hispanic/Latinx teachers as a whole will experience negative health effects of workplace discrimination, these effects would be larger among those with low organizational support), I estimated a moderation model with only Hispanic/Latinx teachers.

First, I regressed organizational support (the sum of the Perceived Organizational Support scale and the support subconstruct of the NIOSH Generic Job Stress Questionnaire) and work discrimination (the sum of the Workplace Incivility Scale and the Chronic Workplace Discrimination and Harassment Scale) on health conditions/symptoms. While work discrimination did not significantly predict health conditions/symptoms ($b = 0.48$, $t(104) = 1.38$, $p = .17$), organizational support did significantly predict fewer health conditions/symptoms ($b = -0.71$, $t(104) = -3.80$, $p < .001$), such that each one unit increase in organizational support was associated with a -0.71 unit decrease in health conditions/symptoms.

Next, I regressed organizational support, work discrimination, and the interaction between organizational support and work discrimination on health conditions/symptoms. Again, discrimination did not significantly predict health conditions/symptoms ($b = -0.22$, $t(104) = -0.18$, $p = .86$), organizational support did significantly predict fewer health conditions/symptoms ($b = -0.70$, $t(104) = -3.74$, $p < .001$), such that each one unit increase in organizational support was associated with a -0.70 unit decrease in health conditions/symptoms. The interaction term was not significant ($b = 0.19$, $t(104) = 0.59$, $p = .59$). Thus, there was no predicted difference in the effect of workplace discrimination on general health for a one unit increase in organizational support (see Figure 8 for the interaction plot).

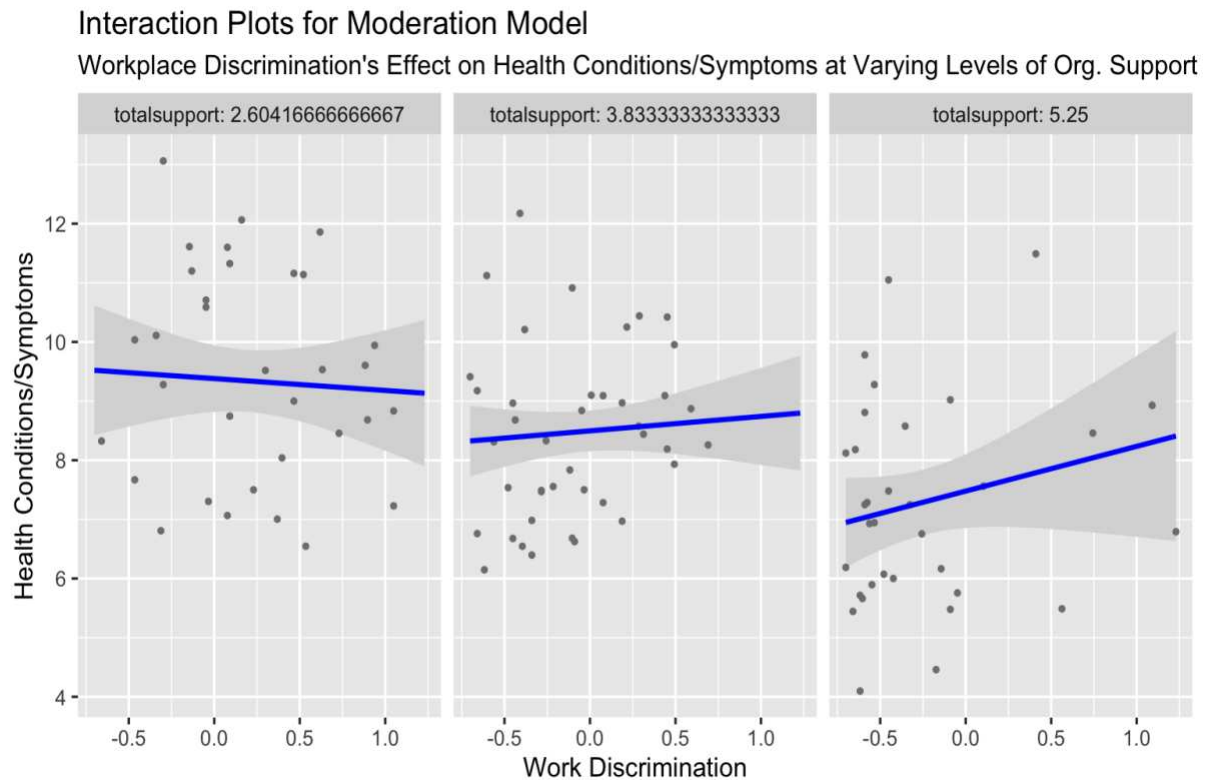


Figure 8

The Effect of Workplace Discrimination on Health Conditions/Symptoms at Varying Levels of Organizational Support.

Note. Work discrimination ranges between 1.00 and 2.93; thus, hypothetical negative numbers on the x axis are for plotting and probing purposes only.

It is helpful to probe the interaction at varying levels of the moderator variable. I probed the interaction with low levels of organizational support, medium levels of organizational support, and high levels of organizational support (see Figure 8). At low levels of organizational support, the change in health conditions/symptoms for every one-unit increase in work discrimination is -0.58 and significant ($p < .05$). At medium levels of organizational support, the change in health conditions/symptoms for every one-unit increase in work discrimination is -0.74 and significant ($p < .001$). At high levels of organizational support, the change in health

conditions/symptoms for every one-unit increase in work discrimination is -0.98 and marginally significant ($p = .06$).

Johnson-Neyman graphs confirmed that at any value of total work discrimination, there is not a significant slope (interaction) (see Figure 9). Hypothesis 4 was not supported.

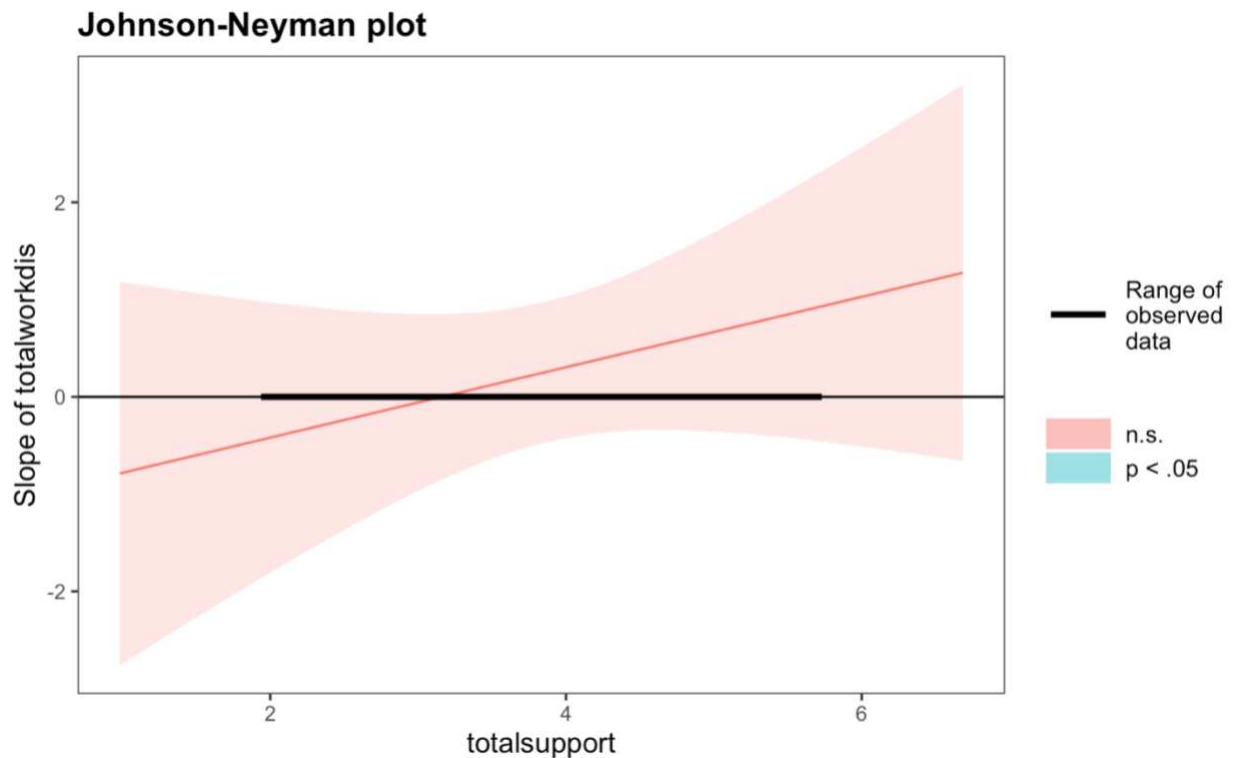


Figure 9

Johnson Neyman Plot for Moderation Model

Note. Total support = Total Organizational Support, totalworkdis = Total Work Discrimination, n.s. = non-significant. Work discrimination ranges between 1.00 and 2.93; thus, hypothetical numbers on the x axis are for plotting and probing purposes only.

A.6.a. Moderation Assumptions. The moderation model did not violate assumptions of linearity and additivity per *residual plots* and *component + residual plots*. There was one additional problematic outlier per Cook's D (case number 67; Cook, 1977). I elected to estimate the model without this outlier. My regression model did not violate the assumption of homoscedasticity per a non-significant non-constant variance score test.

B. Qualitative Results

In total, I conducted 26 interviews totaling over 25 hours of audio. Twenty-five themes/codes emerged from the interview transcripts using the phronetic iterative approach in conjunction with thematic analysis (see Table 5 for the full lists of themes). The research team coded 604 items of data in accordance with these themes. Regarding my research questions comparing Hispanic/Latinx and non-Hispanic white teachers, there were 16 interviews and 344 codes spanning interviewees with these demographics. Interviewee demographics along with pseudonyms used in these results (in the order they were mentioned) are presented in Table 11.¹⁰

Table 11

Summary of Interviewees' Pseudonyms and Identities

Pseudonym	Self-Selected/Described Identities	District Type
Rosalind	Cisgender Woman, Heterosexual, Latino/a/x	Urban
Erika	Cisgender Woman, Bisexual, White, Hispanic	Urban
Jacklyn	Cisgender Woman, Heterosexual, Indigenous-Native American, Chicano/a/x	Rural
Angela	Cisgender Woman, Bisexual, White, Latino/a/x	Rural
Lucile	Cisgender Woman, Bisexual, White, Hispanic	Rural
Judy	Cisgender Woman, Lesbian, White, Black/African American	Urban
Blanche	Nonbinary, Queer, White	Urban
Lillian	Cisgender Woman, Heterosexual, Hispanic	Suburban
Josh	Cisgender Man, Gay, Hispanic, Latino/a/x, Chicano/a/x	Suburban
Nettie	Cisgender Woman, Heterosexual, White, Latino/a/x	Suburban
Krystal	Cisgender Woman, Heterosexual, Indigenous-Native American, White	Rural
Emma	Cisgender Woman, Heterosexual, Asian American	Urban

¹⁰I elected to use a random name generator to increase participants' confidentiality as suggested by Lahman et al. (2015). I chose to randomly generate "[North] American" names (which included a variety of cultural names beyond traditionally white/European names). I deemed this appropriate given that none of my interviewees were born outside the U.S. I selected the gender in accordance with how the participant self-identified, and I chose gender-neutral names for non-binary interviewees.

Bobby	Cisgender Man, Gay, Black/African American	Urban
Edwin	Cisgender Man, Heterosexual, Black/African American	Rural
Cecelia	Cisgender Woman, Heterosexual, Black/African American	Urban
April	Cisgender Woman, Heterosexual, Latino/a/x	Suburban
Noah	Cisgender Man, Heterosexual, White, Hispanic	Rural
Mindy	Cisgender Woman, Pansexual, White, Hispanic, Latino/a/x	Rural
Christy	Cisgender Woman, Heterosexual, Black/African American	Urban
Hannah	Cisgender Woman, Heterosexual, Black/African American	Rural
Lula	Cisgender Woman, Heterosexual, Hispanic	Rural
Michael	Cisgender Man, Heterosexual, Asian American	Urban

Recall, the purpose of the mixed methods approach in this dissertation is expansion. Thus, I used these qualitative results to expand upon the quantitative results. Since this mixed methods was intended to be quantitatively driven, I structured the results in accordance with relevant research questions (see Chapter 1, Section C) and the key purposes of the qualitative interviews as they were presented to interviewees (see Section F.1). In an effort to hear from people with more marginalized demographics, I only conducted three interviews with non-Hispanic white people and two people who explained their ascribed and avowed identities as white in the interview (both of these individuals identified as white and Indigenous- Native American but identified more strongly with their white identity). While many of my research questions and hypotheses focused on Hispanic/Latinx experiences, I included themes and data around racism that those of other groups described (e.g., Black, Asian American, or Indigenous people), as these data spoke to the larger workplace culture and climate around race. I also included themes and data around heterosexism and sexism because I wish to acknowledge the

intersectional discrimination that Hispanic/Latinx teachers and other Teachers of Color experience in the workplace.

B.1. Themes Around Minority Stress

The first and second research questions were around minority stress: “*Do Hispanic/Latinx teachers (relative to white teachers) experience more workplace discrimination and/or general discrimination?*” and “*Do Hispanic/Latinx teachers (relative to white teachers) experience more work-related stress?*” Respective to these research questions, I hypothesized that 1) *The qualitative data from Hispanic/Latinx teachers would contain more themes related to discrimination than the qualitative data from white teachers*, and 2) *The qualitative data from Hispanic/Latinx teachers would contain more themes related to work-related stress than the qualitative data from white teachers*.

The quantitative data suggested that Hispanic/Latinx teachers experienced more intersectional discrimination (but not everyday discrimination, workplace discrimination, or workplace stress) than non-Hispanic white teachers. In the qualitative data, the five themes, *Racism and Racist Stereotypes*, *Sexism and Sexist Stereotypes*, *Heterosexism*, *Intersectional Discrimination*, and *Token Minority*, emerged. While the sample sizes were quite different (in an effort to hear from more Hispanic/Latinx teachers I interviewed 13 Hispanic/Latinx teachers and 3 white teachers), the qualitative data from Hispanic/Latinx teachers did, indeed, contain more themes regarding discrimination stress, but not work stress, relative to white teachers. Thus, the qualitative data supported the quantitative results for Hypotheses 1 and 2.

B.1.a. Racism and Racist Stereotypes. Hispanic/Latinx participants reported experiencing racism or racist stereotyping in their schools or districts. Roughly 70% of all interviewees and 75% of Hispanic/Latinx interviewees embodied this theme in their interview.

Reports included racism and racist stereotyping directed toward the interviewee as well as others (e.g., students, other staff members) in the school or district setting. In many instances, teachers of this demographic experienced indirect racism or microaggressions (defined in Section C.1.a.) toward their appearance or general presence in their school; for example, one woman, Rosalind (woman, heterosexual, Latino/a/x) shared:

When we're on camera [for virtual meetings], I have been told that I look upset or angry, and I feel like that has something to do again with race and ethnicity. I identify as Latinx and again, I have not heard these comments made about my white colleagues who are also on the same meetings who also express concerns or frustrations.

In addition to appearance-based stereotyping or discrimination, several Hispanic/Latinx teachers had experienced racism around their or others' speaking of Hispanic/Latinx languages. As another woman, Erika (woman, bisexual, white, Hispanic), expressed:

When other people have heard me speaking Spanish, sometimes they have assumed that because I speak Spanish, I don't speak English, or I can't understand [English]. And so you, know, it can be funny at times and not so funny other times, but, yeah, that has happened a few times.

Another teacher, Jacklyn (woman, heterosexual, Indigenous-Native American, Chicano/a/x), voiced a similar concern over other teachers having lower expectations of English Language Learners:

They're like, 'Oh my gosh', they're surprised by [Spanish-speaking English learners'] academic achievement when I mean, I'm like, 'A student with an ELL designation is just as likely to be gifted in areas as any other child.'

Hispanic/Latinx interviewees shared their perceptions of racism from other staff or community members directed toward their Students of Color. Much of this racism centered around racist assumptions that Students of Color were less academically gifted than white students (as evidenced in the excerpt above) or more poorly behaved than white students. As one woman, Angela (woman, bisexual, white, Latino/a/x), said:

There have been parents and a couple new teachers, they have different beliefs, or I don't know, but I have heard a couple times how they would relate race and disruptive behavior. [The same thing happened with] Hispanic and poor families, so those couple of things have been heard at my school.

Another teacher, Lucile (woman, bisexual, white, Hispanic), recounted a time in which two students were in conflict in the classroom:

Oh, well, for example, there was an issue with a couple of kids in my classroom, and, um, always the Latinx kid was the one that was blamed. And he was not the one that was starting the issue. He was just responding, and he always got most of the consequences. And he always was blamed, thinking that he was the one that was making the trouble. And it was the other one, it was the white kid. [...] I thought it was really unfair that just because he was labeled as troubled kid or something, or I even heard something from other teachers saying, 'uh, well, you know how these people go. They don't have much rules at home.' I was like, 'Hm, I don't like that at all.' A teacher was saying, uh, [the Hispanic/Latinx boy] has a family issues, you know, the other [white] kid comes from a good environment with family. And I was like, really, even in school that it's really open minded, sometimes you come across these things.

Similar to interviewees' recollections of teachers assuming poor behavior from their Students of Color, other teachers used racist labels to describe the behavior of Students of Color. For example, Angela (woman, bisexual, white, Latino/a/x) recounted a time where a Black male student at a predominately Hispanic/Latinx and white school missed a series of class periods in a row:

[Another teacher was] saying [to the Black male student], 'Who do you think you are?' and, 'You think you can just not come to class and just keep thugging around?'and that really pissed me off, I was like, 'What? You just said 'thugging around' and you've stereotyped this student as a thug because of his identities...' I think of that word, 'thug', the way our students are criminalized all the time, um, I can't even explain it, but I think that happened with a fourth grader.

Whether it was directed toward themselves or towards others, it was very common for teachers to witness racism and racist stereotypes (particularly toward Black and Hispanic/Latinx individuals) in the K-12 setting.

B.1.b. Intersectional Discrimination. Hispanic/Latinx teachers also experienced discrimination simultaneously on one or more identities in their school/district, which the research team coded as Intersectional Discrimination. Of all interviews, 27% were coded with this theme; 25% of all Hispanic/Latinx interviews were coded with this theme. For example, Jacklyn (woman, heterosexual, Indigenous- Native American, Chicano/a/x) spoke of how Hispanic/Latinx teachers who were women took on the majority of the translating and/or English Language instruction for students without extra pay, despite numerous colleagues who were Hispanic/Latinx men being just as capable of the work:

I don't like that I have to do all the [translating work] because I'm the only one who kind of speaks Spanish. Because I don't have a big passion for that kind of work. [...] and I think it's just because I can interpret. They're like, 'Oh that's your job now.' And I don't get paid more to do it [...] and it's all female, Hispanic, every school.

She went on to explain why she thought Hispanic women rather than men were consistently given these roles:

I think because they assume, like, out of the goodness of our hearts, we're gonna be more inspired to help kids who, like, remind us of ourselves, our own family [...] But then there's [a] Mexican [subject] teacher who speaks beautiful Spanish, and he was not even approached to be on this team.

Interviewees also shared instances of intersectional discrimination that occurred at the intersection of class and race; it was common for these instances to occur toward students in schools with a higher proportion of Students of Color. Judy (woman, lesbian, white, Black/African American) spoke of the simultaneous racism and classism faced by Black and Hispanic/Latinx students in her school/district:

[...] being in [district], it's like if you were Hispanic [or] Black and you live in a trailer park that automatically equated to you being dumb [or] less-than. And if my test scores are good [with those students], that's because I'm an awesome teacher, because [my students are] from a trailer park. If my test scores are bad, um, I'm still awesome. That just means it's because [my students are] from a trailer park and just can't learn. And this is something I'm not assuming. One of my colleagues actually said that to me.

Similarly, a teacher, Blanche (nonbinary, queer, white), expressed concern over staff's assumptions about their students at a majority-Hispanic/Latinx district:

Um, you know, we have a [high] free and reduced lunch rate at our school, so people make a lot of assumptions. Teachers make a lot of assumptions about [students'] parents—they don't care, they're too busy, they're, you know, they don't pay attention. Um, I think I've seen that a lot more this year with remote learning especially, um, harder to get student engagement. And, just kind of a lot of assumptions about families that are not necessarily true.

In sum, teachers mostly experienced intersectional discrimination on the intersection of their racial/ethnic identity and gender identity, while they witnessed intersectional discrimination toward their students on the intersection of their racial/ethnic and socioeconomic identities.

B.1.c. Token Minority. Many Hispanic/Latinx interviewees discussed their experiences of being the only Hispanic/Latinx teacher or Teacher of Color in their teams, schools, or districts. We coded these instances into a “Token Minority” theme. Tokenism is generally known as when media or other entities (such as organizations) include a single Person of Color within a homogeneous group to “represent” their respective group or portray diversity. This theme reflected instances where the Hispanic/Latinx teacher reported feeling relatively isolated and/or like they were incorrectly assumed to be a spokesperson for their entire race/ethnicity. This theme arose in 78% of all interviews and 50% of interviews with Hispanic/Latinx teachers. One woman, Lillian (woman, heterosexual, Hispanic), shared her experience of noticing she was one of few Hispanic/Latinx people in the room:

Um, I was even looking around the staff meeting the other day. I think there are two Hispanic teachers in the whole school, like core teachers, that, you know, have the same backgrounds [as students].

Another teacher, Josh (man, gay, Hispanic, Latino/a/x, Chicanoa/x) shared:

Yeah, I'm the only non-white staff member. Um, and I'm one of, you know, like, four guys. Uh, so, um, That would be, you know, not very [diverse or representative of the student body], I guess, to answer your question.

Sometimes, being the only Hispanic/Latinx teacher or Teacher of Color meant that the teacher took on much of the burden of explaining their Hispanic/Latinx students' culture to other teachers and staff. As Blanche (nonbinary, queer, white) put it regarding their Hispanic/Latinx peers:

I've definitely found myself since I've been here doing a lot of teaching to my coworkers being, you know, it's a responsibility that, unfortunately, falls on a lot of marginalized groups to teach them about, you know, whatever. I know one of my coworkers, she's Chicano, and she has personally done a lot of work to try to help other teachers understand what that means, and no one understands their student culture, the majority of them [don't].

In a district and overall profession lacking diversity, staff members recalled times that their coworkers spoke of new, more diverse hires in tokenizing ways. For example, a teacher, Nettie (woman, heterosexual, white, Latino/a/x), shared:

My boss was really proud of herself, because she filled [a position] with a, you know, a Spanish-speaking Latina woman, but it was more like, 'Well, now we'll have somebody right in the office or right in the school that can help us with our Spanish speaking families.' [...] I guess it was more like 'This will help me, [the boss who made the hire].'

To be sure, the Hispanic/Latinx teachers and Teachers of Color that I interviewed were aware of their relatively diverse identity in a sea of white teachers and unfairly felt pressure to “speak for” their racial/ethnic group(s).

B.2. Themes Around Diversity Affinity Groups

The other research questions relevant to the qualitative data are questions four and five, “*Is there a perceived need or desire for diversity affinity groups for Hispanic/Latinx teachers in Colorado school districts?*” and “*If there is a need/desire for diversity affinity groups for Hispanic/Latinx teachers in Colorado school districts, how—based on teacher feedback—are these groups best*

implemented in Colorado K-12 school districts?” Importantly, there were no quantitative results in regard to these inquiries, and thus these qualitative results stand on their own. Five themes emerged in response to these inquiries: *Acknowledging the Importance of Diversity, Potential for Diversity Affinity Groups to Build Community, Lack of Resources, Silo-ing Groups, and Surface-Level Efforts.*

B.2.a. Acknowledging the Importance of Diversity. When asked of their own school’s efforts and demographics, interviewees often acknowledged the importance of diversity for the wellbeing and growth of their students, staff, and community. This theme showed up in 29% of all interviews. For example, one woman, Krystal (woman, heterosexual, Indigenous- Native American, white), reflected on the disproportionate Staff of Color to Students of Color ratio along with her more recent diversity, equity, and inclusion training by the Equal Employment Opportunity certification program:

I did take the EEO certification to get my professional license last year, and we learned how important it is ... for students to see someone like them in positions of authority. ... I haven't had any students, like, say to me that, um, [the lack of Teachers of Color] bothers them, but that doesn't mean it doesn't bother them.

Some interviewees discussed the diversity that does exist in their schools. For example, a woman, Emma (woman, heterosexual, Asian American), discussed her school’s administrators and the effect she perceived their identities had on her student body:

[My current building has] the most African American admin that I've ever experienced, I think. [...] it's a nice change, especially with the climate of things in America, this year especially. Um, so I feel like that's really empowering for our Students of Color.

Another man, Bobby (man, gay, Black/African American), discussed the positive or surprised feelings Families of Color would share upon learning that a previous administrator in his school was Black:

Yeah, definitely. Like our former principal will tell you, like all of the years that she's been at the same school, their parents are still surprised that she's the principal just because they're not used to seeing a Woman of Color in that position. So just based on, like, family interaction, how they viewed and connected the situation [diversity] definitely does make a difference.

Similarly, a woman, Lilian (woman, heterosexual, Hispanic), spoke about a staff member who shared students' identities:

There's one [...] [staff member] and he's Hispanic. So he comes [to the classroom] often. Um, and he has a really, really great rapport with the kids and chats with them in Spanish and jokes with them about, like their family and their uncles and all of that. Um I remember [...] I was talking about, like, grandmothers or something, and he just popped in at the time. And he's like, 'You know, like [grandmothers] can't, like, not feed you' like [his grandmother] always has to feed him. Like that is perfect. And all the kids [were] like, 'Ah, yes.'

Thus, while teachers more often expressed that the diversity was lacking within their schools or districts, some acknowledged the positive role that diverse educators played in their community.

B.2.b. Potential for Diversity Affinity Groups to Build Community. When asked of their interest in diversity affinity groups in their schools or districts, many teachers expressed interest, sharing that the groups had the potential to build community and make positive change in their district. This theme was present in 81% of all interviews. For example a teacher, Edwin (man, heterosexual, Black/African American), who noted he was the only Black man in his school shared:

It would be a fantastic way for [facilitating] a great, safe space to have a lot to think [about]. [...] If anything, [diversity affinity groups] would open some eyes to realize there's some struggles that they're not seeing. It would give again that safe place for people to actually make a change. If the change is actually going to be [implemented] and you're going to have a group like that, you should have the ability to make some change with it [by] giving that group the ability to have those candid, point-blank conversations with people that should be willing to make those changes and get those changes in effect; having those groups [could] also co-opt other groups to bring more to the table.

A teacher, Cecelia (woman, heterosexual, Black/African American), later spoke of her interest in using the groups to simply meet other Teachers of Color:

The main reason it appeals to me is just because white women and, white people, period, are just predominant in education. Like, it's just nice to know that there are other teachers out there that look like me and are having the same issues as me. And I remember when I was in [school], they had a district affinity group for Black people. And there would be some Black women that would come to our meeting. We would always go out to eat or something. And they would come hang out with us, and they would be the only Black women in their whole school. Yeah, so they were truly grateful for just having a space to be around other Black people. Because we can find a way to be around other Black people, but being around other Black people that are also in education [is important]. [...] I'm the only teacher in my family. I'm the only teacher in my group of friends and, you know, I love them all to death. But there are things that we go through as teachers that they just don't understand.

Similarly, when asked about the potential benefits they anticipated from diversity affinity groups, a teacher, April (woman, heterosexual, Latino/a/x), responded:

Definitely making connections and relationships with other staff members, and hearing and learning about their struggles and their barriers. I feel like sometimes we are kind of stuck in our little building bubbles, and we don't really get to know other staff members from the other schools, and I think we can learn a lot from each other, especially through sharing our stories.

White teachers also conveyed the need for such groups to support their Colleagues of Color. For instance, Blanche (nonbinary, queer, white) expressed their interest in joining a group focused on social justice efforts:

I think that [diversity affinity groups] sound really good. I don't know. I know that our district has started some for Black educators. And there is, within our school, there is a justice-focused group. I haven't really heard from anyone inside one yet, but I think it sounds like a great idea. And I'm excited that they exist.

The same educator later shared their desire to join an LGBTQ group:

I mean, I think it'd be great. I think that community is something that I'm lacking in my life in general. Definitely within work. It's, you know, like I said, I've connected with one other queer person that I know about in the school, and, you know, just having them there makes it easier and it makes me feel more comfortable and safe. So I think having a group where I know that people are understanding and accepting and have maybe similar experiences and hopes and the kind of stuff that I do would be impactful and empowering.

A couple teachers shared their interest in diversity affinity groups to build community and support specifically during the COVID-19 pandemic. Angela (woman, bisexual, white, Latino/a/x) spoke of the groups' potential to support teachers during a particularly tumultuous year:

Yeah, and there should be a group, you know, like an affinity group. I don't know, some type of group for not just me or like us. But, you know, like for the community as well. I don't know, but I do know that teachers are struggling, and I am as well. But I know that many teachers are struggling, and it should not fall on deaf ears, You know what I mean?

In sum, while there are a number of variables to consider around ethically implementing diversity affinity groups (see below and Chapter 5, Section E), many staff responded hopefully regarding their implementation.

B.2.c. Lack of Resources. While teachers discussed interest in diversity affinity groups, when asked of potential barriers or concerns about implementing these groups, many teachers also expressed concerns with the lack of resources teachers have. This theme was present in 58% of all interviews. Teacher discussed the demands they felt as part of their profession, particularly during the COVID-19 pandemic, and many expressed concern that teachers would not have time to attend diversity affinity groups. For example, Jacklyn (woman, heterosexual, Indigenous-Native American, Chicano/a/x shared:

Yeah, um I think the biggest barrier is our workload, the amount we're expected to do and plan for, which I mean makes you just feel like you don't have time to think about your own mental health. Your own, you know, identity. Um I mean, making friends happens because you work with those people. There's another end of the building I've never met before. [...] And we need way more time [...] And then, you know, there's a pretty good chunk [of teachers] that say, 'I'm not working more than the hours I'm expected to work,' you know? And then there's some who are, like, terrified about losing their jobs or, you know, just kind of threats on pay and things like that that have happened in the past and [test] scores and things like that, [so] they work all weekend to prepare. So either way, it just feels like, you know, how are you possibly going to fit this in and who is actually gonna show up [to diversity affinity groups]?

Similarly, Erika (woman, bisexual, white, Hispanic) expressed an interest in these groups, but answered the following when I asked if she would join a group in her own district:

So I guess the answer would be yes and no, because I am a teacher, but I'm also a mom to young kids. And my life is so full. I'm just so busy. And even though I would like to participate more, like these types of things, sometimes I just can't. [...] and then also as a teacher, in the middle of a pandemic [...] I've reached out to people to see if there was some type of group for mental health, like, how could we work on creating and putting together resources for [School District] teachers so that there are not as many issues as there are right now? Because I'm hearing every day, teachers are having panic attacks, teachers [are] having anxiety, teachers [are] crying and going to bed crying and waking up and crying, and that is not okay. That is why you reached out. And I asked [earlier in the school year], 'Is there anything like this for teachers?' But there was not. [...] But right now [...] it feels more like a survival thing.

Another teacher, Noah (man, heterosexual, white, Hispanic), shared his concern with adding another role to teachers' lives, despite the potential benefits of diversity affinity groups:

There's so much on teachers' plates right now. [...] It racks up more every year. Just all the things that we're expected to do, um, that if something like this came along, it would [require] a shift, because almost everybody's initial reaction is like, 'Here's another thing that we're gonna get trained in [...] and then it gets abandoned a year later, because we tried it, it didn't work, or, we're just too busy to mess with it.' So I honestly think that would be a barrier. But I think, you know, when something comes from the top [administration], it's like, 'you're gonna make us do this? We've already got this and this and this and this and this.' And I think that's a barrier. I really do.

One teacher went on to explain how the lack of resources has affected prior diversity, equity, and inclusion efforts in her school. In discussing these efforts, Jacklyn (woman, heterosexual, Indigenous- Native American, Chicano/a/x) communicated:

And, the thing is, [diversity efforts are] still not given enough attention, because we are very distracted by curriculum. Like, there's almost no time for it. You know, you don't so much feel that these groups benefit your staff and students because you're so overloaded with other things. It's almost like we do the minimum. [...] So [when] we take one night out of the whole year to include [diversity] even beyond the demographics that are in our school, I mean the time for planning that [event] is rushed and the actual event is a few hours out of the whole entire school year. That's not enough.

When expressing the lack of time or resources, the COVID-19 pandemic was, again, at the forefront of many teachers' minds. Several teachers explained that they were doing much more

to support their students during distance learning, which further cut into their time and resources.

As Bobby (man, gay, Black/African American) explained:

I mean, my kids are all online. and they've been online the whole time. [...] I felt it was gonna be upon me to make sure that all of my kids got the materials that they need or got resources that they needed to be successful online. So I have, pretty much every two or three weeks, have been driving to each of my kids houses and dropping off things for them to use to have while they're at home.

Between COVID-19 and the stress and demands of teaching (unrelated to the pandemic), it was apparent that workload and time constraints should be carefully considered before implementing groups (or other efforts) at the district or school level.

B.2.d. Silo-ing Groups. In addition to concerns regarding teachers' time and resources, other teachers were concerned about how diversity affinity groups might silo groups of teachers rather than unite them. This theme came up for about half of interviewees (46%); while some liked the idea of having a space for just those of their demographic, others wanted diversity efforts to be integrated and to include anyone who wanted to join. As Emma (woman, heterosexual, Asian American) put it:

I know that [district] has promoted [events for People of Color]. And I'm like, 'Can't it just be an [event]? Like, why does it have to be People of Color, necessarily?' Like, I get the aim behind, like, 'Well, we are inclusive because we have this.' Like, just because you have an [event for People of Color] doesn't mean you're inclusive. [...] Like, 'Oh, you're a white person. Cool. You go here.' You know, like categorizing. It kind of feels like it diminishes the fact that I am a Person of Color rather than seeing as, like, a quality that we should embrace to a certain degree.[...] I feel like it's a little too targeted, and that's probably what makes me feel a little uncomfortable.

Another teacher feared that diversity affinity groups would negatively affect their workplace culture. This teacher, Mindy (woman, pansexual, white, Hispanic, Latino/a/x), shared:

I think, any time that you lump people in a group, you risk perpetuating stereotypes rather than breaking them down. And I am a big believer in seeing individual people for their individuality and then acknowledging their group identities as a factor that affects their individual-ness, but not as something that locks them in irrevocably.

Another teacher, Blanche (nonbinary, queer, white), shared similar concerns:

I think that they can be really valuable and need to be really thoughtfully implemented. [...] I think that it can be kind of harmful when it feels like, 'Hey, we're just gonna shove all the queer folks over here. This is your space. Cool. You're covered.' And there's no meaningful work to actually make other spaces feel safe. Like I shouldn't need to be only with disabled folks in order to be able to exist and feel respected and valued as a disabled person. There should be meaningful efforts to do that throughout, um, so if in the group, when they're not led by those who are actually addressing the culture and climate [outside of diversity affinity groups], I think, are only minimally helpful.

Others distrusted their schools/districts to respect their identities should their participation in diversity affinity groups “out” them. For example, many people’s identities (particularly those in the LGBTQ population) are unknown to their workplaces, and teachers feared how their workplace culture might change should their identities become known. When asked of potential barriers or concerns regarding these groups, Angela (woman, bisexual, white, Latino/a/x) expressed:

I think of this one specifically with, like, ability or sexual orientation or gender identity, outing yourself when maybe you're not comfortable or you're not [ready]. So things like that, because it's like you could still meet in private. But you know, just the way word of mouth travels and social media and things like that, those [concerns] could be something.

Similarly, another teacher, Christy (woman, heterosexual, Black/African American), shared:

I think some people are going to feel uncomfortable, possibly being identified, you know, as having certain views. You know, some people want to keep their views about society, and sometimes it even gets related to politics and whatever else, you know, separate from their career, and they're afraid that it might affect their career in some way.

Some teachers wondered which group (if any) they would fit in, considering their many identities. Mindy (woman, pansexual, white, Hispanic, Latino/a/x) explained:

And if past experience is any guide. I would feel like I am not gay enough to be there, so yeah, that's been one of those ones where, okay, great that we're coming up with all this to become more acceptable. Aren't we just putting ourselves in the other smaller boxes with all of this new language?

Another teacher, Judy (woman, lesbian, white, Black/African American), shared:

I mean, I hold multiple identities that [...] make it difficult to know how I spend my time as a queer woman. Do I go to a queer Women of Color [group]? Like, uh, when I was in school, it was like, 'Well, I have limited time. Am I gonna be part of the Black Student Alliance? Queer Student Alliance? Am I gonna be in, like the Women's Poverty [group]? Um, like, which part of my marginalized identity...?' [...] It's always hard for me to fit into affinity groups without feeling [I'm] lacking something or wanting to be in a different group. Um, so my experience hasn't always been great. I think they could be run well. I'm hopeful for what that could mean, but I haven't seen I haven't experienced anything meaningful personally.

In sum, teachers expressed concerns related to their wellbeing, safety, and comfort, should their district create seemingly silo-ed groups. It was clear that districts would need to be thoughtful around the intention and implementation of such groups and address critical cultural issues in their buildings simultaneously or beforehand.

B.2.e. (Fear of) Surface-Level Efforts. Several teachers expressed fear that implementing diversity affinity groups would serve as a surface-level effort by their district without real change. This theme was very common, showing up in 85% of interviews. When asked of her concerns about diversity affinity groups, Angela (woman, bisexual, white, Latino/a/x) noted:

I would be worried about like, 'Is this performative? Are you just doing this for the sake of diversity equity and inclusion?' I think that because again, if you're not, if maybe there is an [...] exciting initiative or something that comes from one of these affinity groups. 'Will you actually listen? Will you take the time to really hear them out without being defensive or without thinking like, 'Oh, you're so ungrateful for your job?'' That's what I mean [...] the performative aspect of it.

When I asked Edwin (man, heterosexual, Black/African American) what he thought of diversity affinity group efforts, he responded:

They're kind of a reaction to the outside noise. 'Here's something! Look! We did something. We didn't make a big deal about it, but we did something!' So they're checking the box.

Similarly, upon asking Josh (man, gay, Hispanic, Latino/a/x, Chicano/a/x) about his perceptions of the groups, he said:

There's a risk of them being performative. I guess you could say, like a checkbox of the district can create a crutch out of like, 'Hey, we have affinity groups. Yeah, we're doing equity.'

Josh later noted another potential adverse effect of said groups related to his workplace culture:

You know, sometimes—well, it depends on which and the makeup of the people—but they can turn into a bitch-fest sometimes.

One teacher, Hannah (woman, heterosexual, Black/African American), raised the concern that the groups, if not implemented correctly, could put more burden on People of Color and other marginalized populations:

There's this notion so often in diversity and inclusivity training, we just expect marginalized folks to do the emotional labor of educating, or generally dealing with all the traumatic [work more] than [we expect] folks who hold privilege [to do that work]. Um so, like the notion of, for example, having a meaningful group where, like, white folks could actually try to get through their own white fragility enough to actually listen to People of Color and not just, like, continue to harm folks during [diversity and equity] trainings. [So, diversity affinity groups can be] valuable so that we are doing that [equity work] in our own space and not actually harming our coworkers and our colleagues and the other people in our community. But I think that that sort of meaningful facilitation is something that I very rarely see in those privilege-based identity groups [...] Otherwise it just perpetuates harm.

Overall, there was concern that nothing productive would come out of these groups, or that these groups would allow districts and schools to feel that they were promoting diversity and inclusivity without instilling real change. Cecelia (woman, heterosexual, Black/African American) concluded her interview with the following concern about diversity affinity groups as they related to the larger Black Lives Matter movement that was amplified after the killing of George Floyd in May 2020:

I guess the concern is just that nothing is going to come out of it. Kind of like my affinity group I went to before. It was like, yeah, this is a one-time thing and it was great, and you feel good, but there's no action. So I wanna see action. I think that's what's most important right now. And there needs to be a systemic change. Things need to change, you know?

In short, it seemed that teachers were excited about the possibility of diversity affinity groups and for much-needed progress in their districts, but ultimately skeptical of their district's ability to execute the groups in a way where teachers would feel supported and heard.

B.3. Themes Around School Climate and Support

While research questions three and four did not coincide with the qualitative data (they were specific to quantitative patterns and health conditions), the other two purposes for conducting the qualitative interviews were: 1) to better understand the climate around diversity and equity in Colorado K-12 districts and schools, and 2) to determine how districts can better support their Teachers and Students of Color. Quantitative results suggested that Hispanic/Latinx teachers experienced more intersectional discrimination than non-Hispanic white people; however, Hispanic/Latinx teachers did not experience more everyday discrimination than non-Hispanic white people, nor did Hispanic/Latinx teachers experience more workplace stress than non-Hispanic white people. In response to inquiries around workplace culture, five positive themes emerged, affirming the results around the lack of any heightened discrimination or stress experienced by multiply marginalized groups: *School Diversity*, *Teacher-Student Congruency*, *Coworkers Share Identities*, *Community*, and *Positive School Efforts*. These themes were considered positive in that the participant responded favorably to their workplace culture as it related to their workplace's diversity, equity, and inclusion efforts. However, four negative themes emerged indicating a less inclusive or more stressful workplace climate for teachers with marginalized identities: *Avoiding Conflict*, *Surface-Level Efforts*, *Teacher-Student Incongruency*, and *Hostile Workplace Culture*. These themes were considered negative because the interviewee spoke of their school/district's poor response or lack of response to diversity, equity, and inclusion efforts and/or harmful behavior in their workplace.

These themes also helped to supplement the third research question (*Does identifying as Hispanic/Latinx predict poorer general health among teachers?*) and hypothesis: *The qualitative data from Hispanic/Latinx teachers will contain more themes related to poor health than the qualitative data from white teachers.* Some teachers discussed their stress and mental health, often in relation to their workplace; however, Hispanic/Latinx teachers did not discuss stress/mental health more than white teachers did. In fact, health and wellbeing was discussed so infrequently amongst interviewees that there were not official themes around this concept (to make the conclusion in the previous sentence, I counted the number of times that health or stress were directly discussed in the interviews and it was less than 10 times total). Thus, Hypothesis 3 was still only partially supported.

B.3.a. Positive Outcomes/Efforts. There were several positive themes around school climate and support, indicating that many teachers were aware of some positive changes (either intentional or unintentional) in their schools and were hopeful to see more change.

B.3.a.1. School Diversity. When I asked teachers about the demographic make-up of their schools, 58% of interviewees talked positively about the diversity in their student body or even among their staff. Cecelia (woman, heterosexual, Black/African American) spoke of the diversity and inclusivity efforts that exist in her school:

I feel like the staff really tries to create this inclusive environment for students. Um, and it does feel just very warm and inviting and like, you can be whoever you wanna be and talk about whatever you want to talk about. I know my students. I can tell that they feel very open. And I don't know if it's just me, but it seems like it's a school environment, you know, school culture, um, that they have felt very open talking about their cultural backgrounds, linguistic backgrounds, and even their gender. [They've] definitely talked a little bit about that. Um, I don't have anyone that's gender nonconforming in my cohort this year, but, you know, just talking um, about justice for women, women's rights. [The students have] talked a lot about that, and they've also talked about their sexual orientation. I have, you know, several students that are kind of exploring. You know, I've heard conversations. They haven't really talked to me directly about that. But they have conversations—like they're not whispering, like it's very loud and open these

conversations in the classroom. Like, [students saying] ‘I’m not sure what my orientation is’ and ‘Yeah, I’m interested in this person.’ So I can tell they feel comfortable, you know, um, talking about all of that. And there are at least two teachers that I know of on our staff that are openly [members of the LGBTQ population]. I mean, like, as a staff, I think they feel very comfortable. I mean, I haven’t talked to them personally about it, but it just seems like the way that they speak [...] they feel very comfortable talking about their partners and everything. So I think it’s just that [district] does feel inclusive in a lot of ways.

Lucile (woman, bisexual, white, Hispanic) spoke similarly of her school culture:

I would say one-third of the teachers either speak Spanish or are from a Spanish-speaking country. So I would say the representation is, uh, maybe not 100% like fitting, because we have over 65% of Hispanic population, but we do have a big representation [of Hispanic teachers ...] I think that’s important for all the Hispanic students that we have. And then, if we think about Students of Color, meaning Black students, we have a couple of [Black] teachers as well. So, that we have representation of [them]. We have a few white teachers as well. We have a couple of male teachers, female, so I mean, I think our school is pretty diverse. We also have some LGBTQ teachers, so that that could be also important not only for the students that feel that way or that identify as that, but also for the students who live in households with parents who identify as that. Because I had a student last year who lived with his two moms. And if you don’t talk about those things and if you don’t see those things growing up at a school, you might feel isolated and again not represented, but [I think] our school is pretty diverse in that sense.

Another teacher, Hannah (woman, heterosexual, Black/African American), positively spoke of her staff and student demographics:

So, you know, [we have] a lot of Hispanic, um, a lot of Black people, um, we have a couple of Indigenous folks, which is cool. Um, so, yeah, I feel like, you know, from what I’ve seen from, like, staff meetings online, I feel like I kind of feel like the demographics are half, like, half People of Color. And, like, half Caucasian. [...] But I feel like the bulk of staff that represent the student population are support staff. So, like the campus monitors and the security guards and, you know, people that work in the office.”

Some teachers spoke positively of the increasing diversity in their student body; for example,

Mindy (woman, pansexual, white, Hispanic, Latino/a/x) said of her school demographics:

We actually have more than ten Black students at the school this year, so that’s a lot for us. I mean, when I started teaching there, it was one Black student every three or four years. And so now we actually have Black students in every grade, which is big for [School District]. The LGBTQ population is more visible than it used to be. It used to be a really hard place for queer kids. I started a Gay-Straight Alliance [group], and we now have students who are transitioning [genders]. We have students who use “they/their” pronouns. We have students who are, you know, gay students who are holding hands. We

also still have some backlash against the queer community. But it's interesting to see the teachers because we have plenty of queer teachers in one form or another.

Thus, as evidenced by the lengthy discussion, it appeared that some teachers were encouraged by the increasing and existing diversity in their schools, and they were hopeful to see more change.

B.3.a.2. Teacher-Student Congruency. Many schools were relatively homogeneous; however, teachers acknowledged instances of teacher-student congruency (i.e., teachers' identities matching those of their students) as important experiences for their students. This theme arose in 38% of interviews. Notably, teacher-student congruency was not as common as teacher-student incongruency (see below). Lucile (woman, heterosexual, Hispanic) noted:

Well, when you're working as a teacher at a school and you're an elite teacher in [School District], you automatically feel as part of the group, which means the Hispanic community. And so my students, 95% of them are from the Hispanic community, and they speak Spanish, and we share many different things about the language and the culture, and how we were brought up and, like, how we may express affection. And, like, all those things that we need, [...] I think that you have to, as a teacher, make students feel proud of who they are so they can feel confident. Um, and then that's one big thing for me to make them feel proud of being Hispanic and, uh, speaking a second language. Um, I think that's huge, and I make it a big deal for them.

Another teacher, Lillian (woman, heterosexual, Hispanic) spoke of feeling connected to her students through a cultural cooking activity:

Um, and my class is a cooking class [...] so we make things that they make at home, and it is probably the most fun day in class. [...] But, like, seeing kids be able to share that [culture] with somebody that knows the same thing. Like being that community for just that little bit of time. Um, and even learning [from them], because the foods that I grew up with are a little different than the foods that they grew up with.

Judy (woman, lesbian, white, Black/African American) summed it up quite simply:

I definitely think where I am now I see resemblance of myself somewhere in the building, and students can see someone that looks like them.

In short, the few instances of Teacher-Student Congruency were seemingly energizing for teachers and powerful for students, despite their sparseness.

B.3.a.3. Coworkers Share Identities. I also talked to teachers about identity congruency with their coworkers. Before talking to staff about the potential for diversity affinity groups, I asked them if they spent time with coworkers who shared their identities. Many did (at least to some extent), as this theme showed up in 54% of interviews. Some teachers responded favorably about the coworkers they felt connected to. For instance, Hannah (woman, heterosexual, Black/African American) spoke of a coworker who did not share all of her identities, but shared enough identities for her to feel connected to that coworker:

I have one coworker that I'm particularly close with right now [...] her kids are biracial. Um, and she comes from a very, um, how do I... not exactly poverty, but just a very low-income household and whatnot. And so she's seen and been through some things. And so I feel like her perspective is a little bit more like mine. Although I wasn't raised, you know, super low-income, I still feel like we have a common ground and a common understanding of the importance of diversity and being cognizant of what we teach our kids and being cognizant of our thoughts and our actions and our biases. So she's somebody I definitely connect with because I feel like she gets it.

Likewise, Blanche (nonbinary, queer, white) shared their feelings of ease with a coworker who was also part of the LGBTQ community:

Yeah. I have a coworker [...] she identifies as queer, and I don't really get to work with her very much [...], but I feel much more comfortable talking to them. Just like, you know, just about work in general. And, you know, knowing that I don't have to, like, justify my feelings of feeling neglected or, um, you know, ignored or like purposely hurt—that kind of stuff.

Angela (woman, bisexual, white, Latino/a/x) shared similar feelings:

Um, so for example, of course, [I am friends with] the other Latinx teacher in the building. She and I are very close. Um, so we share that Latinx identity. There's a lot of bonds that we've made through identity alone. We both came from lower socioeconomic backgrounds.

Lillian (woman, heterosexual, Hispanic) noted that sharing the same beliefs or political identities was enough to instill feelings of connection:

I think we're similar and that we're all female [...] Well, not all, um, the ones that I spend the most time with, like, on my team are female. Um, we are very similar. Like, um, in

so, like identity. As far as, like, what we believe or like, who we are, kind of struggling with identity on a whole 'nother level. Um, politically, we're kind of on the same page as far as taking COVID seriously, and I guess more scientifically than politically, really. Uh, we have the same, we have the same desire and high standards for students. Um, I'm not sure if that's an identity, but it's definitely something that we have in common.

It was clear that teachers noticed when someone looked or acted like them, and most often, interacting with this other person was a positive experience.

B.3.a.4. Community. When I asked teachers about what they liked about their district, many shared it was the sense of community they felt. This theme arose in 69% of all interviews. Some of these feelings of community were related to racial/ethnic identity, while others expressed a sense of community seemingly irrespective of their identities. Perhaps the most profound example of community came from a teacher, Lula (woman, heterosexual, Hispanic):

The kids are really, really cool. They're kind. They're thoughtful. They're generous. They care about each other, like most of them have, you know, they've lived here their whole lives. [...] The community is really super supportive of the schools, primarily because of sports. But like if there's a fundraiser, everyone goes in on it. If there's a parade, everyone goes. If there's a football game, everybody goes. It's like the social community nexus of everything at high school, and so it's awesome. It just brings everybody together, and it's like a really happy and loving place. And so it's really, really cool.

April (woman, heterosexual, Latino/a/x) spoke of her intentions to contribute to and maintain community in her school:

I try to be present in all the events that they would normally put together. [...] And I know, like, how important [connection] is. So I normally try to create that among my students and, you know, my students and myself, but with other teachers, too. So I try to, like, be there for them, try to see what they need. [...] I am constantly looking for things for my school, and I contribute to the online things or book picks. And then community-wise, [families and students] know that they can reach out to me because they know me. Um, I've taught at this school for a while now, and so the families know me, and, that's how it feels too, that they see me as someone they can go to whenever they need to help with something. Even though I might not be there.

Two teachers that I interviewed (both Latina women) even taught in the communities they were raised in; thus, they expressed a deep, life-long connection to their community. As one of the women, Angela (woman, bisexual, white, Latino/a/x), put it:

I actually went to [School District] [...] I decided to come back because, you know, that's my community. I wanna give back to my community. I know the community so well, I know the needs. I know lots of the students and families. Um, and so I knew from the beginning that if they had a position open for me that I would definitely be coming back to work for [my former district] after I finished my master's degree.

All in all, a sense of community was a positive experience for the interviewees who were fortunate enough to have it in their district.

B.3.a.5. Positive School Efforts. Finally, while nearly all teachers acknowledged that their districts had room for progress in terms of their diversity and equity efforts (and this need should not be overshadowed by one or many positive experiences), 73% acknowledged a positive effort they saw in their schools. Judy (woman, lesbian, white, Black/African American) spoke of her school's efforts to integrate race and racism in their curriculum:

And I'm at [school] where we have race conversations among the staff and are encouraged to have them with the students we have. We bring in parents from all backgrounds, um, where they can meet and talk about what education looks like to their kids. [For example, we will discuss:] 'Are [their students] being treated equitable in all aspects?' and 'Do they have access to everything?' and '[Are they] being treated in an unfair manner because of where they live or what their zip code is?' Or things like that. Um, we have student organizations for everything at [school]. I know this has been a crazy year [...] But they are still carried over. We have, uh, you name it. It'd be hard not to fit in; if you are in the LGBTQ community, there's a group for you. If you are, um, if you are an immigrant student from Africa, there is an organization for you. [...] There's too many to name, but it's basically if you want to find a group that looks like you, sounds like you, you can fit in. It's there, which is awesome. So it's just left up to us as teachers and building administrators to make sure [students] know those opportunities are there.

Christy (woman, heterosexual, Black/African American) discussed the efforts that she took initiative in starting at her school:

I got so frustrated to the point where I went to our administration and I was like, ‘I wanna start a diversity committee at our school among staff.’ And so I started that this year. [...] I do have a core group of staff members that are with me on this committee and we're still meeting and I'm okay [knowing] that it's not going to be quick. I understand this is gonna be a work in progress, but at least it's being done.

In some cases, new leadership kickstarted positive school efforts around diversity, equity, and inclusion. Erika (woman, bisexual, white, Hispanic) shared:

Things have really changed. Um, equity was a word that was not heard it all last year and, um, nothing about diversity or nothing about celebrating at all. So, uh, and that has changed a lot with this [new leader]. [...] Uh, so things have changed a lot, and [we're trying to create] a safe environment where [family members and staff are] not afraid of, say, the truth of how they feel or how they see themselves in the community.

Indeed, in many cases, the leadership and workplace culture created a landscape for the type of work their school/district did, as Lula (woman, heterosexual, Hispanic) noted:

One thing I really, really like about [district] is that they do try to get as much input as possible from all of the community. Um, especially now, with COVID and things changing, of being in school and out of school. And what program should we use for online students. There's been a lot of communication and a lot of gathering of data. Um, sometimes it doesn't matter because the state says something, and that's what you gotta do anyway. But they're at least gathering input from people, um, and trying to make a best decision while hearing everybody's voices. Um, I feel like if I were to say something to my superintendent that he would definitely take it and use that to inform his decisions.

Encouragingly, several teachers were well-aware of a positive effort taking place in their school and they credited their districts or district leaders for the change it instilled in their community.

B.3.b. Negative Outcomes/Efforts. While there were positive qualitative data around district and school climate and culture, four themes emerged regarding staff's perceptions of their district's shortfalls and areas for improvement. These themes were: *Avoiding Conflict*, *Surface-Level Efforts*, *Teacher-Student Incongruency*, and *Hostile Workplace Culture*.

B.3.b.1. Avoiding Conflict. Several teachers discussed times when their district stayed quiet about harmful culture or experiences that took place in the schools. In fact, about 27% of teachers noted a perception that their district would attempt to avoid conflict or maintain the

status quo, even if it meant hindering some diversity, equity, and inclusion efforts. For example, at the end of an interview, I asked Hannah (woman, heterosexual, Black/African American) if there was anything else she wanted to share. She replied simply:

Just we gotta do better. Like as adults and as people [...] we can all speak about this, and we all have opinions of what's right. But no one is speaking on what's wrong and how some people feel left out and point it out when they're doing this type of equity [work].

When asked the same question, Edwin (man, heterosexual, Black/African American), a Black man in a predominately white and rural district shared:

You know, there's this focus overall of 'Let's get diversity. Let's get diversity. Let's get diversity.' [...] What do we do? It's also more than just a district. It has to be a community-wide feel. The community needs to back that feeling as well, because if you want people to stay, you've got to make sure they feel welcome not just in their job but in the overall community and this. You know, there's some ways to do some things and think outside of the box, but you've got to be willing to jump out of your comfort zone to do that. And I don't think a lot of places are still willing to do that.

Earlier in the interview I asked that man why he believed racism and stereotyping occurred in his district. He replied:

Ignorance, the desire to keep things the way they've always been, the fear of angering the general public because you don't want to rock the boat for people [...] You don't wanna have to actually make a change.

Similarly, Jacklyn (woman, heterosexual, Indigenous- Native American, Chicano/a/x) spoke about why she believed discrimination and hostility continued in her schools:

And so we allow [discrimination] to perpetuate because we don't wanna have any problems. And we all think that's the other issue, too. Really, we're pretty happy staff, and we all get along well. And the kids, for the most part, even in COVID, like everybody's just kind of getting along as good as we can. And so we're like, 'We don't want to rock the boat too much, because it's not like it's a hostile work environment or an unhappy work environment. There's a few ideological issues kinda underpinning everything.'

Thus, it was clear that many districts were/are willing to sacrifice the comfort and perceived safety of a few to maintain the status quo among many, and these actions were/are not unnoticed by staff.

B.3.b.2. (Experience of) Surface-Level Efforts. While many teachers felt that their districts did not make diversity and equity efforts (in an effort to avoid tension or conflict), some acknowledged that their district attempted to engage in diversity work, but that many of these efforts were disingenuous or “surface-level.” This theme arose in 85% of all interviews. As Erika (woman, bisexual, white, Hispanic) put it:

I feel like teachers and paraprofessionals are not respected as educators. Like, do [administrators] care to some degree? Absolutely. But I feel like a lot of the things they do are very performative. [...] We're told, you know, ‘We value you as educators. Thank you for what you do for [school]. Thank you for what you do for the community. How can we support you? We're always here to listen to you.’ And it's time for them to back up what they've told us. And it's like crickets.

Emma (woman, heterosexual, Asian American) shared that her administration did not take action in issues of diversity, equity, and inclusion despite their seeming knowledge or understanding of these issues:

Um, I feel like [the administration is] pretty well versed [in issues of diversity, equity and inclusion]. [...] It's mentioned a lot, but I don't know how much is being done in terms of ensuring that our entire staff are actually following through. [...] From what I can tell, I feel like [...] they are well versed. But how they're actually implementing that, um, with the entire staff is questionable.

Mindy (woman, pansexual, white, Hispanic, Latino/a/x) spoke about diversity week at her school as being one of the only times diversity was acknowledged or valued:

We sometimes have a whole diversity week, which, to me, is always such an ironic thing, because it's like we're diverse for this one week of the year and you get a day, and the rest, which then implies the rest of the year's for, you know, the empowered white straight Christian majority. But you get a day.

In sum, many teachers were frustrated by their districts' seeming lack of depth regarding diversity, equity, and inclusion efforts, and this frustration fed participants' skepticism around what the future could look like at their school (see Chapter 5, Section B.2.e).

B.3.b.3. Teacher-Student Incongruity. I asked teachers if they felt that their identities had been represented when they were K-12 students, and whether they felt that their students' identities are represented today. Nearly 90% of interviewees communicated that in both situations (as a student and now as a teacher), there was teacher-student identity incongruity. In fact, this was one of the most prevalent themes throughout the entire sample. Blanche (nonbinary, queer, white) spoke of the demographics at their school (as a teacher) after noting that nearly all of the students were Hispanic/Latinx:

The proportions are definitely- the ratio, is really off. We have, I think, four. Yep, four Educators of Color. And that includes deans and administration and yeah, I mean, everyone else [is white]. So that's the most kind of jarring difference.

Hannah (woman, heterosexual, Black/African American) similarly responded to my question as to whether students' identities were represented in the teaching staff in her district:

Oh, not at all. Not at all. So the school where I teach and most of [School District] is a very high percentage of Latino students. You know, like, 80% and higher in each school and our staff, I'm not sure how many staff members we have. But let's say we have around 50. Out of those 50, there are five Teachers of Color.

In talking about his experience as an Asian American student, a teacher, Michael (man, heterosexual, Asian American), said:

I never met an Asian [teacher]. Actually, I don't think I had an Asian teacher in my school. Yeah. No, no Asian teacher. I went to school [...] in a suburb outside of [city].

Mindy (woman, pansexual, white, Hispanic, Latino/a/x) similarly expressed the negative effect that her teachers' lack of diversity had on her:

I did not have a single, openly disabled teacher throughout, and I never saw my religious identity represented in any way, shape, or form at school. Everything always felt very

Christian. I think most teachers that I had were in around the same socioeconomic group as my family. It was so interesting because, like, as our class varied where we lived, varied in how well off [we were], my teachers were varied. So it was always pretty equivalent to where my family was that, but it wasn't necessarily equivalent to where it had been.

She went on to talk about her school's demographics as a teacher today, noting that not much had changed, even several decades later. In response to my question of whether students' identities were represented in her school, she answered:

They're not. I'm trying to remember the specific statistics, but 80 to 90% of the students in my school are Latino. We have one Latino teacher. My students see a lot more [of the] Latinx folks and Black staff [in our] cafeteria staff or office staff, who are absolutely wonderful, but they don't see it in their teachers.

Thus, many teachers felt that their students' identities were not represented, or were more represented in support, nutrition, or custodial staff in their schools.

B.3.b.4. Hostile Workplace Culture. At many times throughout the interview, teachers spoke of their workplace dynamics and culture. Every teacher (100% of all interviewees) discussed some form of conflict or hostility in their workplace between coworkers, departments, administration, or supervisors. Moreover, many of the aforementioned data were also coded in this theme (e.g., data coded as racism/racist stereotypes, token minority, etc.). When asked of her least favorite thing about working for her school district, Jacklyn (woman, heterosexual, Indigenous-Native American, Chicano/a/x) answered:

There's definitely a 'good old boy' mentality around here, Like, it's really tough to break into admin, even if you're more qualified than people currently in admin. And, like, all of our principals and our superintendent are drinking buddies, and a lot of the decisions get made, but I don't think that's unusual. I don't think that's, you know, like restricted to [this district]. And, I mean, it's getting better. But if that's something you don't like, it's definitely not a cultural shift that I see changing in the next three or four or five decades.

Edwin (man, heterosexual, Black/African American) answered the same question quite similarly of the hostility in his school:

The lack of diversity, the ‘good old boy’ network that's still in place. The lack of a basic understanding and empathy for those at the bottom—you know, as teachers and parents and school counselors and things like that.

While some teachers discussed a hierarchical workplace culture, others expressed a discomfort they felt with their identities at work. Angela (woman, bisexual, white, Latino/a/x) spoke of her reservation about disclosing her sexual orientation to her workplace:

I'm not out. I just, it's not safe to be out. [...] It's really cool going on Instagram and Twitter and following these teachers who are openly queer, and that's super cool, but that's just not something I can do. It's not safe for me. And I've also read about stories where people in the community will, you know, [request to take their child out of a teacher's classroom] or there are, um, these harmful stereotypes or fears associated with this identity. And, you know, I don't wanna be accused of things. I don't want to be written up, um, just because of this identity.

When asked about implementing diversity affinity groups, Blanche (nonbinary, queer, white) shared similar fears regarding the heterosexism in their workplace:

I don't know [...] some aspects of [diversity affinity groups] are kind of scary to me, because of my administrators', you know, traditional attitudes towards queer people. And so it would kind of feel like another, another way to kind of like, put a target on my back [...] I would join, but it would cause me some anxiety, I think, at least at first.

Racism also contributed to a sense of hostility in the workplace and among coworkers. Christy (woman, heterosexual, Black/African American) shared about her relationships with her coworkers:

Um, I would say that I haven't been like directly called a name, but I think some judgments have been made against me. Other staff members, you know, were talking about how they think [my husband is] a deadbeat dad and things like that, and just making judgments and assumptions based on being Black [...] without really knowing anything about us, you know? And so things like that is kinda what I experienced with people. Kinda just saying things and just kind of belittling me in a sense, that's what I experience more than anything.

Judy (woman, lesbian, white, Black/African American) spoke of her experiences of racism more generally as she recounted the lack of diversity efforts even around Black History Month or Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Day:

There was no support, it was never talked of. It just wasn't a comfortable feeling at all, so I can only imagine what it would be like for a student, you know, coming from a culture like mine or, um, a Person of Color like myself. Because if I had no support and felt discriminated against, I can imagine some students did too.

Others spoke about the frustrations around inequitable administrative decisions regarding teachers' work. For example, Rosalind (woman, heterosexual, Latino/a/x) said of what she disliked about her district:

[...] the constant picking up a new curriculum. You know, the new thing, the hype and everything, and just having to relearn things, like more than one curriculum each year. So kind of the rigor that's expected to constantly be changing and evolving curriculum. It's like once we get used to this one, then [administration] finds out, 'Oh, wait, this [curriculum] works best for our demographic.' And then it's like, 'Here we go again.'

Bobby (man, gay, Black/African American) expressed similar frustrations when asked about his least favorite thing about his district:

The ongoing back-and-forth between, you know, the district, the school board, or like team members. It just seems like there's always something that the two sides are engaged over regarding school. [...] I remember the lead up to [a teacher strike in the district], but then it kind of feels like that never went away. So maybe just some tension between teachers and then other parties in the district.

Judy (woman, lesbian, white, Black/African American) spoke of the tension between administration and teachers as it intersected with racism and more general discrimination:

I think there is a type of prejudice that the district holds against its own teachers, like the incompetent teacher trope. [...] Um, it's just the distrust they have for our professional competence. Like, we're not treated as professionals in our classrooms. We're going through all this professional development [...] And it just feels so demeaning to have the central office think that what we need is to be taught how to be teachers. Like we all went to teacher school. We're here, and there's, um, this presumed incompetence. I think that just hits our Communities of Color or Teachers of Color harder. It hurts everybody, but it is especially burdensome towards our marginalized communities.

Reflecting on all the qualitative data that emerged from this study, it is remarkable, but ultimately unsurprising, that "Hostile Workplace Culture", was the single most common theme amongst all participants. Put another way, all teachers had experienced a time where they felt

disrespected, uncomfortable, or undervalued in their role at work, regardless of their district's demographics, their personal identities, or their feelings toward Diversity Affinity Groups.

B.4. Validity Peer Debriefing

I debriefed with four women- two of whom were CEA employees (both white) and two of whom were CEA members (one of whom self-identified as Black and queer and one of whom self-identified as Hispanic and Black). I included instructions and context for their role as debriefers, which can be found in Appendix C. After they read my document, we spoke over the phone about my identity as a white woman and researcher and their identities as Teachers of Color or union employees. I was transparent about my blind spots as a white woman and researcher, and shared that I was grateful for their important insights given their expertise in Colorado teaching and districts.

They first provided several recommendations regarding the context and framing of my research. One peer debriefing partner recommended that I include teachers' demographics within the text of the qualitative results (and not just in Table 11 with their pseudonyms), as she believed that identity should be salient in the context of interviewees' quotations; I made this change. Regarding the study as a whole, another peer debriefing partner recommended that I consider the presence of school resource officers (SROs), as they believed the presence of SROs plays a role in Colorado teachers' and students' perceptions of discrimination, safety, and climate. I made note of this in Chapter 5, Section H. My peer debriefing partners also recommended that I be even more specific with the location of interviewees' districts in Colorado in future studies, for example, whether the district was in the Front Range, San Louis Valley, etc. While I collected this information, I did not tell interviewees that I would disclose their specific regional location, so out of respect of interviewees' confidentiality, I elected to

only include the rural/suburban/urban information; I will, however, consider this for future studies. Finally, my peer debriefing partners noted that I could have collected and disclosed teachers' assignments (primary or secondary) to provide additional context on their experiences teaching and interacting with students. I noted this in Chapter 5, Section G.

My peer debriefing partners also had several critiques and recommendations regarding the content of my results. Most important was one CEA member's note that my framing of the qualitative results was too positive. They recommended that I reexamine the language I used to frame the qualitative data and questioned whether I might unconsciously be framing the results as positive in an effort to avoid conflict and "keep the peace" (or to use thematic language from this dissertation, "avoid conflict"). I was grateful for this honest feedback; I admitted that it was very possible that I subconsciously wanted to avoid framing the results too negatively or even neutrally and thus, I may very well have used more positive language and framing. Moreover, this feedback was potentially triangulated by a CEA employee's observation that many of the teachers were "hopeful and forward viewing", as that was different from her experiences working for the union (whereby teachers tended to be more negative or distrustful of their districts). It is possible that because teachers did not previously know me and because I am white, teachers (and Teachers of Color, specifically) were not as honest with me or responded more optimistically to my questions. This is important and understandable as white people have done a great deal of harm, particularly in research and science, and it is reasonable that Teachers of Color were less inclined to trust me with their honest opinions as a white researcher. It is also possible that I interpreted their responses more optimistically as a result of a conscious and unconscious desire to "find the positives" as my debriefing partner suggested. Considering this feedback and my self-reflection, I reviewed and edited my results section to be more objective.

This same member also noted that many of my themes (e.g., racism and racist stereotypes, token minority) fell into the larger theme of hostile work environment. I added a clarifying comment in Chapter 4, Section B.3.b.4 considering this observation. Finally, my debriefing partners added several contextual suggestions regarding the implementation of diversity affinity groups. I have noted these (and credited my partners for these suggestions) in Chapter 5, Section E.

Chapter 5

DISCUSSION

Health disparities are a persistent problem affecting Hispanic/Latinx people in the United States, and these inequities are undoubtedly linked to social, political, and cultural determinants of health (U.S. Office of Minority Health, 2019; Vega, 2009). Minority stress (e.g., discrimination) is a robust predictor of health disparities for Hispanic/Latinx populations and other Populations of Color (Meyer, 2003). It is also apparent that minority stress such as discrimination can be exacerbated within predominately white spaces such as K-12 education, where currently nationwide, teaching staff are predominately white, despite roughly half of K-12 students identifying as People of Color (U.S. Department of Education, 2016).

This dissertation explored Colorado teachers' accounts of stress, discrimination, and support as these experiences relate to their health and wellbeing. I placed a special focus on Hispanic/Latinx teachers in Colorado because Hispanic/Latinx people are the largest racial/ethnic group besides white people in the state, and yet, they are vastly underrepresented in the K-12 teaching staff. Moreover, teachers are some of the lowest-paid professionals with a college degree, and their stress and workload can be notoriously high (AFT, 2017, PDK International, 2019). This fact has been even more apparent during the Spring of 2020 and the 2020-2021 academic school year as teachers navigated (and continue to navigate) a pandemic warranting continuous shifts from distance-, hybrid-, and in-person-learning, and one of the largest racial justice movements in decades. I sought to understand whether many of the aforementioned stressors contribute to health disparities among Hispanic/Latinx teachers in the U.S. as well as the underrepresentation of this demographic in K-12 education. Importantly, I used leading theories that were relevant to occupational health (The Allostatic Load Model;

McEwen & Stellar, 1993), social determinants of health (The Minority Stress Model; Meyer, 2003), and diversity, equity, and inclusion scholarship (Critical Race Theory and Latino Critical Theory; Crenshaw, 1989; 1991; Degado Bernal, 2002; Valdes, 2005) to ground this work.

Upon a review of the literature that centered on Teachers and Scholars of Color, I posited a series of hypotheses regarding the relationships between discrimination, stress, and general health among Hispanic/Latinx teachers in Colorado. First, while I found that Hispanic/Latinx teachers experienced more intersectional discrimination than white teachers, there were no group differences in workplace discrimination or work-related stress in this study. Secondly, Hispanic/Latinx teachers did not have poorer health than white teachers, though they had marginally poorer health than non-Hispanic Teachers of Color. Finally, while I hypothesized that organizational support would moderate the relationship between workplace discrimination and health conditions, I found that work discrimination did not predict more health conditions/symptoms, but organizational support did predict fewer health conditions/symptoms.

In addition to my hypotheses, I also proposed two research questions regarding diversity affinity groups, potential solution to support Teachers of Color in K-12 education. Importantly, research questions around diversity affinity groups were just that: questions. I wanted to hear primarily from teachers on their perceptions of these types of support rather than prescribe support myself, given my lack of experience as a Teacher of Color in K-12 education and the history of the White Saviorism Complex. Most teachers responded favorably to the idea of these groups, but several concerns were raised including the lack of time teachers have for these groups, the potential for diversity affinity groups to silo teachers of differing identities, and general fear of diversity affinity groups acting as surface-level efforts in schools without instilling real change.

A. Key Findings on Experiences of Discrimination

I asked participants about their experiences of discrimination in both qualitative and quantitative components of the study. Bivariate statistics on the sample as a whole provided a number of compelling relationships regarding discrimination. Participants' experiences of general discrimination were positively correlated with their experiences of workplace discrimination, work stress, general stress, teaching stress, health conditions/symptoms, and identity salience and importance. While I cannot determine causation (e.g., that discrimination causes poor health) these findings are in line with the Minority Stress Model such that higher levels of discrimination (a chronic stressor) were associated with more health conditions/symptoms for this sample (Meyer, 2003). Of the aforementioned relationships, workplace discrimination and general discrimination were highly correlated, suggesting that participants' experiences in their workplaces were at least somewhat similar to their experiences in their day to day lives outside of work (at the very least, these results suggest that participants' workplaces were not free from discrimination). Qualitative data further supported this notion, as Hispanic/Latinx teachers spoke of their experiences of sexism, racism, and heterosexism in the workplace. Narratives ranged from a bisexual Latina woman discussing her fear of coming out (i.e., disclosing her sexual orientation) to her workplace to a Hispanic man sharing his ability to "code-switch" at work and act "more white" if the situation warranted it.

A.1. Dual Stressors.

Notably, the positive correlation between workplace stress and workplace discrimination among participants affirms an overarching assumption in this dissertation: that a significant portion of Teachers of Color—and Hispanic/Latinx teachers in particular—experience simultaneous occupational- and identity-related stress (these two variables were correlated for all

subgroups). This is important because extant literature suggests that Hispanic/Latinx people experience minority stress (discrimination), and teachers experience occupational stress, but no study to date has studied simultaneous minority stress and occupational stress for K-12 Hispanic/Latinx teachers in this way. Armed with this knowledge, unions, districts, legislators, and administrators might direct additional efforts and supports toward their Teachers of Color, particularly considering the additional occupational- and minority-stressors teachers have experienced in this last year. Indeed, workplace discrimination and general discrimination were negatively correlated with organizational support, suggesting that those who experience more support from their workplace also experience less workplace discrimination. Again, though no causal processes can be inferred, this result supports the assumption that organizations who actively and outwardly support their employees provide a healthier workplace culture and may mitigate some of the harms from these dual stressors (this is also backed by research; see Nielsen et al., 2017 for a review and meta-analysis). Most interviewees who were Teachers of Color discussed these dual stressors, as evidenced by relevant themes (e.g., lack of resources and racism/racist stereotypes) across interviews.

A.2. The Role of Identity Salience and Importance

I included the variable, identity salience and importance, primarily as a covariate in my analyses; however, it had an interesting—albeit unsurprising—relationship with discrimination. Workplace discrimination and general discrimination were positively correlated with identity salience and importance; these findings are in line with Social Identity Theory, which proposes that social identities and group memberships play an important role in one's attitudes and behaviors toward other groups (particularly out-groups; for a recent review, see Islam, 2014). Thus, it stands to reason that when Hispanic/Latinx teachers have strong emotional ties to their

racial/ethnic group membership, they may be more attuned to the discrimination—both blatant and subtle—occurring in their workplace (and in line with Social Identity Theory, these discriminatory behaviors often come from out-group members). Indeed, this would not be the first study to find a connection between identity salience and discrimination among Hispanic/Latinx populations (e.g., Burrow & Ong, 2019; Garcia et al., 2018). This is certainly not to say that identity salience is the cause of any experience of discrimination (especially considering these are bivariate statistics); rather, the minority stress exacerbated by the white space that is K-12 education may feel prevalent for those with more identity salience. This is important to note as organizational researchers suggest that a healthy workplace culture is one where employees can be their whole selves without having to “code switch” or “cover” their identities (McCluney et al., 2019; Smith & Yoshino, 2019). This is especially crucial in education where employees serve as role models to children in their community (MacSwan & Faltis, 2019). Accordingly, several interviewees expressed the desire to model pride in their identities for their students—as evidenced by the “Teacher Role Models” theme. Thus, these findings suggest that one’s relationship to their identities varies in parallel with their perceived experiences of discrimination; workplaces should aim to cultivate a culture where employees can feel both the salience of their identities *and* safe from discrimination.

A.3. Intersectional vs. Everyday Discrimination.

In line with my first hypothesis, Hispanic/Latinx teachers experienced more intersectional discrimination than non-Hispanic white teachers. However, they did not experience more *everyday* discrimination than non-Hispanic white teachers. This finding potentially speaks to the importance of intersectional quantitative measures. While the Intersectional Discrimination Index (Schein & Bauer, 2019) asks respondents to consider a

broad array of experiences related to “who they are” (e.g., “Because of who you are, have you ever been threatened with a physical or sexual attack?”) the Everyday Discrimination Scale (Williams et al., 1997) asks participants to respond to more pointed questions that were originally developed for and tested with Black/African American populations (e.g., “[How often have] people [acted] as if they are afraid of you?”). It is possible that the Intersectional Discrimination Index captures a larger breadth of experiences (in 13 items, rather than 8) and/or better captures discrimination directed toward Hispanic/Latinx populations (see also Harnois et al., 2019 for a recent psychometric analysis of the EDS between white, Black, and Hispanic/Latinx groups and Chapter 5, Section G in this dissertation). Regardless, researchers should consider the strength of intersectional discrimination measures to accurately capture such experiences.

B. Key Findings on Experiences of Work Stress

Work stress was positively correlated with health conditions/symptoms (i.e., negatively correlated with General Health). Furthermore, I found that work stress (a combination of general work stress and teaching stress) predicted more health conditions/symptoms (though, both were measured cross-sectionally). Though I cannot infer causality from data collected at one time point, this result does support the Allostatic Load Model in that stressors —particularly stressors from work—may contribute to health conditions/symptoms (McEwen & Stellar, 1993). In fact, these results may speak to any one of the three processes of the Allostatic Load Model. That is, the items in the health conditions/symptoms composite variable included symptoms/conditions within the primary allostatic load process (tension and anxiety, fatigue, sleep disturbances, headache and fatigue), secondary allostatic load process (high blood pressure and high cholesterol), and tertiary allostatic load process (depression, bipolar disorder, cardiovascular

disease, type two diabetes). Indeed, the most commonly reported health conditions/symptoms were tied closely to stress (e.g., insomnia, headaches, muscle tension). Apart from the quantitative results, several teachers also discussed their personal experiences with these processes— some teachers spoke of their own experiences with mental illness while others expressed concern for their colleagues’ sleeplessness and anxiety that were related to the stressors from their work. One teacher was even on leave during the time of the interview to address a health concern that had arisen in the last year from work-related stress.

B.1. A Lack of Group Differences in Work Stress

There were no group differences (between Hispanic/Latinx teachers, non-Hispanic Teachers of Color, and white teachers) in experiences of work stress. This is important, as an integral piece of this dissertation was the proposition that Hispanic/Latinx teachers would experience simultaneously elevated identity stress and occupational stress compared to white teachers. Although bivariate results suggested that identity stress (i.e., discrimination) and work stress were correlated with one another, the results from the ANCOVAs clarified this finding, indicating that Hispanic/Latinx teachers experienced more discrimination than white teachers, but not more work stress. Thus, it may be in school districts’ best interests to address discrimination in their district (e.g., discriminatory assumptions that Spanish-speaking Hispanic/Latinx teachers will translate for the district) before addressing occupational stressors (e.g., large class sizes) in any systematic attempts to attract and retain more Hispanic/Latinx teachers specifically. This general quantitative finding was supplemented by some interesting qualitative findings regarding workplace climate and stress; I supplement these findings with recommendations and contextual considerations.

B.1.a. A “Good Old Boy” Culture. The dynamic between teachers and administrators was one form of work stress that came up for interviewees. In fact, two interviewees used the same phrase— “good old boy” —to define the culture of administration in their school or district. This term comes from the 1880s where it was first used to describe a prototypical white, Southern man who behaves similarly to his peers (other white men) and tends to disapprove of other, different ways of behaving in the world (Meriam-Webster, 2021). Of course, over the last 150 years, the prototypical behavior of an 1800s white, Southern man has become outdated at best and devastatingly harmful at worst (despite its existence being accepted and normalized at one time). Thus, today the term is often used to describe *problematic* (e.g., racist, misogynistic, discriminatory) prototypical, white and masculine behavior and culture (e.g., Elting, 2018). The fact that this exact phrase was used in two interviews (8% of all interviews) should not go unnoticed. Rather, it speaks to the problematic and hierarchical culture that can and does exist in Colorado K-12 education and alludes to the notion that one must act white, heteronormative, and masculine to gain approval from administrators or advance to administrative roles. Moreover, these results point to a smaller, more exclusive “white space” (i.e., administration) that exists within a larger white space (i.e., K-12 education, as previous literature has found; Sleeter, 2016; Smith, 2017).

B.1.b. Fear of “Rocking the Boat.” Addressing minority stress in the workplace undoubtedly requires cultural shifts and disruptions within the organization. Several teachers felt that the fear of these disruptions and preference for the status quo were keeping their districts from making change that would benefit their Teachers of Color and Students of Color. Two teachers shared that challenging the current culture and norms in their district would be “rocking the boat.” Other teachers said they felt their organization valued comfort levels or the status quo

over structural change. The theme was clear: addressing minority stress and crafting a culture of diversity and inclusivity would make some staff, families, or community members uncomfortable. Consider Angela who shared that she would like to share her identity as a member of the LGBTQ community with her students and coworkers but feared she would lose her job if she did so. To better support Angela and others in her district who are a part of the LGBTQ community, her district could make a statement during Pride Month (a time for acknowledging and celebrating LGBTQ identities in June) or have a Pride Day for the LGBTQ community during a school-wide diversity week. While necessary, those efforts come at an expense, and that is why many districts do not make such efforts. As Angela shared, this would likely make some staff, families, and students uncomfortable, so the district did not acknowledge or celebrate their LGBTQ community (and members of this community kept their identities hidden).

Similarly, Edwin felt there would not be a Black administrator in his district for decades, based on the way he was treated by administration as a Black man in his current role (and as a contender for an administrative position). In order to address minority stress in his district and acknowledge the harm Edwin experiences, leaders might consider professional development and training in anti-racist education (e.g., Nichols, 2020), white fragility (e.g., National Education Policy Center, 2019), and white supremacy culture (Haynes, 2017). Many of these topics are uncomfortable—particularly for white people who have maintained and benefitted from the status quo for centuries in the U.S., but overwhelmingly necessary considering the effects this discriminatory behavior has on individuals, families, and communities. Consider, for example, that discrimination negatively affects the mental and physical health of People of Color (Assari et al., 2017; 2017; Ayón et al., 2010; Meyer, 2003; Simons et al., 2018). There is also a growing

body of research that finds that education, neighborhood, employment, and income are less likely to extend life expectancy for Black Americans compared to white Americans, partially due to structural and interpersonal discrimination (Assari & Lankarani, 2016a; Assari, 2017a; Assari & Caldwell, 2017; Assari, 2018). Thus, school districts' (and other entities') failure to address structural and interpersonal discrimination in their spaces takes a significant toll on the health and wellbeing of Communities of Color.

B.2. Pandemic Stress

It is important, contextually, to note that data were collected eight months into the COVID-19 pandemic (November/December 2020). As the quantitative results suggest, most teachers were teaching via hybrid or distance learning models and many teachers had pivoted from one learning model to another during the first three months of their academic school year. This context played an important role in teachers' experiences of stress. One teacher I interviewed was in the middle of a period of stress-induced unpaid leave; several surveyed teachers had tested positive for COVID-19 in the last six months; many were worried about their students, families, and coworkers. In fact, a few teachers shared that they had been dropping off school supplies, meals, or homework for their students and families while their schools were closed.

On top of this, the normal stressors unrelated to the pandemic (e.g., keeping up with curriculum, meeting standardized testing benchmarks) were amplified for many teachers according to many interviewees (see for example, Chapter 5, Section B.2.c.) and the quantitative data regarding COVID-attributed stress and health. These findings coincide with other, albeit preliminary, data (as the pandemic is ongoing as I write this in Spring 2021) on pandemic-stress among teachers. For example, one worldwide study found that teachers' workloads and

concurrent stress were much higher during the COVID-19 pandemic relative to before the pandemic, particularly during learning model shifts (i.e., moving from in-person to distance learning; Marek et al., 2021). Another report found that half of sampled teachers who left their profession prematurely (and after March 2020) left due to the pandemic, citing that COVID-19 exacerbated already high levels of stress (Diliberti et al., 2021). To make matters worse, COVID-19 disproportionately impacted Communities of Color in contagion- and mortality-rates (Fortuna et al., 2020; Gold et al., 2020). The consensus from existing research is clear: due to their central and high-pressure roles, teachers are experiencing higher than normal stress levels during the pandemic and Teachers of Color are likely experiencing higher stress still (as a result of the concurrent minority stress, work stress, and pandemic stress). Thus, these results should be interpreted with the context of COVID-19 front of mind. While I worked to statistically and qualitatively account for experiences of stress and health participants attributed to COVID-19, teachers' responses cannot feasibly be disconnected from their living in a particularly high surge of cases of COVID-19 (in November, when teachers were surveyed, the monthly case rate doubled to more than 4 million cases in the U.S.; see also Chapter 5, Section G).

C. Staff Diversity

With a few exceptions, most teachers maintained that there were disproportionately fewer Teachers of Color relative to Students of Color in their school. The demographics of participants (most of whom were white and women) certainly affirmed this finding. As other literature suggests, teachers were aware of the impact this incongruity had on their students (Redding, 2019). In phone interviews, some Teachers of Color expressed wanting to be a good “identity role model” for their students, knowing they were possibly the only teachers that shared identities with their Students of Color. Notably, more than one interviewee shared that most of

their staff diversity was in custodial or nutrition staff—not teachers. While teachers shared that these staff members were important role models for their students, the demographic differences between teaching staff and nutrition/custodial staff did not go unnoticed. In noting this comparison (between People of Color in teaching roles versus custodial/nutrition roles), I do not wish to diminish any of the work of nutrition or custodial staff anywhere—to be sure, these are valuable, difficult, and often underappreciated careers.

Still, the representation amongst custodial/nutrition staff (and not teaching staff) is important. First, although numbers are on the rise, People of Color attend higher education at disproportionately lower rates compared to white people. This is concerning because of the historic segregation of People of Color and white people in higher education and among higher income brackets. Consider: in 2015-2016 Hispanic people made up 17% of the population and 13% of those who were awarded Bachelor's degrees (U.S. Department of Education, 2017). At one time, due to racism in the U.S. and beyond, higher education was an opportunity that was only afforded to white people (Stefkovich & Leas, 1994). This lower educational attainment, among other factors, disproportionately contributes to the race-wealth gap (Emmons & Ricketts, 2016). In short, in a system occupying 13+ years of a child's life, representation matters; and in particular, representation in roles with higher income brackets and higher educational attainment matters in the larger context of historic inequality.

D. The Role of Organizational Support

I hypothesized that organizational support would moderate the relationship between work discrimination and health conditions/symptoms; it did not. Specifically, more work discrimination did not predict more health conditions/symptoms. More organizational support did, however, predict fewer health conditions/symptoms, speaking to the predominant role of the

workplace in protecting one's health and wellness from external stressors. This finding is important to consider in conjunction with the results from the multiple linear regression (MLR). In the MLR, which I ran with all study participants and used to test Hypothesis 3, more workplace discrimination *did* predict more health conditions/symptoms. It may be that controlling for covariates in the multiple linear regression allowed the effect to emerge (there were intentionally no covariates used in the moderation model in alignment with my hypotheses and a priori decisions). Alternatively, it may be that workplace discrimination was predictive of health conditions/symptoms among the general sample of teachers, but not among Hispanic/Latinx teachers. While the medians for workplace incivility were relatively similar for non-Hispanic white teachers and Hispanic/Latinx teachers, the IQR was wider for Hispanic/Latinx teachers, and thus, the wider variability may have played a role in this discrepancy (see Figure 4). On the other hand, it could be that when white teachers did experience workplace discrimination, they did so on the basis of their gender or sexual orientation; there is a robust relationship between discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation and adverse health outcomes (e.g., Pachankis et al., 2020; Panza et al., 2019).

This is certainly not the only study to find that organizational support had a positive influence on employees' health and wellbeing. A recent meta-analysis of 558 studies grounded in Organizational Support Theory found a consistent link between perceived organizational support and employee performance and wellbeing (Kurtessis et al., 2017). Likewise, the most recent comprehensive review of organizational support in the 21st Century found nearly 30 studies that supported a "direct and buffering role of perceived organizational support" on stress and health (Baran et al., 2012, pg. 127). These results, in conjunction with existing literature suggest that K-12 districts, particularly in Colorado, should bolster the supports they offer to their teachers and

staff, with this knowledge that those who perceive more support tend to have better health, and those with better health have more longevity and productivity in their workplace (Fabio et al., 2017; Kurtessis et al., 2017). In interviews, teachers described some types of support they received from their district or school: schoolwide efforts to appreciate diversity in students and staff (e.g. diversity week), affinity groups, equity committees, consistent communication regarding district-wide changes, teaching feedback, positive peer relationships, etc.

E. Diversity Affinity Groups

In my qualitative interviews with teachers, I asked about their feelings around diversity affinity groups both in general and for their district. Most teachers responded favorably to the idea of groups in their district due to their potential to create community and provide opportunities to meet teachers and staff with similar identities. Other applied research suggests that diversity affinity groups have these potentials. As the aforementioned chapter from *Diversity Primer* (a leading resource in diversity, equity, and inclusion work in the organizational sector) touts: diversity affinity groups provide opportunity for People of Color (and people with other historically marginalized identities) to develop leadership and mentoring skills, build community inside and outside of the organization, network, promote awareness of issues (that exist both inside of and outside of the workplace) affecting group members, more effectively receive what they need from supervisors and coworkers, and of course, attract and maintain workplace diversity (Johnson Meadows & Tapia, 2011). These groups also provide the means for company employees to become/stay informed and active in diversity, equity, and inclusion. For example, Blitz and Kohl (2012) outline the benefits of white racial affinity groups in promoting antiracism in the workplace. All in all, these groups are becoming a popular technique to build community among employers: a 2017 study found that two-thirds of Fortune 100 firms had adopted

Diversity Affinity Groups and that many of these groups were created by group members themselves (Glassman & Glassman, 2017). Likely, the rise in these groups, along with studies like these (where potential group members can speak out about their perceptions of the groups), will increase the efficacy and sustainability of said groups.

Still, most teachers also had some reservations about the groups. Many teachers expressed their lack of time and resources in their job or lives, wondering how they would find the time to attend diversity affinity groups on top of everything else. This notion was compounded by the correlations between hours worked during the school year and work stress, general stress, and health conditions/symptoms in the quantitative data. Thus, districts should consider teachers' time commitments when offering any diversity, equity, and inclusion efforts. As a potential solution, one interviewee suggested that districts should compensate employees for their time spent in diversity affinity groups. For example, districts could include such time among an employee's professional development hours. However, one of my peer debriefing partners (a CEA member and Teacher of Color) reminded me that groups should be staggered in their timing (i.e., all groups should not meet at the same date/time) to accommodate those who want to join multiple diversity affinity groups. Another teacher suggested that districts implement online diversity affinity groups (e.g., Facebook groups) in addition to or instead of in-person diversity affinity groups so employees with busy or more constrained schedules can participate in these groups when it is convenient for them. The same peer debriefing partner mentioned above noted that these groups should be structured by a facilitator as to avoid overwhelming teachers with each other's experiences of discrimination or stress for the entirety of the meeting. Districts should consider all of the above suggestions if they choose to implement diversity affinity groups in an effort to not overburden their staff.

Teachers also shared social and cultural concerns about diversity affinity groups. Some teachers did not like the idea of groups being exclusive to one identity; many of these interviewees suggested that districts open any diversity, equity, and inclusion efforts to all staff. Still, there was less consensus on this suggestion. Several interviewees shared that they felt uncomfortable during diversity, equity, and inclusion efforts where they were the “token minority” or one of the few People of Color in the room where whiteness, and often ignorance as they described, were the norms. Districts could attempt to balance these two opposing preferences by implementing a staff survey to gauge their own staff’s feelings on whether their staff would enjoy diversity affinity groups. Alternatively, districts could create diversity affinity groups centered around a common cause, for example, “Dismantling White Supremacy in Education” or “Elevating Voices of Color”, whereby members are required to have literacy around diversity, equity, and inclusion efforts. These efforts may help Teachers of Color avoid some of the harmful microaggressions that may arise in a larger group where there is more variety in the knowledge around this work and they offer an affinity group that is not constrained to one identity. Finally, as one CEA peer debriefing partner suggested, districts could implement groups that are open only to group members during some meetings and open to all district employees during other meetings to circumvent this issue.

Finally, many teachers expressed interest in diversity affinity groups, but feared that they would serve as surface-level efforts from their district without real change. For many teachers, this concern highlighted larger issues around trust in their district. Put another way, teachers had witnessed other events in their district (or in their life outside of work) where someone of authority or in administration made efforts to acknowledge, celebrate, or integrate diversity, but interviewees perceived these efforts as shallow or ingenuine. In this part of the interviews, many

teachers questioned whether anything would change (or whether their district would even monitor change as a result of the groups). One of my peer debriefing partners who was a Teacher of Color noted that administrators partnering with teachers in creating these groups could be an excellent technique to build community and trust between teachers and their administrative staff; moreover, this would alleviate some of the time and resource burdens from teachers. In short, many teachers feared that their district would implement diversity affinity groups as a “surface-level effort” but be unaware of the larger root cause of discrimination or hostility in their schools. Importantly, this relative lack of awareness can exacerbate current issues through eroding trust and inaccurately or insensitively engaging in diversity, equity, and inclusion efforts.

F. Intersectionality and Latino Critical Theory

This dissertation supported Intersectional Theory in a number of ways. First, as previously mentioned, Hispanic/Latinx teachers experienced more intersectional discrimination than non-Hispanic white teachers, but not more everyday discrimination. While there may also be psychometric factors at play (see Chapter 5, Section A.3), it is likely that the Intersectional Discrimination Index (Schein & Bauer, 2019) more accurately captured experiences of discrimination. Indeed, the Hispanic/Latinx teachers interviewed spoke of their experiences of sexism, racism, classism, and homophobia and as Crenshaw (1989; 1991) would argue, these experiences are often inextricably linked. Teachers who experienced one or more types of discrimination often (knowingly or unknowingly) spoke of intersectional discrimination. For example, Angela discussed the intersectional racism and classism in her community. Many of the Hispanic/Latinx kids, teachers, and families were poorer than the white kids, teachers, and families in her town. She discussed that this disparity was well known among her teaching staff as certain white families were more respected in this community, and as a result, some white

students were treated better than Hispanic/Latinx students in school, illustrating a salient case of intersectional racism and classism in her community.

This same teacher spoke of a time where a coworker questioned her about her relationship with a woman (this woman was the interviewee's friend). The interviewee was bisexual, but not "out" to her coworkers, as she didn't feel it was safe to be out. Arguably, the interviewee's identities as Hispanic/Latinx, woman, and bisexual were all at play here in her coworker's invasive questions about her sexuality. Indeed, research suggests that the intersections of race, gender, and sexuality can be quite salient for queer Women of Color. Intersectional scholars trace these intersectional oppressions to colonization from Euro-centric Christianity, as many colonizers sexualized and traumatized same-sex behavior or "abnormal" sexual behavior (e.g., polyamory, men dressing femininely, etc.) among Indigenous people. Today, Women of Color and women in the LGBTQ community (and to be sure, Women of Color in the LGBTQ community) are more likely to experience sexual violence than their white and/or straight counterparts, again speaking to the overlapping oppressions women with multiply marginalized identities face (i.e., "Triple Jeopardy"; Annati, 2020; Bowleg et al., 2008; CDC, 2010; Friedemann-Sánchez & Goodmark, 2017; Szymanski et al., 2011).

Interestingly, one interviewee observed that coworkers assumed that their school's community—which was mostly Hispanic/Latinx— would be uncomfortable with their district celebrating LGBTQ identities. The interviewee noted that the assumption was that their school's Hispanic/Latinx community would be more conservative around LGBTQ rights, which was conflated with homophobia. This coincides with Latino Critical Theory in that there is a stereotype that all Hispanic/Latinx community members are Catholic, and furthermore— that all

Hispanic/Latinx community members are Catholic and disapprove of same-sex relationships (Degado Bernal, 2002; Montoya, 1998; Valdes, 2005).

As a final example, a Hispanic/Latina teacher discussed her additional (unpaid) role of translator for Spanish-speaking families at work. Not only was the assumption that she translate without additional pay unfair and discriminatory, but this interviewee also noted that translating roles were almost exclusively delegated to women in her district. She even noted that a Spanish-speaking Hispanic/Latinx man in her district spoke excellent Spanish, but, to her knowledge, had never been approached to translate for families. When I asked why she thought these roles were delegated almost exclusively to Hispanic/Latinx women, she said that it seemed the district thought these women would want to do it out of the “goodness of [their] hearts.” This discrimination speaks to the problematic stereotype that women, and particularly, Hispanic/Latinx women are maternal helpers who are more willing than men (or other genders) to take on additional helping work in their community (Lopez, 2013). While Hispanic/Latinx culture does tend to be more collectivistic than European U.S. culture (which tends to be more individualistic) this assumption of helping behavior is problematic in that 1) as the interviewee described, it is an assumption and 2) this assumption adds unpaid labor to Hispanic/Latinx women’s roles in the workplace (as it stands, Hispanic/Latinx women already make 54 cents to every dollar that a white man makes; U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2016). Finally, it’s notable that intersectional discrimination was more salient in the qualitative portions of the study than in the quantitative portions—a fact that would likely be unsurprising to many intersectional researchers (e.g., Bowleg, 2008; Calabrese, 2015; Crenshaw, 1989). In sum, there was no shortage of intersectional discrimination towards participants in this study, underscoring the need

to incorporate intersectional methodology into research on identity and discrimination in the workplace.

G. Limitations

Despite the many strengths of this study, it is not without its limitations. Perhaps the most obvious limitation to this work is the context of COVID-19. While 2020 was an invaluable time to survey and interview teachers, I first envisioned this dissertation in January 2020, before the pandemic hit the United States. Furthermore, I admit that at a time, I was unsure as to whether the pandemic would last through my data collection phase in late 2020. Thus, the original purpose of the dissertation was to study Colorado teachers in their “normal” working conditions. Any conclusions from this study must be interpreted in the context of COVID-19, which surely exacerbated stress and worsened health for many teachers and People of Color (see Chapter 5, Section B.4).

In the same vein, the killing of George Floyd in 2020, which re-ignited the Black Lives Matter movement (particularly for white people) nation- and world-wide, is another contextual factor that likely influenced teachers’ perceptions of discrimination. There were protests throughout Colorado—many of which teachers (and likely the teachers in my study) participated in. Informal dialogue suggests that this wave of the Movement impacted stress and health of all people, but particularly People of Color (including Hispanic/Latinx people), as they were often taxed with the emotional labor of watching and re-watching the murder, participating in discussions with their friends and family members, and educating their white colleagues or friends on the impacts of racism (e.g., Dastagir, 2021; Gomez-Aldana, 2021). Additionally, many interviewees discussed that this cultural event was a “wake-up call” for their districts; districts assembled diversity, equity, and inclusion efforts they had never had before: equity

committees, diversity and inclusion statements, book clubs, etc. These changes are important considering that I asked teachers of their perceptions of their districts' diversity efforts. It is likely that the Black Lives Matter Movement in 2020 influenced: 1) districts' efforts to acknowledge diversity, equity, and inclusion, and 2) teachers' perceptions of these efforts. Readers should consider these results in the important context of this cultural event.

Though this dissertation focused on experiences of People of Color, I opened the survey to all teachers (the majority of whom were white women). I did this in an effort to collect as much data as possible and to make important comparisons between racial/ethnic groups in this study. One should be cautious of any sample-wide conclusions made from this study, as the majority of participants are white, women, heterosexual, able-bodied, and highly educated (recall, 72% of the sample had a Master's degree or above). While these demographics are fairly representative of teachers in the U.S., this work centered on teachers who are Hispanic/Latinx. One can examine these experiences by disaggregating racial/ethnic groups in the sample, but it should be noted that the results are fairly homogeneous (i.e., white) when presented in aggregate. I did not record interviewees' teaching assignments (elementary or secondary), or their specific regional location in Colorado (e.g., Front Range, West Central), which is a limitation noted by one of my peer debriefing partners. While the Everyday Discrimination Scale (Williams et al., 1997) has been deemed successful in measuring discrimination for many years, there is some research that suggests it is less empirically valid for non-Black populations (Bastos et al., 2020; Harnois et al., 2019). Readers might place greater emphasis on the Intersectional Discrimination Index for measuring general discrimination for this population (Scheim & Bauer, 2019).

There are several biopsychosocial variables with known links to stress and adverse health conditions/symptoms that were beyond the scope of this study: genetics and heritability; air,

water, and noise pollution; exercise and other health practices; childhood trauma; caregiving or family strain; stressful events outside of work (moving, divorce or separation, caring for a new child or family member, death of a loved one, trauma, etc.; CDC, 2019). I used covariates in many of my analyses to account for many outside factors; however, there are undoubtedly additional factors at play that were unaccounted for. This research uses moderation analyses on cross-sectional and nonexperimental data. True causality and moderation cannot be ascertained from the current analyses, and thus, this work should be interpreted only as a starting point for the sequelae of stress and discrimination to the development of adverse health conditions for Hispanic/Latinx teachers. Moreover, some research suggests that the number of participants in this study did not yield enough power to detect a small effect (Guinness, 2005). It is possible that small effects exist between the variables of interest in the moderation model, and the analyses were simply underpowered. In the same vein, many interviewees were slow to open up about their experiences of discrimination until the middle or end of the interview; it is possible that survey participants were not as transparent with their responses (particularly about discrimination) as there were less opportunities for me to establish trust in the survey.

Finally, I am not and have never been a K-12 teacher. I am also white and thus, have not had experiences as a Hispanic/Latinx person (or teacher) in the U.S. While I wanted to use my privilege and power in research and academia to elevate important perspectives that have not yet been studied in Colorado, this research would be better suited in collaboration with a Teacher of Color or researcher with lived experiences of racism. Of course, the nature of the dissertation as an independent project limited the level of collaborating I could do with others (and particularly Teachers of Color). I carefully selected my committee members to supplement my content knowledge in the areas of study, and I consulted two Teachers of Color on their context

knowledge. Still, my identity as a white researcher and non-K-12-teacher cannot be circumvented and should be taken into consideration.

H. Future Directions

The results from this project give way to several interesting avenues of research. I focused on the experiences of Hispanic/Latinx teachers in Colorado; however, many teachers of other identities (e.g., Black, nonbinary, lesbian, Asian American, pansexual, physically disabled) discussed their perspectives. These perspectives are worth exploring in future research in accordance with Intersectionality, Critical Race Theory, and other important theoretical perspectives that center people of marginalized (and multiply marginalized) identities. Regarding the contextual limitations of COVID-19 and the killing of George Floyd, future research should examine these patterns during a “normal” (or closer to normal) year for K-12 education.

The feedback from participants indicates that diversity affinity groups—if implemented thoughtfully—may be an excellent intervention for districts to employ for their Teachers of Color and teachers with other marginalized identities. Future researchers could facilitate and study the integration of these groups in school districts (and other organizations), as these case studies would likely broaden the knowledge around these efforts. Indeed, teachers in this study overwhelmingly shared that diversity affinity groups should be thoughtfully integrated and that they are not a “one-size-fits-all” approach to strengthening the diversity or community in an organization. Similarly, several interviewees discussed that their districts’ diversity efforts were incomprehensive in that they focused on one population (e.g., Hispanic/Latinx students or teachers) and neglected other populations (e.g., Black students or teachers) in their community. Future work might investigate this relative invisibility in school districts or organizations altogether so that districts and organizations can be more inclusive and thoughtful in their efforts

to provide safe and welcoming environments for all. Similarly, as one of my peer debriefing partners suggested, future studies should consider the role of School Resource Officers in teachers' and students' experiences of climate and discrimination, as SROs' presence has been linked to increased student presence in the juvenile justice system (Counts et al., 2018).

While I asked teachers about both positive and negative experiences in their district, overall, we discussed more negative experiences. Future researchers might study what Hispanic/Latinx teachers and Teachers of Color like about their district (whether that district is more diverse or homogeneous) to understand which organizational factors make teachers of marginalized or multiply marginalized identities want to work for a school district and want to stay in a school district. Additionally, researchers might connect these findings to the health and wellbeing of teachers. Such efforts may help scholars and administrators determine what can make a school district (or any organization) a comfortable and healthy space for Hispanic/Latinx people and other People of Color. Many teachers discussed their lack of resources and how this lack of resources contributed to their stress and wellbeing. Thus, future research might study the roles of time, money, flexibility, support, etc. in deterring or exacerbating work stress or minority stress among Hispanic/Latinx teachers and other Teachers of Color. Finally, this study examined licensed teachers. Many teaching candidates do not receive licensure, and those who do not pass their licensure exams are overwhelmingly Black and Hispanic/Latinx in Colorado (Breunlin, 2020). Thus, in order to attract more Teachers of Color to the K-12 school system, researchers and other stakeholders should understand which factors (e.g., stereotype threat, discrimination, admittance to higher education, psychometric qualities of exams, etc.) contribute to the unequal passing rates, which, to be sure, contribute to the disparities in K-12 education.

I. Conclusion

In January 2020—about the same time I began this dissertation— a woman was quoted in the Colorado Sun regarding repercussions of the lack of diversity among Colorado’s teaching staff: “You can’t have an *effective* teacher force in Colorado without having a *diverse* teacher force.” [emphasis added] (Breunlin, 2020). In the last 18 months, conditions for Hispanic/Latinx teachers in Colorado have changed considerably (and unfortunately, mostly for the worse; Gold et al., 2020; Klapproth et al., 2020). While a pandemic and structural racism may be out of any K-12 administrator’s control, this research affirms the need for organizational change in Colorado public education. It is no longer a question as to whether discrimination exists in K-12 education and whether this discrimination takes a toll on Teachers of Color. Thus, in order to serve Hispanic/Latinx communities in Colorado and beyond, it is imperative that government officials, unions, administrators, teachers, and communities address the harm that has been done. The results from this dissertation suggest that diversity affinity groups may be an excellent resource for repairing harm and making change, but above all, Hispanic/Latinx teachers simply need to be heard.

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[s&text=Only%2019%20percent%20of%20workers,provided%20short%2Dterm%20disa](https://www.nationalpartnership.org/our-work/economic-justice/paid-leave.html#:~:text=Latest%20Resources%3A%20Paid%20Leave%20and%20Coronavir)
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Appendix A

Key Terminology

This section provides a list of key terms used in this proposal. Some terms will be used interchangeably, as noted.

Data corpus- all data collected for a research project (Braun & Clarke, 2006)

Data set- all data from the corpus that are being used for a particular analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006)

Hispanic- a Spanish-speaking person living in the United States, typically descended from Spanish-speaking countries (e.g., Mexico, Spain). Often incorrectly used interchangeably with Latino/a/x (see below).

Health disparities- inequalities in health statuses that manifest as a function of inequitable social opportunity

Latinx- A gender neutral term meant to refer to people from Latin decent (e.g., Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, Columbia, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Cuba, etc.). Often incorrectly used interchangeably with Hispanic (see above).

Minority member- Typically referring to an individual belonging to a minority group who experiences relative disadvantage as compared to members of a dominant social group

Occupational stress- used interchangeably with work stress and job stress (NIOSH, 1999).

Person of Color- a person who is not non-Hispanic White or predominantly of European parentage; used interchangeably with racial/ethnic minority. Teacher(s) of Color, Student(s) of Color, and People of Color are variations of this terminology used in this proposal

Privilege- a special right, or an advantage of immunity granted or available only to a particular person or group

Racial/ethnic minority- any individual who does not identify as non-Hispanic White; used interchangeably with Person/People of Color

Social stress- chronic strain that manifests as a product of an individual's social environment (Meyer, 2003)

Appendix B

Thematic Analysis Instructions for Coders

1. Review Thematic Map

This map is a draft—it is likely that we will continue to revise this map, as codes come up. We might add codes, or we might combine codes into one, depending on what emerges from the data.

Questions about the map? Connections that are missing?

2. Review 1 (or 2?) Interview(s) Together as Group

Take 15-25+ minutes and with the codebook in mind, independently highlight areas that you feel are good examples of certain codes. This will require reading the interview at least 2 times.

Tips:

- Avoid overlapping codes. For example, if you feel a paragraph falls into two codes, try to isolate the sentences that exemplify Code #1 vs. Code #2.
- Don't get too far into the weeds—if you're assigning more than 2-3 codes to a paragraph, it's probably too much.
- Avoid getting too granular- codes should not be smaller than sentences.
- Be open to the possibility that there are more codes than what exist on the map.
- Code what emerges. There is no need for every code to be accounted for in every interview. Only code what you feel emerges.

3. Come to a Consensus. What do we disagree on? What do we agree on?

4. Independently Code 3 Interviews.

Engage in the same coding process for your 3 interviews using the codebook and the coding map. While you are coding, arrange a weekly time to meet with your coding partner (after all your weekly interviews have been coded). Refer to the tips above.

5. Meet with your Coding Partner

Where do you agree? Where do you disagree? Which disagreements/thoughts do you need to bring to the large group meeting?

While you are meeting create a final coded document with your agreed upon codes. In this document you can also highlight the instances you'd like to bring to the large group for group feedback/discussion.

6. Meet with the Large Group

Resolve any lingering discrepancies between the paired coding, discuss as a group. Add or collapse groups as decided.

Repeat Steps 4-6 until all interviews are coded!

Appendix C

Email Instructions for Member Checking

Email 1

My name is Abby Holm and I am a graduate student at Colorado State University and a data scientist for Hopkins Public Schools in Minnesota. Ali Cochran recently reached out to you regarding your potential help with my dissertation research.

My research is on CEA members' experiences with stress, health, and discrimination—I embarked on this project because of the disparity between Teachers of Color and Students of Color in Colorado (as you may know, it's worse than that of the general U.S.) I placed a special focus on Hispanic and Latino/a/x teachers due to the even higher disparity between teachers and students with this identity in Colorado schools, but I spoke to teachers of many different identities in my work.

While I work in a school district and have spent the last 18 months working on my dissertation, I have never been a K-12 teacher. I am also a white woman. Thus, while I am passionate about using my research to give voice to many of the issues affecting teachers (and in particular, Teachers of Color), I have many, many blind spots. So before I share my findings with the CEA and the general public, I want to hear YOUR interpretations of my results, as I believe you are the context experts in this realm. Your feedback will be used to shape the ongoing dialogue about these findings and are highly valuable to this work.

I am wondering if you would read my interpretations of my qualitative results (20-30 pages double spaced with many quotes throughout) and meet 1 hour to share your thoughts. I will send you the results this evening, so you will have at least a week to review them before we meet. I understand your time is very valuable—particularly during the end of the school year, so in exchange for this work, I can compensate you with a \$50 Visa gift card.

In the meantime, if you are still interested in meeting, please fill out this When to Meet with your availability and I will be in touch! <http://whenisgood.net/wh8ahja>

Please let me know if you have any questions at all.

Thank you for your time and consideration!

Abby

Email 2

Hello all,

Here is the copy of my dissertation for you to read. It is quite long, so only worry about reading pg. 106 (starting in section B) through pg. 135. You are welcome to read 135-157 (the discussion

section) if you'd like, but that is not required for the purposes of this project. You might also find pgs. 19-22 helpful to read, as I discuss my positionality in relation to the research questions. Questions to consider as you read:

1. Are the conclusions I make accurate, in your eyes? Why or why not?
2. Which contextual variables did I miss?
3. Which quotes and themes did you find most interesting?
4. Which quotes and themes were you most surprised by?
5. Which quotes and themes were you least surprised by?

Please send in your availability via this link: <http://whenisgood.net/wh8ahja> by the end of the week. Then, I will be in touch regarding our meeting (with those that shared their availability).

Thank you again!

Abby