

Does it matter if teachers and schools match the student?: Racial and Ethnic Disparities in
Problem Behaviors

By

Littisha A. Bates and Jennifer E. Glick

Center for Population Dynamics and School of Social and Family Dynamics
Arizona State University

Abstract

Closing the racial achievement gap motivates current education policy debates but there is little agreement as to the source of these gaps and the extent to which they can be ameliorated through education policy. We address one dimension of these debates by focusing on disparities in teachers' ratings of young children's behaviors in the first few years of formal schooling. The analyses go beyond the focus on Blacks and whites by incorporating other groups. While Black students receive worse behavioral assessments than whites, Asian students receive better ratings. We ask whether school composition alters the relationship between teacher-student race matching and racial/ethnic differences in reported behavior problems. Using the Early Childhood Longitudinal Study-Kindergarten Cohort dataset, we illustrate the importance of teacher-student race matching for diminishing racial differences in the assessment of problem behaviors. We also find that these results hold net of the school composition.

Background

Racial and ethnic disparities in educational outcomes have long been the focus for social science researchers and policy makers most recently inspiring such political action as the enactment of the "No Child Left Behind" Act and its mandates for public schools to reduce achievement gaps. However, there is no consensus on all of the sources for these disparities or whether all such potential sources of bias in schooling are even amenable to policy remedies (Wiggin, 2007). While prior policy initiatives could address the degree to which minority children are faced with structural barriers to education or access to schools, determining the

extent to which these children face more subtle biases that sabotage their educational progress is much more difficult. This paper follows on the body of research focused on teacher and student backgrounds as contributors to the persistence of racial and ethnic disparities in educational achievement.

Teachers do not operate independently of the racial and ethnic stereotypes held in the broader society. Teachers' expectations and perceptions of racial and ethnic minorities may help explain why, for example, many Asian origin students receive superior assessments from teachers relative to others and why other minority children may be perceived in a less positive light (Kao 1995; Alexander, Entwisle and Thompson, 1987). The teachers' own racial and ethnic background clearly shape these views of students. Racial and ethnic differences between students and teacher have been examined using various outcome measures. Studies have found that minority children with majority teachers receive poorer behavioral and academic ratings from those teachers (Downey and Pribesh, 2004; Farkas et al, 1990; Enrenberg et al, 1995). Although these studies capture the importance of racial and ethnic "matching" between teachers and students, there has been less attention paid to the broader school context in which teachers and students operate. The racial/ethnic and socioeconomic composition of the schools set the context in which these teacher/student relationships occur. How might this further shape the way teachers perceive their students of various racial and ethnic backgrounds?

We use the analyses of Downey and Pribesh (2004) as a guide to begin our examination of the effect of teacher race/ethnicity on the assessments of student behavior. The authors utilize one wave of data from the Early Childhood Longitudinal Study-Kindergarten Cohort (ECLS-K) as well as one wave of the National Educational Longitudinal Survey (NELS) to explore the importance of teacher-student race matching on child assessments. Downey and Pribesh (2004)

find that Black students are rated as having poorer behavior and approaches to learning than white students. These patterns also holds for the analysis conducted on the 8th graders from NELS. They also find within the ECLS-K a significant interaction between teacher and student race which suggests that Black students poor ratings maybe associated with their teacher's race.

We expand on this prior study in three distinct ways to provide a broader picture of why minority students may receive negative assessments of their in-school behaviors. First, data constraints have limited much of the prior research to an assessment of Black and white students with Black or white teachers. The growing racial and ethnic diversity of the child population in the United States, however, suggests a need to go beyond the Black/white comparison to incorporate children and teachers from other racial/ethnic groups. Where do Asian and Hispanic teachers and student fall and how are these students rated by Black and white teachers? Our analyses include a number of racial/ethnic groups to further broaden the understanding between racial matching or mismatching between teachers and students. Second, we examine the roles of class and school characteristics on teacher's ratings of student behavior. It seems likely that racial/ethnic segregation of students in schools may, in part, explain the differential ratings of students by race and ethnicity. Perhaps minority students receive more negative assessments from teachers in classes where teachers are assessing the entire class more negatively. If schools or particular classes within schools are labeled as "problematic" from the outset, teachers may evaluate the entire group more negatively. Additionally, students from certain types of schools may be more likely to receive negative assessments of their behavior than students in other types of schools. We expect some of the effect of teacher-student race matching to be explained by the contexts in which both teachers and students are operating. Finally, we are able to take advantage of more waves of data than earlier studies with the ECLS-K. We will examine differences in the

ratings students receive from up to four different teachers across their years in early elementary school. This approach will allow us to observe the differences in the ratings of the same students by different teachers and the extent to which students receive better or worse behavioral ratings in the case of teacher-student racial matches. To date findings are mixed as to whether or not the effect of racial matching is the same for young children as for older children. Downey and Pribesh (2004) make a comparison between different age cohort groups in order to examine the change of the effect of racial matching across years of schooling. The advantage of our approach is that we can control for movement through the schooling process and examine variations in ratings received by the same child from different teachers.

Background

This research is guided by two opposing theoretical foundations: *Social Reproduction Theory* and *Oppositional Culture Theory*. According to Hallinan (2001) social reproduction theory suggests that schools and teachers transmit and reproduce social and racial hierarchies within the classroom, which prohibits minority children in majority schools from excelling. An example of this is ability grouping, in which students are assigned to learning groups based on ability. Studies have found that overall Blacks are disproportionately assigned to low-ability groups (Hallinan, 1996). Teacher perceptions and expectations are lower for Black students than non-Hispanic whites and this disadvantage is associated with lower academic performance when compared to non-Hispanic whites (Oates, 2003).

Stereotypes of racial and ethnic groups emphasize different orientations toward education. Work with adolescents suggests that segregated peer groups work to maintain racial differences in expectations and aspirations. Black, white, Hispanic and Asian youth, therefore, may reinforce each other's orientation to school and achievement. Kao (1995) suggests the

stereotypes for minority youth are quite different (i.e. Blacks as ‘low achievers’ and Asians as ‘super achievers’) and that each group reinforces a different level of comparison (i.e. Black youth may perceive success as not failing academically while Asians may not perceive success unless they excel) (Kao, 2000). The ‘model minority’ stereotype of Asian youth stresses their supposed cultural emphasis on school and ‘innate’ success in math and science (Kao, 1995).

It seems likely these perceptions also extend to teachers such that their expectations for even the youngest students may be based on different group specific stereotypes (Zimmerman et al., 1995). The perception that black children are less prepared or behaviorally disposed towards learning and that Asian children are better prepared and more behaviorally disposed toward the classroom are held by teachers as well as others (Chang & Demyan, 2007). Although teachers held similar levels of positive and negative stereotypes for Black and white students, teachers were still more likely to perceive Black students as displaying traits more disruptive in a classroom environment than white students. Asian students, on the other hand, are particularly perceived as having the fewest overtly disruptive traits (Chang & Demyan, 2007).

Social reproduction theory would suggest that students are rated similarly by teachers regardless of the teachers’ race because all teachers would be expected to hold the same perceptions of minority students, for example. However, it may also be the case that teachers have different perceptions of student behaviors depending on their own racial/ethnic identity. Oppositional culture theory according to Ogbu (1991) suggests that Black students will rebel against white authority due to years of racism. Although researchers have not consistently found a negative orientation towards school among minority children (e.g., Ainsworth and Darnell, 1998; Harris, 2006), this theory may have stronger support when examining the way Blacks are perceived when compared to other racial/ethnic groups. In this case, there could be a cultural

misunderstanding between Black students and white teachers such that white teachers may misunderstand the behavior of Black students and see them as misbehaving when in all reality the students are not acting out. For example, Black teachers maybe more tolerant of certain behaviors that some Black students may exhibit due to a shared cultural background, whereas a white teacher may not understand or be as tolerant of the behavior (Alexander, Entwisle and Thompson, 1987). This may extend to children from other racial/ethnic groups if teacher-student race matching is associated with better teacher-student relationships and trust (Crosnoe, Johnson and Elder, 2004). In this case, teacher-student race match will be an important factor in reducing racial/ethnic disparities in the behavioral assessments children receive.

One important consideration for teacher evaluations of their students is the context in which such evaluations occur (Goldsmith, 2004). Racial and ethnic segregation in schools varies across the United States (Reardon, Yun and Eitle, 2000; Orfield and Lee, 2005). In the 2002-2003 school year seventy- three percent of Black students and seventy-seven percent of Latino students attended schools where at least 50% of the student body were minority students (Orfield and Lee, 2005). Within that same school year Black students attended schools where 49% of the student population was poor and Latino students attend schools where 48% of student population was poor, while white students attended schools where only 23% of the student population was poor (Orfield and Lee, 2005). Overall, minority youth, particularly African American and some Hispanic children are more likely to attend schools with high concentrations of other minority children as well as face considerable concentrations of children from economically disadvantaged communities (Goldsmith, 2004). Likewise, non-Hispanic white children, particularly those from middle and upper income families are also likely to be concentrated in racially homogenous schools (Goldsmith, 2004; Reardon, Yun and Eitle, 2000).

Teachers, therefore, face classes that are likely to be homogenous along racial and ethnic lines even if the students are not of the same race as the teacher. Perhaps the ratings children receive from their teachers are consistent with those received by their peers in the same classroom or even across their school. It seems likely as well that teachers may have differential perceptions of non-Hispanic white children in majority minority schools than in schools where non-Hispanic whites predominate (Morris, 2005). Perhaps school context will reduce racial/ethnic differentials in children's assessments from their teachers beyond the effect of teacher race or ethnicity. Since we know that teacher and students are not randomly assigned to schools we must be cognizant of this issue and account for it within our study (Crosnoe, Johnson and Elder, 2004; Renzulli and Evans, 2005).

Racial differences in access to educational resources via separation and segregation are clearly associated with differential school performance and achievement (Rosigno, 1998). Racial segregation is associated with lower academic achievement for African American children. Socioeconomic segregation in schools is associated with lower Latino academic achievement more than racial segregation in schools per se. (Ryabov and Van Hook, 2007). So, while racial and socioeconomic segregation are closely intertwined, we provide controls for each facet separately.

Next to the family, the school context is a very important predictor of children's outcomes. There are a number of school characteristics that have been said to be significant predictors of children's outcomes. In a recent NCES report (Braun, Jenkins and Grigg, 2006), researchers found that, in fourth grade, children in private schools out performed children in public schools on reading and math achievement by 14.7 and 7.8 points on average, respectively. The report also suggests that this gap widens over time, by eighth grade children in private

school are scoring on average 18.1 points higher than public school students on reading and 12.3 points higher on math achievement. The report also indicated that once student characteristics were taken into account such as race/ethnicity the differences were considerably decreased, though still significant.

These achievement gaps between students in public and private schools are important once we consider the composition of the student body in both types of schools. The public school system overall has larger classes sizes and larger teacher to student ratios, as well as a higher proportion of students who are minority and receive free lunch (Alt and Peter, 2002). Alt and Peter (2002) also reports that teachers who teach at private schools earn more on average and feel more satisfied with their job than teachers in public schools. Schools and children who attend those schools tend to be homogenous (i.e. poor kids go to poor schools). The very nature of the private school system (i.e. acceptance or denial of students as well as tuition) ensures that they have a certain type of student body. It is important to consider the school context as contributing to the interactions and perceptions that both teachers and students hold of one another.

Competing Hypotheses:

The social reproduction framework leads us to hypothesize that, regardless of the teacher's race, teachers will rate minority children as having poorer behavior than their non-Hispanic white counterparts. For example Black teachers will be more likely to rate their non-Hispanic white students as exhibiting the best classroom behavior and give other children ratings corresponding to their position in the racial and ethnic social hierarchy. In this case, teacher-student race matching will have little impact on racial/ethnic differences in the behavioral assessments children receive beyond the effect of child race or ethnicity alone. This perspective

also allows little room for variation by school context because all members of the same society are expected to perceive children's ascribed characteristics in the same way.

On the other hand, an oppositional culture view suggests negative stereotypes of groups' school orientations will be more confined to teachers who are not members of the minority group. In this case we would hypothesize that a racial match between students and teachers will lead to better ratings for students. In particular minority students who may have been rated as having the poorest behavior by a majority teacher will receive more positive ratings from teachers of their same race/ethnicity (Oates, 2003). Previous research has largely been confined to comparisons of Black and white students. It remains to be seen if these expectations would hold for children from different groups as well. Further, this perspective could allow for variation across school context. Racial segregation in schools means teachers will be rating children in very different peer groups. In this case, controlling for school racial composition and possibly teacher's overall ratings of the behaviors in their classroom should reduce the racial/ethnic disparities in the ratings individual children receive.

Data and Methods

Data

The data for this study comes from the Early Childhood Longitudinal Study, Kindergarten Class of 1998-1999 (ECLS-K). The ECLS-K begins with a nationally representative sample of children who entered kindergarten between 1998 and 1999. The data were collected by the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES), within the U.S. Department of Education's Institute of Education Sciences using a multistage probability sampling design. There are currently 6 waves of available data: fall and spring of kindergarten and 1st grade as well as spring of 3rd and 5th grade.

The ECLS-K is a particularly well suited data set for this analysis for several reasons. In particular there were four data collections at each wave; they include a direct child assessment, parent questionnaire, teacher questionnaire and a school administrator questionnaire. Because this research focuses on both teacher and school level effects, having access to both teacher and school level data is quite advantageous. Another great advantage of the data is the over sampling of Asian origin children and large sample size that allows comparisons of racial matches rather than just the typical Black-white match. The data is also consistent in that at each grade level teachers are asked to rate students behaviors on the same scale across time¹.

Our dependent variable for these analyses is teachers' reports of students' externalizing behavior at four points in time. Externalizing behaviors are those behaviors which are considered "acting out" behaviors which may interrupt classroom activities (Tourangeau et. al, 2006). This problem behavior scale was adapted from Gresham and Elliott's 1990 Elementary Scale A: "How Often?". In particular teachers were asked to report on a scale of one ("not often") to four ("very often") the frequency individual children exhibited five behaviors: child argues, fights, gets angry, acts impulsively, and disturbs ongoing activities (Tourangeau et. al, 2006). We also note that we include a summary measure of teachers' ratings of the behaviors in their classroom as a whole. In this way, our measure of the individual child's externalizing behaviors reflects their teachers' assessment of the individual net of the overall classroom context the teacher perceives.

We first begin with a comparison of assessments of students' behavior by teachers across several broad racial/ethnic groups. Student's race is reported by the primary respondent, who is

¹ The scale for externalizing behavior is the same in each wave (i.e. 1-4). However, teachers are asked different question across the waves to account for student's grade level. For example kindergarten teachers are asked questions to reflect disruptive behavior in kindergarten such as child disrupts nap time. While fifth grade teachers are asked about students disrupting reading time.

almost always the child's mother. We are also interested in the extent to which teachers' race/ethnicity is associated with differential ratings of children's behavior. Teacher's race is self reported. Both student and teacher's race has been made into several dichotomous variables: Hispanic-white, Black², Asian, Native American and non-Hispanic whites are the reference group. Most prior studies have been concerned with the Black/white differences in school performance and teacher assessments. It remains to be seen whether children from other minority groups also receive different ratings than their non-Hispanic white peers. The variable for a match between student and teacher race is a simple dichotomy created using teacher's race and student's race, if there is a match then the variable is coded as 1 (Downey and Pribesh, 2004). We expect students to receive more favorable ratings of their behaviors from same race teachers.

In addition to whether teachers and students are of the same race, we compare ratings for students from non-Hispanic white teachers versus those of other groups. Non-Hispanic white teachers are the most numerous but also teach in a variety of settings. Thus, all students regardless of race or school context are most likely to have a teacher representing the majority group throughout the study period. It is the case, however, that Black students are the most likely to experience a same race teacher after non-Hispanic whites. So we also compare the effects of having a Black teacher across groups.

We also have several primary independent variables that capture the school context in which teachers and students are immersed. These measures represent the type and composition of the schools. First, we measure school type with three dichotomous variables; Private religious, public and other private schools (reference group). We worked with several ways of measuring the racial/ethnic composition of the schools. Our final models include only one

² Black includes both Hispanic and non-Hispanic Blacks. Based on analysis of both teacher and student characteristics Hispanic Blacks more closely resembled Blacks, therefore they have been combined into one category.

dichotomous measure indicating whether more than 50% of the student body is composed of minority students. This measure comes directly from the administrator's questionnaire and seems to capture the point at which variation in teacher ratings occurs. Finally, we include a measure that captures the economic status of the student population in the school. Schools receiving 'Title I' funding are those that serve low income or high concentrations of special needs children (including English Language Learners and other special populations). This variable is coded so that schools not receiving Title I funding serve as the reference group.

Our analyses also adjust for students' family background characteristics including family structure and family income. We include child's gender and age as controls as well. Along with teacher's race/ethnicity we also include controls for teacher's education and gender. Missing data were handled using mean substitution. Dummy variables for substituted cases are also included in the models.

Method

Using SAS 9.1 Proc Mixed our multivariate analysis uses a pooled sample of teacher's reports of children's externalizing behavior from spring of kindergarten, first, third and fifth grade: each child contributes a maximum of four observations. Children are observed by different teachers at each wave therefore teacher characteristics are allowed to vary over time. School characteristics are also allowed to vary since children may have changed schools between the waves. Since the data are clustered by child we also use random effects models to estimate random intercepts that account for the non-independence of externalizing behavior rating for each child.

Results

We begin with descriptive statistics presented by student's racial background. We first note the variations in behavioral ratings from teachers received by the students. As shown in figure 1 we see that overall, Black and Native American students receive ratings that are significantly worse than their non-Hispanic white peers (higher scores represent *more* behavioral problems reported by teachers). Consistent with the "model minority" stereotype, Asian origin students receive significantly better ratings (i.e. are reported to exhibit fewer externalizing behaviors) than their non-Hispanic white counterparts. Hispanic white student's ratings are more similar to non-Hispanic whites than the other groups.

(Figure 1 about here)

We further describe the student's teacher and school characteristics in Table 1. There are important differences in the teachers' characteristics by student race. First, minority students are overrepresented in classes where teachers perceive their students as having more problem behavior overall. Black and Native American students have teachers who rate their classes as having worse externalizing behavior scores. The majority of teachers in the sample are non-Hispanic white so, not surprisingly, the vast majority of non-Hispanic white students have a same race teacher³. But, Black students are the minority most likely to have a Black teacher and therefore a match between themselves and their teachers.

(Table 1 about here)

We also note considerable variation in the school composition and characteristics experienced by the children in the sample. Black children are more likely than children of other racial groups with the exception of Native Americans to attend schools with a greater percentage of minority students. Overall minority students are more likely to attend public school as well as

³ Note that these observations are pooled across the four waves of data. Thus, the fact that most white students have a white teacher reflects also the lower likelihood of *ever* experiencing a teacher from outside their own racial/ethnic group from Kindergarten through fifth grade.

schools that receive Title I funding. Minority students are also more likely than their non-Hispanic white counterparts to attend schools with a higher percentage of minority teachers.

Our multivariate analyses are designed to assess the extent to which the racial/ethnic variation in students' behaviors as reported by their teachers persist net of the student's own characteristics but also with consideration of teacher and school context. Table 2 presents the random effects models for teacher's rating of student's externalizing behavior. We begin with Model 1 using child and teacher race along with school and control variables to show the associations of these variables with teacher's rating of children's externalizing behavior. Higher coefficients suggest students are perceived as displaying more externalizing behaviors by their teachers. Negative coefficients, therefore, reflect better evaluations compared to the reference group. The control variables operate in a manner consistent with prior research: male, older children, as well as children from step, single and other family forms receive worse behavioral ratings. Children whose family income is in the lowest quintile also receive poorer ratings (Downey and Pribesh, 2004; Ackerman et al, 2002).

(Table 2 about here)

Black and Native American students receive worse scores than their non-Hispanic white counterparts even in the presence of controls. Asian students, on the other hand, receive better scores than their non-Hispanic white counterparts. This finding coincides with our expectations based on social reproduction theory. The results in Model 1 suggest students from historically disadvantaged groups, those groups facing the most overt discrimination in the past, are also reported to have the most externalizing behaviors. Asian origin students, in contrast, are perceived as displaying the least problematic behaviors even in comparison to their majority non-Hispanic white peers. In other words, the results are consistent with a 'model minority'

image for Asian students and an ‘oppositional’ image for Black students. The behavior rating score of Hispanic white students do not significantly differ from their non-Hispanic white counterparts. We suggest such a result is consistent with expectations based on phenotypic characteristics although we can only speculate on this point.

Teacher characteristics also play a role in the ratings students receive. Children receive better ratings when they have a Black teacher than a non-Hispanic white teacher. And, not surprisingly, those teachers who rate their classes as having poorer behavior tend to rate the individual student as having more problematic behaviors. Behavioral ratings also vary somewhat by school characteristics: Children who attend private religious and public schools receive better behavior ratings than their peers at private schools. While children who attend schools that receive Title I funding receive poorer behavior ratings.

In model 2, we remove teacher’s race as a predictor and include the same race variable which accounts for race matching between teachers and students. The coefficients for all of the controls, teacher and school characteristics remain virtually unchanged in terms of direction and significance. The coefficient for the same race variable is not significant. However, the main effects of child’s race do reduce in magnitude suggesting that having a same race teacher decrease the effect of child’s own race on the rating of externalizing behavior. To further explore the effect of having a same race teacher on the behavior ratings students receive we included race/ethnicity specific interactions in model 3. The coefficients for all of the controls, teacher and school characteristics remain virtually unchanged in terms of direction and significance. The interaction for Asian students with same race teacher is significant and positive, suggesting that

Asian students are receiving worse ratings from Asian teachers than from others⁴. The coefficient for Black students with Black teachers is marginally significant and negative, suggesting that Black students receive more favorable ratings from Black teachers than they do from others.

The results to this point suggest children who have teachers of the same race are rated more similarly to their non-Hispanic white peers albeit in different directions for some children. The remaining analyses focus on the extent to which teacher race is consistently associated with differential ratings across groups. In other words, are all minority youth similarly disadvantaged by having a non-Hispanic white teacher and are all minority youth similarly advantaged by having a minority teacher? To examine the effect of having a majority teacher versus a minority teacher on the ratings that students receive we include interactions with child race and non-Hispanic white teachers in models 4. Overall, model 4 suggests that the better ratings Asian children receive are a result of the more favorable ratings they receive from non-Hispanic white teachers. We also see that the poorer ratings Black students receive are a result of the less favorable ratings they receive from non-Hispanic white teachers. In model 5 we include similar interactions using Black teachers.⁵ In both model 4 and 5 the coefficients for all of the controls, teacher and school characteristics remain virtually unchanged in terms of direction and significance. In model 4 only the coefficient for Asian and Black children are significant. Asian children overall receive better behavior ratings than their non-Hispanic white counterparts from non-Hispanic white teachers while Black students receive poorer rating than their non-Hispanic white counterparts from Non-Hispanic white teachers. In model 5 only the coefficient for Hispanic white children is significant. This coefficient is positive suggesting that Black teachers

⁴ We note that there are relatively few Asian teachers in the sample suggesting some caution is warranted in interpreting the race effects. However, a fair number of observations do include Asian students with Asian teachers (n = 72) suggesting this interaction is accurately reflects variations.

⁵ Due to sample size we use Black teachers instead of non-Hispanic White, Asian or Native American teachers.

give Hispanic white students poorer rating than their non-Hispanic white counterparts. Generally speaking we see that teachers are following societal stereotyping when rating students externalizing behavior unless they are of the same racial/ethnic group as the student with the exception of Asian teachers. Asians teachers follow societal stereotyping when rating students externalizing behavior unless they are rating Asian students, in which case they are likely to rate the Asian students as having poorer behavior.

To illustrate the differential effects of teacher-student race matching on the assessments of externalizing behavior received by students, we create predicted values for children with same race teachers versus those without same race teachers. We begin with model 3 assuming the child and the teacher are of different racial/ethnic backgrounds for the first predicted value presented in figure 2. The next bars show the predicted behavioral assessment for children with a teacher of their own racial background. The figure shows the ‘penalizing’ effect of not having a same race teacher among Black children along with a similar penalty for Asian student who do have a same race teacher.

(Figure 2 about here)

Conclusions

There is considerable selectivity and sorting in the schooling process with long term consequences for children’s ultimate educational and socioeconomic attainment. This study addresses the very beginning of the formal schooling process and asks the extent to which racial and ethnic differences in one child outcome, ratings of externalizing behaviors, are associated with teacher characteristics. We are able to take advantage of repeated assessments of the same child over time by different teachers. Overall, we find that there are differences in the ratings children receive depending on their own race or ethnicity as well as in combination with that of

their teacher. These differences persist net of the child's own characteristics and the teacher's overall perceptions of their class.

The results are consistent with our expectation that minority children will receive more positive assessments from teachers who share their background. Clearly Black children tend to receive less negative assessments from Black teachers than from non-Hispanic white teachers. However, the results can also be interpreted as consistent with the social reproduction perspective such that teachers from a racial background different from the students also appear to rate their students in a manner consistent with social expectations. This is perhaps most clearly depicted among Asian students who appear to receive very positive ratings from teachers overall suggesting both Black and white teachers share a positive view of these students' behaviors, perhaps reinforcing a 'model minority' stereotype. But these same students receive less favorable ratings by teachers of Asian origin. Sample size limitations preclude further examination within the panethnic Asian category.

It is important to remember that these results control for composition and status of schools as well as the teacher overall classroom assessment. In other words, these differences by teacher-student race matching persist even considering the very different environments in which these students and teachers interact. The main findings from our analysis point to both the social reproduction and oppositional culture theory. The main effects for children's race clearly point to minority children receiving worst rating with expectation of Asian students. However there is also some evidence to suggest that oppositional culture theory may also play a role Black children with same race teacher receive better ratings than those Black students without same race teachers.

Consistent with Downey and Pribesh (2004) we find that overall Black students as well as Native American students are rated as having the poorest behavior. Through the interactions included in the analysis we see that overall non-Hispanic white teachers rate Black students as having the worst behavior, while there is not statistical difference in the way that Black teachers rate Black students in comparison to non-Hispanic white student.

Consistent with other studies we do find school effects on teacher's ratings of student's behavior (Goldsmith, 2004). Students in private schools tend to receive more positive behavioral assessments. Some caution must be used when interpreting these effects, however. Private schools, unlike public schools, can refuse to serve children perceived as 'problematic' or uncooperative. This may present a strong selection effect for concentrating children who exhibit externalizing behaviors in public schools. Indeed, public school enrollment increases across the waves of the ECLS-K suggesting considerable movement out of the private sphere as children move into later grades. Children in schools receiving Title I funding also tend to receive lower assessments. However, even controlling for these sources of selectivity and sorting, results for teacher-student matching persist.

We have modeled our analysis such that we have clustered by students so that we account for the non-independence of observations within child. This data structure allows us to analyze the result using more robust accounts of the dependent variable. Future work on this project will include analysis which allows us to cluster simultaneously by child and school as well as by child and teacher. This method however will limit us to examining only one wave of the data however it will allow us to examine more closely teacher and school effects.

References

- Ackerman, Brian, Eleanor D. Brown, Kristen Schoff D'Eramo and Carroll E. Izard. 2002. "Maternal Relationship Instability and the School Behavior of Children From Disadvantaged Families." *Developmental Psychology*, 38(5): 694–704
- Ainsworth-Darnell and Downey. 1998. "Assessing the Oppositional Culture Explanation for Racial/Ethnic Differences in School Performance." *American Sociological Review*, 63: 536-553.
- Alexander, Karl, Doris Entwisle and Maxine Thomson. 1987. "School Performance, Status Relations, and the Structure of Sentiment-Bringing the Teacher Back In." *American Sociological Review*, 52: 665-682.
- Alt, Martha and Katharin Peter. 2002. *Private Schools a Brief Portrait* (NCES 2002-013). U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics. Washington, DC.
- Braun, Henry, Frank Jenkins and Wendy Grigg. 2006. *Comparing Private Schools and Public Schools Using Hierarchical Linear Modeling* (NCES 2006-0461). U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Institute of Education Sciences. Washington, DD: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- Chang, Doris F. and Amy Demyan. 2007. "Teachers Stereotypes of Asian, Black and White Students." *School Psychology Quarterly*, 22: 91-114.
- Crosnoe, Robert. 2004. "Social Capital and the Interplay of Families and Schools." *Journal of Marriage and Family* 66: 267-280.
- Crosnoe, Robert, Monica Kirkpatrick Johnson and Glen H. Elder. 2004. "Intergenerational Bonding in School: The Behavioral and Contextual Correlates of Student-Teacher Relationships" *Sociology of Education*, 77: 60-81.
- Downey, Douglas and Shana Pribesh, 2004. "When Race Matters: Teachers' Evaluations of Students' Classroom Behavior." *Sociology of Education* 77:267-282.
- Ehrenberg, Donald, Daniel Goldhaber, and Dominic Brewer. 1995. "Do Teachers' Race, Gender, and Ethnicity Matter? Evidence from The National Educational Longitudinal Study of 1988." *Industrial and Labor Relations Review* 48:547-561.
- Farkas, George, Daniel Sheehan, Robert P. Grobe and Yuan Shuan. 1990. "Cultural Resources and School Success: Gender, Ethnicity and Poverty Groups Within an Urban School District." *American Sociological Review* 55:127-142.
- Frank M. Gresham and Stephen N. Elliott. 1990. *Elementary Scale A ("How Often?")*. Circle Pines, MN: American Guidance Service, Inc.

- Goldsmith, Pat Antonio. 2004. "Schools' Racial Mix, Students' Optimism, and the Black-White and Latino-White Achievement Gaps." *Sociology of Education*, 77(2): 121-147.
- Hallinan, Maureen. 1996. "Race Effects on Students' Track Mobility in High School." *Social Psychology of Education* 1:1-24.
- _____. 2001. "Sociological Perspectives on Black-White Inequalities in American Schooling." *Sociology of Education* 74:50-70.
- Harris, Angel L. 2006. "I (don't) hate school: Revisiting oppositional culture theory of blacks' resistance to schooling." *Social Forces*, 85: 797-834.
- Kao, Grace. 1995. "Asian Americans as Model Minorities? A Look at Their Academic Performance." *American Journal of Education*, 103: 121-159.
- _____. 2000. "Group Images and Possible Selves Among Adolescents: Linking Stereotypes to Expectations by Race and Ethnicity." *Sociological Forum*, 15 (3): 407-430.
- Morris, Edward. 2005. "From 'Middle Class' to 'Trailer Trash': Teachers' Perceptions of Students in a Predominately Minority School." *Sociology of Education*, 78: 99-121.
- Oates, G. 2003. "Teacher-Student Racial Congruence, Teacher Perceptions, and Test Performance." *Social Science Quarterly*, 84: 508-525.
- Ogbu, John. 1991. "Minority Responses and School Experiences." *Journal of Psychohistory* 18:433-456.
- Orfield, Gary and Chungmei Lee. 2005. "Why Segregation Matter: Poverty and Educational Inequality." Cambridge MA: The Civil Rights Project, Harvard University. Available on-line: http://www.civilrightsproject.ucla.edu/research/deseg/Why_Segreg_Matters.pdf
- Reardon, Sean, John T. Yun and Tamela McNulty Eitle. 2000. "The Changing Structure of School Segregation: Measurement and Evidence of Multiracial Metropolitan-Area School Segregation, 1989-1995." *Demography*, 37(3):351-364.
- Renzulli, Linda A. and Lorraine Evans. 2005. "School Choice, Charter Schools, and White Fight." *Social Problems*, 52(3): 398-418.
- Roscigno, Vincent J. 1998 . "Race and the Reproduction of Educational Disadvantage." *Social Forces*, 76 (3): 1033-1060.
- Ryabov, Igor & Jennifer Van Hook. 2007. "School Segregation and Academic Achievement among Hispanic Children." *Social Science Research*, 36: 767-788

- Tenenbaum, Harriot and Martin D. Ruck. 2007. "Are Teachers' Expectations Different for Racial Minority than for European American Students? A Meta-Analysis." *Journal of Educational Psychology* 22: 253-273.
- Tourangeau, Karen, Christine Nord, Thanh Lê, Judith M. Pollack, and Sally Atkins-Burnett. 2006. *Early Childhood Longitudinal Study, Kindergarten Class of 1998–99 (ECLS-K), Combined User's Manual for the ECLS-K Fifth-Grade Data Files and Electronic Codebooks* (NCES 2006–032). U.S. Department of Education. Washington, DC: National Center for Education Statistics.
- Wiggan, Greg. 2007. "Race, School Achievement and Educational Inequality: Toward a Student Based Inquiry Perspective." *Review of Educational Research*, 77(3): 310-33.
- Zimmerman, Rick S., Elizabeth L. Khoury, William A. Vega, Andres G. Gil and George J. Warheit. 1995. "Teacher and Parent Perceptions of Behavior Problems among a Sample of African American, Hispanic and non-Hispanic White Students." *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 23: 181-198.

Table 1: Means and Percentages for Independent Variables (ECLS-K, Spring of Kindergarten through Spring of Fifth Grade)					
	Non-Hispanic White	Hispanic White	Black	Asian	Native American
Spring of Kindergarten					
Teacher Rating of Child's Externalizing Behavior	1.60	1.57	1.78	1.58	1.86
Teacher's Overall rating of the Class	2.44	2.37	2.64	2.41	2.67
Teacher and child are the same race	92.58%	7.41%	18.72%	17.74%	13.70%
Teacher Race/Ethnicity					
Non-Hispanic White	92.58%	67.73%	70.66%	72.93%	67.67%
Hispanic White	0.61%	7.41%	1.25%	1.16%	8.66%
Asian	0.63%	2.26%	4.41%	17.74%	0.84%
Native American	0.54%	0.16%	0.88%	0.51%	13.70%
Black	2.17%	2.23%	14.90%	0.76%	0.41%
School Characteristics					
School Type					
Private School	2.50%	0.82%	2.91%	6.42%	2.79%
Private Religious School	14.86%	9.00%	8.05%	13.30%	11.72%
Public School	82.64%	90.18%	89.03%	80.28%	85.49%
School Receives Title I Funding	58.99%	64.29%	69.21%	45.10%	77.75%
Schools composed of 50% or more Minority Students	7.85%	52.38%	59.62%	38.72%	61.98%
Spring of First Grade					
Teacher Rating of Child's Externalizing Behavior	1.58	1.51	1.76	1.56	1.91
Teacher's Overall rating of the Class	2.57	2.42	2.71	2.48	3.02
Teacher and child are the same race	89.57%	11.13%	19.75%	14.72%	10.72%
Teacher Race/Ethnicity					
Non-Hispanic White	89.57%	67.27%	70.83%	73.06%	73.65%
Hispanic White	0.72%	11.13%	1.64%	2.11%	1.62%
Asian	0.99%	3.85%	3.49%	14.72%	0.84%
Native American	0.80%	2.16%	0.82%	0.37%	10.72%
Black	1.90%	2.77%	17.22%	3.47%	0.39%
School Characteristics					
School Type					
Private School	1.25%	0.82%	1.35%	3.11%	0.00%
Private Religious School	15.23%	9.00%	8.24%	14.14%	14.58%
Public School	83.52%	90.18%	90.41%	82.75%	85.42%
School Receives Title I Funding	61.36%	70.96%	73.14%	58.92%	75.39%
Schools composed of 50% or more Minority Students	9.72%	55.00%	60.20%	40.82%	55.00%
Spring of Third Grade					
Teacher Rating of Child's Externalizing Behavior	1.66	1.61	1.88	1.51	1.79
Teacher's Overall rating of the Class	2.39	2.40	2.63	2.31	2.71
Teacher and child are the same race	88.80%	8.79%	19.12%	14.05%	13.33%
Teacher Race/Ethnicity					
Non-Hispanic White	88.80%	67.85%	69.18%	66.81%	70.74%
Hispanic White	1.17%	8.79%	1.53%	2.45%	1.57%
Asian	0.47%	2.27%	4.22%	14.05%	1.12%
Native American	1.19%	0.58%	0.51%	2.00%	13.33%
Black	2.00%	3.39%	16.45%	2.21%	5.87%
School Characteristics					
School Type					
Private School	1.05%	0.77%	0.84%	3.03%	0.00%
Private Religious School	14.63%	9.26%	7.95%	13.14%	9.83%
Public School	84.33%	89.97%	91.21%	83.83%	90.17%
School Receives Title I Funding	60.35%	69.48%	73.53%	50.10%	72.81%
Schools composed of 50% or more Minority Students	10.46%	55.63%	66.15%	48.40%	61.92%
Spring of Fifth Grade					
Teacher Rating of Child's Externalizing Behavior	1.63	1.57	1.76	1.49	1.65
Teacher's Overall rating of the Class	2.23	2.27	2.49	2.15	2.33
Teacher and child are the same race	90.41%	6.84%	26.04%	15.53%	22.93%
Teacher Race/Ethnicity					
Non-Hispanic White	90.41%	74.45%	60.58%	74.71%	63.91%
Hispanic White	1.19%	6.84%	1.95%	3.59%	1.50%
Asian	0.88%	2.61%	5.98%	15.53%	0.64%
Native American	1.38%	2.10%	2.90%	0.61%	22.93%
Black	2.05%	4.37%	22.70%	0.67%	0.36%
School Characteristics					
School Type					
Private School	1.65%	0.77%	0.76%	2.70%	0.00%
Private Religious School	13.52%	6.48%	9.68%	14.05%	4.03%
Public School	86.25%	93.47%	90.25%	85.56%	95.97%
School Receives Title I Funding	57.69%	69.60%	72.00%	57.29%	84.73%
Schools composed of 50% or more Minority Students	9.73%	56.59%	62.61%	47.40%	68.78%

Source: Early Childhood Longitudinal Study-Kindergarten, Spring of Kindergarten, First, Third and Fifth Grade.

Table 2: Multilevel Regression Analysis Of Teacher Rating of Kindergartener's Externalizing Behavior^{+,^}

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Child's Characteristics					
Race/Ethnicity (vs. Non-Hispanic Whites)					
Hispanic White	0.006	-0.002	-0.004	-0.009	0.002
Asian	-0.247 ***	-0.233 ***	-0.257 ***	-0.175 ***	-0.244 ***
Native American	0.095 **	0.089 *	0.098 **	0.054	0.097 **
Black	0.178 ***	0.161 ***	0.173 ***	0.120 ***	0.179 ***
Teacher and child are the same race	-	-0.012	-0.011	-	-
Hispanic White Child * Same Race Teacher	-	-	0.041	-	-
Asian Child * Same Race Teacher	-	-	0.128 **	-	-
Native American Child * Same Race Teacher	-	-	-0.065	-	-
Black Child * Same Race Teacher	-	-	-0.047 +	-	-
Non-Hispanic White Teacher					
Hispanic White Child * Non-Hispanic White Teacher	-	-	-	0.020	-
Asian Child * Non-Hispanic White Teacher	-	-	-	-0.083 *	-
Native American Child * Non-Hispanic White Teacher	-	-	-	0.055	-
Black Child * Non-Hispanic White Teacher	-	-	-	0.068 ***	-
Black Teacher					
Hispanic White Child * Black Teacher	-	-	-	-	-0.049 *
Asian Child * Black Teacher	-	-	-	-	0.126 *
Native American Child * Black Teacher	-	-	-	-	-0.068
Black Child * Black Teacher	-	-	-	-	-0.169
					-0.010
Teacher Characteristics					
Race/Ethnicity (vs. Non-Hispanic Whites)					
Hispanic White	0.023	-	-	-	-
Asian	0.033	-	-	-	-
Native American	0.013	-	-	-	-
Black	-0.046 **	-	-	-	-
Teacher's Overall Rating of their Class (1-5)	0.074 ***	0.074 ***	0.074 ***	0.074 ***	0.074 ***
School Characteristics					
School Type (vs. Private School)					
Private Religious School	-0.143 ***	-0.145 ***	-0.145 ***	-0.146 ***	-0.147 ***
Public School	-0.162 ***	-0.164 ***	-0.165 ***	-0.165 ***	-0.166 ***
Receives Title I Funding	0.040 ***	0.040 ***	0.040 ***	0.041 ***	0.040 ***
Schools composed of 50% or more Minority Students	-0.007	-0.008	-0.009	-0.006	-0.005
Constant	1.285 ***	1.299 ***	1.298 ***	1.294 ***	1.290 ***

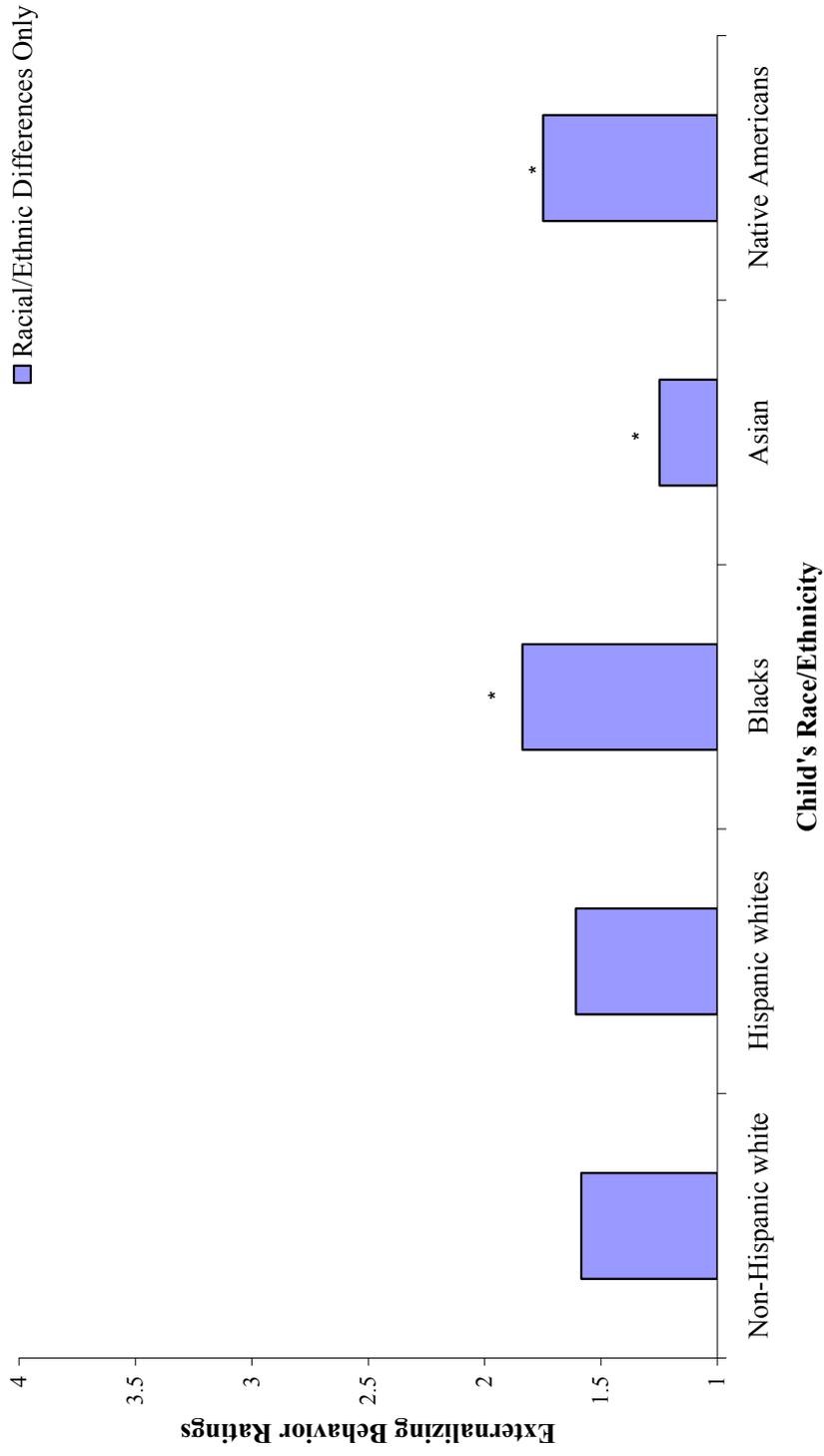
Source: Early Childhood Longitudinal Study-Kindergarten, Spring of Kindergarten, First, Third and Fifth Grade.

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

[^]All models include controls for child's gender, child's age, family structure, family SES, teacher's gender, teacher's educational attainment and controls for mean substitution.

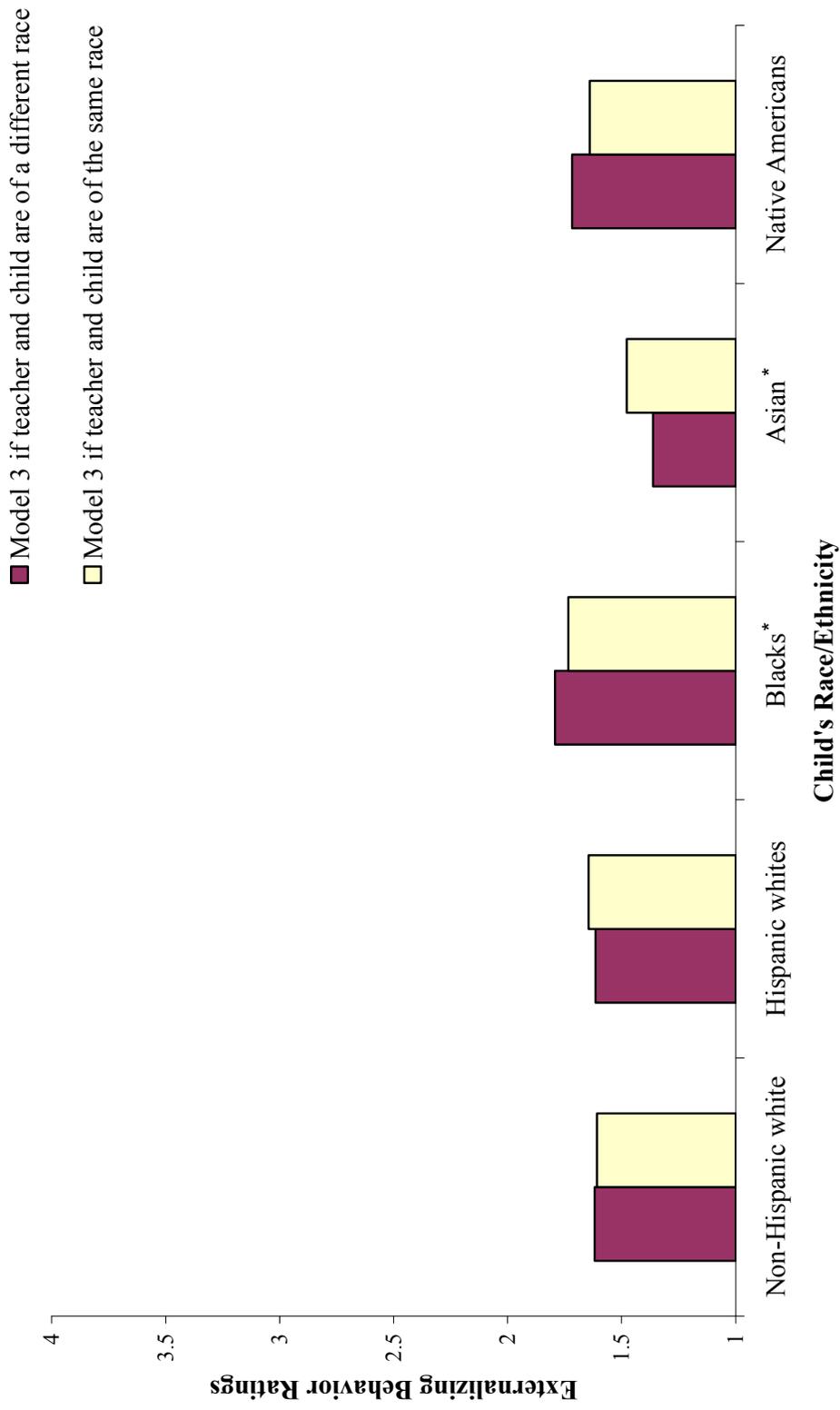
*Standard errors adjusted for clustering by child.

Figure 1: Racial/Ethnic Differences in Ratings of Externalizing Behaviors



Source: Early Childhood Longitudinal Study-Kindergarten, Spring of Kindergarten, First, Third and Fifth Grade
 * Denotes Statistical Significance from Non-Hispanic white Students.

Figure 2: Predicted Values of Teacher's Ratings of Children Externalizing Behavior



Source: Early Childhood Longitudinal Study-Kindergarten, Spring of Kindergarten, First, Third and Fifth Grade
 * Denotes Statistical Significance from Non-Hispanic white Students.