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ORIGINAL ARTICLE

Walking Down the Street: Addressing the Cultural Process of Stereotyping among Preservice and Inservice Teachers of English to Close the Opportunity Gap

Abdelilah Salim Sehlaoui[1*], Taniya Morris[2]

[1] Dr. Sehlaoui is Professor of TESOL and Applied Linguistics, School of Teaching and Learning, College of Education, Sam Houston State University, Texas, USA.
https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6652-1202

[2] Dr. Morris is Lecturer, Department of English, Ubon Ratchathani Rajabhat University
Ubon Ratchathani, Thailand
https://orcid.org/0009-0000-6508-9673

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to explore how the process of stereotyping is used among preservice and inservice teachers. Implicit bias and unconscious stereotyping can perpetuate the status quo and widen the opportunity gap for minoritized students. The study aimed to investigate 1) the prevalence of racial/ethnic stereotypes among inservice and preservice teachers who serve English learners, and 2) how stereotyping of racial/ethnic groups varies between the two groups of teachers or which group of teachers (inservice or preservice) got the most negative responses for all portraits used as stimuli. Data were collected from participants' anonymous written reactions to the "Walking Down the Street" activity questions. A loglinear statistical analysis and a qualitative content analysis were used to answer the research questions. The common patterns that emerged from the data analyses were summarized and discussed by comparing the two groups of teachers and their process of stereotyping. Practical pedagogical implications and recommendations for further research are shared.

Keywords: Critical Crosscultural Communication, ESL Bilingual Teacher Education, Opportunity Gap, Stereotype Threat

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***Corresponding Author**
Professor Dr. Abdelilah Salim Sehlaoui, School of Teaching and Learning, College of Education, Sam Houston State University, Texas, USA
Email: assehlaoui@gmail.com

LITERATURE REVIEW

CULTURAL PROCESS OF STEREOTYPING: A CRITICAL OVERVIEW

According to Dovidio et al. (1996), Lippmann introduced the term "stereotype" to behavioral scientists in 1922. Lippmann (1922) defines stereotype as the typical picture that comes to mind when thinking about a particular social group. This typical picture is usually reinforced when a product-oriented and culture-as-country view of culture is used in schools and curricula in education (Sehlaoui, 1999, 2011). Dovidio et al. (1996) state that in spite of "noteworthy early interest in the content of stereotypes (e.g., Katz & Braly, 1933), research on stereotyping as a process did not achieve mainstream status in psychology until the 1970s. Stimulated by the more general interest in cognitive social psychology, 668 studies of stereotyping were published from 1973 to 1977 than in the previous 50 years combined (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1981). These researchers' review of relevant literature shows that over 1,500 articles on stereotyping appeared in print from 1983 to 1992. This level of empirical research suggests that stereotyping has important consequences for attitudes and behaviors toward social groups, and as a cultural process, and deserves attention. Two approaches have been used to study stereotypes and stereotyping. These are the individual approach and the social/cultural one.

Dovidio et al. (1996) explain that the individual approach to stereotyping has primarily been associated with the dominant social cognitive tradition within North America (Fiske & Taylor, 1991; Markus & Zajonc, 1985). According to this approach, people develop beliefs about the characteristics of some social groups in their environment, and this knowledge influences their responses toward subsequently encountered individual members of those groups (Dovidio et al., 1996). Stereotypes are basically perceived information about social groups and how it is interpreted, encoded in memory, and retrieved for use in guiding responses to various stimuli.

Unlike the individual approach to stereotyping, which is based on a micro-analytic level, the cultural approach is broader in scope, transcending the intra-individual perspective. From this perspective, society is considered to be the basis of stored knowledge, and stereotypes as public information about social groups that is shared among the individuals within a given culture. In this regard, Stangor and Schaller (1996) explain that in the cultural approach:

> Although stereotypes exist "in the head of the society's perceivers," they exist also in the "fabric of the society" itself. Consensual stereotypes represent one aspect of the entire collective knowledge of a society… Cultural approaches consider the ways that stereotypes are learned, transmitted, and changed through indirect sources—information gained from parents, peers, teachers, political and religious leaders, and the mass media. (p.10)

Mass media and the movie industry have supported and perpetuated the persistence of gender, racial, religious, and cultural stereotypes. For example, Latinx individuals are shown either as gang members or overtly sexualized (Kassin et al., 2013). Stereotypes are also spread in US culture through cliché characters in literature and art. For example, video games often show women as sexualized objects or in need of rescue (Mou & Peng, 2008). When he was asked how his book “Race, Sports, and Politics” argues for the fact that the media continues to perpetuate fears of black male athletes, Dr. Ben Carrington explained his view during an interview with Jessica Sinn (2015) from the University of Texas at Austin as follows:

> The April 2008 cover of Vogue generated some controversy over how NBA star LeBron James is depicted with supermodel Gisele Bundchen. In the picture, LeBron has striking similarities to the classic ‘King Kong’ image carrying off Fay Wray, a racially loaded simian metaphor that draws upon white fears about black male

> hypersexuality and violence. The magazine cover metonymically plays with these deeply racist symbols in using one of the world's most famous black men to portray a ferocious gorilla carrying off a white woman.

Other researchers have documented how the pairing of Black faces and names with negative stimuli in the media has created and reinforced negative stereotypes that permeate American society (Massey, 2007), including the stereotype of African American individuals being associated with sports and physical violence.

Stereotypes are transmitted through the mass media—literature, television, movies, newspapers, e-mail, leaflets, and bumper stickers. These representations of stereotypes are bought, sold, traded, checked out, and shared by billions of people across boundaries of distance and time, especially in our information age. However, it should be emphasized here that the approaches above are inadequate since they fail to take into consideration the sociopolitical context and its power relations dynamics. Stereotypes "are not merely inaccurate mental perceptions, but are inextricably bound with the desire for control and domination of others" (Kim & Ebesu Hubbard, 2007). To understand this important cultural process, we need to keep in mind how culture is conceptualized from a critical perspective while considering the power dynamics that govern it in any socioeconomic and political context.

Critical theorists view culture "within its socio-economic and political context" (Sehlaoui, 1999, 2011). From this perspective, culture is defined as "a dynamic process within a given social context in which individuals are in a constant struggle over meaning and representation and the need to have an authentic voice" (Sehlaoui, 1999; Giroux, 1992; Quantz, 1992). Representation and having an authentic voice are at the heart of establishing social justice and equity in society free of bias and negative stereotyping.

NEGATIVE STEROTYPING AS A SERIOUS THREAT TO JUSTICE AND EQUITY

Negative stereotypes are inaccurate mental perceptions and socio-cultural processes that are inextricably bound with the desire for control and domination of others in a given society. As a result, these socio-psychological processes become dangerous. Implicit bias and unconscious stereotyping can perpetuate the status quo and widen the opportunity gap for minoritized students. These socio-cultural and psychological processes may create conditions and barriers that will impede the academic performance and enjoyable school experience for these students. Schools and classrooms that suffer from systemic inequities are documented to persist for racial/ethnic minoritized students (Carter et al., 2017). According to other researchers (e.g., La Salle et al., 2016; Peregoy et al., 2023; Schachner et al., 2016; Voight et al., 2015), Black and Latinx students as well as students who are categorized as being emergent bilingual or multilingual, with or without special needs, experience poorer school safety, lack of positive school belongingness and connectedness, and fewer opportunities for meaningful involvement than White students. These researchers also found that racial opportunity gaps in achievement are largest in schools with racial school climate gaps.

Legally, implicit bias is defined by the National Center for State Courts (2012) as follows:

> Unlike explicit bias (which reflects the attitudes or beliefs that one endorses at a conscious level), implicit bias is the bias in judgment and/or behavior that results from subtle cognitive processes (e.g., implicit attitudes and implicit stereotypes) that often operate at a level below conscious awareness and without intentional control. (p.1)

Implicit bias results from underlying attitudes and preconceptions, which are simple linkages or associations a person forms between an object or image, including other people, and their subsequent assessment of that object or

image. According to research in this area, these associations "... are automatically activated by the mere presence ... of the object" (Banaji & Heiphetz, 2010; Dovidio et al., 2002, p. 94).

These researchers explain and document that implicit bias operates at the unconscious level. It manifests as an automatic stereotypical response or association made about an individual or group of individuals based on perceived group membership (e.g., race, gender, nationality, sexual orientation, religion, or age). Because of its nature, implicit bias often goes unexamined or hidden within the status quo of the educational or socioeconomic system. As a result, it creates a gap between intentions and outcomes (Girvan et al., 2017; Lai et al., 2013; Staats et al., 2016; Van Nunspeet et al., 2015).

During the last two decades, stereotypical expectations have been subject to investigation in educational research. According to this research, racial stereotypes influence teachers' judgments of Black students' academic and social competence (McCombs & Gay, 1988; Neal et al., 2003; Parks & Kennedy, 2007). According to other researchers, teachers held lower academic expectations for minoritized students (Glock et al., 2013; Marx, 2003; Sleeter, 2008; Tenenbaum & Ruck, 2007) and they less frequently referred these students to gifted and talented programs than they refer racial majority students (Elhoweris et al., 2005). Minoritized students are usually judged as having more problems adjusting to school and as having poorer educational accomplishment and consequently, lower future prospects (Pigott & Cowen, 2000) than White students.

It was also found that teaching practices that are affected by social group associations may widen achievement gaps and educational inequities (Hornstra et al., 2010; Ready & Chu, 2015; Rubie-Davies, 2015; Van den Bergh et al., 2010) and can be considered a serious threat to justice and equal opportunities in education.

THE IMPACT OF TEACHERS' PERCEPTIONS AND NEGATIVE STREOTYPES

Perceptions that teachers have towards their minoritized students correlate with their students' performance in school (Bae et al., 2008; Pantaleo, 2016). In addition, the self-fulfilling prophecy is achieved when students' school performance and psychosocial functioning are partially formed by their perceptions which reflect their teachers' opinions about them (Garcia & Chun, 2016; Jussim & Harber, 2005). It's a vicious circle. Teachers who either implicitly or explicitly hold negative stereotypes regarding specific minoritized students negatively impact those students' psychoeducational and psychosocial functioning (Doyle & Voyer, 2016; Jordan & Lovett, 2007). These negative stereotypes are related to the phenomenon labeled as stereotype threat, which has dangerous implications for students' academic success. Johnson et al. (2012) defines stereotype threat as:

> the threat that others' judgements or stereotypes about a certain group's performance in a given domain (e.g. math) will cause an individual belonging to that group to perform in such a way that it confirms the negative stereotypes held about that group. (p. 138)

Costa et al. (2021) conducted a meta-analysis and summarized the results of 19 studies with 12 studies conducted on inservice teachers and 7 on preservice teachers in various contexts. The studies investigated the relationship between implicit bias and stereotyping among teachers towards minoritized students. Results from Costa et al. (2021) document the fact that overall teachers hold negative implicit attitudes toward minoritized students. While eighteen (18) of the studies reviewed showed negative stereotyping and attitudes among teachers (both preservice and in-service), only one study found positive implicit attitudes toward ethnic minority students among preservice teachers (Harrison & Lakin, 2018). This meta-analysis review also stresses the need to continue to use implicit attitudes procedures

in future studies in order to identify the factors that contribute to the process of implicit bias among teachers. Costa et al. (2021) also called for the need to increase awareness for more implicit bias training and promoting critical multicultural practices in teacher education programs.

Denessen et al. (2022) conducted another meta-analysis with a total of 49 studies included in their review. The results from these studies showed that "the use of implicit measures of teacher attitudes and stereotypes has great potential for the understanding of differential treatment of students by their teachers" (p. 1). Findings from research on preservice teachers' cultural process of stereotyping conducted, for example, by Kunesh and Noltemeyer (2019) corroborate other conclusions in the literature that (a) bias and discrimination may be implicit or unconscious, rather than intentional and (b) bias and discrimination are multifaceted. It should be noted here, however, that this does not imply that most teachers and administrators are knowingly racist; much racial bias is implicit and unintentional (Amodio & Devine, 2006).

METHOD

Design

An exploratory mixed methodology (quantitative log linear analysis and qualitative domain and thematic analysis) was selected for this study. The study aimed to investigate 1) prevalence of racial/ethnic stereotypes among inservice and preservice teachers of ELs; 2) how stereotyping of racial/ethnic groups varies between the two groups of teachers or which group of teachers (in-service or preservice) had the most negative responses for all portraits that were used as stimuli. Data were collected from participants' reactions to the "Walking Down the Street" activity (adapted from Sehlaoui, 2011). Both quantitative and qualitative data analyses were used to explore the patterns that emerged from these data. Qualitative data were analyzed using a domain and thematic analysis, based on the research questions, by generating categories and then themes from the answers given (Ely et al., 1991; Miles & Huberman, 1994). A loglinear statistical analysis and a qualitative content analysis were used to answer the research questions. The loglinear analysis is appropriate when the goal of the research is to determine if there is a statistically significant relationship among three or more categorical variables (Field, 2009; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2012). In this study, we have three variables (teachers, portraits, and responses). This model resulted in three main effects (Teachers [Group], Portraits, Response), and 4-way interactions (group x portrait x Job/Feeling/Question x response). Descriptive statistics were also used to describe, analyze, and summarize quantitative data (Privitera & Ahlgrim-Delzell, 2019).

Instrument

Multiple instruments are used to measure social attitudes or stereotypes. These sociocultural processes are generally assessed using either a Likert scale or a semantic differential (Yang & Montgomery, 2013). In semantic differentials, attitude statements are rated on a scale of bipolar adjectives (e.g., "educated"–"uneducated"), while Likert scales require participants to indicate how strongly they agree or disagree with a given statement. In these methods, respondents are openly asked to evaluate their attitudes, which means that they are aware of what the researcher aims to measure (Petty et al., 2008). According to research, these instruments were criticized for various reasons. It is argued that people may not be aware of their actual attitudes or bias (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995). Some researchers explain that it is more likely that self-reported data could reflect social norms rather than "real" attitudes or personal bias (Fazio et al., 1995). In addition, assessing sensitive issues such as sociocultural stereotyping makes it difficult to obtain results that are not biased through social desirability, because the respondents may have control over their responses, and the risk is that real attitudes are not recorded with Likert scale or semantic differential methods (De Houwer, 2006). Other methods

to assess implicit attitudes are the Implicit Association Test (IAT) designed by Greenwald et al. (1998) or the Affective Priming Task (APT) developed by Fazio et al. (1986, 1995). The APT method relies on reaction times. Stimuli, such as visuals or portraits that should automatically activate a corresponding evaluation or effect (pleasant/unpleasant) are used.

Bearing the above methodological challenges in mind, and to overcome any problems, implicit attitudes and sociocultural stereotyping among preservice and inservice teachers in this study were not measured by a direct questionnaire using a Likert scale. Instead, the researchers adapted a set of visuals (portraits) from Sehlaoui (2011). The activity called "Walking Down The Street" was originally designed by the National Institute of Multicultural Education (1997). Attitudes or stereotypes are inferred from the reactions of the participants to different tasks or stimuli (Wittenbrink & Schwarz, 2007) in our case how preservice and inservice teachers responded to the four portraits used. Participants' anonymous written negative and positive responses were then coded for log linear analysis.

Procedure

The activity, *Walking Down the Street*, was given during regular TESOL teacher education courses to both preservice and inservice teachers. The professor/researcher gave the following instructions to the participants: "I will show you pictures of four individuals. You will have three minutes per portrait to write down your answers. Please answer the following questions on your own sheet of paper for each portrait shown:

1. What do you think this person's job is?
2. How did the person make you feel?
3. If you had a chance, what would you ask him/her?

At first, pseudo names of the four individuals were used so their true identities would not be revealed. The teachers' anonymous feedback was collected immediately after they answered the above questions for each of the four portraits. Then a discussion took place where the real identities of the four individuals were revealed after the participants' reactions were collected. Participants are then put in groups to analyze and discuss the pedagogical implications of the activity and how to adapt it for grade levels in their own classrooms. Note-taking was used to document any themes that emerged from the post-activity discussions. The following are brief descriptions of the four portraits that were used.

Portrait One: This Native American is wearing a traditional dress. She (presented with a pseudo name as Laura) is a linguistics expert and teaches at a state university.

Portrait Two: It's a picture of an old man. Joe (a pseudo name) is wearing a hat and he is casually dressed. Joe is actually a leader of a white supremacist movement.

Portrait Three: The young man, Mike (a pseudo name), seems (from his posture in the picture) in very good health, although he is paraplegic. Mike is the President of a non-profit organization that helps underprivileged and disabled people around the world.

Portrait Four: Presented with a pseudo name as John. He is an African American young man, dressed in a casual manner. He looks sporty, though, John is a financial analyst on Wall Street. He graduated at the top of his class at Harvard University and works for a famous corporation.

Data from each group of teachers were entered into a separate Excel document, and each of the four portraits was kept on separate sheets on the Excel documents. To analyze the data, a domain/thematic analysis approach was

used. From the initial responses to the three questions listed above and the post-activity discussions, the researchers aggregated the data into categories and then themes (Ely et.al., 1981; Miles & Huberman, 1994). The data in the Excel sheet was first coded based on the specific response.

The data was put into categories that differed based on which question was answered. The first question's categories were created based on the types of jobs/careers assigned to each portrait shown. Data from the second and third questions were grouped based on whether the response was positive or negative. The themes were then generated after analyzing the categories from the responses to questions for each portrait as well as the discussions. For quantitative data analysis, positive responses were coded as 1 and negative ones as 0.

Participants

With the approval of an Institutional Review Board, the researchers told the teachers enrolled in TESOL teacher education courses about the study. The total number of participants in this study was 587 (214 preservice teachers and 373 inservice teachers). Eighty-five percent (85%) were females and 15% were male. The two groups were majority Caucasian, European-American (100%). Their age range was between twenty and fifty years. The participants were all from the Southern and Midwestern regions of the USA. The socioeconomic background of the participants was middle class.

Setting

This study was conducted at two colleges of education at Southern and Mid-Western institutions of higher education. The data collection for this study was conducted during normal class hours as part of TESOL teacher education coursework.

RESULTS

Qualitative data results showed some emerging themes for all four portraits. The majority of responses (90%) were stereotypical and described portrait #4 (African American man) as an athlete, prisoner, laborer, professional dancer, or soldier. Among these 5 reoccurring themes/responses, the athlete was more frequently used among all participants (both preservice and inservice teachers). The remaining responses (10%), that were considered positive, included responses such as "student, leader, or prince." Both groups of teachers had negative stereotypical responses to portrait #3 (the young man). Mike was mainly viewed based on his physical appearance. He seemed physically appealing. The majority of the participants (80%) asked questions such as "Are you married?" "What's your address?" "Why do you look happy?" Most of the responses to occupation centered on the job of model with 75%, which means that the way this individual looks in the picture triggered that stereotype in the mind of the participants. Of course, once the true identity of Mike is revealed, participants showed feelings of shock and surprise. Regarding portrait #2 (the old man), an overwhelming majority of responses (95%) were feelings of happiness and comfort. This is another example of stereotypical feedback. The age as well as the physical appearance of the old man made the participants feel comfortable, happy, and satisfied. He is thought of as "a nice" grandpa, farmer, fisherman, or retired person who must be doing something "good" in society as was the emerging theme from all responses. All participants felt shocked to know who the old man really was and as one participant concluded "we should never judge people by appearances." Portrait # 1 of the Native American woman generated so much sadness and feeling of depression among the participants. This is also reflected in the majority of

questions that they wanted to ask her fell under the theme of "Why do you look sad?", "What's wrong?, and "How can I help?" The common theme that emerged for this portrait was that of a basket weaver, chief/Indian chief/ leader in the tribe/Native American chief, homemaker, Social worker, or unemployed. The majority of teachers responded in a negative way. Only 20% thought she was a teacher, writer, author, or similar occupation.

The reoccurring theme that emerged from the post-activity discussions was the fact that most participants were surprised as to how they reacted to the four portraits and how unaware they were about their implicit bias at the moment when they responded to the questions for each portrait. They also found the activity to be beneficial for them. To illustrate this theme, one of the participants stated:

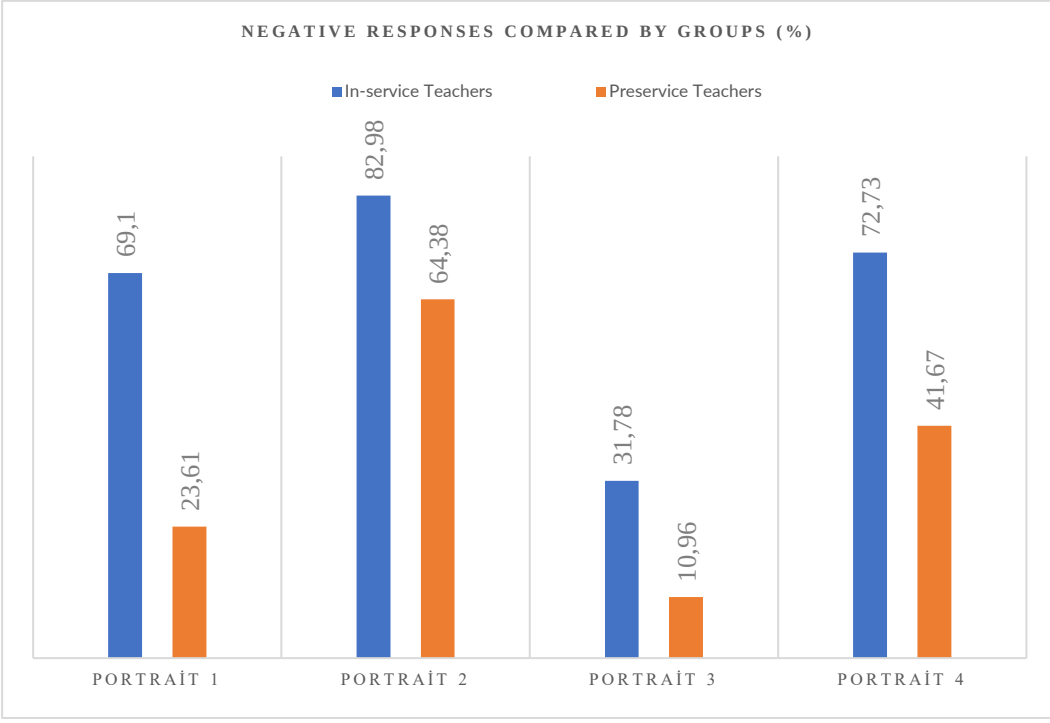
> I'm really shocked at how many of us reacted the way they did to those pictures. The Walking Down the Street activity was an eye-opener for me.

When asked during the post-activity discussions to adapt the Walking Down the Street activity for use with their grade level students, all participants shared some excellent ways such as using developmentally appropriate material to develop their students' C^5 and raise awareness about implicit bias in their classrooms.

To answer the research question of which group of teachers (inservice or preservice) had the most negative responses for all portraits that were used as stimuli, Figure 1 summarizes the findings and also corroborates the results from the loglinear analysis that follows.

While all teachers held negative stereotyping in their responses to the four portraits, Figure 1 shows that inservice teachers had the most negative responses towards all four portraits. These results were corroborated by the quantitative data analysis. As shown in the following tables, the 4-way interactions (group x portrait x Job/Feeling/Question x response) loglinear analysis produced a final model that retained all effects.

Figure 1. *Negative Responses to Portraits Compared by Groups*



The likelihood ratio of this model was χ^2 (0) = 0, p=.05. This indicates that the highest-order interaction (group x portrait x Job/Feeling/Question x response) was significant. The main effect of this interaction is the most important effect in this model with a z-score of 50.640. The z-score calculated for this interaction is shown in the Step Summary (Table 6). Quantitative data show that the group of teachers (whether pre-service or inservice) was found to be significant with inservice teachers holding more negative stereotypical responses for all four portraits than preservice teachers. Goodness-of-Fit Tests (Table 3) show two goodness-of-fit statistics (Pearson's Chi-Square and the likelihood ratio statistic). The model is a good fit for these data because the observed and expected frequencies are very similar. Both statistics are 0 and yield a probability value, p, of '.', because the model perfectly predicts the data. The K-way and Higher-Order Effects (Table 4) are highly significant. The association table (Table 5) also indicates that the highest-order interaction (group x portrait x Job/Feeling/Question x response) was significant.

Table 1. Data Information

		N
Cases	Valid	587
	Out of Range[a]	0
	Missing	0
	Weighted Valid	587
Categories	Group	2
	Portrait	4
	JobFeelingQuestion	3
	Response	2

As shown on Table 1, the study included 4 categories and 587 cases.

Table 2. Cell Counts and Residuals

		Job Feeling		Observed		Expected			
Group	Portrait	Question	Response	Count[a]	%	Count	%	Residuals	Std.
Preservice	Portrait 1	Job	Negative	43.500	1.8%	43.500	1.8%	.000	.000
			Positive	29.500	1.2%	29.500	1.2%	.000	.000
		Feeling	Negative	20.500	0.8%	20.500	0.8%	.000	.000
			Positive	50.500	2.1%	50.500	2.1%	.000	.000
		Question	Negative	14.500	0.6%	14.500	0.6%	.000	.000
			Positive	59.500	2.4%	59.500	2.4%	.000	.000
	Portrait 2	Job	Negative	47.500	1.9%	47.500	1.9%	.000	.000
			Positive	25.500	1.0%	25.500	1.0%	.000	.000
		Feeling	Negative	29.500	1.2%	29.500	1.2%	.000	.000
			Positive	42.500	1.7%	42.500	1.7%	.000	.000
		Question	Negative	13.500	0.6%	13.500	0.6%	.000	.000
			Positive	59.500	2.4%	59.500	2.4%	.000	.000
	Portrait 3	Job	Negative	9.500	0.4%	9.500	0.4%	.000	.000
			Positive	64.500	2.6%	64.500	2.6%	.000	.000
		Feeling	Negative	54.500	2.2%	54.500	2.2%	.000	.000
			Positive	18.500	0.8%	18.500	0.8%	.000	.000
		Question	Negative	27.500	1.1%	27.500	1.1%	.000	.000
			Positive	45.500	1.9%	45.500	1.9%	.000	.000
	Portrait 4	Job	Negative	44.500	1.8%	44.500	1.8%	.000	.000
			Positive	28.500	1.2%	28.500	1.2%	.000	.000

Group	Portrait	Job Feeling Question	Response	Observed Count[a]	Observed %	Expected Count	Expected %	Residuals	Std.
		Feeling	Negative	33.500	1.4%	33.500	1.4%	.000	.000
			Positive	39.500	1.6%	39.500	1.6%	.000	.000
		Question	Negative	14.500	0.6%	14.500	0.6%	.000	.000
			Positive	58.500	2.4%	58.500	2.4%	.000	.000
Inservice	Portrait 1	Job	Negative	72.500	3.0%	72.500	3.0%	.000	.000
			Positive	51.500	2.1%	51.500	2.1%	.000	.000
		Feeling	Negative	102.500	4.2%	102.500	4.2%	.000	.000
			Positive	23.500	1.0%	23.500	1.0%	.000	.000
		Question	Negative	77.500	3.2%	77.500	3.2%	.000	.000
			Positive	49.500	2.0%	49.500	2.0%	.000	.000
	Portrait 2	Job	Negative	49.500	2.0%	49.500	2.0%	.000	.000
			Positive	92.500	3.8%	92.500	3.8%	.000	.000
		Feeling	Negative	33.500	1.4%	33.500	1.4%	.000	.000
			Positive	109.500	4.5%	109.500	4.5%	.000	.000
		Question	Negative	21.500	0.9%	21.500	0.9%	.000	.000
			Positive	116.500	4.8%	116.500	4.8%	.000	.000
	Portrait 3	Job	Negative	36.500	1.5%	36.500	1.5%	.000	.000
			Positive	93.500	3.8%	93.500	3.8%	.000	.000
		Feeling	Negative	67.500	2.8%	67.500	2.8%	.000	.000
			Positive	56.500	2.3%	56.500	2.3%	.000	.000
		Question	Negative	60.500	2.5%	60.500	2.5%	.000	.000
			Positive	63.500	2.6%	63.500	2.6%	.000	.000
	Portrait 4	Job	Negative	107.500	4.4%	107.500	4.4%	.000	.000
			Positive	36.500	1.5%	36.500	1.5%	.000	.000
		Feeling	Negative	56.500	2.3%	56.500	2.3%	.000	.000
			Positive	85.500	3.5%	85.500	3.5%	.000	.000
		Question	Negative	57.500	2.3%	57.500	2.3%	.000	.000
			Positive	77.500	3.2%	77.500	3.2%	.000	.000

In study's log-linear model, as illustrated in Table 2, cell counts and residuals identify cells that are poorly predicted by the model. The residual score of .000 indicates that the model fits well compared to the saturated model.

Table 3. Goodness-of-Fit Tests

	Chi-Square	Df	Sig.
Likelihood Ratio	.000	0	.
Pearson	.000	0	.

Table 3 shows two goodness-of-fit statistics (Pearson's chi-square and the likelihood Ratio statistic) that indicate that our model is a good fit of the data, which means that the observed and expected frequencies are similar (i.e. not significantly different).

Table 4. K-Way and Higher-Order Effects

			Likelihood Ratio		Pearson	
	K	df	Chi-Square	Sig.	Chi-Square	Sig.
K-way and Higher Order Effects[a]	1	47	678.422	.000	677.249	.000
	2	40	425.387	.000	405.199	.000
	3	23	278.484	.000	270.997	.000
	4	6	50.640	.000	49.317	.000
K-way Effects[b]	1	7	253.036	.000	272.050	.000
	2	17	146.903	.000	134.203	.000
	3	17	227.844	.000	221.679	.000
	4	6	50.640	.000	49.317	.000

Table 4 summarizes the results where both chi-square and likelihood ratio tests agree that removing any of the interactions will significantly affect the fit of the model, since the probability value is less than .05.

Table 5. Partial Associations Table

Effect	Df	Partial Chi-Square	Sig.	Number of Iterations
Group*Portrait*JobFeelingQuestion	6	1.946	.925	4
Group*Portrait*Response	3	67.959	.000	4
Group*Job Feeling Question*Response	2	15.443	.000	4
Portrait*Job Feeling Question*Response	6	140.481	.000	4
Group*Portrait	3	3.041	.385	4
Group*JobFeelingQuestion	2	.010	.995	4

Effect	Df	Partial Chi-Square	Sig.	Number of Iterations
Portrait*JobFeelingQuestion	6	2.477	.871	4
Group*Response	1	9.908	.002	4
Portrait*Response	3	93.199	.000	3
JobFeelingQuestion*Response	2	44.737	.000	4
Group	1	217.177	.000	2
Portrait	3	3.170	.366	2
JobFeelingQuestion	2	.157	.924	2
Response	1	32.531	.000	2

The association table (Table 5) also indicates that the highest-order interaction (group x portrait x Job/Feeling/Question x response) was significant with a value less than 0.5.

Table 6. Step Summary

Step[a]			Effects	Chi-Square[c]	df	Sig.	Number of Iterations
0	Generating Class[b]		Group*Portrait *JobFeelingQuestion *Response	.000	0	.000	
	Deleted Effect	1	Group*Portrait *JobFeelingQuestion *Response	50.640	6	.000	4
1	Generating Class[b]		Group*Portrait *JobFeelingQuestion *Response	.000	0	.000	

While data results from Table 4 confirm that removing any of the interactions will significantly affect the fit of the model, Table 6 corroborates this fact as a final statistical analysis.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Regarding the first question of the study, how the cultural process of stereotyping is used among preservice and inservice teachers, results from this study corroborated findings regarding teachers holding negative stereotypes and implicit bias or attitudes toward minoritized individuals (Costa et al., 2021; Denessen et al., 2022; Kunesh & Noltemeyer, 2019; Bae

et al., 2008). The negative stereotyping of Portrait 4 (African American) by the majority of responses (90%) as an athlete, prisoner, laborer, professional dancer, or soldier also corroborated the research results from other researchers who have documented how the pairing of Black faces and names with negative stimuli in the media has created and reinforced negative stereotypes that permeate American society (Massey, 2007), including the stereotype of African American individuals being associated with sports and physical violence. This also applied to other minoritized individuals shown in the other portraits. During the post-discussion part of the Walking Down The Street activity, participants engaged in critical reflections and discussion of what might have led them to respond the way they responded.

The second question focused on how stereotyping of racial/ethnic groups varies between the two groups of teachers or which group of teachers (in-service or preservice) got the most negative responses for all portraits used as stimuli. Quantitative data show that the group category (whether pre-service or inservice) was found to be significant with inservice teachers holding more negative stereotypical responses for all four portraits than preservice teachers. These results were not expected, given the fact that inservice teachers are supposed to have more knowledge and experience than preservice teachers. This finding corroborates what was found by other researchers such as Harrison and Lakin (2018) who discovered that preservice teachers held more positive implicit attitudes toward ethnic minority students than inservice teachers.

It should be noted here that (a) bias and discrimination may be implicit or unconscious, rather than intentional and (b) bias and discrimination are multifaceted. In fact, one of the participants stated that her response was "unintentional". This echoes what was mentioned in the literature review that this does not imply that most teachers and administrators are knowingly racist; much racial bias is implicit and unintentional (Amodio & Devine, 2006). However, while this is true as was discussed earlier, teachers who either implicitly or unintentionally hold negative stereotypes regarding specific minoritized students negatively impact those students' psychoeducational and psychosocial life (Doyle & Voyer, 2016; Jordan & Lovett, 2007). These negative stereotypes are related to stereotype threats and the consequential self-fulfilling prophecy that comes with it, including the threat of widening the opportunity gaps for minoritized students in our society. In fact, research warns that stereotype threat might have long-term consequences on the target individuals' well-being. For example, some researchers found that those individuals might have increased vulnerability to hypertension (Blascovich et al., 2001). Others discovered that stereotype threat further undermines an individual's health overall (e.g., Cohen, 2004) since stereotype threat happens at various levels in the educational system. Chun and Evans (2018) documented stereotype threat at the systemic level, especially in the area of educational leadership. These researchers explained that even when a minority faculty member has the ability to lead and possesses the qualities identified by researchers as it relates to leadership and success, the presence of negative stereotypes, racism,

and implicit bias often prevails over positive leadership characteristics that a minority individual holds.

PEDAGOGICAL IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Based on the findings reported in this study, it seems clear that our teacher education programs need to incorporate more training in critical crosscultural communication that includes training on implicit bias and the impact of stereotype threat (Sehlaoui, 1999, 2018). We need to teach students and teacher candidates about stereotype threat (Johns et al., 2005; Stricker & Ward, 2004). Educators need to encourage values affirmation and affirmation of self among their students, especially minoritized students who may be at risk of stereotype threat (Miyake et al., 2010). At the academic leadership level, colleges of education and school district leaders need to be aware of the danger of stereotype threat and benefit from professional development opportunities to improve and build equity literacy skills. In his research on the fundamental concept of literacy equity, Gorski (2018) recommends that educators should cultivate equity literacy by developing four interlocking abilities. According to this researcher, an educator who is *equity literate* is able to:

1. Recognize subtle and not-so-subtle biases and inequities in classroom dynamics, school cultures and policies, and the broader society, and how these biases and inequities affect students and their families;
2. Respond to biases and inequities in the immediate term, as they crop up in classrooms and schools;
3. Redress biases and inequities in the longer term, so that they do not continue to crop up in classrooms and schools; and
4. Create and sustain a bias-free and equitable learning environment for all students.

Another pedagogical best practice here is for the teacher to provide feedback that is mindful of stereotype threat. They should emphasize high standards and make sure that these students have the ability to meet those standards (Cohen et al., 1999; Yeager et al., 2014) by using developmentally and culturally responsive pedagogy (Sehlaoui, 2018). Research in this area emphasizes the exposure of these students to positive role models from their linguistic and cultural backgrounds who may debunk negative stereotypes (Blanton et al., 2000; Marx & Goff, 2005).

The Walking Down The Street activity incorporates a strategy that invites the participants to engage in critical reflection as they discover their own implicit bias. The conscious critical reflections during this activity are also followed by a series of training in the types of biases that exist in the field of education. Participating teachers also took part in several other critical crosscultural communication training activities as described in Sehlaoui (2018) such as the Critical Cross-cultural Dialogue which uses a critical incident approach methodology and involves teachers in acting out scenes and critical discussions. Another pedagogical activity that raises awareness of the process of stereotyping and implicit

bias included in that reference is a Matching Activity that requires participants to match statements to their critical cross-cultural communicative competence stage of development.

For closing the opportunity gaps while creating bias-free school environments, it is also important for educators to consider methods as well as resources for establishing opportunity-centered practices with young people because these elements might lead to outcome improvement (Milner, 2021). According to Carter (2007) "racism is a complex set of rational and logical beliefs and attitudes that serve to justify the superiority of the dominant racial group while deemphasizing its systemic characteristics and sociohistorical context" (p. 20).

Finally, and in order to contribute to reducing stereotype threats, colleges of education should aggressively recruit more minority teachers to join the profession, although this is one of the challenges that face teacher education today (Dee, 2004; Massey & Fischer, 2005). Our profession needs professional educators who are aware of the danger of stereotype threat and the role that effective teachers can play in bridging the opportunity gaps for their students, we need to stress the importance of leadership in teacher education and the need for an effective leadership that is representative and culturally responsive (Sehlaoui, 2019).

LIMITATIONS

The experimental nature of our study makes our findings promising. However, the generalizability of our findings is limited by the sample size and geographical restriction. Our sample was composed of participants who were representative of the teacher population in one single program (TESOL Teacher Education) and who were living in a Southern or Midwestern state. Nevertheless, our results should be extended to practicing teachers and more diverse samples of pre-service and inservice teachers in more than one program and more institutions of higher education. Our results may also be limited by our methodology. Implicit measures of bias predict behavior better than self-reports (Amodio & Devine, 2006), but further research on the association between implicit bias and teacher behavior is important to validate our findings. It is also important to find out how pre-service teachers' beliefs translate into behavior once they enter the field. More research is needed to address how stereotype threat widens the opportunity gap and how effective pedagogical practices that address this dangerous process bridge the gap for minoritized students.

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