Caring for the Caregiver: Promoting the Resilience of Teachers

22

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Social and emotional competence is a critical factor in children's development and school readiness. According to the New Freedom Commission on Mental Health (2003), one in every five children has social and emotional or mental health concerns. An estimated two-thirds of all young people with concerns are not getting the help they need (Mental Health America, 2011). These concerns, if left unaddressed, predict school failure and more serious mental health problems such as depression, anxiety, and conduct disorders which are expensive and difficult to treat (Raver & Knitzer, 2002). Social and emotional competence has been defined as "the ability of children to successfully interact with other children and adults in a way that demonstrates an awareness of, and ability to manage, emotions in an age- and context-appropriate manner" (LeBuffe, Shapiro, & Naglieri, 2009, p. 5).

These social and emotional competencies are critical skills that often serve as protective factors, buffering children from the negative effects of risk and adversity and thereby supporting their resilience (Masten & Garmezy, 1985). Children who experience chronic adversity fare better or recover more successfully when they have a positive relationship with competent adults or prosocial peers, they are good learners and problem-solvers, they are engaging to other people,

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and they have areas of competence and perceived efficacy valued by self or society (Masten, Best, & Garmezy, 1990). For example, LeBuffe et al. (2009) reported that children with higher social and emotional competence as measured by the Devereux Student Strengths Assessment (DESSA) had fewer and less severe behavioral problems than children with lower social and emotional competence. This result was found for both high-risk and low-risk children suggesting that social and emotional competence had a main effect in decreasing the negative impact of risk and thereby promoting resilience. The importance of promoting social and emotional competence in children is being increasingly recognized in research, practice, and policy (Durlak, Weissberg, Dymnicki, Taylor, & Shellinger, 2011; Payton et al., 2008). Durlak et al. (2011) conducted a meta-analysis of 213 school-based studies involving more than 270,000 students that investigated the outcomes of universal social and emotional learning (SEL) programs. They found that students in well-implemented SEL programs showed positive outcomes compared to students in control groups in a wide range of domains. The SEL programs resulted in increased social and emotional skills; improved attitudes toward self, school, and others; decreased behavioral concerns; and, importantly, an average 11 percentile point gain in tests of academic achievement.

In regards to practice, the promotion of social and emotional well-being and resilience is becoming a required area of competence for some child-serving professions. For example, the

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Model for Comprehensive and Integrated School Psychological Services the of National Association of School Psychologists (NASP, 2010) defines the core competencies of contemporary school psychologists to include the provision of "effective services to help children and youth succeed academically, socially, behaviorally and emotionally" (p. 1). School psychologists are expected to "have knowledge of ... evidence-based strategies to promote socialemotional functioning and mental health" (p. 2) as well as "promote the development and maintenance of learning environments that support resilience..." (p. 6). Similarly, in the early care and education field, the National Association for the Education of Young Children (NAEYC) recommends the use of developmentally appropriate practice, which includes a strong emphasis on a teacher nurturing a child's social and emotional development by basing all practices and decisions on (1) theories of child development, (2) individually identified strengths and needs of each child uncovered through authentic assessment, and (3) the child's cultural background as defined by his community, family history, and family structure (Bredekamp & Copple, 1997). These practice standards reflect the recognition of the importance of SEL by leading professional organizations concerned with the well-being of children.

With respect to policy, as of the summer of 2011, eight states had adopted or were drafting explicit K-12 educational standards in the social and emotional domain. The remaining 42 states as well as 6 United States Territories had included some SEL goals or benchmarks in their educational standards (Collaborative for Academic, Social, and Emotional Learning (CASEL), 2011). Similarly, all states had preschool educational standards related to SEL, with 48 of these states having comprehensive, free standing standards for SEL. In addition, the Academic, Social and Emotional Learning Act of 2011 was introduced to the 112th Congress. This proposed legislation is still under consideration as this chapter is being written, but if passed, will support the implementation of SEL programs in the schools, particularly through providing funds through the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) to support training in SEL programs for principals and teachers.

As the evidence for the critical importance of social and emotional competence in promoting resilience and success in school and life continues to accrue, and as more state and local educational agencies adopt SEL standards, teachers are increasingly expected to teach and promote these skills in the classroom. For many teachers, this is yet one more mandate to add to their growing list of responsibilities. Paradoxically then, the expectation that teachers promote the resilience of their students may be a source of stress for the teachers themselves and jeopardize their own resilience. It is our contention that the effectiveness of the teacher in promoting the social and emotional competence and resilience of students is directly influenced by the social and emotional well-being and resilience of the teacher him or herself. Therefore, if we desire to promote the resilience of the students, we should also commit to supporting the resilience of the teachers. This chapter will explore three facets of this issue. First, we will present some of the common stressors affecting teachers. Second, we will discuss how these stressors, mediated through the teachers, negatively influence children. Last, we will present some promising approaches for promoting the resilience of all adults, with an emphasis on teachers.

Common and Unique Stressors Experienced by Teachers

According to the American Psychological Association, the United States is an "overstressed nation" (American Psychological Association (APA), 2010, p. 5). In this survey of over 1,000 adults, one-third (32%) of parents report that their stress levels are extreme and parents overall say that they are living with stress levels that exceed their definition of healthy. Adults experience multiple sources of stress including money (76%), work (70%), family responsibilities (58%), and relationships (55%). Some sources

of stress, especially the economy and work stability have been exacerbated by the current recession.

Teachers experience these and many other sources of stress as well. Since the passage of the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act in 2002, teachers have been under considerable pressure to ensure that all children demonstrate proficiency in reading and mathematics by 2014. In addition to the demands of NCLB, many teachers are also adversely affected by administrative demands such as excessive paperwork and severe time constraints (Kyriacou, 2001; Lambert, McCarthy, O'Donnell, & Wang, 2009). As noted by McCarthy and Lambert (2006), working conditions have also deteriorated for many teachers with more children displaying problem behaviors, lacking motivation, or coming to school sleep-deprived. Furthermore, teachers are coping with an increasing number of demanding or unsupportive parents. The pressure due to school reform efforts, inadequate administrative support, poor working conditions, lack of participation in school decision making, the burden of paperwork, and lack of resources have all been identified as common factors that can cause stress among school staff (Hammond & Onikama, 1997).

Effects of Stressors on Teachers

Given the multiple stressors present for teachers it is no surprise that their health and well-being is often compromised. Although stress that is infrequent can impact the physical and emotional health of teachers, it is the influence of chronic stress that is more alarming. Across occupations, chronic exposure to a variety of stressors such as high job demands and workload, lack of personal control, insufficient rewards, quality of interactions in the workplace, perceived fairness in work decisions, and values related to the job can lead to the development of burnout over time when coping resources are inadequate (Maslach & Leiter, 2005, 2008; Maslach, Schaufeli, & Leiter, 2011). The phenomenon of burnout has been well-documented in the education field and has

been linked with experiencing job stressors such as high work demands and low personal control (Betoret, 2009; Santavirta, Solovieva, & Theorell, 2007). In fact, Lambert et al. (2009) asserted that there are more studies of burnout in teachers than any other professional group.

Burnout is defined as a psychological response comprised of emotional exhaustion, depersonalization, and reduced personal accomplishment (Maslach & Jackson, 1981). The most central aspect of burnout, emotional exhaustion, is characterized by a feeling of being emotionally overextended and drained of mental resources. It includes feelings of fatigue, loss of energy, and being worn out. Depersonalization is defined as a negative or cynical attitude towards aspects of the job, including the people one works with, such as students, parents, or colleagues. The third component of burnout involves reduced personal accomplishment at work, such as feelings of incompetence, low morale, or reduced meaning or fulfillment with the job. Within the education field, teachers report considerable burnout (Bauer et al., 2006; Kyriacou, 2001; Schonfeld, 1990), which has been characterized by indicators such as job dissatisfaction, changes in attitudes about teaching, and impaired job per-(Guglielmi & 1998: formance Tatrow, Montgomery & Rupp, 2005; Santavirta et al., 2007; Tennant, 2001).

Furthermore, research suggests that chronic stress and burnout are linked to poor physical health in teachers, such as an increased risk of headaches, gastrointestinal problems, cold and flu episodes, sleep disturbances, muscle tension, and hypertension (Melamed, Shirom, Toker, Berliner, & Shapira, 2006; for a review; see Leiter & Maslach, 2000) in addition to mental health problems such as depressed mood, reductions in self-esteem and self-efficacy, decreased motivation, and job dissatisfaction (Burke, Greenglass, & Schwarzer, 1996; Jurado, Gurpegui, Moreno, & de Dios, 1998; Montgomery & Rupp, 2005; Santavirta et al., 2007; Schonfeld, 2001; Tennant, 2001). These physical and mental health problems can impact teachers' personal and professional lives and result in increased teacher absences and turnover.

The problem of teacher turnover has received increasing attention in recent years. Although reports have varied on the incidence of turnover in public schools, it appears that teachers are leaving the profession at an increasing rate (Provasnik & Dorfman, 2005). Current estimates by the National Center for Education Statistics (Keigher, 2010) suggest that about 15.6% of public school teachers were in transition during the school years of 2007-2008 to 2008-2009. Of these teachers, approximately 8.0% left teaching employment (attrition) and 7.6% moved to a different school (migration). Even more troubling are the rates for early childhood teachers. Estimates suggest that the annual job turnover rate for child care providers is estimated to be between 25% and 40%(Center for the Child Care Workforce, 2004). This combined turnover is associated with substantial financial costs. One estimate by the Alliance for Excellent Education (2005) used public teacher turnover cost estimates from the U.S. Department of Labor to compute an annual cost of about \$4.9 billion to schools.

How Stress Impacts Adult Ability to Care for and Teach Children

Of equal concern to the effects of stressors on the teachers' well-being are the effects of teacher stress on students. The negative impacts of teacher stress on students are many; in this chapter we will focus on only three: (1) reduced teacher availability and the impact on attachment and relationships with children, (2) impairments in ability of teachers to model social and emotional competence, and (3) direct negative effects on children.

Reduced Teacher Availability. Teachers experiencing high levels of stress are less available to students both physically and emotionally. In addition to the higher rates of transition described above, highly stressed teachers also have impaired job performance, lower productivity, and increased absenteeism (Leithwood, Menzies, Jantzi, & Leithwood, 1999; Tennant, 2001). As a result of the physical sequelae of stress noted above and the decreased morale associated with burnout, teachers experiencing high levels of stress are not physically present in the classroom as much as teachers with lower levels of stress. High rates of teacher turnover and absenteeism can disrupt the formation of relationships between teacher and students and can negatively impact on the quality of care provided to children (Helburn, 1995; Howes & Hamilton, 1993).

Even when physically present in the classroom, highly stressed teachers who are experiencing burnout may be less emotionally available to their students; believe they no longer contribute to student learning and growth; and show lower quality interactions with students (Belsky et al., 2007; Hamre & Pianta, 2004; Helburn, 1995). In their study of over 500 teachers, Lambert et al. (2009) reported that high-stress teachers had a tendency to both depersonalize and distance themselves from their students, seeing "the children as objects rather than developing individuals" (p. 986). The impact of these outcomes influences both the teacher's ability to form healthy relationships with children and the ability to effectively manage the classroom, both of which contribute to the overall classroom climate and may negatively influence children's social, emotional, behavioral, and academic outcomes (Jennings & Greenberg, 2009). In addition, distressed teachers are less able to handle misbehavior or provide guidance to their students (Biglan, 2008).

For young children especially, the ability to form close relationships and attachment to teachers or caregivers is critical for healthy development. Early developing attachment may be distorted by parental or caregiver unresolved losses, traumatic events, or chronic stressors (Shirilla & Weatherston, 2002). When adults are stressed and unsupported it can negatively impact their ability to provide the level of quality caregiving that infants and children need to prepare them for school and life success. Research is clear that an adult's neglect of a child's physical or emotional needs, use of harsh or inconsistent punishment, little expressive speech, and frequent changes in routines, which are all behaviors related to experiencing high levels of stress, lead to developmental risk. When adults provide clear, consistent expectations, positive emotional expression, stability, and responsive caregiving it promotes a child's potential (Rintoul et al., 1998) and lays the emotional foundation that enables readiness for learning (Norman-Murch, 1996). Children grow and thrive in the context of close and dependable relationships that provide love and nurturance, security, responsive interaction, and encouragement for exploration. According to Werner and Smith (1992), common factors among resilient children include having a close bond with at least one person that provided stable care, mothers' modeling of competence, and positive relationships with extended family members and caregivers when parental ties were not available. When the teacher or caregiver is unavailable to the young child as a result of chronic stress, these relationships can be disrupted and the consequences can be severe and long-lasting (Shonkoff & Phillips, 2000).

Impairments in the Ability of Teachers to Model Social and Emotional Competence. According to Bandura (1977), individuals, including children, are able to learn through the observation and imitation of others, a phenomenon described as social learning. Within this theory, children perceive adults' behavior and may later imitate that behavior. This theory has been applied to help explain the development of prosocial behavior in children. For example, parental modeling of empathy and concern for others influences children's prosocial behaviors (Eisenberg, Fabes, Schaller, Carlo, & Miller, 1991; Fabes, Eisenberg, & Miller, 1990) and parents' ability to manage emotions influences the way children experience and express their own emotions (Eisenberg, Fabes, Carlo, & Karbon, 1992; Roberts & Strayer, 1987).

Teachers too, influence the social and emotional development of children. A multitude of social-emotional learning curricula exist to promote these skills in children.¹ These programs typically emphasize both direct instruction and continual modeling of the skills by teachers in the classroom. This modeling provides children with the opportunities to apply concepts to their daily lives, for example by observing a teacher appropriately manage a frustrating event or problem-solving through a peer conflict. Numerous studies have demonstrated the effectiveness of social-emotional learning programs for students (Durlak et al., 2011; Greenberg et al., 2003) and suggest that teacher willingness and ability to generalize social-emotional skills by modeling during interactions with students throughout the day impacts student behavior (Conduct Problems Prevention Research Group, 1999).

However, teachers who are already overwhelmed by the demands of teaching may find it difficult to model appropriate social-emotional behaviors for children. Teachers are constantly exposed to emotionally challenging situations, and if they are already experiencing high levels of stress, they may not have the capacity to effectively manage those emotions in the presence of children. Similarly, it may be difficult to model an appropriate conflict-resolution approach for students if teacher emotions, such as frustration, are already at a high level. When this occurs, students miss out on critical opportunities to apply learned skills to their everyday lives, and may instead imitate inappropriate or ineffective behaviors. This may ultimately impact their ability to internalize these skills and may contribute to later emotional or behavioral concerns.

Direct Negative Effects on Children. In addition to social learning outcomes, stress-related negative behaviors evidenced by teachers most likely engenders negative emotions and behaviors in students. For example, research has suggested that teachers low on self-efficacy (which is associated with high stress and burnout) demonstrate less effective teaching practices, impacting student achievement, motivation, and self-efficacy (Skaalvik & Skaalvik, 2007; Tschannen-Moran & Woolfolk Hoy, 2001). Additionally, teacher reports of stress have been linked to student apathy (Jenkins & Calhoun, 1991) and student misbehavior in the classroom (Yoon, 2002).

¹For a list of evidence-based K-12 social and emotional learning programs, see the Collaborative for Academic, Social, and Emotional Learning (CASEL; http://casel.org/ publications/safe-and-sound-an-educational-leadersguide-to-evidence-based-sel-programs/). For a list of evidence-based early childhood social and emotional programs, see the Technical Assistance Center on Social Emotional Intervention (http://www.challengingbehavior. org/do/resources/documents/roadmap_2.pdf).

The negative effects of parental stress on children are well documented. According to the 2010 Stress in America Study (APA, 2010) 69% of parents believe that their stress has little or no impact on their children, although this apparently is not the case. The overwhelming majority of children (91%) reported that they were aware of their parents' stress. Perceived parental stress resulted in youth ages 8-17 reporting feeling sad (39%), worried (39%), frustrated (31%), and helpless (21%). Children who reported that their parents experienced high levels of stress were eight times more likely to report being stressed themselves as compared to children of low stress parents (17% vs. 2%). Although these data pertain to parents and children, it is reasonable to suggest that a similar effect would be found with students reacting to perceived teacher stress.

Programs Promoting Adult Resilience

A multitude of adult resilience programs specific to workplace employees exist throughout the US and internationally, many of which are designed and offered at the company level and provide limited evidence of effectiveness. There are, however, programs applicable to a variety of workplace sites that offer promising results, including, but not limited to, the Promoting Adult Resilience (PAR) Program (Liossis, Shochet, Millear, & Biggs, 2009; Millear, Liossis, Shochet, & Biggs, 2008); the READY program (Resilience and Activity for Every Day; Burton, Pakenham, & Brown, 2010); and the Personal Resilience and Resilient Relationships (PRRR) worksite training program (Waite & Richardson, 2004).

Given the negative impact of stress on teachers' health, job satisfaction, and career longevity, as well as on student attachment and relationships, social and emotional competence, and self-perceived stress, it is understandable that attention is being given to fostering the wellbeing and resilience of teachers. Several recent studies have examined characteristics of teachers who have managed to thrive in the education profession despite facing a variety of stressors, such as working in disadvantaged or high-need areas. The protective factors which emerged include a strong personal satisfaction from their work (Brunetti, 2006; Castro, Kelly, & Shih, 2010; Howard & Johnson, 2004; Stanford, 2001; Williams, 2003); strong social support from family, friends, colleagues, and school leadership (Brunetti, 2006; Howard & Johnson, 2004; Stanford, 2001); and a strong belief in the ability to control what happens to them, such as the ability to depersonalize unpleasant events, learning from the events and then moving on, and seeking to understand others' motivation and circumstances (Howard & Johnson, 2004).

In addition, recent studies have highlighted some of the skills resilient teachers working in high-need areas possess. These include asking for help, advice, or resources when needed; utilizing effective problem-solving approaches; the ability to manage relationships with colleagues and parents effectively; and seeking ways to rejuvenate and finding ways to balance life and work (Castro et al., 2010; Patterson, Collins, & Abbott, 2004).

A number of programs exist that target and promote many of these attributes in teachers. One such program is the Inner Resilience Program (IRP; Simon, Harnett, Nagler, & Thomas, 2009), designed following September 11, 2001 to enhance the well-being and resilience of teachers living in lower Manhattan. Following a pilot study, the program was expanded to include educators from public schools across New York City. Teachers participated in a variety of activities designed to reduce stress and burnout; increase attention, concentration, and job satisfaction; and improve relationships with colleagues. Activities included yoga classes, a series of monthly group classes, a weekend retreat, and curriculum training for a classroom component. Following the program, teachers reported reduced stress levels, increased mindfulness and attention levels, and improved relationships with colleagues.

The Emotional Intelligent Teacher (EIT; Brackett & Caruso, 2006) program, one component of a larger school-based SEL initiative, provides explicit training to teachers on fundamental skills drawn from emotional intelligence theory (Mayer & Salovey, 1997), a theory complementary to resilience. In this one-day workshop, teachers learn information about emotion-related skills (i.e., identifying, understanding, and managing of emotions) and how these emotion-related skills can be applied to classroom situations experienced by teachers (Brackett & Katulak, 2006).

The programs described in this section address a critical need and have demonstrated positive outcomes, but have some limitations as well. These are organized group interventions that require an organizational sponsor such as an employer. If one does not work at an organization that is committed to supporting the resilience of staff through programs such as these, access is very limited. Furthermore, many schools are facing difficult funding situations that may make these programs difficult to implement at this time. Additionally, employees in a group session with their coworkers may feel some reluctance to selfdisclose the sources of stress in their lives or the success of prior attempts at coping.

The Devereux Approach to Fostering Adult Resilience

The Devereux Center for Resilient Children, recognizing the critical need for supporting the resilience of the adult as a requisite for enhancing the social and emotional competence and resilience of children, developed The Devereux Adult Resilience Survey (DARS; Mackrain, 2007). This self-reflective instrument is designed to help adults, including teachers, reflect on the presence of important protective factors in their lives. The DARS items are based on information gleaned from a thorough literature review of adult resilience, national focus groups with adults who care for and work on behalf of young children (e.g., parents, home visitors, infant mental health specialists, and early care and education providers) and conversations with national experts. The focus groups and conversations with national experts focused on gathering information related to (1) what behaviors adults felt were important to help them "bounce back" or cope successfully with risk and adversity as well as, (2) what behavior adults need to provide nurturing, quality care and instruction to young children. The DARS was developed to accompany the Devereux Early Childhood Assessment Program for Infants and Toddlers (Mackrain, LeBuffe, & Powell, 2007), therefore the focus groups and literature reviews focused on parents, teachers, and other caregivers of young children. However, the protective factors identified and the items on the DARS are applicable to all adults.

The result of this process was the creation of a set of 23 items that relate to four adult protective factor domains. The *Relationships* grouping (5 items) addresses behaviors that reflect the mutual, long-lasting, back-and-forth bond we have with another person in our lives. Sample Relationship items include "I have good friends who support me," and "I have a mentor or someone who shows me the way." The Initiative grouping (8 items) inquires about the ability to make positive choices and decisions and act upon them. Sample Initiative items include "I try many ways to solve a problem," and "I can ask for help." Internal Beliefs (6 items) asks the adult to reflect on the feelings and thoughts we have about ourselves and our lives, and how effective we think we are at taking action in life. Sample Internal Beliefs items include, "My role as a caregiver is important," and "I am hopeful about the future." The Self-Control grouping (4 items) probes behaviors related to the ability to experience a range of feelings, and express them using the words and actions that society considers appropriate. Sample Self-Control items include, "I set limits for myself," and "I can calm myself down." Adults completing the DARS are asked to reflect on the presence of these protective factors in their lives and then check 1 of 3 boxes for each of the 23 items indicating that, "Yes" that protective factor is present in their lives, "Sometimes" it is present, or it is "Not Yet" present.

Staff at the Devereux Center for Resilient Children investigated the reliability and validity of the DARS by correlating participants' scores on the DARS with their respective scores on the Connor–Davidson Resilience Scale (CD-RISC; Connor & Davidson, 2003), a 25-item scale comprising four factors related to resilience: personal competence, intuition/coping with stress, secure relationships, and spiritual influences. A total of 721 teachers completed both measures in counterbalanced order. This sample population had a distribution similar to the U.S. Census Bureau (2007) population data in regards to race, ethnicity, and age, however in regards to gender, more females participated in the study than males. Findings revealed that the DARS had high internal consistency (α =0.76), and correlated highly with CD-RISC scores (Spearman rho=0.58, p=0.01), supporting the psychometric properties of the DARS.

A guiding principle of the Devereux Center for Resilient Children is that assessments should provide information that guides the development and implementation of strategies to enhance the resilience of the person who is the subject of the assessment. That is, the purpose of assessments developed by the Center is to promote, not just measure, resilience. In keeping with this principle, the DARS is accompanied by a self-reflective journal, Building Your Bounce: Simple Strategies for a Resilient You (Mackrain & Bruce, 2009). In addition to including the DARS, this resource provides strategies, derived from both research and practice, which are linked to the 23 items and designed to promote adult resilience. For example, in relation to the Internal Beliefs item, "My role as a caregiver is important" one of the strategies is to first list all of the routine, sometimes tedious, things that one does as a teacher. Next the adult is asked to reflect and write down the positive effects of these routines on him or herself. A teacher might list as a routine task writing weekly progress notes on each child, but then reflects and realizes that those notes enable her to see progress in her students' abilities and communicate that news to parents and the student. After completing the DARS, the adult selects one or more of the items that receive a rating of "Sometimes" or "Not Yet" and then selects a related strategy from Building Your Bounce to promote the development of that protective factor.

As a self-directed and self-reflective approach, the DARS and Building Your Bounce can be utilized by any adult interested in enhancing his or her resilience. Although it can be used in group settings, it can also be utilized by a single adult. Furthermore as a self-reflective approach, the results do not have to be shared or discussed with others enabling participants to be more honest and forthright. In addition, as Kyriacou (2001) noted, it is important for teachers to discover which strategies work best for them. Although training is available from the Devereux Center for Resilient Children in the use of the DARS and Building Your Bounce, it is not required. As such, these resources are easily used by a variety of adults and complement the group interventions described above.

Conclusions

Nearly all adults in the United States experience stressors of too many demands and too little time. Apparently, most adults feel that their level of stress has increased over the past 5 years (APA, 2010). The current "Great Recession" is exacerbating concerns over employment and financial stability for many adults and their families. For teachers the stressors are many and multiplying. Demands to meet annual yearly progress on high stakes testing, children who come to school not ready to learn, increasing behavior problems in the classroom, to name but a few common stressors are in some cases overwhelming the coping resources of teachers. It is critical that schools promote the well-being of teachers so they can in turn support students in acquiring the social and emotional skills that are essential for school and life success. Supporting teachers' resilience is a promising practice that is critical to educational planning efforts at the national, state, and local levels.

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