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Seeing Beyond the Stereotype to See the Whole Human: Teachers' Perceptions of Media Stereotypes and Black Youth

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This dissertation, SEEING BEYOND THE STEREOTYPE TO SEE THE WHOLE HUMAN:

TEACHERS' PERCEPTIONS OF MEDIA STEREOTYPES AND BLACK YOUTH, by

SYREETA ALI MCTIER, was prepared under the direction of the candidate's Dissertation

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**SEEING BEYOND THE STEREOTYPE TO SEE THE WHOLE HUMAN: TEACHERS'
PERCEPTIONS OF MEDIA STEREOTYPES AND BLACK YOUTH**

by

SYREETA ALI MCTIER

Under the Direction of Joyce E. King, Ph.D.

ABSTRACT

Media, including, news, network television, and film communicate messages about people, places, events, and culture that influence the perceptions of those engaged in the media (Bandura, 2001; Hall, 1973). Media has historically portrayed Black Americans stereotypically as morally and intellectually inferior (Bogle, 1994; Entman & Rojecki, 2000; Greenberg et al., 2002). Similarly, media also portrays Black students stereotypically as violent, disrespectful, lazy, athletic, aggressive, and underachieving (Brown, 2011; Ferguson, 2001; Yosso & Garcia, 2010), while teachers have reported holding deficit perceptions about Black students (Chang & Demyan, 2007; DeCastro-Ambrosetti & Cho, 2011). This single exploratory qualitative case study used the Black Studies Theory of Alterity (Wynter, 2003; King, 2006) as the theoretical framework to investigate teachers' perceptions of media stereotypes about Black urban youth and the influence of their participation in a researcher designed workshop on their understandings. This case study employed a research-as-pedagogy (King, Goss, & McArthur, 2014) data collection method in that the researcher also served as the facilitator of the media workshop.

Eighteen pre-service and active teachers enrolled in a multicultural education course and their teacher education professor participated in the three-day media workshop and formed the bounded unit of the case study (Yin, 2009). Data were generated from the three-day media workshop activities and included a demographic survey, artifacts, class discussions, reflection journals, and interview. Data were analyzed using Braun and Clarke's (2006) six phases of thematic analysis and generated three themes to describe participants' perceptions and understandings. Theme One, imposing limits, describes the ways stereotypes limit how people think about unknown Black youth, limit humanity by dehumanizing Black youth, and limit Black students' education. Theme Two, media as a source of influence, describes the power of media to influence the thoughts of individuals and society. Theme Three, humanization, describes the ways participants pushed back against stereotypes during the workshop and engaged in critical thought and reflection to confront their biases and improve professional practice. The findings can be used to inform educational policies and design course curricula for teacher education programs to develop teachers' critical competencies in embracing student diversity and combatting deficit-based education.

INDEX WORDS: Media stereotypes, Black youth, Teacher perceptions, Urban youth, Black Studies, Alterity

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SYREETA ALI MCTIER

A Dissertation

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of Requirements for the

Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Social Foundations of Education

in

Educational Policy Studies

in

the College of Education and Human Development

Georgia State University

Atlanta, GA
2019

DEDICATION

Praise God from whom ALL blessings flow! I praise God for life, love, guidance, wisdom, strength, inspiration, healing, and endurance. I praise God for making the path for me and guiding the way. God has taught me to trust and rely on Him. God's got me! "But my God shall supply all your need according to His riches in glory by Christ Jesus" (Philippians 4:19).

This work is dedicated to my loving and supportive parents, Samuel Lee McTier, Jr. and Bettye Lou McTier. I cannot thank you both enough for your unconditional love, unwavering support, wisdom, guidance, extensive sacrifices, and inspiration. You laid the foundation for me, pushed me, and encouraged me along this journey. You are the wisest and most loving people I know. I stand on your shoulders. This is OUR work.

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1 INTRODUCTION

So that is how to create a single story. Show a people as one thing, as only one thing, over and over again, and that is what they become...It is impossible to talk about the single story without talking about power. Power is the ability not just to tell the story of another person, but to make it the definitive story of that person.

-Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, 2009

Problem Statement

Violent, criminal, intimidating, and underachieving are examples of stereotypic descriptions of Black males and females communicated through news media and crime television shows (Caldwell & Caldwell, 2011; Dixon, 2008; Dixon & Azocar, 2007; Dixon & Linz, 2000; Rios, 2008). Similarly, violent, disrespectful, lazy, loud, and underachieving are also examples of stereotypic descriptions of Black students in schools (Brown, 2011; Davis, 2003; DeCastro-Ambrosetti & Cho, 2011; Ferguson, 2001; Solórzano & Yosso, 2001). Media, including, news, network television, and film communicate messages about people, places, events, and culture that influence the perceptions of those engaged in the media (Bandura, 2001). Black Americans have historically been portrayed in television and film media as morally and intellectually inferior, poor, lazy, angry, athletic, aggressive, entertainers, and criminals (Bogle, 1994; Entman & Rojecki, 2000; Greenberg et al, 2002), and non-Black viewers of television have reported perceiving Black Americans in stereotypical ways (Dixon, 2008; Dixon & Azocar, 2007; Dixon & Linz, 2000; Fujioka, 1999; Lee et al., 2009).

Negative stereotypes about Black youth carry over into academic settings with Black students portrayed in urban education films and in education and social science research as unmotivated, aggressive, and at-risk for failure (Brown, 2011; Ferguson, 2001; Lee, 2008; Wells & Serman, 1998; Yosso & Garcia, 2010) while teachers have reported holding deficit perceptions about Black students (Chang & Demyan, 2007; DeCastro-Ambrosetti & Cho, 2011; Hampton,

Peng, & Ann, 2008; Lynn et al., 2010). Black youth also experience negative educational conse-

quences, as research suggests Black males and females are disproportionately suspended from

school for subjective behaviors such as disrespect and disruption (Losen & Gillepsie, 2012;

Losen & Martinez, 2013; Skiba, 2002, 2011), which are consistent with negative depictions of

Black youth in media (Caldwell & Caldwell, 2011; Hampton, Peng, & Ann, 2008; Wells & Ser-

man, 1998; Yosso & Garcia, 2010). Recognizing the power of media to communicate a per-

ceived reality, I am concerned with the stereotypes about Black youth communicated in news

and network media and how media stereotypes inform teachers' perceptions of Black youth. This

study aimed to examine teachers' awareness of media stereotypes and if media stereotypes influ-

ence their perceptions of Black youth. This study also aspired to determine if and how participat-

ing in a workshop on media stereotypes influences the teachers' understandings of stereotypes.

Purpose

Moreover, the purpose of this qualitative case study was to investigate teachers' percep-

tions of media stereotypes about Black youth, and the influence of their participation in a re-

searcher designed workshop on their understandings.

Research Questions

The questions that guided this inquiry were:

1. What are teachers' perceptions of stereotypes about Black urban youth?

2. What are teachers' perceptions of the role of media in communicating stereotypes about

   Black urban youth?

3. How does their participation in a workshop on media stereotypes about Black urban youth

   inform their understandings and perceptions?

Significance of the Study

Scholars have documented the overlap between negative media images of Black youth, notions of inferior educability, and educational consequences for Black students such as the misinterpretation of student behavior (Davis, 2003; Ferguson, 2001; Love, 2014). In particular, Ferguson (2001) states that Black males are stigmatized as criminals and endangered species in the United States, and that both of these images were invoked for "identifying, classifying, and making punishment decisions by the adults responsible for disciplining kids" (p.20). She asserts that discipline decisions that are assumed to be objective are influenced by teachers' "perceptions of student appearance, behavior, and social background" (Ferguson, 2001, p.53). Similarly, Davis (2003) suggests negative stereotypes about Black youth communicated in media carry over into school settings by potentially influencing the perceptions of teachers and administrators about student achievement and interpretations of student behavior. Davis (2003) asserts:

> These images portray the Black male as violent, disrespectful, unintelligent, hyper- sexualized, and threatening. These cultural messages, without a doubt, carry over into schools and negatively influence the ways young Black male students are treated, positioned, and distributed opportunities to learn…Black boys' demeanors are misunderstood by White middle-class teachers and seen as defiant, aggressive, and intimidating (p. 520-521).

Scholars have further documented biases pre-service and practicing teachers hold towards Black youth and identified teacher education as a space to address teachers' frames of reference that contribute to biases (Chang & Demyan, 2007; DeCastro-Ambrosetti & Cho, 2011; Solórzano & Yosso, 2001). Notably, the Council for Accreditation of Educator Preparation (CAEP), a council that evaluates teacher certification programs, calls for a focus on student diversity as a critical component of teacher certification programs. The CAEP recommends that teacher competency in addressing diversity should be embedded in all aspects of teacher preparation such that:

teachers examine their own frames of reference (e.g., culture, gender, language, abilities, ways of knowing), the potential biases in these frames, the relationship of privilege and power in schools and the impact of these frames on educators' expectations for and relationships with learners and their families (CAEP, 2013, p. 21).

Scholars also suggest specifically analyzing stereotypes as a component of teacher education. Particularly, Solórzano and Yosso (2001) recommend that teacher education classrooms become a space to define and analyze racial stereotypes as well as "identify racial stereotypes in film, television, and print forms of media, which are used to justify attitudes and behavior toward students of color" (Solórzano & Yosso, 2001, p.7). DeCastro-Ambrosetti and Cho (2011) also advise that educational programs be revised to address bias and stereotypes, focus on understanding diverse cultures, and analyze the social construction of race and discrimination including racial inequity.

Research studies that address analyzing racial stereotypes as a part of teacher education have primarily focused on the urban school genre as depicted by Hollywood films and television shows in which pre-service teachers view Hollywood films and television shows to analyze stereotypes (Beyerbach, 2005; Pimentel, 2010; Rorrer & Furr, 2009; Trier, 2005). However, there is a gap in the literature about research studies in which teachers analyze racialized stereotypes communicated in news media as a way for teachers to examine their own perceptions about urban youth. The addition of news footage provides a deeper awareness of the influence of media stereotypes because news footage is perceived to accurately depict life occurrences as opposed to drama or comedy which are viewed for entertainment purposes. Institutions also control what is considered news worthy (van Dijk, 2004), so news footage should be included in the analysis of racialized media stereotypes and not merely accepted as objective reporting. This study is significant because it addresses a gap in the literature by examining teachers' perceptions of media

stereotypes about Black urban youth communicated in news media. This study also attends to the recommendation by scholars to extend studies of teachers' racial perceptions to include qualitative methods to gain a deeper understanding of sources and images that normalize racial bias (Collins, 1999, 2004; Solórzano & Yosso, 2001).

This study also provides data about how teachers' participation in a workshop on media stereotypes about Black urban youth influences their awareness and understanding of media stereotypes, and provides implications for teacher – student interactions. The results of the study provide information for teacher education programs to use in designing curricula and learning experiences for teachers to meet the Council for Accreditation of Educator Preparation's call for a focus on student diversity in teacher education as a form of teacher competency (CAEP, 2013). The findings are also relevant for pre-service and practicing teachers, and may be used to inform educational policies.

Assumptions

This study makes assumptions about the existence of stereotypes about Black males and females in media and education. Specifically, this study assumes that stereotypes exist about Black American males and females and that negative stereotypes are communicated through news and network television media (Brown, 2011; Davis, 2003; DeCastro-Ambrosetti & Cho, 2011; Ferguson, 2001; Solórzano & Yosso, 2001; Dixon, 2008; Dixon & Azocar, 2007; Dixon & Linz, 2000; Rios, 2008). This study also assumes that the participants hold racial perceptions about their own race and people of other races, and that the participants will be truthful in their responses despite the sensitivity of the subject of race and education.

Limitations

The limitations of the study describe potential weaknesses in the study based on factors outside of my control as the researcher, including personal bias and human mistakes in the research design (Creswell, 2013). The limitations of this study include time constraints of the case, the number of participants in the study, and the personal bias of the researcher. The study is constricted to 12 hours, which is the length of the media workshop activities. The case study is also restricted to 19 participants, which include 18 teacher participants and one teacher education professor participant, as opposed to a larger number of participants. The smaller number of participants allowed me as the researcher to engage in in-depth dialogue with the participants, however, the findings of the case will not be generalized to other populations. Finally, limitations of the study include the personal bias of the researcher in that I am not culturally neutral as an observer, interviewer, or researcher. My experiences as a Black woman, former teacher, administrator, consumer of media, and researcher affect the design of the study. I acknowledged my subjectivities in the subjectivity statement prior to conducting the study and tamed and monitored my subjectivities during the research process (Peshkin, 1988).

Key Terms

The terms Black, urban, teacher, and stereotypes have different meanings and interpretations based on their contexts. Therefore, I have defined the meanings of these terms based on how they are used throughout the case study.

> **Black** – In the context of this study, race is understood as a form of socially constructed knowledge. The term Black is used as a racial category to reference humans who identify as or are identified as being of African origin or descendants from Africa's people. Black is not limited to African Americans and includes all people across the African diaspora.

Urban – Urban is a term used to describe location in reference to a city. However, due to the urban school film genre, the term urban may have connotations about race, ethnicity, culture, social economic status, and school achievement. Within this study, in addition to using the term urban to designate a location in the city, some participants racialized the term urban to also mean Black. Therefore, the phrases Black youth, Black urban youth, and urban youth are used interchangeably during the study based on participants' responses.

Teacher –The term teacher in this study includes both pre-service teachers with zero years of teaching experience, but have taken at least one education course, as well as active K-12 teachers with at least one year of teaching experience during the time of the study.

Stereotypes – Stereotypes are defined as mental images, associations, or "pictures in our head" (Tan, 2009, p. 262) that serve as social categories to organize information about people. They are over-generalized beliefs about society and others to make sense of and simplify the world.

Theoretical Framework

The epistemology of constructivism posits "all knowledge, and therefore all meaningful reality as such, is contingent upon human practices, being constructed in and out of interaction between human beings and their world, and developed and transmitted within an essential social context "(Crotty, 1998, p. 42). This study is aligned with the epistemology of constructivism asserting that knowledge, truth, and meaning are not objective, but are constructed through human interaction. Human beings construct meaning by engaging with and interpreting the world. Meaningful reality is socially constructed, and meaning is generated and transmitted

collectively. Ideologies that are considered to be knowledge, truth, and meaning come into existence through engagement with the social and natural phenomena of the world. As such, it is possible for different people to construct meaning of the same phenomena in different ways (Crotty, 1998).

This study is conceptually and theoretically situated in the tradition of scholars who question the purpose of socially constructed racial knowledge and ideologies that shape what people think, and the effects of socially constructed racial knowledge on the thoughts, perceptions, and behaviors of other human beings (King, 1999, 2005, 2006 a, b; Wynter, 2003, 2005 a, b). In particular, I used a Black Studies analysis of the ideology of race to guide this inquiry in that race is viewed as a form of socially constructed knowledge tied to a set of ideas and beliefs. Recognizing that the pervasive ideology of White superiority renders repeated cultural assaults on Blackness (Murrell, 1997; King, 2008), Black Studies, as an analytical tool of critique, promotes an intellectual tradition that confronts and combats hegemony within racial ideologies in an effort to promote human freedom (Gleason, 2006; King, 2008; Woodson, 1933). As stated by King (2006a, b, 2008, 2017), a Black Studies theoretical analysis of racial ideology unites critical thought with action and explicitly ties the cultural well-being of Black people to the general welfare of humanity by noting that White supremacy racism blocks everyone's humanity and blocks human freedom. As such, I used the Black Studies theory of alterity as articulated by Sylvia Wynter as the particular theoretical framework to guide this study because it specifically questions racial knowledge that affirms an ideology of White superiority. This theoretical perspective analyzes "what race does" in Western society in relation to the social construction of racial knowledge in the context of what it means to be human (King, 1991, 2005, 2006 a, b; Wynter,

2003; 2005 a, b). A detailed account of the theory of alterity is provided in the following para-graph.

Theory of Alterity- Biocentrism, Race, and Ethno-class "Man"

Wynter's (2003, 2005a, b) theory of alterity, detailing the ideas of biocentrism, race, and ethno-class "Man," provides a specific lens through which to view the social construction of racial knowledge as an order of human knowledge. Wynter (2003, 2005a, b) defines biocentrism as a belief system that conceptualizes the human as a biological being who creates culture and reproduces conceptions of humanity through both nature-culture dynamics (both ontogeny and sociogeny). Meaning, ideas about who is considered to be human and what it means to be human are created by humans who are both biological and cultural beings. These meanings are repro-duced through culture. Ideas about who is considered human change in accordance with the cul-tural model that organizes a particular mode of thought. Specifically, Wynter (2005 a, b) states that during medieval feudal times within the hierarchical Judeo-Christian cultural model, the des-ignation of being viewed as human was attributed to the clergy, while laymen were considered lost souls or not as worthy, that is, as close to God. As opposed to conceptualizing humanity within such a religious hierarchy, Wynter uses the term ethno-class "Man" to describe the cur-rent secular conception of what it means to be human within our present Western bourgeois or White and middle-class cultural model. Particularly, Wynter (2005 a, b) notes that this "Western bourgeois cultural model" offers us only one conception of what it means to be human. How-ever, within the order of knowledge that defines the modern European state and extending to U.S. society, this Western bourgeois notion of modern "Man" has been over-represented as the ultimate indicator of humanity, as if any deviation from it amounts to being subhuman. Further-more, Wynter (2005 a, b) argues that in every order, a liminal category exists to denote deviation

from the "law-like" norm. Wynter argues that in the West, including the United States of America, the normative model of being human is this Western bourgeois or White middle-class ideal that exclusively humanizes and prioritizes conceptual Whiteness, whereas conceptual Blackness, constitutes a liminal category or deviation from the norm as the alter ego of conceptual Whiteness. Crediting Fanon's (1967) assertion that within this cultural model of the West, in order to be human "you must be anti-Black," Wynter states that Blackness is degraded so that Whiteness can be celebrated (Wynter, 2003). As Wynter (2005b) has noted:

> For example, America is held together on the basis of Whiteness. The middle-class has been able to "sucker" the lower-middle-class by bonding it to itself on the fact that "We are all White." So trans-gender, trans-race, trans-everything, they are held together by the concept of White. But "White" is a cultural conception that is only possible as an opiate-triggering reward conception by means of the degradation of the "Black" (p. 363).

In this study, I use Wynter's (2005a, b) theory of alterity to contextualize the analysis of stereotypes communicated about Black youth in media and educational literature as a form of socially constructed racial knowledge within the Western, bourgeois order of knowledge that generate a metanarrative that affirms conceptual Whiteness as human and superior and conceptual Blackness as subhuman and inferior. Ideologies that dehumanize conceptual Blackness and humanize conceptual Whiteness are a form of hegemonic and biased socially constructed racial knowledge that is not accidental, but is purposeful, historical, and systemic. As stated by King (2006b),

> this perspective of alterity is not due to an inherent biological/racial/cultural difference but is the result of a 'historically specific process': the dialectic of socially constructed otherness that prescribes the liminal status of African-descent (and indigenous American Indian) as beyond the boundary of the normative (Eurocentric) concept of self/other. Most importantly, this alterity perspective is centered in the historic encounter of the Red, Black, and White people during the founding of the 'Americas' and the colonial domination of Africa (p. 27)

The perspective of alterity, as expressed by Wynter quoting Legesse, also recognizes that groups within the liminal category of any order "are the ones most able to 'free us' from the 'ordering' normative 'categories and prescriptions' of our epistemic orders" (King, 2006b, p. 28). Meaning, the order of knowledge can be changed and the knowledge of those within the liminal category has liberating power to free everyone from the restrictive order of hegemonic knowledge. King (2006b) states, "the perspective of alterity actually seeks not only to decipher this metanarrative or concept of reality, but to transmute it" (p. 26). The perspective of alterity then is not passive, but actively seeks to decipher knowledge in order to change it. As such, I framed this study within the theory of alterity to analyze teachers' understandings of "what race does" and to decipher, explain, and refute the metanarrative of conceptual Whiteness and conceptual Blackness communicated through media stereotypes.

Overview of the Study

This study is organized into five chapters. Chapter One introduces the purpose of the study, including the research questions, significance, assumptions, limitations, and theoretical framework guiding the inquiry. Chapter Two reviews relevant literature that contextualizes stereotypes as a form of systemic oppression, details the role of mass media as an agent of socialization, and examines studies documenting viewers' perceptions of Black youth based on media stereotypes, as well as teachers' perceptions of Black youth. Chapter Three details the methodology of the study, including a description of the context of the case study, the setting, participants, research methods, and the thematic data analysis process I used to generate the findings (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Chapter Four reports the findings of the study in which the overarching themes, subthemes, and evidence are explained and organized by research question. The findings are also synthesized and communicated through a poem I composed. Finally, chapter Five discusses and

situates the findings within the theoretical framework of the Black Studies theory of alterity and educational literature on teachers' perceptions of Black youth and disproportionate discipline. Chapter Five also details implications for educational policy and teacher education, and concludes with recommendations for further research.

2 REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This chapter will review relevant literature on stereotypes as a form of systemic oppression; detail the role of media as a socialization agent using Bandura's (2001) social cognitive theory of mass communication and Hall's (1973) theory of encoding and decoding in mass communication; examine research and writing on negative images about Black youth communicated in news and network media, including viewer perceptions of Black youth based on stereotypes; review stereotypes about Black youth in education research literature; examine the scholarship on teacher perceptions of Black youth; and conclude with research-based strategies to address stereotypes and deficit-based thinking as a part of teacher education.

Stereotypes and Systemic Racism

Tan et al. (2009) credit Lippman (1922) for first defining stereotypes as "pictures in our heads" (Tan, 2009, p. 262). These pictures or images serve as social categories to organize information about people, including over-generalized beliefs about society and others, to make sense of and simplify the world. Similarly, Devine and Elliott (1995) assert that a stereotype is a "well-learned set of associations that link a set of characteristics with a group label," (p. 1140) and a stereotype remains as an active organizational structure even if the individual does not personally believe the stereotype.

Stereotypes about Black youth are prevalent in politics, media, and education literature. Black youth are associated with being "lazy, ignorant, athletic, rhythmical, low in intelligence, poor, criminal, hostile, and loud" (Devine & Elliott, 1995, p. 1144).   In education literature, Black youth are presented as low performing, in crisis, and at risk for being pushed out of school through suspension and expulsion (Brown, 2011; Losen & Gillepsie, 2012; Losen & Martinez; 2013; Schott Foundation for Public Education, 2012).

Delgado and Stefancic (2000) assert, "Racism is normal, not aberrant in American society. Because racism is an ingrained feature of our landscape, it looks ordinary and natural to persons in the culture" (p. xvi). Racism is pervasive in institutional structures and schooling practices on the macro-level as well as in the daily interactions of individuals and groups of people on the micro-level (Davis, 1989; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Taylor, 2009). Subordinated groups confront racism in daily interactions with others and with print, television and electronic media. Media stereotypes that disparage these groups constitute a form of business as usual racism (Delgado & Stefancic, 2000) that protects White privilege and the White reputation by Othering subordinated groups as inferior. Solórzano and Yosso (2009) have noted, "The majoritarian story distorts and silences experiences of people of color. Using 'standard formulae,' majoritarian methods purport to be neutral and objective yet implicitly make assumptions according to negative stereotypes about people of color" (Solórzano &Yosso p. 136; Ikemoto, 1997). Specifically, the majoritarian story communicates and reinforces stereotypes that correlate Blackness with poverty and violence, and overtly and covertly associate Blackness with whatever is presumed to be bad and Whiteness with what is thought to be good. Negative media stereotypes serve a macro-level function of institutionalized racism contributing to this majoritarian narrative of natural Black inferiority and natural White superiority (Solórzano & Yosso, 2009).

Similarly, Collins's (1999, 2004) theory of controlling images asserts that oppressive images are needed in society governed by the rules of White supremacy racism in order to demarcate those who do belong from those who do not. Particularly, controlling images of Black females as mammies, matriarchs, welfare queens, and Jezebels, and Black males as bucks, brutes, athletes, criminals, thugs, hustlers, sidekicks and emasculated are used to objectify Black men and women as the "Others" of society who do not belong (Collins, 1999). Controlling images

extend beyond news and network media into the urban film genre further reinforcing the stereo-typical image of Black youth as gang members and thugs (Yosso & Garcia, 2010). Furthermore, the urban education film genre presents Black youth as "Others" in need of saving by White teachers. This trope of the White teacher versus Black students presents a visual dichotomy of good versus evil in which the good White teacher wins the struggle.

Mass media, including television, film, print, and electronic media, serve as a conduit for communicating disparaging messages about Black Americans on a macro-level. Bandura's (2001) social cognitive theory of mass communication and Hall's (1973) theory of encoding and decoding mass communication provide insight into the process of social learning through sym-bolic communication and the role of institutional structures in communicating ideologies through mass communication.

Media and Mass Communication Theories

Social Cognitive Theory of Mass Communication

Bandura's (2001) social cognitive theory of mass communication asserts that symbolic communication influences human thought, action, and affect through psychosocial mechanisms. There is transactional engagement among the human self and society such that personal cogni-tive and affective factors, environmental factors, and behavior factors all influence each other. Specifically, Bandura (2001) states, "human self-development, adaptation, and change are em-bedded in social systems. Therefore, personal agency operates within a broad network of socio-structural influences. In these agentic transactions, people are producers as well as products of social systems'' (p. 266). Cognitive, vicarious, self-regulatory, and self-reflective processes are central to social cognitive theory in that they focus on the human ability to use symbolization to interpret and interact with the environment. Cognitive factors affect experience by determining

attention to environmental events, meaning attached to events, emotional interpretations, and how the events are organized for future use. Bandura (2001) argues that humans use symbols to "process and transform transient experiences into cognitive models that serve as guides for judgment and action. Through symbols, people give meaning, form, and continuity to their experiences" (p. 267).

Experiences can be direct or vicarious, and social learning occurs from vicarious experiences, which includes observing other people's actions and subsequent consequences. Media, as a form of symbolic communication, can play a significant role in providing vicarious experiences for others. Specifically, Bandura (2001) asserts, "social learning occurs either designedly or unintentionally from models in one's immediate environment. However, a vast amount of information about human values, styles of thinking, and behavior patterns is gained from the extensive modeling in the symbolic environment of the mass media" (p.271).

Mass media can influence the social reality constructed about people and places, especially when direct experiences are lacking. Mass media influences the way others socially construct reality by communicating new ideas, behavior patterns, values, and social practices. Bandura (2001) notes that the symbolic environment transmitted by mass media is wide spread, occupying a major part of people's everyday lives, and shaping public consciousness through electronic acculturation. Mass media provides socially mediated pathways of information by implanting ideas directly or through adopters. Essentially, people can be influenced directly by the media, adopt the new ideas, and then subsequently influence others not exposed directly to the media by sharing ideas with those who were not directly exposed. Notably, Bandura (2001) asserts that social learning through mass media can foster shared misconceptions about people, places, and things when the media communicates distortions of social reality.

Television is of special concern as repeated exposure to televised images may be viewed as authentic representations of social reality, human nature, norms, and structures of society. Bandura (2001) states, "many of the shared misconceptions about occupational pursuits, ethnic groups, minorities, the elderly, social and sex roles, and other aspects of life are at least partly cultivated through symbolic modeling of stereotypes" (p. 282).

Encoding and Decoding Mass Communication

Hall's (1973) theory of encoding and decoding in mass communication addresses the role of institutional structures in communicating ideologies through mass communication. Specifically, Hall (1973, 1980) states that during the production stage, institutional structures and networks of broadcasting draw on professional ideologies, assumptions about the audience, institutional knowledge, and topics within the larger socio-cultural and political structure to construct messages and develop programs for audiences. Messages are encoded during the production stage for audiences to then decode in order to make meaning. The messages are circulated through images and text as a separate moment of communication. Audiences then decode messages in the moment of consumption. It is important to note that audiences are not passive recipients of the messages, however audiences actively decode and interpret messages based on their own social contexts. The decoded meanings are then reproduced by audience members based on their interpretations, thereby influencing frameworks of knowledge. Hall argues that some codes have been so widely distributed that the codes appear to be naturalized in certain cultures and languages. Specifically, Hall (1973) states:

> naturalization of codes has the ideological effect of concealing the practices of coding which are present…actually, what naturalized codes demonstrate is the degree of habituation produced when there is fundamental alignment and reciprocity –an achieved equivalence- between the encoding and decoding sides of an exchange of meanings (pp. 55-56).

Furthermore, Hall argues that miscommunication occurs when the encoded message is not decoded as intended by the producer. Being that viewers actively decode messages based on their own social contexts, viewers may not always accept the message as it was originally encoded. In fact, viewers may take one of three positions after decoding messages. Viewers may take a dominant-hegemonic position by decoding the message as intended by the encoding institution by interpreting and reproducing the message in a way that aligns with the dominant ideology. Viewers may also take a negotiated code position by acknowledging the legitimacy of the dominant message, but not completely accepting the message the way the encoder intended. The viewers in the negotiated position accept the message on an abstract level, but make exceptions to the dominant message on a situational basis. Finally, the viewers may take an oppositional position to the encoded message by forming their own interpretations based on their backgrounds. The viewers understand the dominant message, however, they do not share the interpretation and then reject the dominant message.

Understanding that televised and video images communicated through mass media communicate ideologies about people in society and affect people's constructions of social reality and beliefs about others, the remainder of this chapter will identify prevalent stereotypes about Black males and females communicated in television and news media; examine viewer perceptions of Black male and female behavior as a result of stereotype exposure; detail prevalent stereotypes in education literature that disparage Black youth; relate media stereotypes and stereotypes in education literature to disproportionate discipline practices and stereotypes held by pre-service and in-service teachers in schools; identify educational consequences for Black students; and conclude with research-based strategies used in teacher education programs that target deficit thinking, teacher awareness of stereotypes and anti-racist teaching.

Media Stereotypes about Black Americans

Bogle (1994) noted a long history of recurring negative stereotypic representations of Black people in film and television media beginning in the early 1900s and extending to the twenty-first century. In other words, Black Americans have historically been represented as morally and intellectually inferior through characterizations such as Uncle Toms, Coons, Tragic Mulattos, Mammies, Jezebels, Sapphires, or Brute Bucks, while the related contemporary categories include assimilationists, entertainers, angry divas, criminals or the sources of societal problems. Historically and contemporarily, Black characters are stereotyped as those who are:

> Preoccupied with simple ideas, employ inferior strategy in warfare or conflict situations, express low or nonexistent occupational status, exhibit poor speech patterns or dialect, and participate in comedic foil. . .display a low regard for human life, participate in criminal activity, exhibit sexual promiscuity, abuse drugs and alcohol, and exhibit dishonesty. (Wilson & Gutierrez, 1985, p. 79)

Additionally, Entman, and Rojecki (2000) explored portrayals of Blacks on network and local news and conducted interviews with White Americans to address how mass media shapes the attitudes of White Americans towards Black Americans. The researchers report that network television programming portrayals of Black Americans are associated with poverty, drugs, crime, and noisy communicators of special interest politics, supporting the idea that Blacks are criminals and problems for society. In fact, Entman and Rojecki (2000) assert that subtle patterns of images of Blacks in the media reinforce a racial hierarchy with Whites on top and Blacks as opposite of Whites. For example, Black characters are prevalent in commercials, but the Black characters rarely speak to or touch each other, as opposed to White characters. The researchers also state that Black people on sitcoms typically reflect the buffoon stereotype and rarely enjoy friendly contact with White colleagues. These researchers conclude that stereotypic images of Blacks in media may reinforce social distance from Whites. Similarly, Greenberg, Mastero, and

Brand's (2002) comprehensive analysis of Black portrayals in the media also suggests that Blacks went from servants, buffoons and mammies, to poor, lazy, aggressive, entertainers, and athletes who are also overrepresented as criminals and suspects.

Furthermore, Dixon and Linz (2000) analyzed the portrayals of African Americans, Latinos, and Whites in television news as lawbreakers and law defenders. The researchers randomly sampled local television programs airing in Los Angeles and Orange County, California including 118 30-minute programs across local news channels over a period of 20 weeks. Inter-group and inter-role comparisons analyzing the roles of lawbreaker versus law defender found that Blacks and Latinos are more likely to be portrayed as lawbreakers than law defenders, and Whites are significantly more likely to be portrayed as law defenders than lawbreakers. The researchers compared the portrayals of lawbreakers and law defenders on television news with official crime reports from the California Department of Justice and determined that Blacks are overrepresented as lawbreakers on television, while Latinos and Whites are underrepresented as lawbreakers on television compared to actual crime rates. Dixon and Linz (2000) conclude that Blacks are inaccurately and overly portrayed as criminals in news media.

Media Stereotypes and Viewer Perceptions of Black Youth

Dixon and Azocar (2007) investigated the long-term psychological effects of viewing television news on stereotyping Black Americans as criminals. The researchers were interested in identifying a cognitive link between watching the news and viewing Blacks as lawbreakers and assessed whether the portrayals of Blacks as criminals on television news had an impact on viewers' perceptions of Blacks and crime policy. Research participants included 148 undergraduate students attending a Midwestern university in the United States of America, of whom 103 were White, seven were Black, 25 were Asian, and 13 identified themselves as Other.

Participants viewed news stories with Black perpetrators, White perpetrators, unidentified suspects, and non-crime stories. Participants also took a survey about their rates of news viewing, perceptions of structural barriers faced by Blacks, support for the death penalty, and a measure of racialized stereotypes. The researchers found that heavy news viewers exposed to unidentified perpetrators were less likely to perceive that Blacks face structural limitations and more likely to support the death penalty than heavy news viewers exposed to non-crime stories. Likewise, heavy news viewing participants exposed to a majority of Black suspects were more likely to find unidentified suspects guilty of accused offenses than heavy news viewing participants exposed to non-crime stories. The researchers conclude that long term exposure to racialized crime news overtime can shape perceptions of Black Americans as criminals and lead to views supporting severe punishment, including the death penalty, for offenders.

In another study, Dixon (2008) further analyzed the effects of stereotypical representations of Black people as criminals, poor people, and loud politicians on the perceptions of network news viewers about Blacks, specifically in terms of modern racism. Dixon states the three components of modern racism include "(a) anti-African American affect or a general emotional hostility toward African Americans, (b) resistance to the political demands of African Americans, and (c) the belief that racism is dead and that racial discrimination no longer inhibits African American achievement" (p. 322). The researchers administered telephone surveys to 508 respondents in Los Angeles, California to test the impact of network news exposure on perceptions of African Americans and modern racism. The respondents were 58% female, 42% male, 43% White, 16% African American, 26% Latino, and 15% Other. The surveys included information about the type of media the respondents were exposed to, perceived income of African Americans, and measures of stereotype endorsement and modern racism using the Modern Racism

Scale. Dixon found that respondents exposed to higher amounts of network news reported lower income for African Americans and endorsed African American stereotypes, including the perception that African Americans are intimidating. The researchers also found that males, Whites, conservatives, and racists endorsed African American stereotypes more than those identified as Other, females, liberals, and non-racists. In terms of modern racism, the researchers found that network news exposure was positively related to modern racism in that respondents with more exposure to network news also had higher scores for modern racism. Additionally, Others and conservatives scored higher for modern racism than liberals and Whites. Also, respondents with less educational attainment were more likely than those with higher educational attainment to hold racial prejudice against African Americans. Dixon (2008) concludes that exposure to network television news might shape both racial perceptions and racial prejudice.

Moreover, Kretsedemas (2010) analyzed viewers' interpretations of stereotypes of Black women in primetime television, specifically the angry Black woman stereotype, as communicated in the show Ugly Betty. Kretsedemas (2010) identifies the roles of Black women on the show as "sassy working-class women who combined elements of the Mammy and Sapphire stereotypes and more refined, upwardly mobile women who combined elements of the Jezebel or Tragic Mulatto stereotypes." (p.155) The most frequently appearing Black character, Wilhelmina, is described as a light-skinned, upwardly mobile, and evil boss. The author interviewed 52 women of whom 62% were White, 16% Hispanic, 12% Black, 6% Asian, and 4% multiracial, after showing them excerpts of the show highlighting the angry Black woman stereotype. The researcher found that the viewers used a racial blind discourse to describe the behavior of the light skinned Black character. Specifically, the viewers interpreted the light skinned Black character, Wilhelmina, as representative of a professional woman, not a Black woman. The

participants did not determine that the light skinned Black character portrayed stereotypes, but that the darker skinned, working class Black female did display racial stereotypes. The researcher found that the participants compartmentalized their views on race by taking a racial blind stance about the show, but subsequently identified the dark-skinned Black woman as a real Black woman, while stating the light skinned socially mobile Black woman was just a woman.

Likewise, Givens and Monahan (2005) examined the social judgments viewers made about Black women after viewing global and specific stereotypic images of Black women. Specifically, 182 undergraduate students, including 158 White students, 13 Black students, two Hispanic students, and one student identified as Other, viewed a three minute video segment of an African American woman in a stereotypic role of Jezebel or Mammy, or a control video of a White man, and then viewed a three minute video of a sales representative job interview with a Black female interviewee, a White female interviewee, or a White male interviewee. After watching both the stereotypic representation and the interviewee, the participants matched character traits with the interviewees that were consistent with stereotypic roles such as loyal and maternal for Mammy, sexual and forward for Jezebel, sincere and intelligent for positive global stereotypes, lazy and aggressive for negative global stereotypes, and stable and independent for neutral traits. The participants also rated the interviewees' suitability for the job. The researchers measured the response times for associating the adjectives with the interviewee and the job suitability ratings as measures of implicit and explicit racial prejudice. The researchers found that participants associated the Black interviewee more quickly with negative traits such as aggressive, than positive traits such as sincere as indicated by the response times. Additionally, participants who viewed the Jezebel stereotype and then the Black female interviewee responded more quickly to Jezebel identified traits than to positive, negative, or Mammy traits. The researchers

note that viewing the mediated stereotypical image did relate to response time in describing the interviewee as possessing stereotypic traits and conclude that latent social views communicated through media can influence acts of unintentional racial discrimination.

Furthermore, Fujioka (1999) examined the role of television as a variable of vicarious contact in communicating stereotypes about African Americans to 83 Japanese international students and 166 White students at a public university in the Northwest. The participants completed a survey in which they rated stereotypes about African Americans, identified entertainment television programs they watched with African Americans as characters, described the way African Americans were portrayed in the shows, and noted their personal direct contact with African Americans. The researchers found that both White and Japanese students rated their personal contact with African Americans as pleasant, though Japanese international students had less direct contact with African Americans than White students. Japanese respondents rated African Americans more negatively than Whites in traits such as intelligence, trust, hardworking, education, and rich. The researchers also found that respondents' evaluations of television portrayals were significantly associated with their stereotypes. For Japanese students, more positive portrayals of African Americans on television were related to positive stereotypes held about African Americans. For White students, more negative television portrayals were related to negative stereotypes reported. Additionally, positive portrayals of African Americans had a stronger influence on Japanese participants than White participants. Fujioka (1999) concludes that television portrayals do affect Japanese and White students' perceptions of African Americans, particularly when first-hand knowledge is lacking and encourages more positive portrayals of African Americans on network television.

Similarly, Tan, Zhang, Zhang, and Dalisay (2009) analyzed the stereotypes Chinese high school students living in China held about African Americans, as well as the media sources of the stereotypes. The researchers note that China's media includes programming from Western countries such as the United States of America and sought to examine the effects of African American stereotypes on the perceptions of non-United States audiences. The research participants were 345 Chinese high school students, of whom 52% were male and 48% female. The participants completed a questionnaire about their perceptions of African Americans in general, White Americans in general, and American government, and indicated the sources of their information including television, newspaper, Internet, DVDs, etc. The Chinese students rated African Americans more positively than White Americans. Specifically, African Americans were rated as being less arrogant, violent, hedonic, greedy and aggressive than White Americans and more honest than White Americans. Chinese students also communicated negative stereotypes about African Americans stating they were less moral, less beautiful, less polite, more close-minded, and less intelligent than White Americans. The students also rated the American government more negatively than they rated African Americans, with the exception of the categories of poor, intelligent, and beautiful. The participants reported their most used sources of information about Americans were Chinese television, newspapers, and magazines followed by American movies, the Internet, and American television. The researchers found that media sources were related to subsequent stereotypes as Chinese media sources related to positive stereotypes about African Americans such as polite, moral, and honest, while media sources from the United States related to negative stereotypes of greedy, prejudice, and violent. Tan, Zhang, Zhang, and Dalisay (2009) conclude that Chinese students can be influenced by media portrayals of African Americans such

that frequent exposure to positive portrayals can lead to positive stereotypes about African Americans, while frequent exposure to negative portrayals can lead to negative stereotypes.

In another study, Punyanunt-Carter (2008) assessed perceived realism in television viewers' acceptance of stereotypic television portrayals of African Americans in terms of occupational roles, negative personality traits, low achieving status, and positive stereotypes. The research participants included 412 college students, 347 of which were Caucasian, 24 were African American, and 36 identified as Other. The participants watched at least 30 minutes to an hour of television daily and completed a survey about their perceptions of how realistic they perceive portrayals of African Americans to be on television. The researchers found that viewers did perceive the occupational roles and negative personality characteristics that African Americans portray as authentic and true to life. Viewers perceived that African Americans occupy diverse jobs, and that images of African Americans as criminals or unemployed were realistic. The viewers did not perceive positive stereotypes of African Americans as real or authentic, which is consistent with viewers' acceptance of negative personality characteristics. Additionally, viewers did not perceive African Americans as low achieving because of examples of high-status African Americans on television such as Oprah Winfrey and Tyra Banks. Punyanunt-Carter (2008) conclude that television does influence viewers' perceptions about African Americans and that negative portrayals reinforce stereotypes about African Americans in general.

Furthermore, Dalisay and Tan (2009) note that television portrayals of Asians as a model minority also negatively influence viewers' perceptions about African Americans. Specifically, the researchers examined the effects of positive media portrayals of Asians on viewers' perceptions of Asians and African-Americans in order to determine the effects of priming contrasting stereotypes. One hundred forty-four Caucasian American undergraduate students participated in

the research study. The participants viewed one of three thirteen-minute videos and completed a questionnaire to measure their perceptions of Asian Americans, African Americans, and affirmative action policies. One video depicted Asian Americans as hard working and successful immigrants confirming the model minority stereotype, another video depicted Asian Americans fighting, taking drugs, and committing robbery, contrasting the model minority stereotype, and the third video was a control video depicting the history of panthers and cheetahs in North America. None of the videos portrayed African Americans. Dalisay and Tan (2009) found that viewers rated Asian Americans more positively after viewing the video reinforcing the model minority stereotype than viewers in the other two groups. Additionally, viewers rated African Americans more negatively after watching both the positive and negative portrayals of Asian Americans than participants who did not view any portrayals of Asian Americans. Dalisay and Tan (2009) also found that viewers of the control group endorsed affirmative action more than viewers of the positive and negative portrayals of Asian Americans. The findings suggest that positive portrayals influence positive stereotypes, negative portrayals influence negative stereotypes, and positive portrayals of Asians as a model minority influence negative perceptions of African American behavior by contrasting the positive behavior of Asians with African Americans. African Americans are perceived more negatively when they are compared with Asians. Negative stereotypes of African Americans are activated by positive portrayals of Asians, even in the absence of a direct media portrayal of African Americans.

Lee, Bichard, Irey, Walt, and Carlson (2009) further examined the role of media in shaping viewers' perceptions of other people by analyzing the influence of television on viewers' perceptions of ethnic groups. The researchers investigated the amount of television, the genre of television programming watched, and viewers' subsequent stereotypes held about Caucasians,

African Americans, Asians, Latinos/Hispanics and Native Americans using Goldberg's (1992)

Big-Five personality traits of extroversion (energetic, sociable, assertive), agreeableness (cooper-

ative, polite, trustful, fair), conscientiousness (organized, responsible, cautious), neuroticism (an-

gry, nervous, secure, moody) and openness (intelligent, perceptive, curious, creative, sophisti-

cated). The research participants included 450 undergraduate students from universities in the

northwest and southwest regions of the United States of America, of whom 58% were female,

39% male, 79% Caucasian, 4% African American, 5% Asian, 4% Latino, 1% Native American,

.4% Middle Eastern and 6.6% Other. The participants completed a survey detailing their viewing

patterns of television and then rated their personal perceptions of the ethnic groups. Specific gen-

res of television watched included entertainment, drama, informational, educational, reality, soap

opera, and sports. Lee et al. (2009) found that heavy television viewing was related to perceiving

ethnic minorities negatively. Heavy television viewers of all genres rated Caucasians positively

as being dependable, stable, and less angry. Heavy television viewers perceived African Ameri-

cans negatively, and the traits varied by genre watched. That is, heavy viewers of entertainment

perceived African Americans as less agreeable and less extroverted consistent with stereotypes

of being uncooperative and antagonistic, however heavy viewers of drama, informational, and

reality programming rated African Americans positively as more open and less neurotic. Heavy

television viewers perceived Asians negatively as less extroverted, less conscientious, and more

neurotic, while Latinos were perceived as less extroverted, but more agreeable describing Lati-

nos as cooperative and fair, but not assertive. Native Americans were also perceived negatively

as less open, less conscientious, and less extroverted. Lee et al. (2009) conclude that heavy tele-

vision viewing is related to stereotyping ethnic minorities with special emphasis on information

programming as it is related to positive perceptions of ethnic groups, however entertainment, educational, and sports programs were related to more negative ethnic perceptions.

Media Stereotypes About Black Youth in Urban Education

Wells and Serman (1998) describe films depicting urban schools as the "Great White Hope Phenomenon" in that a White teacher in these films usually rescues impoverished and unmotivated Black and Latino students. In these portrayals of urban schools as sites where gangs, violence and drugs are present, the brave White teachers possess saving power in their influence over Black and Latino students by motivating the students to achieve. The scholars assert the "Great White Hope Phenomenon" suggests that these students "cannot or will not be saved by people of color" (Wells & Serman, 1998, p. 186).

Documentaries about urban education also reinforce the "Great White Hope Phenomenon" and perpetuate negative stereotypes about Black youth. For example, Lee (2008) argues that the images in the news hour PBS (2008) special about Paul Vallas's reorganization of the New Orleans school district after Hurricane Katrina represented Black students as "unmotivated, undisciplined, disruptive, and low achievers" without analyzing structural conditions that affect New Orleans schools.

Likewise, Yosso and Garcia (2010) argue that films about public education in urban schools portray students of color as delinquents embedded in a culture of poverty. The films "echo disproven social science theories and demean students of color with subtle, stunning and derogatory messages-racial microaggressions "(Yosso & Garcia, 2010, p. 86). The racial microaggressions "communicate that People of Color are unintelligent, foreign, criminally prone and deserving of socially marginal status" (Yosso & Garcia, 2010, p.86). The scholars further argue that Hollywood uses the urban schooling film genre including movies such as "Blackboard

Jungle," 1955, "The Principal," 1987, "Stand and Deliver," 1988, "Lean on Me," 1989, "Danger-

ous Minds," 1995, and "Freedom Writers," 2007, to exploit race and reinforce White privilege

and that this exploitation is massive as the films are viewed by mass audiences over generations.

In particular, as Yosso and Garcia (2010) stated:

> Establishing shots most often introduce the optimistic, naive novice (White) teacher as
> he/she navigates a chaotic school hallway, only to be disrespected and overwhelmed by a
> classroom of predominately Black and Latina/o students shooting spit wads, dancing and
> fighting with one another. A male student usually brutalizes and/or sexually threatens a
> female teacher in the first act. Deflated faculty work in misery to collect a paycheck and
> seek refuge in the teacher's lounge, having lost their belief in the sense of service or mis-
> sion. Administrators perpetuate the system with cynical, authoritative and often hostile
> management. The protagonist teacher distinguishes him/herself from these pessimists,
> determined to make a difference. Delinquent and remedial Students of Color eventually
> become inspired to learn academic basics, build up self-respect, and to pursue their edu-
> cation (Yosso & Garcia, 2010, p.87).

Urban education films and documentaries reinforce White privilege by celebrating the White

teacher that saves the delinquent students from their lack of motivation and their behavioral de-

fects (Lee, 2008). The White teacher is viewed as the savior and the Black and Latino/a students

are viewed as the deviants. It is also worth noting that even though most urban films show a

White teacher as the protagonist savior, the same formula of saving students from delinquency is

used even when the protagonist is Black, such as in the film Lean on Me.

The depiction of Black youth in urban education films and documentaries is a subject of

concern as these films may influence teachers' perceptions of Black students. To illustrate,

Hampton, Peng, and Ann (2008) examined pre-service teachers' perceptions of urban schools

and found that pre-service teachers indicated that media informed their perceptions of urban

schools. The authors recorded the response of one pre-service teacher who stated:

> Most of my perceptions about urban schools come from T.V. and movies and how they
> portray urban schools, and it usually is not good. It always seems more dangerous and
> underfunded. I remember seeing a movie about an urban school and it had no windows
> because they were all broken and none of the students ever listened to their teacher. Also,

all the girls had babies and all the males were drug dealers. (Subject 35) (Hampton, Peng & Ann, 2008, p. 287)

Stereotypes in Education Research: Achievement Gap and Discipline Gap

Negative stereotypes about Black youth not only exist in film and media, but also exist in social science and educational research literature. The stereotypes of Black youth as low performing and as "at-risk" for academic failure center on education research that highlights the Black-White achievement gap (Ladson-Billings, 2006). Indeed, many studies have documented that Black students perform lower than White students on standardized tests, are underrepresented in gifted education and advanced placement classes, and are over-represented in special education (Barton & Coley, 2010; Chubb & Loveless, 2002; Ladson-Billings, 2006; Losen & Orfield, 2002; Milner, 2012; Schott Foundation for Public Education, 2012; Vanneman, Hamilton, Baldwin & Rahman, 2009). In exploring reasons to explain the Black-White achievement gap, education research has focused on factors that promote deficit-based thinking as many scholars have sought out to determine what is wrong with Black students and their families as opposed to what is wrong with systemic structures of schooling including low expectations for learning (Ladson-Billings, 2006; Hilliard, 1991; Perry, Steele & Hilliard, 2003; Milner, 2012). It is also worth noting that scholars have called conceptualization of the "gap" into question (King et al., 2014). Ladson-Billings, for example, conceptualized the problem as the "education debt." Hilliard (2003) stressed the emphasis should not be placed on comparisons with the achievement of White students (whose performance is below par when assessed using international metrics) but African American students' potential for excellence in education should be the standard.

Education research that blames minority students, parents, and families for their school failure is driven by the deficit thinking model which asserts that a student fails in school due to his/her own internal deficiencies including "limited intellectual abilities, linguistic shortcomings,

lack of motivation to learn, and immoral behavior" (Valencia, 2010, p.7) transmitted by genetics, culture and class, and/or familial socialization. Valencia (2010) asserts that blaming the victim is one characteristic of deficit thinking. Victim blaming identifies individuals and racial groups as the source of their own problems and failures, and in response, social programs are instituted to change the individual or the behavior of the target group such as compensatory education as opposed to structural changes in schools (Valencia, 2010).

Ladson-Billings (2006) specifically highlights the Coleman Report (1966) as a key piece of education literature that fostered deficit thinking about the academic achievement of Black students and their families. While the Coleman report indicated that a variety of factors influence achievement including "composition of a school (who attends it), the students' sense of control of the environment and their futures, teachers' verbal skills, and students' family background" (Ladson-Billings, 2006, p. 4)*, family background became the subject of many subsequent studies on Black student achievement. In an attempt to determine whether compensatory education or racial integration would be most beneficial in raising academic achievement, the researchers reported that the students' family background impacted student achievement more than school resources (Gamoran & Long, 2006; New York State Archives, 2012).

Brown (2011) has pointed out that education research has a long history of associating educational achievement with the behavior and poor socialization of Black youth with a particular emphasis on negative stereotypes about the behavior of Black males. To be more precise, in his analysis of the depictions of Black males in social science and education literature from the 1920s to the present, Brown (2011) identified stereotypical themes of Black male behavior presented in the literature that have created and supported a historical and universal deficit narrative about Black male behavior. Consistent with themes of deficit discourse, Brown determined that

the narratives about Black male behavior are composed of recurring themes such as "absent and footloose" from 1920s-1950s, impotent, powerless, ineffective and effeminate in the 1960s, soulful and culturally adaptive in the 1970s, and endangered and in crisis from the 1980s to the present. The themes of absent, footloose, powerless, and impotent resonate with the language of the Moynihan Report (1965) detailing absent fathers, overbearing mothers, and poorly socialized and underperforming students. The themes of soulful and culturally adaptive reflect education research focusing on the unique speech patterns of Black youth (Anderson, 1978; Abrahams & Gay, 1972, as cited in Brown, 2011). The current theme of "at risk" aligns with Black students' dropout rates, special education rates, suspension/expulsion rates, and incarceration rates (Gregory & Mosley, 2004; Losen & Orfield, 2002; Losen & Martinez, 2013; Skiba et al. 2002, 2011). These recurrent themes are publicized and are part of a general narrative about Black youth. For example, Brown (2011) noted that these narratives "exist in the news media, popular culture, policy, reports, educational conferences, special education meetings, and everyday language" (p. 4).

Stereotypes in the Education Research Literature: The Discipline Gap

On the opposite side of the Black-White achievement gap is education research focusing on the Black-White discipline gap that takes note of disproportionate school exclusion practices that Black students experience (Gregory & Mosley, 2004; Losen & Gillepsie, 2012; Losen & Martinez, 2013; Skiba et al. 2002). Gregory and Mosely (2004) observed that the discipline gap is the "reverse image of the achievement gap for African American, White, and Asian students" (p. 19). While the high school dropout and graduation rates for Black students are 8% and 66.1%, respectively, (U.S. Department of Education NCES, 2012) scholars assert that Black students are being pushed out of school through practices such as disproportionate suspension and

expulsion (Losen & Gillepsie, 2012; Losen & Martinez; 2013; Schott Foundation for Public Edu-

cation, 2012). It is in the context of the Black-White discipline gap that I situate the discussion of

stereotypes and teachers' perceptions of Black students. In particular, this portion of the litera-

ture review details key findings regarding the Black-White discipline gap and relates these find-

ings to relevant research with regard to stereotypes teachers hold about Black students.

Disproportionate suspension/expulsion of Black students. Losen and Gillepsie

(2012) report that 17% of Black students enrolled in Kindergarten through twelfth grades were

suspended at least one time during the 2009-2010 school year amounting to one in every six

Black students. Analysis of suspension rates by race and ethnicity indicate disproportionate sus-

pension in that 17% of Black students were suspended, while 8% of Native Americans, 7% of

Latinos, 5% of Whites, and 2% of Asian American students were suspended. Further analysis in-

dicates the risk of suspension increases in secondary school, including middle and high school.

Specifically, 24% of Black students, 12% of Latino students, 8.4% of American Indian students,

7.1% of White students and 2.3% of Asian American students were suspended from secondary

school in 2009-2010 (Losen & Martinez, 2013). Furthermore, 25% of Black children with disa-

bilities enrolled in grades K-12 were suspended and were more likely than students without disa-

bilities to be suspended more than once during the 2009-2010 school year. Researchers correlate

suspension with high school dropout rates noting that 32% of students who drop out have been

suspended at least once from high school (Losen & Martinez, 2013).

School exclusion practices, including suspension and expulsion are used to enforce

school rules by removing students who challenge school safety (Vavrus & Cole, 2002). How-

ever, Losen and Gillepsie (2012) assert that in response to zero tolerance policies and get-tough

discipline, suspension is often used as a consequence for Black male students for non-violent and

minor offenses. Researchers have observed "the vast majority of suspensions were for minor infractions of school rules such as disruptions, tardiness, and dress code violations rather than for serious violent or criminal behavior" (Losen & Gillepsie, 2012, p. 1). School disciplinary practices of suspension and exclusion disproportionately affect Black male and female students and reinforce negative stereotypic representations of Black people as criminal and dangerous. Being that Black students are two to three times more likely to be suspended than their White counterparts for similar infractions (Gregory and Mosely, 2004), disproportionate school exclusion practices should be examined as a consequence of stereotypic teacher perceptions about Black students and deficit thinking.

Wallace, Goodkind, and Wallace's (2008) examination of racial, ethnic, and gender differences in school discipline among a national sample of U.S. high school students between 1991-2005 indicated "56% of Black boys have been suspended or expelled compared to 19-43% of non-Black boys" (Wallace, Goodkind & Wallace, 2008, p. 54). Similarly, "Black girls are approximately twice as likely as White girls to be sent to the office or detained, but they are more than five times more likely than White girls to be suspended or expelled, in that 43% of Black girls have been suspended or expelled compared to 7% to 26% of girls in the other racial and ethnic subgroups" (Wallace, Goodkind, & Wallace, 2008, p. 54). In particular, the suspension and expulsion rates in order from greatest to least by race and gender are as follows: Black boys (56%), American Indian boys (43.2%), Black girls (42.6%), Hispanic boys (39.1%), White boys (26.8%), American Indian girls (25.9%), Hispanic girls (23.6%), Asian American boys (19%), White girls (11.6%), and Asian American girls (6.9%). The researchers conclude that suspension and expulsion rates are highest among Black boys, followed by American Indian boys, Black

girls, and Hispanic boys. Therefore, Black girls and Black boys are both suspended more often than White boys.

Likewise, Nicholson-Crotty, Birchmeir, and Valentine (2009) explored the impact of racial disproportionality in school discipline with racial disproportionality in the juvenile justice system. The researchers found that "jurisdictions in which schools disproportionately target African-American students for exclusionary sanctions also experience higher relative rates of juvenile court referrals for Black youth" (p. 1015). Multivariate analysis of offense type also indicated that Black youth had higher rates of out of school suspension and referrals to juvenile court than White youth who committed the same offenses in objective categories such as weapons, violence, and tobacco. For instance, 95% of Black students committing weapon offenses were suspended, however, only 85% of White students committing weapon offenses were suspended. Additionally, Black students committing violent acts were suspended 88% of the time, but White students committing violent acts were suspended 72% of the time. Finally, Black students were suspended 55% of the time for tobacco related offenses, whereas White students were suspended only 37% of the time for tobacco, making Black students one-and-one-half times more likely than White students to receive an out-of-school suspension for tobacco-related offenses. The researchers conclude, "even when they commit the same offenses as White students, Black students are significantly more likely to receive the type of exclusionary discipline that contributes to increased contact with the justice system" (Nicholson-Crotty, Birchmeir & Valentine, 2009, p. 1015).

Mendez and Knoff (2003) also analyzed the suspension data by infraction and found that 90% of school suspensions were for infractions including disobedience/insubordination (20%), disruption (13%), fighting (13%), inappropriate behavior (11%), noncompliance with assigned

discipline (7%), profanity (7%), disrespect (6%), tobacco possession (4%), battery (3%), threat/intimidation (2%), leaving class without permission (2%), weapons (.7%), narcotics (.7%), sexual harassment (.6%), and alcohol (.3%). Mendez and Knoff (2003) note that although Black male students make up 12% of the population, they accounted for one-third of suspensions for "disruptive behavior, fighting, inappropriate behavior, battery, intimidation, leaving class without permission, and sexual harassment" (p. 40). Disobedience, disruption and inappropriate behavior are subjective categories. Teacher referrals and subsequent suspension by administrators for subjective behaviors may be influenced by a lack of understanding of students, and teachers' and administrators' perceptions about Black students' behaviors. Skiba et al. (2011) also analyzed a national sample of office discipline referrals by school level, infraction type, race, and gender and found that African American students are twice as likely as White students to be referred to the office during elementary school and four times as likely as White students to be referred to the office in middle school. Furthermore, the researchers note that administrators treat Black and White students differently for minor infractions noting that administrators suspended African American students for truancy, disrespect, and disruption twice as often as they suspended White students for the same behaviors noting that African American students receive more severe punishment for minor behaviors.

Furthermore, Gregory and Mosely (2004) explored teacher processes that affect the overrepresentation of Black students referred for school discipline. Recognizing the power of teachers to interpret student behavior and refer students to the administrators for disciplinary consequences, the researchers interviewed teachers in an urban high school with more than 3,300 students to determine implicit racial beliefs and theories of discipline that might guide teachers' decisions to refer students for punishment. Disproportionality in discipline was present in the

school such that African American and White students each represented 37% of the student population, but 80% of students serving out of class suspension (OCS) were African American, and only 9% were White. After interviewing the teachers about their techniques for handling discipline problems and disproportionate discipline in their school, the researchers found that 80% of teachers attributed discipline problems to adolescent development in that high school students fight for autonomy and rebel against authority, 50% of teachers attributed student misbehavior to acting out as a result of frustration from low academic achievement, 50% of the teachers attributed misbehavior to African American youth culture and factors related to poverty, 50% of the teachers mentioned organizational problems in the school, 70% of the teachers also mentioned problems with the school culture, however less than 50% of teachers attributed student misbehavior to teacher beliefs or teacher practices. The teachers attributed misbehavior to theories that did not include race and culture, despite the disproportionality of discipline by race. When race was explicitly questioned in the interview, teachers emphasized the problems that low-income African American students bring with them to school and did not address the under-representation of White and Asian students in discipline. The researchers note a disconnect between teachers' articulation of beliefs about race and student behavior and their actions in referring students for disciplinary consequences (Gregory & Mosely, 2004).

As the above research indicates, teachers and administrators play a critical role in school discipline in that teachers are directly responsible for interpreting student behavior and referring students to the office, while administrators are directly responsible for assigning disciplinary consequences. Discipline referrals for disrespectful behavior and classroom disruption are subjective, therefore it is important to account for the perceptions of teachers and administrators, including stereotypes teachers and administrators hold about Black students. The literature review

will now focus on research detailing stereotypes teachers hold about Black students in education and conclude with examples of research studies of strategies used in teacher education programs that target deficit thinking, teacher awareness of stereotypes, and anti-racist teaching.

Stereotypes and Teachers' Perceptions of Black Students

Negative stereotypes about Black youth in media, politics, and education literature carry over into school settings by potentially influencing the perceptions of teachers and administrators about student achievement and interpretations of student behavior. Davis (2003) has noted that the media communicates cultural messages about Black male behavior through the portrayal of Black people in negative stereotypic roles and that stereotypic roles carry over into school settings.

To illustrate, Aggrey (2007) investigated pre-service teachers' perspectives on race and key experiences that influenced their racial perceptions. In this study, 13 White pre-service teachers were interviewed before they enrolled in a multicultural education class at a large research university in the Midwest in order to determine the racial knowledge they bring with them to the classroom, key events that shaped their attitudes about race, and concerns about their ability to teach students who are racially different from them in the future. The participants confirmed a fear that their lack of racial knowledge would lead to misunderstanding and misperceptions about students of a different race. Aggrey (2007) found that the pre-service teachers admitted to feelings of prejudice and bigotry about people of different racial backgrounds and highlight early experiences with family and media as sources influencing their prejudiced feelings. The participants credited "early media experiences with sitcoms as contributing to positive feelings about African-Americans, their families and college life. At the same time, some participants reported feelings of increased prejudice with exposure to news reports that they said

presented an unrelentingly unbalanced view of African-Americans" (Aggrey, 2007, p. 128). The participants reported complex emotions and feelings about racial dialogue, but were also hopeful in their ability to teacher children of diverse backgrounds.

Similarly, Chang and Demyan (2007) investigated contemporary and specific stereotypes teachers held about Asian, Black and White students. The researchers assessed stereotypes through free response of personal beliefs as well as rating of traits for each race. A sample of 188 teachers enrolled in continuing education courses at the University of California, including 153 women and 33 men of whom 139 were White, 20 Latino, seven African American, five Asian/Pacific Islander, 13 of mixed race and four identified as Other, completed a free response activity listing up to six traits to describe their thoughts about Black, Asian and White school children in general after viewing a behavior profile of an Asian, Black or White student. The participants then rated the percentage of Asian, Black and White students possessing 15 stereotypical traits, and then rated the percentage of people in the world possessing the 15 stereotypical traits. The participants attributed more favorable characteristics to Asians than Blacks or Whites, and attributed both positive and negative characteristics to Black students and White students. The teachers consistently rated Asian students as industrious, introverted, intelligent and compliant. Black students were rated as sociable, friendly, athletic, disobedient, intelligent, active and aggressive. White students were rated as sociable, friendly, industrious, intelligent, compliant, materialistic, privileged and athletic. The authors reported that teachers also endorsed cultural stereotypes in that:

> Asians were perceived as 57% more gentle, 34% more passive, and 31% more intelligent and industrious compared to the general population…Whites were 31% more athletic, 23% more materialistic, and 21% more lazy and selfish compared to the general population…Blacks were viewed as 60% more athletic, 65% more rhythmic, 31% more aggressive, and 23% more stubborn than other groups (Chang & Demyan, 2007, p. 105).

Furthermore, Czopp (2010) investigated the effects of the positive stereotype of the Black male athlete on White students' perceptions of Black behavior and career choices. Particularly, Czopp notes that stereotypes influence the holder's expectations about how the target of the stereotype should act. The researcher presents athletic ability as a positive stereotype for Black males, and examines how White undergraduate students playing the role of high school counselors advise a Black athlete verses a White athlete in terms of academic acceleration. The participants, including 274 White undergraduate students, completed a complimentary stereotypes questionnaire and then role-played as career counselors reviewing academic profiles of athletes interested in college. Students either reviewed a Black athlete with poor academic performance, but great athletic potential, or a White athlete with poor academic performance, but great athletic potential. The researcher found that the male participants who agreed with positive racial stereotypes suggested that the Black student concentrate on sports and spend less time studying for academic classes, but encouraged the White athlete to focus more on school than sports. The female participants did not differentiate between the Black and White athletes in their career advice. Czopp (2010) concludes that even positive stereotypes can have negative consequences for Black students in others' perceptions of Black students' academic capabilities.

Similarly, DeCastro-Ambrosetti and Cho (2011) analyzed teacher expectations of students based on student appearance including race, gender, and social class by addressing a particular form of prejudice known as lookism. Lookism is defined as "prejudice or discrimination on the grounds of appearance" (p. 52). Two hundred twenty-six secondary teacher candidates enrolled in education classes in Southern California completed an anonymous attitudinal survey. The survey included eight photos of Black, White, Asian, and Hispanic adolescent males and females ages 15 to 17 in stylish clothing, along with ten inflammatory statements to elicit

perceptions. The participants matched the photos with the statements that they felt best represented the students. The themes of the responses were academic success, athletic success, perceived as outsiders, academic adversity, and challenging classroom authority. The researchers found that 70% of the participants designated Asian males and females as most likely to be academically successful, while 66% of the respondents rated the Black male as likely to excel in athletics even though none of the photos displayed students in athletic attire. Furthermore, 39% of the respondents perceived the Black male as likely to be affiliated with a gang even though the students wore academic attire, while 21% of participants stated the Black male would be involved in drugs. Similarly, 48% of the participants identified the Black male as most likely to commit a crime before graduating from high school and 29% of participants selected the Black male as likely to challenge classroom authority. Additionally, 53% of the participants identified the Hispanic female and 25% identified the Black female as most likely to become pregnant before high school graduation. The researchers conclude that teacher candidates held preconceived notions about the adolescents along racial lines and that stereotypical perceptions of students can lead to unequal access to educational opportunities with the teachers serving as gate keepers. Assuming that teacher candidates lack awareness of their own deep-seated prejudices, DeCastro-Ambrosetti and Cho (2011) suggest that pre-service educational programs be revised to include Critical Race Theory and pay attention to understanding diverse cultures.

Educational Consequences of Stereotypic Perceptions of Black Students

Stereotypic depictions of Black youth as disobedient, aggressive, and stubborn may contribute to teachers' interpretation of Black students' behaviors in the classroom, being that teachers refer students for suspension based on subjective behaviors such as insubordination, disruption, and noncompliance (Mendez &Knoff, 2003). Townsend (2000) suggests that teachers may

misinterpret the behavior of Black students, and cultural mismatches between teachers and students may result in disproportionate discipline referrals. In fact, Townsend (2000) notes that non-Black teachers may misinterpret Black students' passion for participation and desire to ask questions as being argumentative, disrespectful, or combative, in accordance with stereotypes about Black male behavior.

Likewise, Ferguson (2001) is also critical of disciplinary practices in schools that negatively affect Black students, particularly Black males, based on subjective perceptions of Black male behavior. Specifically, she states that disciplinary practices affecting Black males are presented as individual acts, but are based on societal perceptions of Black behavior. Ferguson (2001) asserts that Black males are stigmatized as criminals and endangered species in the United States, and that both of these images were invoked for "identifying, classifying, and making punishments decisions by the adults responsible for disciplining kids" (Ferguson, 2001, p.20). Ferguson further argues that discipline decisions that are assumed to be objective are influenced by teachers' "perceptions of student appearance, behavior, and social background" (Ferguson, 2001, p.53). In studying students considered schoolboys and troublemakers, Ferguson determines that Black males are one step away from being labeled as troublemakers and have a greater chance of being isolated for punishment than Black females or students of other races.

Furthermore, Meiners (2007) relates stereotypic images of minorities with societal and educational consequences by asserting that African-American students are suspended more frequently than White students for subjective behaviors like disrespect, noise, threats, and loitering as early as Head Start. Meiners (2007) argues that White teachers who have little exposure to youth of color rely on media images and stereotypes as a basis for knowledge, while mass media images depict youth of color, specifically Black and Hispanic males, as criminals and inherently

dangerous. School practices naturalize discipline and punishment for Black and Hispanic students and negative media images of Black and Hispanic people normalize racial surveillance, school exclusion, and incarceration.

Teachers' perceptions of student behavior and achievement also have academic consequences for students. To illustrate, Lynn, Bacon, Totten, Bridges, and Jennings (2010) interviewed teachers, counselors, and administrators in an underperforming African American high school to determine their perceptions of why African American students did not perform well on standardized tests, had higher rates of suspension and expulsion from school, and were over represented in special education. Lynn et al. (2010) found that 80% of the teachers felt that African American students were primarily responsible for their own failure. School personnel blamed student behavior, their families, and their communities for the minority achievement gap expressing hopelessness and defeat. Specifically, teachers stated that African American students' failure was "shaped by their lack of motivation to learn, their failure to attend classes, their lack of interest in learning, their lack of preparation for school, their inability to focus, their participation in street culture, and failure to behave appropriately in class" (Lynn et al., 2010, p.308).

Teacher Education, Cultural Diversity, and Anti-Racist Teaching

The literature indicates that multiple pre-service and in-service teachers hold deficit perceptions of Black students (Chang & Demyan, 2007; DeCastro-Ambrosetti & Cho, 2011; Hampton, Peng, & Ann, 2008; Lynn et al., 2010). The messages about Black youth, including the perpetual Black-White achievement gap (Ladson-Billings, 2006), Black-White discipline gap (Gregory & Mosely, 2004) and Black students as people with deficit cultural values (Solórzano & Yosso, 2001) are communicated and reinforced in network and news media that synonymously portray Black people as violent, aggressive, poor, lazy, and criminal. A missing factor,

however, is the awareness of how negative stereotypes in media and education literature concurrently reaffirm White privilege by normalizing Whiteness by Othering and criminalizing Blackness (Alexander, 2010; Blackmon, 2008; Collins, 1999, 2004; Muhammad, 2010; Solórzano & Yosso, 2001; Wynter, 2003, 2005 a, b). Teacher education is a space for educators to examine how (mis) representations of Black youth as violent, criminal, athletic, and drop outs (Caldwell & Caldwell, 2011; Dilulio, 1995; Ferguson, 2001; Mendez & Knoff, 2003; Rios, 2008; Skiba et al. 2002, 2011) reaffirm White privilege and reinforce structures of institutional racism. Educators must also learn to identify and resist the transmission of deficit- based stereotypes about Black students as normal, truthful, and taken for granted assumptions and address the disparities as a form of structural racism.

Valencia (2010) suggests teacher education as a primary space for deconstructing deficit thinking and racist practices noting that teacher education is racialized consisting of primarily White teachers who will be employed in urban schools teaching minority students. The American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education reports "82 percent of candidates who received bachelor's degrees in education in 2009-10 and 2010-11 were White. By contrast, census figures show that close to half of all children under 5 in 2008 were members of a racial or ethnic minority" (Rich, 2013, p. 1). The requirements for teacher certification vary by state, however, the Interstate Teacher Assessment and Support Consortium (InTASC) Standards developed by the Council of Chief State School Officers (CCSSO, 2013) guide expectations for teacher preparation in terms of learner development, learning differences, learning environments, content knowledge, application of content, assessment, planning for instruction, instructional strategies, professional learning and ethical practice as well as leadership and collaboration with an emphasis on personalized learning for diverse learners. Furthermore, the Council for Accreditation of

Educator Preparation (CAEP), a council that evaluates teacher certification programs, calls for a focus on student diversity as a critical component of teacher certification programs. In fact, the CAEP noted that teacher competency in addressing diversity should be embedded in all aspects of teacher preparation suggesting that teachers examine "their own frames of reference (e.g., culture, gender, language, abilities, ways of knowing), the potential biases in these frames, the relationship of privilege and power in schools and the impact of these frames on educators' expectations for and relationships with learners and their families"(CAEP, 2013, p. 21).

Primarily, Ladson-Billings and Grant (1997) suggest antiracist education for educators as a practice that "challenges the total school environment to understand the ways in which racism is manifested in schools and society. It encourages educators to integrate antiracist concepts into all subject areas . . . [And it] attempts to reveal the adverse effects of racism on student learning and development (p. 20, cited in Young, 2011). In addition, a strengths-based model of cultural diversity and community centered teaching, learning, and assessment are needed to counter deficit–based thinking about Black students and their cultural heritage and alienating school practices (King, 2008; King, Akua, & Russell, 2014; King, Goss & McArthur, 2014). The remainder of the chapter will therefore highlight the strategies of scholars using teacher education programs as spaces to target deficit-based thinking, teacher awareness of stereotypes, and to promote anti-racist education that is culturally inclusive.

Teacher Education Strategies for Cultural Inclusion and Anti-Racist Education

King (1991) described the liberatory pedagogy for the elite as a strategy that she used to challenge the dysconscious racism of teacher education students that King argued is a result of their mis-education. Defined as an "uncritical habit of mind (including perceptions, attitudes, assumptions, and beliefs) that justifies inequity and exploitation by accepting the existing order of

things as given," dysconscious racism represents an impaired way of thinking that "tacitly accepts White norms and privileges as given" (King, 1991, p. 135). This pedagogical approach provided opportunities for students to challenge taken for granted assumptions about racial inequity and provided an intellectual context for self-reflective experiences needed for critical consciousness and emotional growth. For instance, King found that pre-service teachers explained racial inequality in limited ways tied to their beliefs, including what they have learned and have not learned about slavery, prejudice, and discrimination and without linking their explanations of racial inequity to ways that exploitation and structural societal oppression are connected. For example, only one student in the study made a connection between inequity and the way the society normalizes racism and discrimination. The students' responses focused on negative characteristics of Black people without accounting for either certain beliefs of White people that justified slavery or discrimination in society and the racial privileges White people enjoy. King's pedagogy challenged her students' miseducation by focusing on ways schooling "contributes to unequal educational outcomes that reinforce societal inequity and oppression" (King, 1991, p. 134). In this Social Foundations of Education course, students "examine[d] what they know and believe about society, about diverse others, and about their own actions" (King, 1991, p. 134).

Notably, King's (1991) pedagogy addressed ideology, identity, and indoctrination using counter-knowledge grounded in the discipline of Black Studies to enable these pre-service teachers to decipher how ideology shapes the way people think about power and privilege and "what race does" in society (King, 2006b). The course material, including readings, class discussions, media, and lectures support students' understanding that education is not neutral, but serves various political and social interests. Students examined the social purposes of schooling and "alternative explanations of poverty and joblessness, competing viewpoints regarding the significance

of cultural differences, and discussions of education as a remedy for societal inequity" (King, 1991, p. 140). Students also examined connections between societal issues with classroom issues addressing the socialization of teachers, teacher expectations, tracking, and the hidden curriculum. Students reflected on their own knowledge and experiences, critiqued ideologies, and made decisions about their own identities as teachers. That King's study continues to be cited in the research literature in education (Ladson-Billings & Gillborn, 2004; McIntyre, 2002) suggests that teacher education programs should provide a space for teachers to recognize systemic forces that subordinate people of color and reaffirm White privilege in order to be able to choose whether they want to learn in more liberating ways and to reconstruct their social knowledge and self-identities.

Similarly, Lee (1998) identifies as an anti-racist educator and provides professional development to teachers, administrators, and school districts. Lee's anti-racist framework focuses on closing not only the racial gap in academic performance, but also the individual gap among students who are deskilled because their language, culture, and curiosity are devalued through subtle racism and low expectations. Lee (1998) also addresses the gap in community in that communities are "robbed of the basic conditions that other communities take for granted: a good education, long and healthy laws, and equal protection under the law" (p.3). Lee's emphasis on communities being robbed of basic equal rights highlights the awareness of structural inequality. As such, the components of the antiracist framework Lee uses with teachers and administrators to promote racial equality focuses on emphasizing situational and systemic inequalities; good teaching characterized by higher level questioning, eliciting answers from students, and incorporating the knowledge students bring with them from their lives into lesson activities; the belief that all teachers can learn to do better; and identifying inequalities based on race and taking

appropriate equity measures. Lee asserts, "Racism is systemic, not episodic, and must be addressed as such. But every episode of racism must and can be confronted and interrupted at every turn as a means of reaching back to its systemic roots" (Lee, 1998, p. 6). In addition to confronting situational and systemic racism, Lee's work with teachers includes an examination of the history of race and racism in education, the history of relationships between and among racial groups, the advantages and disadvantages racial groups have, and an analysis of their practices as teachers within this institutional framework. Lee also addresses teachers' misguided attempts at colorblindness as opposed to color consciousness. Lee argues that racism in education will not be addressed without examining "how skin color plays a part in what people do or do not receive or experience in the educational process" (Lee, 1998, p. 10). Finally, Lee emphasizes obtaining educational equality, not by treating everyone the same, but through "equity measures or extra measures" (Lee, 1998, p. 10) to fill gaps created by a racist system in "representation, respect, rights, and resources" (Lee, 1998, p. 11).

Moreover, Lawrence and Tatum (1998) address White racial identity as a key component of anti-racist pedagogy aimed at changing teachers' beliefs about race and education. The scholars argue that it is important for teachers to systematically explore the impact of race on classroom practices and student development, and for White teachers to develop an awareness of their own Whiteness that is socially meaningful but not based on superiority. Lawrence and Tatum used a combination of required readings and films addressing race, racism, and White privilege, as well as discussions and reflection on subtle and overt racist behaviors and attitudes that influence children daily at school and away from school. Teachers also participated in taped self- interviews at the beginning of the course discussing their "prior experience and contact with people of color, their attitudes about race and racial issues, their images of people color and their

personal identity in racial terms" (Lawrence & Tatum, 1998, p. 5). Teachers then listened to their interviews at the end of the course and reflected on their interviews with awareness of their own racial attitudes and behaviors. Teachers also created action plans to challenge racist behaviors and thoughts in their pedagogy as well as in their personal and professional lives.

Additionally, Lawrence and Tatum (1998) further analyzed the teachers' initial and final interview data and writing samples to examine the teachers' changes in racial identity during the span of the teacher education course. The researchers coded the data and categorized the responses into themes corresponding with Helms's (1995) six statuses of Whiteness described as contact, disintegration, reintegration, pseudo independence, immersion/emersion, and autonomy. Individuals in the contact status are oblivious to the privileges associated with Whiteness, while individuals in the disintegration status have some awareness of the systemic disadvantages experienced by people of color and the advantages of Whiteness and may experience feelings of guilt, sadness, and discomfort. Individuals in the reintegration status may experience resentment toward people of color and use the blame the victim strategy to avoid uncomfortable feelings of racism. Pseudo independence is the status associated with understanding racism as systemic, making personal commitments to dismantle racism, and examining the meaning of his/her own Whiteness. Individuals in the immersion/emersion status redefine who they are racially and what it means for society, and explore being White allies working against racism. Individuals in the autonomy status internalize a positive White racial identity and are committed to anti-racist activity, continuous self-examination, and increased effectiveness in interactions in multicultural settings. Individuals may operate in more than one status at a time depending on the context. After analyzing the data, Lawrence and Tatum (1998) note that undergraduate students were associated with the contact status in that they did not see themselves as prejudiced and viewed racism

as individual acts without understanding the effects of institutionalized racism. Veteran White teachers reflected the pseudo independent status in that they were concerned about racial oppression experienced by people of color but had not been aware of their own racial privilege or how they reinforce and perpetuate racist practices. Both pre-service and in-service teachers reported their own miseducation as they became aware of how the school curriculum omitted the histories of minorities, and other participants experienced guilt when they discovered the unearned privileges associated with Whiteness. Some teachers, however, remained in the reintegration status of blaming the victim in order to avoid dealing with the uncomfortable feelings associated with racism. Lawrence and Tatum (1998) further note "both groups of participants seemed to have a limited awareness of the pervasiveness of cultural racism, the extent to which they were influenced by stereotypes, or the degree to which people of color were invisible in the school curriculum" including "…the ways in which cultural stereotypes could influence teacher expectations" (Lawrence & Tatum, 1998, p.7). Lawrence and Tatum (1998) conclude that both pre-service and in-service teachers will benefit from ongoing anti-racist education as opposed to only one course or one workshop.

Likewise, Sleeter (2004) argues that teachers need opportunities to engage in systemic analysis of structures that provide privileges to Whites and denies privileges to people of color. In her research on how White teachers participating in a two-year staff development project on multicultural education and the construct of race, she found that teachers either denied race stating they did not see color or viewed students of color as immigrants. Sleeter notes that teachers asserted they were color-blind in an effort to "suppress negative images they attach to people of color given the significance of color in the United States, the dominant ideology of equal opportunity, and the relationship between race and observable measures of success" (p. 168). Although

the teachers denied seeing color, the researchers note that when the White teachers in the study discussed their students and parents, the White teachers associated African Americans and Latinos with "dysfunctional families and communities, and lack of ability and motivation" (p. 168). Teachers who did not claim to be color-blind viewed students of color as immigrants, acknowledged that cultural differences can interfere with students' assimilation into schools, and sought to adjust their teaching methods to include strategies such as cooperative learning and parent communication in order to assist in the home to school transition. Some teachers also began to "reinterpret students' behavior as cultural rather than as simply 'wrong'" (Sleeter, 2004, p. 170). Sleeter (2004) further noted that few teachers began to connect racism to White supremacist institutions that privilege White people and deny privileges to people of color. The teachers viewed multicultural education as discussing and celebrating other groups; not as discussing the social structures that benefit White people. Sleeter concludes that the teachers wanted to help their students of color, but also have an interest in maintaining the educational system that benefits their own children. She (2004) further argues that an educator must "directly confront the vested interest White people have in maintaining the status quo, force them to grapple with the ethics of privilege, and refuse to allow them to rest comfortably in apolitical interpretations of race and multicultural teaching" (Sleeter, 2004, p. 177).

In their research and theorizing, Solórzano and Yosso (2001) also seek to identify, analyze, and transform the use of racial stereotypes and deficit- based theories in education that assist in the subordination of students of color. These scholars state that racial stereotypes in the media and professional environments are based on genetic and cultural deficit models and are used to justify certain attitudes toward students of color. They argue that stereotypes of Black people as stupid, violent, and unclean justify claims for segregated schools and communities and

dumbing down the curriculum. Solórzano and Yosso (2001) suggest addressing racial stereo-

types in teacher education programs. According to Solórzano and Yosso:

> In dealing with racial stereotypes in our teacher education classrooms, we need to hear
> about, discuss, and analyze those racial experiences that People of Color and Whites en-
> counter in their public and private worlds. Not only do we need to discuss overt or blatant
> racial stereotypes, attitudes, and behaviors, but we also need to listen, understand, and an-
> alyze racial microaggressions (Solórzano & Yosso, 2001, p. 6).

These scholars suggest that teacher education classrooms become a space to define and analyze

racial stereotypes as well as "identify racial stereotypes in film, television, and print forms of

media, which are used to justify attitudes and behavior toward students of color" (Solórzano

&Yosso, 2001, p. 7).

Suggestions for cultural inclusion and anti-racist education also extend beyond teacher

education to include education for educational leaders as well. With respect to educational lead-

ers, the University Council for Educational Administration (UCEA), a consortium of higher edu-

cation institutions focused on educational leadership preparation, specifically provides curricu-

lum modules addressing advocacy, learning environment, instructional leadership, family and

community engagement, racial awareness and using resources to prepare leaders to support di-

verse learners (UCEA, 2013). The racial awareness module, developed by Mark A. Gooden and

Ann O'Doherty, is based on the assumption that racism permeates all aspects of life including

educational practices, educational leadership, and achievement. The learning module uses dia-

logue, reflection, and key readings to guide educational leaders as they "compare and contrast

the definitions of race, racism, and White privilege/advantage, investigate Whiteness and privi-

lege and the impact that each has on education, analyze the social/political construction of race

for people of color and Whites in the United States, and interrogate racial awareness of self and

others" (UCEA, 2013, p. 1). The goal of the racial awareness module is to develop the leader's

understanding of how race impacts the leader's thoughts, actions, and leadership decisions in order to equip the educational leader to fight institutional racism in schools and society.

The scholars highlighted above all underscore the importance of addressing systemic and institutional forms of racism in education, White privilege, and educators' personal and professional attitudes and practices as strategies to combat deficit-based miseducation (King, 1991; Lawrence & Tatum, 1998; Lee, 1998; Love, 2014; Solórzano & Yosso, 2001; Sleeter, 2004; Tatum, 1997; Valencia, 2010; Young, 2011). Emphasizing systemic racism while confronting situational racism by relating situational racist acts back to their systemic roots is critical in targeting deficit thinking because the emphasis is placed on systemic forces and not individual or group deficiencies (King, 1991; Lee, 1998; Valencia, 2010). It is important for educators to develop awareness of the link between situational racist acts and systemic racism in education. Educators rest between situational racist acts and systemic forces of racism including racist stereotypes communicated about Black students in media and professional environments (Brown, 2011; Davis, 2003; Solórzano & Yosso, 2001), inequitable teaching and disciplinary practices in schools as noted by the Black-White achievement gap (Ladson-Billings, 2006; Perry, Steele, & Hilliard, 2003) and discipline gap (Gregory & Mosley, 2004; Losen & Martinez, 2013; Skiba et al. 2002; 2011), as well as educators' personal racial attitudes (DeCastro-Ambrosetti & Cho, 2011; Chang & Demyan, 2007), deficit thinking practices (Brown, 2011; Ladson-Billings, 2006; Valencia, 2010), and professional assessments about students (Ferguson, 2001; Sleeter, 2004;) that can perpetuate racism.

Summary

The literature reviewed in chapter two examines stereotypes about Black Americans and Black youth communicated through the mass media as well as education literature, and

contextualizes negative stereotypes as a form of systemic oppression that reaffirms White privilege by concurrently normalizing Whiteness by Othering and criminalizing Blackness (Alexander, 2010; Collins, 1999; Muhammad, 2010; Solórzano & Yosso, 2000; Wynter, 2000ab, 2003). Mass media is an institutional structure that communicates ideologies to a mass audience (Hall, 1973) and may serve as a tool for social learning, influencing the way viewers socially construct reality by communicating new ideas, behavior patterns, values, and social practices about people and places, especially when direct experiences are lacking (Bandura, 2001). Historical representations of Black Americans in media as morally and intellectually inferior, poor, lazy, angry, athletic, aggressive, entertainers, and criminals (Bogle, 1994, Entman & Rojecki, 2000, Greenberg et al, 2002) were reviewed as well as the effects of stereotypes on viewer perceptions of Black youth in that viewers perceive Black youth in stereotypical ways and describe the negative portrayals as realistic **(**Dixon, 2008, Dixon & Azocar, 2007, Dixon & Linz, 2000, Fujioka, 1999, Kretsedemas, 2010; Lee et al, 2009 Punyanunt-Carter, 2008**).** The chapter specifically examined stereotypes about Black youth in education literature in the context of the achievement gap (Brown, 2011; Ladson-Billings, 2006; Perry, Steele, & Hilliard, 2003) and discipline gap noting disproportionate disciplinary consequences for Black youth (Gregory & Mosley, 2004; Losen & Martinez, 2013; Skiba et al. 2002; 2011). The chapter then reviewed literature surrounding teachers' perceptions of Black youth noting that teachers hold deficit perceptions about Black students (Brown, 2011, Ladson-Billings, 2006, Valencia, 2010) and view Black students in stereotypical ways (DeCastro-Ambrosetti & Cho, 2011; Chang & Demyan, 2007; Ferguson, 2001; Sleeter, 2004). The chapter concluded with a review of research-based strategies to address stereotypes and deficit-based thinking as a part of teacher education (King, 1991; Lawrence & Tatum, 1998; Lee, 1998, Solórzano & Yosso, 2001; Sleeter, 2004; Valencia, 2010; Young, 2011). This

study will add to the existing literature on stereotypes and teachers' perceptions of Black youth with a specific emphasis on teachers' awareness of media stereotypes and their own perceptions of Black youth.

3 METHODOLOGY

Crotty (1998) notes that a methodology is a plan of action and rationale that informs research. This chapter reviews the methodology and research design of the study including a detailed description of the context of the case, which includes the setting, participants, research methods, data analysis process, role of the researcher, researcher subjectivity statement, expectations for rigor, and ethical considerations.

This study used qualitative inquiry, particularly single exploratory case study, as the methodology to examine teachers' perceptions of media stereotypes about Black urban youth, and how their participation in a researcher designed workshop influences their understandings (Stake, 1995; Yin, 2009). Qualitative inquiry seeks "to answer questions that stress how social experience is created and given meaning" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p.10). Qualitative case study, as a form of qualitative research, also searches for meaning and understanding by using "the researcher as the primary instrument of data collection and analysis" (Merriam, 2009, p.39) and produces an end product that is "richly descriptive" (Merriam, 2009, p.39). Single exploratory case study was appropriate for this inquiry because case study research "focuses on a bounded unit that is observed, described, and analyzed in order to capture key components of the case" (Hamilton, 2011, p. 2) and provides the researcher with insights into the participants' lived experiences within a specific context (Hamilton, 2011; Merriam, 2009; Stake, 1995; Yin, 2009). This case study explored the perceptions and lived experiences of teachers enrolled in a teacher education workshop on media representations of Black urban youth. The media workshop provides the specific context of the case because the workshop served a dual purpose of inquiry and education. Specifically, the workshop was used as a research instrument and an educational tool in that the workshop activities were designed to both illicit participants' perceptions of media

stereotypes about Black youth and to educate participants by providing a historical and socio-cultural context for racialized stereotypes. Therefore, the case study also explored if and how the workshop experience influenced the participants' understandings of media stereotypes. The 18 pre-service and active teachers attending the media workshop and their multicultural education professor represent the bounded unit of the case study (Yin, 2009). I served a dual role as both the researcher and the facilitator of the workshop. I also interviewed the teacher education pro-fessor after the workshop to determine the professor's assessment of the relevance of the media workshop to the objectives of the multicultural education course. The context of the case is fur-ther described below with regard to the setting, the workshop goals and objectives, and workshop activities. The context is followed by procedures for recruitment, detailed descriptions of the re-search participants and data sources, and an explanation of the data analysis process.

Context of the Case

Setting

This case study took place at a research university located in the metro area of a major city in the South Eastern region of the United States of America. The case study was designed as a media workshop and was conducted during July 2014. The media workshop was embedded within a master's level multicultural education course at the university, and the workshop partici-pants were all enrolled in the multicultural education course. The multicultural education class met two days a week, for three hours a day, for six weeks, for a total of 12 class sessions. Three of those class sessions were dedicated to the media workshop for this case study. Particularly, the workshop met for three hours on July 3, 2014, three hours on July 17, 2014, and three hours on July 22, 2014 for a total of nine face to face hours. Workshop activities extended beyond the three class sessions to include three additional hours dedicated to writing reflections about the

workshop and completing a stereotype analysis graphic organizer. I conducted a follow up, semi structured one-on-one interview with the multicultural education professor at the university on July 31, 2014.

Media Workshop Goals and Objectives

The goal of the workshop was for participants to examine the role of media stereotypes and representations about Black urban youth as a part of the socio-cultural context affecting dynamic interactions between educators and urban students. The objectives of the workshop are listed below:

- Participants will identify stereotypes communicated about Black urban youth in news and network media

- Participants will situate media stereotypes about Black urban youth in the historical and socio-cultural context of stereotypes about Black Americans

- Participants will reflect on the influence of media stereotypes on their personal perceptions of urban youth

- Participants will discuss the implications of holding stereotypic perceptions of urban youth on interactions between educators and urban students

The workshop activities included viewing news and network media clips, group discussions, lectures, and reflection journal exercises. The workshop complemented the following course objectives of the broader multicultural education course:

- Reflect upon cultural identities both personally and professionally to better understand others and increase their knowledge of diversity and inclusion

- Understand the historical and socio-political process of schooling and the importance of inclusive curricula

Sampling and Recruitment

I used purposeful sampling to select the research participants. Wiersma (2000) states, "the logic of purposeful sampling is based on a sample of information-rich cases that is studied in depth" (p. 285). Purposeful sampling is also useful within environments where participants are considered to be experts within their environment and share a distinctive culture, common experience, or perspective and facilitates comparisons between subgroups of subjects (Creswell, 2013). In this case study, the participants had the common experience of being enrolled in the same multicultural education course prior to participating in the researcher designed media workshop.

In particular, I recruited participants who were already enrolled in a multicultural education course at a university. First, I emailed the professor of the multicultural education course to invite her to participate in the research study. I asked the professor to allow her students, which included pre-service and active teachers, to participate in the media workshop and submit reflection journals and artifacts from the workshop for credit as an alternative to a relevant course assignment such as a final paper. I also asked to interview the professor after she had assessed the participants' reflection journals and artifacts from the workshop to determine the professors' assessment of the relevance of the workshop to course objectives. After the professor agreed to participate in the study, I then recruited participants from the sample of pre-service and active teachers enrolled in the multicultural education course. I attended a class session to inform potential participants about the study and invited them to participate in the research study. All 18 pre-service and active teachers enrolled in the multicultural education course volunteered to participate in the study as an alternative learning experience and formed the bounded unit of the study. I obtained signed informed consent from each participant prior to beginning the study.

Multicultural Education Class

It is important to note that because the participants were simultaneously enrolled in the same multicultural education course, they had prior experiences interacting with each other and dialoguing about topics around social justice and diversity. As noted by the professor, the participants had engaged in course readings and activities that supported their understanding of multiculturalism as a social justice issue. Prior to the workshop, they had covered topics such as gender and sexism, critical pedagogy, and racism and prejudice. According to the syllabus of the multicultural education course, the teachers were expected to examine and discuss how people are treated or mistreated on a daily basis as an example of everyday social justice issues.

Participants

There were 19 total participants in the case study, which included 18 pre-service and active teachers enrolled in a multicultural education course and the professor of the multicultural education course.

Table 1: Participants' Demographics

Participant	Race/Ethnicity	Gender	Age	Years of Teaching Experience
Howard	Black	male	24	1
Harris	Asian	male	22	0
Crystal	Black	female	25	0
Victor	White	male	61	3
Aaron	White	male	35	3
Katie	White	female	23	1
Priya	Asian	female	26	3

Melanie	White	female	27	5
Chloe	Black	female	23	0
Jacob	White	male	52	0
Matthew	White	male	26	3
Lyndsey	White	female	32	0
Carrie	White	female	26	3
Jamila	Black	female	23	0
Professor	Black	female	42	15
Darcy	White	female	23	0
Noah	Black & White	male	34	3
Michelle	Black	female	26	3
Maya	Black	female	25	0

As recorded in Table 1, the participants' demographics represent diversity in age, race/ethnicity, gender, and teaching experiences. There were seven male participants and 12 female participants. The majority of the participants were in their twenties with six participants between the ages of 22-24 years old, and seven participants between the ages of 24-27 years old. Three participants were in their thirties between the ages of 32 – 35 years old. Of the remaining three participants, one was 42 years old, another was 52 years old, and another was 61 years old. In terms of teaching experience, eight participants were pre-service teachers with zero years of teaching experience, two participants had one year of teaching experience, seven participants had three years of teaching experience, and one participant had five years of teaching experience. The professor had 15 years of teaching experience. Participants were also diverse in terms of

race and ethnicity in that two participants identified themselves as Asian, eight participants iden-

tified themselves as Black or African American, and 10 participants identified themselves as

White.

I used the data from the demographic survey and the participants' electronic journals to

compose individualized descriptions of the participants below in order to give a comprehensive

understanding of the case. The descriptions include how the participants identified themselves in

terms of gender, race, teaching experience, media consumption per week, and types of media

consumed, as well as their descriptions of the mental images they associate with Black youth,

their perceptions of media images of urban youth, their perceptions of media's influence on them

prior to the workshop, and if and how they were influenced by participating in the workshop.

Pseudonyms are used to ensure participants' confidentiality.

Chloe. Chloe identifies herself as a 23-year old Black woman. She is a pre-service

teacher with zero years of teaching experience. She reports watching four hours of television per

day and one hour of news media per week. She mostly watches Love & Hip-Hop Atlanta, Hit

The Floor, Pretty Little Liars, Big Brother, Flipping Vegas, and The Cosby Show. At the begin-

ning of the workshop, she stated that she associates mental images of Black youth with being

disadvantaged, violent news stories, and having the potential to be great. She also stated media

images portray urban youth as underprivileged, disadvantaged, and associated with violence and

poverty. She does not think that media images have influenced her perceptions of urban youth

and refers to media images as misrepresentations. After the workshop, she stated the workshop

helped her build bridges of understanding the correlation between the histories of stereotypes and

how Black people are portrayed today. She said the workshop opened her eyes to the reality that

stereotypes are still present in media and being fed to the masses. She said the workshop made

her more aware and she will be more purposeful in the classroom to provide positive images to her students.

Aaron. Aaron identifies himself as a 35-year-old White man. He is an active teacher with three years of teaching experience. He reports watching three hours of television per day and 10 hours of news media per week. He mostly watches Modern Family, Suburgatory, and sitcom re-runs on DVD. At the beginning of the workshop, he stated that he associates mental images of Black youth with educational inequality, institutional racism, school-to-prison pipeline, segregated schools, and having vibrant cultural traditions. He also stated media images portray urban youth negatively as unmotivated, lazy, dangerous, heavily reliant on hip hop culture, involved with drugs and gangs, and intentionally exclude other representations. He does not feel that social media depicts institutional racism, unequal schools, and social disenfranchisement that the students face. At the beginning of the workshop, he also stated that media images show issues that his students face like gangs and drugs, but in ways that do not account for their complex experiences. After the workshop, he stated media images have influenced his perceptions of unknown Black youth, but he is not sure to what extent. He said that he locks his doors and parks in a parking lot when he is an urban area with a high concentration of Black people but does not do that when he is in a predominately White neighborhood. He said the workshop confirmed beliefs he already had about media stereotypes as a structural problem and gave him practice in building his skill in talking to other teachers about their biases and discussing topics that are difficult to talk about such as racism.

Jacob. Jacob identifies himself as a 52-year-old White man. He is a pre-service teacher with zero years of teaching experience, however he has three years of experience as a parole officer and four years of experience as a counselor. He reports watching three hours of television

per day and one hour of news media per week. He mostly watches murder mystery shows, action movies, and the news including Criminal Minds, CSI, NCIS, Murder in the First, Fox morning news, Sean Hannity, Bill O'Reilly, Megyn Kelly, The Five at Five, Turner classic movies, and Action Adventure. Prior to the workshop, he stated that he associates mental images of Black youth with the general Will Smith look with baggy pants and high boxers. He also stated media images portray urban youth as being uninformed, lazier than his generation, seeking instant gratification, and having laissez faire attitudes. At the beginning of the workshop, he stated that media images have not influenced his perceptions of urban youth. He said media images show youth of all races in a negative light and are not racialized. After the workshop, he stated media images are for entertainment purposes and he ignores a stereotype if he sees it. He said Black people look too hard for racism and find it everywhere. He stated the workshop just made him aware of how he comes across to people.

Harris. Harris identifies himself as a 22-year-old Asian man. He is a pre-service teacher with zero years of teaching experience. He reports watching up to one hour of television per day and five hours of news media per week. He mostly watches the History Channel, sports, and the news. At the beginning of the workshop, he stated that he associates mental images of Black youth with sports, singing, hanging out in groups, being looked down on by society, and being eager to perform. He also stated media images portray urban youth as having smartphones, hanging out in the malls, having fun, and expressing their artistic sides. At the beginning of the workshop, he said he isn't sure if media images, movies, and posts about urban youth have influenced his perceptions of urban youth. At the end of the workshop, he stated that the constant negative and biased reporting about Black urban youth has led him to have pre-impression

images about their turnout before meeting them and have deterred his interactions with unknown Black urban youth.

Victor. Victor identifies himself as a 61-year-old White man. He is an active teacher with three years of teaching experience. He reports watching two hours of television per day and one hour of news media per week. He mostly watches the Masterpiece Theatre, Game of Thrones, and Longmire. At the beginning of the workshop, he stated that he associates mental images of Black youth with being challenged. He stated media images portray urban youth as being under-employed and facing challenges in the educational system. At the beginning of the workshop, he also stated that media images have somewhat influenced his perceptions of urban youth. After the workshop, he stated media images have formed his perceptions of unknown Black youth to a great extent. He said the workshop provided him with the historical roots for stereotypes and en-hanced his critical faculties by giving him another lens to view what he sees and hears every day and background to make a meaningful connection with his students.

Melanie. Melanie identifies herself as a 27-year-old White woman. She is an active teacher with five years of teaching experience. She reports watching two hours of television per day and three hours of news media per week. She mostly watches non-fiction television shows on the National Geographic Channel, History Channel, or A&E. For entertainment, she watches the television shows The Bachelorette, Game of Thrones, Orange Is the New Black, Crossbones, Parenthood, and Parks and Recreation. At the beginning of the workshop, she stated that she as-sociates mental images of Black youth with being misunderstood, stereotyped, powerful and ca-pable, but oppressed by extenuating circumstances. She said media images of urban youth are inaccurate and unfairly portray them negatively as lazy, misguided, expected to fail, people who take advantage of the welfare system, addicted to drugs, and in a gang. At the beginning of the

workshop, she also said working with urban Black youth in an education setting has given her a powerful tool to combat the constant negative media representations. She thinks the toxic, harmful, and limiting representations are always present and it's easy to give in to them, especially if a person hasn't had any experience with urban youth. She said she is constantly going against the grain of the stereotypes the media portrays because they are false and unjust. After the workshop, she stated that the workshop made her even more aware of the biases media creates and has motivated her to continue to combat stereotypes. She said the workshop provided a safe space to discuss this topic with other educators.

Lyndsey. Lyndsey identifies herself as a 32-year-old White woman. She is a pre-service teacher with zero years of teaching experience. She will be starting her first teaching assignment in one month at a high school with a high population of refugees from different countries. She reports watching less than one hour of television per day and less than one hour of news media per week. She mostly watches America's Got Talent and Modern Family. At the beginning of the workshop, she stated that she associates mental images of Black youth with hair and curviness. She said that her hair and body type was different than most of the other students in her school, so those were the things about her that were significant compared to other youth in her school and the things that she got complemented on (hair) and ridiculed for (body type). She also stated that she did not immediately consider the images of the African students that she has worked with, but after time to reflect, she also thinks about images of her African students and religion. She thinks about Christianity based on her prior classmates and students from Sub-Sahara Africa, as well as her Muslim students from Somalia because religion is a big part of their identity and community. She stated media images of urban youth are associated with subsidized housing, which is different from the rural area she grew up in. At the beginning of the

workshop, she also said she didn't think she had been influenced by media stereotypes of urban youth because she tries to think of kids as kids and hasn't had many opportunities to work with urban youth. She also tries not to watch too much TV or fiction movies. After the workshop, she stated that the workshop opened her eyes to things that other students in the school are having to overcome. She wants to be able to break stereotypes that her students form against all African Americans based on their unpleasant experiences at school because these experiences are retold to their families and their families adopt these stereotypes of violence and cruelty that are associated with African Americans.

Darcy. Darcy identifies herself as a 23-year-old White woman. She is a pre-service teacher with zero years of teaching experience. She reports watching up to three hours of television per day and less than three hours of news media per week. She mostly watches HBO, morning or evening news, and Bones. At the beginning of the workshop, she stated that mental images of Black youth are associated with the city, working class parents, hats, sneakers, saggy pants for older boys, respectful/ good manners, and listening to parents. She stated media images portray urban youth as being poor, rough, disrespectful, rude, angry, thug, gang, and a "Black man wearing a hoodie." At the beginning of the workshop, she said that media stereotypes have influenced her perceptions of urban youth and that the influence is something that is constantly present, and something she constantly has to try and reject. She says she knows at times negative influences leak in, which is upsetting. However, working with urban youth can help her regain perspective, and she fights the negativity that she is exposed to in the media and through other people. After the workshop, she stated that the workshop made her aware of her own biases and reminded her to go into everyday with students with an open mind to see her students as individuals.

Maya. Maya identifies herself as a 25-year-old Black woman. She is a pre-service teacher with zero years of teaching experience. She reports watching four hours of television per day and zero hours of news media per week. She mostly watches reality television shows such as R&B Divas, The Braxton's, and Love and Hip-Hop Atlanta. At the beginning of the workshop, she stated that she associates mental images of Black youth with being talented, but stigmatized. She stated media images of urban youth associate them with doing crazy stuff to get likes and laughs on social websites, twerking, and World Star Hip Hop. At the beginning of the workshop, she also stated that media images have influenced her perceptions of urban youth by causing her to see them as the students in need, the ones who are having a hard time achieving academically, and as the most misunderstood individuals. After the workshop, she stated the workshop made her aware of her own biases against Black people and White people. She wants to address her biases so she can provide her students with the best education possible.

Howard. Howard identifies himself as a 24-year-old Black man. He is an active teacher with one year of teaching experience. He reports watching two hours of television per day and two hours of news media per week. He mostly watches CNN News and reality television. At the beginning of the workshop, he stated that he associates mental images of Black youth with sports and sometimes violence. He stated media portrayals of urban youth associate them with violence, gang activity, school drop-out, illiteracy, and single parent homes. He said you will rarely find positive images of urban youth in the media. After the workshop, he said that though he knows that media images that portray urban youth as illiterate and hostile are false, he has been subconsciously influenced by them. He said the workshop increased his awareness of the role of economics and corporations in continuing stereotypes and helped him become more strategic in his

analysis of media. He also committed to teaching his students how to analyze media for stereo-types to combat bias.

Carrie. Carrie identifies herself as a 26-year-old White woman. She is an active teacher with three years of teaching experience. She reports watching less than one hour of television per day and less than one hour of news media per week. She mostly watches Orange is the New Black and House of Cards. At the beginning of the workshop, she stated that she associates mental images of Black youth with being misunderstood, misrepresented, exposed to many situations and experiences, doubtful of themselves at times, and capable. She also stated media images of urban youth portray them as underperforming, unruly, misbehaving children, poverty-stricken communities, unknowledgeable parents, and less talented in athletics and activities outside of school like musical instruments or chess. At the beginning of the workshop, she also said without having experience in an urban community, she'd most likely accept the ideas about them, but her experiences with urban youth protects her perspective. Based on her experiences working with urban youth for over a year, she received her own perspective of who they are before one could be drilled into her from the media. Prior to her experience, she had little knowledge about urban youth and therefore had little judgments. She found herself beginning to be influenced by media but understands that some urban youth hold true to the stereotypes and others don't, just like any other culture. She stated her students repeatedly gave her a new perspective on a daily basis of whatever expectations she held going into the classroom. After the workshop, she stated that the workshop impacted her awareness of media stereotypes by giving her a new perspective in that she can better critically evaluate television shows, news, or conversations when viewing media.

Jamila. Jamila identifies herself as a 23-year-old Black woman. She is a pre-service teacher with zero years of teaching experience. She reports watching less than two hours of television per day and less than one hour of news media per week. She mostly watches My Wife and Kids, King of Queens, Everybody Loves Raymond, Scandal, and Game of Thrones. At the beginning of the workshop, she stated that she associates mental images of Black youth with Hip Hop, Rap, Drop-out rates, increasing academic achievement, teen pregnancy, being loud, disadvantaged, and shunned, having promise, our future, needing more resources, more attention, more love, and more understanding. She also stated media images portray urban youth as ghetto, deviant, second-class, inferior, troubled, from a single-parent home, had potential but hung out with the wrong crowd, and also associates them with hoodies, loud music, dropping out, and drugs. At the beginning of the workshop, she also said that media images have influenced her perceptions of urban youth by causing her to show more empathy towards urban students and be a little tougher on them too. After the workshop, she stated the workshop reminded her not to judge her students, to get to know her students on a personal level, and to reinforce strong, positive characteristics of the Black culture by exposing them to different stories other than the negative stories they see in the media.

Noah. Noah identifies himself as a 34-year-old biracial man, both Black and White. He is an active teacher with three years of teaching experience. He reports watching a half hour of television per day and zero hours of news media per week. He mostly watches sports and a select few shows for entertainment including Modern Family and Game of Thrones. At the beginning of the workshop, he stated that mental images he associates with Black youth include music, Hip Hop, being producers and consumers of music, diverse, urban, style/image conscious, fashion, imitated, Black youth feeling as if they have a limited range of behaviors that will be accepted as

"Black," and not fitting those behaviors, but feeling the pressure from these behaviors due to media and the community. He said media portrayals of urban youth associate them with violence, being Black, and poor academic performance in schools. At the beginning of the workshop, he also stated that media images influenced his perceptions when he was growing up in that he had images that were fed to him by media that gave him a lot of stereotypes. Since then he has had a lot of experiences that have undermined these stereotypes, so that influence no longer dictates his perspective as much. After the workshop, he stated the workshop affirmed his perspective and reminded him to be vigilant about guarding his perceptions, to examine preconceived notions he has about others, and commit to teaching his students how to critically analyze and evaluate the media they consume.

Katie. Katie identifies herself as a 23-year-old White woman. She is an active teacher with 1 year of teaching experience. She reports watching two hours of television per day and one hour of news media per week. She mostly watches House Hunters, Friends, I Love Lucy, and Seinfeld. At the beginning of the workshop, she stated that she associates mental images of Black youth with poverty, living in the projects, basketball, drugs, and teen pregnancy. She stated media images portray urban youth negatively as drug dealers, disrespectful, associated with low pants, baggy shirts, teen pregnancy, crime, murder, robberies, living in the projects, and don't care about school. At the beginning of the workshop, she also said media images did not influence her perceptions at all. After the workshop, she stated media images have influenced her perceptions of Black urban youth on a deep, subliminal level so much that she didn't realize it was happening. She said the workshop really opened her eyes and ears to listen, analyze more critically, and speak up for change. She said she has always been a critical thinker, but now her awareness is focused on this issue.

Priya. Priya identifies herself as a 26-year-old Asian woman. She is an active teacher with three years of teaching experience. She reports watching two hours of television per day and two hours of news media per week. She mostly watches drama and comedy shows including Scandal, New Girl, Suits, The Walking Dead, Shark Tank, and Friends. At the beginning of the workshop, she stated that she associates mental images of Black youth with being minority, urban, and lower class. She also said media portrayals of urban youth associate them with drugs, violence, and struggle. At the beginning of the workshop, she said media images have influenced her by forming stereotypes in her head that may not be true. She has also seen how students act after viewing things in the media and on TV. After the workshop, she stated the workshop opened her eyes to the stereotypes still being held against Black students today and showed her the importance of challenging her students and encouraging them to do their best.

Michelle. Michelle identifies herself as a 26-year-old Black woman. She is an active teacher with three years of teaching experience. She reports watching one hour of television per day and one hour of news media per week. She mostly watches educational television shows as well as scientific shows about the earth and nature. She watches comedy shows because she likes to laugh. She tries to watch the news, but says it is too negative. At the beginning of the workshop, she stated that the mental images she associates with Black youth are being innovators, jewelry, fancy shoes, fancy hair, athletic, gun violence, and gang violence. She stated media images portray urban youth as uneducated and associated with gun violence, robbing, and stealing. She does not think that media images have influenced her perceptions of urban youth and said she tries to ignore stereotypic images because she knows that what she sees on TV is not reality. She stated, "I know that if I feed off lies, I will end up telling them." After the workshop, she stated the workshop helped teach her to research things broadcasted in media, find the

historical context of what she sees, and not to judge others with prejudice stating that media images affect people's perceptions of others.

Crystal. Crystal identifies herself as a 25-year-old Black woman. She is a pre-service teacher with zero years of teaching experience. She reports watching two hours of television per day and 10 hours of news media per week. At the beginning of the workshop, she stated the mental images she associates with Black youth are being misunderstood, pre-judged, creative, and low expectations. She questioned why media images of urban youth must give into stereotypes and whose point of view the images represent. At the beginning of the workshop, she did not think that media images had influenced her perceptions of urban youth because she has many experiences and know that urban youth are all different and share the same characteristics as other people. After the workshop, she stated the workshop made her more aware of the prevalence of media stereotypes and opened her eyes to the extent of her and her students' exposure to stereotypes. She said the workshop made her more conscious of the images she shows her students and that she will do her best to present multiple viewpoints to her students.

Matthew. Matthew identifies himself as a 26-year-old White man. He is an active teacher with three years of teaching experience. He reports watching one hour of television per day and four hours of news media per week. He mostly watches the Daily Show, sports games, Breaking Bad, The Wire, and Game of Thrones. At the beginning of the workshop, he stated that mental images he associates with Black youth are of his students and the phrases that come to mind are misunderstood, complex, oppressed, and resilient. He stated media images portray urban youth as struggling kids in poverty that lack resources and privilege to be successful. At the beginning of the workshop, he said that media images have influenced how he perceives urban students, but it is difficult for him to specify to what extent because he has biases of which

he is unaware. He said that before working with "urban youth," particularly Black middle school students, he felt both sympathy and empathy that they did not have certain advantages that he had growing up in a White middle class community. However, his experience has painted a very diverse and complex perception of urban students. He felt uncomfortable describing a general perception of urban students because his experience tells him that the students he worked with are unique individuals with varied life experiences and perspectives that may have or not have dealt with the effects of systemic racism and poverty to varying degrees. After the workshop, he stated the workshop affirmed ideas and viewpoints he already had about media stereotypes and helped him understand differing perspectives. He said he benefited from hearing candid accounts of experiences from educators in schools where Black students are the majority.

Professor. The teacher education professor identifies herself as a 42-year-old Black woman. She is a professor at a prestigious research university and has 15 years of teaching experience. She reports watching 20-40 minutes of television per day and 10 hours of news media per week. She doesn't have a lot of time to watch television, but when she does, she likes to watch Family Feud with her family, movies, comedy series, and action TV shows. At the beginning of the workshop, she stated the mental images she associates with Black youth include being powerful, lost, rich history, creative, endangered, beautiful, targeted, entitled, and gifted. She said media images portray urban youth as attending failing schools with teachers who do not care; being resilient in spite of the afore mentioned comment; being misunderstood; baggy jeans and walking funny to keep the pants from falling down; and having distinctive speech (regional). She sees these representations in media, but also experiences some of the "stereotypes" above in person when speaking with and observing urban youth. After the workshop, she stated the

workshop helped her students acknowledge their biases and lenses they use to view students and to critically analyze media.

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Instruments and Procedures

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Case study research relies on multiple data sources to facilitate an in-depth understanding of the case (Baxter & Jack, 2008; Creswell, 2013; Hamilton, 2011; Stake, 2005; Yin, 2009). The multiple data sources that I used to enhance the credibility of the study (Baxter & Jack, 2008; Patton, 2002; Yin, 2009) include a demographic survey administered electronically at the beginning of the workshop, dialogue and group discussions during the workshop sessions, documentation from the participants' reflection journals, work products created during the workshop, participants' responses to reflection questions at the end of the workshop, and a semi-structured interview with the professor of the teacher education course. A chart detailing the time-lined procedures for the study is found below in Table 2 followed by a description of each data collection instrument. The complete workshop protocol is found in Appendix B.

Workshop Activities and Data Sources

Table 2: Workshop Activities and Data Sources

Session 1: July 3, 2014	Workshop Activity	Data Source
Hour 1	• Introductions • Review informed consent • Review objectives of the workshop • Complete demographic survey	Demographic Survey
Hour 2	• Identify key words used to describe urban youth • Media analysis exercise – analyze news stories about Trayvon Martin & Rachel Jeantel • Answer reflection questions	Electronic Reflection Journal, Class Discussion
Hour 3	• Media analysis exercise– analyze news stories about Jordan Davis	Electronic Reflection Journal

	Answer reflection questions • Participants share their artifacts representing urban youth	Class Discussions Urban Youth Artifacts
Session 2 July 17, 2014	**Workshop Activity**	**Data Source**
Hour 1	• Media analysis exercise- analyze news stories about Richard Sherman • Discuss participants' perceptions of a thug • Answer reflection questions	Electronic Reflection Journal Class Discussion
Hour 2	• Researcher/Facilitator presentation on the historical and socio-cultural context of media stereotypes about Black Americans • Discuss current media stereotypes • Answer reflection questions	Electronic Reflection Journal Class Discussions
Hour 3	• Media analysis exercise- analyze documentaries about school aged children • View– PBS teacher education documentary & Chicagoland clip • Answer reflection questions	Electronic Reflection Journal Class Discussions
Take It Home Activity	• Explain take it home activity and Stereotype Analysis Graphic Organizer	Artifacts: Stereotype Analysis Graphic Organizer
Session 3 July 22, 2014	**Workshop Activity**	**Data Source**
Hour 1	• Participants' Stereotype Analysis Graphic Organizer presentations	Artifacts: Stereotype Graphic Organizer Class Discussions
Hour 2	• Participants' Stereotype Analysis Graphic Organizer presentations	Artifacts: Stereotype Graphic Organizer Class Discussions
Hour 3	• Final reflections • Answer reflection questions	Electronic Reflection Journal
Session 4	**Data Collection Activity**	**Data Source**
July 31, 2014	• Semi-structured interview with teacher education professor	Interview

Demographic Survey

The demographic survey was the first activity of the workshop. It was administered electronically using Qualtrics, an online survey website. The participants accessed the link on their computers and completed the survey prior to discussing stereotypes or receiving instruction about the historical contexts of stereotypes. The demographic survey provided information about the participants' backgrounds including age, race, ethnicity, teaching experience, media consumption, perceptions of Black youth, and perceptions of how urban youth are portrayed in media. The demographic survey is found in Appendix A.

Workshop Activities: Research -as-Pedagogy, Class Discussions, and Reflection

I used the media workshop as a research-as-pedagogy method of inquiry (King, Goss, & McArthur, 2014) for this case study. Research-as-pedagogy is defined as "an iterative inquiry practice in which both teaching and data gathering takes place" (King, Goss, & McArthur, 2014 p.165). I served as the facilitator of the workshop as well as the researcher. During the course of the workshop, I presented information about the historical and socio-cultural context of media stereotypes about Black Americans. I also facilitated class discussions and reflection exercises to "gather descriptive data in the subjects' own words" (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007, p.103) in an effort to understand the teachers' perceptions of media stereotypes about Black urban youth. I used main questions, probes, and follow-up questions in order to achieve a depth of understanding of the participants' perceptions and experiences, including the contexts of the experiences (Rubin & Rubin, 2004).

During the workshop sessions, the participants viewed video clips of popular news stories about Black urban youth in educational and non-educational contexts reported between 2013-2014 and analyzed how the Black urban youth were represented through words and images in the

news stories, including the narratives about schooling and discipline. The video clips included news stories about Trayvon Martin, Rachel Jeantel, Jordan Davis, Richard Sherman, and students and teachers in the Chicago Public School System. Trayvon Martin was a 17-year old Black boy who was killed on February 26, 2012 in Sanford, Florida by George Zimmerman. Zimmerman told police Trayvon looked suspicious because he was wearing a hoodie (Gutman & Tienabeso, 2012; Love, 2014). Rachel Jeantel, another Black teenager, was Trayvon Martin's friend and was on the phone with him prior to his murder, making her a key witness in the murder trial, of which George Zimmerman was subsequently acquitted of the murder charges. Similarly, Jordan Davis was a 17-year old Black boy who was killed on November 23, 2012 by Michael Dunn at a gas station in Jacksonville, Florida for playing his music too loud. Dunn was not convicted of murdering Jordan Davis during his first trial, but was convicted of first-degree murder during his second trial. Richard Sherman is a famous Black defensive football player for the Seattle Seahawks. Richard Sherman was referred to as a thug for engaging in "trash talk" during an interview with a reporter (Petchesky, 2014). These news stories were selected because they were widely covered stories on national and local news networks including CBS, FOX, MSNBC, CNN and PBS (Donague, 2014; Molyneux, 2013; Petchesky, 2014; Quaraishi, 2013; Touré, 2014). After viewing the video clips, the participants reflected on how the Black urban youth were presented in the video clips, documented their thoughts and beliefs in their electronic reflections journals, and discussed their perceptions with the other participants. I recorded all workshop sessions, including discussions, with participants' permission, using an audio mp3 recording device. I transcribed the audio recordings into written text at the end of the workshop.

Documents: Artifacts and Reflection Journals

Prior (2003) notes that documents, including artifacts, visuals, and text are social products produced within a situated context. Documents are not mere text, but represent a dynamic relationship between production, consumption, and content. As such, documents "contain insights into people's thoughts, ideas, and beliefs" (Prior, 2003, p.122). Documents, in the form of artifacts and reflection journals, were also used as sources to generate data for the study. Participants produced two artifacts for discussion and analysis during the workshop. The first artifact symbolized how the participants perceived urban youth on the first day of the workshop. Specifically, participants were asked to bring in an artifact that represents how they perceive urban youth to the first workshop session prior to engaging in workshop activities. Participants shared their artifacts with the group and explained why they selected the artifact to represent urban youth. Participants then discussed each other's artifacts and representations. The second artifact was a stereotype analysis graphic organizer that the participants completed after the second session of the workshop. After I provided instruction on the historical context of stereotypes, participants viewed their choice of news or network television program and used the stereotype graphic organizer to analyze how Black youth were represented in the program. They determined if the representation reinforced or resisted a historical stereotype about Black Americans, detailed who benefited from the program, and noted implications for educators and citizens. Participants shared their stereotype analysis graphic organizer artifacts with the other workshop participants during the third workshop session. The stereotype analysis graphic organizer template is found in Appendix C.

Reflection journals were also used as another source of documentation for the case study (Yin, 2009). The participants and I, as the researcher, used reflection journals to document our

thoughts, feelings, and perceptions about media stereotypes, the historical and socio-cultural context of stereotypes about Black Americans, and the implications of holding stereotypic perceptions of urban youth on interactions between educators and urban students. Participants also reflected on the influence of the workshop on their understandings and perceptions. The reflection journals were stored on an electronic USB storage device. I provided each participant with their own USB flash drive at the beginning of the study. The participants submitted their storage devices and electronic journals to me at the conclusion of each workshop session for analysis. The reflection questions are listed in Appendix A.

Semi-Structured Interview

After the teacher education professor reviewed the students' reflection journals and workshop artifacts, I conducted a semi-structured interview with the professor to determine the professors' assessment of the relevance of the media workshop to the objectives of the multicultural education course. Using a semi-structured interviewed allowed me to obtain the professor's insights and perceptions with the flexibility to probe for more information and clarify her responses (Barriball & While, 1994; Rubin & Rubin, 2014). The interview lasted for 30 minutes. I recorded the interview, with the professor's permission, using an audio mp3 recording device. I then transcribed the audio recordings into 15 pages of written text. The interview protocol is found in Appendix D.

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Data Analysis and Representation

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Data analysis is an ongoing and recursive process that begins when the analyst starts to look for meaning and notice patterns in the data set during data collection and extends through writing up the formal report (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Saldana, 2011). Braun and Clarke (2006) assert, "analysis involves a constant moving back and forward between the entire data set, the

coded extracts of data that you are analyzing, and the analysis of the data that you are producing" (p.15). Writing is also a critical part of the analysis process as the analyst writes notes, creates analytic memos, ideas, and potential coding schemes along the way to make meaning (Saldana, 2011). In this study, data analysis began during data collection as I took notes during the workshop activities and wrote memos after each session to help categorize the data, look for patterns, and make meaning from the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Burnard,1991; Saldana, 2011). I listened to the audio recording of the first workshop session before beginning the subsequent sessions and developed follow up questions to clarify ideas or concepts raised by the participants in the first session. After I finished the data collection process, I used Braun and Clarke's (2006) six phases of thematic analysis to formally guide the data analysis process. These phases included familiarizing myself with the data, generating initial codes, searching for themes, reviewing themes, defining and naming themes, and producing the report.

Phase 1: Familiarizing Myself with My Data

During phase one, I both familiarized and immersed myself in the data by listening to the recorded workshop sessions and interviews and then personally transcribing the verbal data into written text. The three workshop sessions and the interview generated a total of nine hours and 30 minutes of verbal data. I then used the audio recordings to transcribe verbatim, written accounts of all verbal utterances and included instances of laughter or sighs (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The transcription process took approximately 60 hours to complete over the course of four months and produced 108 pages of written text. Next, I reread the transcripts as I simultaneously listened to the audio recordings in order to verify the transcripts were accurate and punctuation was used to convey the original meaning of the speakers. In this case, transcription is viewed as an interpretive act that creates meaning as opposed to mere recording of words and

sounds (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Lapadat & Lindsay, 1999) because the transcription process allowed me to become familiar with and understand the participants' perspectives using their own words.

In addition to transcribing the verbal data into written text, I also familiarized myself with the data in the participants' electronic journals by first reading their responses within their individual journals, then compiling one master electronic journal that included all of the participants' responses to each question, sorted by question number to use for further analysis and annotation. For example, I copied all the participants' responses to question one from their individual journals and pasted the responses underneath question one in the master electronic journal. I repeated this process for all of the remaining questions in the electronic journals. Compiling participants' responses into one journal allowed me to read through all participants' responses to the same question at one time which helped me as I looked for patterns in their responses. I also read and sorted participants' responses to the demographic survey as well as their artifacts into categories in order to immerse myself in all the data. After I transcribed and organized all of the data, I read through the transcripts, journals, and survey responses, reviewed the artifacts, and made notes and memos about initial topics and ideas found within the data sets. This process also allowed me to "take cognitive ownership of the data…gain intimate familiarity with its contents and begin to notice significant details as well as make new insights about their meanings" (Saldana, 2011, p. 95).

Phase 2: Generating Initial Codes

Saldana (2011) states that coding is a method used in qualitative research to discover the meaning of individual sections of data. A code can be a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns an attribute or captures the essence of that part of the data set. During this phase of

thematic analysis, codes are applied to the data set as an initial way of organizing data into mean-

ingful groups (Braun & Clarke, 2006). After immersing myself in the data through initial read-

ing of all of the content, I engaged in two rounds of initial coding. I conducted the first round of

coding manually, and the second round of coding using NVIVO computer software. Specifically,

I first engaged in manual line by line coding of the transcripts, electronic journals, survey re-

sponses, and artifacts by highlighting the text, and using text boxes in Microsoft Word to anno-

tate the text, record the codes, and make notes about what was said. I used both in-vivo coding,

using the exact phrases or language from the participant, as well as interpretive coding, using a

synonym or phrase to clarify my interpretation of the text (Saldana, 2011). I coded the complete

data set manually. Then, I recoded the complete data set again using NVIVO computer software

to assign in-vivo and interpretive codes. NVIVO allowed me to highlight text in the document,

assign multiple codes to the highlighted text as needed, and sort data by code. I also used

NVIVO to create and assign analytic memos, or narrative interpretations about the text using my

own words, to different segments of text (Saldana, 2011). This process generated 262 initial

codes with accompanying text and 167 analytic memos.

Additionally, during this phase, I coded the participants' responses from the demographic

survey to determine the mental images they held about Black youth compared to media images

of urban youth. Participants were asked what mental images come to their minds when they think

about Black youth. I analyzed the responses to this question by extracting the nouns, adjectives,

and verbs in order to focus on the descriptive terms provided by the participants separate from

words used to restate the question in the response. For example, if the response was, "When I

think of Black youth, the image that comes to mind is talented and misunderstood," then I ex-

tracted the terms talented and misunderstood as the description. If the response was, "When I

think of Black youth, I think of negative media images," then I extracted the terms negative, media, and images. Once I extracted the descriptive terms, I then used NVIVO to conduct a word count of terms noting how many times each term was used. I further analyzed the responses by looking for similarities and differences, and by grouping the terms into similar categories and subcategories. Based on my analysis, descriptions of Black youth were categorized into nine larger classifications including physical characteristics, behaviors, social characteristics, race and culture, education, socio-economic status, media images, outlook/expectation, and oppression. I repeated this process with participants' descriptions of media images of urban youth and then created a chart comparing their descriptions of Black youth with their descriptions of media images of urban youth. The chart is located in Appendix E.

Phase 3: Searching for Themes

Braun and Clarke (2006) assert, "a theme captures something important about the data in relation to the research question and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set" (p. 10). While codes are narrow and describe a specific part of data, themes are broad and illuminate patterns across the data set. As such, phase three of thematic analysis involves sorting different codes into potential themes. During this phase, I reviewed, condensed, and combined the initial codes into broader categories in order to search for initial themes. After refining and combining the codes, I generated 30 potential themes around the categories of stereotypes, media, awareness, and education. I created a mind map by hand using in-vivo codes from participants' responses to understand how the codes relate to each other and to the broader themes.

Phase 4: Refining Themes

Braun and Clark (2006) note that "phase four begins when you have devised a set of candidate themes, and it involves the refinement of those themes" (p. 20). During this phase, I reviewed the initial candidate themes in order to refine them into more targeted and encompassing themes. I reviewed the research questions and asked the following questions as I reviewed the initial themes. Is this initial theme a big idea, a subtheme, or supporting evidence? Is this initial theme supported by evidence from across the data set? Does this initial theme address the research questions? Which initial candidate themes can be combined? Based on my analysis at this phase, I determined that many of the candidate themes identified in phase 3 were not actual themes, but were subthemes or supporting evidence. For example, I initially designated the phrase "limit humanity" as an independent candidate theme, but later concluded that it was actually a subtheme or a component of a larger theme of "ways stereotypes impose limits." I continued to review the data for supporting evidence, combined related concepts and ideas, and identified new themes and subthemes. I repeated this process multiple times until I identified the refined subthemes listed in Table 3.

Phase 5: Defining and Naming Themes

Braun and Clark (2006) state that the goal of phase five is to define and refine themes by "identifying the essence of what each theme is about…and determining what aspect of the data each theme captures" (p. 22). During this phase, I refined and defined the three overarching themes that emerged from the thematic analysis process. These themes are imposing limits, humanization or humanizing push back, and media as a source of power and influence. I created definitions for the themes using the key components in the subthemes. I then recoded the data set using the three overarching themes and subthemes. I created theme charts that include theme

definitions and subtheme components and aligned the themes to the relevant research questions and data sources. I also wrote a detailed analysis of each theme. The chart detailing the themes, definitions, and subthemes is found below in Table 3.

Table 3: Phase 4 and Phase 5 Themes Chart: Themes, Subthemes and Definitions

Phase 4: Power of Media	Phase 4: Resisting Stereotypes	Phase 4: Limits of Stereotypes	Phase 5: Defined and Refined Themes & Subthemes
Power of Media • Influence Thought • Restrict Representation • Economic Incentives • Racist Historical Narrative • Neutral Media • Influence Society • Influence Individuals • Normalize Prejudice • Repeated Single Stories • Single Stories Believed as True • Influence on Participants • Denial of Influence • Awareness of Influence • Resisting Influence	Resisting Stereotypes • Pushing Back • Humanizing Artifacts • Universal Qualities • Individual Experiences • Systemic Forces • Forming Relationships • Thinking Critically • Analyzing Media • Make a Change • Enhanced Awareness • Acknowledge Personal Bias • Increase Empathy • Change Pedagogy • Show Multiple Stories • Historical Context of Stereotypes • Think Multi-culturally • Ask Critical Questions • View as Human	Limits of Stereotypes • Thoughts, Actions, Behavior • Mental Imprints • Dehumanization • Limited to Behavior • No Individuality • Society's Lens • Not Stereotype, not Black • Limited Education • Fear of Students • Unfair Discipline • No Relationship • Not Viewed As Individual	**Stereotypes Impose Limits** → Limit Cognitive Thought; Limit Humanity (Dehumanize Black Youth); Limit Educational Quality of Black Students Imposing limits refers to making automatic associations or viewing others through a narrow, specific, and racialized lens based on preconceived notions or images. **Humanization – Humanizing Push Back** → Resisting Negative Stereotypes Through Artifacts; Enhanced Awareness, Critical Thought & Analysis; Making Changes in Professional Practice; Skills Teachers Need to Be Better Educators Humanization is engaging in critical thought, reflection, and practices to view others as whole, complete, and individual humans. This includes awareness of and actively pushing back against stereotypes. **Media as Source of Power & Influence** → Power to Communicate Limited Images of Black Youth; Power to Influence Individual and Societal Thoughts; Media's Influence on Participants' Perceptions Media is viewed as a source of power and influence. Media has the power to communicate images and ideas and to influence the thoughts and beliefs of others.

Phase 6: Producing the Report

According to Braun and Clarke (2006), phase six is the final phase of analysis and involves selecting compelling extract examples as evidence, relating the analysis to the research questions and the literature, and producing the final report. During this phase, I used the theme chart and subtheme components to produce the final report of the findings in two different forms. First, I engaged in poetic inquiry as a form of analysis to further examine and document the findings. Saldana (2011) states that poetic inquiry is a form of documenting analytic findings by "strategically truncating interview transcripts, fieldnotes, and pertinent data into poetic structures…poetic constructions capture the essence and essentials of data in a creative, evocative way" (p. 128). I reflected on the themes, findings, and participants' statements and produced a poem that captures the essence of the findings, which include the need to see beyond stereotypes to see the whole human.

After constructing the poem, which is presented in Chapter Four, I reported the findings organized by theme and research question with evidence from the data set to support the claims. I used direct quotes and excerpts from the data set to support the claims using the participants own words in order to provide thick and rich descriptions as well as authenticity.

Quality and Rigor

I used the concept of crystallization to establish quality and rigor in this study. Richardson (2000) asserts, "crystallization provides us with a deepened, complex, and thoroughly partial understanding of the topic. Paradoxically, we know more and doubt what we know" (p.934). As such, crystallization focuses on depth of understanding and encourages multiple forms of analysis and representations. Similarly, Ellingson (2009) states,

> crystallization combines multiple forms of analysis and multiple genres of representation into a coherent text or series of related texts, building a rich and openly partial account of

> a phenomenon that problematizes its own construction, highlights researchers' vulnerabilities and positionality, makes claims about socially constructed meanings, and reveals the indeterminacy of knowledge claims even as it makes them (p.4).

I engaged in methods to establish crystallization by viewing the data from multiple angles and analyzing the findings using more than one genre, namely through poetry and the research report genre. I practiced reflexivity throughout the processes of research design, data collection, data analysis, and writing the final report. I also provided detailed descriptions and multiple forms of analysis of the findings. Ellingson (2009) also states that depth of understanding is further achieved "through compilation not only of many details, but also of different forms of representing, organizing, and analyzing those details" (p.10). Therefore, I provided multiple examples to support the themes, and used detailed excerpts from the participants, in their own words, to facilitate a deep understanding of the participants' perceptions. I also organized the details in multiple ways, including by theme and by research question.

Role of the Researcher

Qualitative case study research uses the researcher as a tool for inquiry, interpretation, and analysis (Merriam, 2009). As the researcher, I influenced the design and implementation of the entire study, from developing the research questions, to determining the instrumentation, procedures, data sources, and research methods, and also by conducting data analysis. Additionally, my role in this case study extended beyond that of a researcher as I also designed the media workshop and served as the workshop facilitator. I acknowledge that my unique role as the researcher and workshop facilitator influenced the study in a way that may not have occurred if I exclusively collected data through survey, interview, and document analysis. I also acknowledge that I am not neutral as a researcher and recognize that my lived experiences influenced the design of the study. However, I ensured quality in my research by acknowledging and taming my

subjectivities during the research process (Peshkin, 1988). I sought out my subjectivities at the beginning of the study and established a method to monitor my subjectivities during the research process. In particular, I used my reflection journal to document my feelings during data collection and analysis as a way to monitor my subjectivities, and then re-approached the data with my subjectivities in check. I have also included a subjectivity statement below so that the readers of my research will also be aware of my subjectivities.

Subjectivity Statement

Specifically, I am a Black woman, an aunt of four Black school-aged nieces and nephews, an administrator at an elementary school serving predominately Black and Hispanic students, and a doctoral student at a noted research university. As a Black American, I have been prejudged by others based on negative stereotypic images of Black Americans and have had to prove myself as a scholar and professional to overcome the negative images projected onto me. I am connected to my research project, in that in addition to being an educator, I am also a consumer of visual news and network media. I have been exposed to repeated images of Black males and females as criminals, suspects, loud, athletic, inferior, and lazy. As a teacher, I have referred students to the principal's office for discipline for what I perceived as disrespectful behavior. Similarly, as an administrator, I have disciplined Black students for subjective behaviors such as being rude and disrespectful. I have also witnessed parents and teachers identify Black male and female students as lazy, bad, thugs, or future criminals and question the reference point for their interpretation and description of student behavior. I have also engaged in personal reflection to determine if my interpretation of student behavior was influenced by subconsciously consuming racialized stereotypes. I am an advocate for children and seek to bring awareness to

oppressive visual structures that contribute to misrepresentations and misjudgments of Black youth.

Ethical Considerations

When designing this study, I considered that the topics of race, stereotypes, and education may elicit uncomfortable emotions. Participants may be uncomfortable communicating honestly about their perceptions of racialized behaviors and understanding of media stereotypes because as educators, they may be embarrassed or fear backlash from the findings (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). As a researcher, I followed guidelines established by the university's Institutional Review Board (IRB), and addressed ethical responsibility through informed consent and the protection of participants from harm. All participants entered the research project voluntarily and understood the nature of the study, its obligations, and dangers. I also protected participants by insuring they were not exposed to risks greater than the gains they may derive from participating in the study, and abided by the contract (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007).

I used the informed consent process to inform participants about potential adverse feelings and discomfort that may arise from participating in the workshop and the study. I also asked participants if they were comfortable with answering questions or participating in class discussions before proceeding with the study. I informed participants of their right to skip or refuse to answer questions or participate in class discussions that make them uncomfortable. I also used pseudonyms for the participants and the university to maintain confidentiality, however I used verbatim text to provide authenticity to the findings.

Conclusion

This single exploratory case study used a researcher designed workshop as a form of research- as-pedagogy method (King, Goss, & McArthur, 2014) to investigate teachers'

perceptions of media stereotypes about Black urban youth and the influence of the workshop on their understandings. Eighteen pre-service and active teachers and their multicultural education professor formed the bounded unit of the case study, and I served as the researcher and workshop facilitator. Data was generated from a variety of sources including a demographic survey administered at the beginning of the workshop, dialogue and group discussions during the workshop sessions, documentation from the participants' reflection journals, work products created during the workshop, participants' responses to reflection questions at the end of the workshop, and a semi-structured interview with the professor. I conducted thematic analysis of the data and generated three themes that describe the ways in which participants understand stereotypes and media's role in communicating stereotypes. These themes are imposing limits, humanization or humanizing push back, and media's power of influence. The findings are presented formally in chapter four and have implications for teacher and student interactions.

4 RESULTS

The purpose of this qualitative case study was to investigate teachers' perceptions of media stereotypes about Black urban youth and the influence of their participation in a researcher designed workshop on their understandings. The questions that guided this inquiry were:

1. What are teachers' perceptions of stereotypes about Black urban youth?

2. What are teachers' perceptions of the role of media in communicating stereotypes about Black urban youth?

3. How does their participation in a workshop on media stereotypes about Black urban youth inform their understandings and perceptions?

Poetic Analysis

The results of the study are first presented in the form of a poem, which I wrote to express the themes and insights gleaned from the participants' responses. In particular, I conducted poetic analysis in which I used key terms from the participants' responses to compose a poem to represent the findings. The poem is informed by all data sources and summarizes the results of the study in the form of a message calling for educators to see beyond stereotypes in order to recognize the full humanity of Black youth. Each stanza of the poem addresses one of the research questions. The full text of the poem is included below.

Seeing Beyond the Stereotype to See the Whole Human:
Teachers' Perceptions of Media Stereotypes and Black Youth
by
Syreeta Ali McTier

I have a message, actually, I have a gripe.
I am a HUMAN, not a stereotype.
When a negative single story is always on repeat,
resist automatically associating that behavior with me.
Especially if you don't know me personally,
don't assume I'm a threat, dangerous, or unruly,

for those are stereotypes you are forcing on me.
Despite limited mental images or portrayals in the media you may see,
I am a multifaceted human with complexity.
I am an individual and unique, not a behavior with a blank face.
And no, that mug shot is not a representation of everyone in my race.
Those images serve a purpose to dehumanize me.
In real life I am not that way, you don't get what you see,
so please stop using stereotypes to limit me!

It's time to take the teachers to school.
It's time to learn to use some critical tools.
It's time to reflect on power, access, and ideas aligned with racist history.
It's time to trouble systemic forces and critically analyze the media we see.
The key prerequisites for teachers before instruction begins,
are to confront your biases and acknowledge your lens.

Educator, educator, before you go into this profession,
recognize the power to limit me and exclude me is in the power of perception.
Before you step into a class, teacher, here is the lesson,
your level of expectations for my education is in the power of perception.
Do the hard work and take the time
to reflect, analyze, and free your mind.
Acknowledge and then remove the layers used to confine me,
develop the literacy you need to truly see ME.
Then I am free to be a whole human, with endless capacity!

The first stanza addresses research questions one and two by highlighting the power of stereotypes to limit how others think about and perceive Black youth, and the media's role in communicating stereotypes about Black youth through limited images and repeated associations with crime and negative behavior. Specifically, multiple participants perceive stereotypes about Black youth as forces that dehumanize, limit, and confine Black youth, and further assert that stereotypes are projected or forced onto them through automatic associations and through limited, single stories communicated in news and network media. Similarly, multiple participants view media as a source of power that communicates limited representations that contribute to viewing Black youth through stereotypic lenses. Furthermore, the second and third stanzas address research question three by noting the educational consequences of viewing students

through the lenses of stereotypes and the power that educators have to limit and exclude their students as a result of their perceptions. Stanza three explicates the analytical and reflective experiences the participants engaged in during the workshop in order to suggest critical experiences and competencies educators need in order to develop the literacy to see beyond stereotypes and see students as having an endless capacity. These experiences include engaging in critical reflection, acknowledging personal biases, analyzing media images, contextualizing stereotypes within historical racist narratives, and troubling systemic forces used to confine Black youth. The second presentation of the results of the study, rendered as themes, are further explained in the next section.

Thematic Analysis

As suggested by the poem, three overarching themes emerged from data analysis that describe participants' perceptions of stereotypes about Black urban youth, the role of media in communicating stereotypes, and the influence of the media workshop on those perceptions. These overarching themes are imposing limits, humanization or humanizing push back, and media's power to communicate images and influence thought. The definitions for each theme are provided below.

> **Imposing Limits**: Imposing limits refers to making automatic associations or viewing others through a narrow, specific, and racialized lens based on preconceived notions or images. It is limiting thoughts and beliefs about others. Stereotypes are identified as having the power to impose limits.
>
> **Humanization/Humanizing Push Back**: Humanization is engaging in critical thought, reflection, and practices to view others as whole, complete, and individual humans. This includes awareness of and actively pushing back against stereotypes.

Power of Media to Communicate and Influence: Media is viewed as a source of power and influence. Media has the power to communicate images and ideas and to influence the thoughts and beliefs of others.

As indicated in Table 4 below, these three overarching themes were present in participants' ideas and responses across multiple data sources and overlap different research questions. The theme of imposing limits describes participants' accounts of the ways in which stereotypes impose limits by limiting cognitive thought and perceptions about others, limiting humanity by dehumanizing Black youth, and limiting the quality of education of Black students. Similarly, the theme of humanization or humanizing push back explains the ways participants engaged in or advocated for humanization by pushing back against stereotypes through humanizing artifacts, communicating enhanced awareness, critical reflection, and commitment to making changes to professional practice as a result of the workshop experience, and identifying humanization as an explicit skill to be taught as a part of teacher education. Additionally, the theme of the power of media expresses participants' understandings of media's power to control and communicate limited images of Black youth, media's power to influence the thoughts of individuals and society, and media's influence on participants' personal perceptions of Black youth.

The theme of imposing limits presents the results of the inquiry related to research question one. The second theme, power of media, explicates the findings related to research question two, and the theme of humanization overlaps multiple research questions with regard to evidence related to research questions one and three. For clarity, I have organized the findings by research question. In the remainder of the chapter, I detail the overarching theme and the specific subthemes that emerged in response to each research question with the claims and supporting evidence from the data analysis process.

Table 4: Overarching Themes, Definitions, Sources, Findings, and Research Questions

Research Questions	Overarching Theme	Definition	Data Sources	Findings
1. What are teachers' perceptions of stereotypes about Black urban youth?	**Imposing Limits: Power of Stereotypes to Impose Limits**	Imposing limits refers to making automatic associations or viewing others through a narrow, specific, and racialized lens based on preconceived notions or images. It is limiting thoughts and beliefs about others. Stereotypes are identified as having the power to impose limits.	Survey Data Class Discussions Electronic Journals Artifacts	Multiple participants believe stereotypes about Black urban youth limit the ways others perceive, understand, and think about unknown Black youth.
1. What are teachers' perceptions of stereotypes about Black urban youth? 3. How does participation in a workshop on media stereotypes about Black urban youth inform participants' understandings and perceptions?	**Humanization: Humanizing Push Back**	Humanization is engaging in critical thought, reflection, and practices to view others as whole, complete, and individual humans. This includes awareness of and actively pushing back against stereotypes.	Survey Data Class Discussions Electronic Journals Artifacts Teacher-Professor Interview Course Syllabus	Multiple participants believe negative stereotypes about Black urban youth should be resisted in order to see Black youth as individuals. Multiple participants believe the workshop enhanced their awareness of media stereotypes, encouraged critical thought and reflection about what they see and hear every day, and provided experiences that helped them improve their professional practices.

| 2. What are teachers' perceptions of the role of media in communicating stereotypes about Black urban youth? | **Power of Media to Communicate and Influence Thought** | Media is viewed as a source of power and influence. Media has the power to communicate images and ideas and to influence the thoughts and beliefs of others. | Survey Data Class Discussions Electronic Journals Artifacts | Multiple participants believe media has the power to influence the perceptions of others, and has influenced participants' perceptions of unknown Black youth in different ways. |

Research Question 1: What are teachers' perceptions of stereotypes about Black urban youth?

Table 5: Participants' Perceptions of Stereotypes Theme and Subthemes

Research Question	Overarching Theme	Data Source	Finding	Subthemes
1. What are teachers' perceptions of stereotypes about Black urban youth?	**Imposing Limits:** Imposing limits refers to making automatic associations or viewing others through a narrow, specific, and racialized lens based on preconceived notions or images. It is limiting thoughts and beliefs about others. Stereotypes are identified as having the power to impose limits. **Humanization: Humanizing Push Back** Humanization is engaging in critical thought, reflection, and practices to view others as whole, complete, and individual humans. This includes awareness of and actively pushing back against stereotypes.	Survey Data Class Discussions Electronic Journals Artifacts	Multiple participants believe stereotypes about Black urban youth limit the ways others perceive, understand, and think about unknown Black youth. Multiple participants believe negative stereotypes about Black urban youth should be resisted in order to see Black youth as individuals.	• Stereotypes limit cognitive thought and perceptions of Black youth • Stereotypes limit humanity and dehumanize Black youth • Stereotypes limit the quality of Black students' education • Artifacts of Resistance: Cognitive push back to humanize Black urban youth

Limiting Power of Stereotypes

In my analysis of participants' surveys, electronic journals, class discussions, and arti-
facts, I found that multiple participants believe stereotypes are mental images that limit the way
others perceive, understand, and think about Black youth, and believe stereotypes should be
pushed back against or resisted in order to see Black youth as individuals. Consistent with the
theme imposing limits, multiple participants believe stereotypes about Black youth limit, restrict,
and confine Black youth in three ways. First, they believe stereotypes limit the perceptions,
thoughts, and judgments people make about Black youth, which subsequently affects how they
interact with Black youth they do not know. Next, multiple participants believe stereotypes limit
humanity and dehumanize black youth by being repeatedly associated with negative behaviors,
by being viewed through society's lens as opposed to being viewed as individuals, and by having
counter examples viewed as the exception or not considered "Black." Third, multiple participants
believe stereotypes limit the quality of education for Black youth by affecting how teachers inter-
act with students, including academic expectations and behavioral or disciplinary practices as ev-
idenced by the exclusionary discipline practices of pushing students out of the classroom or sus-
pending them from school as opposed to building relationships with students. Finally, multiple
participants believe stereotypes should be resisted, and engaged in cognitive pushback against
stereotypes by bringing in humanizing artifacts to represent urban youth. Each subtheme, includ-
ing stereotypes as limiting cognitive forces, stereotypes dehumanizing Black youth, stereotypes
limiting educational quality, and the role of cognitive push back in moving from unknown stere-
otype to individual human, is detailed in the following paragraphs supported by evidence from
participants' surveys, artifacts, class discussions, and reflection journals.

Imposing Limits: Stereotypes Limit Perceptions of Black Youth

Multiple participants believe stereotypes impose limits by creating mental images that influence how other people perceive, judge, and behave towards Black youth. In my analysis of participants' journals, discussions, artifacts, and survey data, I found that participants believe stereotypes are mental images that imprint the mind, thereby influencing thoughts and behavior on conscious and subconscious levels. Specifically, stereotypes affect the mindset by creating automatic associations between mental images or representations and ideas about the mental image. The automatic associations or subconscious pairings affect perceptions, including thoughts, beliefs, and assumptions, and perceptions may influence actions. While stereotypes may have components of truth, many participants view them as limiting and confining forces that do not account for the full complexity of humans and dehumanize Black youth.

The idea of stereotypes as limiting cognitive forces affecting thoughts and perceptions about others, particularly unknown Black youth, is communicated in the quotations below when participants discussed media clips and podcasts about the murders of Trayvon Martin and Jordan Davis, in that multiple participants stated Trayvon Martin and Jordan Davis were automatically perceived as dangerous thugs consistent with negative stereotypes about Black youth in general. Harris's statement directly illustrates the connection between the stereotype as an imprint on the mind and subsequent perception of an unknown Black youth.

> Harris: It seems like Dunn, Michael Dunn, had something imprinted on his mind. He has a very base stereotype imprinted on the mind and he automatically thinks that when Davis is reaching for something, who knows what he is reaching for? You know? And then he shot him.

Similarly, Chloe expresses her ideas of how stereotypes affect perceptions and cognitive thought through making assumptions, thereby implying we make assumptions about others based on stereotypes.

Chloe: He perceived him in a stereotypical way. He made many assumptions based on whatever stereotypes he has previously been exposed to.

Both quotes connect the stereotype as a cognitive lens that affects subsequent thoughts or assumptions made about another person. Harris describes the base stereotype as being imprinted on the mind. The stereotype that is imprinted on the mind is then related to the cognitive process of thinking in an automatic manner, in that what was "imprinted on the mind," is connected to what "he automatically thinks." Likewise, Chloe describes the stereotype as a lens of perception that is also related to cognitive thinking in that Chloe believes he made assumptions based on previous exposure to stereotypes. Taken together, the stereotype is an imprint on the brain, or lens, that affects automatic thought, and is used to make assumptions.

Similarly, the quotes below further illustrate the participants' beliefs about the influence of stereotypes about Black teens on Michael Dunn's perception of Jordan Davis.

Crystal: Michael Dunn perceived Jordan Davis as a threat. Why? I don't know, probably because he was Black. Jordan and his friends were minding their own business hanging out at the gas station. I don't understand why Dunn felt threatened by these teenagers in their car, with no weapon. All he had to do was get his gas and go to his next destination.

Darcy: He perceived him as thug who could potentially hurt him. The teenager's loud music made him fear for life?

Howard: Jordan Davis was portrayed as the stereotypical urban teen. He was characterized to have violent capabilities and as an overall threat to society. He was perceived to be armed and pointing a gun towards Dunn.

Melanie: Michael Dunn did not have any information other than loud music to make a judgment about Jordan Davis, and yet he said he was 'fighting for his life' during the confrontation. I think he let stereotypes come into play in this situation.

The quotes above imply these participants believe that stereotypes can affect the perceptions of others, but also the judgments made about others. The participants' statements also note that Black teens are associated with negative stereotypes such as threats, violent, dangerous, loud music, and guns. These stereotypes, or cognitive images, limit thoughts and expectations about the

behaviors of Black teens. This idea of stereotypes, cognitive images, and limited thoughts about Black teens is further expressed in the quote below from Matthew about the descriptions of Trayvon Martin after viewing an informational media podcast by Stefan Molyer. During the podcast, Stefan Molyer presented his account of background information about Trayvon Martin and George Zimmerman. Matthew details how limited descriptions of Trayvon Martin are associated with expectations of Trayvon as a dangerous trouble maker.

> Matthew: I feel like with the description that we got from that podcast as well, it was almost a list made up of what bad Black boys do. And they went down the list and they checked off anything that Trayvon satisfied and then read me the list. So, they mentioned he played football, only in reference to his size, so he must have been strong and therefore dangerous. But they didn't tell me how he could've been a great football player. He could've done great things on his team. There are aspects of his schooling that are completely absent.

Matthew's example illustrates the connection he made between automatic associations of the mental image, and subsequent perceptions and expectations. The mental image serves a cognitive purpose and is connected to a limited expectation about the image or the person based on race. Specifically, Matthew connected the descriptions of Trayvon Martin in the podcast with negative stereotypes already associated with Black boys by stating the description represents a "list made up of what bad Black boys do." Matthew also connects stereotypes with their underlying meaning that generate fear by stating "they mentioned he played football, only in reference to his size so he must have been strong and therefore dangerous." The statement that he was a football player, in relation to size and strength produced a negative or fearful implication. Matthew recognizes a lack of additional information relating to Trayvon as a football player that could have contributed to a positive image by stating "but they didn't tell me how he could've been a great football player. He could've done great things on his team." In this case, not only what is stated is important, but also what is absent or omitted.

Another participant, Noah, further extends the idea of how mental images about others influence our expectations about them and our behavior towards them based on race or participation in athletics, particularly for Black football players, and emphasizes the importance of confronting those images. Specifically, the participants viewed news reports of Richard Sherman, football player, being referred to as a thug after an interview in which he used "trash talk" in referencing an interaction with an opponent. Dialog between participants illuminate their understanding of the relationship between images and expectations, and how people have different expectations for different types of athletes, and for Black people, and notes that we pigeon hole others based on those expectations. After seeing Richard Sherman being referred to as a thug in the media, the participants stated the following:

Jamila: Doesn't he have like a master's degree?

Chloe: yes, he's smart. Laugh

Noah: I think it kind of plays into the idea of seeing, and I see in myself too, it's like, we don't expect football players to go to Stanford. He graduated from Stanford, right? His appearance doesn't speak to what we imagine graduating from Stanford looks like. He's a football player. He is a professional athlete period, so we don't expect him to be, you know, highly educated. You just have certain expectations for what is going to come out of their mouths. And what came out of his mouth on the football field fits the expectation of what as a society, we expect to come out of Black people's mouths, and what we expect from football players in particular.

Jacob: Well, just as an athlete

Noah: Well, I think we have different expectations for like a golf athlete, putting it in perspective.

Jacob: Okay, but like baseball, football, basketball I kind of expect it, and the other sports or hockey.

Noah: But you know it's important for all of us, and I'm including myself, to confront those kinds of images that we have in our heads and what we expect them to say. No one is pigeon holing him because of these comments, whereas people will pigeon hole you because of certain other comments or expectations.

Noah expressly links images, expectations, and pigeon holing, or limiting the person based on your expectation. In other words, as indicated in Figure 1, images (cognitive visual representations in the mind) affect expectations (cognitive decisions about value and ability) and behavior, including pigeon holing or limiting experiences, opportunities, and benefits. The pigeon hole, or limiting behavior, is a consequence of expectations that not only affects athletes, but also Black people.
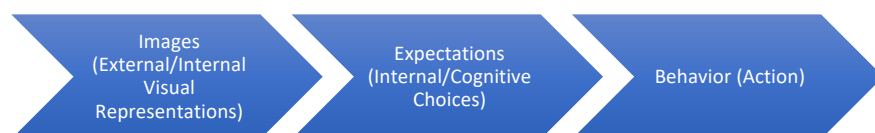
Figure 1: Images, Expectations, and Behavior

Furthermore, stereotypes can also limit the way other people perceive Black females. To illustrate, participants viewed video clips of interviews with Rachel Jeantel, a Black female teenager, who was a key witness in George Zimmerman's trial for killing Trayvon Martin. Participants also viewed video clips of interviews with jurors who were on the case who shared their opinions about Rachel Jeantel and her testimony. Based on the media clips, participants stated Rachel Jeantel was perceived by jurors through a stereotypic lens as unintelligent, angry, and unreliable based on her language and the way she spoke.

> Darcy: I didn't follow the trial while it was going on only because I knew whichever news station I watched it on would be biased. That being said, this is the first time I've seen her. She seems like a typical Black girl, uneducated, involved in the wrong crowd, and just happened to be in the wrong place at the wrong time.
>
> Lyndsey: She was characterized as someone who had been misrepresented and disgraced because of the way she speaks.
>
> Priya: Uneducated, no communication skills, sorry, misunderstood, incapable

The descriptions above link stereotypes associated with a lack of intellectual ability and language with images of inferiority and anger. While Darcy links Rachel Jeantel's characterization to that of a "typical Black girl, uneducated and involved in the wrong crowd," during the discussion below, Chloe and Jamila express opposition to stereotypes being projected onto Jeantel for emotions she has a right to have.

> Chloe: I believe that Rachel, although she might've lacked the grammar skills and everything that's typically considered proper, which is not her fault, was already characterized as that angry Black woman, which we always get. Black women always get it, and she didn't even express that. Which, when watching the trial, she had every right to be angry with how they were talking to her. So, it was like they said she is something that she had a right to be. Which, then made it a bad thing, basically.

> Jamila: She was characterized as someone with no education and bad communication skills. They actually said that she must have felt inadequate and that really got me upset because I'm trying to understand how you put that, you know, that characterization on someone. How can you say that's probably how they feel?

Chloe's and Jamila's comments affirm their belief that Jeantel is not only viewed through a stereotypic lens, but that the stereotypes are projected onto Jeantel by the juror. Chloe states that Rachel is characterized in a stereotypical manner as an angry Black woman when she in fact has a right to be angry based on the way others spoke to her. Chloe affirms Rachel's right to emotion, and right to be angry based on how she was being treated, but that natural emotion was presented as something that was bad. She is characterized in a negative light for an emotion that she has a right to feel and express. Also, Jamila expresses anger that the juror said Rachel must have felt "inadequate," and that the feeling of inadequacy was put onto Rachel by someone else, but expressed as if it was how Rachel must have felt. In other words, Jamila recognizes that this juror forced her own perception onto Rachel, assuming that because she felt Rachel was inadequate that Rachel must've felt inadequate herself. The anger expressed by Jamila addresses her

belief that stereotypes not only affect thoughts and beliefs about others, but may also be projected onto others, affirming beliefs already held.

Furthermore, when discussing the murder of Jordan Davis, another participant, Darcy, stated that youth of different races may behave the same way, but the mental image, perception, and expectation about the individual based on the behavior is different for different races. In the following example, the association of loud music and being a thug is made for Black youth, however, Darcy states that loud music does not dictate being a thug or violent when you are White. Specifically referring to Michael Dunn's perception of Jordan Davis, Darcy states:

> Darcy: He perceived him as a thug, which is absolutely ridiculous. My brother is 18 years old and is an upper middle-class White boy, and he blares his music. You can hear his truck coming a mile away because of his bass and there is nothing violent about that. Michael Dunn saw a Black kid, and he shot them. Like, there is nothing racist about listening to music with the bass at all. And I don't know. I've never heard of this at all before. I don't know if I was looking under a rock when this happened, but this is insane that this happened."

Imposing Limits: Stereotypes Limit Humanity and Dehumanize Black Youth

The second way participants believe stereotypes impose limits, is by dehumanizing black youth. In my analysis of participants' data from class discussions, artifacts, and journals, I found that multiple participants believe that Black youth are dehumanized by repeated associations with negative stereotypes. Stereotypes create and reinforce negative associations, reducing Black youth to behavior in that the behavior is interpreted as who you are instead of what you do. That is to say, dehumanization occurs in three ways; first by reducing Black youth from complex humans to limited behaviors or associations; second, by viewing Black youth through society's lens of negative racialized characteristics or behaviors as opposed to viewing them as individuals; and third, by having counter examples viewed as not being "Black." Each component of dehumanization is detailed below supported by evidence from the class discussions and electronic journals.

Dehumanization: Limited to Behavior –That's Not All He Is

According to many participants, repeated associations with negative representations rein-

force a single story about Black youth that limit them to negative behaviors such that one cannot

look beyond the stereotype to see a complex, multifaceted, and complete individual person. As a

result, unknown Black youth are limited to negative behaviors or descriptions. An example of

how Black youth are dehumanized by being limited by associations with negative behavior is

provided by analyzing the dialog between Jamila and Jacob regarding Trayvon Martin. Trayvon

is described in a media podcast as dangerous and Jamila calls out Jacob's refusal to look beyond

the stereotypic descriptions to see Trayvon as a human. She affirms, "that's not all he is" and

questions how Jacob would feel if he was only classified in terms of negative stereotypes associ-

ated with him. Jacob, however, accepts stereotypes as facts and does not view them as racialized

or limiting.

> Jamila: I was going to say that for Rachel and Trayvon, the schooling and the disciplinary experiences, that was the basis of their characterizations. There was nothing else that was put into it. Just like you were saying, you know, he played football, therefore he's strong and dangerous. Or, oh, he was kicked out, he's probably a trouble maker. So that was the basis and that was their whole description of him. Nothing else that he did. He wasn't in community service, if he went to church or not. Nothing else played a part in his characterization and that was also very unfair.

> Jacob: That was his characterization. Kicked out of school, dealing drugs, burglary tools. A bunch of women's jewelry, tons of rings and bracelets and necklaces. All kinds of junk.

> Jamila: and Zimmerman's characterization is what exactly? A philanthropic like Mother Theresa?

> Jacob: He was a punk that was burglarizing things otherwise he wouldn't have had women's jewelry. Yeah, no explanation for the women's jewelry.

> Chloe: That could've been put there after so you can think that

> Jacob: No, it's because that's what he is. That's his reference.

Chloe: I don't think that

Jacob: Yes, it is.

Chloe: No, I don't think so

Jacob: He was a football playing, drug dealing, burglarizing punk kid that got in fights.

Jamila: I'm not responding to anything. I'm just going to say that if we're going to have a discussion on something that is this volatile in nature that we at least have some respect from the differing views because you classifying Trayvon as a drug dealing thief or whatever is NOT fair.

Jacob: that's the facts

Jamila: Like, it's disrespectful. That's NOT all he is. That's not the only person.

Jacob: No, he's much more than that I'm sure, but that's the facts

Jamila: Okay, Well don't classify him as that. You need to respect him and respect his family.

Jacob: But he is that too. Whatever else he is, he is that too.

Jamila: What if I classified you as all the negative stereotypes that are associated with you? How would you like that? Respect the dead! Respect other people.

Jacob: It would be facts and I would accept it because it's true

Jamila: No, you're blind. You're color blind. You always are in every class. You are color blind to race, to socioeconomic status, ethnicity.

Jacob: This has nothing to do with race.

Jamila: Have some sense. Oh my God, how can you be that ignorant?

Matthew: This is why you guys are in this class.

During this exchange between participants, Jamila discusses the disrespectful use of stereotypes to limit a person to negative descriptions. Negative descriptions or associations with negative behavior do not account for the whole person. Jamila emphatically says, "That's NOT all he is!" emphasizing the incomplete representation as harmful and disrespectful. Jamila's

statement further suggests that the absence of additional positive and complete representations from this particular news podcast does not mean that they do not exist, it means this particular news caster did not include them. Jacob's response of " No, he's much more than that I'm sure, but that's the facts," illustrates an acceptance of Molyer's podcast portrayal of Trayvon as factual enough for Jacob to conclude that Trayvon was a "football playing, drug dealing, burglarizing punk kid that got in fights."

Furthermore, Jacob's electronic journal confirms Jacob's belief that Trayvon was portrayed "as he was," not only reducing Trayvon to descriptions of behavior, but also limiting Jacob's ability to have sympathy for Trayvon. Jacob's sympathy is not for Trayvon, but for Trayvon's parents.

> Jacob: I believe he was portrayed much as he was – a punk Black guy who got kicked out of school, popped with stolen goods & burglary tools at school, who smoked and dealt drugs & was on his way to getting a gun to use so he wouldn't lose a fight anymore. I have no sympathy for him, I do for his parents though.

While Jacob did not look beyond the stereotype and accepted the portrayal and stereotypic descriptions of Trayvon Martin as factual, Noah, rejected the portrayal as unrealistic and incomplete. He views Trayvon Martin as a human and does not define individuals by records or behavior. His statement is below.

> Noah: I definitely do not think that the portrayal of Trayvon was realistic. I've dealt with kids who had far worse disciplinary records than Trayvon and the representations of Trayvon in the media would be false for them. The media generally doesn't portray the fact that these are kids (in this case) and they have a wonderful goodness in them as well as faults and problems. When you see the heart of others, most time you will see something that is just like your own in the general sense of being a human. I suppose there are a few people in the world who are so scarred and battered that there is little resemblance left, but neither one of these two young men sounds like that individual.

Noah humanizes Trayvon and contextualizes him as one of the "kids with a wonderful goodness in them as well as faults and problems." Noah does not limit his view to behavior but looks to "see the heart of others" in the "general sense of being human."

Another example of participants' belief that Black youth are dehumanized by being limited to associations with dangerous behavior is provided in the discussion of the murder of Jordan Davis. By analyzing the murder of Jordan Davis by Michael Dunn, participants concluded that there are stereotypes that imprint the mind and color the perceptions of others about Black youth with an effect of dehumanizing Black youth. According to Carrie, Jordan Davis was not only perceived by Michael Dunn as a threat, gangster, dangerous, and to be feared, but in the statement below, Aaron also argues that Jordan Davis was not even viewed as human.

> Carrie: Michael Dunn perceived Jordan as a dangerous Black teenager who could cause him harm. Listening to loud music created a reason for Dunn to approach him in hopes to get him to turn his music down that he had every right to have up as loud as he wanted. Seeing this boy in his car with two other Black boys created a "fear" as he states within himself about what these boys would do. He simply assumed that the child had a gun just because he reached downwards, when in fact he was the one with the weapon.

> Aaron: I'm trying to separate what he said from his actions because what he said on trial was the only thing that he could have said to avoid going to jail for the rest of his life. That he felt threatened and scared. He had to say that, but when I think about what he actually did, it makes me think that he saw Jordan Davis as not even human. Yeah, for playing music loudly and then challenging him when he asked him to turn it down. So, I think that's what he thought of him. As not even human.

Aaron asserted that while Michael Dunn's words said that he felt threatened and scared, his actions show that he saw Jordan Davis as not even human. Dunn viewed Davis as a threat, and an object to be killed in that he shot at him 10 times. Classifications of thug, threat, dangerous, and gangster simultaneously strip the humanity away, thereby dehumanizing Black youth.

Dehumanization: Being Viewed through Society's Lens about Your Race

Similarly, multiple participants communicated that stereotypes represent ideas society creates and believes about Black youth, in which Black youth are exclusively attributed stereotypes or associated with negative behaviors that are common to all races, however, when the behavior is negative, it is exclusively identified as "Black." Black youth are dehumanized by being viewed through society's narrow lens in that negative racialized ideas about your race in the collective conscious of society are forced onto you. That is to say, you are not viewed as an individual, but through the lens of the negative stereotype. For example, when discussing the media portrayals of Jordan Davis and Trayvon Martin, Crystal and Darcy stated the representations of the teens communicate what American society believes about Black youth as opposed to what is true or accurate.

> Crystal: The representations of these two young men are the realistic stereotypes of how people view Black urban youth. They view them as violent, dangerous, and a threat to their well-being. This is noticeable when people lock their car doors and cross the street when they see Black youth. People don't take the time to get to know these youth as individuals. I think they find it easier to stereotype them, maybe it makes them feel better (I'm not sure).

> Darcy: It feeds the stereotype. They're troubled youth, lower class, they're involved with violence and drugs. This is how America as a whole views Black teenagers so naturally Trayvon would be the type to kill someone. The consequences are that Black teenagers and Blacks in general will never be viewed as individual people, and will always be clumped together and viewed in a negative light. Instead of showcasing individuals for who they are, the positives and negatives, we as a society will never be able to be on a level playing field.

The statements communicate the idea that stereotypes represent ideas in the collective conscious of society affecting thoughts about individuals because of the collective thoughts about the group or the race. The unknown individual is subjected to being viewed through the lens of the stereotype without the benefit of being viewed as an individual. Societal beliefs or ideas confine Black youth or force them into a box.

Congruent with the idea of being boxed into stereotypes, two Black participants (Michelle and Chloe) also referenced an additional cognitive consciousness associated with being viewed through a stereotypic lens as opposed to being viewed as an individual. Michelle expresses a mental fatigue in that she is forced to take responsibility for the actions of other people in her race that are projected onto her. She states,

> Michelle: It's like we always have to be conscious of what other people who look like us are doing because it's making us look bad. It's like why do I have to worry about them being on TV acting a fool? But you know I feel like sometimes we have to answer because we have all been put into this one group, seen in these stereotypes. And I feel like, so what if they don't take responsibility? Why am I held responsible for what they are doing? But it is because of the stereotypes that they put on us.

Chloe affirms the sentiment that Black people have an additional cognitive consciousness about their own behavior because they are looked on as racial representatives. In reference to Richard Sherman being called a thug in multiple news reports, she states,

> Chloe: I just want to say that this goes back to when I was like Black people have to always watch what they're doing. Like he has to think about every single action. Anybody else could have gone off on the field but because he did now it's like oh, it's a big issue you know? That's what I'm saying. He has to think about every single move that he makes and that's kind of sad. It also makes me more aware not to represent myself as any of those stereotypes so I am not placed in the same category.

Michelle's and Chloe's statements communicate a cognitive consciousness associated with being Black due to stereotypes in that Black people are not afforded the privilege of being viewed as individuals, but as representations of an entire race. This additional cognitive consciousness requires Black people to have to "think about every single action" in the words of Chloe or "be conscious of what other people who look like us are doing because it makes us look bad" in the words of Michelle.

Dehumanization: Counter Examples to Stereotypes Viewed as Not Black

Similarly, data from the participants' class discussions, electronic journals, and artifacts also indicate that some participants believe that not only are Black youth dehumanized by limiting Blackness to negative behaviors, but further dehumanization occurs in that Blackness is questioned when behavior does not conform to the negative stereotypes associated with being Black. Particularly, representations that are inconsistent with negative stereotypes are dismissed as not Black, or as the exception. This limited idea of Blackness is communicated in the media and through personal experiences in which participants are criticized or have a negative reaction or consequence for not conforming to negative stereotypes considered Black. Best representations of evidence include Maya's electronic journal, Matthew's critical media analysis graphic organizer, and Jamila's personal experience expressed in her electronic journal and in the class discussion detailed below.

When reflecting on the impact of stereotypes on the mind, Maya states that Black people who do not conform to stereotypes are viewed as not being Black. Specifically, she states:

> Maya: People who have limited interaction with Blacks expect the same behavior from Blacks across the board. When that behavior is not manifested, we are the exception, or we aren't Black.
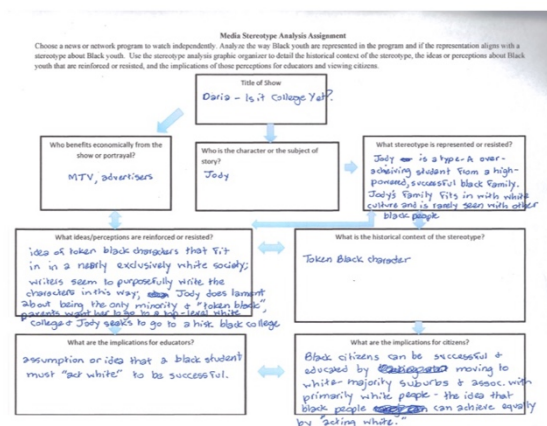

Figure 2: Matthew's Media Stereotype Graphic Organizer

Additionally, Matthew's critical media analysis graphic organizer in Figure 2 provides another example of how the message of Blackness and Whiteness is communicated in a cartoon implying that Blackness must be abandoned in order to be successful because Blackness is not congruent with success. Specifically, Matthew analyzed the implications of portrayals of race and success through the MTV animated high school comedy, Daria – Is It College Yet?, which features two Black students, one of which is a smart, focused Black girl. Matthew refers to the portrayal of the character, Jody, below:

> Matthew: Jody, a very over-achieving, Type A. She is head of the class and she is socially popular and well-adjusted and honest. It is like she is a really perfect character. And when her family is introduced, I think her mother is a lawyer and her father is in corporate business and they are really wealthy. So, it is not necessarily a stereotype, it is almost the opposite of the stereotype. Like they've done every possible way to wash out a stereotype. Where it is like this character, is she Black? I mean I don't know this. And then, in the episode I watched, to the writer's credit, she did have an outburst about having to be the token Black character and how there was a lot of pressure. Then there was the storyline where she wanted to go to a historically Black college, but her parents had been pressuring her to go to a White college. You know like an Ivy League school. So, it is addressed, but it is not consistently. It is addressed in certain places, but overall watching the show you get the impression that this perfect Black family. And, the implication I guess that I see is that it is almost like in order for this character to be successful, she had to be essentially turned White. To put it in very blunt terms. Like, success means dropping your Blackness and becoming like us, becoming normal. And the same thing with her family. Her family, occasionally you would see a character mention something kind of Black to them and they would get offended. It was like they almost dropped their Blackness in order to be successful, so it promotes the stereotype that you can't be Black and successful at the same time. That you had to leave one behind for the other.

Matthew's statement directly addresses an assumption that equates Whiteness with being normal and successful while disassociating Blackness with success. Matthew further states the implication for educators and citizens is that a Black student must "act White" to be normal and to be successful in that success and Blackness are not congruent and that Blackness is not normal.

Similarly, Jamila, a Black woman participant, provided a personal experience about how her Blackness was questioned because of the way she spoke and that she was accused of speaking "White."

> Jamila: Because I attended T. University and speak in proper sentences, I was never thought of as misunderstood, or uneducated, or deviant (not to mention my small frame). Therefore, as soon as I begin to speak, in no matter what setting it is as if I have disarmed the audience. It is as if people are surprised that something intelligent sounding could come from my mouth. The almost always first question I am asked is "What school do you/did you go to?" I have been criticized of speaking "White" because of this.

Within Jamila's statement there is a recognition of the presence of a stereotype, how she counters the stereotype by using her language to disarm the audience, and subsequent criticism for countering the stereotype. According to Jamila, the way she speaks, "in proper sentences," has "disarmed the audience" and while she states she is not thought of as "uneducated," it is because the way she speaks or the language she uses counteracts the "uneducated" stereotype. In other words, her language has not only disarmed the audience, but also provided a mechanism for her to earn her way out of the stereotype. The statement that people are surprised at her intelligence indicates the presence of a prior perception that she is not intelligent, consistent with the stereotype. In her own words, her language is disarming to others, and this countering of the stereotype is a source of criticism in that she is accused of speaking "White," implying that speaking in proper sentences or sounding intelligent is a "White" characteristic and not consistent with being Black. She is criticized for speaking White because White is associated with speaking intelligently reinforcing the idea that Black is not associated with speaking intelligently. As such, she becomes the exception or is not considered Black.

Imposing Limits: Stereotypes Limit the Quality of Education of Black Students

The third way participants believe stereotypes impose limits, is by limiting the quality of education of Black students. In my analysis of participants' electronic journals, artifacts, and

discussions, I found that multiple participants believe that viewing students through the lenses of stereotypes can also limit the level and quality of Black students' education by affecting teacher-student interactions, academic and behavioral expectations, and treatment of students. Consistent with the theme of imposing limits, participants express that teachers can limit students by the layers or lenses they use to view students. Specifically, participants state teachers may limit students through preconceived, deficit-based perceptions which manifest through lower expectations, unfair or exclusionary discipline, and failure to build individual relationships with students. Each subcomponent is detailed below and supported by evidence from the electronic journals and class discussions..

Limit Educational Quality: Lower Expectations for Students

Multiple participants state that teachers who view students through the lenses of negative stereotypes may subconsciously have lower expectations for students. Lower expectations are associated with fear of students as well as being overly sympathetic towards students. According to participants, lower expectations affect the academic experiences of students and can result in students not being challenged appropriately, being criticized for how they speak, and being graded too leniently. These ideas are described in the excerpts below by Victor, Aaron, Harris, Priya, and Maya.

> Victor: It's difficult to have the same expectations for all students when the well has been poisoned by a constant stream of negative portrayals. This doesn't even have to happen at a conscious level. You may think you are judging a child on their own merits, but you may be subconsciously adding the context of the paradigms you are exposed to over and over through the media.

Victor suggests that teachers subconsciously layer onto students the paradigms they have been exposed to as a result of negative media portrayals and implies that even though teachers may believe they are judging students individually, the portrayals have subconsciously affected

the expectations they have for students. Similarly, Aaron, Maya, and Harris describe how lower

expectations manifest academically through teacher approaches to students.

> Aaron: I've been a White teacher working with urban Black youth and have also coached White teachers teaching Black urban youth. I have experienced and seen how teachers can be afraid of their students. This can play out in different ways where teachers are afraid to give students consequences for acting out. Or, it can also play out where teachers are more likely to grade work more leniently because they can feel bad or have sympathy for Black urban students.

> Maya: It definitely plays a major part in the teacher's expectation of the student. The teacher may come in feeling sorry for the students, feeling as though he or she has all the answers; he or she has what they need to be saved. When in actuality, she or he can learn just as much. When you feel sorry someone, you tend not to push as hard and make it easy for them to get a level of complacency because "they tried." It's very limiting. It can also play a part in the way a teacher interacts with the students. They may assume that they can relate to the group just because they are tuning in to pop-culture and they can be completely off and actually offend the group. It takes away from the students' individuality.

> Harris: Teachers may have inherently lower expectations and approach the students in non-traditional ways instead of normative ways with innovation.

> Priya further explains how these subconscious preconceived notions can be used against

students and the value judgements teachers make about students' capabilities and success based

on language.

> Priya: Teachers can use their preconceived stereotypes against students. Black students may talk differently, but it shouldn't be viewed as the wrong way of speaking. They should be taught that they can use that language when speaking informally to friends, family, etc. It is important to teach them that proper English is also important to know since they will need it in the future to be successful. Teachers may think that Black youth are less capable of being successful, but it is important to hold all students at high standards and push each child to do his/her best.

As stated by Maya and Aaron, teachers who have deficit-based perceptions of students may feel

sorry for the students and treat students as needing to be saved resulting in lenient grading, and

not challenging them or pushing them academically. Teachers limit students by their low expec-

tations and their academic approaches. Priya states teachers may view Black youth as less

capable because of the way they speak, perceiving language differences as wrong. While these

perceptions may occur on a subconscious level, the effects of low expectations extend to student

– teacher interactions.

Limit Educational Quality: Unfair or Exclusionary Discipline

In addition to low expectations for students, many participants also identified unfair and

exclusionary discipline practices as another consequence of teachers viewing students through

deficit-based perceptions associated with stereotypes. Unfair disciplinary practices include being

dismissive, automatically assuming students are a behavior problem and assuming guilt or bad

behavior, and excluding students by putting them out of the classroom or the school. The ex-

cerpts below from Jamila, Darcy, and Crystal provide examples of unfair or exclusionary disci-

pline practices as a function of mindset.

> Jamila: Teachers' perceptions of urban youth affect the level of expectations they have
> for them. They may feel endangered or more sympathetic towards urban youth because of
> their perceived circumstances and thus lower the expectations they have. They may also
> be quicker to dismiss urban youth and/or "discipline" them unfairly because that is what
> they "need."

> Darcy: If they have a bad perception of urban youth, they'll always see them in the wrong
> and always think they'll never achieve anything. If something is missing, they may auto-
> matically blame a Black urban youth because of how they think it is.

> Crystal: Teacher's perceptions of urban youth can have a major impact on how they inter-
> act with urban students. They may treat them differently, by not having high expectations
> for them (not giving them a chance), and they may not challenge them academically.
> They may view them as a behavior problem, someone who they don't want to deal with.

Viewing students as behavior problems, assuming guilt, and not wanting to deal with stu-

dents contribute to exclusionary practices. Examples of exclusion include removing students

from academic instruction within the classroom or removing students from the school through

suspension and expulsion. During the class discussion, Michelle shared that Black students at

her school are misunderstood, viewed as behavior problems, and repeatedly excluded from the

classroom and either sent to the office or sent to her to deal with since she is a Black teacher.

> Michelle: At my school the staff is majority White. When I came, there was like two Black teachers there and three Black custodians. So, I see it all of the time. You know, you go to the front office and you see a Black kid, you know, sitting there. I've had other teachers on my team bring me the Black kids. Like, here you deal with them. You are the same color as them, same culture, you probably know them better than me. But I've learned to stop doing that because I feel like if I keep doing that then I'm just as bad. So, you know I see it all the time. And at our school recently we had our counselor who is Black, say something about things that were going on around the school which she was observing. So now we are having professional learning sessions where everybody is aware of what kind of kids you have, and you have to understand those kids and you cannot look at stereotypes and judge these kids based on the stereotypes. So, I do have the experience where I do see more Black kids getting in trouble.

Michelle's statement that other teachers bring her the Black kids for her to "deal with

them" with a justification of "you probably know them better than me" illustrates a form of ex-

clusion in which the students are pushed out of the classroom community instead of the teacher

taking the time to get to know the student, and to understand the student's needs. Michelle refers

to accepting the informal position of receiving the Black students as being "just as bad" in that

while she may present a safe space for the students, it does not address the deeper problem of the

teachers excluding students from the classroom or judging students based on stereotypes.

Michelle further points to positive action, in that the counselor observed the problem and the

staff now engages in professional learning sessions addressing awareness, understanding the stu-

dent, and not judging Black students based on stereotypes. Many participants described Black

youth utilizing the term "misunderstood," and the "you probably know them better than me" atti-

tude can lead to that misjudgment.

Another participant, Chloe, also addressed students being misunderstood and kicked out

or excluded as a negative consequence for Black students.

Chloe: I think what Michelle was saying plays directly into the fact that these students are misunderstood because it seems like teachers aren't taking the time to understand them, and they would just rather kick them out. Or maybe, they feel that they can't reach them in the same way as someone that's of the same background. But, as Americans, we all need to take the time to understand each other because we do have to live together.

Chloe notes that Black students are misunderstood, and teachers are excluding students by kicking them out as opposed to taking the time to understand their students. Chloe sees taking time to understand each other as a broader solution extending beyond schools to American society in general.

Suspension or exclusionary practices were further discussed as a common practice in some of the participants' schools where the majority of the student population is comprised of Black students. Noah and Howard stated that suspension was the primary practice at their schools and that their schools lacked alternatives to suspension.

Noah: I teach at a school with a majority Black population, majority Black administrators, majority Black staff and we suspend kids all the time. You know, we just do. I think that's a reflection of like the difference in the administrative structures or plans at different schools or how we view discipline. It is part of how we as a school view discipline verses being about behavior.

Howard: I've had a similar experience where I teach in a school that is 99% Black and 1% Hispanic. For a population of about 900 kids, we probably had over 800 suspensions for the school year. So, there is typically not any alternatives to suspending them.

Conversely, Carrie describes her experiences as a teacher in a school with majority Black students that is committed to utilizing alternatives to suspensions.

Carrie: I had almost the opposite experience than you two when I worked downtown. It was 99% Black, 1% White, and we like barely suspended anybody. It was almost like we had that mentality that some kids just want to get suspended and sometimes kids just, you know, like to get out of school. So, we were on that state like you're going to stay here and you're going to tough it out. So, we actually dealt with a lot of behaviors in-house and really worked with the counseling aspect and other consequences that we could come up with. Which is I think a good thing because the last thing that any kid needs is to be out of school more. But it is just interesting the different schools and policies.

Carrie's comments address the importance of alternatives for suspension, and a school culture and mindset that prioritizes counseling and alternative consequences as opposed to exclusionary consequences.

School policies, as well as the mindsets of administrators and teachers responsible for interpreting student behavior and assigning consequences, have a direct effect on Black students as indicated by Carrie's, Howard's, and Noah's comments. Mindsets about students and exclusion have unintended consequences. For example, being viewed as a behavior problem is associated with the action of exclusion. In Michelle's example, being viewed as someone the teacher does not understand due to race or culture is associated with the action of being excluded from the classroom and sent to the office or to another teacher. As such, Michelle and Chloe expressed the importance of forming a relationship with students and taking the time to get to know them on a personal level to prevent misjudgments and subsequent exclusion.

Limit Educational Quality: Failure to Build Individual Relationships with Students

Similarly, many participants state that viewing students through the lens of negative stereotypes may keep the teachers from building individual relationships with students and from viewing students as individuals. In the excerpts below, Melanie, Noah, and Howard detail the importance of building positive relationships with students and seeing them as individuals.

> Melanie: Teachers' perceptions can foster or inhibit their interactions with urban youth. If a teacher is only exposed to media biased stereotypes they may (unknowingly) hold onto perceptions that are not true that then, negatively impact their relationship and understanding of their students. Teachers may be inhibited or even afraid of urban students as a result of their perceptions, which then affects the education of the urban students.

> Noah: When teachers have preconceived notions of urban youth, they are not prepared to see the reality of their students' existence. This sets up the possibility of conflict. It also makes it difficult to establish meaningful relationships with students. Great teaching is about relationships. When either party is constructing the relationship based off a stereotype, the exchange will be flawed. When individuals communicate with their own mental stereotypes rather than the reality of the human person in front of them, they are unable to

have a real relationship. In this situation, learning can be flawed, and even counterproductive. For example, conflicts between images and reality can result in students acting out, teachers brutalizing students (mentally and physically), and students learning that their actual individuality is not valued.

Howard: As a teacher, I try to approach my students without any biases. I understand that most of my students are African-American and come from lower income single family homes. I believe it is important to purposely avoid characterizing them by these factors. Teachers must implicate ideas and procedures that endorse diversity and cultural relevance into their curriculum. As a teacher you must be open to learning each individual child instead of letting perceptions shape your views.

As indicated by Melanie, Noah, and Howard, it is important for teachers to build positive relationships with students. Negative perceptions may serve as a barrier to fully getting to know students as individuals. According to these participants, teachers must avoid characterizing students based on stereotypes and value their individuality.

Resisting Stereotypes: Pushing Back

From Stereotypic Word Associations to Humanizing Artifacts

While multiple participants perceive stereotypes as forces that impose limits on Black youth, they also believe stereotypes should be resisted in order to view Black youth as individuals. Particularly, in my analysis of participants' artifacts, survey data, and class discussions about urban youth, I found that some participants engaged in a process of deliberately thinking deeper to think beyond initial stereotypic and racialized associations of urban youth to more individualized and humanizing representations of urban youth, suggesting they believe that negative stereotypes should be resisted or pushed back against in order to see urban youth as individuals. The action of pushing back against stereotypes indicates a purposeful next step in the mind in order to refute an initial stereotypic association. This push back is evidenced by examining participants' demographic survey responses about the mental images in their heads when they think about Black youth, media images they associate with urban youth, and word associations participants

made about urban youth compared to the artifacts they brought in to represent urban youth. In particular, my analysis of participants' survey responses illuminated an overlap between terms they used to describe Black youth and media images of urban youth in the categories of physical descriptions, dangerous behaviors, education, race, media images, and social economic status suggesting that media images of urban youth are also racialized as Black. Likewise, my analysis of both the word associations on the sticky notes and discussions around the artifacts found that even though participants were aware of negative stereotypes about urban youth, they pushed back against the stereotypes and brought in humanizing artifacts when the participants were responsible for sharing their own representations or ideas about urban youth. Only two participants (Darcy, Victor) brought in stereotypic artifacts. However, multiple participants stated their initial thoughts were stereotypic, and when they realized their representations where stereotypic, they felt uncomfortable and thought deeper to bring in more humanizing artifacts. The tables comparing participants' mental associations of Black youth with media images of urban youth, their word associations describing urban youth, and the chart summarizing the participants' humanizing artifacts are found in Appendix E, Appendix F, and Appendix G, respectively.

To illustrate, participants were asked to use sticky notes to document the first two words that came to mind when they heard the term urban youth in order to identify words they associated with urban youth. Initially, the words the participants associated with urban youth were primarily negative such as "violent, dangerous, and deviant," as well as specific in terms of socioeconomic status using the terms "poverty, poor, and struggling," racialized using the terms "Black and African American," and aware of misrepresentation using the terms "misunderstood and false representation." However, when the participants had to think about their perceptions and associations and provide an artifact, multiple participants thought deeper and pushed back

against the stereotypes by bringing in universal items that apply to all people such as head-phones, hoodies, and candy, or they personalized and individualized their artifacts based on their personal and professional experiences with students and brought in poetry, artwork, and class photos. This process speaks to the overarching theme of humanization, which involves going from a place of base stereotypes, imprints on the mind or negative associations about people you do not know, to a personalized experience, individualizing the person as a human, or attributing broader based humanistic or universal qualities.

For instance, I found that participants thought deeper, pushed back against stereotypes, and humanized urban youth in three ways. These humanizing techniques include deracializing the stereotype by attributing universal characteristics common to all people; acknowledging indi-vidualized experiences, academic intelligence and creativity of urban youth, and their right to speak for themselves; and recognizing systemic, institutionalized, and societal forces that act as barriers or lenses that confine the brilliance of urban youth with the assumption of normality. Examples of each technique is provided below.

Humanization: Attributed Universal Qualities

When asked to bring in an artifact to represent urban youth, some participants brought in artifacts that humanized and normalized urban youth by attributing them with universal qualities common to all youth regardless of race Some artifacts focused on dress, music, and love of candy and fun, however all of the participants' explanations in this category emphasized that the quality was shared by all youth, all people, or all kids.

Jamila, Jacob, and Darcy focused on the outward image of fashion and dress. Participants whose artifacts focused on the outward appearance emphasized dress components that were

universal and not bound by race. Below is a picture of the hoodie brought in by Jamila accompanied by her explanation for bringing the hoodie.
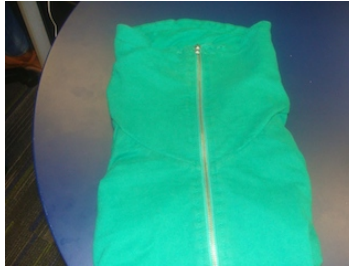

Figure 3: Jamila's Hoodie

> Jamila: I brought a hoodie. It would generally be darker than this, but I battled with trying to find something, alluding to my earlier question of what is urban? And I was like, okay, if I am going with my initial thought, what I did was okay, when I think of urban, what do I immediately think of? And I was like, okay, I pulled up the hoodie and I was like, everyone wears a hoodie. I mean do you want a cold? Black people, White people, Asian people, Hispanic people, men, women, we all wear hoodies.

In her statement below, Jamila realized she had previously inadvertently racialized the term urban to mean Black. She states:

> I have a quick question. I just wanted to know what the definition of urban was because we are supposed to bring a symbol of urban youth and then I realized that I automatically equated urban to Black and I thought urban was city, so I just wanted to understand what's the working definition of urban that we are doing all of our analysis on?

After Jamila realized she had racialized the term urban, she made a point to universalize the term urban by bringing in a hoodie and stating, "everyone wears a hoodie." While the comments universalize the hoodie, another participant stated the hoodie has also been racialized in the media. Specifically, Darcy states, when she thinks of portrayals of urban youth, she thinks of the "Black man wearing a hoodie."

Meanwhile, Jacob also brought in an artifact emphasizing outward appearance by bringing in a pair of boxers. In his statements, Jacob agrees that hoodies and headphones are worn by

all youth, however, he sees boxers and sagging pants primarily in urban settings regardless of

race.

Figure 4: Jacob's Boxer Shorts

> Jacob: I thought of the differences because I live in the suburbs and I see the kids get off
> the bus all the time and they wear hoodies and they wear headphones all the time and
> stuff and whether it's White, Black, yellow, green, whatever they all wear the hoodies
> and the headphones. But what they don't wear that I see downtown when the kids are get-
> ting off the school bus is the boxer shorts up to here and the pants down to here. That, to
> me, I think of as uniquely urban, so I brought a pair of boxer shorts. Like I said, it's
> Black and White. In the urban settings, the White kids wear their boxer shorts hanging
> off, but in my neighborhood, the Blacks and Whites all have their pants pulled up.
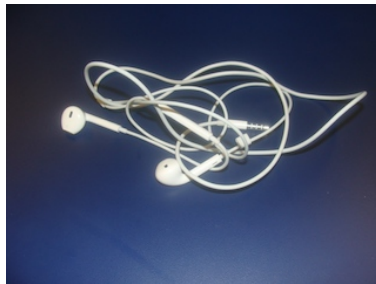
Figure 5: Chloe's and Noah's Headphones

Similar to the physical description of the hoodie, the participants (Chloe and Noah) who

brought in headphones to represent urban youth also noted the universal qualities of music and

access to media as evidenced by the comments below.

> Chloe: I brought headphones for a few reasons. The first reason is I notice that urban
> youth sometimes use music no matter who they are. They use music to kind of separate
> themselves from their environment whether it's a good environment or a bad environ-
> ment. And I also said that headphones are universal. Because you can't just say this one
> thing represents urban youth because it's just youth. It is just where they live, so I wanted

to say that it does represent them, but it also represents me and anyone else who listens to music. Because we are all the same people. It is just that we live in different places.

Chloe notes the universal quality of music for all youth, as well as all people, and states that "we are all the same people" with a difference of location. Similarly, Noah also brought in headphones with a focus on media and music. Noah states,

> Noah: I brought headphones too, so I'll just say why I brought them. Because I definitely had the same revelation where I was like what is urban youth? Like what would I characterize, and it was hard for me too because that's all I am only around urban youth right now. I think we are all urban. I grew up in rural, so then I was thinking about what the differences were between rural and urban. But I brought headphones and it is probably just as true for rural kids too, but it's just so much media saturation. I think that's a big thing. At least for the youth and certainly for the urban youth because I always see, regardless of where I am, I see people with headphones in their ears. One of the funniest things I remember talking to my kids and they will hang out with each other for like two hours and have headphones in, all three of them. And they will be listening to music while they are talking to each other the whole time.

Similarly, Lyndsey made a point to bring an artifact that was representative of all youth. Her explanation of why she chose to bring in candy emphasizes commonality with all youth.

Figure 6: Lyndsey's Candy

> Lyndsey: I had basically the same ideas. I brought candy because all the kids love candy and it's like the biggest motivator for me that I've found with any kind of youth. No matter who they are or where they are from.

Humanization: Acknowledge Individualized Experiences – Right to Speak for Themselves

While Chloe's, Jamila's, Noah's, Lyndsey's, and Jacob's artifacts and explanations focused on universal qualities such as music and clothing, Matthew's, Katie's, Howard's, Victor's, and Aaron's artifacts served to humanize urban youth by acknowledging their individuality, unique experiences, and their right to speak for themselves. Their artifacts highlighted intelligence, academic focus, creativity, and their own voices. For example, Matthew brought in a video of a student presenting a science project. He realizes that he does not have the right to represent them, so he wanted them to speak for themselves. He struggled with having the right to represent others. His artifact was thoughtful and had an academic focus. His explanation communicates his belief that he must allow them to represent themselves.

> Matthew: I struggled with this one a bit. I teach urban youth. So, honestly, this is the group of people that I spend the most time with in any given week. Not my friends, not my family, but the people we are talking about. So, I ended up bringing a video of one of my students giving a presentation of his science project. I just, I got to that point where it's like, I don't know where I have the right to even choose an object to represent them. I'm not them. So, I brought you know, an image of one of them to represent themselves because I can't do it.

Similarly, Katie brought in a book of poems written by her students, which are urban youth. Her students are humanized and individualized within her explanation and descriptions of her artifact.
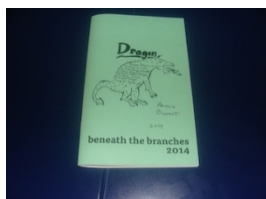

Figure 7: Katie's Book of Poems

> Katie: I teach just around the corner, so I teach urban youth as well. And I brought in our school's poetry book that all of the students write. Well I shouldn't say all of the students.

Students that would like to contribute write and their poems are published here and then everyone in the school gets a copy. But I just feel like it represents the diversity of those students and how every poem is different and unique like they are. But also, I feel like because it's poetry it gives them a little more freedom to work without the constraints that they would have to in normal writing.

Additionally, Howard brought in a humanizing artifact that addresses the innocence and fun-loving qualities of urban youth.
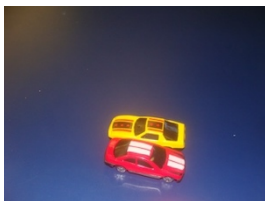
Figure 8: Howard's Race Cars

Howard: I brought in three little race cars. I actually took these from a student who was playing with them in my class and I teach 6th grade and I was really puzzled as to why he would bring in three race cars at 11 and 12 years old. And it sort of represented how at home, many of them are not able to, they're babysitting younger siblings or doing house chores and may not have a lot of resources, so they find fun or entertainment in smaller things. But these are probably just like a dollar store toy set. So just sort of representing how they are able to make fun out of things that aren't as large, or they may not have electronics.

Furthermore, Victor provides artifacts to contrast how society may view urban youth with his own personal experiences by bringing in a stereotypic image contrasted with images of students he actually taught.

Figure 9: Victor's Stereotypic Image of Urban Youth

Victor's picture of his actual students acknowledged the academic focus and creativity of his students, with one image displaying his student working on a math assignment. He states,

Victor: I'll give you these. These are just images from my experience over the last year with the urban youth. The first one is just an image I took off the internet. I think it's

probably the image that most people that look like me have of urban youth. You know, a couple of kids sitting in what looks like a bombed-out city with some hoodies on and they look a little sinister maybe. You've got the shadows there. And then these are some photos that we took at my school on a day when we were putting together a presentation for me to do at one of the classes here at school, and these are the actual, you know, inner city youth that I know. And when you look at this posed picture, this kid is great. You know, he's absolutely smart as a whip, a good basketball player. But actually, he's going to definitely be something in the future. Another great creative student. Here are kids that are working on a math problem in this math class. They are discussing. Every one of these I can sit and give you a long description of what they're like and who they are. They're nothing like that picture, you know. They're just like your kids or they're like your friends that you had in school. And they may walk around with a tough face, you know when they confront the world because the world is threatening. You know, to a lot of people, not just these kids. It's threatening to a lot of folks. But these are all great young kids and I'm absolutely sure that George Zimmerman and definitely this guy Michael Dunn doesn't know any people like this. I don't think Michael Dunn is even, you know I think he is a sociopath. I don't think he is playing with a full deck. He probably saw something about some Black kids 10 years earlier and that's that. He just decided he would shoot some that night. But anyway, I just wanted to show you that because the image and the reality is just so starkly differently.

Victor's statement, "I just wanted to show you that because the image and the reality is just so starkly differently" recognizes his understanding of the negative images projected onto urban youth, and he counters that image with personal experiences of their brilliance.

Humanization: Recognize Systemic, Institutional, and Confining Forces or Lenses

Furthermore, some participants (Professor, Melanie, Harris, Victor, Carrie) pushed back to humanize urban youth beyond attributing universal qualities and recognizing individual experiences to recognizing and troubling institutional forces and lenses society uses to confine their brilliance, creativity, and intelligence while contributing to urban youth being misrepresented and misunderstood.

The professor asserts that society does a disservice to urban youth by boxing them in and confining them with laws, suspension practices, and by not providing a safe space to explore their creativity and themselves.

Figure 10: Professor's Coke Can

Professor: I brought in a coke can because it's sweet and it's bubbly, but if you shake it, something could happen. And I think that we don't hear enough about what is inside the coke can. The sweet and the bubbly. We do it a lot in terms of our laws, whether it's suspension activity. I think we are doing a lot to what's inside of this can and we are keeping them boxed in. And we're not giving them any way to go. And you know, what happens to a dream deferred? Does it shrivel up like a raisin in the sun? Does it fester like a sore and then run? If we don't give what's in this can or what's in this box that we've created the opportunity to grow and to be the sweetness and to be in the creative spaces, then we are just doing them a disservice.

Figure 11: Melanie's Green Water Bottle

Similarly, Melanie also asserts society confines urban youth and places barriers on their possibilities. Utilizing her water bottle as her artifact, Melanie states:

Melanie: I brought a water bottle. I was thinking about this water bottle in different ways because sometimes, when it is sitting flat on a surface, usually when it's fuller, I drink some. I drink the artifact. But, it is sitting on a surface and it is not moving. Sometimes if you glance at it, it might seem like it is empty, but once you pick it up or you shake it, or you get closer to it, you realize that it's full and I feel that way about urban youth, and like you I feel very passionate because I work with them also. And they are so much more than just this empty shell. And like you were saying, I use the bottle as like to represent the confined. That inside there is this wonderful, smart, brilliant people, but society, you know, the world just constrains them with all of these different barriers.

Harris also recognizes that societal structures box in and confine the brilliance and intelligence of urban youth, and also states that the lens society uses to view urban youth also restrains

them. He highlights the importance of the lens and how a lens can distort perception. Referencing Melanie's water bottle pictured above, Harris argues that the lens you use affects what you see.

> Harris: What color is that bottle?
>
> Everyone: green
>
> Harris: What color do you see the water to be?
>
> Everyone: green
>
> Harris: But water is clear. So, the bottle right here actually represents more than what you said. While it's wonderful, but the lens that society has put on it, like the green color right there is actually quite restraining.

According to Harris, as water is clear, but appears green when viewed through the lens of a green water bottle, urban youth are restrained when they are viewed through the lens that society puts on them.

Similarly, Carrie addresses how the lens used to view urban youth contribute to them being misunderstood. Carrie wrote the word MISUNDERSTOOD and stated that educationally, urban youth get the short straw. She reflects on being questioned by others as a teacher of urban youth with questions such as, "what are those kids like?". People referring to her urban students as "those kids" is a form of othering. She expressed frustration in how they are misrepresented and credits the students for making an impact on her life personally.
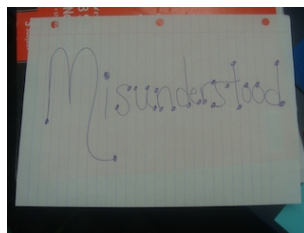

Figure 12: Carrie's Misunderstood Drawing

Carrie: So, I was originally going to bring in straws and cut one short because you know, I feel like a lot of times, in education, urban youth gets the short straw when they draw straws with education, with how they're understood. But I just wrote the word "misunderstood" on a sheet of paper because it was the word I kept coming back to. My first year teaching was when I taught in the city and it changed my life. And I remember talking to people and they would be like, oh my gosh. You work in the city? What is that like? What are those kids like? How do you do that? And it was my first year teaching so in general, my first year teaching was extremely overwhelming. But those kids changed my life. And they changed the way I see kids in general. I mean, no matter what color they are. It changed me. Like I refer back to them when I'm teaching my kids. I see all of them because they made such an impact on my life because it was my first year. I hate how they are misrepresented, and I think about the impact that they've had on me. And that whole, the words that people shot at me like, how do you do this? I'm like, you are incredibly misunderstanding what these kids, who these kids are.

Additionally, in regard to societal lenses used to view and confine urban youth, Jamila commends the other participants for their thoughtful representations of their students and refers to the limited representations of urban youth in mass media. Jamila reaffirms that the personalized artifacts and descriptions of their students counter the images that are presented about urban youth in mass media. She refers to stories that the media does not tell in her statement below.

Jamila: I was going to say that I love how you guys brought in all this nice stuff from your students and then I think about that doesn't really get played on a large scale in the media. I'm not going to hear about this school's poetry book or any of the manifestations or of your pictures or what you guys were doing. I'm not going to hear about it. What I'm going to hear about is this hoodie and about those headphones. I'm not going to hear about how they are shaped and how we can develop. I'm not going to hear that. So, it's like the widespread youth is just almost non-existent.

In summary, consistent with the theme of most imposing limits, participants believe stereotypes are limiting cognitive forces that limit thoughts and perceptions about Black youth. The mental images and automatic associations influence thoughts and perceptions about Black youth as well as expectations about Black youth. Additionally, stereotypes dehumanize Black youth through repeated associations with fear and violence, thereby reducing Black youth to negative behaviors and then identifying the behavior as racialized and exclusively Black. Black youth are further dehumanized when positive characteristics and countering examples to stereotypes are

dismissed as incongruent with Blackness or viewed as an exception. Similarly, multiple participants believe stereotypes can impose limits on the quality of Black students' education by affecting how teachers interact with students, including academic expectations and behavioral or disciplinary practices. Specifically, many participants note that viewing students as behavior problems may result in an exclusionary mindset with teachers issuing unfair discipline and relying on the exclusionary discipline practices of pushing students out of the classroom or suspending them from school as opposed to building relationships with students. Though participants produced word associations that associated urban youth with violence, the Black race, limited education, poverty, and being misunderstood, many participants further engaged in cognitive push back against those stereotypes by sharing humanizing artifacts that attributed urban youth with deracialized, universal qualities, prioritized academic and creative qualities, acknowledged individual experiences and their right to speak for themselves, and emphasized institutional forces and societal lenses that confine and restrict the brilliance of urban youth. The humanizing artifacts are an example of the overarching theme of humanization in which participants purposefully pushed back against negative stereotypes.

Research Question 2: What are teachers' perceptions of the role of media in communicating ste-

reotypes about Black urban youth?

Table 6: Media's Role in Communicating Stereotypes Theme and Subthemes

Research Question	Overarching Theme	Data Source	Findings	Components of Subtheme
2. What are teachers' perceptions of the role of media in communicating stereotypes about Black urban youth?	**Power of Media to Communicate and Influence Thought** Media is viewed as a source of power and influence. Media has the power to communicate images and ideas and to influence the thoughts and beliefs of others.	Survey Data Class Discussions Electronic Journals Artifacts	Multiple participants believe media has the power to influence the perceptions of others, and has influenced participants' perceptions of unknown Black youth in different ways.	• Media's power to communicate limited representations of Black people • Media's power to influence individual and societal thoughts • Media's influence on participants' perceptions of Black youth

Power of Media to Influence Thought

My analysis of participants' electronic journals, discussions, and media analysis projects found that participants multiple believe media is a source of power, influence, and information, and has influenced participants' perceptions of Black youth in different ways. In other words, media has an influential role in communicating stereotypes about Black youth such that the stereotypes communicated impact the thoughts of individuals and society. The overarching theme of media as a source of power and influence is based on media's power to communicate images and influence the thoughts of others. Specifically, many participants stated media has the power to control and communicate limited representations, or single stories, about Black youth consistent with historical racist stereotypes, as well as the power to influence the thoughts of society and

individuals about Black youth. In fact, many participants stated that media influences society by normalizing stereotypes and reinforcing prejudice. Most participants also stated media has influenced their thoughts about Black youth personally by either instilling preconceived notions or pre-impression images, or by instilling a hyper awareness to negative images with an intentional rejection of the images. Each component of the power of media as a source of influence is detailed in the paragraphs below.

Power of Media – Control Limited Images

Within the electronic journals and class discussions, multiple participants referenced the power of media to show limited representations of Black youth. Limited media representations are also referred to by participants as misrepresentations, stereotypes, or single stories. Multiple participants described media stereotypes as a structural problem that not only limits representations, but also limits control and access to certain portrayals. The excerpts below illustrate this point.

> Michelle: I see misrepresentations of urban Black youth all the time. I see bad representations of Black youth in the media i.e. movies, advertising, etc. It's so common now to see stereotypes in the media. Sometimes I anticipate them. For example, every time I turn to a news station, I anticipate seeing a Black male's mug shot.

> Priya: The media does not show the other sides of the kids' lives, only characteristics that are stereotypical. Power and access in media lead people to backpacking on to stereotypes that we should be working to diminish as a society. They are often shown as the poor or the unsuccessful people in media. They are usually the "troublemakers" in the show and that creates a stereotype of how Black youth and Americans are.

While Michelle's and Priya's excerpts suggest media shows incomplete representations of Black youth, additional participants suggest limited representations are a result of a larger structural problem in that images are controlled and replayed for economic profit and are believed because the images reaffirm historical racist thought about Black Americans. The power to control the image leaves specific representations in the eyes of viewers. These representations

are consistent with negative recycled stereotypes. Carrie and Crystal detail media's power to

control images in the excerpts below:

> Carrie: The main issue here, in my understanding, is that the power is coming from the producer level. These people are controlling the images that are being portrayed in the media in a way to either shock, entertain, or cause some kind of discussion about their company/show. These shows are on cable for everyone to access and those who do not have many Black Americans in their area, may have only one representation in their minds about who Black Americans are based on these shows.

> Crystal: The people who are in control of the network and the television shows control what is being shown to the viewers. They control the stereotypes that represent Black youth and Black Americans. The news decides what stories to put out about Black youth and Black Americans, which is all that people see.

Additionally, the excerpts below from Aaron, Darcy, Harris, and Howard express the par-

ticipants' suggestions that negative media images are controlled and limited due to a power

structure that reinforces White privilege and historical racist thought about Black Americans.

> Aaron: The issues of power and access when viewing mass media images of Black youth and Black Americans are rooted in issues stemming from the legacy of slavery and minstrel shows. Media and entertainment are another area in American society and economics where Black Americans lack power and representation

> Darcy: For my point of view, Blacks in America are viewed in a negative light so White Americans will continue to look down upon them. Everybody in charge of what goes in the news, how the story is portrayed, and how America will potentially react rests in the hands of a bunch of older White men. It's a poor representation of the diversity of Blacks as a whole. It would be similar to White teenagers constantly being viewed as thugs and troublemakers, then America as a society would look down upon them.

> Harris: The amount of negative connotation that floods the media may provide a stereotypical or homogenous negative image about African Americans. A hierarchal structure exists within the society, and the self-proclaimed dominant Anglo-culture seems to selectively report news.

> Howard: Many media images of Black youth and Black Americans are portrayed in mainstream television and media programming. From my perceptions, I believe there is a clear issue with power and access. Due to White privilege, I believe the media is targeting the misfortunes and lack of power that Black America holds. White America holds the power within most industries and create access to stereotypes and media representations for everyone. Having the power, it is clear that it is abused, and most mass media messages of Black America are negative.

.

Also, Lyndsey, Matthew, and Melanie further suggest producers and controllers of media have an economic incentive to limit Black images to stereotypical roles. The excerpts below highlight the participants' ideas suggesting people in positions of power in the media industry profit off of stereotypical representations of Black people that have been institutionalized over hundreds of years.

> Lyndsey: I have heard that the media is controlled and run by many White people. So, I feel that the views that we get of Black youth and Black America are from the perspective that makes the producers and people invested in the media the most money.

> Matthew: Access is limited to those that are willing to portray a certain image that is most appealing to the widest audience in order to make money. This limits the ability to tell a variety of stories and explore multiple viewpoints. Because Black Americans have been understood through a complex but persistent set of stereotypes over the last 200 years in the media, access is generally granted to portrayals that lead to easy understanding by connecting to those stereotypes.

> Melanie: I think power and access, along with profit, dominate the mass media and trump most social justice issues. In producing and distributing the media, the financial gain is always put first ahead of how the show will perpetuate stereotypes.

In other words, participants suggest media is a source of power with not only the ability to communicate limited representations, but also limit and restrict access to the types of portrayals and roles available to Black people. While limited images and portrayals about Black youth are consistent with stereotypes and reaffirm historic racist thoughts about Black people, economic profit serves as an incentive to continue to communicate limited representations.

Media Is Entertainment, Not Racially Biased

While the majority (17/18) of participants referred to media as a structure that limits portrayals of Black youth to racialized stereotypes, not all participants identified media representations of Black youth as limited or racially biased. One participant, Jacob, believes that youth of

all races are displayed in negative lights regardless of race and that the purpose of media is for

entertainment and comic relief. Jacob communicates his ideas below:

> Jacob: Most youth in shows, be it Black, White or other races, are represented as thugs, cool or dorks. I really can't respond to this as I don't really watch shows which portray Black youth other than criminal shows – which really usually show Black youth as in a situation not of their making and their desire to get out. But I see the same shows play out with White children, Asian children and Latino children in the same manner – usually the upper-class White children are portrayed as rich little pricks that don't value other people – usually the same race. The shows I watch don't differentiate. Usually the show is empathetic to the child – and 99% of the time the show is based in an urban and lower income area.

Jacob states that the media he is exposed to or the shows he watches portray Asian, La-

tino, and White children in the same roles and storylines as Black youth and that the shows are

empathetic to the child. As such, after being questioned about historical stereotypes about Black

Americans in the media, Jacob states that he does not see racialized forces at play in the media

and accepts media as a source of entertainment and information. He believes "African American

people look too hard for racism, so they find it everywhere." He believes racism is in the past

and media networks that advantaged Whites in the past will diminish in years to come because

racism is in the past. Also, he believes any stereotypes portrayed are for comic relief as stated in

the excerpt from his electronic journal below.

> Jacob: As I mentioned above, I think television is for entertainment – the people that make money on television – the predominately White producers sell what people are buying. The reason they are predominately White is because of the "good ole boy network." The people in the early 20's that got into movie and television were White – then this expanded in the 50's and 60's. With the 70's some African Americans got into television and movies and that has expanded into whole networks produced and directed by African Americans. In other words, they're mainly White because they were the ones (probably [okay not probably] because of racism in the past and they spread from their own groups of people). In another 30 years the percentages will catch up as I really believe most people don't care about race anymore.
>
> So, are stereotypes put in to/because of racial issues or for comic relief or to fit the story? I think it's the latter. I think the ad in Africa was probably produced by a White lady who was so unthinking about and caring about racism that she developed the ad without

consciously realizing the way it appeared – all she probably had on her mind was comparing dogs being treated better than people. The field she is in (the reason for the ad) kind of backs me up. I think African American people look too hard for racism and so they find it everywhere. I got followed and stopped at the University bookstore – by an African American – I had come into the store with a book bag and a plastic bag to return some books – I then took some books out of my over packed book bag after turning in the books and placed them in the plastic bag – I looked suspicious and the fact I was in torn shorts, a soaked, (it had rained) scrappy t-shirt and my hair was a mess I assumed the person wasn't racist but an economist – I looked like a thug (poor – ratty) (by the way I heard the word "thug" used 12 times in reference to the Russians and the Russian separatists over the past week – I did not see ANY people of the African race in any of the news stories showing pictures of the Ukraine) yet, in this class the word is considered racist, why? Because people look hard to find racism in everything –anyway, back to the bookstore – I looked like crap, so I was treated like crap. If I was African American dressed like crap and the store clerk was White, I would probably have told my friends the store had racists working there.

I started this class thinking racism died out with the older generation and only a few people were racist, basically uneducated jerks – my son is marrying a Black lady, my sister is a lesbian, my brother – in – law is a post op transgender and my children are mixed races – yet everybody thinks – because I'm conservative – I have racial issues – I would have to hate my ex-wife (not a good example ha-ha) but hate my children, really. I love my future daughter – in – law. I love my sons and daughter. I think racism is used as humor these days on tv because to most people it's a thing of the past.

Because Jacob believes racism is in the past, he does not accept the claims that Black people are stereotyped or limited by negative racialized images or representations. When confronted with examples of racism or racist ideas or media images, his response is to blame the victim, attribute the image to being factual, attribute the intention to entertainment or economics, or to substitute what is said or done with innocent intentions. This substitution is done two times, one with the Feed a Child commercial which displayed a White woman feeding a Black child who was on the floor eating from her hand like a dog, and the other in which Jacob concludes Whoopi Goldberg mistook being told her daughter's reality show was not "Black enough" to really mean "not scandalous" enough. While Jacob excuses the intentions of White producers of commercials or gives them the benefit of the doubt, Jacob dismisses claims that Black stories are

incomplete, accepting incomplete stories as factual, or claims Black people are just looking for racism.

In summary, multiple participants referred to media as a source of power and a structure that shows limited portrayals of Black youth. Participants identified historical racist thought about Black people and economic profit as incentives or motivations for limited stereotypical portrayals of Black youth. Conversely, one participant asserts media images are not racialized, all races are portrayed in diverse roles, and racism is in the past. As such, media communicates information and any stereotypical portrayals that might be present serve a function of entertainment.

Influence of Media on Individuals and Society

In my analysis of participants' electronic journals, discussions, and artifacts, I also found that many participants believe media is a source of influence with the ability to impact the thoughts of individuals and society about Black youth. In other words, media can influence ideas in the collective conscious at the societal level as well as thoughts at the individual level. Multiple participants suggest the consequences of limited representations of Black youth in media are that the misrepresentations or single stories are believed to be true, prejudice and racism is reinforced, and stereotypes are normalized.

To illustrate, multiple participants expressed their belief that negative media images and stereotypes influence individual and collective thoughts about Black youth. In the excerpt below, one participant, Noah, details the consequences of negative stereotypes and portrayals on the collective conscious of society as well as on individuals.

> Noah: Twofold: first, the dominance of particular images and types in the media results in wide spread ignorance and dehumanization in this country. For individuals who have little exposure to different people, they get their information from the media. Without having a construct to question the images portrayed in the media, they can take a strong

hold on people's conscious and unconscious perceptions of others. When we don't understand the full complexity of people as individuals, we dehumanize them. We create a mental picture of them that does not fully represent who they are. This perception of others has numerous insidious manifestations in society. I'm not going to go into them all but having dehumanized conceptions of others changes how justice in the courts, education, policing, health care, etc. are administered. Second, for groups that are being stereotyped in the media there are impacts on self-image. This is especially true for young people but plays out at all age levels. A young person sees images on tv or on the radio (or other media formats) and it alters the way they see themselves. It can cause someone to think that certain behaviors are cool or are the norm, and subsequently alter their behavior. It can isolate individuals causing them to question their own conceptions of self. Our identities are formed in the interaction between self and society.

Noah's statement summarizes the multiple and wide-ranging consequences of negative media stereotypes on individuals as well as collective society, including dehumanization through limited and incomplete representations. His assertion that limited media images about Black youth can affect the conscious and unconscious perceptions of others, an individual's self-image, the normalization of stereotypic behavior, and manifestations in other realms of society is echoed by other participants who assert that misrepresentations or single stories are believed as true and reinforce racism, resulting in stereotypes being mainstreamed and normalized.

Media's Influence on Individuals: Single Stories Believed as True & Prejudice

In the quotes below, Katie, Carrie, Crystal, and Aaron assert that due to the limited portrayals of Black youth in the media, negative images or single stories communicated by the media may be perceived as true and accurate in the eyes of the viewer, affecting their beliefs about Black youth and leading to prejudice.

Katie: The stereotypes will be perpetuated, or negative images may be perceived as truth. A lack of variety means a lack of perspective and understanding and misconceptions because of hearing only a "single story."

Carrie: Potential consequences of the representations, as briefly stated above, is that people will have only one representation of Black Americans (or however many are shown in the media). People will have expectations of how Black Americans should act based on these portrayals and will therefore have preconceived ideas about who they are as people.

Crystal: When people see Black youth and Black Americans, they think about what they've seen in the media and assume that this is how all Black people are (most of the time). It leads to more prejudice and racism.

Aaron: This creates a lack of representation in popular culture. Currently the representations are stereotypical (think Love and Hip Hop), so that Black Americans are associated in stereotypical ways. For example, as a White man, I don't have to worry about people associating me with White reality show actors from shows like Honey Boo Boo because there is such diversity in media regarding White people.

According to the participants, stereotypes, single stories, and negative images about

Black youth may be perceived as the truth by individuals leading to misconceptions, lack of perspective, and prejudice. Limited images clump all Black people together and create a misconception of "this is how all Black people are" (Crystal) with preconceived ideas about "who they are as people" (Carrie). However, according to Aaron, as a White man, he does not have to worry about being viewed in a manner consistent with a media stereotype because White people have many different representations and portrayals in media.

Media's Influence on Society: Normalizing Stereotypes

Furthermore, multiple participants (Howard, Victor, Katie, Matthew, Lyndsey) also assert media stereotypes about Black youth not only affect individuals' beliefs, but also affect collective thought by normalizing stereotypes. Stereotypes are normalized in that the same ideas and images are continuously cycled and instilled in the public, establishing collective knowledge and prejudice, as well as creating justifications for stereotypes. These assertions are stated in the excerpts below:

Howard: Potential consequences of negative media representations of Black America are fulfillment of negative stereotypes. With limited access of powerful positive images of Black America in the media, clear consequences are created. People begin to mainstream a culture that is in fact created by the privileged. Media is one of the heaviest influences in our society and it creates long-term justification of stereotypes that are being inserted from people who have power.

Victor: The problem is severe, and it is even more difficult to combat because each individual portrayal is like a dot on a pointillist painting. Alone it doesn't tell you very much, and it's extremely difficult to combat. But collectively it paints a picture that drives prejudices in subtle but powerful ways. I'm interested in understanding what we can do to mitigate this situation.

Katie: It's a cycle that continues to perpetuate the same ideas, making people believe them to be truth. You cannot escape hearing the same stereotypes and seeing the same representations in the media. Until America sees this single story/one sided perspective as an issue, or until the media starts to represent urban youth and minorities with the diversity that truly exists, the other won't change. One person can't change a societal problem, a society or majority in society must do it.

Matthew: The presence of these stereotypes in culture have been ingrained for centuries. What my generation learned about racial stereotypes was taught by the previous generation, who in turn learned from those before them. Although stereotypes have become less blatantly stated and more subtly presented over time, they are still present and some of the ideas are still alive in different forms. This has created a kind of collective, social knowledge about different groups of people that our country has a shared understanding of, and I think a lot of society simply falls back on these ideas when trying to understand a situation without really seeing the individual nature and experience of the people involved.

Lyndsey: The consequences could be that negative or incorrect stereotypes are instilled in the public. Representations could affect the identity of those represented and affect how they act and think about themselves.

As stated above, negative stereotypes about Black youth become normalized as a part of collective thought. As asserted by Howard, the repetition of negative stereotypes serves to "mainstream a culture that is in fact created by the privileged" resulting in the stereotype being fulfilled and justified. Victor echoes the severity of the problem as a society stating individual portrayals paint a collective picture that drives prejudice. While Katie refers to it as a cycle perpetuating the same ideas, Matthew refers to these ideas as "collective, social knowledge about different groups of people."

Media's Influence: Thoughts About Self-Worth

Some participants stated that widespread, stereotypical media images not only affect the thoughts of non-Black people about Black people, but also Black people about themselves and

about other Black people. Specifically, Harris and Chloe suggest stereotypes can create a false

sense of self identity, diminished self-worth by living up to society's expectations, or concern not

to be associated with the images.

> Harris: Falsified or limited sources of images, voices, and expressions can lead to a falsi-fied/twisted belief of "This is who I really am, and I can just give up and be like the role models shown to me." Such beliefs can potentially lead to dangerous paths of actually following those beliefs and creating self-fulfilling prophecies.

> Chloe: The MISrepresentations of Black youth in mass media definitely have negative consequences, not only for Blacks, but anyone who is exposed to those images. The lack of positive representation of Blacks reinforces the old attitude of Blacks being "bad peo-ple." It could also be detrimental for Black youth to only get these negative images be-cause it could lead them to believe that what they see is all they will ever be. On the posi-tive side, however, it could leave to more Black people working harder to try and rise above the misrepresentations

> In the excerpt below, Maya highlights her experiences and the real-life consequences of

limited representations and misrepresentations of Black people in media. She states images pro-

ject messages that Black people are to be feared or pitied, are objects of amusement, and that this

message affects the way other people feel about Black people and the way Black people feel

about themselves.

> Maya: As an African American, I must admit that I loved seeing some of our stories in the media. The problems come when that is seen as our ONLY story. For instance, the Black mammy, in that time Black women were housekeepers and were limited to those roles because of prejudices. The problem came, once again, when that was the only thing being portrayed. With what we have viewed today and reflecting on my experiences with watching television as a child and as an adult today, it seems as though Blacks are pre-sented for people to be scared, feel sorry for, to laugh at, and be ashamed of. People are scared to come to our neighborhoods because of the representation of crime. We are scared of Black men because their mug shots and court cases are always on the news. They feel sorry for us because we're being represented as fatherless or sometimes parent-less. We are starving and failing in school. They laugh at our perceived simple-ness shown in history and today. They laugh at our language and loudness (I don't really care about this; I come from a loud family) And, we as a people are ashamed of our-selves…when it comes to what we see in the media and the actions we see around us every day. We always have to worry about someone making us look bad (one of us) or making a move that will make us look bad.

Media's Influence on Participants' Perceptions

The participants' belief that media images influence viewers' thoughts about Black youth was further personalized as participants engaged in self-reflection on how they had been personally influenced by media images. Participants were specifically asked if they thought media images influenced their personal perceptions of Black youth. While the majority of participants stated that media images had in fact influenced how they viewed unknown Black youth on a subconscious level, they were not certain of the specific extent of the influence. Further analysis of the electronic journals generated three categories of influence. The first category is denial, in that the participants denied being influenced by media stereotypes at all and just ignore the stereotypes. The second category is awareness in that the participants stated they were influenced to some degree by media images in that the images established preconceived notions or pre-impression images in their minds about unknown Black youth that subsequently affected their thoughts about or interactions with unknown Black youth. The third category is active resistance in that the participants stated they are aware of the stereotypes when they see them and actively resist the influence by rejecting the stereotype. Evidence of participants' statements in each category are detailed below.

Denial of Media's Influence – Ignore the Stereotype

While most participants stated they were influenced in some way by media stereotypes, Jacob denies any level of media influence on his perceptions of Black youth. As evidenced in the excerpt below, he views television and even news media as entertainment, so if he observes stereotypes, he just ignores it.

> Jacob: It really hasn't. I see television as entertainment and even the news has become entertainment so when I observe stereotypes, racist slurs or biases I ignore them.

Awareness of Media's Influence- Establishing Preconceived Notions

The majority of participants (Aaron, Darcy, Harris, Katie, Howard, Matthew, Victor, Noah, Maya) communicated an awareness that media has in fact influenced their perceptions of unknown Black youth on a subconscious level and that it has subsequently affected how they have approached or thought about unknown Black youth. The excerpts below detail the participants' accounts of how media images have affected their perceptions on a subliminal level by establishing preconceived notions and generating fear.

> Aaron: Media images have certainly influenced my perceptions of Black urban youth. While that's easy to tell, it's much more difficult to evaluate how or to what extent they have influenced my perceptions. For example, I can think of times when driving to schools in urban areas with a high-concentration of Black people that I made sure to park in a parking lot and lock my doors, while I wouldn't have a problem parking on the street when traveling to a school in a predominantly White neighborhood. This is just one example that I am thinking of, although I probably have acted in particular ways due to these perceptions in ways that I am unaware of as well.

> Harris: The constant negative and/or biased reporting of certain sides of Black urban youth have led me into having pre-impression images about their turnout (or known as expectations) before meeting them. Although I feel that I have not held such views when I actually did talk to/interact with them, the influences have definitely deterred my active approach to them.

> Victor: To a great extent they've formed them. Until I started working in the school system downtown, I had lived primarily in the suburbs as an adult. And my work, even though it's taken me all over the world, has rarely taken me to inner city locations. Media descriptions, reinforced by rap videos, routinely depict the worst type of defiant gangsta personae that make up the game face of many young African-Americans that have learned to be wary of each other and the world at large. That's not to say that there aren't positive portrayals, but the depictions are clearly out of proportion to the reality.

> Katie: I don't think I even noticed how Black urban youth were portrayed in the media, unless it was overt, until this class. However, I definitely notice it now. I would like to say that the media didn't influence me at all, but unfortunately it has on a deep subliminal level, so much so that I didn't even realize it was happening. If the media truly hadn't negatively influenced my perceptions of Black urban youth, I would have noticed the negative depictions and perpetuated stereotypes, like I do now.

Darcy: They've only allowed me to see the stereotypes and not see them as individuals, and what the media believes urban youth are like, not what they actually are.

Howard: As a Black male growing up in an inner-city area, I have always been aware of the stereotypes of Black males within the media. Unfortunately, I have subconsciously been a victim to the negative influences of Black America in the media. Black urban youth are typically portrayed as criminals who are capable of violent interactions. Urban youth are portrayed as hostile individuals who are often illiterate and come from low income backgrounds. Although I am guilty of supporting this stereotype, it is clear that these media perceptions are false and biased.

Jamila: Honestly, the media has instilled some fear in me of certain young people (specifically Black boys) on the streets. When I see a Black boy dressed in a certain way, speaking a certain way or acting a certain way I do have a heightened sense of alarm. In schools, I still see our Black youth as children of promise that have been misunderstood for centuries, and for many- haven't really been given a fair chance. The media has reiterated that Black urban youth are failing and are far behind their peers but that has not affected my perceptions of Black youth in the classroom.

Maya: Well, as a new teacher, it has definitely made me want to come in and save the day. I must also admit that I am more trusting with White pan handlers than Black pan handlers. I've noticed that, and I am looking to change. Most times they are seen as conmen, when some of them are (White, Black, green, Hispanic). I do believe that the things that are represented in the media are true for some people. The problem is that it is generalized towards everyone, making it difficult for people to be themselves, be proud of where they come from, and embrace their Blackness no matter their lifestyle rich or poor, urban or rural.

The participants in the excerpts above state media stereotypes have influenced their perceptions of Black youth, in that they are not seen as individuals, but are seen collectively consistent within the lens of stereotypes. They admit to pre-impression images or preconceived notions and subconscious expectations about those they do not know. These preconceived notions elicited a fear of unknown Black youth as well as deficit-based thoughts and emotions. The impressions or preconceived notions about unknown Black youth occurred on a subliminal level and were present in Black participants and non-Black participants.

Active Cognitive Resistance – Rejection of Stereotypes

Other participants (Michelle, Carrie, Crystal, Noah) expressed a process of cognitive resistance that occurs in their minds in an effort to limit the influence of media stereotypes on their perceptions of Black youth. The cognitive battle includes an awareness and recognition of the stereotype and an intentional rejection of it in the mind in order to resist the influence of the stereotype. Participants described their application of this awareness, recognition, and rejection process when presented with media stereotypes about other unknown Black youth. As recorded below, Carrie and Crystal use their personal experiences with Black youth as a medium with which to compare and reject the stereotype, and Melanie uses critical thought and cognitive push back to reject the stereotype.

> Carrie: Thankfully, I have had many experiences with Black urban youth therefore media images have not had a huge impact on my perceptions. I think sometimes I am able to relate what I see on T.V. to my real-life experiences, but I also think I often am floored at how Black youth are represented always in a negative way.

> Crystal: Media images have made me become more aware of my perceptions of Black urban youth. The media likes to play into the stereotypes of Black urban youth and it makes me think about the experiences that I've had with Black urban youth and see how the media likes to generalize one group of people.

> Melanie: I feel that I am constantly combating the images and stereotypes that the media perpetuates! It is exhausting, and I am not even battling them from a first-hand experience! I am extremely cautious when interacting with any media to (try to) ensure that I do not fall prey to false stereotypes and unintentionally maintain them.

Melanie describes a constant battle in her mind to combat images and stereotypes portrayed in media. She uses the word "exhausting" to describe the consistent cognitive resistance. Describing her process as a battle, she engages with media with a caution, so she does not "unintentionally maintain" any false stereotypes.

In summary, most participants believe media is a source of power and influence with consequences for individuals and society. Participants state media shows limited representations,

misrepresentations, or single stories about Black youth. Media stereotypes are referred to as a structural problem by multiple participants that involves limiting representations, limiting control and access to certain portrayals, incentives of reaffirming racist thought and economic profit, and influence over societal thoughts in the collective conscious about Black people. Most participants state consequences of limited representations, misrepresentations, and single stories are believing they are true, reinforcing prejudice, and normalizing stereotypes. Multiple participants suggest media stereotypes may influence thoughts about self by inspiring a false self-image, and influence prejudiced thoughts about others. Participants' personal reflections of the influence of media on their perceptions of Black youth include denial of any influence, awareness of preconceived notions or pre-impression images of others, or active resistance against stereotypes.

Research Question 3: How does their participation in a workshop on media stereotypes about Black urban youth inform their understandings and perceptions?

Table 7: Influence of Workshop on Participants Theme and Subthemes

Research Question	Overarching Theme	Data Source	Findings	Components of Subtheme
3. How does participation in a workshop on media stereotypes about Black urban youth inform participants' understandings and perceptions?	**Humanization: Humanizing Push Back** Humanization is engaging in critical thought, reflection, and practices to view others as whole, complete, and individual humans. This includes awareness of and actively pushing back against stereotypes.	Survey Data Class Discussions Electronic Journals Artifacts	Multiple participants believe the workshop enhanced their awareness of media stereotypes, encouraged critical thought and reflection about what they see and hear every day, and provided experiences that helped them improve their professional practices.	• Enhanced awareness • Critical thought and analysis • Making changes to professional practices • Humanizing skills teachers need to be better educators

Influence of Workshop

The media workshop provided a space for participants to analyze news and network television media images of Black youth within a historical context and reflect on their own ideas, experiences, and awareness of the influence of media on their perceptions of others. According to the responses in the participants' electronic journals, the participants stated the media workshop influenced them personally by increasing their awareness of the effects of stereotypes on themselves and society, by providing a context for images they see about Black youth on a daily basis, and by facilitating analysis, critical thought, and evaluation of media. The participants stated the workshop also influenced them professionally as educators by allowing them to acknowledge their personal biases, by increasing their empathy towards their students, and inspiring them to improve their pedagogy and professional practices. These activities are consistent with the theme of humanization by encouraging active, critical reflection of their own perceptions and beliefs. Similarly, my analysis of the one-on-one interview with the teacher education professor found that the workshop experiences provided participants with opportunities to develop key skills and competencies needed to teach children as complete humans with limitless potential. Each sub-theme is detailed below along with supporting evidence from the participants' electronic journals.

Influence of Workshop: Enhanced Awareness

Multiple participants expressed a heightened awareness of media stereotypes and the effects of stereotypes on individuals and society as a result of the workshop. For different participants, this enhanced awareness ranged from recognition of stereotypes in media to critical evaluation of the images and their effects on their individual perceptions of Black youth and on

society. In the excerpt below, Darcy explains how the workshop made her more aware of her own thoughts and biases.

> Darcy: It's made me aware that when thinking about Black urban youth as a whole, I do stereotype them and not think about them as individuals. It's made me aware that I need to think of them individually and remember that none of them are similar, there is no single-story.

Darcy's statement reveals a new level of self-awareness that she does stereotype Black urban youth instead of thinking about them as individuals. The workshop experience has assisted her in seeing beyond the stereotype to see the individual by first becoming aware that she was subconsciously stereotyping.

Multiple participants also stated the workshop increased their awareness of biases in the media and encouraged them to think deeper about images they had taken for granted. For example, Priya and Melanie state the workshop made them more aware of media bias, encouraged them to think beyond what they see, and provided a safe space to discuss media stereotypes with other educators.

> Priya: Before this seminar, I didn't think about, analyze, or reflect on the way Blacks are viewed and perceived. These three classes have really opened my eyes to what the media is showing and how biased it may be. It shows how important it is to know the facts beyond what the media is showing.

> Melanie: This workshop has made me even more aware of the biases that media creates, reinforces, and perpetuates. I try to be a critical thinker with justice guiding my thoughts and actions and specifically watching clips that play so strongly into media stereotypes has informed me and motivated me even more to do so. It was refreshing and educational to have a safe space to discuss media stereotypes and learn from other educators.

In addition to being aware of media bias, multiple participants stated the workshop increased their awareness and understanding of media stereotypes about Black youth within the larger historical context of racist ideologies about Black people. In the excerpts below, Chloe, Howard, Michelle, and Victor state they experienced a deeper awareness and understanding of

what they see and hear every day by correlating current media images of Black youth with their

historical roots.

> Chloe: This workshop allowed me to create bridges of understanding of the correlation between the histories of stereotypes to how Black people are portrayed today. It also opened my eyes to the reality that these stereotypes are still present and being fed to the masses, they (higher ups) have just simply found a way to sneak these images into the eyes of people of today.

> Howard: This workshop was very helpful. Even with prior knowledge of these stereo-types, this workshop served as a designated time to reflect on the stereotypes that take place in the media. I have learned the role that broadcasting companies play in these ste-reotypes and how they are at an economic advantage for continuing the stereotypes that America has historically founded. Upon the completion of this workshop I believe I will strategically approach the media with a holistic view of the implications they are making within our society. This will allow me to properly use my socialization skills and develop my own analysis of what is being portrayed.

> Michelle: This workshop has taught me to research things broadcasted in the media, don't judge others with prejudice, and find the historical context of what I see. I realize that the media impacts people's perceptions of others.

> Victor: Before this class, I had been peripherally aware of the various stereotypes without knowing them by their formal descriptions or understanding their historical roots. I feel like my critical faculties are enhanced by this knowledge, and that I now have another lens through which to view the things I see and hear on a daily basis, and the background with which to comment on them in a meaningful and constructive way to my students.

As suggested by the participants' excerpts above, situating current stereotypes within

their historical roots enhances knowledge, critical thought, and provides another lens to filter

common knowledge or what is seen and heard on a daily basis. The correlation between histori-

cal stereotypes and current media images allowed participants to holistically and strategically ap-

proach and analyze media about Black youth.

Influence of Workshop: Critical Thought and Analysis

Furthermore, multiple participants (Crystal, Carrie, Katie, Noah) stated the workshop

provided a space and opportunity to develop and improve the skill of analyzing media for mes-

sages as well as giving them a more critical perspective when analyzing and evaluating news and

network media. They are able to critically analyze, evaluate, and question what they see and hear

on a daily basis.

> Crystal: Before taking this workshop, I would typically look at my dad sideways when he would make comments about how Black people are being portrayed in the media. I wouldn't think too much of it, but now I can definitely see where he is coming from. I feel that I am more aware of the stereotypes that are put in the media. I see news stories, commercials, and reruns of television shows and I am able to analyze what is being shown, who is being stereotyped, and who actually is benefiting from it.

> Carrie: This workshop has impacted my awareness of media stereotypes by giving me a new perspective. When I watch T.V. shows, news reports, or even listen to conversations involving these stereotypes, I notice how Black youth and urban youth are represented and am better able to critically evaluate the show/news/conversation, etc. I am also more aware of how one-sided news reports can be in order to portray a particular person or group of people in a certain way and how incredibly wrong they can be.

> Katie: This workshop as well as the class it was held within really opened my eyes and ears to listen and analyze more critically and speak up for change. I didn't notice media stereotypes as much as I do now, and I am thankful for that because now I can continue to enlighten others. I have always considered myself a critical thinker, but my awareness of this issue has turned my attention in its direction, where I was not as focused before.

> Noah: It has been a reminder to me to be ever vigilant and critical of the images I see in the media. As said, I have already been in positions where I was taught to be critical of the things I see and hear. However, this critical process is a skill that needs practice. The work shop has reminded me of the importance of questioning the images I see in the media and continuously questioning myself to understand what images I still hold and how they are impacting my work/relationships.

As stated above, the workshop allowed participants to critically evaluate and analyze

news and network media. They have a new perspective with which to filter what is seen and

heard. As stated by Noah, the "critical process is a skill that needs practice." The participants

understand the critical process is an intentional process of questioning images, questioning

thoughts, and questioning how those thoughts are affecting their interactions with others. This

critical thought process is an example of thinking beyond the stereotype. As suggested by Katie,

critical thought and analysis leads to speaking up for change.

Influence of Workshop: Changing Professional Practices

In my analysis of the participants' electronic journals, I also found that most of the partic-

ipants believe the workshop influenced them professionally as educators by motivating them to

apply the skills they learned in the workshop to their interactions with students. Indeed, multiple

participants stated the workshop influenced changes in their professional practices by allowing

them to acknowledge and address their own personal biases so they can resist stereotyping their

students, by increasing their empathy for their students, or by intentionally changing their peda-

gogy to include showing students multiple positive images and teaching students how to criti-

cally analyze media.

Changing Professional Practice: Acknowledge Biases for Student Success

As an example, during the workshop, the participants analyzed images and narratives

about Black youth in news and network media and engaged in introspection into their own

thoughts, ideas, and biases. In the excerpts below, Darcy and Maya explain their awareness of

their own biases and prejudices and their commitment to seeing their students as individuals, not

as stereotypes. As stated below, acknowledging their own biases helps them be intentional about

being open minded and committed to providing their students with a great education.

> Darcy: It has reminded me that I need to see every student in my class as an individual,
> not as a stereotype that may or not be true. I need to go into every class with an open
> mind that every student is able-minded and can succeed on any given day.

> Maya: It's really made think of ways to inform my students in the future. I am much
> more aware of my own prejudices against my own race and the White race and want to
> do something about it because I'll have students of all colors and I need to make sure I
> am providing a great educational experience for them, no matter my opinions.

Darcy and Maya do not want to allow prejudices or biases to affect the success of their students.

As stated by Darcy, the success of her students requires her to have an open mind and view them

as able-minded. She must see every student as an individual, not as a stereotype. This sentiment

is echoed by Maya, who wants to do something about her prejudices, so she can make sure she

provides a great education to all of her students.

Changing Professional Practice: Increased Empathy for Students

Multiple participants also stated the workshop provided them with more empathy for stu-

dents by increasing their understanding of the stereotypes that are projected onto their students

on a daily basis. In the excerpts below, Carrie and Priya detail how understanding stereotypes

projected onto their students will help them as educators to be more purposeful in their interac-

tions with their students.

> Priya: This workshop has opened my eyes to the stereotypes that are still being held
> against Black students today. It has shown me that as an educator, it is important to chal-
> lenge these students, just as much as we would challenge any other student and encour-
> age them to do their best and try their hardest. It has taught me to not ignore the differ-
> ence in culture, but to encourage it.

While Priya affirms a commitment to challenging her students and encouraging them to

do their best, Carrie details a commitment to further personalizing other unknown young people

and treating them the way she would treat one of her students.

> Carrie: This workshop has influenced me as an educator because after having worked in
> an urban community, I am even more so able to understand what kind of stereotypes my
> students face in their everyday environments. I know that my attitudes, while not nega-
> tive to begin with, will be changed in the way I approach all of my students about things
> that they bring up about the media or T.V. shows. I also am impacted as an educator after
> our discussion of Trayvon Martin. For a while I admit to viewing him as a child who fell
> into some bad situations and people, yet I never stopped to consider him as somebody's
> student. Once that was mentioned, my whole persona about him changed. I felt ashamed
> that I had failed to see him as one of my students because that is exactly what all youth
> are. Whether or not they are my actual students, they very well could be, and I need to
> use my knowledge and skills to reflect that in all interactions.

Carrie states she is now able to understand stereotypes her students face, and this understanding

will affect her interactions with them. She states that when Trayvon Martin was presented as a

student, he was personalized in her eyes and it made her question her preconceived notions she

had about him. This awareness is powerful in that it shows the light bulb that went off in her head, in that when she viewed Trayvon Martin as a student, her "whole persona about him changed." He became personalized and humanized and she felt ashamed that she "had failed to see him as one of my students because that is exactly what all youth are." She was able to change the lens she used to view Trayvon from unknown youth to student.

Changing Professional Practice: Educational Pedagogy

Finally, multiple participants asserted the workshop influenced their educational pedagogy or methods used to teach students by inspiring them to be purposeful about showing their students multiple and diverse images as well as teaching their students how to critically analyze media for bias and stereotypes. In the excerpts below, Howard and Noah explain how they will integrate concepts of critical media analysis into their instruction to teach students to be culturally aware and understand their interactions with the world and how the world acts on them.

> Howard: As an educator, this workshop has answered many questions and concerns within my educational philosophy. I want to instruct students to become culturally aware and enable them to interact in a diverse society. My reason for this is to prepare them for an equal society where they will be forced to interact with members of all cultural backgrounds. After this workshop I believe I will have to implement a segment into my classroom culture plan that will cover stereotypes so that I can help students make a clear analysis of the media and societal stereotypes. Fortunately, I am aware of these stereotypes, but it is my duty as an educator to help students combat the same biases that America is portraying in the media.

> Noah: It is a reminder to always be aware of the preconceived notions I bring into the classroom. It is also a reminder that I need to teach my students to be critical consumers. Whatever media inputs they choose to absorb, kids need to be aware of the implications of the images they are exposed to. This is a skill that needs to be taught. It is not a natural skill. It is something I learned how to do and something that young people can learn to do. Unfortunately, it is not something that is regularly taught in schools. Even though I teach math, for the last year I have been exploring how to integrate social justice into my math curriculum and into my interactions with students in general. I think this is going to be a life-long focus in my pedagogy. This workshop highlighted the importance of my pursuing this vision. Education has to empower students to act critically on the world. Part of this is being aware and critical of how the world acts on you.

While Howard and Noah both commit to teaching their students the skill of being critical and analyzing media, Crystal, Chloe, and Jamila state they will be more intentional about showing students multiple viewpoints and diverse stories to combat negative images in the media.

> Crystal: This workshop has opened my eyes to the stereotypes that are shown in the media and what my students may be viewing. It can get a little discouraging when the majority of the images and news stories portray these negative stereotypes about Black people. I will do my best to present multiple viewpoints to my students and not just the one that is predominately shown in the media. I am more conscious of the images that I show my students and how they may perceive those images.

> Chloe: The workshop will definitely make me be more aware in the classroom if I see or hear anyone placing stereotypes on students. I will also like to make sure that I stay abreast of what my students are watching and what images they are getting of themselves and their classmates. I would want to present good images to my students of people of all races doing wonderful things, so they will know that they can have a good life regardless of their races.

> Jamila: This workshop has reminded me that when I eventually go into teaching (I am a policy student) not to judge my students and to get to know my students on a personal level. It also has encouraged me to weave in and reinforce strong, positive characteristics of the Black culture by exposing them to different stories other than the negative stories they see in the media.

In the excerpts above, the participants express an intention to apply what they learned in the workshop directly to their students in the classroom. They detail a change in educational philosophy and pedagogy that adjusts what they teach their students and how they teach their students. They detail a plan of advocacy by teaching their students to critically analyze the media they see as well as provide students with multiple and diverse stories to combat limited single stories they may see in the media.

The participants' statements detailing how the workshop affected them as educators are also confirmed by data analysis of the one-on-one interview with the teacher education professor. In particular, the professor stated the workshop experiences provided the participants with critical skills they need to be better educators and refers to these prerequisite skills as the literacy

needed to view others as whole and complete humans. These skills include thinking multiculturally; being aware of their own biases, knapsacks, layers, and lenses they put on children; asking critical questions about what they see and hear; being able to pick apart media, subliminal messages, and stories told about others; and providing students with multiple stories. As a study participant and a teacher education professor, she was able to see the other participants progressing through those skills during workshop activities. Each element is detailed below.

<div align="center">

Skills Educators Need: Literacy to View Others As Humans

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Critical Skill: Having an Open Mind & Acknowledging Frames

During the interview with the teacher education professor, the professor explicitly states that the ability to have an open mind and think beyond the stereotype is a critical skill for educators. Seeing beyond the stereotype includes the ability to internalize someone else's story without being close minded. The professor asserts that being open minded is not an automatic competency, but a skill that must be developed and is necessary for educators to be the best they can be. Acknowledging that everyone stereotypes or are exposed to stereotypes, the professor addresses the importance of educators developing the skill of being open minded and seeing beyond the stereotype noting that participants were progressing at different rates in developing that skill during the workshop. The professor states,

> Professor: Everyone stereotypes. It's what you then do with that stereotype. Do you flatten someone's existence by only what you see, hear, or experience? Or are you willing to listen and be really open and internalize someone else's story in a meaningful way? There were some people in that room that could do that, because it's a skill to be able to do that. There are some people in that room that could not do it and may not ever be able to do it. And because of that, because of their inability to do that and see someone's existence and story, they're going to be closed minded and they are not going to be the best educator that they can be. And that's a fear for me because I'm in the class training future teachers. You can't help everybody in 6 weeks, but you leave there feeling like, wow, I hope I did something.
>
> Researcher (Syreeta): Right

Professor: I hope this experience helped in some way for some of them who are more resistant. And it was really just 2. You know everyone else seemed to push themselves and you could almost look at them and see shifting happening. But for some it was just tough.

Researcher (Syreeta): Just to follow up on what you said, this process is developing a skill. And like you said, you could see some people progressing toward the skill even though others might not have made as much progress, but it's a skill.

Professor: It's a skill

Researcher (Syreeta): And that's what you are doing, teaching a skill.

Furthermore, extending beyond developing the skill of being open minded, the professor asserts that educators need a literacy in order to view students as whole and complete humans, and this literacy must be developed prior to teaching children as stated in the excerpts below.

Professor: There is a literacy that you will need to have in order to, as an educator, be able to see your students as whole humans and whole, thinking, intelligent people, and the media does plenty. We layer our own baggage onto what we are looking at. So as educators, we are going to bring in that knapsack of our baggage wherever it may come from. And then we layer that on to the kids that we are teaching. And it's done subconsciously sometimes, you know consciously sometimes. I was educated in private schools. I taught in private schools and in public schools. And I think that my private school experience is still with me.

Researcher (Syreeta): Yes

Professor: So, when I'm looking at my son or I'm looking at other young people, I have that experience as part of my tool kit or my knapsack and I layer that on top of how I'm going to teach these children. Well, if you are a person of privilege, or if you grew up White washed, as one of our students like to say all of the time, and you're resistant to seeing the things that are on the "margin," then you are going to teach students in that way. Which is a terrible thing to do, quite honestly, because then you are forgetting and you are leaving out so much of their existence. So, I see that some of the work that our students were doing, pushing themselves, and being able to say, "well I never thought of that commercial being" fill in the blank, shows that there is some movement.

The professor in the study observed the shifts in her students and progress toward developing this literacy during workshop activities. Specifically referring to frames of reference, the professor claims that educators must first acknowledge a frame of reference, that they actually

see the world through a lens, so that they can view their students as whole humans, not as objects or ideas that they have layered onto the students. Otherwise, educators will teach students based on their lens they are using to view them, which is dehumanizing by leaving out part of the students' existence. Leaving out part of the student's existence is a form of incompletion, in which the student is not a whole, complete human. As the professor notes, "media does plenty." In other words, media plays a role in the dehumanization process by repeating incomplete stories, which influence the lenses others use to view Black people and Black students. A lens which is constructed based on a variety of factors consciously and subconsciously.

Critical Skill: Thinking Multiculturally as an Issue of Power and Social Justice

According to the professor, a major component of teacher education is conditioning teachers to think in a multicultural way. The course syllabus of the multicultural education class that the participants were a part of provides more information about what it means to think multiculturally and how thinking multiculturally is connected to social justice and to educators who have the power to effect change. The excerpt below from the syllabus provides additional insight into the concept of thinking multiculturally.

> I see this course as one in which we are embarking on a journey of discovery together as we explore multicultural issues. I see these multicultural issues as directly connected to our work, our lives, the communities in which we live, and to the emerging global society. On this journey, we will explore our minds and hearts, challenge our assumptions and question our beliefs. We may not always be comfortable as we go through this process. People may disagree with each other; however, it is my expectation that we will always respect one another. We can all grow and learn to think multiculturally. By learning to think multiculturally, we can develop an orientation to diversity that will be of benefit in our lives, and in our teaching and other work. The overall orientation of the course will be towards understanding multicultural education as social justice, as an on-going developmental process, and as one in which we, individual educators and practitioners, have the power to effect and implement change (Course Syllabus, 2014, p.1).

As stated in the syllabus and reiterated in the interview, thinking multiculturally is a form of social justice and a requirement for teachers and practitioners as sources of power. The professor

notes that conditioning the mind to think multiculturally is important, purposeful, and exhaust-

ing. The professor states,

> Professor: It's deep. And you have to be conditioned. You have to condition yourself to be able to think about things in a multicultural way. And that's the line that I actually use in my syllabus. We are going to think multiculturally. And it's exhausting, but it is important.

> Researcher (Syreeta): Right

> Professor: You know, because if you have a class full of "urban students," you have to be able to see beyond their class, beyond their socioeconomic status. You have to be able to see beyond all of that and see them as whole humans with a capacity that's endless if you just give it to them.

Thinking multiculturally is an explicit goal in the course syllabus and a necessary prerequisite to teaching children because whether one recognizes it or not, many forces and experiences condition our thoughts and form layers affecting how we view others. As stated by the professor, conditioning the mind to think multiculturally takes purposeful effort to become aware of and pick through the layers so that you may truly see others. In other words, teachers have the power to limit their students. When they do not view them as whole, complete humans with an endless capacity, they limit what and how they teach them. Teachers confine and restrict their students' capacity because of the layers they use to view them. Teachers must be explicitly taught to condition their minds to see beyond the labels to see the whole human, and the workshop activities helped participants recognize the lenses they use to view others.

Critical Skill: Ask Critical Questions, Pick Apart Media, and Tell Multiple Stories

Similarly, the professor notes the media workshop facilitated critical questioning by remarking that she observed participants starting to ask critical questions about the frames or lenses they use to view the world and others in the world. The professor alluded to the skill of asking questions and questioning sources of bias when she discussed her students' abilities to ask

questions about the podcast from Stefan Molyer describing Trayvon Martin and George Zimmer-

man. In the case of Trayvon Martin, the participants recognized and discussed how the podcast

described Trayvon Martin in terms of his body characteristics (height/weight), but George Zim-

merman's body characteristics were not mentioned, thereby emphasizing how Black bodies are

policed in society. That is to say, the media, images, and narratives reinforce subconscious polic-

ing of Black bodies. Referring to how the workshop assisted her students in developing their

abilities to ask questions, the professor states:

> Professor: This workshop really was helpful. When you laid out for us the different narra-
> tives around Trayvon Martin, that was powerful. And I even thought of some things that I
> hadn't even thought of in the moment when all of this was happening because this is so
> emotional, and so fueled, and so charged that sometimes you can't even think straight.
> Being so far removed from it now, being able to look at a different narrative and ask why
> did they talk about his weight here, but we don't talk about Zimmerman's weight?
>
> Researcher (Syreeta): Right
>
> Professor: You know, and then you back up from that and then you start asking yourself
> questions. Why? You would hope then that the students are asking questions like this,
> right? Well why is there so much policing of the Black male body and no policing of the
> White male body?

In addition to asking critical questions about what they see and hear, their frames of refer-

ence, and the subsequent implications, the professor also asserts that teachers must be aware of

the stories we have in our heads about students, and recognize that hearing the same story repeat-

edly via media or other avenues creates images and imprints in our minds. Particularly, the pro-

fessor uses an experience with her son asking questions about the lunch lady to illustrate the im-

portance of multiple stories and how tiny stories or narratives in the media stick and condition

your perception or form a lens. Her son, referring to a lunch man, said he thought all lunch ladies

were ladies and mean, however now he has a lunch man at school who is nice.

Professor: I think that the workshop truly helped them pick apart media and allowed them to see and to ask questions. Even my son asks questions now which is important for me. He is a 6-year-old, so we have this conversation about the lunch lady. The lunch lady is a man. And he said, I thought the lunch ladies were always ladies. And the lunch man was really nice. I thought all lunch ladies are mean.

Researcher (Syreeta): Ha

Professor: Well that's because of the media that he has consumed.

Researcher (Syreeta): Right, right

Professor: So, mommy has to be mindful of that of course. And I am. But those tiny little stories that are created about people, they stick.

Researcher (Syreeta): Right

Professor: And you have to be able and equipped as an educator to give them another story. And now he has multiple stories of what the "lunch lady" looks like and acts like.

Researcher (Syreeta): What a great example.

The professor states that the workshop helped the participants ask questions and pick apart media, similar to the process her son experienced with the lunch ladies. Recognizing the media's narrative of lunch ladies, the professor concludes that her son's conception of lunch ladies was influenced by the media he has consumed. Asserting that tiny stories made up about others stick, she states that educators must also be able to question our ideas about others, pick apart media as a source of impressions, and be able to provide others with multiple stories. In other words, teachers need to be aware of the tiny stories they have stuck to their minds, or imprints in their minds about others, and be open to multiple stories.

Critical Skill: Identifying Blind Spots

Finally, the professor asserts that an important part of teacher education or training is to identify blind spots to be addressed before teachers begin working with children, particularly

brown children, and the workshop provided theory and practice to identify those blind spots. The professor states below:

> Professor: One of the things that I tell my class when I begin is that we are going to work in this class. You just can't read. You have to come in here and talk. Your workshop gave us the theory. It gave us the actual pieces of information that we can digest and distill. And I think that's important. So, it's more than applicable in multicultural education classes and diversity classes, but I think it works in any kind of course where we are training teachers because undoubtedly, there will be some blind spots and some ah ha moments or some moments that will cue the professor that there may need to be more work done before they get into a classroom with brown people.

> Researcher (Syreeta): Right, right.

> Professor: You know, any people, but certainly brown people.

According to the professor, being able to review theory and apply practical knowledge is critical for any class that trains teachers. Course content must be such that it will call to the surface blind spots within the teachers' thought processes or lenses that must be addressed by the professor before the teachers instruct brown people. This includes acknowledging lenses and layers used to limit students and questioning sources of bias and imprints in the mind so that educators can see beyond stereotypes to see students as whole and complete humans.

In summary, most participants stated the media workshop influenced them on a personal level and a professional level in that the workshop provided experiences that allowed them to engage in humanizing practices and provided a space for awareness, analysis, critical thought, and evaluation of media. Participants engaged in reflection and introspection of their personal biases and prejudices about Black youth and the influence of media on those thoughts. Multiple participants also reported increased awareness and understanding of current media stereotypes situated within the historical context of racist ideology about Black people. Additionally, most participants stated the workshop provided them the opportunity to critically analyze and evaluate media images and affirmed the importance of questioning what is seen and heard on a daily basis.

Furthermore, participants' responses also suggest the workshop influenced them as educators by allowing them to see their students as individuals instead of stereotypes, increasing empathy for their students, and adjusting their pedagogy to teach their students to engage in critical thought and evaluation of media images. Similarly, the teacher education professor stated the workshop helped teachers become better educators by providing theory and practice in developing the critical skills and literacy needed to see beyond stereotypes to view others as whole and complete humans with an endless capacity.

Conclusion

This study investigated teachers' perceptions of stereotypes about Black urban youth, media's role in communicating stereotypes, and the impact of participating in a researcher designed workshop on participants' understandings. The findings of the study are that participants believe stereotypes about Black youth limit the ways others perceive, understand, and think about Black youth; negative stereotypes about Black urban youth should be resisted in order to see Black youth as individuals; media has the power to influence the perceptions of others, and has influenced participants' perceptions of unknown Black youth in different ways; and participating in the workshop enhanced multiple participants' awareness of media stereotypes, encouraged critical thought and reflection about what they see and hear every day, and provided experiences to help them improve professional practice. These findings are expressed through three themes described as imposing limits, humanization or humanizing push back, and media as a source of power and influence. Specifically, imposing limits describes the way negative stereotypes limit cognitive thought and perceptions about others, the way stereotypes limit humanity by dehumanizing Black youth, and how viewing students through stereotypic lenses limit the quality of education for Black urban students. Additionally, the theme of the power of media describes

participants' understanding of media's power to control and communicate limited images of Black youth and influence the thoughts of individuals and society. Participants' accounts of how media has influenced their individual perceptions of Black youth ranged from denial of any influence, to awareness that media has instilled pre-impression images or preconceived notions within their minds, to engaging in active resistance by rejecting the media stereotypes. Similarly, the theme of humanization describes the way participants pushed back against negative stereotypes and purposefully humanized urban youth through artifacts that emphasized universal qualities, individuality, or systematic and institutionalized structures that confine urban youth. Participants also engaged in humanizing push back by engaging in reflective practices during the workshop that allowed them to acknowledge personal biases, increase critical thought and reflection, and commit to making changes to professional practice as a result of the workshop experience. The themes of imposing limits, humanizing push back, and media's influence on perceptions all intersect in that participants can be aware of negative media stereotypes and hold racialized mental images and perceptions about Black youth, and still engage in cognitive push back against the stereotypes towards more humanizing representations. Also noted is the importance of teacher education and teacher training in explicitly teaching teachers to be aware of their own biases, layers and lenses they put on children, ask critical questions about what they see and hear, be able to critically analyze and pick apart media and subliminal messages and stories told about others, and provide students with diverse representations and multiple stories. These skills form the literacy needed to look beyond stereotypes to see others as whole and complete humans. These findings are further discussed in Chapter Five.

5 DISCUSSION

This single exploratory case study investigated teachers' perceptions of media stereotypes about Black youth, and the influence of their participation in a researcher designed workshop on their understandings. In this chapter, I discuss and situate the findings within the context of the Black Studies theoretical framework of alterity (King, 2006 a, b; Wynter, 2003, 2005a, b), Hall's (1973) theory of encoding and decoding mass media, and existing literature on the influence of media on teachers' perceptions, including teachers' academic and behavioral expectations of Black students. I conclude the chapter with implications for educational policy addressing teacher education and suggestions for future research.

Table 8: Findings Chart by Research Question and Theme

Research Question	Finding	Overarching Theme	Theme Definition
1. What are teachers' perceptions of stereotypes about Black urban youth?	Multiple participants believe stereotypes about Black urban youth limit the ways others perceive, understand, and think about unknown Black youth.	**Imposing Limits**	Imposing limits refers to making automatic associations or viewing others through a narrow, specific, and racialized lens based on preconceived notions or images. It is limiting thoughts and beliefs about others. Stereotypes are identified as having the power to impose limits.
1. What are teachers' perceptions of stereotypes about Black urban youth?	Multiple participants believe negative stereotypes about Black urban youth should be resisted in order to see Black youth as individuals.	**Humanization/ Humanizing Push Back**	Humanization is engaging in critical thought, reflection, and practices to view others as whole, complete, and individual humans. This includes awareness of and actively pushing back against stereotypes.

2. What are teachers' perceptions of the role of media in communicating stereotypes about Black urban youth?	Multiple participants believe media has the power to influence the perceptions of others and has influenced participants' perceptions of unknown Black youth in different ways.	**Power of Media to Communicate and Influence Thought**	Media is viewed as a source of power and influence. Media has the power to communicate images and ideas and to influence the thoughts and beliefs of others.
3. How does participation in a workshop on media stereotypes about Black urban youth inform participants' understandings and perceptions?	Multiple participants believe the workshop enhanced their awareness of media stereotypes, encouraged critical thought and reflection about what they see and hear every day, and provided experiences that helped them improve their professional practices.	**Humanization: Humanizing Push Back**	Humanization is engaging in critical thought, reflection, and practices to view others as whole, complete, and individual humans. This includes awareness of and actively pushing back against stereotypes.

As listed in Table 8, this study found that multiple participants believe stereotypes about Black youth limit the ways others perceive, understand, and think about unknown Black youth, and that negative stereotypes about Black urban youth should be resisted in order to see Black youth as individuals. This study also found that multiple participants believe media has the power to influence the perceptions of others and has influenced participants' perceptions of unknown Black youth in different ways. Additionally, participating in the workshop enhanced multiple participants' awareness of media stereotypes, encouraged critical thought and reflection about what they see and hear every day, and provided experiences that helped them improve their professional practices.

Moreover, the findings of the study denote participants' understandings of the limiting power of stereotypes and the process participants engaged in to see beyond stereotypes to view

others as whole, complete, and individual humans. These understandings are captured within the three themes that emerged from data analysis, namely imposing limits, humanization or humanizing push back, and the power of media to influence thoughts.

Black Studies Theory of Alterity and Research Findings

I used the Black Studies theory of alterity as the theoretical framework for this study because, as an analytical tool, it deciphers and explains racist ideologies that affirm conceptual Whiteness and disparage conceptual Blackness and explains "what race does" (King, 2006a, b; Wynter, 2003, 2005 a, b). Specifically, alterity theorizes and critiques the concept of otherness that privileges conceptual Whiteness as the ideal and standard for what it means to be human, and then systematically disparages conceptual Blackness as the ultimate other, opposite, or nemesis of conceptual Whiteness. The findings of this study, particularly within the theme of imposing limits, provide examples of what race does (King, 2006 a, b; Wynter, 2003, 2005 a, b). In my analysis, I found that participants expressed ways in which Black youth are limited and dehumanized by being viewed through negative stereotypic lenses that malign conceptual Blackness (King, 2006a, b). Viewing Black youth through the lenses of stereotypes is a form of othering that dehumanizes them by reducing them to negative associations and failing to see them as individual, whole, complex, and complete human beings. The findings suggest that multiple participants believe stereotypes about Black youth impose limits in multiple ways by affecting the mindsets of individuals and the collective conscious of society. Particularly, stereotypes limit perceptions of Black youth to specific categories, imprint the mind, and affect behavior and actions towards Black youth. Furthermore, stereotypes dehumanize Black youth by reducing them to specific negative behaviors, thereby making the behavior become who you are as opposed to

what you do while discounting counterexamples or counternarratives as not Black or the exception.

Likewise, the theme of media as a source of power and influence is consistent with the theory of alterity as an example of what race does on a systemic level. In fact, the findings suggest that media is understood by multiple participants as both a power source and an institutionalized structure that communicates the racist ideology by limiting the images of Black youth and repeatedly portraying Black youth in roles consistent with historical stereotypes about Black Americans that reaffirm historic racist thought and narratives of Black inferiority for economic profit (Bogle, 1994; Entman & Rojecki, 2000; Greenberg et al, 2002; Wilson & Gutierrez, 1985; Wilson, Gutierrez, & Chao, 2013). These repeated and controlled images reinforce a metanarrative that associates conceptual Blackness with fear, danger, violence, poverty, and academic failure (Collins, 2004, 1999; Devine & Elliott, 1995; Love, 2014; Solórzano & Yosso, 2009). The participants repeatedly stated that the media does not show the positive qualities of Black urban youth and consistently show incomplete and inaccurate representations, thereby communicating a single story as if it is the only story (Adichie, 2009; Wilson, Gutierrez, & Chao, 2013). Media's power to influence the thoughts and perceptions of others about Black youth was further evidenced by participants' accounts of how media has instilled pre-impression images or preconceived notions in their own minds about unknown Black youth, or in their intentional rejection of stereotypes or denial of their influence. Multiple participants' assertions that they stereotype unknown Black youth and are more trusting and less fearful of unknown White youth than unknown Black youth are manifestations of "what race does" when Blackness is exclusively associated with danger and criminality (Alexander, 2010; Blackmon, 2008; Muhammad, 2010).

Equally important, the theme of humanization is contextualized by the theory of alterity in that humanization or humanizing pushback is the intellectual resistance that not only rejects, but also pushes back against the false notions of superiority in conceptual Whiteness and inferiority in conceptual Blackness. Humanization is the change agent that utilizes education, critical thought, and consciousness to reclaim everyone's humanity by deciphering, critiquing, and rejecting the racist ideologies, while understanding the historical and institutional structures and systems that communicate them, as well as the consequences or manifestations on the societal level and individual level (King, 2006a, b, 2008). The participants in the study engaged in humanization or cognitive pushback against negative stereotypes about Black urban youth by bringing in artifacts that emphasized universal qualities, individuality, academic and intellectual prowess, or systematic and institutionalized structures that confine Black urban youth.

Encoding and Decoding Media: Influence of Media on Perceptions

Hall's (1973) theory of encoding and decoding mass media, which asserts that mass media communicates and encodes messages based on ideologies that influence and naturalize frames of knowledge, also provides another context with which to view the finding that multiple participants identified media as a source that communicates and normalizes racial bias on a systemic level and an individual level by normalizing stereotypes, reaffirming prejudice and othering Black youth (Collins, 2004, 1999; Solórzano & Yosso, 2009; Yosso & Garcia, 2010). Specifically, participants in this study described the influence of media on their personal perceptions of Black youth in three ways, including denial, acceptance, or resistance. I found that the three ways participants described media's influence on their perceptions of Black youth align with the three positions that Hall (1973) asserts viewers take when decoding messages in the mass media, namely the dominant-hegemonic position, negotiated position, or oppositional position.

According to Hall (1973), in the dominant-hegemonic position, viewers interpret and reproduce the dominant hegemonic code as-is, consistent with the ideology. This position is consistent with the denial category as evidenced by the participant Jacob's denial of media's influence on his thoughts, in that he accepts images and messages as is, as normal, without racial distinction, or for purely entertainment purposes. Because Jacob accepts the encoded messages and ideology as normal, Jacob is not critical of the ideology, however, he is critical of Black people who question the ideology. Specifically, Jacob stated that "Black people look for racism and find it everywhere," and media does not racialize images. Similarly, he accepted news footage and the podcast (Molyneux, 2013) about Trayvon Martin as factual and "as he was." Jacob's response is not only an example of the dominant-hegemonic position according to Hall's (1973) theory, but is also an example of dysconscious racism, or an " uncritical habit of mind," in that he "tacitly accepts White norms and privileges as given" (King, 1991, p.135) and does not recognize media as a systemic structure that communicates an ideology.

Conversely, according to Hall's (1973) negotiated position, viewers accept the dominant ideology on an abstract level, but make exceptions on a situational level. This means that viewers are aware of the message on a conceptual level, but apply the ideology or message on a situational basis. This negotiated position is consistent with the awareness category as evidenced by participants who stated media influenced their perceptions by instilling pre-impression images and preconceived notions about unknown Black youth, but were able to use their knowledge and personal experiences with known Black youth to individualize them and not see them through lenses consistent with negative media stereotypes. In other words, they negotiated the code by applying the stereotype to unknown Black youth, but personalized known Black youth based on their personal and professional experiences.

Finally, according to Hall's (1973) oppositional position, viewers understand the dominant ideology in the encoded message and purposefully reject it based on their background. This position is consistent with resistance as evidenced by participants who stated they are aware of stereotypes, recognize the messages as stereotypes, and purposefully and intentionally reject and resist them. This is the cognitive battle described by the participant Melanie stating,

> I feel that I am constantly combating the images and stereotypes that the media perpetuates! It is exhausting…I am extremely cautious when interacting with any media to (try to) ensure that I do not fall prey to false stereotypes and unintentionally maintain them.

Misunderstood - Teachers' Racialized Perceptions and Media Stereotypes

The findings of this study also contribute to the research literature on the effects of media stereotypes on teachers' racialized perceptions, including teachers' academic and behavioral expectations of Black students as discussed in the next section.

In particular, I designed this study in response to the recommendation by scholars to extend studies of teachers' racial perceptions to include qualitative methods to gain a deeper understanding of sources that normalize racial bias (Collins, 1999, 2004; Solórzano & Yosso, 2001). Prior studies found that pre-service teachers viewed Black students in stereotypical ways, attributed varying stereotypic characteristics to Black, Asian, White, and Hispanic youth based on race (DeCastro-Ambrosetti & Cho, 2011; Chang & Demyan, 2007; Ferguson, 2001; Sleeter, 2004), and credit media as a source influencing their racialized perceptions (Aggrey, 2007; Hampton, Peng & Ann, 2008). Similarly, participants in this study also reported holding specific and racialized mental images of Black youth and identified media images as sources that influenced their perceptions.

Specifically, I found that Black youth in this study were primarily associated with terms that describe the physical body, oppression, or being misunderstood. Terms that associated Black

youth with the physical body emphasized physical features such as body type, style of dress, or an association with athletics and sports. Terms that associated Black youth with oppression included being stereotyped with a limited range of behaviors identified as "Black," and being looked down on by society, prejudged, and subjected to institutional racism. Terms that associated Black youth with being misunderstood referred to misrepresentations and misjudgments made about Black youth based on negative stereotypes.

Additionally, multiple participants in the study primarily associated media images of urban youth with negative behavior and a negative outlook by specifically associating them with violence and poverty. There was also an overlap between terms associated with Black youth and media images of urban youth in the categories of physical descriptions, dangerous behaviors, education, race, image/representation, and social economic status suggesting that multiple participants believe that media images of urban youth are also racialized as Black. These urban media stereotypes are consistent with the urban film genre that show Black youth as thugs, uneducated, and needing to be saved by White teachers (Yosso & Garcia, 2010).

Though the racial perceptions identified by participants in this study were similar to the racial perceptions identified in the existing literature (DeCastro-Ambrosetti & Cho, 2011; Chang & Demyan, 2007; Ferguson, 2001; Sleeter, 2004), a noteworthy discovery of this study is that the majority of the participants described Black youth as misunderstood and misjudged (Davis, 2003). This finding is important because adding the term "misunderstood" to the descriptions of Black youth illuminates an awareness of the effects of negative stereotypes on the ways others understand, think about, and judge Black youth leading to faulty and erroneous understandings (Davis, 2003; Ferguson, 2001). Instead of exclusively associating Black youth with the common negative stereotypes of aggression, danger, and low academic achievement found in other studies

(DeCastro-Ambrosetti & Cho, 2011; Chang & Demyan, 2007; Ferguson, 2001), the participants in this study extended their thinking to question mere acceptance of the stereotypes. The participants contextualized the stereotypes within a false, disparaging meta narrative about Black youth that leads to societal misunderstanding of who they are, and also questioned institutionalized structures that contribute to misrepresentations and misjudgments (Collins, 2004, 1999; Devine & Elliott, 1995; King, 1991, 2006a, 2008, 2011; Solórzano & Yosso, 2009). Repeatedly describing Black youth as misunderstood and misrepresented suggests most participants recognized that the stereotype is not who you are, but represents what society says you are, and the presence of the stereotype leads you to be misjudged and misunderstood because of flaws in a falsified narrative, not because of flaws inherent within you. In other words, multiple participants understood that Black youth are not unruly, but Black youth are misunderstood to be unruly. Black youth are not dangerous, but Black youth are misjudged as dangerous. Black youth are not threats, but Black youth are misrepresented as threats. These important distinctions transition thought from blaming the victim (Valencia, 2010), blaming Black youth as the cause of their label, or blindly accepting the label as accurate, to discrediting the perceived truthfulness of the stereotype by pointing to the stereotype as something that is projected or forced onto Black youth. This thought process shifts the responsibility for negative associations from being a "Black problem," describing a personal, cultural, or racial deficit "within Black youth," to recognizing the negative associations as a societal problem based on a racialized, deficit based meta narrative and institutionalized racism (Ladson-Billings, 2006; Hilliard, 1991; Perry, Steele & Hilliard, 2003; Milner, 2012). This distinction is important because when you blame Black youth for the stereotypes about Black youth, your sense of agency and responsibility is compromised or removed because you accept the negative stereotypes as accurate or inevitable (King, 1991, 2017). However, when

you view negative stereotypes as a systemic and structural problem, you recognize your responsibility to use your sense of agency to reject, resist, and push back against stereotypes as many participants did in this study (King, 2017).

Teacher Expectations, Discipline, and Combatting Deficit Based Education

Furthermore, the findings of this study also contribute to educational literature addressing teachers' academic and behavioral expectations of Black students, exclusionary discipline, and critical competencies teachers need in order to combat deficit-based education. In particular, this study found that most participants believe teachers may limit the level and quality of education they provide Black students as a result of viewing them through stereotypic lenses. Specifically, multiple participants suggest that teachers who view students through the lenses of negative stereotypes may subconsciously have lower expectations for Black students, and teachers' expectations affect the academic approaches they use with Black students.

As stated by many participants in the study, teachers who have deficit-based perceptions of students may feel sorry for the students and treat them as needing to be saved, which may result in lenient grading, not challenging students, or not pushing students academically. Viewing a student as a lower achiever, at risk for failure, and needing to be saved is a different mindset than viewing a student as complex, with enormous potential, and needing to be challenged academically. The mindset that Black students need to be saved is consistent with educational literature that focuses on academic, behavioral, cultural, social, and economical deficits as communicated in research on the supposed achievement gap between Black students and White students on standardized tests and in graduation rates, as well as the overrepresentation of Black students in special education (Barton & Coley, 2010; Chubb & Loveless, 2002; Ladson-Billings, 2006; Losen & Orfield, 2002; Milner, 2012; Schott Foundation for Public Education, 2012;Vanneman,

Hamilton, Baldwin & Rahman, 2009). The savior mindset implying that Black students need to be saved from themselves, their home life, their surroundings, and their culture (Valencia, 2010) is also routinely communicated as the primary narrative of the urban school film genre as well as educational literature and documentaries surrounding urban education (Lee, 2008; Wells & Serman, 1998; Yosso & Garcia, 2010). Multiple participants in this study expressed that the savior narrative can have negative effects on the academic experiences of Black students through low teacher expectations. The participants' concerns that low teacher expectations may affect the academic approaches teachers use with Black students are also consistent with other studies on teacher expectations (Ladson-Billings, 2006; Hilliard, 1991; Perry, Steele & Hilliard, 2003; Milner, 2012). Specifically, Gershenson and Papageorge's (2018) analysis of studies of teacher expectations found that "teacher expectations do not merely forecast student outcomes, they also influence outcomes by becoming self-fulfilling prophecies... Moreover, we find that the nature of White teachers' expectations places Black students at a disadvantage" (p. 69). The authors clarify that Black students are disadvantaged by teacher expectations because they do not receive the benefits of positive bias. Specifically, Gershenson and Papageorge (2018) assert,

> it is not generally the case that Black students face negative bias from White teachers in an absolute sense. Rather, the negative bias is relative in that Black students do not receive the same positive bias enjoyed by White students...all teachers are optimistic, but White students receive more optimism than their Black classmates (p.70).

Limiting students through teacher expectations is an example of how participants described the concept of "brilliance confined," or the water bottle phenomenon in that teachers impose restrictions or confine students based on how they view their students. Particularly, during the study, Harris, one of the participants, looked at the water inside a green water bottle and stated, "As water is clear, but appears green when viewed by a green water bottle, urban youth are restrained when viewed by the lens that society puts on them." Similarly, as stated by the

teacher professor with regard to teacher expectations, "Students have limitless potential, but you have to give it to them." Therefore, instead of viewing students through a deficit based and restrictive lens, which questions what is wrong with the student, the findings suggest it is important for teachers to evaluate the frames they are using to view students and to question what is wrong with the lens.

Stereotypes and Disproportionate Discipline

Similarly, participants stated that viewing students through stereotypic lenses also contribute to exclusionary discipline practices when students are excluded from the classroom and the school. This study found that most participants believe media stereotypes may contribute to teachers viewing Black students as behavior problems and either not want to deal with them or may misjudge or misunderstand their behavior. In other words, multiple participants believe that viewing students as a behavior problem justifies exclusionary practices that harm Black students. Michelle recounted that the teachers at her school repeatedly send the Black students to her for her to "deal with" or send them to the office, which illustrates how viewing students as a behavior problem leads to their exclusion. Her account as well as the accounts of other participants regarding their suspension practices as the go to strategies for discipline are supported by the literature on disproportionate discipline, which states that Black students are disproportionately pushed out of the classroom and suspended from school for behaviors based on teachers' subjective interpretations such as disrespect and defiance (Gregory & Mosley, 2004; Losen & Martinez, 2013; Mendez & Knoff, 2003; Skiba et al., 2002, 2011). The findings of this study also suggest that exclusionary discipline should be interrogated as a function of mindset because mindsets about students and exclusion may have unintended consequences. As Michelle's example referred to above suggests, being viewed as someone the teacher does not understand due to

race or culture is associated with the action of being excluded from the classroom and sent to the office or to another teacher. This example is consistent with Solórzano and Yosso's (2001) assertion that racial stereotypes are used to justify exclusionary and deficit-based attitudes towards students of color.

Strategies to Combat Deficit-Based Education

Finally, the findings also support existing literature on strategies that teachers need to combat deficit-based education (Solórzano & Yosso, 2001; Valencia, 2010). According to the participants, educators have the power to limit their students or to give them an endless capacity to think, create, and excel. As such, the findings detail critical competencies consistent with a humanizing mindset that educators must have in order to see beyond stereotypes and educate students as humans. Multiple participants specifically advocated for professional learning and teacher education strategies that allow teachers to confront personal and implicit biases, ask critical questions about what they see and hear, critically analyze media as a system or institutional structure, recognize the historical context behind the stories told about others, and condition their minds to think multiculturally as a form of social justice. These strategies are consistent with those used by scholars to address systemic and institutional forms of racism in education and to examine educators' personal and professional attitudes and practices in order to combat deficit-based miseducation (King, 1991; Lawrence & Tatum, 1998; Lee, 1998; Love, 2014; Sleeter, 2004; Solórzano & Yosso, 2001; Valencia, 2010; Young, 2011).

Implications

The findings of this study have implications on the institutional level for educational policies surrounding teacher education as well on a personal level for individual teachers. On an institutional level, the findings of this study could be used to inform education policies detailing

key competencies pre-service and active teachers need in order to mitigate bias and the effects of stereotypes so that they may teach Black students with a mindset of optimism, high expectations, and limitless potential. In addition to detailing key competencies needed, educational policy makers could use these findings to create policies that require educators to participate in ongoing professional learning that address racialized associations, sources that normalize bias, media stereotypes, and deficit-based perceptions based on historical racist ideologies. In light of studies documenting nationwide disproportionate exclusionary discipline practices (Gregory & Mosley, 2004; Losen & Martinez, 2013; Mendez & Knoff, 2003; Skiba et al., 2002, 2011), education policies could also include professional learning on how stereotypes and biased perceptions affect how teachers and administrators interpret subjective behaviors of Black students such as disrespect and incivility, and the equity and appropriateness of exclusionary disciplinary consequences for behaviors subject to interpretation. These experiences could also be formally encoded into educational policies and standards for teacher education and certification renewal. Specifically, education policies could reflect that these experiences be a part of job-embedded professional learning for active teachers and a part of teacher education requirements for pre-service teachers.

Additionally, the findings could be used by teacher education programs to design course curricula and learning experiences for teachers that prioritize humanization as a part of the educational process. Teacher education and training programs must intentionally address and prioritize humanizing experiences that teach specific skills needed to see beyond stereotypes and view others as whole and complete humans. The findings suggest these skills include having an open mind, being aware of their own biases, layers, and lenses they put onto students, being able to critically analyze media, and being aware that tiny, repeated stories imprint the brain, so it is

necessary to provide students with multiple stories. Course curricula could also include learning experiences that allow teachers to evaluate sources of bias, including media as an institutional structure communicating bias. Analysis of news media could also be included as a part of this process. Being that news stories are presented as factual and impartial information (van Dijk, 2004; Wilson, Gutierrez, & Chao, 2013), teachers may benefit from learning experiences that teach them to analyze what is reported and not reported, for and about whom, and then contextualize these stories within historical narratives about Black youth. Similar to the participants in this study, teachers may also benefit from learning how to analyze how they are personally affected by what they see and hear on a daily basis.

Finally, the findings of this study have implications for individual teachers on a personal level. The findings suggest that individual teachers should be open and willing to be introspective, look deeply and interrogate images and mental associations they make about Black youth, critically evaluate their own subconscious thoughts, and examine the sources that influence their thoughts and perceptions. Teachers must be able to reflect on how their subconscious biases or expectations affect the teaching and learning process, including their academic and behavioral approaches with Black students, and be intentional and purposeful about developing individual relationships with students. In other words, critical reflection should lead to a change in professional practice that encourages getting to know students as individuals, having high academic and behavioral expectations, and challenging students to meet their limitless potential. Additionally, teachers must train their minds to think deeper to see beyond stereotypes to view unknown Black youth who are not their students as whole and complete humans as opposed to viewing unknown Black youth through initial stereotypic lenses by default. That is to say, the onus should not be on unknown Black youth to earn their way out of the stereotype or prove the stereotype

does not apply to them, but on the educator not to project the stereotype onto them in the first place. As found in this study, the process of self-reflection, critical thinking, analysis, and becoming aware of your own biases and perceptions may be uncomfortable and exhausting, but it is necessary to be the best educator you can be and to recognize everyone's humanity (King, 2006a, 2008, 2017). Additionally, as found in this study, teachers also need to be willing to engage in cognitive push back to not only resist the influence of stereotypes within their minds, but also resist the meta-narrative of society that disparages Black youth as well as systems that perpetuate racist ideologies (King, 2006a, b, 2011, 2017; Wynter, 2003, 2005 a, b). This push back and resistance includes confronting situational acts of racism (Lee, 1998) and advocating for Black youth with other teachers when they see or hear their colleagues expressing stereotypical and racially biased perceptions.

Future Research

While this case study provided insights into teachers' perceptions of media stereotypes about Black youth, the effects of the media workshop on those perceptions, and generated implications for teacher-student interactions, the study did not have a mechanism for follow up to observe teacher-student interactions after the workshop. I recommend that future research expand the scope of the study to include active teachers practicing within schools and include observations of teacher-student dynamics and interactions with their Black students within the classroom context before, during, and after the workshop experiences. The students could also share their experiences and perspectives as a part of the study.

It is also important to note that administrators play a primary role in establishing school culture, expectations for adult-student interactions, interpreting student behavior, and assigning disciplinary consequences to students. Therefore, future research could investigate

administrators' and school leaders' perceptions of media stereotypes about Black youth, and how participation in a media workshop about Black youth inform their perceptions and interactions with Black students.

Furthermore, based on the findings that teachers have specific perceptions of unknown youth based on race, future research could also explore teachers' perceptions of media stereotypes and narratives surrounding other racial, ethnic, and cultural groups subjected to negative media stereotypes. Future research could include qualitative methods that facilitate an in-depth exploration of teachers' perceptions, as well as sources, images, and experiences that inform those perceptions, and include analysis of news media as a source that communicates and normalizes bias.

Conclusion

In conclusion, seeing beyond stereotypes to see Black youth as whole, complete, complex, and multifaceted human beings must be a priority not only for educators and researchers, but for all members of society as a matter of human freedom (King, 2006b; 2008; 2017). As found in this study, being viewed through the lenses of negative stereotypes, and particularly as dangerous, thugs, underachieving, and criminal, has severe consequences for Black youth, and deficit-based perceptions carryover into educational contexts (Aggrey, 2007; Chang & Demyan, 2007; Davis, 2003; Ferguson, 2001; Love, 2014). Furthermore, as illustrated through the dialog with participants about media images, stereotypes, and representations in the murders of Trayvon Martin and Jordan Davis (Donague, 2014; Molyneux, 2013; Touré, 2014), perceptions of unknown Black youth in the minds of others can have fatal consequences for Black youth.

Disparaging narratives that dehumanize Black youth as well as systemic structures that perpetuate them must be resisted and dismantled on all levels of society. Based on the findings

of this study, I recommend that teacher education programs, academia, and research scholarship be used to dually target racism on the macro level affecting the collective conscious of society as well as bias and dysconscious racism (King, 1991; King & Akua, 2012; King & McTier, 2015) on the micro level affecting individuals' thoughts, perceptions, and actions. That is to say, course curricula, scholarship, and research could be used to analyze racism on the macrolevel of society by dismantling the meta-narrative that denigrates Blackness and projects stereotypes onto unknown Black youth, including institutional structures that communicate and reinforce the meta-narrative, while simultaneously analyzing individual perceptions, biases, and lenses used to make judgements about Black youth on a microlevel (Collins, 2004, 1999; Devine & Elliott, 1995, King, 1991; 2006, 2017; Love, 2014; Solórzano & Yosso, 2009; Wynter, 2003). I recommend microlevel analysis of individuals' perceptions specifically include dysconscious racism, the impaired way of thinking about racial inequity, or "uncritical habit of mind (including perceptions, attitudes, assumptions, and beliefs) that justifies inequity and exploitation by accepting the existing order of things as given …and tacitly accepts White norms and privileges as given" (King, 1991, p. 135).

Finally, I recommend that professional learning experiences that focus on developing an awareness of bias and analyzing institutionalized racism also occur at the school district and local school levels with all educators, staff, or employees who work with children. I suggest expanding partnerships between colleges and universities specializing in teacher education and school districts to provide ongoing training to teachers and staff consistent with current research and strategies for addressing bias, analyzing media stereotypes, and engaging in critical thought, reflection, and humanization that privileges viewing Black students as individuals, complex, and academically capable, while analyzing systemic and institutional structures that confine them. It

is my goal to share this knowledge with educational practitioners as they directly interact with students on a daily basis and I encourage the readers of this study to do the same.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Demographic Survey

Dear Participant,
Thank you for participating in the research study about teachers' perceptions of media and images of urban youth. Please complete the following demographic questions. Please be as specific as possible.

1. What is your gender?
Male
Female
Prefer not to answer

2. What is your age?

18-21	34-36	51-53	68 and over
22-24	37-39	54-57	
25-27	40-43	58-60	
28-30	44-47	61-63	
31-33	48-50	64 - 67	

3. How many years of teaching experience do you have?

0-1	11-15
2-3	16 - 20
4-5	21-25
6-10	25 - 30
11-15	31 and over
16-20	
20-25	

4. What grades and subjects have you taught? (check all that apply)
Elementary   K   1   2   3 4   5
Middle School   6   7   8
High School   9 10   11 12

ELA, Reading, Math, Science, Social Studies, Other_____

5. What is your race/ethnicity (Check all that apply)?

Race   **Ethnicity**

American Indian or Alaska Native   Hispanic or Latino or

Asian   Not Hispanic or Latino

Black or African American

Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander

White

6. What is the demographic makeup of the school (s) where you teach or have taught? Check all that apply

A. Race

Race	**Ethnicity**
American Indian or Alaska Native	Hispanic or Latino or
Asian	Not Hispanic or Latino
Black or African American	
Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander	
White	

B. Social Economic Status:
       Wealthy, Upper Middle Class, Middle Class, Lower Middle Class,
       Working Poor, Poverty

C. Rural, Suburban, Urban

7. What is the demographic makeup of the school (s) you attended when you grew up?

A. **Race**	**Ethnicity**
American Indian or Alaska Native	Hispanic or Latino or
Asian	Not Hispanic or Latino
Black or African American	
Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander	
White	

B. Social Economic Status:
Wealthy, Upper Middle Class, Middle Class, Lower Middle Class,
Working Poor, Poverty

C. Rural, Suburban, Urban

8. Please check the most common purposes for consuming the following forms of media

	News	Entertainment	Education	Political News	Sports	Fashion	Societal Issues
TV							
Internet							
Radio							
Newspaper							
Magazine							
Movies/ Documentaries/ Film							
Social Media (Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, YouTube)							

9. What television programs do you watch most often?

10. What radio channels do you tune into most often?

11. What magazines and newspapers do you read most often?

12. What social networking sites do you use most often?

13. How much time a day do you spend watching television programming either at home or online?

14. How much time a week do you spend watching the news either at home or online?

15. How much time a day do you spend on social media? Which forms?

16a. When you think about Black youth, what images or phrases come to mind?

16 b. What informs your answer? (check all that apply)
News, television programs, Internet, movies, social media, personal experience, professional experience

17 a.. When you think about Asian youth, what images or phrases come to mind?

17. b. What informs your answer? (check all that apply)
News, television programs, Internet, movies, social media, personal experience, professional experience

18 a. When you think about White youth, what images or phrases come to mind?

18 b. What informs your answer? (check all that apply)
 News, television programs, Internet, movies, social media, personal experience, professional experience

19 a. When you think about Hispanic youth, what images or phrases come to mind?

19 b. What informs your answer? (check all that apply)
News, television programs, Internet, movies, social media, personal experience, professional experience

20. When you think about what you see, hear, and read about urban youth on television, in movies, on the Internet, or social media (twitter, Facebook, Instagram, YouTube), what images or phrases come to mind?

21. How have media representations of urban youth influenced how you perceive urban students?

Appendix B: Workshop Activities and Data Collection Instruments

Teachers' Perceptions of Media Stereotypes and Urban Youth
Workshop Activities and Data Collection Instruments

Research Questions

What are teachers' perceptions of media stereotypes about Black urban youth?

How does their participation in a workshop on media stereotypes about Black youth inform their understandings and perceptions?

What from the teachers' perspectives are the implications for teacher-student interaction?

Data Collection
The data for this study will include artifacts from the workshop as well as the following assessment procedures. Specific sources of data include:
- The participants' demographic survey including initial responses about media consumption and perceptions of urban youth administered before the workshop
- The participants' responses to the reflection questions after workshop activities
- The participants' stereotype analysis artifact produced at the beginning and at the end of the workshop
- The participants' final reflection responses about the influence of media on their perceptions of urban youth
- Transcripts from audio-taped class discussions during the workshop
- Transcripts from the audio-taped interview with the teacher education professor

Workshop Description
Media and Representations of Urban Students
The objective of this workshop is for education students to explore the stereotypes and representations about urban youth that are communicated through news and network media. The workshop will provide a historical and socio-cultural context for racialized stereotypes and provide an opportunity for participants to reflect on the influence of media stereotypes on their personal perceptions of urban students. Participants will view news stories, analyze media narratives about Black urban youth, and discuss the influence of media stereotypes on teacher-student interactions. This workshop aligns with University of Education's (UoE) (pseudonym) Conceptual Framework that prepares educators who are informed by research and reflective practice. Particularly, the workshop aligns with the expectation of UoE Outcome III that educators will understand and intentionally consider the dynamic interactions between learners and educators within complex socio-cultural contexts. Media stereotypes and representations about urban youth will be examined as part of the socio-cultural context affecting the education of teachers and urban students.

University of Education Vision:

The vision of the University of Education (UoE) is to provide international leadership in educational research and to create and implement exemplary educational programs in metropolitan areas. The UoE envisions a world that embraces diversity; where social justice, democratic ideals, and equal opportunity can be increasingly enacted; and where technology is used to enhance opportunities for human development. The UoE believes that all people should be lifelong learners.

UoE Mission:

The UoE represents a joint enterprise within an urban research university between the College of Arts and Sciences and the College of Education, working in collaboration with P-16 faculty from diverse metropolitan schools. Grounded in these collaborations, our mission is to prepare educators (i.e., teachers and other professional school personnel) who are:

- informed by research, knowledge and reflective practice
- empowered to serve as change agents; committed to and respectful of all learners
- engaged with learners, their families, schools, and local and global communities

Workshop Goals:
The goal of this workshop is for participants to examine the role of media stereotypes and representations about Black urban youth as a part of the socio-cultural context affecting dynamic interactions between educators and urban students. The workshop will complement the following course objectives of Multicultural Education:

- Reflect upon cultural identities both personally and professionally to better understand others and increase their knowledge of diversity and inclusion

- Understand the historical and socio-political process of schooling and the importance of inclusive curricula

Workshop Objectives:
- Participants will identify stereotypes communicated about Black urban youth in news and network media
- Participants will situate media stereotypes about Black urban youth in the historical and socio-cultural context of stereotypes about Black Americans
- Participants will reflect on the influence of media stereotypes on their personal perceptions of urban youth
- Participants will discuss the implications of holding stereotypic perceptions of urban youth on interactions between educators and urban students

Workshop Activities: 12 hours

The workshop will meet for nine hours over the course of three days. Workshop participants will also complete a two-hour media analysis activity at home and spend one hour reflecting on workshop activities at the end of the workshop. Workshop activities include viewing news and network media clips, group discussions, lecture, and reflection journal exercises. Participants will type their responses to the reflection questions in an electronic journal and save their responses to a flash drive.

Workshop Materials:
Laptop/computer access
Flash drives for reflection journals
Media clips
Stereotype Analysis Graphic Organizer

Workshop Outline:

Session 1:
Hour 1:
Introductions
Goals of Workshop
Informed Consent
Demographic Survey (Appendix A)– students will complete the demographic survey using an electronic link through Qualtrics

Hour 2:
Class Activity: Key Words Describing Urban Youth
Workshop participants will write words associated with urban youth, including Black urban youth, on sticky notes. The sticky notes will be collected by the workshop facilitator, placed on the board, and read aloud. The facilitator will introduce the focus on the "urban thug" as a popular representation of urban youth.

Class Activity: Deconstructing the "Urban Thug": News Coverage of Trayvon Martin & Jordan Davis

The class will view the video clips about the narratives surrounding Trayvon Martin and Rachel Jeantel

Clip 1: The Truth About George Zimmerman and Trayvon Martin:
https://www.youtube.com/embed/bF-Ax5E8EJc (1-12 minutes)

Clip 2: Rachel Jeantel Responds to Anonymous Juror (CBS Atlanta, 2013) https://atlanta.cbslo-cal.com/2013/07/16/juror-from-zimmerman-trial-and-rachel-jeantel-speak-with-cnn/
(1 minute, 41 seconds)

The participants will respond to the following reflection questions in their electronic journal.
Reflection Questions:

1. How was Trayvon Martin characterized in the videos?
2. How was Rachel Jeantel characterized in the video?
3. What role does Trayvon Martin's schooling experiences and discipline history play in the way he was characterized in the video?
4. What role does Rachel Jeantel's schooling experiences and language play in the way she was characterized in the video?
5. How do the descriptions of Trayvon Martin and Rachel Jeantel relate to your perceptions of urban youth?

The facilitator will then provide the participants with key details about Trayvon Martin's suspensions as indicated in Judy Bloom's book "Suspicion Nation."

Hour 3:
Activity 2: "Urban Thug" Part 2: The narrative surrounding Jordan Davis
The class will view the video clips about the narrative surrounding Jordan Davis.

Video clip 1: Accused Loud Music Shooter Dunn: It was life or death (1 minute, 57 seconds)
http://www.cbsnews.com/news/accused-loud-music-shooter-michael-dunn-it-was-life-or-death/

Video clip 2: Touré TV- The Tragically Familiar Death of Jordan Davis
http://www.msnbc.com/the-cycle/watch/the-tragically-familiar-death-of-jordan-davis-157222467525
(3 minutes, 21 seconds)

The participants will answer reflection questions and the class will discuss their reflections.

Reflection Questions:
1. How did Michael Dunn perceive Jordan Davis?
2. Are the representations of Trayvon Martin and Jordan Davis realistic representations of Black urban youth? Why or why not?
3. What experiences do you have to reinforce or contradict the representations of Black urban youth?

Take It Home Activity: Participants will bring their own representation of Black urban youth to the next class session for discussion

Session 2:
Hour 1: Participants will discuss the artifacts they brought in to represent Black urban youth. Following the discussion, the facilitator will continue the discussion of the "athletic urban thug" as a media representation of urban youth. The class will view the video clips about the narrative surrounding Richard Sherman as an introduction to the historical and economic contexts of media stereotypes.

Clip 1: Beats by Dre Commercial - Richard Sherman: Hear What You Want To (1 minute, 19 seconds) http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HESJgpYYUyM

Clip 2: Richard Sherman's Response to Being Called a Thug (2 minutes, 21 seconds) http://deadspin.com/richard-sherman-explains-what-people-mean-when-they-cal-1506821800

The workshop participants will discuss the use of the term thug when referring to urban youth and the relationship between the word thug and race.

Hour 2: Historical and Socio-Cultural Context of Media Stereotypes about Black Americans
The facilitator will situate media stereotypes about Black urban youth in the historical and socio-cultural context of stereotypes about Black Americans (criminal, violent, thug, and morally/intellectually inferior). The facilitator will also detail the economic incentives of corporate controlled media for communicating the representations.

References for Presentation:

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Hour 3: Media Stereotypes and Narratives about School Aged Children
The class will view the two video clips about the narrative and images surrounding (K-12) children in urban schools. The participants will answer reflection questions and the class will discuss their reflections.

Clip 1: **Mentorship for New Educators Helps Combat Teacher Burnout, Improve Retention: PBS News Hour** (4 minutes): http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/education-july-dec13-teachers_07-04/

Clip 2: **Chicagoland Episode 1: Principal Fights Gangs to Save School** (CNN, 2014) (3 minutes, 20 seconds)
http://www.cnn.com/video/data/2.0/video/bestoftv/2014/03/05/chicagoland-principal-orig-series.cnn.html
Reflection Questions:
1. How were the students described in each clip?
2. What were the students doing?
3. What were the teachers doing?
4. What stereotypes about urban youth did these news stories reinforce?
5. What are the implications for classroom management and discipline?
6. How do the representations influence the way you perceive the students including your expectations for behavior and academic achievement?

Take Home Activity (Appendix B): Stereotype Analysis (2 hours at home)
Choose a news or network program to watch independently. Analyze the way Black youth are represented in the program and if the representation aligns with a stereotype about Black youth. Use the stereotype analysis graphic organizer to detail the historical context of the stereotype, the ideas or perceptions about Black youth that are reinforced or resisted, and the implications of those perceptions for educators and viewing citizens. Prepare to share your findings as well as what you learned from the workshop with the class during the next class session. Two hours are allotted for this activity.

Session 3
Hours 1 & 2: The participants will present their take it home activities to the class. The participants will share the news or network program they watched, and their analysis of the way Black youth were presented, the associated stereotype reinforced or resisted, and implications for educators and citizens. The participants will also share what they learned from the workshop with the class.

Final Reflections (2 hours) – The participants will independently complete the final reflection questions. The participants will type their responses in their electronic journal and save the responses to a flash drive.

1. How have media images influenced your perceptions of Black urban youth?

2. How can teachers' perceptions of urban youth influence how teachers interact with the urban students?

3. How has this workshop impacted your awareness of media stereotypes?

4. Considering what you learned about the historical and economic contexts of stereotypes, what is your understanding of media stereotypes and representations of urban youth as a structural problem in American society?

5. How has this workshop influenced you as an educator?

6. Have your perceptions of urban youth changed as a result of what you learned in this course? Why? Why not? How?

7. What suggestions do you have to improve this workshop?

Appendix C: Stereotype Analysis Graphic Organizer

Stereotype Analysis Assignment

Choose a news or network program to watch independently. Analyze the way Black youth are represented in the program and if the representation aligns with a stereotype about Black youth. Use the stereotype analysis graphic organizer to detail the historical context of the stereotype, the ideas or perceptions about Black youth that are reinforced or resisted, and the implications of those perceptions for educators and viewing citizens.

Title of Show

Who benefits economically from the show or portrayal?

Who is the character or the subject of story?

What stereotype is represented or resisted?

What ideas/perceptions are reinforced or resisted?

What is the historical context of the stereotype?

What are the implications for educators?

What are the implications for citizens?
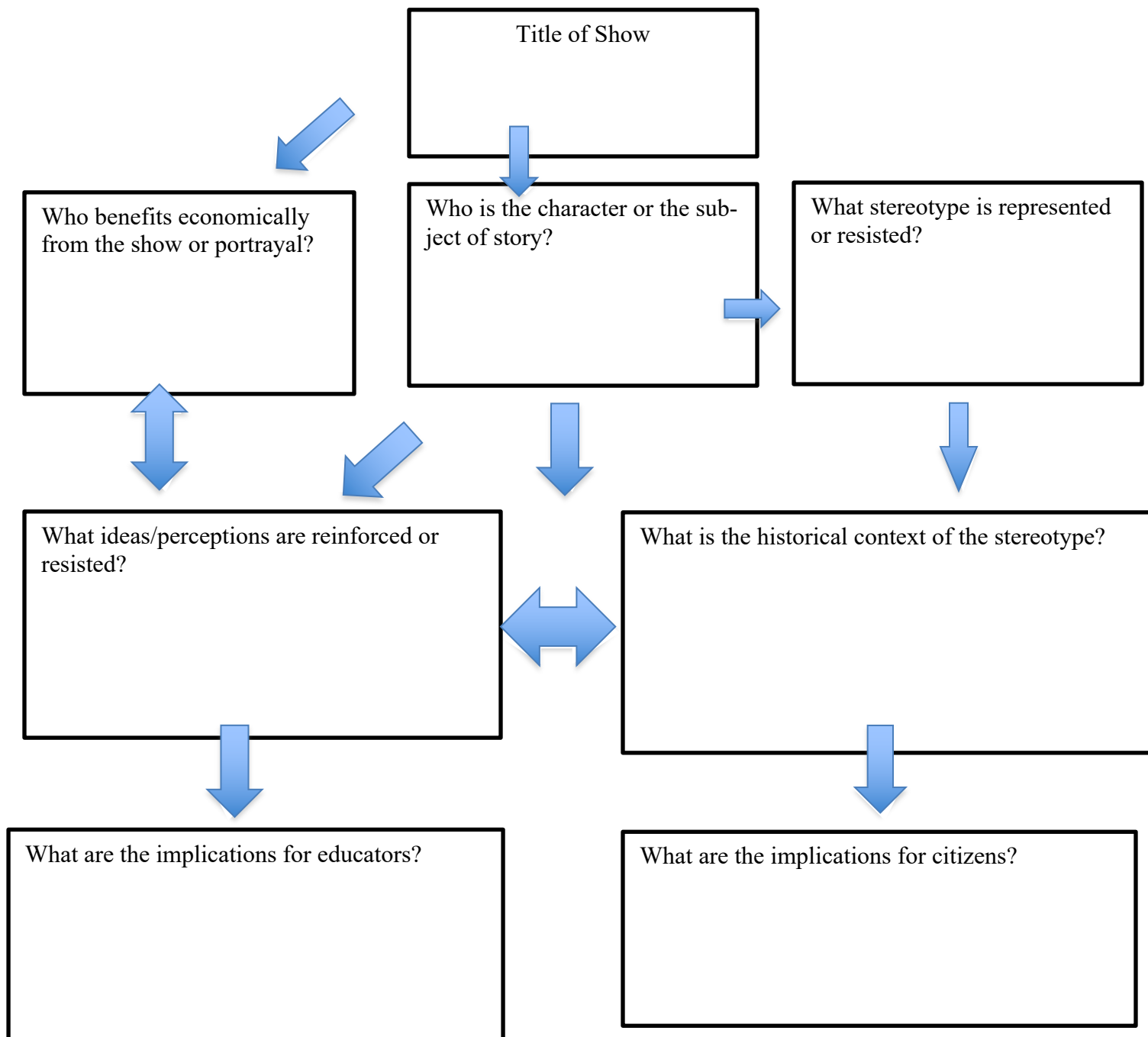
Appendix D: Teacher Education Professor Interview Protocol

Teacher Education Professor Interview

1. After assessing your students' reflection journals and artifacts from the media representations workshop, do you think the workshop provided the participants with relevant learning experiences addressing issues of racial or cultural diversity? Why or why not?

2. Do the participants' journals and work products indicate reflective thought about perceptions of urban students? Please explain.

3. Do the participants' journals and work products indicate an understanding of media stereotypes as a part of the socio-cultural context affecting the education of urban students? (University Education Outcome III) Please explain.

4. What is your assessment of the relevance of the workshop to the objectives of the education courses you teach?

5. Would you consider using the module or components of the module in future teacher education courses? Why or why not?

6. What suggestions do you have to improve this workshop?

7. Do you have anything else you would like to share with me?

Appendix E: Mental Images of Black Youth & Media Images of Urban Youth

	Mental Associations with Black Youth	Overlapping Terms	Media Images of Urban Youth
Physical: Body Type	Sports, basketball, football, track Hair (3), Curviness	Athletic	Less athletic talent
Physical: Style - Fashion	Shoes, jewelry, fancy hair, image conscious	Baggy pants, boxers, saggy/low pants, hoodie	Walking funny to hold up pants, baggy shirts
Social	City, groups, exposed lifestyle	Urban, gangs, hanging out	Having fun, twerking, wrong crowd, single parent (2),unknowledgeable parents
Economic	working class, pro-jects	Poverty (4), Lower class	Welfare, take advantage of welfare, underemployed, subsidized housing, ghetto
Race	African Rich history	Black	
Culture: Music	Producers, consumers, singers	Music: Hip Hop Loud music	
Culture: Other	Vibrant cultural tradi-tions, Religion: Mus-lim, Christian Minority		Language- distinctive re-gional speech
Education	School to Prison Pipe-line, segregated schools	Institutional racism, ed-ucational inequality, in-crease academic achievement/low per-formance, dropout rates, students	Students don't care about school, struggling kids, un-educated, underperforming, misbehaving Teachers don't care Challenges in Educational System: illiteracy, failing schools, lack of extra-cur-ricular activities: chess and music

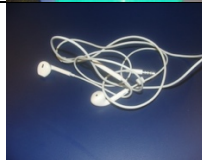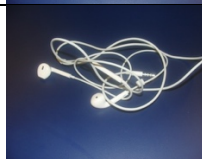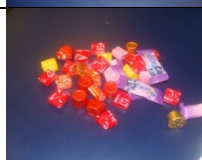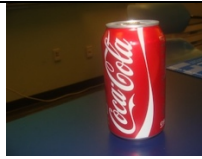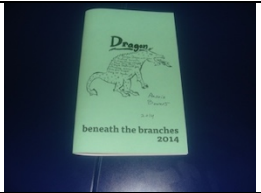|			
Behavior: Positive	Eager to perform, listen to parents, respectful		
Behavior: Negative		Danger, violence, gun violence, drugs, teen pregnancy	Unruly, disrespectful, rough, rude (2), angry, drug addict, drugs (5), dealer, crime, murder, robberies (2), stealing, deviant, thug
Outlook: Positive	Capable, creative, complex, diverse, gifted, innovator, future, potential to be great, powerful, promise, compliments, imitated	Talented, beautiful, resilient, potential	artistic
Outlook: Negative	Doubtful to self, endangered, exposed to extenuating circumstances, lost, misrepresented	challenged, disadvantaged, low expectations, misunderstood	Lazy (3), unmotivated, laissez faire attitude, seek negative intentionally, misguided, expected to fail, underprivileged, lack privilege to be successful, uniformed, instant gratification, troubled, inferior, second class
Needs	Attention, love, understanding	Resources	
Media Images	Violent news stories, exposure to large range of media	Limited representations Stereotypes Negative portrayals	Inaccurate: fail to show institutional racism, unequal schools, social disenfranchisement, unfairly portray urban youth, social media, smartphones, World Star, crazy stuff on social websites
Oppression	Oppressed, targeted, prejudged, shunned, stigmatized, limited range of behaviors accepted as "Black," pressure to conform to "Black behaviors,"	Stereotyped Institutional racism	unequal schools, social disenfranchisement inferior, second class

looked down on by
society, ridiculed

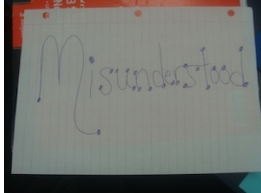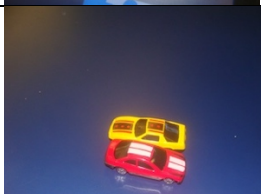**Appendix F: Word Associations Describing Urban Youth**

Category of Association	Specific Words Used to Describe Urban Youth
Danger/Violence	Violent (2), Dangerous (2), Deviant
Race – Black	Black (2), Black Youth, African-American
Minority	Minority
Limited Education	School Dropout, Incapable, Not as Intelligent, Uneducated,
Poverty/Low Socio-Economic Status	Poverty (3), Poor (2), Disadvantaged (2)
Challenge	Challenged (2), Complicated, Deadbeat, Struggling, Lost, Tough
Misunderstood	Misunderstood (3), False Representation
Self-Expression	Dance, Selfie
Strength	Strong, Innovators
Diversity	Diverse

Appendix G: Humanizing Artifacts – Pushing Back Against Stereotypes

	Picture of Artifact	Title of Artifact	Stereotypic or Humanizing Artifact	Explanation
Darcy		Hoodie	Stereotypic artifact and racialized explanation	Black man in hoodie
Jamila		Hoodie	Humanized Explanation	Hoodies are universal - Everyone wears hoodies (all races)
Noah		Headphones	Humanized Explanation	Media saturation is universal
Chloe		Headphones	Humanized Explanation	Music is Universal "We are the same people"
Lyndsey		Candy	Humanized Explanation	Love of candy is universal "all kids love candy"
Matthew	Video of a Black male student giving a science presentation	Video of Student Presentation	Humanized Artifact	Academic focus "I can't speak for them, they must speak for themselves"
Professor		Coke Can	Humanized Artifact	Institutional structures "They are sweet and bubbly, but we shake and confine them"
Melanie		Water Bottle	Humanized Artifact	Institutional structures "Brilliance confined – looks empty on surface, but is brilliance confined and constrained"

Harris		Green Water Bottle	Humanized Artifact	Institutional structures "We restrain them through our lenses we use to view them. Water bottle is green, so water looks green, but water is actually clear"
Aaron	Photo of a Black female student and her artwork	Image of Student's artwork	Humanized Artifact	Academic focus and creativity
Victor		Students in hoodies in front of graffiti	Stereotypic Artifact	Sinister photo and invokes fear
Victor	Photo of Victor and Black male and female students in his class	Students working on a presentation	Humanized Artifact	Academic focus – "He's smart as a whip"
Katie		Book of poems written by students	Humanized Artifact	Uniqueness, Academic focus and creativity – Individual voices
Carrie		Misunderstood	Humanized Artifact	Institutional Structure/Societal Lens "Students get the short straw, misrepresented"
Jacob		Boxer shorts	Stereotypic Artifact - non-racialized explanation	Style of dress/sagging pants- "Urban youth sag pants no matter what race"
Howard		Toys	Humanized Artifact	Innocence and fun