

## *Original Paper*

# Learning While Black: A Qualitative Analysis of the Impact of Race in a U.S. High School

Khalief Dantzer, BSN, RN, Maria Altamirano, BS, RN, Toluwayemi Anomo BA, Esmeralda Carrillo, BS, Marlisa Hall, BS, Kristin Hildreth, BA, Jessica Nwabuzor, BS, Narkie Opong, BA, Hermona Okbu, BS, Maryver Perez, BS, Jocelyn White, BS, Hannah A. Halliwell BS, & Shervin Assari, MD MPH\*

<sup>1</sup> Department of Urban Public Health, Charles Drew University of Medicine and Science, Los Angeles, CA, USA

<sup>2</sup> Department of Family Medicine, Charles Drew University of Medicine and Science, Los Angeles, CA, USA

<sup>3</sup> Marginalization-related Diminished Returns (MDRs) Research Center, Charles Drew University of Medicine and Science, Los Angeles, CA, USA

\* Dept. of Urban Public Health, 1731 E. 120th St. Los Angeles, CA 90059. Phone: (323) 563-4800. Email: shervinassari@cdrewu.edu

### **Funding section**

*Shervin Assari, the corresponding author, is supported by the National Institutes of Health (NIH) grant 5S21MD000103.*

Received: September 13, 2022      Accepted: October 14, 2022      Online Published: October 18, 2022  
doi:10.22158/wjer.v9n5p79      URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.22158/wjer.v9n5p79>

### **Abstract**

*One of the major contributing factors to the Black-White achievement gap is school context. While many factors can affect academic achievement amongst Black youth, school climate and inter-racial relations are among the root causes which impact Black students' development. In this qualitative study, we conducted secondary analysis of existing data consisting of interview transcripts and focus group discussions held in 2013 with 21 Black students who attended a public charter high school in Michigan. Open access data were downloaded from the University of Michigan Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR) database. We analyzed qualitative data for themes and constructs related to school context and such influences on Black youth development. The following three constructs were identified: racial identity of Black youth, the impact of teachers on Black students' racial identity and development, and lastly, exploring the dominant culture of the U.S. education system. For*

researchers, this data highlights a need for more studies on the intersection of race, school environment, and youth development. For administrators and policy makers, the results emphasize the need for investment and engagement in the daily experiences of Black students, reducing racism, and increasing diversity of curriculum. Teachers and school administrators may benefit from specialized training to better address cultural, educational, and developmental needs of Black youth in the context of their role in school.

### **Keywords**

*education, school, students, youth, adolescents, racism, educational gap, racial relations*

## **1. Background**

Adolescence is a critical time for identity development (Pfeifer & Berkman, 2018). For Black youth, racial identity becomes increasingly significant as they begin to assess and react to their lived experiences and understand how race impacts their daily lives and their place in society. Students' experiences in school settings are vital to understanding racial identity among Black youth, as research shows that a positive school climate is associated with higher levels of student achievement (Konold et al., 2018). However, disparate social and educational experiences and outcomes between students from different racial groups highlight the pervasive achievement gap amongst Black students in the U.S. educational system (Hanushek et al., 2019).

The American Psychological Association (APA) states that educational achievement depends on the learning of students and on the organization of schools across racial groups (APA, 2012). In the U.S. public school system, policies, structures, and curriculum overwhelmingly ascribe to a Eurocentric pedagogy (Utt, 2018). Research also shows that elementary and secondary public school teachers tend to be considerably less racially diverse than their students (Schaeffer, 2021), which poses a more significant impact in predominantly Black schools. These structural barriers can contribute to a "white-washing" of history, as well as a lack of cultural congruence, resulting in a diminished sense of belonging, comfort, and security for Black students, all of which can affect learning outcomes (Gray et al., 2018). Further, embedded racial inequities found within the dominant, white-centered educational system, provide fewer resources for Black students, which exacerbate barriers for academic achievement (Smalls, 2007). As we explore the link between the education system of this nation and its impact on Black youth and their developing identity, the aim of this study is to highlight the effect of academic and social experiences of Black students which result in disparate outcomes for academic achievement within the school system.

## **2. Methods**

This qualitative analysis examined existing data obtained during the Spring of 2013, from a predominately Black Charter high school in urban Michigan. The original study aimed to explore ethnic-racial socialization practices from the perspective of Black students (Byrd & Hope, 2020). The data was downloaded from the University of Michigan Inter-University Consortium for Political and

Social Research (ICPSR) database (Byrd & Hope, 2020).

The charter school served approximately 800 students in grades 7 through 12. The racial composition of the student body was 84% Black and 14% Hispanic; demographics for teachers were 59% White, 28% Black, and 4% Hispanic/ Latino. The administrative staff was 27% White and 64% Black. Twenty-one students participated in several small (2-3 students each) focus groups facilitated by graduate students and a lead researcher, which were subsequently followed up by individual interviews 2-3 weeks later (Byrd & Hope, 2020). Twenty participants identified as Black, and one student identified as multiracial (Black and white). 71% of participants identified as female. Participant recruitment was done via an in-person invitation to all students to discuss “diversity at their school.” Interested students were then contacted via phone to schedule interviews.

In the focus group interviews, students were asked to discuss how they experienced racial relations and race-related experiences in their school (Byrd & Hope, 2020). Participants selected a pseudonym and were scheduled for an individual interview approximately two weeks later. Participants received \$10 for each interview. Ten focus groups and 17 individual interviews were conducted overall.

The focus groups were semi-structured discussions lasting 30 to 50 minutes. Focus group discussions centered on two main questions: (a) “What do you learn about race and culture at school?” and (b) “How do people of different races get along at school?” Follow up interviews lasted 15-30 minutes and allowed students to expand on statements made in focus group interviews. Individual interviews were audio-recorded and then transcribed. The data being analyzed in this study utilized responses from focus groups and individual interviews that sought to understand what it was like being a Black student at the school.

Graduate students from Charles R. Drew University of Medicine and Science, Department of Public Health in Urban Health Disparities analyzed the existing transcripts and explored themes related to the research question. The protocol for this study was deemed exempt from Institutional Review Board review, as it used publicly available, deidentified data.

### **3. Results**

Analysis of these data revealed three main themes: (a) The racial identity of black youth (b) the influence of teachers on the racial identity and development of black students and (c) Dominant/white culture and practices within the U.S. education system.

#### *3.1 Construct 1: Racial Identity of Black Youth*

Based on participant responses, the first emerging theme demonstrated students’ perspective of their own racial identity. Black students discussed their preference for being identified as either ‘Black’ or ‘African American,’ as well as the connotations of the terms. Several students expressed the sentiment that being referred to as African American felt more “cultural.” Students mentioned that being referred to as Black could be applied as an adjective and not necessarily a term that they personally identify with. There also was a mention of the word Black having a negative connotation in pop culture references by students, and

may also refer to darkness, death, decay, and evil deeds.

*“When you think about Black, you think black, like...hmm the color of your recorder is black. And we’re not black, we’re brown. So, African American. It’s culture.”* (Amber).

*“Black, it’s—that’s—it’s not racist but it’s like it comes off the wrong way. Like, if somebody asked, like, what race is you? Black. African American sound...better.”* (Tee).

Several students also shared reflections on personal experiences that have affected their view of their Black identity. As one student describes, the media has consistently perpetuated negative stereotypes and imagery of Black individuals, further reinforcing anti-Black sentiment. These comments were expressed as negative stereotypes and imagery promoted within television and media, which corresponds to the negative treatment Black people receive in society.

*“I think that really influences, like a big majority of the reason why they think that’s the way we are. I think that’s—I think that’s a big thing in TVs, movies and shows that are out because how all the Black people acting on TVs and shows like the Bad Girls Club or Love and Hip Hop. I watch that show, personally I think it’s very funny. But um, that’s a stereotype because of how they’re acting and stuff.”* (Olivia).

Students also mentioned that they do not like to hear negative things said about their race as this can be harmful and may impact their self-esteem, self-efficacy, and confidence.

*From what I hear that people say about my race, it’s ... I won’t even say a tad bit. It can be pretty disrespectful and I’m a person that ... My personality is just a type of personality that takes the nice amount of stuff to heart. So I could say some of the stuff that they say about African Americans are...pretty disrespectful and shouldn’t be said.* (Jamie).

However, despite some students’ negative experiences, several students described a positive appreciation, sense of pride, and confidence in their skin as a Black individual.

*“I love being Black.”* (Jessica)

Overall, students expressed positive and negative views about their Black identity which is likely influenced by their firsthand experiences among those who identify as the same race as them or what is portrayed on social media and television.

### 3.2 Construct 2: The Impact of Teachers on Black students’ Racial Identity and Development

The impact of teachers on Black students’ racial identity and development was a reoccurring theme in this study. Teachers encounter and interact with youth daily throughout the students’ educational journey, making them vital to the emergence of Black students racial identity and development. Black students felt that teachers who showed interest in them and those who were perceived to have more life experience and a diverse mindset had a more profound and positive impact on their educational and personal development. Student perceptions of their teachers’ investment in them increased the students’ positive feelings about their racial identity.

*“She’s—she’s a African American woman. And...but she’s—she’s traveled. She’s well-traveled. Most of the teachers are, that’s something they do great here. They’re all well-traveled and they tell us about their*

*experience in different countries. And, it's just—it's really enriching to know...just it's enriching to know that the people instructing you aren't just like from college, from point A to point B. They've traveled and they've seen... And they don't treat us differently, you know.”* (Jessie)

*“They say things like, I mean, maybe they'll be like, find that special teacher that helps you get through school and keep you out of trouble, keep you from getting suspended or expelled, or find a sport that you really enjoy and get really involved in it.”* (Jamie).

Students described having a supportive adult figure as a guide in their education had a positive impact. However, students also referenced examples of teachers who were not supportive or encouraging, or whose behavior was not conducive to learning.

*“He will keep referring you back to your notes and if you keep asking him he will ask you were you paying attention when I was teaching you? Yes, I was paying attention...that does not mean that I understood what you were saying.”* (Temperance)

Students expressed that teachers who made racist remarks or held racist opinions negatively affected them, leading to disengagement and feelings that teachers don't care or believe in them.

*But then sometimes even teachers say racist things where it's like, “Black people are so ghetto and so disrespectful!”* (Jamie).

Students also mentioned, although teachers can have a positive impact on them, not all teachers are able to connect effectively and authentically, regardless of intent.

*“How can you look at a teacher as a role model when you don't really know much about them. All you know them as a teacher. You don't really know how they feel about your race.”* (Shantae).

*“And he looks at us, and he has said some things that I kinda took to heart like [imitating the teacher] “all you guys gonna fail, you gonna come right back to my class—to my class next year” that's supposed to mean most of you are failing. And just side [slight?] comments I be hearing and I just think about like “what's—what's that supposed to mean?” but I don't—I just ignored because it don't mean anything.”* (Temperance).

Overall, teachers are important authority figures who have an influence on Black students' racial identity and development through adolescence and young adulthood. Black students' internalization of harmful and detrimental treatment from teachers can cause irreparable and devastating consequences for their learning, socialization, and self-identity.

### *3.3 Construct 3: Dominant/White Culture and Practices within the U.S. Education System*

When students reflected upon their lived experience within the dominant culture-led curriculum, many describe a complete absence of any appreciation of Black history throughout the curriculum or school cultural celebrations, including during Black History month, even though the high school was 84% Black. When participants were asked what was taught about Black people in history class, several students could only remember learning about slavery.

*“Nobody wants to teach [Black history] to [Black students] because they figure well, y'all Black, y'all should already know it.”* (Shontae)

*Q: "So the most you have learned about black people is slavery?" A: "Yeah." (Mocha)*

Black students believed their culture should be celebrated equally in order to feel seen and appreciated. *"Well, they don't talk about race much, and I do agree with the fact that it is kind of disrespectful that we get to celebrate Cinco de Mayo but can't celebrate black history. If we could celebrate Cinco de Mayo, why not celebrate both? I mean, yeah, it's different races in this school in particular, but...I think they should make it fair for everybody."* (Jamie)

There was also an expressed concern about the lack of diversity of teachers and the resulting cultural disconnect, which supports the need for diversifying the teacher workforce as a priority. Students mentioned they are also not able to relate or connect with teachers who do not look like them, hindering their full potential as students and diminishing their confidence as a Black student learning in the U.S. educational system.

*"I wish we had more diversity amongst the teachers. Because when we do talk about race and stuff, I think that they think that they owe us some kind of explanation or something. Or they feel like they should prove to us that they're not racist or something like that. If we have a black teacher, they can just tell us straight up, you know, like this is what our people went through, and this is why it was wrong. This is why these people did it, like...you know, I do appreciate having the white teachers, though, because...they can give us, uh...their side of the story/ point of view."* (Amber/ Jesse).

It was evident in the transcripts that Black students recognized the absence of Black history being taught and prioritized at their school, likely hindering the development of their identity as individuals.

#### **4. Discussion**

This study aimed to explore the effect of Black student's social and academic experiences in connection to academic achievement within the school system. Qualitative analysis of student interviews revealed three main themes including (a) Racial identity of Black youth, (b) Impact of teachers on Black students' racial identity, and (c) Dominant white culture and practices within the U.S. Education System. These three themes comprise elements of experience for Black youth reflective of the impact of a heavily racialized society on Black youth potential. Additionally, they articulate opportunities for advancement in addressing disparate outcomes in academic achievement for Black students.

Black high school students in this study identified **racial identity** as a key factor in their school experience. Both positive and negative orientations to a racial identity were heavily influenced by personal circumstances or interactions such as television and/or other media outlets. Student experiences of their identity are shaped by constant pervasive interactions and messaging (Adams et al., 2012). Findings of this study support the claim that shifts in media portrayal of Black people has the ability to impact students' perception and attitudes toward their own identity (Adams-Bass et al., 2014). This can be perpetuated in the classroom if students and peers internalize negative beliefs (McArthur, 2019). Understanding that these adolescents already have a strong preference for being referred to as Black or African American, it would be interesting to look further into ethnic identity and how that may further

influence the preference. This would also help with understanding how it may shape their development through the life stages of secondary, post-secondary education, and in the greater society.

Social and developmental psychologists of Black youth, including Sellers (1998), Seaton (2008), and other colleagues underscore that racial identity is critical to the development and well-being of Black youth. Racial identity has been shown to moderate the relationship between perceptions of discrimination and psychological well-being among African American youth (Seaton et al., 2008). Seller's work on the multidimensional model of racial identity defines it as that part of a person's self-concept that is related to an individual's membership within a race (Sellers, 1998). Schools can play a significant role in the formation of racial identity linked to adjustment, e.g., self-segregation, and exposure to diversity can lead to increases in relevance of racial identity in early to middle adolescent years (Uma ña-Taylor et al., 2014).

An application of this framework is the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity which has four dimensions of identity; these include salience, centrality, regard, and ideology which are relevant to many of the students' interviews (Sellers, 1998). Salience refers to an individual's belief as a self-concept for how they think or perceive their race based on certain situations (Sellers, 1998). Black parents educating their children on Black history is impactful and can fill the gap left by the educational system. This knowledge influences their views on their race, which may shape how youth may perceive their own racial identity. Centrality refers to individuals emphasizing racial group membership as part of their own overall self-concept (Sellers, 1998). This is represented by students who feel their Black identity is what makes them who they are. Black youth, especially girls, with high racial centrality levels, consider race to be especially important to their overall self-concept (Seaton et al, 2018). Examining whether private regard mediates racial centrality and public regard affects the academic performance of Black youth, results support the idea that Black youth with a stronger sense of centrality and Blackness to their overall self-concept were more likely to have a positive sense of Black identity (Kyeré, 2021). Regard refers to how an individual feels, either positively or negatively about African American group membership in both a private and public view (Sellers, 1998). Regard can also be connected to internalized racism, allowing members of a racial group to have negative attitudes towards their own racial group due to social norms or experiences among individuals that share their same racial identity (Willis, 2021). This experience was discussed in the interviews and supported the results reported by the students. Lastly, ideology refers to the philosophy behind how African Americans should act (Sellers, 1998). As race is socially constructed, ideology may be heavily influenced by television shows, the media and other perspectives observed about their own, and other racial identities (Bristor, 1995). For example, one study tracked where students were placed in terms of honors and non-honors courses and it was believed that most Black students were withheld from honors classes because of their race and abilities, while those Black students who were in honors had a stronger sense of identity and were viewed as being a better student and more positive representation of the Black identity (Legette, 2017).

Our second construct maps into the work done around the role of teachers as a major element of

socialization in the U.S. educational system. Analysis of these student interviews revealed that teachers are crucial in the educational, behavioral, social, and emotional development of school-aged children and adolescents. A teacher's influence can have a lasting impact on students and their experiences, both positively and negatively, and can follow them throughout their educational career (Graham et al., 2016). The nature of student-teacher relationships is implicative of students' attitudes toward school and teachers (Huan et al., 2012). Thus, when teachers take notice of a student's talents and abilities, this results in a positive impact on their self-esteem. Alternately, when students experience a lack of connection with their teacher, this contributes to a less than optimal learning environment (Hughes, 2001). Black students at the urban Michigan high school discussed a need for teachers who not only understood their experiences, but also addressed issues within the classroom and provided context for the social and racial climate in their community and across the country.

Teachers can significantly impact an adolescent's experience throughout their educational career, and beyond. Supportive relationships may positively influence psychological models, increasing students' performance, motivation, and social-well-being factors, to name a few. Studies show that elementary school-aged children make judgments about their classmates based on perceptions of how peers' interactions are received and responded to by the teacher, which has implications for peer acceptance and rejection (Fredriksen & Rhodes, 2004).

Teacher support may also create and provide a positive psychological environment for older students. Students who attended middle schools that deliberately sought to enhance teacher-student relationships tend to have fewer adjustment difficulties during the transition to high school. Perceptions of teacher support predicted changes in both self-esteem and depression among middle school students, such that students who recognize they have increasing teacher support showed a decrease in depressive symptoms and increased self-esteem, while the opposite was true for students who did not receive the support of their teachers. One of the students, Jamie, describes an appreciation for her teacher, Ms. McCall, because she introduces her and her peers to diverse cultures through dance, pushing her students to have range and versatility. This example underscores the role of teachers within the school system who can and do make a difference. If settings are created that facilitate and increase educators and staff caring potential, while maintaining the dynamic of academic rigor (Fredriksen & Rhodes, 2004), we will see increased rates of positive teacher-student relationships.

Our third construct is in line with work done in the areas of education psychology, which has identified racist practices and policies within the U.S. educational system, mirroring those identified in the labor market, housing, banking, and correctional system. Student comments about what is being taught in the classroom illustrate the racist practices perpetuated in the U.S. educational system. The effects of racism in the education system are exceedingly detrimental to the development of Black youth, with the compounded negative impact leading to lifelong consequences. Until recently, Western curricula has been dominated by Eurocentric ideals (DaCunha, 2016). The term 'multicultural education' has only begun to be discussed and frequently debated in the United States over the last two decades. Concepts



such as the critical race theory and books encompassing themes of race, religion, and sexual orientation are being banned from K-12 curricula at an alarming rate. “The monopoly and proliferation of dominant White European canons does comprise much of our existing curriculum; consequently, this does impact aspects of engagement, inclusivity and belonging particularly for Black, Asian, and Minority Ethnic (BAME) learners” (Arday et al., 2020). When race is discussed, white teachers may feel they owe an explanation for their ancestors’ actions, which might be one explanation for why Black history is continuously left out of curriculum (Howard, 2016). The outcome of white dominance in the U.S. educational curriculum was evident in several interviews that were conducted with Black high school students in the study we examined.

Rosa and Orey (2010) explore the ideas of culturally relevant pedagogy as a mechanism for effective teaching and learning. The authors illustrated culturally relevant pedagogy as a means to “develop students’ intellectual, social, emotional, and political learning by using their own cultural referents to impart their knowledge, skills, and attitudes” (Rosa & Orey, 2010). The customary practice of highlighting the hegemonic societal culture within the educational system has created an ineffective academic environment where students are unable to relate to the topics studied, and therefore “lose interest.” Freire (1993) originally coined the term culturally relevant pedagogy and stated that “one cannot expect positive results from an educational or political action program which fails to respect the view of the world held by the people. Such a program constitutes cultural invasion, good intentions notwithstanding.”

In a study reinforcing diversity ideals, Hurtado et al. (1998) found significant psychological and behavioral implications of cross-racial interaction on campus (Hurtado et al., 1998). They described such interactions as positive for participants when coupled with cooperative activities to create a learning environment where students can learn from one another (Sellers, 1998). To improve campus climate, they proposed two important considerations for the success of diversity efforts, including (a) “How diverse does the campus look in its representation of diverse cultural groups?” and (b) “To what extent do campus operations demonstrate that racial and ethnic diversity is an essential value?” (Hurtado et al., 1998). The application of these efforts by faculty, staff, and administrators will support, prioritize, and ensure success of their efforts of racial diversity. For the high school population we studied, comprised of 84% Black students, culturally relevant pedagogy emphasizes the obligation of leaders to create an environment promoting racial diversity as a means for enhanced learning.

#### *4.1 Limitations*

As stated previously, the study was conducted in an undisclosed urban charter high school in Michigan which served predominately Black students. We understand that there were several limitations to the study. First, the sample size was small, just 21 students were interviewed. This may limit the generalizability of the analysis. We must also consider whether students would have similar responses if the school were in other cities across the state of Michigan, with different demographic and/or socioeconomic makeup, in urban versus rural settings, as well as in various parts of the country. In

addition, these students attended a charter school: would there be noticeable differences in student responses based on the type of school: public, private, or independent? In summary, the current data limited our ability to assess whether the location plays a critical role in students' perception and experience in the education system. Additionally, only Black students were interviewed; would interviewing students from other racial groups provide additional information, context, and comparison? Lastly, we would also like to consider a mixed method approach such as a follow-up survey that targeted students, parents, and teachers, which may have given us more comprehensive and longitudinal data to analyze the impact on student academic achievement, experience, and long-term outcomes. Thus, given these limitations to this study, we ask for caution when interpreting this study.

#### *4.2 Implications*

This paper includes topics that require further discussion and research, as well as review and revision of existing policies through targeted action. Analyzing the interviews resulted in a better understanding as to how the connection of various aspects that shape one's self-identity and perception can impact their educational career and trajectory for success beyond high school. Racial identification was attributed to setting the foundation of examining how different and difficult navigating school life is for Black students. Academic settings where teachers are viewed as influential and instrumental in the lives of Black students can be further examined to add context to Black students' engagement, acquisition of knowledge, and their social experiences during such a critical period of development. Specifically, cultivating more diversity within school teaching staff and administration is essential and paramount to students feeling confident and safe while learning.

Further research is needed to analyze the intersection of racial identity, school climate, and lived experiences among Black students to strengthen the understanding of these themes and how they engage in overall identity development. Finally, on a policy level, we posit that there is a dire need for the U.S. educational system to acknowledge its errors and failures, and indeed, shift the paradigm through an overhaul of curricula, and supporting advocacy for diversity, equity, and inclusivity within its institutions, in order to champion its most marginalized students' success.

### **5. Conclusion**

This paper examines the associations between racial identity and school climate, and the implications of these factors on Black students' perception of their educational experiences, through the review and secondary analysis of transcribed interviews of Black students from a high school in Michigan. Students expressed that the sense of exclusivity within the societal culture in school settings negatively impacted their high school experience due to inability to relate and connect with their studies. This paper also recounted lived experiences of what it is like to be a Black high school student living in Michigan, including their own insights on what being Black means to them. This study identified, explored, and sought to provide context for several themes that were most prominent from the transcripts. Findings revealed that racial identity was considered a key facet of an individual's perception of who they truly are.

It was concluded that teachers are influential, and can impact the educational, social, psychological, and emotional development of young Black students, both positively and negatively. Consequently, the authors assert that the U.S. educational system clearly reflects significant gaps in the school experiences, outcomes, and potential of Black students. This is supported through our review and secondary analysis of this qualitative study, as well as additional literature review on the subject. Addressing the identified gaps in the U.S. educational system, which continue to profoundly impact Black youth must be prioritized to achieve and improve academic and social outcomes and opportunities for success in today's world.

## References

- Adams, V. N., & Stevenson Jr, H. C. (2012). Media socialization, Black media images and Black adolescent identity. In *Racial stereotyping and child development* (Vol. 25, pp. 28-46). Karger Publishers.
- Adams-Bass, V. N., Stevenson, H. C., & Kotzin, D. S. (2014). Measuring the Meaning of Black Media Stereotypes and Their Relationship to the Racial Identity, Black History Knowledge, and Racial Socialization of African American Youth. *Journal of Black Studies*, 45(5), 367-395. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0021934714530396>
- American Psychological Association. (n.d.). *Ethnic and racial disparities in education*. American Psychological Association. Retrieved from <https://www.apa.org/ed/resources/racial-disparities>
- Arday, J., Zoe Belluigi, D., & Thomas, D. (2020). Attempting to break the chain: reimagining inclusive pedagogy and decolonising the curriculum within the academy. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 53(3), 1-16. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00131857.2020.1773257>
- Bristor, J. M., Lee, R. G., & Hunt, M. R. (1995). Race and Ideology: African American Images in Television Advertising. *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, 14(1), 48-59. <https://doi.org/10.1177/074391569501400105>
- Byrd, C. M., & Hope, E. C. (2020). Black students' perceptions of school ethnic-racial socialization practices in a predominantly black school. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 35(6), 728-753, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0743558419897386>
- DaCunha, J. C. M. (2016). Disrupting Eurocentric Education through a Social Justice Curriculum. Retrieved from [https://commons.clarku.edu/idce\\_masters\\_papers/25utm\\_source=commons.clarku.edu%2Fidce\\_masters\\_papers%2F25&utm\\_medium=PDF&utm\\_campaign=PDFCoverPages](https://commons.clarku.edu/idce_masters_papers/25utm_source=commons.clarku.edu%2Fidce_masters_papers%2F25&utm_medium=PDF&utm_campaign=PDFCoverPages)
- Fredriksen, K., & Rhodes, J. (2004). The role of teacher relationships in the lives of students. *New Directions for Youth Development*, 2004(103), 4554. <https://doi.org/10.1002/yd.90>
- Freire, P., Ramos, M. B., & Macedo, D. (1993). Pedagogy of the oppressed. *The Continuum International Publishing Group Ltd.*
- Graham, A., Powell, M., (n.d.). Truscott, J. Facilitating student well-being: Relationships do matter.

- Educational Research*, 58(4), 366-383. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00131881.2016.1228841>
- Gray, D. L., Hope, E. C., & Matthews, J. S. (2018). Black and belonging at school: A case for interpersonal, instructional, and institutional opportunity structures. *Educational Psychologist*, 53(2), 97-113.
- Hanushek, E. A., Peterson, P. E., Talpey, L. M., & Woessmann, L. (2019). The achievement gap fails to close. *Education Next*, 19(3), 8-17.
- Howard, G. R. (2016). *We can't teach what we don't know: White teachers, multiracial schools*. Teachers College Press.
- Huan, V., Choon Lang Quek, G., See Yeo, L., Ang, R., Har Chong, W. (2012) How teacher-student relationship influenced student attitude towards teachers and school. *The Asia-Pacific Education Researcher*, 21(1), 151-159. Retrieved from <https://repository.nie.edu.sg/bitstream/10497/14285/1/TAPER-21-1-151.pdf>
- Huang, C. Y., & Stormshak, E. A. (2011). A longitudinal examination of early adolescence ethnic identity trajectories. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 17(3), 261-270. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0023882>
- Hughes, J., Cavell, T., & Wilson. V. (2001). Further support for the developmental significance of the quality of the teacher-student relationship. *Journal of School Psychology*, 39(4), 289-301. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0022-4405\(01\)00074-7](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0022-4405(01)00074-7)
- Hurtado, S., Milem, J. F., Clayton-Pedersen, A. R., & Allen, W. R. (1998). Enhancing campus climates for racial/ethnic diversity: Educational Policy and Practice. *The Review of Higher Education*, 21(3), 279-302. <https://doi.org/10.1353/rhe.1998.0003>
- Jason, A., Dina, Z. B., & Dave, T. (2021). Attempting to break the chain: Reimagining inclusive pedagogy and decolonizing the curriculum within the academy. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 53(3), 298-313, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00131857.2020.1773257>
- Konold, T., Cornell, D., Jia, Y., & Malone, M. (2018). School Climate, Student Engagement, and Academic Achievement: A Latent Variable, Multilevel Multi-Informant Examination. *American Education Research Association (AERA) Open*, 4(4), 2332858418815661. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2332858418815661>
- Kyere, E. (2021). Fostering higher academic performance in African American youth through enhanced self-efficacy: The importance of integrated racial-ethnic identity. *Journal of Higher Education Theory and Practice*, 21(7). <https://doi.org/10.33423/jhetp.v21i7.4483>
- Legette, K. (2017). School Tracking and youth self-perceptions: Implications for academic and racial identity. *Child Development*, 89(4), 1311-1327. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.12748>
- McArthur, S. A. (2019). Centering Student Identities in Critical Media Literacy Instruction. *Journal of Adolescent & Adult Literacy*, 62(6), 686-689. <https://doi.org/10.1002/JAAL.951>
- Pfeifer, J. H., & Berkman, E. T. (2018). The Development of Self and Identity in Adolescence: Neural Evidence and Implications for a Value-Based Choice Perspective on Motivated Behavior. *Child*

- Development Perspectives*, 12(3), 158-164. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cdep.12279>
- Rosa, M., & Orey, D. C. (2010). Culturally Relevant Pedagogy: An Ethnomathematical Approach. *Horizontes*, 28(1). Retrieved from [http://lyceumononline.usf.edu.br/webp/portalUSF/itatiba/mestrado/educacao/uploadAddress/Revista%20Horizontes%20-%20volume%2028%20n%C2%BA%201\[16708\].pdf#page=19](http://lyceumononline.usf.edu.br/webp/portalUSF/itatiba/mestrado/educacao/uploadAddress/Revista%20Horizontes%20-%20volume%2028%20n%C2%BA%201[16708].pdf#page=19)
- Schaeffer, K. (2021). *America's public school teachers are far less racially and ethnically diverse than their students*. Pew Research Center. Retrieved from <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2021/12/10/americas-public-school-teachers-are-far-less- racially-and-ethnically-diverse-than-their->
- Seaton, E. K., Caldwell, C. H., Sellers, R. M., & Jackson, J. S. (2008). The prevalence of perceived discrimination among African American and Caribbean Black youth. *Dev Psychol*, 44(5), 1288-97. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0012747>
- Seaton, E. K., & Carter, R. (2018). Pubertal timing, racial identity, neighborhood, and school context among Black adolescent females. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 24(1), 40-50, <https://doi.org/10.1037/cdp0000162>
- Seaton, E. K., & Iida, M. (2019). Racial discrimination and racial identity: Daily moderation among Black Youth. *American Psychologist*, 74(1), 117-12. <https://doi.org/10.1037/amp0000367>
- Sellers, R. M., Smith, M. A., Shelton, J. N., Rowley, S. A. J., & Chavous, T. M. (1998). Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity: A reconceptualization of African American racial identity. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 2(1), 18-39. [https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327957pspr0201\\_2](https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327957pspr0201_2)
- Smalls, C., White, R., Chavous, T., & Sellers, R. (2007). Racial ideological beliefs and racial discrimination experiences as predictors of academic engagement among African American adolescents. *Journal of Black Psychology*, 33, 299-330. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0095798407302541>
- Umaña-Taylor, A. J., Quintana, S. M., Lee, R. M., Cross, W. E., Rivas-Drake, D., Schwartz, S. J., Syed, M., Yip, T., & Seaton, E. (2014). Ethnic and racial identity during adolescence and into young adulthood: An integrated conceptualization. *Child Development*, 85(1), 21-39. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.1219>
- Utt, J. (2018). A case for decentering Whiteness in education: How Eurocentric social studies curriculum acts as a form of white/western studies. *Ethnic Studies Review*, 41(1-2), 19-34.
- Willis, H. A., Sosoo, E. E., Bernard, D. L., Neal, A., & Neblett, E. W. (2021). The associations between internalized racism, racial identity, and psychological distress. *Emerging Adulthood*, 9(4), 384-400. <https://doi.org/10.1177/21676968211005598>