Using a Sankofa Intervention to Influence Black Girls' Racial Identity Development and School-related Experiences

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BOSTON COLLEGE
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USING A SANKOFA INTERVENTION TO INFLUENCE BLACK GIRLS' RACIAL
IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT AND SCHOOL-RELATED EXPERIENCES

Dissertation
By

MARYAM M. JERNIGAN

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School-Related Experiences

by

Maryam M. Jernigan

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Abstract

Theorists contend that Black girls are mistreated in a manner consistent with racial and gender stereotypes, each of which is equally salient and negatively evaluated by society. Yet, very few empirical studies have investigated the question of how the girls are able to understand and integrate the racial and gender aspects of their identity and withstand the multiple forms of negativity (e.g. gender marginalization and racial oppression) to which they are exposed. The present study examined the socialization experiences of a sample of Black girls (N=14) enrolled in the 9th grade in a predominantly White high school setting.

The girls participated in a semi-structured 25-week mentoring intervention intended to provide positive racial and gender socialization experiences. Pre-post interviews investigated the following themes: (a) the girls' perceptions of their experiences, (b) the relationship of these experiences to the girls' racial identity, and (c) the impact of the school-based intervention on Black girls' racial identity, self-concepts, and perceptions of their academic experiences.

Participants completed self-report measures that assessed their racial identity, identification with school, and school-related experiences prior to and following the intervention, and a subgroup were interviewed before and after the intervention. "Regular" attendees (RA) were those who attended nearly all of the sessions, whereas "Non-regular" attendees (NRA) did not. Quantitative findings indicated that both RA and NRA participants reported an increase in positive perceptions of teachers. RAs also increased their level of school engagement and belief that their school experiences would have an impact on their future success, whereas NRAs did not. RAs' levels of Immersion racial identity (Black oriented) increased, whereas NRAs' Conformity (White oriented) increased. Qualitative findings suggested that participants who attended the intervention regularly developed a more sophisticated understanding of the ways that racial dynamics impacted their perceptions of school experiences. Methodological limitations, theoretical considerations, implications for future research and the development of race-gender focused educational interventions, and practice, are discussed.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Tables

List of Figures

Acknowledgements

As I approached the end of this process, I know that I never would have made it without HIM. To God goes the Glory for walking beside me and carrying me during the times that I could not walk.

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To my loving parents, Donald and Brenda Jernigan, who were the first to teach me about what it means to be a person of Color in this society; I am because We are. When I came home and told you that another child in my class called me a racial slur, you were the first to hug me and tell me that you were sorry. You also told me that it would not be the last time that it happened. For that I thank you. I wish for every child of Color, parents like you who were dedicated and invested in ensuring I know my cultural legacy and walk with pride because of it. You have supported me, cheered me on, and always let me know that before the sun rises each day, I am prayed for!

That man over there says that women need to be helped into carriages, and lifted over ditches, and to have the best place everywhere. Nobody ever helps me into carriages, or over mud-puddles, or gives me any best place! And ain't I a woman? Look at me! Look at my arm! I have ploughed and planted, and gathered into barns, and no man could head me! And ain't I a woman? I could work as much and eat as much as a man - when I could get it - and bear the lash as well! And ain't I a woman? I have borne thirteen children, and seen most all sold off to slavery, and when I cried out with my mother's grief, none but Jesus heard me! And ain't I a woman? ...

If the first woman God ever made was strong enough to turn the world upside down all alone, these women together ought to be able to turn it back, and get it right side up again! And now they is asking to do it, the men better let them.

Ain't I a Woman – Sojourner Truth

Chapter 1

Introduction

Black girls are approximately 1.7 million or 17 % of the girls in the United States

between the ages of 15 and 19 years (United States Census Bureau, 2005). They

comprise 8% of the Black population (United States Census Bureau, 2004b). Thus, they

are a small, but sizable proportion of the population in the United States. In a society that

devalues ethnic minorities regardless of gender and traditionally has disenfranchised girls

and women regardless of race, Black adolescent girls, who must contend with societal

biases associated with both their racial and gender classifications, face unique

developmental challenges (Evans-Winters, 2007; Morris, 2007; Ward, 2007). These

challenges often go unnoticed because of (a) the adolescent girls' numerical minority

status relative to other racial and gender groups, (b) an emphasis on their successes and

obliviousness to their challenges in the developmental literature, and (c) researchers and

scholars' tendencies to treat Black girls as analogues of Black boys. As a consequence,

virtually nothing is known about the developmental challenges specific to Black girls and

how they cope with them. Moreover, given the scarcity of empirical literature focused

specifically on the challenges of being a Black girl, it is difficult to develop interventions

for fostering their positive development.

Successes

Most of the girls' reported successes occur as a result of being in educational

institutions. Black girls are 34.1% of all female high school graduates (United States

Census Bureau, 2004a), which is slightly more than White girls (34%), and they represent

18.5 % of the U.S. population that obtains at least a Bachelors degree. Because of the seeming academic success of Black girls and women in education, an emphasis on the "resilience" of Black girls and women has emerged in the psychological literature (Evans-Winters, 2007; Shaffer, Coffino, Boelcke-Stennes & Masten, 2007). In their review of the risk and resilience literature within the developmental contexts of youths of Color, Arrington and Wilson (2000), found a variety of definitions to explain the concept of resilience. The authors state, "More often than not, resilience is viewed simply as adaptation despite risk" (p. 225).

However, Nicolas, Helms, Jernigan, Sass, Skrzypek, and DeSilva (2008) reject the notion of resilience as it pertains to Black youths. The authors challenge the literature that defines Black youths as resilient when they demonstrate academic or personal success. Doing so makes the assumption that the normative cultural context of Black youths is predominantly negative. Based on the Strengths-Based Model for Black Youths that Nicolas et al. present, Black girls and women who graduate from high school, attend college, and go on to have successful careers are not resilient, but rather demonstrate strengths by their ability to "resist the barriers that they encounter in the various environments in which they exist" (p. 1). They argue that educational interventions ought to be developed that provide the girls with knowledge about their ancestral group's racial history and teach them resistance strategies based on that history as a means of coping with the discrimination they encounter in society generally and educational institutions specifically.

Challenges and Barriers

Most of the challenges that Black girls face are identified in contrast to Black boys. Comparing Black boys and girls or Black men and women to determine which group deserves focused attention, makes invisible the unique challenges and realities faced by Black girls and is ultimately misleading (Saunders, Davis, Williams, & Williams, 2004; Ward 2007). As Ward (2007), in her study of the socialization of Black girls writes, "It is not that Black girls are doing so much better, but that Black boys are simply doing much worse. Many of our Black girls are still floundering and struggling to survive" (p. 250).

Although Black girls reportedly achieve educational goals at a disproportionate level when compared to their Black male counterparts, generally speaking, they are not doing so at monumental rates when compared to White boys and girls (Bainbridge, 2002; Horton, 2004; Rollock, 2007; Welch, Patterson, Scott & Pollard, 2007). Yet the greater number of Black girls, relative to Black boys, who achieve academically, is cited as a rationale for eliminating Black girls from research samples and analyses (Taylor & Graham, 2007). However, the comparison of Black girls only to Black boys may contribute to underestimates of the academic and social challenges that Black girls face (Belgrave et al., 2004; Morris, 2007; Rollock, 2007; Shorter-Gooden & Washington, 1996; Ward, 2007).

Despite Black girls' lower high school drop-out rates and higher college completion rates relative to Black boys, Blacks youths collectively continue to experience higher high school drop-out rates and one of the lowest college enrollment rates relative

to their non-Black peers (U.S. Census Bureau, 2004). Moreover, Black youths, *including* girls, face incarceration rates six times higher than those of their peers (Stefurak & Calhoun, 2004). Black girls are becoming the fastest growing segment of the juvenile justice system. In the late 80's to the late 90's, Black girls experienced an 80% increase in juvenile detention (Eller, 2002). This trend has continued into the twenty-first century (National Academy of Sciences, 2000; Stefurak & Calhoun, 2004). The National Counsel on Crime and Delinquency (2007) reported growing numbers of youths of Color in the justice system. Black youths represent 16% of the population of youths, yet they make up 28% of juvenile arrests, 37% of the detained population, and 58% of youths admitted to state adult prisons. Black girls specifically are being referred to juvenile courts and detained in juvenile settings at disproportionately high levels when compared to girls from other racial or ethnic backgrounds, which creates a consistent pattern of overrepresentation (National Counsel on Crime and Delinquency, 2007). Thus, it is essential to identify areas of vulnerability and develop resources and support systems for those Black girls who experience numerous risk factors (e.g., poverty, discrimination) that are predictors of potential negative outcomes (e.g., low achievement, teenage pregnancy) (Shaffer et al., 2007).

Consistent with Nicolas et al.'s (2008) contention, the school environment, particularly predominantly White environments, appear to be inhospitable settings for Black girls and female adolescents, creating areas of vulnerability rather than building resources. Black girls spend approximately 30 hours per week in school (Sturm, 2005), which makes their educational environment a significant socialization influence in their

development equal to that of their parents and family systems (Morris, 2007; Rotheram-Borus, Dopkins, Sabate, & Lightfoot, 1996; Van Galen, 1993). As microcosms of the larger society, Black girls' educational environments may incorporate meanings of race and gender that undoubtedly parallel race and gender attributions at a societal level (Cokely, 2006; Morris, 2007; Saddler, 2005; Tennant, 2006).

The limited research that exists with Black girls as a focus suggests that they are treated in a manner consistent with racial or gender stereotypes. Jernigan (2007) reported that Black girls in predominantly White school settings frequently encountered racism and sexism in their educational environments. These biases were often reflected in a number of negative outcomes including increased referrals by school administrators for negative behavior and precipitous declines in the girls' academic performance, which is congruent with the challenges faced by Black boys.

In a qualitative study of school classrooms, Morris (2007) found that teachers often treated Black girls more negatively than any of their other race or gender counterparts. He found that although Black girls' assertiveness, as evidenced by their outspokenness in classrooms, was an indication of their interest in learning and engagement in school, teachers encouraged such behavior for other students, but negatively evaluated Black girls and labeled them as aggressive when they exhibited such behaviors. As a result, Black girls modified their behavior to conform to the schools' expectations, which encouraged behaviors that were "acceptable' "passive," and "silent," which is consistent with the traditional White female gender-role ideal, and potentially made them invisible (Morris, 2007, p. 511).

In sum, when the literature on Black adolescent girls is considered collectively, it appears that there is very little information about how the girls are able to understand and integrate two aspects of their identity that researchers argue are each equally salient and negatively evaluated (Gilligan, 1993; Shorter-Gooden & Washington, 1996; Spencer, 2005; Ward, 2007). Moreover, virtually none of this literature addresses the issue of how the girls are able to resist barriers and challenges that they may encounter in schools because of their dual denigrated statuses. Thus, more research that examines the various experiences that help to shape the development of racially and ethnically diverse girls is needed. Such research would make it possible to develop educational interventions to assist Black girls that are attuned to their particular socialization experiences and are empirically based.

Mentoring as an Educational Intervention

Based on the existent literature, it appears that the primary theme for an intervention intended to help girls resist barriers and develop personal resources in schools is the integration of the racial and gender aspects of their identities (Britner, Balcazar, Blechman, Blinn-Pike & Larose, 2006). Presumably, this integration should occur in a group context where girls could be role models for each other and ideally Black female group leaders could be socializing agents analogous to mothers or female nurturers in traditional Black communities. The focus on a group or collectivistic context for the intervention is consistent with Rotheram-Borus's (1996) findings that Black girls and boys showed a preference for group-oriented cultural norms.

A race-gender focus is consistent with McCalla (2002) and Thomas's (2004) findings that Black girls prefer to define themselves as both Black and female rather than one or the other. Erkut, Fields, Sing, and Marx (1996) have critiqued traditional feminist research on girls (Gilligan, 1983), asserting that such research attempts to universalize the experiences of White upper and middle-class women and girls to women and girls of all cultural contexts are insufficient. Erkut et al. contend that, for adolescent girls of Color, gender is neither the sole issue of identity negotiation, nor is it the most essential area of development. Race, for example, is a central factor in the identity formation of adolescents of Color (Cauce et al., 1996; Costigan, Cauce, & Etchison, 2007; Helms, 2003; Ward, 2007).

Black women group leaders are consistent with Schultz's (1999) conclusions, based on the narratives of adolescent girls of Color in a secondary school setting, that despite having failing grades or facing other obstacles (e.g., teenage pregnancy), some of the girls who remained in school cited positive role models and mentors as essential to their ability to think about and initiate personal paths toward success. Evans-Winters (2007) found that Black girls preferred the teaching styles of Black female instructors (e.g., direct, caring, and authoritative), styles which might be similar to the ethnic cultural parenting styles they are accustomed to receiving in their ethnic communities. Also, Darling, Bogat, Cavell, Murphy, and Sanchez (2006) argue that formal mentoring should provide "access to relationships that are unavailable in protégés' naturally occurring social networks." For Black girls in predominantly White school settings, the opportunity to have Black women as teachers or administrators is rare as only about 6.5

million teachers or 8.4% are Black (Ellis-Christensen, 2008; National Center for Educational Statistics, 2006).

Purposes of the Present Study

In an effort to build upon previous research that has begun to raise questions about the impact of unparalleled experiences of combined racial oppression and gender marginalization on the development of Black girls, this study focused on the experiences of Black adolescent girls within a high school setting. Black girls in predominantly White academic settings are particularly vulnerable to experiences of racism (Grant, 1984; Mattison & Aber, 2007). Their academic and personal development is at risk because Black girls inevitably contend with negative messages about race and gender and potential barriers to their success place them in jeopardy.

The present study used a pre-post mixed method design to examine the experiences of Black female adolescent students in a predominantly White school setting prior to participation in a semi-structured racial and gender socialization mentoring intervention and after participation in the mentoring. Specifically, the study: (a) delineated the experiences of Black girls in a predominantly White high school environment, (b) examined whether these experiences are related to Black girls' racial identity, and (c) investigated the impact of a school-based intervention, designed to promote positive racial identity development and gender socialization, on Black girls' racial identity, self-concepts, and perceptions of their academic experiences.

The intervention, which served as a protective environment for Black female adolescents in their educational environments, used fundamental principles of mentoring

and models of resistance (Nicolas et al., 2008, Ward, 2007) to facilitate participants'

ability to learn to identify racist and sexist acts, actively acknowledge and verbalize such

experiences, develop strategies to actively respond and resist racism and sexism, and

replace negative experiences with positive self-images, cultural knowledge, and pride.

By explicitly focusing on the experiences of Black girls, it was possible to

identify the barriers that they have to overcome in predominantly White schools and the

resources that they used or needed to develop to overcome identified barriers. To the

extent that the experiences of the participants generalize to other Black girls in similar

settings, then the present study provides information about what types of interventions in

schools can assist in facilitating positive outcomes for Black adolescent girls.

Chapter 2

Review of Literature

The present study examined the reported experiences of Black adolescent girls in a predominantly White school setting. In doing so, I aimed to identify some of the barriers related to race and gender that potentially impede the success of Black adolescent girls in their school environments. Mentoring has been recommended as an educational intervention for reinforcing Black girls' strengths and personal resources (Rhodes, 2002); therefore, the study investigated the question of whether a positive mentoring intervention in a predominantly White school setting enhanced participants' understanding of race, perceptions of their academic process, and engagement in school.

Given that there are no theories of development that pertain specifically to the unique issues of Black girls (Shorter-Gooden & Washington, 1996; Thomas, 2004; Ward, 2007), the extant literature was reviewed with the explicit purpose of identifying factors that are important for the girls' positive psychosocial development. In the review of literature, I examined current theory and research that focuses on the racial *and* gender experiences of Black girls (Evans-Winters, 2007; Morris, 2007; Ward, 2007). Also, I identified psychological constructs that contribute to Black girls' academic triumphs and trials, as well as their strengths and resources.

Racial and Gender Socialization of Black girls

In the United States, Black girls and women occupy a place at the bottom of the social hierarchy (Stevens, 2002). As persons of Color and women, they face what is often referred to as the double jeopardy phenomenon, a socio-political history of both racial and gender subordination that permeates society. For Black girls, most of their

socialization outside the home around their race or gender occurs informally in school environments, and it appears that such experiences may not promote positive identities or self-concepts (Shorter-Gooden & Washington, 1996; Morris, 2007; Rollock, 2007).

School Environment

American school environments parallel societal dynamics in the United States (Cokley, 2006; Cole-Taylor, 2003; Langhout, 2005; Santelises, 2004; Yirenkyi, 2003). These school systems can create environments that alienate students of Color, leading to rudimentary racial identification, disidentification, and subsequent disengagement from school (Osbourne, 1997). Although most of the relevant literature pertains to Black youths without respect to gender, it is useful to speculate about its relevance to Black girls.   Depending on the school environment, students may receive messages regarding their particular racial group, which imply a deficit or strength. Black girls must contend with persistent beliefs about their intellectual inferiority (Cokley, 2006); belief systems which are rooted in assertions of genetic deficiency (Herrnstein & Murray, 1994; Rushton & Jensen, 2005).

A general theme in the socialization literature with respect to Black students is that schools attempt to silence them, but that the students resist such attempts in different ways. In a qualitative study of African American students, Langhout (2005) studied ways in which school environments silence students. Through analysis of personal observations and interview data, she found that teachers used preconceived negative stereotypes about students of Color or poor students to silence them and to make rules about how students should behave (e.g., be silent while walking in a single-file line in the

hallway). Based on her observations, she contends that because the population of Black low-income students was perceived as difficult to manage, the school administration justified an increased attention to behavior and disciplinary actions. Langhout asserts that students were essentially stripped of their individuality and voice, thus making them "invisible." When this happened, participants in her study resisted the attempts of their teachers and school system to define who they were, or should have been, by verbally or emblematically opposing dominant beliefs, allowing them to create their own self-definition. The author encourages the re-evaluation of students' perceived noncompliance in school systems as resistance, which would provide a gateway into understanding the power dynamics within schools.

Irvine (1986) focused on examining teacher-student interactions to determine the significance of race, sex, or grade level on classroom interactions. Irvine suggests that school environments, including teachers, have an influence on the socialization of Black girls. The author found that teachers attended to Black girls less as they progressed through school by providing fewer opportunities for them to participate in classroom discussions and giving significantly less academic feedback to Black girls relative to their peers. This socialization often led to the silencing of Black girls in the academic setting. Lips (1999) reported that Black girls' outspokenness, an indicator of their assertiveness and engagement in the classroom, was often subtly discouraged. Teachers typically ignored Black girls' efforts through their lack of encouragement resulting in the girls forced invisibility in the academic setting (Morris, 2007). Consequently, as reported in a study by the American Association of University Women (1991), Black girls were less

likely than their peers to feel confident about their academic abilities and relationships with school teachers.

More recently, Morris (2007) investigated the experiences of Black girls in school classrooms arguing the need to examine how both race and gender influence the perceptions of Black girls. According to the author, "Race alters the very meaning and impact of gender and gender alters the very meaning and impact of race" (Morris, 2007, p. 492). The author found that Black girls were often treated differently than any of their other race or gender counterparts. Morris notes that Black girls' assertiveness was evidenced by their desires to participate in classroom discussions and their outspoken nature within the school setting. Yet this behavior most often resulted in negative evaluations of Black girls (e.g., being labeled as aggressive). Consequently, Black girls were forced to modify their behavior to reflect the schools' expectations of permissible behavior-- docile passivity and silence.

Perceived School Climate

Collectively, Irvine (1986), Langhout (2005), and Morris's (2007) studies suggest that the girls' perception of the school climate plays a critical role in what resources they develop. Wong et al. (2003) provided evidence regarding the connection between African American adolescents' school experiences and academic outcomes. The authors found an increased likelihood of negative academic and socioemotional outcomes when participants perceived their teachers as lacking respect for them. Although numerous studies (Cabrera, Nora, Terenzini, Pascarella, & Hagedorn 1999; Hurtado & Carter, 1997; Johnson, 2003; Kotori, & Malaney, 2003; Mabokela, 2001; Pewewardy & Bruce, 2004)

have examined the impact of school environments on college students of Color, Mattison and Aber (2007) argue that studies of secondary school climate are minimal. More specifically, the authors state that research examining the racial climate of secondary schools, to determine how students' racial perceptions of the school setting might impact student adjustment and achievement, are even rarer. Mattison and Aber define school racial climate as "those aspects of the broader school climate that reflect how race and perceptions of race matter in schooling" (p. 2). Studies that have examined the impact of the racial climate of the college educational environment on students of Color have reported a direct association between students of Color's perception of the educational setting as racially negative (e.g., biased, discriminatory) and student engagement and academic development (Cabrera et al, 1999; Hurtado & Carter, 1997).

Mattison and Aber (2007) found that Black secondary school students perceived the racial climate of their schools more negatively than their White counterparts. Their negative perception of "racial unfairness" was associated with poorer student outcomes (e.g., higher levels of suspensions or detentions) (p. 9). Additionally, Bainbridge and Lasley II (2002), in an examination of factors that contribute to the academic "achievement gap" between Black students and their White counterparts, reported findings that support a correlation between perceived teacher attitudes and behavior and student achievement. Although the researchers were able to add to the literature regarding the secondary school experiences of students in their school environments, Mattison and Aber (2007) recommended that future researchers investigate how student

perceptions of racial climate in secondary schools might affect academic processes such as school engagement, perceptions of teachers, and sense of frustration.

Academic Outcomes

Most studies that include Black youths (girls and boys) focus on the topics of education and achievement. Researchers continue to investigate gaps in academic achievement between White and Black students by examining demographic and individual variables (e.g., social class, motivation, self-concept, and ability) related to Black youths (Brown & Jones, 2004; Saunders, Davis, Williams & Williams, 2004; Taylor & Graham, 2007; Zand &Thompson, 2005). Studies have shown that although Black youths do not lack educational or career aspirations, they are less likely than their White peers to reach their identified goals (Brown & Jones, 2004; Tyson et al., 2005).

According to national data collected by The Civil Rights Project of Harvard University (2004), Black youths comprise 50% of the national graduating population. Of the total population of Black students who graduate with a diploma, Black females represent 56%. Since 1991, the percentage of Black women who have enrolled and completed college has exceeded that of Black men (Joint Center, 2007). The *Journal of Blacks in Higher Education* (2001) reported that Black women make up 80 percent of honor roll students at some historically black colleges and universities. In addition, Black women are pursuing graduate and professional education more than Black men, resulting in "better job offers and higher incomes for Black women than would be the case for Black men" (p. 33). Though Black girls and women are making significant gains in academic achievement, there are large percentages of them that are not. Focusing

attention solely on Black girls and women, who are graduating high school and attending college, does not provide information regarding how they are able to achieve such success in the face of inevitable and persistent adversity. Further, such a discussion renders the plight of Black girls and women, who are not able to make such gains, virtually non-existent.

Deficit models have suggested that Black youths are not able to connect with school because doing so means having to conform to White ideological standards (Ogbu, 1994). In essence, this rationale suggests that the reason some Black youths are underperforming in schools is because their definition(s) of what it means to be Black does not include notions of academic success. This assertion presumes that Black youths are not socialized to think of education and achievement as priorities, which, of course, is belied by the academic accomplishments of many Black girls and women. Moreover, contrary to this assertion, numerous researchers have found that African American youths report high levels of educational aspirations (Brown, 1997; Evans-Winters, 2007; Tyson, Darity & Castellino, 2005). In addition, history has documented the socialization of Blacks in the United States as having traditionally emphasized education as a priority because it had been previously withheld from this population (Perry, Steele & Hilliard, 2003). Rather than place the sole blame on the motivation and ability of Black youths to succeed, a better question lies in the disconnection between having and articulating high educational and career goals, but not having the actual resources and knowledge to achieve proposed goals.

Academic identification, sometimes referred to as academic engagement or identification with school (Jackson, 2006), is an important factor in academic success; identifying students who disidentify with school and examining a probable rationale for the disidentification is essential for providing resources for students of Color who are academically vulnerable. Steele (1992) introduced the concept of academic disidentification, which Osbourne (1997) defined as "the lack of relationship between academic self-esteem and global self-esteem, with the implication that there has been a relationship in the past." (p. 728). Osbourne (1997) found that both Black male and female students disidentified with school over time, as evidenced by grade level, but Black female students "disidentified to a lesser degree" than male students (p. 733). Nevertheless, the Black girls' decreases in academic identification were also significant.

Osbourne's study is one of few that have investigated academic trends involving Black girls. He urged researchers to further investigate the gender phenomenon in achievement. More specifically, he recommended that researchers attempt to identify the factors that allow Black girls and women to survive and prosper in educational environments that attempt to disenfranchise them and increase attempts to discover the fates of girls and women who are not able to resist educational systems that aide in their oppression and marginalization.

Academic Experiences and Beliefs

As conversations about the reason for the lower achievement of Black youths continue, researchers (Fordham, 1988; Fordham & Ogbu, 1986) have debated the validity of the disengagement hypothesis. Perry et al. (2003) posit that Black youths actually do

learn to identify with education through familial and community socialization. I argue that it is the systems in which Black youths exist that shape their perceptions and facilitate their disengagement from school and lower academic performance (Jernigan, 2007).

In one of few attempts to provide empirical evidence relevant to the disengagement hypothesis, Steele (1997) proposed "stereotype threat" as a plausible explanation for the academic underperformance of Black youths. He defined stereotype threat as the "threat of being viewed through the lens of a negative stereotype, or the fear of doing something that would inadvertently confirm that stereotype" (Perry et al., 2003, p. 111). Aronson and Steele (1995) tested the effects of stereotype threat on standardized test scores of a group of Black college students to determine whether their performance would be poorer when stereotype threat was aroused than when it was not.

Aronson and Steele (1995) found that Black students performed at a level significantly lower than their White counterparts when they were told that the test was an assessment of their intellectual ability, but not when they were told it was a test of their creativity. Based on their initial findings that indicated that stereotype threat seemed to facilitate the disidentification of persons in areas where they might experience stereotype threat (e.g., academic contexts), Steele has continued to explore this concept and how its impact can be reversed (Perry et al., 2003). He asserts that the many cues in a setting that can evoke a sense of threat can be neutralized by remedial interventions that discount the relevance of threat for the

target population (e.g., Black girls). Steele calls the process of neutralizing threat "identity safety" (Perry et al., 2003, p.125).

Steele proposes identity safety as a mechanism for minimizing the impact of the systemic discrimination that leads to Black students' cultural mistrust, academic disidentification, and underachievement. He recommends that interventions that foster identity safety occur at many levels in an educational setting, including individual socialization experiences and responses to them. For Black girls, their identity safety may lie in developing interventions that weaken their sense of stereotype threat, specifically in academic settings. Such interventions would allow them a degree of racial trust, which according to Steele should enhance their academic success more "than a few ticks on a standardized test" (Perry et al., 2003, p. 130).

<center>Racial Identity Socialization and School Climate</center>

It is important to examine the individual and racial socialization experiences of Black girls to determine the barriers they perceive and identify the appropriate interventions for helping them resist the barriers (Brown & Jones, 2004; Cokely, 2006; Spencer, 2005; Tyson et al., 2005). According to Smalls White, Chavous, and Sellers (2007) congruence between students' racial identity attitudes and contextual factors, such as teacher expectations for Black girls and school racial climates with respect to them, have implications for African American adolescents' school achievement. Smalls et al. (2007) found that students of Color who reported more experiences of racial

discrimination also reported negative school behaviors and oppositional academic identity scores.

Clearly, Black youths' negative experiences within school, as well as those they must contend with as racial minorities in society, have a profound impact on their ability to overcome barriers to their success. Neblett et al. (2006) found that Black adolescents' reported experiences with discrimination were negatively related to academic factors such as curiosity and persistence, as well as academic performance. The authors reported that Black adolescents, who reported experiences of racial discrimination, increased the likelihood of engaging in problem behaviors and becoming involved with peers identified as having more negative than positive qualities.

Racial Identity

Black girls' racial identity development might be affected by the manner in which they are treated in schools. Individual girls might bring with them attitudes that allow them to resist discriminatory influences in school environments, but it is also possible that such attitudes might have to be fostered via educational interventions focused specifically on race and racism as themes. Although many theories of racial identity development exist, Helms' (1984, 1990, 2007) adaptation of Cross's (1971) original stage theory has been most frequently used to speculate about the interplay between Black students' identities and the dynamics of school environments. Her theory proposes interrelated information processing strategies (i.e., ego statuses) rather than mutually exclusive stages, although it is useful to discuss her ego statuses as if they are discrete.

For Persons of Color (e.g. Blacks, Asians, Pacific Islanders, American Indians, and Latinos), racial identity development theory proposes that traditionally racially marginalized individuals process and work through attitudes and beliefs of internalized racism and develop an active awareness of racism and oppression. In doing so, Persons of Color are able to identify and find coping strategies to resist racism in its many forms (e.g., individual and systemic) and commit to an elimination of oppression through deliberate on-going self-examination and lived experiences (Helms, 1995; Thompson & Carter, 1997). Helms' People of Color model (1995) describes different ego statuses, that reflect attitudes, beliefs, and information processing strategies an individual may utilize to make sense of racial stimuli. The model includes the Conformity, Dissonance, Immersion-Resistance, and Internalization statuses.

Conformity is characterized by the individual's desire not to be defined by racial terminology (e.g., Black), but rather to be defined by means of general terms, such as "human being." Though the individual who is using a Conformity status attempts to assimilate into society by utilizing a "color-blind" lens, this individual is aware of racial disparity, but believes such instances exist and can be rectified if People of Color work harder to make gains. Internalized racism is typical of the individual who primarily uses Conformity strategies to cope with racial dynamics. For Black girls, Conformity might be characterized by self-hatred or own-group denigration as expressed through pro-White/anti-Black attitudes. Thus, a Black girl who has internalized Conformity might believe that Black students do not perform well in school or on standardized assessments because they are intellectually inferior to their White counterparts.

Dissonance represents the person's unwilling capacity to question his/her previous belief systems. Self-questioning can sometimes be brought on by a blatant experience of racism, which shatters the individual's previous belief system. One's old manner of coping is overpowered by this encounter(s) with reality. As such, Dissonance is expressed through feelings of anxiety and confusion. Black girls for whom this status is dominant might come to the realization that, despite their attempts to assimilate to White cultural standards, society perceives Persons of Color as inferior because of their perceived race. In an effort to calm anxiety and confusion the Dissonance experience may lead Black girls to accept their racial identification as a Person of Color, allowing them to access information-processing strategies from the Immersion-Resistance status.

When a person is using Immersion-Resistance to cope with racial dynamics, she immerses herself into things that she feels represent her newly accepted racial classification in an effort to redefine what it means to be from her particular racial group. For example, Black girls in predominantly White school settings, often report a transition from having friends from racial backgrounds different from their own to solely welcoming close friendships with their peers of their own racial classification, particularly as they enter adolescence (Jernigan, 2007). In doing so, they report a sense of connection, through shared racial experiences in their schools, that provide a feeling of comfort. The person, for whom the Immersion-Resistance ego status is dominant, becomes seemingly hostile toward the majority (e.g., White) culture while developing a positive attitude about his or her identified racial group.

As a result of the attempt to strengthen own-group identity and overcome internalized societal stereotypes, the Immersion-Resistance status can encompass periods of vacillating anger and experimentation with racial definition (e.g. what is and is not Black) in an attempt to create a new self-defined racial group identity. A person, for whom the Immersion-Resistance status is dominant, may use rigid and stereotypical examples of racial groups to determine and create a new identity.

The Resistance experience is an effort to regain control of one's self-definition and function from more self-enhancing developmental state. Langhout's (2005) study of Black youths in an academic setting provides several examples of Black students' attempts to resist oppression in their school environments through their direct opposition to it (e.g., disruptive behavior leading to removal from the classroom) or creative expression (e.g., drawings or poems) about their school experiences. Resistance incorporates learning about the strengths and weaknesses of one's culture and developing an awareness of what it means to be from a particular racial group.

As the potential for resisting racism socialization changes, the Internalization status manifests as the individual's ability to be more internally secure and more appreciative of all ethnic groups. The ability to shift between resisting and actualizing perspectives occurs as one gains a sense of racial pride and communalism (Cross, 1995; Helms, 1995). Internalization requires the individual to have the ability to remain aware of racial inequity, as well as other forms of oppression that impact all humans. As a result, Internalization is represented by an ability to recognize the strengths and weaknesses of all racial groups, including Whites. Subsequently, meaningful

relationships with persons from all racial groups are established with the goal of an engagement and commitment to eradicate social and political manifestations of racism and oppression.

The ability to operate from the Internalization status represents an ideal goal for Black girls. Although few research studies have been able to illuminate the experiences and developmental processes of Black girls, some researchers (Langhout, 2005, Morris, 2007; Ward, 2007) have provided evidence suggesting that based on their socialization experiences, Black girls do not likely have experiences which lead to their ability to develop, access, and utilize information processing skills present in Internalization. Ward and Robinson (1991) argue that interventions that teach resistance and allow for the positive racial identity development of Black girls are not only plausible, but a requirement to ensure their academic success.

Racial Identity and School Engagement

Racial identity research has illustrated that for adolescents, a positive identification and notion of one's racial and/or ethnic background serves as a psychological protective factor against discrimination (Cross, 1991; Phinney, 1996), which can place adolescents at risk for negative social and emotional outcomes. Smalls et al. (2007) attempted to fill the gap in research related to Black youths and academic attainment. The authors attempted to explain individual differences in academic performance for African American youths, stating that such an exploration might help to illuminate the ways that racial beliefs of Black youths may indirectly impact school engagement. Findings provided some support for the notion that academic engagement

may mediate the process of linking Blacks youths' racial beliefs to their academic performance.

Explicitly viewing academic achievement as an integral racial and cultural norm, as Perry et al. (2003) contend, was the historical norm for Black people and will assist Black students in engaging with their school environments and identifying goals of success. Altschul, Oyserman, and Bybee, (2006) examined racial and ethnic identity (REI) and its connection to academic achievement. In the present study, I defined REI as a sense of connectedness to an in-group, with an embedded belief in achievement, and an awareness of racism. When achievement beliefs are embedded, they reflect in-group values and are necessary for Black students to resist derogatory stereotypes about their academic ability. Altschul et al. (2006) found that Black students were able to obtain better grades at multiple points of assessment if they reported an awareness of racism, felt connected to their own racial group, and endorsed a belief in embedded achievement. Based on their findings, Altschul et al. contend that REI protects Black youths from experiencing academic declines over time.

Racial Socialization

Thornton, Chatters, Taylor, and Allen (1990) define the process of socialization as a process in which parents and families communicate to their children an understanding of values, roles, and statuses that allow their children to acquire beliefs about the social structure of the larger society. For Black parents, Thornton et al. state, parental socialization is unique in that Black parents must socialize their children to have a positive individual and group identity within a larger societal context that discriminates

against people of Color. As such, Black parents may use racial socialization to assist their children in understanding and addressing issues of race and its potential impact. Thomas and King (2007) define *racial socialization* as the process that Black parents utilize to facilitate the development of a positive self-concept, including racial and ethnic identities, while existing in a racially oppressive and sometimes threatening environment. Thornton et al. (1990), state that the process of racial socialization includes "specific messages and practices that are relevant to, and provide information concerning the nature of race status as it relates to: (a) "personal and group identity, (b) intergroup and interindividual relationships, and (c) positions in the social hierarchy" (p. 401).

Racial socialization may serve as a protective factor in the development of children of Color (Neblett, et al., 2006; Stevenson, 1994). Because Black girls experience racial discrimination, communication of information and strategies for understanding the experiences of racism may serve to prepare and provide them with resources for future experiences. Children who have been socialized about race in ways that allow them to develop positive attitudes about themselves as members of a racial group and the culture of their identified racial group are more likely to develop positive social outcomes (Altschul et al., 2006; Constantine & Blackmon, 2002; Neblett et al., 2006; Spencer et al., 2003; Tinsley et al., 2007).

Sociocultural influences, like those received from family members, facilitate the development of one's individual identity, thus impacting the internalization of messages about what it may mean to identify with a particular racial group. Although a Black girl may initially experience the process of racial socialization within the family context

(Neblett, Phillip, Cognurn, & Sellers, 2006), as she matures and becomes more autonomous, she increases her interactions with the general society and is subjected to indirect racial socialization processes, which in American society historically are negative.

Helms (1990) posits that an individual's racial identity is influenced directly and indirectly through the process of racial socialization. Racial socialization messages that impact the formation of racial identity can come firsthand from family, as well as through implicit messages communicated by the media, systems, and institutions where Black adolescent girls interact (Helms, 2003; Hughes, 2003). Schools settings, for example, communicate racial messages to students through their overt and covert policies, a lack of presence of racial diversity in teachers and administration, and responses, or lack thereof, to students of Color in comparison to White students (Cokely, 2004).

Black girls, who are positively connected to their racial group and its history, are better able to cope with discriminatory experiences, and have better academic outcomes (Gushue & Whitson, 2006; Smalls et al., 2007; Wong et al., 2003). Neblett et al. (2006) examined the relationship between parental racial socialization and academic curiosity, academic persistence, and students' grades. Findings indicated that racial socialization messages that communicated a sense of positive self-worth led to positive academic outcomes. Conversely, Neblett et al. found that messages that communicated derogatory attitudes about what it means to be Black led to a reported decrease in academic persistence. Although their study supported previous findings regarding racial socialization and positive academic outcomes, they also found that messages of racial

pride were negatively related to academic curiosity and GPA. Consequently, Neblett et al. questioned the meaning of the correlation and cautioned future researchers to investigate alternative racial socialization sources that might influence Black youths' perceptions, such as peers, the media, and other adults.

Thomas and Speight (1999) found that Black adolescent girls were exposed to different racial socialization messages relative to Black adolescent boys. Girls were more likely to receive messages about the significance of academic achievement, positive racial pride, whereas racial coping strategies and negative societal stereotypes were more often communicated to Black male adolescents. Moreover, Stevenson, McNeil, and Taylor (2005) suggest that because Black boys and men are more often discussed in conversations about racial barriers, they tend to receive more messages about managing and coping with adversity.

Building upon the notion that Black adolescent girls receive different racial socialization messages from Black adolescent boys, Thomas and King (2007) examined the concept of "gendered racial socialization" (p. 138). They define *gendered racial socialization* as the messages that are communicated to Black girls by their mothers because of the dual experiences of racism and sexism that Black girls and women face. They argue that appropriate socialization messages for Black girls include historical information about racial oppression and its influence on gender roles, making race and gender inextricably linked. In an effort to examine the gendered racial socialization patterns of Black mothers and their daughters, Thomas and King (2007) asked Black mothers to report the specific messages they taught their daughters about race and gender.

In turn, Black girls were asked the specific messages communicated to them by their mothers.

Thomas and King's results indicated that Black girls' perceptions of the messages communicated by their mothers were similar to those reported by Black mothers. Black mothers focused on teaching their daughters about self-determination, assertiveness, self-pride, recognizing equality, male-female relationships, spirituality and religious beliefs, racial pride, and cultural heritage. Self-determination (19.5%) (e.g., be the best I can be) and self-pride (15%) (e.g., have respect for yourself) were the most often reported by mothers. Thomas and King noted that messages of racial pride (e.g., be proud of being African American) were reported less often (7.3%).

The finding that mothers did not address racial pride very often is particularly important given the negative relationship between racial socialization practices that encourage mainstream culture and the self-esteem of Black girls. "This suggests that messages that are focused on denying [their] racial heritage can influence adolescent girls in a negative fashion" (Thomas & King, 2007, p. 141). Missing from the racial socialization experiences of Black girls, according to their study, are counter-active messages about physical beauty and sexuality as defined by society. Given the presence and impact of media on Black girls' perceptions of physical beauty, guidance in this area of gendered racial socialization is essential to counter messages of racial and gender marginalization for Black girls.

Constantine and Blackmon (2002) assert that Black students' performance in school is potentially related to their achievement socialization in school. They examined

the relationship between parental racial socialization messages and general, as well as area-specific self-esteem (i.e. home, school, and peer self-esteem). Their results indicated that Black students in predominantly Black school settings, who subscribed to messages that reflect mainstream (White) socialization (i.e., Conformity), experienced a decrease in school self-esteem, which was negatively related to their academic self-efficacy.

Constantine and Blackmon subsequently suggested that Black adolescents, who are exposed to messages that endorse mainstream racial socialization, may adapt to a predominantly White school setting because of shared values with White students. Although Black students who endorse mainstream racial socialization may personally identify White culture as salient, this does not mean that *their* endorsement and acceptance of White culture is reciprocal. Black girls in predominantly White educational settings report feelings of isolation, marginalization, and hostility (Jernigan, 2007) that undoubtedly impact their ability to "feel more comfortable" (Constantine & Blackmon, 2002, p. 331).

From Resilience to Resistance

The concept of resilience has been used to describe the ability of an individual to overcome potential barriers to development, allowing for optimal functioning (Arrington & Wilson, 2000; Barrow, Armstrong, Vargo, & Boothroyd, 2007; Nicolas et al., 2008). Arrington and Wilson (2000) note that as definitions of resilience continue to change, there have been attempts to integrate an individual's cultural context (e.g., community of origin) into an understanding of resilience. The authors assert that resilience is inevitably

determined when an individual surpasses expectations based on their contextual surroundings and, subsequently, pose the question of how to define resilience within the "contextual biographies of ethnically diverse youth" (p. 226).

Nicolas et al. (2008) contend that literature that speaks about the resilience of Black youths inherently assumes that the context that they live in is negative. Consequently, based on this assumption, positive expectations about Black youths' potential are few. Rather than continuing to label as "resilience" the strengths that Black youths use to develop in oppressive environments, the authors propose the concept of active resistance. Robinson and Ward (1991) describe two kinds of resistance used by Black girls to manage the sociopolitical environments in which they must exist. The authors argue that the development of resistance is necessary for Black adolescent girls in particular because they are engaged in the process of identity formation in settings that are replete with racial and gender marginalization.

Robinson and Ward (1991) posit that the experiences of Black youths are not inherently negative and deleterious. They propose that deficit and pathologizing models, often used to describe the condition of Black youths, do not employ a strengths-based approach that highlights the positive factors inherent in Black culture that lead to the healthy development of Black girls and women. The authors recognize the compounding effects of gender and racial oppression on Black girls and propose that Black female adolescents can, and need to be prepared to enter into a society that requires a critical consciousness, as well as skills and strategies to combat subjugation.

In an effort to identify and understand current practices used by Black girls to cope with discriminatory environments, Robinson and Ward propose two ways of conceptualizing Black girls' resistance to oppression. "Resistance for survival" and "resistance for liberation" represent different strategies used by Black girls to resist the racist and sexist socialization in the environments in which they interact (p. 89). Resistance for survival represents a "self-denigration due to the internalization of negative self-images, excessive autonomy and individualism at the expense of connectedness to the collective[,]" [whereas] *resistance for liberation* is defined as "resistance in which black girls and women are encouraged to acknowledge the problems of, and to demand change in, an environment that oppresses them" (p.89).

Likewise, Nicolas et al. (2008) propose three coping strategies that Black youths utilize to deal with barriers to their development and optimal functioning: withdrawal, resilience, and resistance. Withdrawal, the first strategy, is described as the removal of the individual from stressful racial stimuli. Withdrawal is exhibited psychologically by detaching mentally and/or emotionally from situations that are perceived as threatening, and educationally through disengagement with school. Resilience, according to Nicolas et al., is a passive response motivated by external factors. Resistance, however, is internally motivated and requires critical awareness, the ability to analyze situations to facilitate action, when necessary (Nicolas et al., 2008; Robinson & Ward, 1991; Watts et al., 2003; Ward, 2007).

Langhout (2005) identified several theories of resistance in her study of elementary school students' acts of resistance. The author posited that the objective of

acts of resistance is to facilitate personal self-definitions and self-valuing by creating a situation that opposes that of the dominant system of power. Resistance is likely to take place as a consequence of a system that uses power to constrain or imperil an individual's identity, values, goals, and worldview. Langhout describes resistance as: (a) a process or facilitator of opposition to systemic goals, (b) approved or forbidden according to system rules, and (c) as an individual or collective response (Ashforth & Mael, 1998). The author cautions the reader to view resistance in terms of its visibility (e.g. intentional action) and invisibility (e.g. deliberate silence, passivity), which is more often evidenced in gender power relations (Dorney, 1995; Langhout, 2005; McLaren, 1989; Morris, 2007).

Scholars, who have studied the experiences of girls and women (Dorney, 1995; Shorter-Gooden, 2003), have built upon the notion of resistance to formulate questions about the resistance strategies that Black girls and women have used to survive racism and sexism (Shorter-Gooden, 2003). Like Robinson and Ward (1991), researchers are beginning to speak to the necessity of teaching girls and women strategies of resistance that will enable them to use healthy resistance strategies and foster positive development (Belgrave et al., 2000; Dorney, 1995; Reid, 2004).

Shorter-Gooden (2003) sought to examine the specific coping strategies used by Black women to address racial and gender discrimination. She identified internal and external resources, such as spiritual beliefs, positive connections to racial and ethnic identity, self-concept, and social support that Black women frequently report using to cope with racism and sexism. Additionally, the author named strategies actively used by Black women when facing racist and/or sexist situations. They included changing

perceived roles (e.g., speech and behavior) to assimilate, avoidance, and direct challenge. Although Shorter-Gooden's research added much needed information to the limited body of research on the personal experiences and coping of Black women, she calls for future research to more closely examine what strategies are used and are effective for Black girls to counteract the negative impact of racism and sexism, as separate and integrated experiences for Black girls and women.

A Group Intervention

Because Black adolescent girls face a number of social restrictions, solely based on their racial and gender classifications, enhancing their ability to develop a positive racial and gender identity is imperative. Enhancement will allow Black girls to remain aware of society's stigmatizing beliefs while establishing a positive, counteractive definition of what it means to be a Black girl. This development will serve as a protective factor against future experiences of racial discrimination (Sellers, 2006; Wong et al., 2003). Plybon, Edwards, Butler, Belgrave, and Allison (2003), in their study on the role of social support among African American adolescent girls, suggest that mentoring programs that seek to connect adolescents with adult role models or mentors, within the school setting, can increase school-related outcomes.

Black adolescent girls' school experiences are at times isolated and exclusionary (Jernigan, 2007). Yet it has been argued that Black youths identify and benefit from collective socialization experiences, particularly in education settings (Johnson, 2003). Therefore, group interventions involving peers might fulfill Black girls' needs for social support and provide a basis for integrating their sociocultural realities as Black youths.

Belgrave et al. (2004) evaluated a cultural program created to increase African-centered cultural values and beliefs (e.g., a sense of cooperation, interdependence, and collective responsibility) for African American girls. They found that after the cultural intervention, participants in the group program showed decreased aggression toward their female peers when compared to a control group.

As a group, Black girls have an advantage in building a cohesive environment that allows them to validate their personal experiences and collaborate with one another to identify positive resources and develop strategies to resist barriers to their success because doing so is consistent with their cultural socialization (Nicolas et al., 2008). According to Corey (2008), groups provide "…the empathy and support necessary to create the atmosphere of trust that leads to sharing and exploring concerns. Group members are assisted in developing their existing skills for dealing with interpersonal problems so that they will be better able to handle future problems of a similar nature" (p. 5). Group participants benefit from modeling provided by the group facilitator, while learning from one another through the recognition of commonalities among them as Black girls in a predominantly White educational setting. In a supportive environment, Black girls have the opportunity to share their personal experiences and work together to provide resources and generate a collective understanding of self-knowledge and self-acceptance (Belgrave et al., 2004; Corey, 2008).

Statement of the Problem

The effects of racial and gender discrimination on Black girls' development has frequently been described as being unique when compared to other racial and gender classified youths (Morris, 2007; Robinson & Ward, 1991; Shorter-Gooden & Washington, 1996; Thomas, 2004). The categorization of "Black" in American society designates a position of racial inferiority. Further, the added identification or acknowledgement of being classified as a girl or woman, locates this population at the base of the social hierarchy. In an effort to increase the ability of Black girls and women to identify and utilize the strengths they possess, one must first examine their personal gender and racial experiences within a social and cultural context.

As Black girls face the critical task of identity formation, the primary developmental task in adolescence (Erikson, 1968), they do so with influences from the many environments in which they are embedded. Research has underscored the importance of family, community, and school contexts in creating resources and/or barriers to success for Black girls (Evans-Winters, 2007, Langhout, 2005; Morris, 2007; Nicolas et al., 2008; Ward, 2007). Families, primarily mothers, are the main socializing agents for Black girls because they teach them about the implications of race and gender (Arronwitz & Morrison-Beedy, 2004; Costigan et al., 2007), although at least one study suggests that they may not explicitly teach them enough about positive racial identity (Altschul et al., 2006). In other words, what it may mean to "be" Black and female is often first taught, overtly and covertly, within the family system (Costigan et al., 2007).

Likewise, social scientists have examined the community contexts that ethnic minority youths live in to determine the impact they have on promoting and fostering or impeding and contaminating paths to positive development (Miller & Townsend, 2005; Zalot, Jones, Forehand, & Brody, 2007). For Black girls and female adolescents, schools are also a significant socializing influence as it has been estimated that they spend at least 30 hours a week in school (Ellis-Christensen, 2008; Morris, 2007). Yet theorists and researchers have described school socialization of Black girls as virtually the opposite of their home and community experiences. For example, although Black girls receive much of their race/gender socialization from Black women in their home and communities, they rarely encounter Black women in school environments because few are available (Evans-Winters, 2007; Shorter-Gooden, 2004).

Moreover, mostly qualitative researchers have reported that predominantly White schools are hostile to the healthy development of Black girls in school settings (Morris, 2007; Tennant, 2006). They have found that teachers and administrators in such environments exhibit negative racial and gender societal beliefs about the girls, isolate them, and devalue them as aggressive when they attempt to exhibit race-gender appropriate sex-role behaviors (e.g., assertiveness) as defined by their communities. As a result of their forced exclusion from participation in classes, it has been argued that these girls become marginalized and ultimately invisible (Evans-Winters, 2007; Langhout, 2005; Ward, 2007). Added to the personal identity problems associated with coping in a race-gender hostile school climate, some research suggests that these students' perceptions of racism or sexism may contribute to their development of stereotype threat

and disengagement from academic tasks, thereby leading to poor academic performance (e.g., Steele, 1997).

Nevertheless, despite the multiple potential barriers to their success, many Black girls and women do achieve academically (*Journal of Blacks in Higher Education*, 2001; National Center for Educational Statistics, 2006). Their high school graduation rates slightly exceed those of their White female peers who may face similar gender barriers, but not racial barriers. Their graduation rates exceed those of their Black male peers who face similar racial barriers, but not gender barriers (Joint Center, 2007). Because studies typically have focused on Black boys and men when considering racial barriers and White women and girls when considering gender barriers (Gilligan, 1983; Taylor, 2005), little is known about what personal resources Black female adolescents use to cope with the double jeopardy of being Black and female (Shorter-Gooden, 2004; Thomas, 2004).

Given the lack of research focus on Black girls, it is important to begin somewhere to identify the types of barriers and resources that typify the school experiences of Black girls. In the few qualitative studies in which the school contexts of Black girls have been investigated, none has asked the girls to share their experiences either directly or indirectly. Yet the girls themselves are important witnesses as to what happens to them when they enter predominantly White school environments. Therefore, one purpose of this study is to use qualitative and quantitative methodologies to explicate the experiences of Black girls in a predominantly White high school to determine how their individual and collective experiences affect their racial identity development and reported school experiences.

Some theorists have criticized the developmental literature for labeling Black youths as resilient when they succeed despite multiple barriers and at-risk when they do not (Nicolas et al., 2008; Ward, 2007). Such labels not only minimize the accomplishments of Black girls and women despite barriers, but also treat the barriers as forces that one either bounces back from or is destroyed by (Nicolas et al., 2008). Nicolas et al. (2008) contend that the capacity to resist barriers (e.g., change one's context) is a vital aspect of Black girls' success in schools. A variety of theorists suggest that girls' resistance skills can be fostered through group interventions intended to be safe havens where they can develop positive racial and gender identities and learn to resist the racism and sexism they encounter in ways that facilitate their own positive development (Darling et al., 2006; Robinson & Ward, 1991). Therefore, a second purpose of this study is to study the effects of a group intervention, Sankofa, on the girls' qualitatively and quantitatively assessed school experiences.

The present study used a mixed-method Complementarity (C) research design (Greene et al., 1989) that employed the collection of pre-post quantitative and qualitative data. The dominant paradigm for the study was a quantitative exploratory descriptive design with sequential qualitative phases.

QUAN			QUAL

$$+$$

QUAN
Data Collection

QUAL
Data Collection

Quantitative

Qualitative

Data Analysis   Data Results Compared   Data Analysis
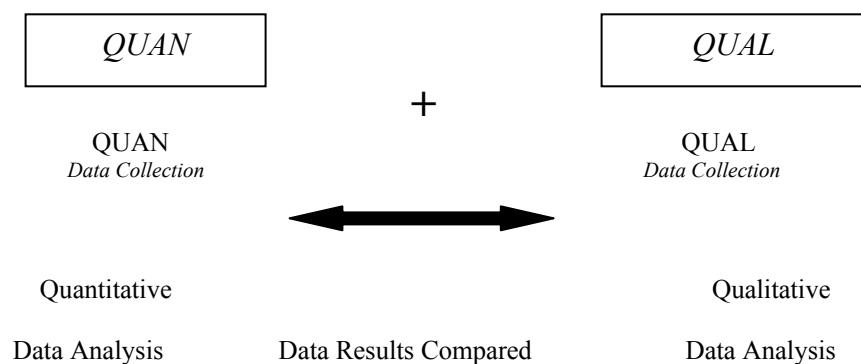
Figure 1. *Complementarity Sequential Mixed-methods design*

The primary purpose of a Complementarity design is to combine quantitative and qualitative methods to "elaborate, enhance, or illustrate the results from the other" (Greene et al., 1989, p. 269). Consequently, according to Greene et al., the Complementarity study allows for a thorough and comprehensive investigation of phenomena through the use of process and integration of quantitative and qualitative methodologies to interpret outcomes. The present study's Complementarity design allowed for flexibility to utilize elements of triangulation to evaluate and interpret data. The study integrated quantitative data collection with multiple qualitative methodologies in an effort to increase the likelihood of making inferences regarding potential findings. Additionally, findings broadened the limited literature base on the experiences and development of Black adolescent girls in academic settings.

The present study sought to answer the following research questions:

Question 1: How are the RA and NRA girls' perceptions of their educational

environments affected by the Sankofa intervention?

Question 2: How are the Black girls' perceptions of their parental socialization messages

changed after participation in Sankofa?

Question 3: In what ways do racial identity schemas change following a Sankofa

intervention?

Chapter 3

Research Design

The experiences of Black girls are rarely documented and represent a new dimension in educational and psychological research. Quantitative and qualitative methodologies each have strengths and weaknesses that depend on the nature of the research being conducted (Sale, Lohfield, & Brazil, 2002). Quantitative research operates from a scientific paradigm of positivism, a philosophical assumption that asserts that scientific knowledge yields truth at some level of probability (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Sale et al., 2002). This scientific ideology is based on the belief that the scientific method of inquiry is the sole method for determining accurate and authentic knowledge. According to Sale et al. (2002), using a quantitative paradigm, therefore, implies that the existence of scientific truth is objective and free from human perception. Quantitative methods aim to measure and analyze relationships between variables that represent phenomena, without the influence of the investigator or experiences of participants as individuals (Greene, Caracelli, & Graham, 1989; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Sale et al., 2002). Conversely, multiple meanings and realities are based on evolving realities that are socially constructed (Sale et al., 2002). Qualitative researchers intend to describe phenomena in rich detail and provide information from emic, or culture-specific, perspectives. Such accounts can lead to the development of theory to explain the occurrence of a particular phenomenon. Although some researchers continue to debate the pros and cons of using quantitative versus qualitative models (Sale

et al., 2002), others are beginning to develop rationales and conceptual frameworks that highlight the benefits of using both (Greene et al., 1989; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003).

Although Greene et al. (1989) proposed various strategies for conducting mixed methods research, a complementarity mixed-methods design was used in the present study. The authors define the complementarity design as one whose common purpose is to utilize results from one method (i.e. qualitative) to enhance findings from the other (i.e. quantitative). According to Greene et al. mixed-methods studies should consist of the following design characteristics: (a) methods, the degree to which the proposed research methods are comparable or different with respect to assumptions, strengths and weaknesses, or biases; (b) phenomena, the degree to which the proposed mixed methods assess differing or similar phenomena; (c) paradigms, the degree to which qualitative or quantitative methods are implemented within similar or differing paradigms; (d) status, the degree to which the proposed quantitative and qualitative methodologies have equal importance based on the overall objectives of the study; (e) implementation independence, the degree to which each method is designed and implemented (i.e., interactively or independently); (f) implementation timing, the degree to which methods are applied (i.e., concurrently or sequentially); and (g) study, a categorical representation of the conceptualized study as one study or two studies. The design characteristics of the present study are summarized in Table 1.

A quantitative exploratory descriptive design was used to help define and explicate the characteristics of the experiences of a sample of Black adolescent girls in a predominantly White school setting. Qualitative content analysis of interview data was

used to further explore quantitative findings and illuminate the complexity of obtained findings. A combination of both methodologies allowed me to use different approaches to investigate specific research questions and enhance the ability of separate methodologies to more accurately explicate obtained findings (Greene et al., 1989; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). Inclusion of both quantitative and qualitative analyses, allowed me to examine the lived racial and gendered experiences of Black adolescent girls in predominantly White academic settings, as well as the measured racial identity and academic processes for this sample.

From the mixed-methods aspect of the present study, I obtained statistical, quantitative data that described the personal development (i.e., racial identity) and school experiences (i.e., identification with school) of a sample of Black adolescent girls in a predominantly White school environment. Qualitative data were obtained from a sub-sample of participants who were chosen to explore the personal narratives of the girls. My use of both methodologies was independent, yet complementary to the other, and occurred sequentially. The use of a sequential time frame allowed for the expansion of obtained findings. Qualitative data collection allowed for elaboration of quantitative findings, provided an emic account of participants' experiences, including a detailed exploration of phenomenon not captured in totality through the use of quantitative measures. My examination of the convergences between quantitative and qualitative data allowed me to obtain an enriched understanding of the answers to my research questions.

Table 1

Characteristics of the Complementarity Mixed Methods Model used to Study the Experiences of Black Girls in a Predominantly White school

Characteristic	Present Study
Methods	Combined:
	Quantitative Exploratory Descriptive
	Qualitative Content Analysis
Phenomena	Overlapping:
	Quantitative
	Patterns of Adaptive Learning Scale (i.e. Academic Press, Disruptive Behavior, Self-Presentation of Low Achievement)
	Qualitative
	Semi-structured interview protocol (i.e. Tell me about your experience as a student in this school?)
Paradigms	Multiple methods
	Pre quantitative measures
	Pre qualitative semi-structured interview
	Intervention Researcher Journal
	Post quantitative measures
	Post qualitative semi-structured interview
Status	Quantitative dependent
	People of Color Racial Identity Scale findings
	Qualitative data used to illuminate quantitative findings
	Semi-structured interview racial identity schema coding of responses (i.e. Conformity, Dissonance etc.)
Timing	Sequential
	Quan Pre + Qual Pre → Intervention → Quan Post + Qual Post
Study	One Study:
	Research Question Semi-structured interview questions on school experiences (i.e. Tell me about your experience as a student in this school?)
	Quantitative:
	PRIAS/PALS paired-sample t-tests and between-groups t-tests analyses
	Qualitative:
	Semi-structured interview protocol: (i.e. How important is your racial/ethnic background? How do you think that race matters in the ways in which students are treated at your school?)

Note. Quan = quantitative. Qual = Quantitative. PRIAS = People of Color Racial Identity Attitudes Scale (Helms, 1995). PALS = Patterns of Adaptive Learning Scale (Midgley et al., 2000).

Method

Participants

Participants in the present study (N = 14) were adolescent girls in the 9th grade at a local high school in eastern Massachusetts. They were the cohort of 9th grade Black girls who were participating in a state funded educational program whose purposes were to: (1) provide the opportunity for students from the Boston area to learn in an integrated public school setting with students from racially isolated suburban schools; (2) increase diversity and reduce the racial isolation in the receiving districts so that students from different racial backgrounds could learn from each other in meaningful ways; and (3) provide closer understanding and cooperation between urban and suburban parents and other citizens in the Boston metropolitan area. Also, two self-identified Black 9th grade girls, who were not participants in the special program, expressed a desire to participate in the intervention and were included. Of the two non-program participants, one of the girls was a previous participant in the state funded educational program from grades 2 through 8. Participants ranged in age from 14 to 15 years (Mean = 14.36; SD =.50). All of the girls classified themselves as Black and most self-classified as African American (57%); two (14%) classified themselves as Jamaican. The remaining four were equally dispersed across four mixed ethnic groups (e.g., Jamaican/Trinidadian) (See Table 2).

Table 2

Self-Reported Demographics of Participants (N = 14)

Category	Frequency
Racial Classification	
Black	14
Ethnic Classification	
African American	8
African American/ Honduran	1
Jamaican	2
Jamaican/Trinidadian	1
Jamaican/Dominican	1
Mixed Heritage	1
Cape Verdean	
Portuguese	
American Indian	
Scottish	
Chinese	
Age	
14	9
15	5

Context Characteristics

The study took place in a school located in a town in eastern Massachusetts with a population of approximately 57,000 people. Most of the population is White (81%), 12.8% are Asian, 3.5% are Latino, 2.7% are Black, and 0.1% are American Indian/Alaskan Native. The median household income is $67,000; 4.5% of all families and 9.3% of all individuals in the town live below poverty level (United States Census Bureau, 2000). The school district has approximately 6,000 enrolled students (District Report, 2007). About 300 students attend school in the target district through the state-funded educational program previously described and make up approximately 5% of the entire school population. Black students make up approximately 8% of the total student population. Of the students enrolled in the educational program, most are Black (75%).

They are described as increasing the racial diversity in the school district (Angrist & Lang, 2004). The high school where the study took place has an enrollment of approximately 1,900 students, with Black students representing approximately 9% of the student population. Overall the ratio of male to female students is approximately 1:1 (Males = 49.7%; Females = 50.3%; Massachusetts Department of Education, 2007).

Measures

The quantitative self-report measures used in the present study included: (a) a demographic data sheet; (b) the People of Color Racial Identity Attitudes Scale (PRIAS) (Helms, 1995); (c) Teenager Experience of Racial Socialization scale (Stevenson et. al, 2002); (d) Patterns of Adaptive Learning Scale (PALS) (Midgley et al., 2000); (e) Identification with School measure (Voelkl, 1996); and (f) a School Climate opinion survey (Tolerance.org, 2007).

Demographic Information

Each participant completed a brief demographic data sheet (see Appendix G.) Participants were asked to write their name, age, self-identified racial and ethnic classification, and the school that they attended prior to entering the high school.

Racial Identity

The People of Color Racial Identity Attitudes Scale (PRIAS) (Helms, 1995) is a 50-item measure that consists of four scales to assess respondents' thoughts and feelings about themselves and members of their racial group, as defined by society, in relation to the respondents' feelings about White people. The four scales of the PRIAS correspond with five racial identity schemas as outlined in Helms's Racial Identity Theory (1995).

They are: (a) Conformity (12 items) which measures a negation or obliviousness to racial dynamics in society; (b) Dissonance (14 items) measures the ambivalence or confusion that ensues when an individual is consciously aware of racial dynamics and stimuli; (c) Immersion/Resistance (14 items) reflects the physical and psychological withdrawal of an individual into his or her own racial group; and (d) Internalization (10 items) which measures the merging of a positive racial self-conception with the ability to cognitively and realistically appreciate positive aspects of Whites and move toward global empathy with respect to racial issues. Participants in the present study responded to each item using five-point Likert scales where 1= strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree. Item responses for each scale were summed; higher scores indicated stronger levels of endorsement of a relevant racial identity schema.

Although studies have utilized the PRIAS, primarily with college age samples (Alvarez & Helms, 2001; Bryant & Baker, 2003), researchers are just beginning to use the PRIAS with adolescent samples (Bianchi, Zea, Belgrave, & Echeverry, 2002; Bryant, & LaFromboise, 2005; Perry, 2006). Published research using the PRIAS is limited but has reported Cronbach alpha internal consistency coefficients ranging from .61 to .83 for populations of Color including Asian Americans (Alvarez & Helms, 200), Native Americans (Bryant & Baker, 2003; Bryant, & LaFromboise, 2005) and Latino and African Americans (Perry, 2006). Immersion/Emersion (or Immersion/Resistance) often yields the highest alpha when compared to other subscales. The Internalization subscale yields a lower alpha (Perry, 2006).

Helms (1989, 1996, 2006) discusses methodological issues in the measurement of racial identity in research and contends that racial identity should be evaluated through pattern or profile analyses, rather than treating the scales as independent of each other. She also contends that Cronbach alpha reliability estimates are not appropriate for describing individual-level responses because alpha describes the consistency or interrelatedness of a group's responses rather than individuals' responses within the group. Measures of racial identity, such as the PRIAS, can be classified in part, as ipsative. As such, non-traditional psychometric investigation must be employed to accurately interpret response patterns. Helms developed iota, an internal consistency coefficient for assessing interrelatedness of individuals' responses, to estimate reliability. Iota is defined as the proportion of an individual's raw score that is attributable to the sum of the absolute deviations from the person's mean score (i.e., within person error variance) subtracted from 1.00. Thus, iota typically varies from 0 to 1 with higher coefficients indicating higher levels of interrelatedness of the items as perceived by the individual.

Iota was deemed to be especially appropriate for the present study because the sample was too small to calculate group-level coefficients such as alpha. The range of pre and post iota scores for the PRIAS scales were: Conformity, .35 to .93; Dissonance, .35 to .83; Immersion/Resistance, .27 to .89; and Internalization, .22 to .96. Table 3 summarizes the means, standard deviations, and range of iota coefficients for the 14 girls in the study.

Table 3

Means and Standard Deviations for Racial Identity Schemas on the People of Color
Racial Identity Attitudes Scale (N=14)

Variable	Mean Iota	SD	Obtained Range
Racial Identity Schemas			
Pre			
Contact	.54	.14	.35-.80
Dissonance	.65	.14	.35-.80
Immersion/Resistance	.69	.14	.27-.86
Internalization	.83	.14	.47-.96
Post			
Contact	.57	.15	.36-.93
Dissonance	.65	.15	.31-.83
Immersion/Resistance	.77	.10	.59-.89
Internalization	.82	.18	.22-.92

Note. Racial Identity Schemas were corrected with Iota and converted to T scores. Pre-Iota score equivalents are reported in Table 4 in Appendix I.

In the present study, PRIAS raw scale scores were corrected for lack of reliability using iota. The results of these corrections are summarized in Table 4. For most of the quantitative analyses, iota-corrected raw scores were used. However, for some of the secondary analyses, the iota-corrected scores were transformed to T scores (mean= 50, SD= 10) using Perry's (2006) iota corrected sample as the norm group. Scores for each participant were compared to his normative group of adolescents of Color.

School Experiences

The Patterns of Adaptive Learning Scale (PALS) was developed and modified by a group of researchers affiliated with the University of Michigan (Midgley, Maehr, Hruda et al., 2000). The researchers use the guiding framework of goal orientation theory to examine the relationship between a student's learning environment and student motivation, affect, and behavior. Goal orientation theory underscores scale development based on research that demonstrates a "differential emphasis on 'mastery' and

'performance' goals associated with adaptive or maladaptive patterns of learning (Midgley et al., 2000, p. 2). The PALS measure includes student and teacher versions. Student scales assess: (a) personal achievement goal orientations; (b) perceptions of teacher's goals; (c) student perceptions of goal structures in the classroom setting; (d) student achievement-related beliefs, attitudes, and strategies; and (e) perceptions of parental figures and home life. The PALS uses a 5-point response scale for the student scales (1= not at all true, 3=somewhat true, 5=very true).

Midgley et al. (2000) report that the PALS has been used in nine school districts in three Midwestern states. All scales have been administered in elementary, middle, and high school public school settings. The socioeconomic status of the tested samples has ranged from low to middle-income levels. Male and female respondents in survey samples have been approximately equal. In addition student samples, according to the authors, included "up to" 55% ethnic minority participation, with African Americans representing the majority of ethnic minorities. The authors did not report reliability for the PALS. However, in the PALS manual validation, the authors report using confirmatory factory analysis on items in an effort to examine the factor structure of items. According to the authors, findings suggest that the model fit the collected data (GFI=0.97, AGFI=0.95).

The range of iota values, mean iota, and standard deviations were calculated for each of the PALS subscales, pre and post intervention, to determine the reliability of participants' responses. The range of reliability for responses on the Academic Press subscale was .68 to 1.00 (Pre $M = .80$, $SD = .08$; Post $M = .83$, $SD = .08$). Disruptive

Behavior iotas ranged from .71 to 1.00 (Pre M = .85, SD = .11, Post M = .84, SD = .13).

Self-Presentation of Low Achievement yielded a range of iota from .58 to 1.00 (Pre M =

.81, SD = .13; Post M = .80, SD = .13). Reliability for responses to the Relevance of

School subscale of the PALS ranged from .70 to 1.00 (Pre M = .87, SD = .08; Post M =

.87, SD = .15).

Based on Midgley et al.'s, (2000) suggestions for administering their measure,

scales can be used separately or in combination by mixing items from various scales that

correspond to a particular theme (e.g., Academic-Related Perceptions, Beliefs, and

Strategies). Participants completed a combination of the following student scales to

assess school experiences and perceptions of their school environment prior to, and after

the Sankofa intervention: (a) Skepticism about the Relevance of School for Future

Success – reflects student beliefs that performing well in school will *not* help them

achieve success in the future; (b) Disruptive Behavior – refers to the student's

engagement in disruptive classroom behavior; (c) Academic Press – represents the

student's perceptions that his or her teacher "presses" him or her to understand course

content; and (d) Self-Presentation of Low Achievement – reflects student preference to

keep personal academic achievement from peers.

Identification with School

School identification, often referred to as school engagement, school

connectedness, or school bonding (Heim Jackson, 2006), was measured with the 16-item

Identification with School Questionnaire (Voelkl, 1996). The measure divides items into

two subscales. Nine items reflect respondents' feelings of belonging in school (e.g., "I

feel proud of being a part of my school"); seven items represent respondents' beliefs about valuing school and school-related outcomes ("School is more important than most people think"). The measure uses a 4-point Likert response format (1=strongly disagree to 4=strongly agree) and responses are summed to obtain subscale and total scores. Higher scores on the total scale indicate stronger endorsement of a general identification with school.

Voelkl (1997) again used the Identification with School Questionnaire with a sample of 1,150 African American and White middle school students to determine if racial group membership was related to school identification. Findings indicated that Black students did not disidentify with school significantly more than White students. Voelkl and Frone (2000) later used the Identification with School Questionnaire with a sample of 208 mostly (88%) public high school students in New York between the ages of 16 and 19 years. The researchers' sample included students representing a variety of racial classifications, 63% White, 27% African American, 3% Latino, and 5% Asian, American Indian or some other ethnic background. The authors report an alpha coefficient of .82 with this sample.

In the development of the Identification with School Questionnaire, Voelkl (1996) used a sample of 3,539 eighth-grade students from 163 different schools in Tennessee (974 African American and 2,565 White). Voelkl conducted a confirmatory factor analysis of the scale and found that a single factor described the items. Moreover, a two-factor model used to determine if belonging and valuing were separate subscales yielded a high correlation between the two factors ($r = .85$). The total score is designed to reflect

a student's feelings about an overall since of belonging in school, valuing of school, and school-related outcomes (Voelkl, 1996). The reported alpha coefficient for reliability for total scores on the measure was .84.

Iota reliability statistics were calculated on pre and post identification responses for the sample. Findings yielded a range of iota from .50 to .83 with a pre-intervention mean iota of .67 and standard deviation of .07. The mean post-intervention iota for the sample was .70 with a standard deviation of .08.

Teenager Experience of Racial Socialization (TERS)

The TERS was used to measure participants' experiences of parental racial socialization. Stevenson, Cameron, Herrero-Taylor, and Davis (2002) developed the TERS to assess adolescents' perceptions of the prevalence of racial socialization messages they receive from parental figures in their lives. Using his theoretical model of racial socialization that assumes Black families and families of Color use proactive and protective parenting, Stevenson created a 40-item measure that assesses five domains. The Cultural Coping with Antagonism (CCA) subscale contains items that depict messages about the significance of perseverance over racial hostility and the role of religion and spirituality in such coping. Cultural Pride Reinforcement (CPR) reflects items that endorse attitudes about teaching African American children cultural self-knowledge and pride. Cultural Appreciation of Legacy (CAL) represents items that reflect knowledge of African American history and heritage. Cultural Alertness to Discrimination (CAD) reflects messages that teach youths to remain aware of racial barriers in society, as well as the race relations, particularly between Whites and Blacks.

Cultural Endorsement of the Mainstream (CEM) is representative of messages about the significance of majority cultural values and systems and the emotional and educational benefits of involvement with such institutions for Blacks. CEM also includes items that reflect conversations about the influence of mainstream schools for Black learning, and the lack of conversations about the importance of knowledge of racism and connection to Black culture.   The measure uses a 3-point frequency response format, 1 = "never", 2 = "a few times", and 3 = "lots of times." Responses are summed to obtain subscale scores and higher scores indicated greater frequency of the types of behaviors assessed by the respective subscale.

Stevenson et al. (2002) used a sample of 260 inner-city African American adolescents (mean age = 14.3; 136 girls, and 124 boys) to construct and factor analyze the TERS. They reported a Cronbach alpha of .91 for the entire scale (M =, 85.9, SD = 14.9). Reliabilities for each subscale were as follows: Coping and Antagonism = .85 (M=25.0, SD=5.8), Cultural Pride Reinforcement = .83 (M=21.7, SD=4.5), Cultural Alertness to Discrimination = .76 (M=.76, SD=12.2), Cultural Appreciation of Legacy = .74 (M=12.8, SD=3.1), and Cultural Endorsement of the Mainstream = .71 (M=9.9, SD=2.8).

Iota reliability statistics calculated pre and post intervention for the present study, for each of the TERS subscales are as follows: Coping and Antagonism = (Range = .49 to 1.00; Pre M iota = .69, SD =.13; Post M iota = .78, SD = .11), Cultural Pride Reinforcement = (Range = .61 to 1.00; Pre M iota = .76, SD =.10; Post M iota = .83, SD = .09), Cultural Alertness to Discrimination = (Range = .60 to 1.00; Pre M iota =.73,

SD=.12, Post M iota = .73, SD = .11), Cultural Appreciation of Legacy = (Range = .54

to .89; Pre M iota = .74, SD =.08, Post M iota = .77, SD = .10), and Cultural

Endorsement of the Mainstream = (Range = .47 to 1.00; Pre M iota = .68, SD = .14; Post

M iota = .68, SD = 14).

Stevenson et al. (2002) provided evidence of convergent and discriminant validity

for their sample's responses to the measure. Convergent validity was substantiated based

on findings that theoretical constructs, such as the frequency of family communication

about race and having family members who experienced acts of racism, were

significantly related to the TERS subscales. Discriminant validity evidence was that the

correlation between the TERS and a separate measure of parental racial socialization, the

Scale of Racial Socialization for adolescents (SORS-A), was not significant (Stevenson,

1994). As such, for the purpose of the current study, the TERS was identified as a

measure that has been previously used with Black adolescents and is a valid measure of

participants' familial racial socialization experiences.

School Climate Questionnaire

Participants completed a one-page questionnaire created and published by

Tolerance.org (2007). The survey is divided in two sections. The first section contains

nine statements to examine difference in student perceptions about school climate based

on student interactions and perceived safety within the school setting. Respondents use a

5-point Likert scale response format (1=agree strongly to 5=disagree strongly). The

second section asks students to reflect on the past 3 months and respond to six True or

False statements about their school environment (see Appendix E). The School Climate

Questionnaire is an on-line survey that does not have reported psychometric or reliability or validity data. Descriptive data, including means and standard deviations of participants' responses were used as a measure of triangulation with respect to reported school-related experiences (i.e. Patterns of Adaptive Learning Scale, Midgley et al., 2000) and qualitative interview responses, to gain a better since of participants' school environment.

Procedure

Participants for the present study were identified by the town Director of the state-funded educational program in the spring of their 8th grade school year. All identified participants engaged in a transition-to-high school group with the principal investigator. During this time participants were introduced to the group facilitators and the upcoming group program that would begin in the fall of their 9th grade academic year.

Two weeks prior to the beginning of the academic school year, the administrative staff of the education program consulted with the principal investigator to develop a parent consent form for student participation in the program. Parents were instructed to choose either an in-school or after-school group and returned consent forms were returned to the administrative office with the designated group choice.

The principal investigator attended a parent meeting for all participants at the beginning of the academic year. An introduction, mission, and program structure was provided for each parent. Parents were given an informational guide detailing all relevant information and, as well as contact information for the principal investigator for future reference. Parental choice for group time was compared to participant schedules,

resulting in an in-school and after-school group. The in-school group had a total of 4 participants, with a weekly meeting time of 50 minutes. The after school group had a total of 10 participants, with a weekly meeting time of 45 minutes. Each group was held on a weekly basis, for a period of 28 weeks.

Prior to the start of the intervention, participants were read the informed consent text and asked to sign a participant consent form before completing the series of quantitative measures. Each participant received a manila folder with: (a) a demographic survey; (b) TERS; (c) PRIAS; (d); PALS; (e) Identification with School; and (f) School Climate Questionnaire. Each participant was assigned a research code and instructed to place their code on the top left corner of each measure. The primary investigator provided instructions for participants to complete the measures and was available for any questions that emerged while participants completed their measures. Due to the length of the measures, participants completed their packet over the span of two 45-minute sessions. Following the collection of quantitative data, a subgroup of 7 participants was selected to participate in qualitative interviews. Based on the proposed research questions and design, participants who represented a range of racial socialization experiences (i.e. low report of racial socialization messages, moderate report of racial socialization messages, frequent report of racial socialization messages), as determined by pre-intervention responses on the Teenager Experience of Racial Socialization Scale (Stevenson et al., 2002), were selected to participate in recorded semi-structured qualitative interviews with group co-facilitators.

Attendance Groups

Each week the principal investigator monitored participant attendance through a weekly log. Based on parental preference, the in-school group was comprised of four girls. The after-school group had 10 participants. At the end of the intervention, participants were categorized into two groups for analysis of data, a regular attendance and non-regular attendance group. Participants in the regular attendance group (N = 6) attended more than 50% of the Sankofa sessions. The regular attendance group was represented by 3 participants from the in-school group and 3 participants from the after-school intervention group. Non-regular attendees (N = 8) were those who missed 50% or more of the Sankofa sessions. One participant assigned to the in-school group and 7 participants from the after-school group made up the non-regular attendance group. It should be noted that non-regular attendees includes participants who missed weekly groups due to schedule conflicts for seasonal sports, those who reported having alternate after-school appointments during group time, as well as participants with sporadic attendance.

<div align="center">Intervention</div>

Jernigan Sankofa Group

Both groups were led by the principal investigator and a co-facilitator. The in-school group co-facilitator was a self-identified Black woman and a clinical social work student obtaining her Masters degree. The after-school group co-facilitator was a self-identified Black woman obtaining her doctoral degree in counseling psychology.

Over the span of the intervention, a psycho-educational model consisting of 5 identified modules was implemented: Group Cohesion, Race, Gender, Academics, and Post-secondary Planning. Topics addressed in group sessions included: (a) Building alliances among Black girls; (b) Understanding the implications of stereotype threat, the fear and risk of confirming a negative stereotype about one's racial group as self characteristic, in academic settings; and (c) Identifying challenges and resources to promote post-secondary planning. Each week a developmentally appropriate project designed to include the previous topics and promote the racial identity development of participants was introduced to participants (see Appendix B.).

Following the intervention, participants were again provided with a manila folder containing: (1) TERS; (2) PRIAS; (3); PALS; (4) Identification with School; and (5) School Climate Questionnaire. Participants read informed consent information and were asked to sign the form to verify their willingness to participate in the data collection process. Participants completed quantitative measures in a maximum of two 45-minute sessions. Upon completion, the 7 participants who were interviewed prior to the start of the intervention, scheduled times to meet with the principal investigator for a post-interview (see Appendix H). In addition to the 7 original interviewees, the principal investigator conducted 4 additional interviews with other Sankofa participants were conducted using the same post-intervention semi-structured protocol.

Qualitative Study

The qualitative phase of this study used a content analysis approach to understand the experiences of Black adolescent girls in a predominantly White school setting. The

initial collection of quantitative data from the Teenager Experience of Racial

Socialization Scale (Stevenson et al., 2002) informed the first phase of purposive

qualitative data collection. The researcher used pre-intervention TERS results to select 7

participants that represented a range of racial socialization experiences to take part in

preliminary qualitative semi-structured interviews (see Table 4). The purposeful sampling

of interview participants was designed to select respondents that represented fewer racial

socialization experiences, moderate racial socialization experiences, and frequent parental

racial socialization experiences. The researcher gathered qualitative data from a range of

participants to determine the impact of a range of reported parental racial socialization on

the research questions (Creswell, 2003). Individual interviews incorporated the use of

focused interviewing techniques to illuminate personal narratives from participants (see

Appendix G).

Prior to, and following the intervention, the subgroup of seven participants was

interviewed using a semi-structured interview protocol. The seven selected interviewees

represented participants from both the in-school and after-school Sankofa groups. Based

on post-intervention attendance, most of the interviewees (n = 5) were classified as

regular Sankofa attendees. The remaining interviewees (n =2) were classified as non-

regular attendees. The principal investigator conducted most of the pre (the doctoral

counseling psychology co-facilitator conducted 3 of the pre-interviews) and all of the

post interviews. Each semi-structured interview was recorded via digital voice recorder

and transcribed. Transcriptions of participant interviews were organized into pre and post

interview data by participant code. Content analysis was used to obtain a general sense of

the information, overall meaning, and identify salient general themes conveyed by participants, tone of ideas, and overall depth of information during each data collection period. In addition, a directed analysis (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005) of the content allowed the researcher to illuminate text and segments of responses into topic areas that allowed for an emerging description of information to expand on quantitative findings.

In addition to the qualitative interview data, researcher journal notes, which reflected descriptive and reflective notes from each group intervention session, were documented in writing. The researcher journal detailed the process of each group session including: (a) participant attendance, the intervention activity, and sub-sections that detail relevant issues related to the major constructs of the overall study. The researcher journal was divided into four subcategories: Racial Socialization, Racial Identity, Gender, and Academics. In each subcategory, the principal investigator wrote reflective notes, speculations, issues, ideas, and impressions of the group process, relative to the topic. Researcher journal notes were typically written no more than 48 hours after the respective weekly group session. Researcher journal notes were used to identify general themes based on the major constructs of the study (i.e. racial identity, school-related experiences, and racial socialization) from the researcher's perspective during the course of the intervention.

Table 5

Summary of Teenager Experience of Racial Socialization Total Scores Prior to the Intervention for Selected Qualitative Interview Participants (N = 7)

Participant	Pre TERS Total Score	Racial Socialization Experience
X2	53.00	Low
X3	64.00	Moderate
X4	69.00	Moderate
A2	78.00	High
A6	54.00	Low
A7	76.00	High
A9	81.00	High

Note. Mean for total sample (N = 14) = 70.21. Standard deviation = 11.98. Range = 49.00 – 82.00. TERS = Teenager Experience of Racial Socialization Measure (Stevenson et al., 2002).

Quantitative Analysis

Analyses included paired sample t-tests to determine whether the girls changed over the course of the intervention with respect to the variables assessed. Thus, the repeated factor was the pre-post measurements. In addition, due to the difference in attendance for the two intervention groups, the girls were divided into two groups based on their attendance (regular and non-regular attendees). These attendance groups were the between-subjects factor, which was included to determine the potential effect of participation in the intervention.

Given the large number of analyses and small sample sizes, probability levels are reported for informational purposes but are not interpreted because the assumptions on which they are based are violated. Effect sizes are also reported and interpreted because the assumptions on which they are based may be distribution free. Effect sizes, which are *d* scores or numbers of SDs, were calculated by using the pre-intervention SD in the

denominator for the within group(s) comparisons and the SDs aggregated across groups

for the between groups analyses. Cohen's (1988) standards for evaluating effects as

large, medium, or small were used to judge the meaningfulness of pre-post intervention

changes when they occurred.

Qualitative Analysis

The qualitative analyses of the study were designed to further illuminate

quantitative findings. After findings from quantitative analyses were obtained, the

principal investigator used meaningful findings as a basis for investigation of the

qualitative data. Content analysis was used to analyze all qualitative interviews and

because of its ability to provide descriptive systematic investigation of the information

(Denzin & Lincoln, 1994; Downe-Wamboldt, 1992). The use of People of Color Racial

Identity Theory (Helms, 1990) provided a framework to facilitate deductive and inductive

exploration of data.

Chapter 4

Results

Preliminary Analyses

Prior to investigating the quantitative research questions, preliminary analyses

were conducted to determine whether characteristics of the girls in the regular (RA) and

non-regular (NRA) attendance groups differed with respect to demographic

characteristics and no meaningful differences were found. The RA group consisted of all

but one of the girls in the in-school Sankofa group ($n = 3$); the other three girls who made

up the RA group ($N = 6$) participated in the after-school Sankofa group. The NRA group

($N = 8$) were mostly girls in the after-school Sankofa group ($N = 7$) and the other NRA

girl was assigned to the in-school group. The NRA girls expressed a variety of reasons

for not participating in the group on a regular basis; some of them participated in seasonal

sports or had consistent personal appointments during after-school hours that caused

them to miss a significant portion of the intervention.

Research Question 1: How are the RA and NRA girls' perceptions of their educational

environments affected by the Sankofa intervention?

To address this question, Cohen's *d* analyses were used to compare the RA and

NRA groups' pre-post mean subscale scores on Academic Press (AP), a measure of

teachers' perceived investment in learning; Disruptive Behavior (DB), the girls' self-

reports of their engagement in behaviors that disrupted or disturbed the classroom; Self-

Presentation of Low Achievement (SPL), the girls' attempts to keep their peers from

knowing how well they were achieving in school; and Relevance of School (RS), their beliefs that doing well in school would help them achieve future success. Means, standard deviations (SDs), and effect sizes (i.e., *d* values) for the total sample and RA and NRA groups are shown in Table 6.

Total Sample. Results indicated that prior to the intervention, the girls in the total sample did not feel as strongly that their teachers encouraged their understanding in the classroom as they did after the intervention as indicated by a large increase in their AP scores of almost 1SD ($d = -.83$; $t(1,14) = -2.91$, p = .01). The effect sizes for disruptive behavior ($d = -.20$; $t(1,14) = -.77$, p = .46) and presenting oneself as a low achiever ($d = -.18$; $t(1,14) = -1.14$, $p = .28$) were small and less than small suggesting that the intervention did not contribute meaningful changes on these dimensions. However, RS mean scores increased moderately following the intervention, ($d = -.63$, $t(1,14) = -1.14$, $p = .28$), which suggests that when considered as a single group, the girls' seemed to perceive school as more relevant to their future success after the intervention.

RA Subgroup. Girls in the RA subgroup reported higher levels of teacher encouragement after the intervention and the difference between their pre and post scores was moderate ($d = -.77$; $t(1,6) = -1.63$, p = .16). This finding suggests the intervention increased the RA girls' positive perceptions of their teachers following the intervention. These girls reported lower levels of disruptive behaviors post-intervention relative to pre-intervention, but the amount of change was not practically meaningful ($d = .07$; $t(1,6) = .22$, $p = .84$). Their self-reported presentation of themselves as low achievers decreased a small amount following the intervention ($d = .40$; $t(1, 6) = 1.07$, $p = .34$) and there was a

moderate increase in their perceptions that school was relevant to their future success

post-intervention (d = -77; t (1,6) = −1.88, p = .12).

NRA Subgroup. Girls in the NRA subgroup experienced a large increase in their

AP scores than the RA girls following the intervention (d = −.83; t(1,8) = −2.37, p =

.05). Thus, they also perceived teachers more positively following the intervention. These

girls' self-reported levels of their disruptive classroom behaviors were slightly higher at

the end of Sankofa than they were prior to it (d = −.30; t (1,8) = -1.17, p = .28). NRA

girls reported scores that reflected increased levels of presenting themselves as low

achievers and this effect was moderate (d = −.77; t (1,8) = -2.14, p = .07). NRA girls'

understanding that doing well in school would help them achieve future success

essentially did not change (d = .03; t(1,8) = .06, p = .96).

With respect to identification with school, following the intervention,

identification with their school environment increased for the total sample of girls by a

large amount (d = −.82; t (1,14) = -2.13, p = .05). The subgroup of girls who attended the

program regularly endorsed a very much higher level of engagement with school (d =

−1.84; t (1,6) = -3.83, p = .01) after the intervention than before. NRA girls also reported

an increase in school bonding, but the difference was small (d = −.28; t (1,8) = −.60, p =

.57).

Summary

In sum, following Sankofa, examination of effect sizes indicated that large (AP),

moderate (school identification), and small (RS and DB) changes occurred for girls in the

total sample in positive directions. These findings indicated that the girls felt more

positively about their teachers, they believed in school more, and they were more engaged in school. Each of these effects was almost as strong or stronger in the RA subgroup in the same directions (see Appendix J). The RA girls' negative presentation of their academic selves showed a small decrease that was not evident in the total group and their engagement with school increased more dramatically. The effect sizes for the NRA subgroup revealed a large positive change in perceptions of teachers and a moderate negative change in presentation of their academic selves; there was a small increase in their self-reported disruptive behavior and their perceptions of the relevance of school, and school engagement essentially did not change.

Table 6

Summary of Pre-Post Intervention Means, Standard Deviations, and Effect Sizes on the Patterns of Adaptive Learning Scale, Identification with School Measure,

Teenager Experience of Racial Socialization Scale, and People of Color Racial Identity Attitudes Scale For the Total Sample, Regular, and Non-regular Attendees

Scale	Subscale	Total (N = 14)					Regular (N= 6)					Non-regular (N = 8)				
		Pre		Post		ES	Pre		Post		ES	Pre		Post		ES
		M	SD	M	SD	d	M	SD	M	SD	d	M	SD	M	SD	d
PALS	AP	23.14	3.61	25.93*	3.02	-.83^a	22.83	4.54	25.67	2.50	-.77^a	23.38	3.06	26.13*	3.52	-.83^a
	DB	10.71	5.06	11.50	5.35	-.20	10.17	5.00	9.83	4.67	.07	11.13	5.41	12.75	5.23	-.30
	SPLA	12.07	5.03	12.93	4.56	-.18	14.67	5.79	12.33	3.61	.40^c	10.13	3.60	13.37	5.37	-.72^b
	RS	23.43	4.65	25.36	4.51	-.63^c	22.67	6.02	27.33	2.16	-.77^b	24.00	3.66	23.88	5.36	.03
Identification with School		33.37	6.94	37.50*	1.51	-.82^a	31.33	5.21	38.33**	1.37	-1.84^a	35.25	7.91	36.88	1.36	-.28^c
TERS sub-scales	CCA	22.64	5.03	24.93	5.30	-.44^c	22.00	4.94	23.68	3.27	-.40^b	23.13	5.38	25.88	6.49	-.46^c
	CPR	21.86	3.44	22.64	3.77	-.22^c	19.83	3.43	22.00	2.00	-.77^b	23.38	2.72	23.13	4.79	-.06
	CLA	10.71	2.37	12.00	2.35	-.55^b	10.50	2.88	11.00	2.28	-.20	10.88	2.10	12.75	2.25*	-.86^a
	CAD	11.36	3.30	12.71*	3.29	-.41^c	11.33	3.56	12.67	2.16	-.46^b	11.38	3.34	12.75	4.10	-.37^c
	CEM	9.14	1.88	10.71*	2.05	-.80^a	9.00	3.56	11.50	1.76	-.85^a	9.25	1.75	10.13	2.17	-.45^c
	CULTURS	70.21	11.98	76.64	11.91	-.53^b	67.17	12.64	73.17	8.47	-.55^b	72.50	11.76	79.25	13.93	-.52^b
PRIAS	Conformity	12.29	3.91	17.86	11.05	-.68^b	13.67	1.51	13.33	2.07	-.19	11.25	4.89	21.25*	13.90	-.96^a
	Dissonance	23.43	7.93	24.86	8.40	-.18	21.67	7.53	27.00	8.07	-.68^b	24.75	8.48	23.25	8.81	-.17
	Immersion/ Resistance	29.00	9.54	34.43	7.41	-.64^b	25.00	10.33	34.33	5.13	-1.14^a	32.00	8.28	34.50	9.12	-.29^c
	Internalization	34.86	8.90	32.86	9.34	.22^c	35.33	4.84	36.33	2.94	-.25^c	34.50	11.40	30.25	11.73	.37^c

Note. M = Mean. SD = Standard Deviation. ES = Effect Size. PALS is Patterns of Adaptive Learning Scale (Midgley et al., 2000). AP= Academic Press; DB= Disruptive Behavior; SPLA= Self-Presentation of Low Achievement; RS= Relevance of School. IS= Identification with School Measure (Voelkl, 1996). TERS is the Teenager Experience of Racial Socialization Scale (Stevenson et al., 2002). PRIAS is the People of Color Racial Identity Attitudes Scale (Helms, 1995).
* p < .05
** p < .01
[a] Large Effect   [b] Moderate Effect   [c] Small Effect

Research Question 2: How are the Black girls' perceptions of their parental socialization messages changed after participation in Sankofa?

To determine whether girls' pre-intervention TERS scores differed from their post scores Cohen's *d* statistic was calculated for each pair of the five TERS subscales: Cultural Coping with Antagonism (CCA), Cultural Alertness to Discrimination (CAD), Cultural Pride Reinforcement (CPR), Cultural Appreciation of Legacy (CLA), and Cultural Endorsement of the Mainstream (CEM). In addition, differences in overall reported parental racial socialization experiences were measured using the CULTURS total score. Means, SDs, and effect sizes are summarized in Table 6. Result of paired sample t-tests are reported for descriptive purposes.

Total Sample. Results for the total sample indicated that the only large change was that the girls' scores on the CEM subscale, a measure of perceptions of the frequency of parental teaching about the importance of White institutions; it increased following the intervention ($d = -.80$; t(1,14) = -2.24, $p = .04$). Two medium size changes were that the girls indicated a higher post-intervention level of hearing messages that emphasized the importance of knowing the cultural heritage of African Americans (CLA) ($d = -.55$; $t(1,14) = -1.78$, $p = .10$) and a higher level of overall racial socialization experiences facilitated by their caretakers (CULTURS) ($d = -.53$; $t(1,14) = -1.77$, $p = .10$). The total sample of girls reported small increases in hearing messages about how to manage the impact of discrimination (CCA) following the intervention relative to before it.($d = -.44$; $t(1,14) = -1.24$, p = .24). Their reports of hearing parental messages about how to recognize discrimination (i.e., CAD scores) also increased by a small amount following

the intervention ($d = −.41$; $t (1,14) = -1.75$, $p = .10$) as did their reports of parental messages of pride and acknowledgement of African American culture (CPR) ($d = −.22$; $t (1,14) = -.75$, $p = .47$).

   *RA Subgroup.*CCA mean scores for regular attendees (RA) were slightly higher following the intervention, as indicated by the small d value ($d = −.40$; $t (1,6) = -.56$, $p = .60$). RA CAD mean scores or perceived parental messages about recognizing discrimination were also slightly higher following the intervention ($d = -.46$; $t (1,6) = -.78$, $p = .47$). The RA group reported moderately higher levels of CPR messages from their caretakers ($d = -.77$; $t = -1.09$, $p = .33$). They reported much higher levels of hearing messages that communicated the importance of mainstream institutions and culture (CEM) ($d = -.89$; $t(1,6) = -2.13$; $p = .09$). Messages related to the importance of an appreciation of cultural heritage (CLA) however, was small ($d = -.20$; $t(1,6) = -.33$; $p = .76$). For the RA subgroup, analyses indicated a moderate increase in their report of the frequency that their caretakers communicated messages about race (CULTURS) following the intervention ($d = -.55$; $t (1,6) = -.85$, $p = .45$).

   NRA Subgroup. Girls who did not attend Sankofa groups on a regular basis (NRA) reported pre-post scores on the CCA that increased by a small amount ($d = −.46$; $t (1,8) = −1.10$, $p = .31$). Likewise, NRA's reported slightly higher levels of parental messages about recognizing discrimination (CAD) following the intervention ($d = -.37$; $t (1,8)= -2.20$, $p = .06$). NRA girls' level of CPR prior to the intervention and their scores after it did not differ ($d = -.06$; $t(1,8) = .24$, $p = .82$). Perceived CLA messages were much higher post intervention ($d = -.86$; $t = -3.23$, $p = .01$). NRA girls also reported a slight

increase in hearing messages that reflected a belief that talking about race is irrelevant, and having cultural connections are unnecessary (CEM) ($d = -.45$; $t(1,8) = -1.05$, p = .33); the difference was moderate. The NRA subgroup reported a moderately higher level of post scores on their overall parental racial socialization experiences (CULTURS) ($d = -.52$; $t(1,8) = -1.79$, p = .12).

    Between-groups Analysis. Although RA group members reported hearing such messages at a higher level, NRA members, who did not attend the intervention regularly, reported a decrease in their parents' teachings of cultural pride as measured on the CPR subscale . Conversely, NRA members reported hearing a higher level of messages about the importance of one's cultural background, and RA group members reported a small post-intervention increase. Differences in post-intervention scores between the RA group and NRA were also reported on the CEM scale. The RA group reported a higher level of post-intervention endorsement, the NRA group's reported increase in CEM scores was moderate.

Summary

    Effect size analyses suggested that the total sample of girls reported hearing slightly more parental messages about the importance of being aware of and overcoming racial obstacles following the intervention than they did before the intervention. Their reported frequency of parental racial socialization messages over the course of the intervention was relatively similar. Reported parental racial socialization before the intervention was representative of what girls continued to experience throughout the course of the intervention on four of the five TERS subscales.

Research Question 3: In what ways do racial identity schemas change following a Sankofa intervention?

Effect size analyses (Cohen's *d*) were conducted by comparing the four post-intervention racial identity schemas to pre-intervention schemas using the pre-intervention SD as the standard for the within group (i.e., pre-post) analyses and the SDs aggregated across groups for the between-group analyses.

Pre-intervention and Post-intervention Comparison of Racial Identity Schemas

Total Sample. Post-intervention Conformity scores were moderately higher than the total group's scores prior to the intervention ($d = -.68$; $t (1,14) = -1.94$, $p = .07$) (see Table 6). The increase in the overall sample's post-intervention Dissonance score was negligible ($d = -.18$; $t (1,14) = -.72$, $p = .48$), but their Immersion/Resistance post scores increased moderately relative to their pre-intervention scores as indicated by a moderate *d* value ($d = -.64$; $t (1,14) = -1.96$, $p = .07$); Internalization scores revealed a small decrease at the end of the intervention ($d = .22$; t $= .62$, p $= .55$).

Thus, following the Sankofa intervention, the girls increased their tendencies toward conforming to the mainstream (i.e., Conformity) and their reactive withdrawal into their own racial group (Immersion). Also, they appeared to become slightly less racially self-actualized (Internalization).

RA Subgroup. The *d* value indicated that the pre-post Conformity mean scores for RA girls essentially did not change ($d = -.19$; $t (1,6) = .35$, $p = .74$). However, their level of endorsement of the Dissonance status showed a medium sized increase ($d = -.68$; $t (1,6) = -1.47$, p $= .20$), but their Immersion/Resistance increased by a large amount ($d =$

−1.14; t (1,6) = -1.84, p = .13). The RA subgroup's endorsement of Internalization was slightly higher post intervention than it was before as indicated by a small d value (d = −.25; t (1,14) = -.52, p = .62).

These results suggest that the RA girls' psychological withdrawal into their own racial group (Immersion/Resistance) increased substantially following the intervention. Their levels of confusion about racial dynamics (Dissonance) increased by a moderate amount and the girls changed a small amount toward greater racial self-actualization (Internalization). Conformity did not change.

NRA Subgroup. These girls' post-intervention Conformity scores increased by a large amount relative to their pre-intervention scores (d = −.96; t(1,8) = -2.25, p = .05). Post-Dissonance and Pre-Dissonance scores were not different (d = −.17; t (1,8) = .89, p = .40), whereas Immersion/Resistance increased a small amount (d = −.29; t (1,8) = −.863, p = .42)) and Internalization decreased (d = .37; t = .77, r = .84, p = .47) by a small amount following Sankofa.

Thus, NRA girls' Conformity scores changed most substantially relative to their other racial identity scores suggesting that they adopted a stronger White-oriented perspective. Their Immersion/Resistant or pro-Black racial orientation increased slightly, but their endorsement of Internalization or a self-actualizing orientation decreased at post-intervention.

Between sub-group analyses. When compared to NRA group members, RA members' decreased in their level of endorsement of the Conformity racial identity status was much higher post-intervention (d = .80), and the amount of difference was large

period. Differences between the RA and NRA group members' use of Dissonance, following the intervention were moderate ($d = .45$). Both groups' small increase in their endorsement of the Immersion/Resistance status, when compared to one another, did not differ substantially post-intervention ($d = -.02$). RA members' increased use of Internalization as a dominant racial identity schema, when compared to the decline in use of the Internalization schema by NRA group members was moderately higher following Sankofa ($d = .70$).

<u>Summary</u>

In sum, following their participation in the group, the RA girls seemed to develop more positive Black racial identity, whereas NRA girls seemed to develop in the opposite direction as strengthening of their Conformity schema was the strongest outcome for the NRA subgroup. Analysis of the total sample yielded results most consistent with the total sample.

Qualitative Analysis

The qualitative portion of the study was designed to support and further explicate the quantitative findings. In this section the responses of a subgroup of seven interviewees are reported. The seven girls were selected prior to the intervention because they represented a range of reported familial racial socialization experiences that potentially influenced their racial identity development prior to the intervention. Each pre-post interview was coded to identify responses to questions with respect to themes that were investigated in the quantitative section: (a) Racial Identity, (b) Racial Socialization, and (c) School-related Experiences. Responses were further analyzed to determine broad themes, within each construct.

Question: Where and how do you remember learning about your racial/ethnic background?

Prior to the intervention, the girls reported learning about their racial and/or ethnic backgrounds from their families. More specifically, girls, who reported having conversations about their racial heritage, said that the conversations happened primarily with the women in their families (i.e., mothers or grandmothers). For one respondent, *both* parents reportedly contributed to her familial racial socialization process. Even more noteworthy was the response of another interviewee who reported that no one in her family, or elsewhere in her community, had ever engaged in explicit conversations about her racial/ethnic background. When conversations about race occurred within girls' family systems, if at all, the girls reported that the conversations included content about

cultural pride reinforcement, messages about how to manage discrimination, and parents' reflections on their own experiences of racism.

Prior to the intervention, one girl stated that she hoped to learn more information about what it means "to be Black" through her participation the Sankofa intervention as a ninth grade student. Following the intervention, all of girls but one, continued to respond that their primary means of racial socialization was facilitated by conversations with maternal figures in their families. Most reported that conversations about their racial/ethnic background began at an early age. Additionally, two interviewees indicated that their social studies class added to the information shared with them by their families (e.g., lessons on Martin Luther King or Africa). The interviewee, who initially expressed a desire to learn about her cultural background through the intervention, when asked post-intervention about when and how she learned about her racial/ethnic background, reported that the information was provided by the Sankofa intervention.

The girls' post-intervention responses to questions about the presence of explicit conversations about race within their families remained consistent. Most *(n* = 4) stated that they did not have explicit conversations about race with family members. One respondent, prior to the intervention, stated that her mother talked to her frequently about race given her placement in a predominantly White school system. Following the intervention, however, she responded in a slightly different manner, stating that while conversations occurred with her mother, they were typically prompted by racially stimulating media (e.g., the movie Roots), and were "not deep." Overall, although the girls reported hearing messages and having conversations about their racial/ethnic

backgrounds, they were less frequently engaged in direct conversations about race that might enhance their understanding and ability to engage and in some cases, survive racial encounters in the school setting (see Table 7).

Table 7 Summary of Responses to Semi-structured Interview: Racial Socialization Questions – Familial

Participant	How did you learn about your background?		What have you heard about race from family?	
	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
X2	My grandmother on both sides. My mother and father, too. I asked them what I was and I learned stuff I didn't know. They didn't go into specifics about the culture, they just told me about my ancestors.	My mother, my father, my grandmother. They would tell me everything.	My mom talks to me about race a lot because I do to school here. She says that if anyone says anything to you that is disrespectful or racist you should definitely tell someone. You shouldn't have to deal with that.	Not deep conversations but like if we watch a movie like the Color Purple or something my mother gets really heated and she can't watch movies like that. Yea, Roots or any other movie that shows slavery or Blacks being treated unequally.
X3	Where? That group meeting we had with you. [Did you learn about your background. from school?] No. [Family?] No. I am hoping to learn some stuff this year with the group.	Sankofa. A little in history class this year. We did Africa. We talked about how it's the second biggest continent and how some part of it is really poor.	My father doesn't like White people. Well, he does, it is just that he doesn't like old White cops. He tells this story about how the White cops are always pulling him for no reason and they accuse him of doing stuff. They [other family members] tell me that White people are cool but some do certain stuff to make Black people upset.	My father talks about it a little bit. He has a problem with police officers. He says because we're Black they treat us like whatever.
X4	Sometimes at school and sometimes at home. Slavery, MLK, and Malcolm X at school. My parent's backgrounds like how they didn't have stuff we have today and stuff, at home. They say that we should be proud of what we have at my home.	My dad talks about it a lot. He talks about how he lived in Jamaica when he was like 17. Mom talks about it sometimes. She talks about; well they both talk about education. My dad says that Jamaica has, they didn't have the opportunities that we have now. He didn't have after-school programs because he would have to cook and clean.	No conversations.	No I don't think so.
A2	My parents and probably when I was going into the 7th grade. When they [school] tell you about stuff happening like slavery and all that. Rosa Parks.	My mom told me. She told me when we watched Roots. She told me then. She started talking about how my grandma in Virginia was a slave or something.	They told me mostly about my grandmother's background. On my father's side, she used to be a slave somewhere. We were watching this movie, Roots, and she told me about it.	My parents don't talk about racism. They could have, I might not remember. My mom sometimes says it might seem like that [racism] and it's not like that. Or some people are going to be racist so I should just get over it.
A6	I don't know. This guy at my grandma's church. A long time ago when I was like 9 or 10.	Partially my mother, partially school. We went down from everything we are and who brought in the White side and who brought in this side and that side. MLK and stuff like that in school.	No. Not really.	No. Not really we haven't had any conversations and she just wanted to bring it up when we were in South Carolina and I just wanted to run outside.

Note. Regular group attendees = X2, X3, X4, A6, A9. Non-regular group attendees = A2, A7.

Table 7 con't

A7	My family. They always talk about it. They are very spiritual. At least my mom and my grandmother are. They would like tell me stories of how my great grandmother knew Martin Luther King Jr. He used to like come to her house. My family came from VA, which used to be like a very Black place. So that is how I learned about it. From them telling me stories.	My mom. I am more in touch with my mom's side. My mom talks to me about, well she doesn't really know her father that much so she talked to me about her mom. She told me about racism and all this other stuff. She told me to be proud of who I am and that's basically it. She is an anti-racist organizer.	The most my mom will tell me is that White people have a certain place in society and you have to work harder to get there than White people do bc it is so easy for them. And it is getting higher in terms of Black people like not going to college or whatever. A lot of colleges got in trouble for not letting Black people in to their schools. I guess they have to have a certain amount of them in school right now. I think it is really stupid because like why should it matter.	That the skin you are in is beautiful. You should never be down on yourself because of who you are. That I have to work harder in life because of what I am. My family said you are Black and be proud.
A9	From going to church and from my mom and grandmother.	My mother and grandmother. I was very young.	That we should be proud of who we are. And take good care of ourselves. My mom and grandma.	Just about being Black. They said be proud of who you are. No we don't talk about race.

Note. Regular group attendees = X2, X3, X4, A6, A9. Non-regular group attendees = A2, A7.

Question: How important is your racial/ethnic background in your life? How does having this background impact who you are?

In response to this question, prior to the intervention, the girls provided simplistic answers, stating or affirming that their racial/ethnic background was important to them. Three interviewees, however, stated that their racial and/or ethnic background was less significant to them. Very few of the girls interviewed were able to respond to the question in a manner that illuminated the impact that their racial classification, as Black, had on their personal lives. One girl attempted to provide a rationale for why she felt that her classification as a Black girl was important to her. She based her opinion on the socio-political history of Black individuals relative to White persons in the United States, "It's just that Whites had a bad [sic] background than Blacks. It's like first we were slaves and now it's different because of Martin Luther King Jr. I am saying people look up to us."

Following the intervention the girls' responses reflected more developmentally sophisticated responses, with all of the girls endorsing a positive identification with their racial/ethnic background. The self-reflection and complexity in the content of the responses was illustrated in one girl's reply. She noted that while she is proud of her racial/ethnic background, being associated with her racial group might attract negative attention and response from those around her. "[It is] very important. It's your race so it should be important. Maybe to other people it makes a difference. Maybe they look at me in the wrong way because I am not White." This girl attempts to delineate her personal feelings about her cultural background versus her perception of the influence it may have on how others view her. Another girl, who initially reported that her racial/ethnic background did not have a significant impact on her life, stated post-intervention, that the importance of her racial/ethnic background had changed over time. Although she initially carried a sense of embarrassment about her ethnic background, she reported, "Now I feel like it is important where you come from."

Additionally, following the Sankofa intervention, more interviewees were able to make a connection between their knowledge of their socio-political histories as Black girls and their sense of pride based on their self-identification with their racial group (i.e., Black) that they perceived as having overcome some racial adversities. "I think in some ways it makes you stronger. Looking at what African Americans went through this struggle and if they came through that then you can pretty much get through anything."

Table 8

Summary of Responses to Semi-structured Interview: Racial Identity Development Questions

How important is your racial/ethnic background in your life?

Participant	Pre	Post
X2	It doesn't really, people assume I am Spanish because of the way I look but when they find out I am all of those things but Spanish, they don't really look at me differently. It doesn't impact me.	It doesn't influence my life that much but it's important to me. It just doesn't affect my life. When people ask me what ethnicity I am it doesn't really make a difference. It makes me feel proud and different because I am a lot of stuff.
X3	To me it really doesn't matter. That is a hard question. I am not that smart.	Very important. It's your race so it should be important. Maybe to other people it makes a difference. Maybe they look at me in the wrong way because I am not White.
X4	I think it is important because of my race. I want to know what happens before. I want to learn about how people in my race feel about what happened in the past. It doesn't really have an impact on my life.	I think it is important. You should be proud of who you are. The first part of my life I was embarrassed. I felt embarrassed about the food I ate and like nobody would know. I thought it [Jamaica] was an unusual place that you don't know about. It changed after 5th or 6th grade. I felt like I didn't care anymore. It doesn't matter anymore. Now I feel like it's important where you come from.
A2	I like it. It's just that Whites have…a bad background than Blacks. Like they whoop people and have done all that stuff so when you look at a White person you say…I don't know how to put it. It's like at first we were slaves and now it's different because of MLK. I am saying people look up to us.	I feel that I have another race about that I could learn about. My father's race, since he was from Honduras where there was some slavery.
A6	It is important.	It is important, somewhat. I think it some ways it makes you stronger. Looking at African Americans who went through this struggle, and if they can get through that then you pretty much can get through anything
A7	I think it is very important. To know where you came from and what you are because if you don't know where you came from and what you are, then you really don't know yourself. My mom's mother was Black and White and my father was Black and White so I can more say that I am Black and White more but there is Spanish in there so…I am not racist at all. To me I think that all cultures are important. Like all ethnicities are important to me even though I may not be some of them. I am more in touch with my African American culture and Spanish culture because I have grew up around them so much. The Irish part came from like my great-grandmother or something. There is a reason for that because she got raped in slavery or something. So I never knew the whole like bloodline thing but I know it is there. I don't like talking about White people or Black or Spanish people because it feels weird. So I think my culture is very important.	Its just, I mean it doesn't really mean anything. I mean it means something because that's who I am. I think it makes it [my daily life] harder. What do they call people that aren't White? [Minorities]. White people aren't really labeled anything. So when people look at you the wrong way while you walk down the street it is kind of weird. It kind of sucks because we have to work harder than most White people and we also have labels.
A9	I don't know it is important. It is just important to me; who I am is very important to me.	It's really important…because I am Black.

Note. Regular group attendees = X2, X3, X4, A6, A9. Non-regular group attendees = A2, A7.

Question: What do you think society expects of a student who looks like you or comes from your racial or ethnic background?

In an effort to assess the impact of perceived racial socialization messages from the girls' general surroundings, they were asked to provide their opinion on what they believe society in general thinks about and expects from Black youths. Before the Sankofa intervention, respondents overwhelmingly indicated their belief that society views them as intellectually inferior. Moreover, respondents reported that they believe they are viewed as violent, lacking motivation, and unable to succeed in achieving their goals. "That we are loud and annoying, sometimes dumb and violent. Probably that we are not really that smart or whatever. That we are not bright."

Following the intervention, respondents provided more detailed accounts of their perceptions of what they thought society expects of students who come from similar racial/ethnic backgrounds. Again, interviewees' responses reflected an overwhelming perception that society views Black youths as lacking intellectual abilities and having less potential for future successes when compared to their White counterparts. "I think they expect us to work harder because they think we don't have the potential to reach grades of some of the White students." In addition, some respondents included stereotyped characteristics of Black youths, such as loud and obnoxious.

Table 9

Summary of Responses to Semi-structured Interview: Racial Socialization Questions - Society

Participant	Perception of society's expectation of students from similar racial/ethnic background?	
	Pre	Post
X2	If someone looks at me, I am not sure. Just in general a Black person they will probably think they are trouble. To me, I don't know what they think because they always think I am Spanish because of my skin color and because I have nice hair. That is what they say to me. I don't mind if people think I am Spanish but they way they generalize it. I think they expect that we have to work harder in school. They assume we are less educated or don't know as much.	It depends on the person. If someone is racist they expect me to fail because I am not White and if they are not really racist, then they can't really tell by looking at me how I succeed. I hate to say it but they expect us to fail. It's not right. It's like looking at the statistics and the past, and a lot of people look down on African Americans.
X3	That we are loud and annoying, sometimes dumb, and violent. Probably that we are not really that smart or whatever. That we are not bright.	
X4	I think most people think AA's cant like succeed in what they want to believe they can do. Like people think that Blacks can't become lawyers or like doctors. So we have to prove to them that we can be whatever we want to be.	They are loud and obnoxious. They don't expect Black students to be successful. They will think that most Black people will get pregnant. Not smart.
A2	That they can't succeed in life or that they are stupid and can't do nothing. Because Whites could only write and read back then, and we couldn't so they think we can't do it now. Maybe some people still stay with that.	Not that smart. They don't have that much intelligence and not going to get that far in life as compared to a white person. Their life is going to be hard for them. I don't know, they think as if we're lower than themselves or than Whites. That we don't have that much brain and stuff.
A6	I don't know. Maybe, I don't know.	I think they expect us to work harder because they think we don't have the potential to reach grades of some of the White students. So they just expect more from us and expect us to work harder than most people.
A7	To fail. I think they expect us more to fail or to like drop out of school and go to like a GED classes because they know that you need more than a GED to be successful. So I think they expect us all to like drop out of school and fail and to have kids by the time were are like 15.	That we are loud. We are ghetto. People kind of make us that way but still we are loud, we are ghetto, and we are never going to be anything in life. We are just going to be dropouts. That is what people look at us as. To dropout and maybe to sell drugs, be on drugs, and be pregnant at the age of 15 and not to amount to anything and be a failure.
A9	I think they think Black people are slow and everything but yea, not sure.	They expect us to fail.
X2	If someone looks at me, I am not sure. Just in general a Black person they will probably think they are trouble. To me, I don't know what they think because they always think I am Spanish because of my skin color and because I have nice hair. That is what they say to me. I don't mind if people think I am Spanish but they way they generalize it. I think they expect that we have to work harder in school. They assume we are less educated or don't know as much.	It depends on the person. If someone is racist they expect me to fail because I am not White and if they are not really racist, then they can't really tell by looking at me how I succeed. I hate to say it but they expect us to fail. It's not right. It's like looking at the statistics and the past, and a lot of people look down on African Americans.
X3	That we are loud and annoying, sometimes dumb, and violent. Probably that we are not really that smart or whatever. That we are not bright.	
X4	I think most people think AA's cant like succeed in what they want to believe they can do. Like people think that Blacks can't become lawyers or like doctors. So we have to prove to them that we can be whatever we want to be.	They are loud and obnoxious. They don't expect Black students to be successful. They will think that most Black people will get pregnant. Not smart.

Note. Regular group attendees = X2, X3, X4, A6, A9. Non-regular group attendees = A2, A7.

Question: What do you believe about race?

When asked about their beliefs about the topic of race prior to the Sankofa intervention, the girls' responses indicated recognition that the topic of race might be important. Respondents either expressed indifference with regard to their overall opinion, or they chose to endorse an idealized color-blind approach to managing racial dynamics. Their statements indicated a belief that although race may be an issue, society should work to treat all persons as equals.

Following the intervention, some girls expressed a belief that race is an important topic that is complex yet, not often discussed. More specifically, one interviewee alluded to the fact that race is not a topic that is ever explicitly addressed in the school setting in a manner that is meaningful to her (see Table 10). "It's a big topic and should be talked about more…in history. Like I care about the French Revolution but it doesn't impact me as much as race does today, you know?" Although there was an increased understanding and distinction between the girls' desire to have all persons from differing racial/ethnic backgrounds treated equally, there was also a recognition that equal treatment does not currently exist. Subsequently more often than not, the girls continued to struggle to express their beliefs about the topic of race. "I don't know. It doesn't matter to me. You are what you are."

Table 10

Summary of Responses to Semi-structured Interview: Racial Identity Development Questions

Participant	What do you believe about race?		Has your understanding of race shifted or changed since you started school?	
	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
X2	I think it plays a large role in society. And it does affect people negatively and positively. I don't know people don't think about it everyday until something happens.	It's a big topic. It's not talked about a lot. It's a big topic and should be talked about more….In History. Like I care about the French Revolution but it doesn't impact me, as much as race does today you know.	It's pretty much the same. I know the facts and figures but I don't know the details about what I am.	No. Not really.
X3	I don't think race really matters. I think everyone should be treated the same way. They aren't though, that is the problem. Yea it does matter, Or maybe both.	No response.	It changed a lot. I don't know how. At first I didn't' care but then I started to because I started wanting to be wit people that are my own color.	Not really.
X4	We all should become…any race should not think about what happened in the past and look on to the future. We should learn from our mistakes.	That all people are equal. They are not treated equally though.	I am not sure. I don't know. Probably the same.	Not really.
A2	No response.	I think it was an important time but its like back in the day. I don't think it's that serious anymore because it's gone and people shouldn't bring it up. We should talk about it because it's your background and how people look through it. I'm saying how people act towards people, like being racist, is unnecessary, like that shouldn't happen, it's gone.	I don't think so. I probably get treated differently by teachers because they treat you differently because you are Black.	Some stuff I kind of knew this year but now I feel like I have a better understanding about racial stuff.
A6	I don't know.	I don't know. It doesn't really matter to me. You are what you are.	Not really	Not really
A7	I think my family is not really racist, my mom and grandma. If anything they told me to like love everyone not because of what they are but who they are. It is just like you know. I know from what I can see like you see more White people being lawyers than like Black people. You see more Black people being like hip-hop people. But then again you are not really achieving anything. You are making an easy way out.	I believe that it really shouldn't matter what color your skin is or what your background is or anything like that. It should just matter who you are and where you want to go in life. It kind of sucks that you get labeled that.		No.
A9	Nothing different from what was learned from family.	I don't know. I don't care. Not really.	Yes. It got stronger. That's about it. You know when you are young you don't know much. Now, yea. The program, my mom and my grandmother made it get stronger.	Yes. I don't know.

Note. Regular group attendees = X2, X3, X4, A6, A9. Non-regular group attendees = A2, A7.

Question: How do you think that race matters in the ways that students are treated in your school? What role do teachers play in what happens to students of different races or ethnicities? What role do you think other students have in what happens?

The girls were asked to provide their opinion on the overall racial school climate, interactions with teachers in relation to race, and interactions amongst their peers with respect to race. They initially reported a perception of segregation within the school environment among the student population. Although some respondents reported specific incidents of racial discrimination, others stated that they were not aware of overall differences in the ways in which students are treated based on their racial/ethnic background. When asked about their perceptions of teacher treatment, respondents' responses ranged from an equality of treatment by teachers, to instances of classroom discrimination reported by peers, to direct assertions of teacher-to-student racial discrimination.

Respondents, who endorsed indifference or a belief in general equality in the school environment, were more likely to use the information shared by their peers when asked about their perceptions of teacher treatment. Moreover, the same interviewees often provided disclaimers such as, "I am not saying all," when discussing their personal beliefs about the ways that teachers interact with racial and ethnic minority students. Respondents more often commented on negative racial interactions with their peers. The girls provided accounts of individual racism in the form of direct racial slurs, "I hear the N word a lot," or the presence of underlying assertions of stereotypes within interpersonal interactions. "I still feel racism is around because people talk to me like I am stupid

because I am Black. Like oh, I don't know that answer. I do know they just assume I don't." All but one interviewee responded to the question about peer treatment in the school setting with specific examples of the ways in which race and racism affected interactions with peers. The divergent interviewee stated that differences in student treatment among students were non-existent.

Following the intervention, participants continued to report that their school environment was largely segregated by racial/ethnic groups, particularly in places like the cafeteria and where students tend to fraternize in the hallways. "You see like Black kids with Black kids, White with White, and Spanish kids hanging around…They don't spread out as much as you hope." Other interviewees were consistent in their reports of racist student interactions. "Some White kids will be like they have such big noses." Those respondents, who initially expressed a lack of perception of difference in overall student treatment based on race, began to question their school environment. "I am not sure. I think some teachers might look down upon you and expect more if you are Black versus if you are White."

When asked about treatment by teachers based on race, the one girl who endorsed a lack of discriminatory behavior by teachers, continued to do so. Every other interviewee, including those who originally did not believe that teachers treated students from different racial/ethnic backgrounds differently, provided some example of racial discrimination by teachers. One girl, prior to the intervention, expressed ambivalence about whether or not teachers acted in discriminatory ways when interacting with racial and ethnic minority students. However, post-intervention, she stated, "Sometimes they

treat you like you are dumb or something. [When] I raise my hand, and that's what you are supposed to do when you need help, they don't come to me so it's whatever and I ask someone else."

Reported incidents of racial tensions among peers continued following the intervention. What was noteworthy about interviewees' post-intervention responses to the question about peer interactions in relation to race, was the girls' attempts to move beyond their reported observations in an attempt to make sense of the racial dynamics in their school. For example, one girl stated that some teachers treat students from different racial/ethnic backgrounds negatively and as a result, students "Just go along in the classroom. However the teacher treats you, that's how most of them [White students] are."

Another respondent who originally reported no differences in the ways in which students interact with one another, reported *hearing* about instances of individual racism among students and, as a result, reportedly limited her social interactions with peers. "I don't talk. I stick to myself." This girl seemed to follow the developmental trajectory of other girls who seemingly moved from obliviousness or lack of recognition of racial dynamics (i.e. Conformity), to reporting secondary instances of racism (i.e. Dissonance), to individualized and explicit reports of racism (i.e. Immersion/Resistance). Overall, the girls' described a school climate that is full of instances of individual and systemic racism. Such situations, based on interviewees' reports, occurred at a peer level, as well as with teachers, creating an overall negative racially provoking school environment.

Table 11

Summary of Responses to Semi-structured Interview: School- Related Experiences – Climate

Participant	Race in relation to student treatment overall?	
	Pre	Post
X2	I notice that race is cluttered together. It is like Spanish hanging out with Spanish, Black with Black, and White with White. I mean you see some merging but not really it's pretty much segregated. It is not like by law but by natural. People talk to each other sometimes but they are not really impacted by race a lot because they have their own race around them so they don't really care or think about too much what other people have to say.	Race does make a difference in this school because you see like and the Black kids, White kids, and Spanish kids hanging around or whatever.
X3	Probably a lot. I hear the N word a lot from White kids. People talking to you in a stereotypical way. Everyone jokes. White kids in school will come up to you and be like yo, yo, yo dog.	I don't know. Well some are treated badly, well not badly but just not good. They make fun of Black people I guess and their clothes. Some White kids will be like they have such big noses, I don't know.
X4	I think everybody is treated differently. Because people with their own race feel more comfortable with them and most people can be racist to some African Americans and stuff. [Most people?] White people.	I don't think it really matters here. This is a diverse school and everybody gets along and some people act really weird. Some people act really awkward. I can't explain it.
A2	Yes. I think that probably because we couldn't read or write back then, they think we are stupid so they…cuz of slavery, so they try to treat us as slaves or try to like, how can I put it? They try to like treat you different than what their own race is. So they think you are lesser than them, not on their level. [Them?] Teachers.	The teachers and the way they react towards different races and different people in their class.
A6	I don't know. I don't really see a difference. People who like each other hang out together.	I am not sure. I think some teachers might look down upon you and expect more of you if you're Black versus if you were White.
A7	I do believe that the White kids have like an easier time going through the school. Because you see it like everywhere you go. Cuz like I have this social studies teacher who like looks down on me like everything I do he has a comment. So when you get fed up to the point where you are like I don't need your opinion to tell me how to be because I am not you, it is like aggravating. People think of Black people like failures most of the time. They think you are going to be in SPED classes and not achieving higher so when they do see you in the classes they look like oh what is going on? When they see you in those classes they are like, oh surprising.	I think that some of the teachers look at some of the Black kids as if they are really not going to be anything.
A9	I think it is equal.	I don't know.

Note. Regular group attendees = X2, X3, X4, A6, A9. Non-regular group attendees = A2, A7.

Table 11 continued

Participant	Teacher treatment?	
	Pre	Post
X2	Teachers usually treat students the same.	I don't think they have much of an impact.
X3	I don't think they treat us differently…well sometimes they do. When you are working they will ask if you need help, you say not and two seconds later, they will ask again. And sometimes you are just being pressured because you look different. It makes you feel dumb or something…like we don't know the answer.	Sometimes they treat you like you are dumb or something. Like we always need help or something, which we don't. [When you need help?] I raise my hand and that's what you are supposed to do when you need help and they don't come to me so it's whatever and I ask someone else.
X4	I have no idea. [They treat students differently?] Sometimes. I heard, I might be wrong, but I heard that some White teachers treat some people the same way and other people differently.	I feel like most teachers, when Black people get in trouble, we into more trouble than they Whites,that is what I think. Like earlier 2 weeks ago I got into trouble in math class and I got detention and like other people didn't get into trouble even though they were doing other stuff in class.
A2	[Teachers?] I am not saying all, but when I was younger some teachers would treat you different and stuff like they have their favorites. I just remember different teachers used to treat me differently.	Some teachers will treat you the same but when you say tell a person they can do something but they tell you that you can't, you feel like they are being racist. You know cause of how it was and acting towards Blacks and that is the first thing you think. It could be how they put it.
A6	I don't know.	Some of the teachers treat you negatively.
A7	Teachers won't show it as much as they think it but I believe they do play a role in the whole race thing. Like they try to give you more help than you need. They like try to make it seem like you are stupid. They will go around and look at you more. The way they do it is like I am not dumb I don't need your help like that.	Some people were screaming down the hall a few minutes ago and the teacher came out the class. "'Why are you yelling?'" I wasn't even yelling. So he thought the most ghettoest thing in the world. He was like "'What's your name is Tenesha?'" I was like no. It's weird. It's messed up.
A9	I don't know. In the learning center they say we are not supposed to have Ipods but then this not Black person, boy, he gets to use his Ipod but not us. That is bad.	I don't think that teachers are racist, maybe some teachers. Cause one time I was in class and I said can I go to the bathroom and she said no. Then another person asks to go and she said yes. Like how come I couldn't go?

Note. Regular group attendees = X2, X3, X4, A6, A9. Non-regular group attendees = A2, A7.

Participant	Peer treatment?	
	Pre	Post
X2	Two kids in my grade were racist. They would say stuff like you are ghetto or they would try to imitate us and make jokes about how me and someone else talked. We didn't appreciate that so we went to the principal and that was resolved but I still feel racism is around because people talk to me like I am stupid because I am Black. Like oh I don't know that answer. I do know…they assume I don't.	They all hang out together. They don't spread out as much as you would hope.
X3	Some of them are racist. I don't a lot of them…I guess everyone is racist in their own way. Nobody is perfect.	We are treated the same by teachers but not by students. Some of the students hate other students. Not my fault.
X4	In my experiences with Black people when they are together they use the N word, playing around. I don't think we should use the word at all. Or, White people using it to Black people. Black people take it a different way.	I don't know, I don't think so.
A2	Some people use it as a joke. Like say if I will say oh you are racist or something. Not sure how to explain it. I heard it today. A White person said you are racist and she was like yea. She had a joke about a cookie. If they [white students] see a Black student they might try to punk them. Because…they still think they have power over us.	Some take it as a joke. They call another kid racist or something. They can just be playing around at times.
A6		I think most of the students just go along in the classroom. However the teacher treats you, that's how most of them are
A7	I see a lot of white kids saying the word nigga and like acting. You know how Black people have a kind of accent sometimes. Like what you see on the media on the media or something. They will like act that out and they think it is funny. Some Black kids think that it is funny and it is you know what they are thinking. Like what you are thinking, it is not funny. They aren't thinking it is funny but what the hell are you going to do say this isn't funny, you just let it be.	I think they think all Black people are dropouts and that we are never going to amount to anything. [Why?] Because most people do. Unless it is one of the nice teachers that tries to push you harder and make you do your work. I have some White friends but they are not racist.
A9	None.	I am not sure because I don't talk. I don't know. I stick to myself. They say they are racist but it ain't go nothing to do with me.

Note. Regular group attendees = X2, X3, X4, A6, A9. Non-regular group attendees = A2, A7.

Question: Tell me a little bit about your experiences as a student in this school system. How have you experienced school? Do you feel like you have had different experiences from other students in your schools? Other students of Color? White students?

When asked to reflect on their student experiences in their current school and school system, girls typically stated a belief that their current school provided them with educational resources not available to their counterparts in Boston-area Public Schools. When asked to elaborate and provide a personal narrative about their student experiences in a predominantly White school system, the girls again provided examples of individual experiences of racism. Additionally, some respondents were able to speak to systemic racism and its impact on how Black students were perceived and treated in the school setting. More often than not, the girls reported that they felt "awkward" and "like an outsider" in their schools as a result of being a racial minority in the school setting.

Following the Sankofa intervention, respondents alluded to the perceived benefits of attending a predominantly White school system when applying for college and other post-secondary planning. "I went to school with a lot of White people and they will look at it as, I don't know a Black person can go further, even with Whites. I don't know how to explain it. They think more of you just because you are Black. If I was in an all-Black school they will probably think oh she is not going to get nowhere. When I'm in an all White school, I guess, I get further." In addition to recognizing the systemic advantages of attending their school, respondents again shared stories of individual racism at previous schools, as well those that occurred in their ninth grade year. Interviewees critically assessed the ways in which their experiences as Black students differed from

other racial groups, specifically White students. "I think White students feel a little bit more comfortable because of the environment they are in. Black people don't always feel uncomfortable; they just don't feel as comfortable as White people." Respondents spoke about the discomfort they often felt when attempting to relate to their White peers, "If I would talk to an Asian or a White girl I wouldn't talk about something that I wanted to talk about. I would talk to them about going downtown or about High School Musical. Something that they would be interested in so they would actually talk to me." Such responses illustrated the social isolation the girls experienced and often felt as a racial minority in a predominantly White school.

Table 12

Summary of Responses to Semi-structured Interview: School Related Experiences – Individual and Systemic

Participant	Pre	Post
X2	I like that the school is ahead so that in the future it will make things easier for me. A lot of students in Boston don't know as much as students here. When I lived here people were surprised because it is predominantly White. Now that I am with [the program] it is expected so it's like oh you are with [the program]. It is the first question out of their mouths. When I lived here people would always watch me in our neighborhood, now White people don't pay attention to me because I am in and out. There are little racist comments, slurs, like racial slurs.	I didn't like my previous school at all. There were only 2 Black kids in the eighth grade graduating class. I kind of felt like an outcast. A couple of kids would say racial slurs and I definitely stood up to one, not problem. I just didn't like it. I felt like I couldn't connect with anyone and I felt like I had to be different to fit in. If I would talk to an Asian or a White girl I wouldn't talk about something that I wanted to talk about. I would talk to them about going downtown or High School Musical. Something that they would be interested in so they would actually talk to me. Here it is way better not only about race but you can talk to sophomores and people who are older than you can pass their knowledge about anything. I think White students feel a little bit more comfortable because of the environment they are in. There are more White people, like rich. Black people don't always feel uncomfortable but they don't feel as comfortable as White people.
X3	It's cool. Last year when I started school I was in an Honors class and I was the only Black person in the class. It felt awkward be I was the only Black person in the class and didn't feel comfortable.	Well it is a good school that is it. It will help me get into college and stuff.
X4	If you go to high school here they have different opportunities and programs that can help you reach your goal. I feel like my experiences are different. White students don't know what we go through at times I don't know what I mean. You feel like an outsider. Cuz some people come from other places. [Like immigrants?] Yes. I did. I was the only Black kid in my class. It felt weird.	X schools have opportunities that can help you grow. Some teachers I can go to for help and others I can't because I don't like them and can't get along with them. With [program] kids we can talk about anything and like with other Black kids as well. When it comes to white kids it becomes awkward. When you talk about boys or something with the White people it will be really awkward because they won't understand.
A2	It's a good school. Mostly White but a good educated school. It has been off and on. Sometimes I get into trouble over stupid stuff. Playing around in class and not doing what I am supposed to do. I don't know I get bored or something. White people take things so serious. Once in a blue moon I get treated differently, sometimes in differently positions. It hasn't happened…yes it has! My teacher this year splits all the Black people into four corners and lets all the White people talk.	X is a smart school. I went to school with a lot of White people and they will look at it, as I don't know a Black person can go further, even with Whites. I don't know how to explain it. They think more of you just because you are Black. If I was in an all-Black school they will probably think oh she is not going to get nowhere. When I'm in an all White school I guess I get further. You are thinking about education and stuff. For them [White students] it's an easy day. They think they are so smart and they don't have someone on them. Everyday they probably have a routine go home, read…like a stereotype for Whites. That they are smarter than Blacks. It reflects on us because some people think that [the program] could not be that good of a program. They see us succeeding though.
A6	I don't know X schools just seem better. The teaching. I guess everyone does things a bit different.	That goes to college. They will look at what school you went to and if it's a pretty good school on the charts then they are more likely to accept you versus if you went to a Boston school. Some teachers might expect more of me. Some of them might be nicer to White kids than they are to colored kids.

Note. Regular group attendees = X2, X3, X4, A6, A9. Non-regular group attendees = A2, A7.

Table 12 con't

A7	Well I don't actually think. Well if you are doing good. I think that students who live in Brookline that are of Color are doing well. I just think that this program is a more efficient way to get through it. White students have it easy because they are white. Everything in this society is based on White people. Ok, this whole school they are so many White people they shadow over Black people. They are there all of the time. There are more Black kids here than in middle school but there is not enough. There is not enough Black people in this high school; there should be more. It is just because of how life is. There is nothing…but there something you can do about it but it would take forever. Like having more Black people achieve and not give up. Like more Black and Spanish people. I have seen White people fail but they can always get right back up. For Spanish and Black kids they give up when they feel like everything is going down. In BPS they don't care about them at all. There is not as much to help them.	It's been good and it has been bad. The good is that I met new people and had a lot of opportunities and it's actually kind of fun to know that you're in a program that will help you get into high school and college…some of the people. I have had bad experiences with the Principal and with the teachers, and the Vice Principal. I had this teacher and I thought he was a racist so I told my guidance counselor and she asked me why I thought he was racist. The she said that I needed mental help or something because I thought my teacher was racist. I think White students technically get it easier here. Well, they do because they are higher. Well they are not higher, but they just have a better chance of doing it because they are rich, White people. Well, a lot of White people are rich here and they are used to getting most of the stuff that they want and most of the teachers look at them like yea, you are going to be successful. I think it looks like being prejudiced.
A9	I don't know. School is good. I have had different experiences in other schools but X is way better.	They teach you much more than other schools. When I first came there were only two Black kids in my class. A class of like 15 to 20 kids.

Note. Regular group attendees = X2, X3, X4, A6, A9. Non-regular group attendees = A2, A7.

Question: Do you think that your experiences in school are most affected by your race or your gender?

When asked to speak to their perceptions of the importance of race versus gender in relation to their school experiences, the girls overwhelmingly reported that race was more salient for them and impacted their daily experiences more so than their gender. One girl was able to answer the question in a manner that indicated a more developmentally sophisticated level of integration of multiple identities. "Socially, my gender and academically, my race." Alternately, one girl responded that she did not believe that either aspect of her identity affected her school experiences. Although this was her reply to the question, responses to other questions throughout the interview indicated that the girl actually responded in a manner that gave an importance to race and her school experiences to which she seemed oblivious.

The girls' responses to the question of whether race or gender played a larger role in their daily experiences, specifically in the school setting, were direct acknowledgments of the characteristic that makes them noticeable, their racial classification. As one girl stated, "Probably race because it isn't that many African Americans in this school."

Table 13
Summary of Responses to Semi-structured Interview: Race and Gender

Participant	
X2	Socially my gender, academically my race. Every time I talk to a boy or something someone always goes and yells you like each other. Academically race is more impacted kind of. Everybody talks about, like the African American Scholars program, you are a Black student and you need to succeed like they always put those two together. Well, it is known that Black students don't succeed as much as White students. I guess they [people] would think I was stupid or not as smart.
X3	Race. A lot of kids know my name. They are always like your name, X, is Chinese and stuff and I am like, I am not Chinese. The whole big noses and stuff…I try to ignore it but its kind of hard when you hear it over and over again. I heard Negro a couple of times; I hear it a lot actually. Yea, Nigga. Yea, and it's kind of hard. I feel offended. It just hurts. I just say guys don't say that cause you're going to hurt a lot of people.
X4	Race because some people can be racist. A girl really doesn't matter.
A2	Being a Black girl is like kind of awkward because its not that much Blacks in the school. You are in class with a bunch of White and you feel like when you talk, what do they think of my opinion? Its different because stereotypes for Blacks. There is no difference between Black boys and Black girls. We're both African American and gender doesn't change anything. I'm saying there could be but I don't know. I don't think it changes anything because we are both from the same background.
A6	Probably race. Because it isn't that many African Americans in this school.
A7	I think it is affected by what you do and sometimes your race. Like if you act up, Black people have stereotypes that we are loud and that we are ghetto. Some people actually contribute to those stereotypes. Like running down the hallway and yelling and screaming and being ghetto and loud and all that crazy stuff. So obviously that's how they are going to think all Black people are because a lot of Black people don't act like that. I don't know maybe if we didn't do that we wouldn't get such a bad label. I don't think it has to do with gender. Unless you have a sexist teacher. I've been in that situation when I've been ignored but I didn't know why and it was because of race...but I didn't just assume it.
A9	I don't think either.

Note. Regular group attendees = X2, X3, X4, A6, A9. Non-regular group attendees = A2, A7.

Summary

The overall findings for the subgroup of seven qualitative interviewees indicated a more mature and developed expression of racial identity schemas after the intervention. For those interviewees, who were classified as RA group members (see Table note), the racial content of their post-intervention responses to questions about race increased. Based on the analyses of response content, those girls who attended the Sankofa intervention on a regular basis more often responded to post-intervention questions in a similar manner *or* in a manner that reflected an increased understanding of the impact of race and racial dynamics on their lives. However, NRA respondents' post-intervention responses were seemingly more inconsistent. For them, evidence of confusion or contradictory statements about race and racial dynamics seemed to occur more often than was the case for RA respondents.

The interviewees represented a variety of familial racial socialization experiences. However, despite the nature of their racial socialization experiences, their ability to navigate the racial dynamics in their school environments appeared to be more effective when the girls had a place to reflect and process their personal experiences as racial minorities. The girls' overwhelming accounts of racial discrimination in the school setting combined with their lack of critical awareness, coping mechanisms, and strategies to resist racial marginalization seemed to over power protective familial messages.

The results of the qualitative analyses also suggested that regardless of exposure to the Sankofa intervention, respondents developed a sense of value with regard to their racial identification. This sense of cultural pride was most often fostered through

conversations with maternal figures in their respective families and occurred despite the reported lack of explicit conversations about race. Moreover, regardless of the girls' ability to articulate their opinions about their own beliefs about race as a topic, all of them were able to provide numerous examples of racial discrimination in the school environment. Such instances were most often personal accounts in which respondents were the recipients of overt and/or covert acts of racism, in some cases for many years.

Profile Analysis

Racial identity theory and the related racial identity scales reflect a non-linear, dynamic, multi-dimensional understanding of an individual's racial identity development (Helms, 1995, 2006). As such, analysis of the racial identity attitudes scales should be interpreted by means of racial identity profiles rather than single scales (Carter, Helms, & Juby, 2004). The principal investigator used a normative sample of adolescents of Color (Perry, 2006) to standardize racial identity status scores for each girl. Data were used to determine how the girls, who participated regularly in the Sankofa intervention, as well as those who did not compared to their same-aged peers.

Pre-post PRIAS scores were standardized for all girls (see Table 4). Profiles for the total sample, RA subgroup, and NRA subgroup were created to allow for a dynamic profile analysis of the racial identity data Table 4 presents the mean T scores and SDs for the two subgroups' racial identity schemas. Relative to the adolescent comparison group, the total sample's pre-intervention mean T scores were lower than average with respect to Conformity and Dissonance, but much higher than the norm group with respect to Internalization and slightly higher with respect to Immersion. As compared to the comparison group Conformity was 1.7SD lower, Dissonance was .1SD lower, Internalization was 2.5SD higher, and Immersion was .5SD higher. Following the intervention, the total sample's relative Conformity was 1.4SD lower, Dissonance was .2SD above the norm group's mean, Immersion was 1.1SD higher, and Internalization was 2.6SD higher than their mean. Thus, as a total sample, the girls' racial identity scores suggested that they were more self-actualized with respect to Black identity relative to a

mixed race and gender sample of youths and this pattern was still evident post-intervention.

Effect size analyses were used to compare the T scores of the RA and NRA subgroups using their own mean scores and SDs. The T scores for the racial identity statuses for the total sample post-intervention were higher than the pre-intervention group-level scores. The profiles of the regular (RA) and non-regular (NR) attendance groups were compared to each other to determine whether their profiles were similar to each other before and after Sankofa.

As summarized in Table 14, prior to Sankofa, the difference between the two subgroups' levels of Conformity and Dissonance were large. The RA girls had higher levels of Conformity and the NRA girls had higher levels of Dissonance, but Conformity was lower than it was in the comparison group for both subgroups. Immersion/Resistance was moderately higher for the NRA subgroup relative to the RA subgroup; it was 1SD above average for the NRA group. Internalization did not differ between subgroups prior to Sankofa and, for each of them; Internalization was about 2.5SD above the norm group's mean.

Following the Sankofa intervention, moderate differences existed between subgroups with respect to Conformity and Internalization; a small difference occurred with respect to Dissonance. The nature of the change was that RA girls' profiles remained low and stable with respect to adherence to White norms (Conformity), whereas NRA girls' level of Conformity increased until it almost equaled the mean of the norm group. Dissonance or confusion was stronger post-intervention for the RA subgroup

than it was prior to the intervention, where the NRA subgroup's level was relatively stable. The RA girls' profile showed a strong increase in levels of Immersion or own-group valuing and resistance to White norms, whereas the NRA girls' Immersion remained relatively stable. Internalization remained strong and relatively unchanged for the RA girls, but decreased by almost 1SD for the NRA girls..

For the RA group, the intervention seemed to have its strongest effect on the Immersion/Resistance status. For the NRA group, following the intervention, the girls' racial identity developmental pattern was less definitive. Thus, their profile appeared to reflect a higher level of positive Black racial identity relative to the norm group and relative to their NRA peers. Following the intervention, the NRA group's profile suggested that they identified more strongly than their RA peers and at an average level relative to the norm with White customs (i.e., Conformity); they identified at the same level as RA girls with respect to Immersion/Resistance; they were less confused about racial dynamics relative to RA girls and were about average generally; but their racial self-actualization (Internalization) had decreased below that of RA girls, though it was still high as compared to other youths of color. Perhaps it is fair to say that lack of consistent participation in Sankofa left these girls with more ambiguous racial identity.

Table 14

Racial Identity Profile Mean T Scores for Regular and Non-Regular Group Girls.

	RA		NRA		ES
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	*d*
Pre					
Conformity	38	1.97	35	6.30	1.44[a]
Dissonance	47	8.89	51	10.14	-1.42[c]
Immersion/Resistance	49	14.03	60	11.19	-0.87[a]
Internalization	76	7.26	75	17.36	0.08
Post					
Conformity	38	2.53	48	17.99	-077[b]
Dissonance	53	9.86	49	10.03	0.42[c]
Immersion/Resistance	63	7.06	63	12.35	0.00
Internalization	77	3.79	68	18.24	0.68[b]

Note. RA is regular attendance group. NRA is non-regular attendance group. SD is standard deviation.
[a] Large Effect   [b] Moderate Effect   [c] Small Effect

Figure 22. Regular attendance group pre and post intervention racial identity T scores.
Con = Conformity; Diss = Dissonance; I/R = Immersion/Resistance; and Intern = Internalization.

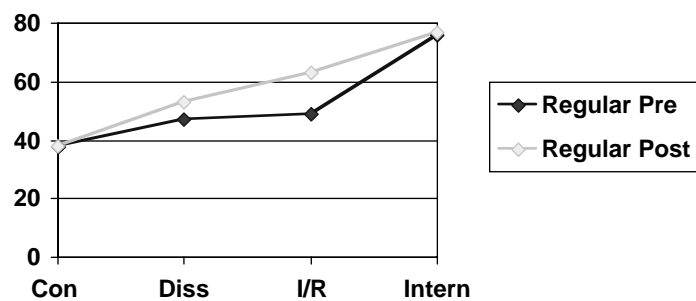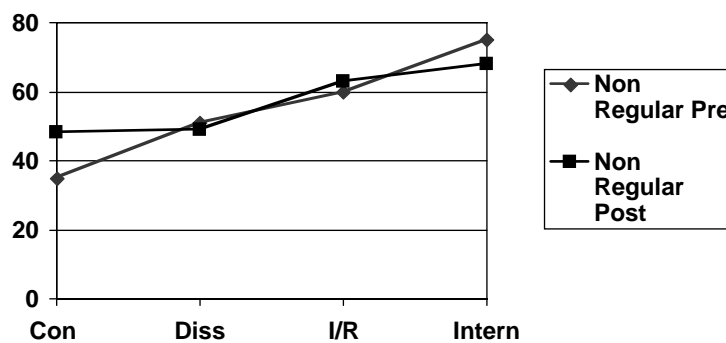
Figure 23. Non-regular attendance group pre and post intervention racial identity scores. Con =
Conformity; Diss = Dissonance; I/R = Immersion/Resistance; and Intern = Internalization.

Chapter 5

Discussion

The present study sought to investigate the experiences of Black girls in a predominantly White school setting in an effort to examine how Black girls perceived their academic setting as racial and ethnic minority girls and whether these experiences could be influenced by their participation in an intervention intended to address these types of experiences specifically. Based on initial reports, the principal investigator sought to influence Black girls' racial identity and school-related experiences through the implementation of a group intervention designed to foster the positive racial and gender identity development of participants. Self-reported pre-intervention and post-intervention parental racial socialization experiences, perceptions of the school environment, and racial identity schemas were examined following the intervention to determine if the intervention seemed to increase the girls' positive school associations, as well as foster their positive racial identity development. Qualitative interviews were conducted with a purposeful subsample of participants in an effort to complement quantitative data and illuminate findings. In the present chapter, I discuss relevant findings from the study, methodological strengths and limitations and implications for theory, research, and clinical practice.

School Related Experiences

The first research question of the study sought to explore regular attendance (RA) and non-regular attendance group (NRA) participants' perceptions of their educational environment prior to the intervention relative to their perceptions following the

intervention to determine the potential affect of the Sankofa intervention. Effect size analyses (Cohen's *d*) were conducted within and between RA and NRA groups on the Patterns of Adaptive Learning Scale (PALS) (Midgley et al., 2000) and Identification with School Measure (Voelkyl, 1996) which, when findings are combined, provide insight into the school-related experiences of participants in a variety of contexts (e.g., in classrooms, with peers).

The total sample of girls (N = 14) reported a moderate increase in their belief that teachers were invested in their learning and monitored their academic success through encouragement (Academic Press) following the intervention. As a whole, participants' reports of their levels of disruptive classroom behaviors (Disruptive Behavior) and the presentation of themselves as low achievers (Self-Presentation of Low Achievement), were the same prior to and after the intervention. The girls' reported belief that school is relevant for their future success (Relevance of School) however, following the intervention, increased slightly and their level of bonding or engagement with the school (Identification with School) increased moderately. Thus, the picture of the girls, as a whole following the intervention suggests that perceptions of their school environment (e.g., teachers) and school engagement were somewhat malleable, but their perceptions of themselves were not. Moreover, they seemed to exhibit negative self-perceptions and related academic behaviors before and after the intervention (e.g., classroom disruptions). Findings for the total sample are similar to those reported by the American Association of University Women (1991) that suggested Black girls are less likely than their peers to feel confident about their academic abilities.

However, when the total sample was broken down into two subgroups, RA girls and NRA girls, the picture of these girls changes some what. The RA group's perceptions of their teachers' encouragement of them shifted in a positive direction, as did their pre-intervention tendencies to present themselves as low achievers. RA members also reported a moderate increase in their perceptions that school is relevant for their future success and their level of bonding with the school increased quite substantially. The girls' levels of disruptive classroom behavior did not change at post-intervention scores. Girls who attended the Sankofa intervention on a regular basis also felt more positively about their teachers and the relevance of school, but unlike the findings for the collective group, the RA girls also felt slightly more positively about making public their own academic achievements. Lasley II (2002) reported findings that support a correlation between Black students' perceived teacher attitudes and behavior and student achievement. The RA girls' reported increase in the positive perception of their teachers may have facilitated their reported increased connection and sense of belonging with the school. This process coupled with the Sankofa intervention potentially allowed RA girls to not only succeed academically, but internalize a sense of what Steele (Aronson & Steele, 1995) refers to as "identity safety;" the process of neutralizing the threat of negative academic stereotypes (i.e. stereotype threat) in the classroom (Perry et al., 2003, p.125). According to Steele (1991) minimizing the impact of stereotype threat is essential in enhancing Black students' academic success.

NRA group members reported even higher post-intervention scores than the RA group when asked to assess their perceptions about positive teacher involvement. Following the intervention, NRA girls reported a slight increase in disruptive behavior in the classroom setting and a high increase in their reported presentation of themselves as low achievers to their peers. NRA group members' reported belief that their current achievement in school has some bearing on their future success did not change and their bonding with school only changed slightly following the intervention. Thus, the picture of the NRA girls at the end of the intervention, in which they did not participate regularly, was that they felt considerably more positively about their teachers and slightly more positively about the school environment, but they generally felt more negatively about their academic selves. One possible explanation for these findings is that a selection factor was operating such that these girls were more likely than RA girls to be involved in non-academic activities for which they received more positive attention than they received for academic pursuits. According to Neblett et al. (2006) Black adolescents' who perceive their environments as discriminatory, which NRA participants endorsed qualitatively (i.e. "I think everybody is treated differently [at school]…and most people can be racist to some African Americans…White people."), are likely to experience a decline in academic curiosity and persistence and increase in engaging in problem behaviors (i.e. disruptive classroom behavior).

Qualitative Analyses of School Experiences

The qualitative analyses of the girls' experiences prior to Sankofa revealed that they believed that students of Color were the recipients of discriminatory behavior from

their teachers and peers. The girls provided numerous accounts of personal experiences where they experienced or witnessed race-based tensions amongst the student population, as well as in the classroom setting with teachers. They described peer group segregation based largely on racial classifications, perceptions that some teachers treated them as if they were "different" or "dumb," and situations involving the use of explicit racial slurs or more covert racial microaggressions (e.g., presumptions of intellectual inferiority) by their peers. These experiences may have contributed to the girls' tendencies to describe their own academic accomplishments negatively, even when they were not.

Despite the fact that quantitative analyses suggested that the total sample of girls (N = 14) reported relatively small to moderate differences in their school-related experiences (see Table 6) prior to the intervention, regular participation in the Sankofa intervention seemed to have more positive effects on the Black girls' post-intervention accounts of their school environment. Support for the RA girls' moderate increase in teacher positive regard was that they were able to report positive examples of their teachers' involvement in their education and indicated more comfort in presenting themselves as "smart." As sated by one participant, "[School district] schools have opportunities that can help you grow. Some teachers I can go to for help and others I can't…"

For those girls who were not present for a significant portion of the intervention, their post-intervention academic scores tell a very different story. Although they reported an increase in identification with school, post-intervention findings were similar to pre-intervention scores. Moreover, NRA group members reported *more* disruptive behaviors

in the classroom setting. Arguably, such behavior and potential consequences (e.g. removal from the classroom setting) may have influenced their post-intervention report of a slight decrease in understanding the importance of school to their future success. NRA group members reported a large increase in their perceptions that their teachers provided positive encouragement. Despite their perceptions of positive teacher interactions, NRA members reported much higher levels of presentations of themselves as low achievers (e.g. "If other students found out I did well on a test, I would tell them it was just luck even if that wasn't the case."). These findings suggest that without consistent psycho-social supports dedicated to helping them navigate the racial dynamics within their school settings, Black girls may be at higher risk for engaging in behaviors that will have negative consequences on their ability to achieve academically. Further, the potential for negative behavioral consequences coupled with a reported decrease in the endorsement of school as relevant for future success and the lack of a significant increase in their self-reported bonding, may have lead to these Black girls being at greater risk for future disidentification with school (Cokley, 2006; Osbourne, 1997).

Parental Racial Socialization Messages

The second research question examined Black girls' perceptions of parental racial socialization messages and potential changes in there perceptions after participation in the group intervention. Parental guidance with respect to the types of racism the girls seem to have encountered in their school potentially provides them with strategies to overcome these barriers. The total sample reported an increase in hearing messages in all five domains of the Teenager Experience of Racial Socialization Scale (TERS; Stevenson

et al., 2002), but the increase in perceived frequency of the messages ranged from small (Cultural Pride Reinceforcement, CPR) to large (Cultural Endorsement of the Mainstream, CEM). The girls reported hearing messages, presumably from their parents, that reinforced conformity and a positive identification with White cultural values most often. Such messages included guidance such as, "Black children learn more in White Schools." A moderate increase in scores was reported on the Cultural Appreciation of Legacy (CLA) subscale and CULTURS composite score. Following the intervention, the girls reported more of an awareness of hearing their primary caretakers communicate messages such as, "You are connected to a history that goes back to African royalty." Small increases were reported on the subscales assessing cultural alertness to discrimination (CAD; e.g., "You have to work twice as hard as Whites to get ahead in this world."), coping with antagonism (CCA; e.g., "You should know Black history so that you will be a better person."), and reinforcement of cultural pride (CPR; e.g., "You should be proud to be Black."). Thus, although the girls collectively reported more messages directing them toward a White-world orientation, they also received some intending to help them cope with racial discrimination; it appears that the girls heard both types of messages following the intervention. Reports of positive racial socialization experiences are important because Black youths that have been socialized about race in ways that allow them to develop positive attitudes about themselves as members of a racial group are more likely to develop positive social outcomes (Altschul et al., 2006; Constantine & Blackmon, 2002; Neblett et al., 2006; Spencer et al., 2003; Tinsley et al.,

2007). Racial socialization messages that endorse a pro-White sentiment however, may lead to decreases in academic persistence (Neblett et al., 2006).

RA group members' findings indicated the largest post-intervention effect in relation to the CEM subscale. RA members reported a large increase in hearing messages that encouraged conformity and assimilation to White culture. Moderate increases were reported in relation to hearing more messages of cultural pride (CPR) and overall racial socialization messages (CULTURS). Post-intervention scores on the CAD and CCA increased slightly following the intervention. The reported increase in scores that indicated a perception of hearing messages of cultural appreciation (CLA) was not noteworthy. Thus, these girls perceived that they received the strongest level of White assimilation messages after the intervention relative to their pre-intervention scores, but their pre-intervention scores were only slightly lower than those of their NRA counterparts. At the same time, these girls perceived that they were receiving relatively strong messages about cultural pride by the end of Sankofa. Perhaps the messages emphasizing cultural pride and recovery from discrimination helped the girls adapt to what seem to be relatively hostile environments as they described their experiences (Constantine & Blackmon, 2002). Findings indicated that racial socialization messages that communicated a sense of positive self-worth led to positive academic outcomes. Constantine and Blackmon (2002) suggested that Black adolescents, who are exposed to racial socialization messages that endorse mainstream culture, may adapt to a predominantly White school settings because of the reinforcement of shared values with their White counterparts. NRA group members' largest increase in interpretable post-

intervention scores was reflected in the increased frequency of messages concerning their cultural legacy; differences in pre-post scores yielded a meaningful difference. Moreover, this group reported a moderate increase in the overall frequency of racial socialization messages (CULTURS) that they heard and, in fact, reported more of these messages following Sankofa than their RA counterparts. Unlike RA group members, NRA group members' post-intervention report of cultural pride messages did not change. Moreover, the girls' post-intervention report of hearing messages encouraging identification with mainstream culture increased only slightly, and was still lower than the level of such messages that RA group members reported hearing. Small increases in post-intervention scores were also reported with respect to hearing messages about remaining aware of discrimination (CAD) and how to cope with potential discrimination (CCA) post-intervention.

Qualitative Racial Socialization

The RA group's overall reported awareness of parental racial socialization increased more when compared to their peers. This finding was supported qualitatively by RA members who reported engaging in more conversations about their racial background with their parents following the intervention. "My dad talks about it a lot. He talks about how he lived in Jamaica when he was 17…" Because the TERS is a frequency measure of racial socialization experiences, one might conclude that regular attendance in the intervention made attendees more sensitive to parental racial socialization messages including those related to cultural pride, as well as contradictory messages encouraging assimilation to White cultural standards. For example one participant notes, following

the intervention, that her parents often tell her, "They said be proud of who you are." It is also possible that regular participation in Sankofa allowed RA girls to develop the skills to initiate conversations about race with their parents, which potentially led to socialization messages as reflected on the TERS.

NRA girls' reports of hearing racial socialization messages from their parents that encouraged them to appreciate their cultural background were reflected in their qualitative responses as well. They most often reported that the information they received about their racial and ethnic background was facilitated by the women in their respective families (e.g. "[I learned from] My mother and my grandmother. I was very young.)", but their direct exposure to conversations about race or racism was essentially non-existent (e.g., "My parents don't talk about racism").

Racial Identity Development

Question three investigated the racial identity profiles of participants prior to, and following the intervention to determine the effect of the Sankofa intervention on participants' racial identity schemas. Quantitative results for the total sample indicated that post-intervention Conformity scores were moderately higher. Pre-post Dissonance scores did not differ. Immersion/Resistance scores following the intervention increased moderately when compared to pre-intervention scores. Post-Internalization scores for participants indicated a small decrease in comparison to pre-intervention scores. These scores suggest that the girls as a whole became more identified with White customs and values as well as more identified with a Black immersion or resistance orientation, which arguably is evidence of racial-identity confusion.

Upon further examination, RA group post-intervention Conformity scores did not change. Their reported use of the Dissonance status increased moderately post-intervention while reported Immersion/Resistance schemas increased a substantially. A slightly higher post-intervention endorsement of the Internalization schema was evident for the RA group. Thus, racial identity theorists would suggest that the RA girls were in the process of developing a positive Black racial identity by the time the intervention ended (Helms, 1990,1995,1996, 2003; Helms & Cook, 1999).

On the other hand, the NRA group reported scores that indicated a large increase in the use of the Conformity schema, similar Dissonance scores pre-post intervention, a small increase in use of the post-Immersion/Resistance schemas, and a small decrease in the Internalization schema post-intervention. Thus, racial identity theorists might argue that the NRA girls were developing a stronger White identity by the end of Sankofa (Helms, 1995; Helms & Cook, 1999).

Also, RA and NRA subgroups scores on the PRIAS suggested that when the subgroups were compared with one another prior to the intervention, their racial identity schemas were similar. However, after the Sankofa intervention, response patterns for regular and non-regular attendees changed in different directions for the most part. Whereas the RA group reported a higher level of Conformity than the NRA group pre-intervention, post-intervention Conformity scores indicated that regular attendees' level of Conformity scores remained stable in relation to their reported pre-mean scores; however, NRA members' post-intervention Conformity scores increased. These findings suggest that girls who did not attend the intervention on a regular basis, potentially

adopted minimization of race as a coping strategy to manage racial dynamics in their school environment. Positive racial identity development (i.e. a sense of connectedness to one's racial group) has been connected to higher academic outcomes for Black students (Altschul, 2006; Oseryman & Bybee, 2006; Perry et al., 2003; Smalls et al., 2007; Wong et al., 2003). Altschul et al. (2006) found that Black students were able to obtain better grades if they reported a sense of connectedness to their own racial group. More importantly, researchers note that a positive identification with one's racial/ethnic background serves as a psychological protective factor against discrimination and risk for negative social and emotional outcomes (Cross, 1991; Phinney, 1996).

Alternately, pre-intervention Dissonance scores indicated that the RA subgroup endorsed Dissonance at a lower level than the NRA group. Post Dissonance scores for RA versus NRA group members also revealed a shift in direction of their responses for each group. Following the Sankofa intervention, RA girls endorsed the Dissonance schema at a higher level post intervention than they did pre-intervention, but the NRA girls' level did not change. This difference for the RA girls suggests that participants who attended the Sankofa intervention regularly experienced more of a shift in their ability to move from an oblivious state of racial awareness, to one that allows them to begin to question racially evocative information, resulting in some ambivalence and confusion.

RA participants endorsed Immersion/Resistance on the PRIAS at lower levels prior to the intervention when compared to the NRA group. Both groups' endorsement of Immersion/Resistance increased following the intervention, although RA girls' post-intervention scores were slightly lower than their NRA peers. RA group members

endorsed Internalization attitudes at a higher level than NRA girls following the intervention. The difference in Internalization mean scores for the RA group following the intervention was greater than the difference for NRA group members. Post Internalization scores suggested that RA girls reported an increased ability to hold a more abstract understanding of race (i.e. Internalization), whereas NRA girls' beliefs related to Internalization attitudes decreased.

Qualitative Racial Identity Analyses

Qualitative responses obtained from the interviews supported findings that indicated a more mature understanding of racial dynamics for RA group members (i.e., X2, X3, X4, A6, A9) following the intervention. Overall, RA girls provided more content in response to questions related to their racial identity (i.e. "How important is your racial/ethnic background.") Moreover, when responding to such items, in comparison to their pre-intervention responses, RA participants moved beyond their initial attempts to operate from a racially minimizing ideology (i.e. Conformity) to one that was more critically aware of racial dynamics (i.e. Internalization) within and outside of the school setting. One RA participant explained her perceptions of the school environment prior to the intervention stating, "I like that the school is ahead so that in the future it will make things easier for me. A lot of students in Boston don't know as much as students here." Following intervention she continues to see the value in the curriculum at her present school but adds, "I think White students feel a little bit more comfortable because of the environment they are in. There are more White people, like rich. Black people don't always feel uncomfortable, but they don't feel as comfortable as Whites."

Conversely, NRA girls (i.e., A2, A7) in response to some questions, provided less meaningful content and insight. Examination of their responses in relation to racial identity suggested that whereas they were able to consistently report pre-post accounts of parental and societal racial socialization experiences, their ability to manage or cope with the impact of discrimination seemingly regressed. For example, a NRA respondent spoke openly about the negative perceptions her White peers have about Black students prior to the intervention, and she continued to assert that her White peers had negative beliefs about Black students' ability to succeed academically following the intervention. When asked to provide more information about why she believed her peers might hold such beliefs she responded in a manner that suggested she, too, endorsed the negative stereotypes that her peers held of Black students. "I think they think all Black people are dropout and that we are never going to amount to anything. [Why?] Because most [Black] people do [dropout]."

Based on quantitative and qualitative findings, I posit that having consistent access to a supportive environment designed to foster positive racial identity development allowed these RA girls to maintain their use of the Conformity schema (i.e. denial about the role that race plays in their lives). RA participants endorsed a notable increase in the desire to associate with other Black persons and adopted a pro-Black ideology (i.e., Immersion/Resistance); they also developed a slightly higher level of sophistication when confronted with racial stimuli. Although NRA girls were present for a maximum of half of the intervention, not having a consistent environment to process racial dynamics might have led to their obtained substantial increase in endorsement of

the Conformity schema and decrease in Black racial self-actualization. The NRA group's endorsement of racial identity schemas can be interpreted as a regression toward a less developmentally sophisticated racial identity profile. This may be detrimental to NRA girls given the findings that suggest that a lack of positive development of racial identity for Black youths leads to disidentification from school (Osbourne, 1997), poor academic outcomes (Altschul et al., 2006) and risk for poor psychological outcomes such as self-esteem (Cross, 1995; Helms, 1995, 1996).

Methodological Limitations

The present study was an empirical investigation of the school experiences of a small sample of Black girls attending a predominantly White suburban school. Although Black girls may often be situated in such environments in small numbers, very little is known about their experiences. The analyses conducted in the present study were a combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches. Because the sample size of the current study was small ($N = 14$) by necessity, some methodological considerations need to be discussed. First, I made a decision to use effect size analyses (Cohen's d analyses, Cohen, 1988) rather than traditional statistical tests of significance because (a) I was interested in the practical relevance of the obtained results, (b) the small number of girls made use of multivariate analyses not desirable because relevant assumptions on which such statistics are based (e.g., subject to variable ratios) were violated, (c) ostensibly significant findings might have occurred by chance because so many analyses were conducted, and (d) lack of significant findings might have occurred because of lack of

statistical power. In such cases, Vacha-Haase and Thompson (2004) recommend use of effect sizes to judge the "clinical significance" of group differences.

Nevertheless, the results of statistical analyses were reported for the total sample as well as the regular attendance (RA) and non-regular attendance (NRA) subgroups for informational purposes. One might argue that only the total sample results should be interpreted in which case the total sample columns of Table 6 would be interpreted and the rest of the table would be ignored. Adoption of this strategy would have missed the rich information that was revealed by examining the experiences of the smaller groups quantitatively and qualitatively.

Therefore, a limitation of the study is that the subgroups were so small that findings might not be generalizable to a larger population of Black girls. Additionally, the small sample size affected the power of statistical findings making it difficult to fully determine the impact of the intervention on reported changes in self-report data via traditional statistical analyses.

The complete reliance on the girls' self-report data poses an additional limitation of the present study. Although the girls' responses may reflect the most accurate accounts of their perceptions, they do not necessarily reflect an objective perspective on what was occurring with respect to race in their school. Future researchers might consider obtaining information from a variety of perspectives in the same setting and from their non-school caretakers.

Also, the length of time required to complete the large number of measures in the study might have impacted the girls' attention to detail and desire to ensure the most

accurate report. Perhaps the results of this study can be used to select the most relevant variables for future research.

Further, the present study examined the experiences of Black girls in a predominantly White academic setting. The reported experiences of this population are not representative of a variety of Black girls whose school communities may reflect a much different population. As such, current findings may be limited to similarly defined school environments and girls, that is, Black girls being educated in a predominantly White suburban school that the girls perceive as racially hostile toward them.

Implications for Research

Few studies have examined the experiences of Black girls in an effort to illuminate how their experiences as racial and gender minorities impact their development and allow them survive and thrive in the many contexts that they exist (Shorter-Gooden & Washington, 1996; Thomas, 2004; Ward, 2007). Black girls' racial and gender socialization experiences begin at home, as was demonstrated in the present study, but are informally impacted by the environments that they routinely engage in, such as the school setting (Shorter-Gooden & Washington, 1996; Morris, 2007; Rollock, 2007). Researchers (Morris, 2007; Perry et al., 2003; Rollock, 2007) contend that, for Black girls, school environments may offer messages that negatively impact racial and gender identity development.

Future research should include further investigation into the observed racial school climate using other means in addition to self-report data. Doing so will enable researchers to better evaluate the impact of the contextual environment on Black girls'

academic experiences. Additionally, when examining the racial identity development of Black girls, it might be more relevant to determine how much Black girls subscribe to the parental racial socialization messages that they receive from their parents as opposed to how frequently they perceive such messages as occurring. The Teenager Experience of Racial Socialization (Stevenson et al., 2002) measure provides a report of the frequency that participants can recall hearing socialization messages. However, perceived frequency data did not allow me to determine the true impact of the intervention on the girls' beliefs in relation to what they were being taught about race by their parents.

According to researchers (Osbourne, 1997; Voelkyl, 1996) Black students, contrary to popular assertion (Ogbu, 1994), often report a sense of connectedness with school. A sense of belonging and valuing of school should reflect an assessment of the general importance of school and of the practicality of schooling for future success (Voelkyl, 1996). Findings from this study suggested that RA intervention girls felt more of an identification with school and belief that school performance would impact their post-secondary success. Future investigation of the gap between reported school engagement and academic outcomes for Black girls (Osbourne, 1997, Cokley, 2006; Cole-Taylor, 2003; Langhout, 2005; Santelises, 2004), is warranted in an effort to continue to identify barriers to achievement and develop intervention resources to foster the achievement of all Black girls. Answers may lie in a more in depth analysis of the school environment, specifically the racial climate.

Implications for Counseling

To the extent that the results of the present study generalize to other girls and settings, then they suggest that Black girls in predominantly White educational settings are exposed to numerous negative racial interactions at all levels of the school environment (i.e. administrative, classroom, peer) that impact their ability to perceive a positive relationship with their school. Obtained findings suggest that providing Black girls with supports that allow them to process their experiences in racially isolating educational systems can assist them in engaging in the school environment and foster their desire to achieve academically. Additionally, Black girls' consistent sense of collective support might enable them to resist racist and sexist oppression and marginalization, and promote positive racial identity development. Such development may further provide them with a way in which to process racial information so that it does not result in an internalization of negative racial experiences.

The consequences of not addressing the positive identity development of racial and ethnic minority youths in predominantly White school settings where, depending on the setting, Black girls may receive messages about their racial group that imply a deficit, may lead to negative school outcomes such as increased administrative disciplinary consequences, poor grades, and an overall disengagement from school. This may be especially true for Black girls who are often silenced when they attempt to participate in the classroom (Lips, 1999; Morris, 2007). In an effort to resist being silenced, Black girls may find different ways, positive (e.g., seeking out peer support) or negative (e.g., disruptive behavior), to respond (Langhout, 2005).

In sum, when compared to Black boys, Black girls are often portrayed as resilient based on reports of their academic success (Shorter-Gooden & Washington, 1996; Thomas, 2004; Ward, 2007). This comparison is misleading and renders those Black girls, who are not able to report such success, invisible. Black girls are making noticeable gains in academic achievements, but many are not (Evans-Winters, 2007; Ward, 2007). Only highlighting the reported academic success of Black girls colludes to make them invisible in two distinct ways. First, reports on academic achievement do not explicate information about the ways in which these girls attain success. Additionally, such reports minimize Black girls' accomplishments by failing to acknowledge the obstacles the girls face and overcome.

Consistent with previous research (Irvine, 986; Langhout, 2005; Morris 2007) the present study's findings suggest that Black girls' perception of their school climate is instrumental in their ability to develop and utilize resources and experience positive academic outcomes.   Therefore, it is recommended that practitioners avoid making premature assumptions about Black girls who may present clinically based on traditional psychological categorizations such as conduct disordered and relationally aggressive, with evidence of poor academic outcomes as support for such concerns. A comprehensive investigation of the many contexts in which Black girls exist, specifically school, is necessary to determine the potential impact of racial and gender marginalization on Black girls' development process, access to resources and strengths. Such an investigation will also enable providers to identify, raise awareness of, and advocate against potential barriers to the success of Black girls.

The present study attempted to add to both psychological and educational literature, to explicate the educational experiences of Black girls, and to better understand how Black girls, and ultimately women, resist systemic attempts to disenfranchise them. The present study illuminated the experiences of a certain segment of Black girls within a particular type of educational setting as they tried to survive and to attain academic success. Moreover, the study sought to provide support for an intervention designed to increase the positive identity development of Black girls. Findings underscore the importance of engaging Black girls in explicit conversations about race and gender in an effort to foster awareness about the impact of both racism and sexism on Black girls' development. Such conversations assist in increasing Black girls' positive sense of identity as racial and/or ethnic minorities, therefore potentially increasing their engagement and relationship with the school setting.

Appendix A. Abbreviated Parental Participation Consent Form

Sankofa Project

Visually and symbolically Sankofa is expressed as a mythic bird that flies forward while looking backward with an egg (symbolizing the future) in its mouth.

Dear Parent(s),

This Project, entitled the "Sankofa Project" will specifically address the needs of Black and Latina girls. The collaborative project will blend both discussion and activities, participants will explore topics such as cliques, social pressures, self-esteem, racial identity, and changes that often accompany growing up.

In our experience, the use of expressive arts and multimedia projects often enables girls to express themselves creatively and to their fullest. Toward this end, group activities will range from arts and crafts, watching film clips, taking photographs, role playing and videotaping. Feedback from the girls participating in past groups has been extremely positive with almost all girls wanting to return for a second year.

In order to ensure that our program is meeting the girls' needs and to gain useful feedback, we ask all participants to complete paper and pencil questionnaires at the beginning and end of the program, as well as participate in one-on-one interviews. Information and feedback will be collected by the Program Coordinator and shared with the [Program Name] Director. Additionally, some of the general information and activities may be shared with other groups who are participating in the program, with the purpose of educating each other about the various cultural and school contexts to which girls belong. In order to respect privacy, students' names and other identifying information will not be shared outside of the groups.

To ensure full participation of grade nine students, two different groups will run during the 2007-08 school year. One group will meet during X-Block on Thursdays (10:35am-11:20am) and the other on Thursday afternoons from 3-3:30pm. **On the attached form, please indicate which group your daughter will participate in. The groups will begin on <u>September 27th</u> and run through the end of the school year. All meetings will be held at [Name] High School.**

PERMISSION FOR SANKOFA PARTICIPATION

Student's Name: _____

_____ I give permission for my daughter to participate in the Sankofa Groups and all associated activities including, but not limited to, videotaping, role playing, and photography projects. She will participate in the group meeting during (check one ONLY):

_____ X-Block (10:35am-11:20am)
_____ After School Hours (3:00pm-3:45pm)

_____ I do not give permission for my daughter to participate in the Sankofa Groups.

_____ Yes, I have an interest in a parent feedback meeting. I would be available at the following times: _____. I can be reached at the following telephone number: _____.

Appendix B. Sample Group Session

MODULE: RACE

GOALS: Participants will learn about the history of racial classification systems.

Participants will learn that race is a social construction.

OBJECTIVES:

1. Participants will discuss their perceptions of how individuals are currently classified into racial categories.
2. Participants will discuss how racial categories in the U.S. have changed throughout time.
3. Participants will engage in a discussion about the fact that race has no genetic basis.
4. Participants will begin to create a race timeline.

MATERIALS:

1. Computer with internet access
2. Web address: Race the Power of an Illusion PBS
   http://www.pbs.org/race/000_General/000_00-Home.htm
3. Pencils
4. Paper

INSTRUCTIONS:

1. Type in the web address on each participant computer.
2. Instruct participants to enter the Race the Power of an Illusion website and click on the "Sorting People" icon.
3. After reading the text on the Sorting People page, participants should click the "Begin Sorting" icon.
4. Instruct participants to follow instructions on the webpage instructing them to classify photos into racial categories (American Indian, Asian, Black, Hispanic/Latino, and White) by appearance.
5. Walk around room to each participant and ask engage them in a dialogue about the process of classifying people by their appearance.
6. Upon completion of the task, ask participants to click "Next" and read information about the U.S. practices. They will also have access to the self-identified racial classifications provided by persons in the photos.
7. Ask participants to record any reactions.
8. Instruct participants to click on the "What is Race?" section of the website and read the 10 quick facts about race.
9. Instruct participants to record any questions they have about the 10 facts.

PROMPTS/QUESTIONS:

While participants are classifying photos:

1. How do you feel about the process?
2. Is it hard to do this?
3. What are concepts are you using to classify persons?

Appendix C. Patterns of Adaptive Learning Scale (Midgley et al., 2000)

CIRCLE THE ANSWER BELOW THAT BEST DESCRIBES HOW YOU FEEL.

I would avoid participating in class if it meant that other students would think I know a lot.

1   **2**   **3**   **4**   **5**
Not At All True   **Somewhat True**   **Very True**

If I do well in school, it will help me to have the kind of life I want when I grow up.*

1   **2**   **3**   **4**   **5**
Not At All True   **Somewhat True**   **Very True**

If other students found out I did well on a test, I would tell them it was just luck even if that wasn't the case.

1   **2**   **3**   **4**   **5**
Not At All True   **Somewhat True**   **Very True**

When I've figured out how to do a problem, my teacher gives me more challenging problems to think about.

1   **2**   **3**   **4**   **5**
Not At All True   **Somewhat True**   **Very True**

My teacher presses me to do thoughtful work.

1   **2**   **3**   **4**   **5**
Not At All True   **Somewhat True**   **Very True**

My chances of succeeding later in life depend on doing well in school.*

1   **2**   **3**   **4**   **5**
Not At All True   **Somewhat True**   **Very True**

I sometimes annoy my teacher during class.

1   **2**   **3**   **4**   **5**
Not At All True   **Somewhat True**   **Very True**

My teacher asks me to explain how I get my answers.

1   **2**   **3**   **4**   **5**
Not At All True   **Somewhat True**   **Very True**

When I'm working out a problem, my teacher tells me to keep thinking until I really understand.

1	2	3	4	5
Not At All True		**Somewhat True**		**Very True**

My teacher doesn't let me do just easy work, but makes me think.

1	2	3	4	5
Not At All True		**Somewhat True**		**Very True**

I wouldn't volunteer to answer a question in class if I thought other students would think I was smart.

1	2	3	4	5
Not At All True		**Somewhat True**		**Very True**

If I did well on a school assignment, I wouldn't want other students to see my grade.

1	2	3	4	5
Not At All True		**Somewhat True**		**Very True**

It is very important to me that I don't look smarter than others in class.

1	2	3	4	5
Not At All True		**Somewhat True**		**Very True**

*Doing well in school improves my chances of having a good life when I grow up.**

1	2	3	4	5
Not At All True		**Somewhat True**		**Very True**

I sometimes get into trouble with my teacher during class.

1	2	3	4	5
Not At All True		**Somewhat True**		**Very True**

*Getting good grades in school guarantees that I will get a good job when I grow up.**

1	2	3	4	5
Not At All True		**Somewhat True**		**Very True**

I sometimes behave in a way during class that annoys my teacher.

1	2	3	4	5
Not At All True		**Somewhat True**		**Very True**

If I am successful in school, it will help me fulfill my dreams.*

1	2	3	4	5
Not At All True		**Somewhat True**		**Very True**

If I were good at my class work, I would try to do my work in a way that didn't show it.

1	2	3	4	5
Not At All True		**Somewhat True**		**Very True**

Doing well in school will help me have a satisfying career when I grow up. *

1	2	3	4	5
Not At All True		**Somewhat True**		**Very True**

One of my goals in class is to avoid looking smarter than other kids.

1	2	3	4	5
Not At All True		**Somewhat True**		**Very True**

I sometimes don't follow my teacher's directions during class.

1	2	3	4	5
Not At All True		**Somewhat True**		**Very True**

My teacher makes sure that the work I do really makes me think.

1	2	3	4	5
Not At All True		**Somewhat True**		**Very True**

I sometimes disturb the lesson that is going on in class.

1	2	3	4	5
Not At All True		**Somewhat True**		**Very True**

My teacher accepts nothing less than my full effort.

1	2	3	4	5
Not At All True		**Somewhat True**		**Very True**

Appendix D. Identification with School Measure (Voelkl, 1996)

SCHOOL QUESTIONNAIRE

1. I feel proud of being a part of my school.

   _____Strongly Agree _____Agree _____Disagree _____Strongly Disagree

2. I feel I am treated with as much respect as most other students in my classes.

   _____Strongly Agree _____Agree _____Disagree _____Strongly Disagree

3. I can get a good job even if my grades are bad.

   _____Strongly Agree _____Agree _____Disagree _____Strongly Disagree

4. The only time I get attention in school is when I cause trouble

   _____Strongly Agree _____Agree _____Disagree _____Strongly Disagree

5. I like to participate in a lot of activities at school (e.g. sports, clubs, plays).

   _____Strongly Agree _____Agree _____Disagree _____Strongly Disagree

6. School is one of the most important things in my life.

   _____Strongly Agree _____Agree _____Disagree _____Strongly Disagree

7. Many of the things we learn in classes are useless.

   _____Strongly Agree _____Agree _____Disagree _____Strongly Disagree

8. Most of my teachers <u>don't</u> really care about me.

   _____Strongly Agree _____Agree _____Disagree _____Strongly Disagree

9. Most of the time I would like to be any place other than school.

_____Strongly Agree _____Agree _____Disagree _____Strongly Disagree

10. There are teachers or other adults in my school that I can talk to if I have a
    problem.

_____Strongly Agree _____Agree _____Disagree _____Strongly Disagree

11. What I learn in school will be useful when I get a job.

_____Strongly Agree _____Agree _____Disagree _____Strongly Disagree

12. School is one of my favorite places to be.

_____Strongly Agree _____Agree _____Disagree _____Strongly Disagree

13. People at school are interested in what I have to say.

_____Strongly Agree _____Agree _____Disagree _____Strongly Disagree

14. School is often a waste of time.

_____Strongly Agree _____Agree _____Disagree _____Strongly Disagree

15. Dropping out of school would be a big mistake for me.

_____Strongly Agree _____Agree _____Disagree _____Strongly Disagree

16. School is more important than most people think.

_____Strongly Agree _____Agree _____Disagree _____Strongly Disagree

Appendix E. School Climate Questionnaire

PLEASE INDICATE HOW STRONGLY YOU AGREE OR DISAGREE WITH THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS

		Agree Strongly				**Disagree Strongly**
a.	Students in our school get along well.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
b.	Students choose to interact primarily with people most like themselves.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
c.	Students in my school know how to report harassment, bullying and racial abuse to school officials.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
d.	Students in my school would feel comfortable reporting harassment, bullying and racial abuse to school officials.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
e.	Teachers in my school actively work to create a safe and welcoming environment for every student.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
f.	Every student in my school feels like he or she belongs here.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
g.	My school creates opportunities for students to get to know each other.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
h.	At my school, adults and students listen to each other.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
i.	I look forward to coming to this school in the morning.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**

True or False
In the last 3 months…

1.	I've seen biased vandalism of graffiti at school.	**TRUE**	**FALSE**
2.	I've heard a student use a slur, epithet or other derogatory put-down.	**TRUE**	**FALSE**
3.	I've heard a student tease or ridicule another student.	**TRUE**	**FALSE**
4.	I've heard a teacher or other adult in the school make disparaging remarks about a particular group of students.	**TRUE**	**FALSE**
5.	I've seen – and analyzed – our school's safely data and reports.	**TRUE**	**FALSE**
6.	I've had a conversation with someone about our school's climate.	**TRUE**	**FALSE**

TEACHING TOLERANCE

Appendix F. Teenager Experience of Racial Socialization Scale (Stevenson et al., 2002)

Teenager Experience of Racial Socialization Scale (TERS)

Do your parents or caregivers say to you any of the following statements now or when you were younger? Circle the number on the line depending on how often you remember hearing any of these messages:

1 = Never   2 = A few times   3 = Lots of times

Circle only one number per question. Thank you.

1. American society is fair toward Black people.	**1 2 3**	
2. Black children will feel better about themselves if they go to school with mostly White children.	**1 2 3**	
3. Families who go to a church or mosque will be close and stay together.	**1 2 3**	
4. Black slavery is important to never forget.	**1 2 3**	
5. Relatives can help Black parents raise their children.	**1 2 3**	
6. Religion is am important part of a person's life.	**1 2 3**	
7. Racism and discrimination are the hardest things a Black child has to face.	**1 2 3**	
8. Having large families can help many Black families survive life struggles.	**1 2 3**	
9. You should be proud to be Black.	**1 2 3**	
10. All races are equal.	**1 2 3**	
11. If you work hard then you can overcome barriers in life.	**1 2 3**	
12. A belief in God can help a person deal with tough life struggles.	**1 2 3**	
13. Black children will learn more if they go to a mostly White school.	**1 2 3**	
14. Knowing your African heritage is important for your survival.	**1 2 3**	
15. Racism is real, and you have to understand it or it will hurt you.	**1 2 3**	
16. You are connected to a history that goes back to African royalty.	**1 2 3**	
17. Too much talk about racism will keep you from reaching your goals in life.	**1 2 3**	
18. Schools should be required to teach all children about Black history.	**1 2 3**	
19. Depending on religion and God will help you live a good life.	**1 2 3**	
20. Families who talk openly about religion or God will help each other grow.	**1 2 3**	
21. Teachers can help Black children grow by showing signs of Black culture in the classroom.	**1 2 3**	
22. Only people who are blood-related to you should be called your "family."	**1 2 3**	
23. Getting a good education is still the best way for you to get ahead.	**1 2 3**	
24. "Don't forget who your people are because you may need them someday."	**1 2 3**	
25. Spiritual battles that people fight are more important than the physical battles.	**1 2 3**	
26. You should know about Black history so that you will be a better person.	**1 2 3**	
27. "Train up a child in the way he should go, and he will not turn away from it."	**1 2 3**	
28. You have to work twice as hard as Whites in order to get ahead in this world.	**1 2 3**	
29. Whites make it hard for people to get ahead in this world.	**1 2 3**	
30. Be proud of who you are.	**1 2 3**	
31. Going to a Black school will help Black children feel better about themselves.	**1 2 3**	
32. You need to learn how to live in a White world and a Black world.	**1 2 3**	

33. Never be ashamed of your color. **1 2 3**
34. Whites have more opportunities than Blacks. **1 2 3**
35. A Black child or teenage will be harassed just because s/he is Black. **1 2 3**
36. More job opportunities would be open to African Americans if people were
    not racist. **1 2 3**
37. Black children should be taught early that God can protect them from
    racial hatred. **1 2 3**
38. Blacks don't always have the same opportunities as Whites. **1 2 3**
39. Black children don't have to know about Africa in order to survive life
    in America. **1 2 3**
40. Racism is not as bad today as it used to be before the 1960's. **1 2 3**

Appendix G. Pre-intervention Semi-structured Qualitative Protocol

SANKOFA 2007-2008
STRUCTURED SURVEY

1. What race are you? What ethnicity? How do you think race differs from ethnicity?

2. How important is your ethnic background in your life? For some students their ethnicity is very important and for other students it is not important, I was wondering how it is for you to be _____? How does having this background impact who you are?

3. Where and how do you remember learning about your ethnic background?

4. Has your understanding of your background as _____ shifted or changed since you started [program name], until now? Is your understanding the same?

5. How do you think that race matters in the ways that students are treated in your school? What role do your teachers play in what happens to students of different races or ethnicities? What role do you think other students have in what happens?

6. What have you heard about race from your family? What did they say? Who told you? What do you believe? What other things have you learned about race that you didn't learn from your family? Where did you learn those things?

7. What do you think that society expects of a student who looks like you or comes from your ethnic or racial background?

8. How do you think that your race or ethnicity will make a difference in whether or not you reach your goals? How might your ethnic background be helpful or not so helpful in reaching your goals? (Depending on student's answer, prompt) How have you learned about this? Did somebody talk to you about that?

9. How do you think being a student in [name of town/program name]will make a difference in whether or not you reach your goals?

10. Tell me a little bit about your experience as a [program name] student in [town]? How have you experienced school? Do you feel like you have had different experiences from other students in your schools? Resident students? White students?

Appendix H. Post-intervention Semi-structured Qualitative Protocol

SANKOFA 2007-2008
STRUCTURED SURVEY

1. What race are you? What ethnicity? How do you think race differs from ethnicity?

2. What have you learned about race this year? From Sankofa? From school?

3. How important is your ethnic background in your life? For some students their ethnicity is very important and for other students it is not important, I was wondering how it is for you to be _____? How does having this background impact who you are?

4. Where and how do you remember learning about your ethnic background?

5. Has your understanding of your background as _____ shifted or changed this year? Is your understanding the same?

6. How do you think that race matters in the ways that students are treated in your school? What role do your teachers play in what happens to students of different races or ethnicities? What role do you think other students have in what happens?

7. What have you heard about race from your family? What did they say? Who told you? What do you believe? What other things have you learned about race that you didn't learn from your family? Where did you learn those things?

8. What do you think that society expects of a student who looks like you or comes from your ethnic or racial background?

9. How do you think that your race or ethnicity will make a difference in whether or not you reach your goals? How might your ethnic background be helpful or not so helpful in reaching your goals? (Depending on student's answer, prompt) How have you learned about this? Did somebody talk to you about that?

10. How do you think being a student in [school district] will make a difference in whether or not you reach your goals?

11. Tell me a little bit about your experience as a [name of state-funded program] student in [town]? How have you experienced school? Do you

feel like you have had different experiences from other students in your schools? Resident students? White students?

12. Do you think that your experiences in school are most affected by your race or your gender?

EVALUATION OF SANKOFA

1. What did you learn from Sankofa this year? About yourself? About school and academics? About what you want to do after high school?

2. What would change about Sankofa? What would you keep the same?

3. Would you recommend other girls participate in Sankofa?

Appendix I. Table 4 Summary of PRIAS Racial Identity Schema Iota and T Scores

Table 4

Summary of People of Color Racial Identity Schemas Pre-Post Iotas and T scores

Pre	Conformity		Dissonance		Immersion/Resistance		Internalization	
	Iota	T score	Iota	T score	Iota	T score	Iota	T score
1	8.00	31.00	28.00	55.00	30.00	57.00	46.00	92.00
2	14.00	39.00	26.00	52.00	26.00	51.00	40.00	83.00
3	14.00	39.00	28.00	55.00	36.00	65.00	38.00	80.00
4	16.00	41.00	20.00	45.00	26.00	51.00	34.00	74.00
5	22.00	49.00	34.00	62.00	26.00	51.00	38.00	80.00
6	8.00	31.00	28.00	55.00	30.00	57.00	46.00	92.00
7	8.00	31.00	24.00	50.00	34.00	62.00	34.00	74.00
8	8.00	31.00	22.00	48.00	46.00	79.00	14.00	43.00
9	14.00	39.00	20.00	45.00	34.00	62.00	22.00	56.00
10	12.00	36.00	14.00	38.00	6.00	24.00	40.00	83.00
11	12.00	36.00	8.00	31.00	18.00	41.00	42.00	86.00
12	10.00	34.00	34.00	62.00	38.00	67.00	34.00	74.00
13	12.00	36.00	12.00	36.00	24.00	49.00	28.00	65.00
14	14.00	39.00	30.00	57.00	32.00	59.00	32.00	71.00
Post	Conformity		Dissonance		Immersion/Resistance		Internalization	
	Iota	T score	Iota	T score	Iota	T score	Iota	T score
1	16.00	41.00	32.00	59.00	36.00	65.00	40.00	83.00
2	12.00	36.00	26.00	52.00	26.00	51.00	36.00	77.00
3	14.00	39.00	40.00	69.00	34.00	62.00	38.00	80.00
4	14.00	39.00	32.00	59.00	34.00	62.00	34.00	74.00
5	28.00	57.00	32.00	59.00	28.00	54.00	34.00	74.00
6	16.00	41.00	32.00	59.00	26.00	65.00	40.00	83.00
7	8.00	31.00	16.00	41.00	18.00	41.00	36.00	77.00
8	10.00	34.00	16.00	41.00	48.00	82.00	26.00	62.00
9	20.00	47.00	20.00	45.00	40.00	70.00	34.00	74.00
10	16.00	41.00	26.00	52.00	36.00	65.00	40.00	80.00
11	52.00	88.00	10.00	34.00	30.00	57.00	4.00	27.00
12	20.00	47.00	28.00	55.00	40.00	70.00	28.00	65.00
13	10.00	34.00	18.00	43.00	42.00	73.00	38.00	80.00
14	14.00	39.00	20.00	45.00	34.00	62.00	32.00	71.00

Appendix J. Graphs of Mean Pre-Post Scores for Regular and Non-regular Attendance Groups on the PALS, PRIAS, Identification with School Measure, and TERS.
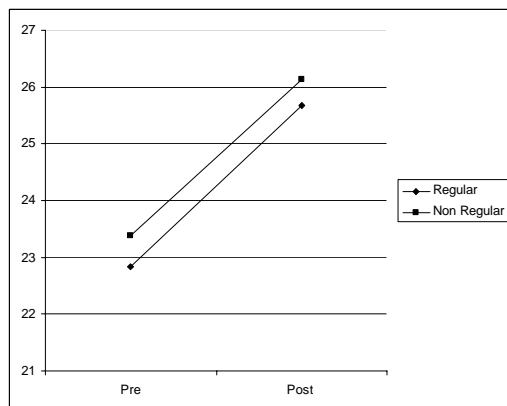
Figure 2. Graph of Mean Pre-Post Scores on the Patterns of Adaptive Learning Scale: Academic Press for Regular and Non-Regular Attendees.
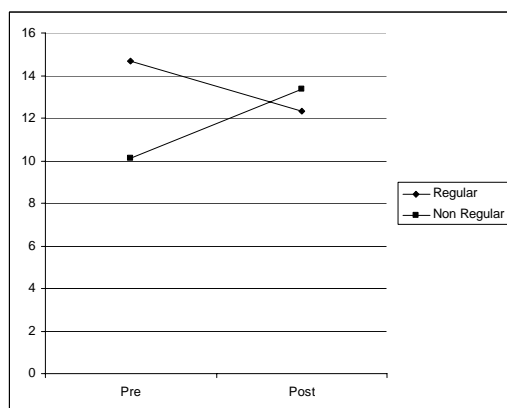
Figure 3. Graph of Mean Pre-Post Scores on the Patterns of Adaptive Learning Scale: Self-Presentation of Low Achievement Scores for Regular and Non-Regular Attendees.
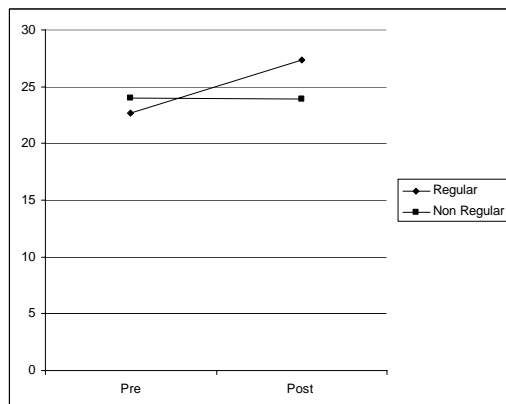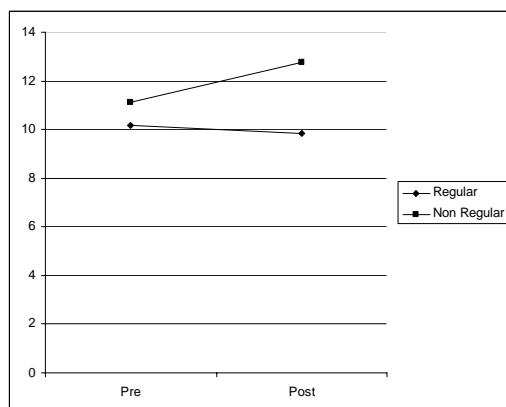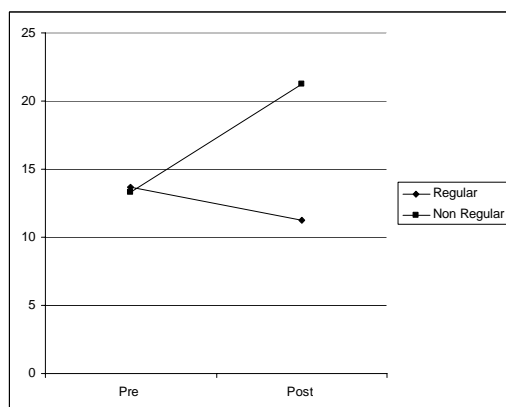
Figure 4. Graph of Mean Pre-Post Scores on the Patterns of Adaptive Learning Scale: Skepticism of the Relevance of School Scores for Regular and Non-Regular Attendees.

Figure 5. Graph of Mean Pre-Post Scores on the Patterns of Adaptive Learning Scale: Disruptive Behavior Scores for Regular and Non-regular Attendees.

Figure 6. Graph of Mean Pre-Post Conformity Scores for Regular and Non-regular Attendees.
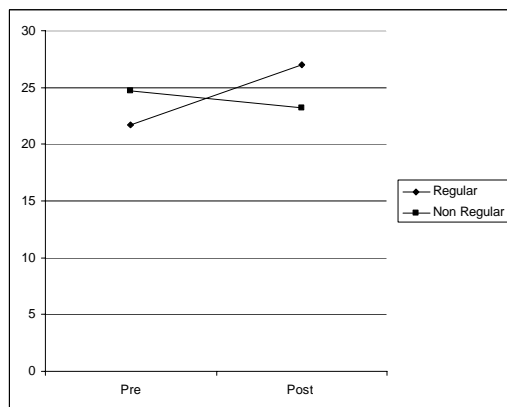
Figure 7. Graph of Mean Pre-Post Dissonance Scores for Regular and Non-regular Attendees.
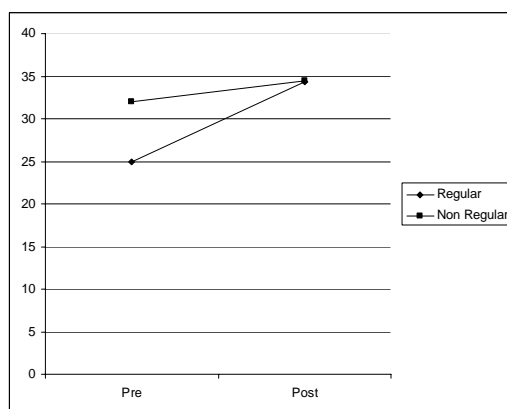
Figure 8. Graph of Mean Pre-Post Immersion/Resistance Scores For Regular and Non-regular Attendees.
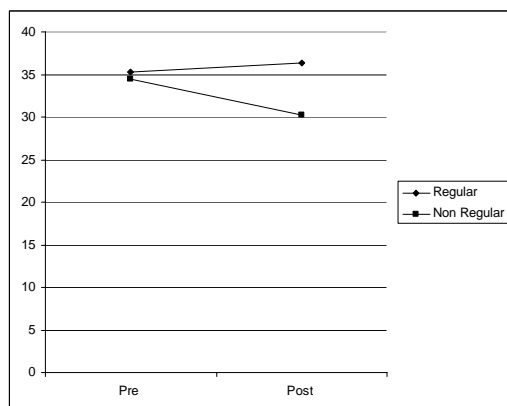
Figure 9. Graph of Mean Pre-Post Internalization Scores for Regular and Non-regular Attendees.
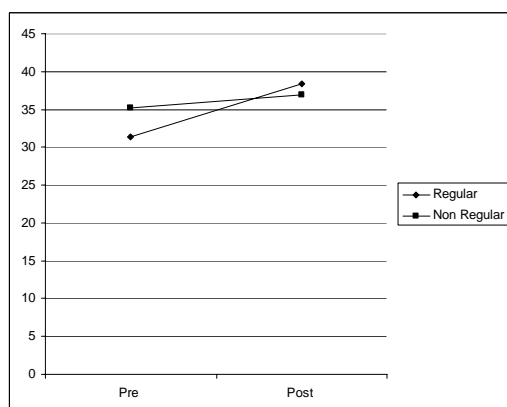
Figure 10. Graph of Mean Pre-Post Scores on the Identification with School for Regular and Non-regular Attendees.
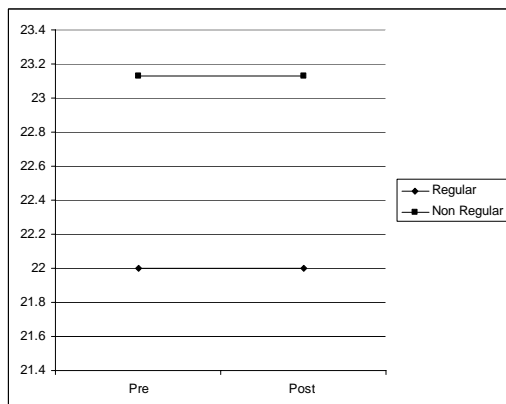
Figure 11. Graph of Mean Pre-Post Scores on the Teenager Experience of Racial Socialization Measure: Cultural Coping with Antagonism for Regular and Non-regular Attendees.
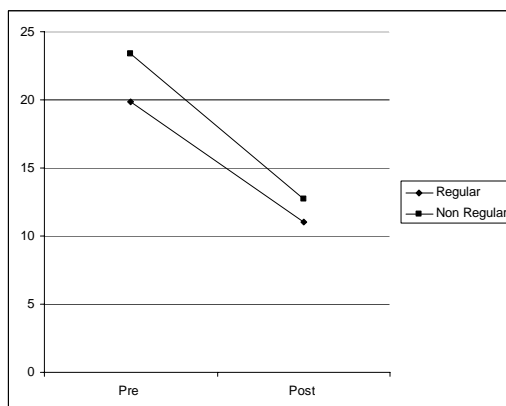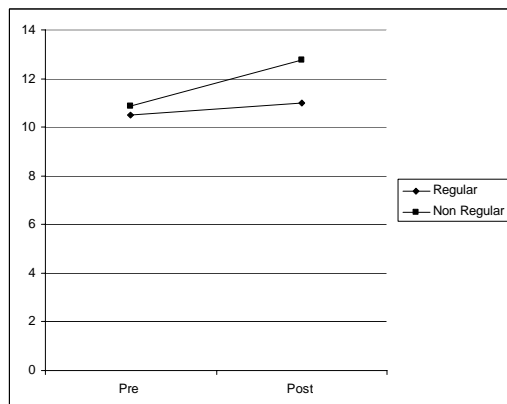

Figure 12. Graph of Mean Pre-Post Scores on the Teenager Experience of Racial Socialization Measure: Cultural Pride Reinforcement for Regular and Non-regular Attendees.
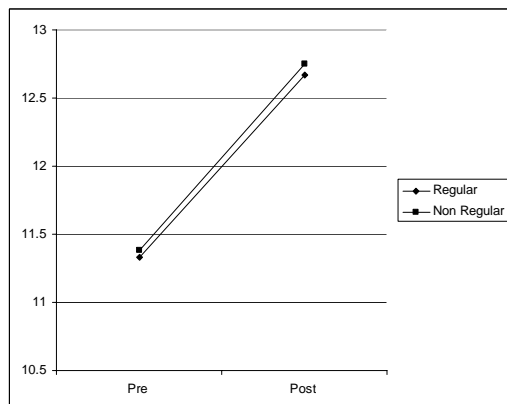
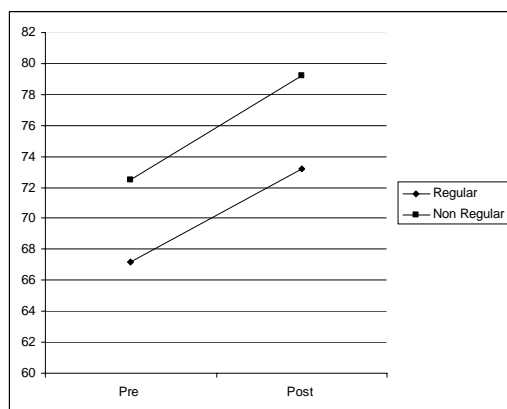*Figure 13.* Graph of Mean Pre-Post Scores on the Teenager Experience of Racial Socialization Measure: Cultural Alertness to Discrimination for Regular and Non-regular Attendees.
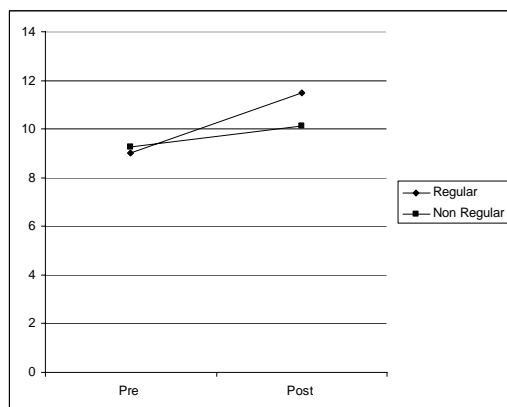
Figure 14. Graph of Mean Pre-Post Scores on the Teenager Experience of Racial Socialization Measure: Cultural Endorsement of the Mainstream for Regular and Non-regular Attendees.

Figure 15. Graph of Mean Pre-Post Scores on the Teenager Experience of Racial Socialization Measure: Cultural Appreciation of Legacy for Regular and Non-regular Attendees.

Figure 16. Graph of Mean Pre-Post Scores on the Teenager Experience of Racial Socialization Measure: Cultural Socialization Experience for Regular and Non-Regular Attendees.

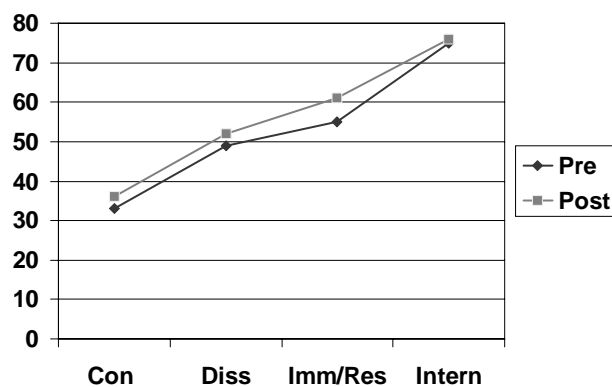Appendix K. Graphs of Racial Identity Profile Analyses for the Total Sample, Regular Attendance Individuals, and Non-regular Attendance Individuals.

Figure 17. Racial identity profiles for the total sample. Racial identity schemas are Con = Conformity, Diss = Dissonance, I/R = Immersion/Resistance; and Intern = Internalization; Pre prior to intervention, post is following the intervention. Pre Con = 33; Diss = 49; I/R = 55; Intern = 75. Post Con = 36; Diss = 53; I/R = 61; Intern = 76.
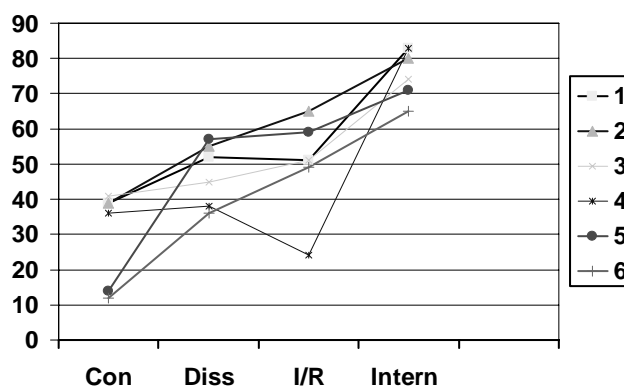
Figure 18. Racial Identity Profiles for the Regular Attendance Individuals (N = 6) Pre-intervention. Racial Identity Schemas are Con = Conformity, Diss = Dissonance, I/R = Immersion/Resistance, and Intern = Internalization. Pre is prior to the intervention. Participant 1: Pre Con = 39; Diss = 52; I/R = 51; Intern = 83. Participant 2: Pre Con = 39; Diss = 55; I/R = 65; Intern = 80. Participant 3: Pre Con = 41; Diss = 45; I/R = 51; Intern = 74. Participant 4: Pre Con = 36; Diss = 38; I/R = 24; Intern = 83. Participant 5: Pre Con = 36; Diss = 36; I/R = 49; Intern = 65. Participant 6: Pre Con = 39; Diss = 57; I/R = 59; Intern = 71.
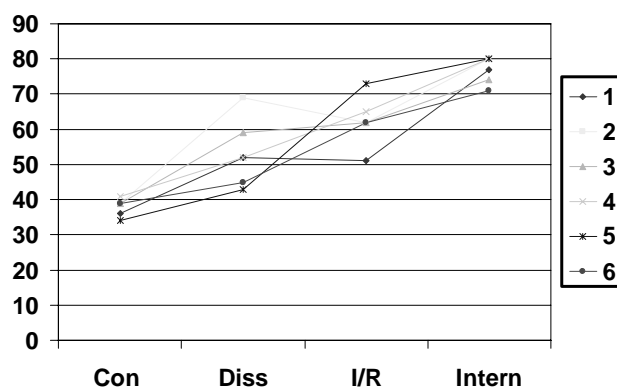
Figure 19. Racial Identity Profiles for the Regular Attendance Individuals (N = 6) Post Intervention. Racial Identity Schemas are Con = Conformity; Diss = Dissonance; I/R = Immersion/Resistance; and Intern = Internalization. Post is following the intervention. Participant 1: Post Con = 36; Diss = 52; I/R = 51; Intern = 77. Participant 2: Pre Con = 39; Diss = 69; I/R = 62; Intern = 80. Participant 3: Pre Con = 39; Diss = 59; I/R = 62; Intern = 74. Participant 4: Pre Con = 41; Diss = 52; I/R = 65; Intern = 80. Participant 5: Pre Con = 34; Diss = 43; I/R = 65; Intern = 80. Participant 6: Pre Con = 39; Diss = 45; I/R = 62; Intern = 71.
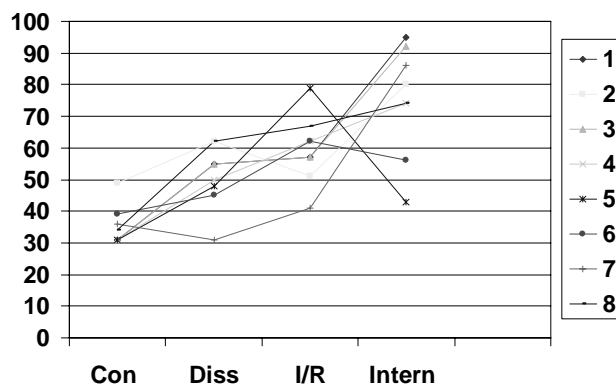
Figure 20. Racial Identity Profiles for the Non-Regular Attendance Individuals (N = 8) Pre Intervention. Racial Identity Schemas are Con = Conformity; Diss = Dissonance; I/R = Immersion/Resistance; and Intern = Internalization. Pre is prior to the intervention. Participant 1: Pre Con = 31; Diss = 55; I/R = 57; Intern = 92. Participant 2: Pre Con = 49; Diss = 62; I/R = 51; Intern = 80. Participant 3: Pre Con = 31; Diss = 55; I/R = 57; Intern = 92. Participant 4: Pre Con = 31; Diss = 50; I/R = 62; Intern = 74. Participant 5: Pre Con = 31; Diss = 48; I/R = 43; Intern = 65. Participant 6: Pre Con = 39; Diss = 45; I/R = 62; Intern = 56. Participant 7: Pre Con = 36; Diss = 31; I/R = 41; Intern = 86. Participant 8: Pre Con = 34; Diss = 62; I/R = 67; Intern = 71.
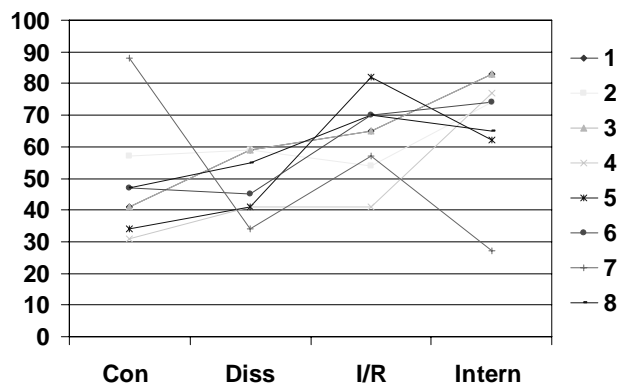
Figure 21. Racial Identity Profiles for the Non-Regular Attendance Individuals (N = 8) Post Intervention. Racial Identity Schemas are Con = Conformity; Diss = Dissonance; I/R = Immersion/Resistance; and Intern = Internalization. Post is following the intervention. Participant 1: Post Con = 41; Diss = 36; I/R = 65; Intern = 83. Participant 2: Post Con = 57; Diss = 59; I/R = 54; Intern = 74. Participant 3: Post Con = 41; Diss = 59; I/R = 65; Intern = 83. Participant 4: Post Con = 31; Diss = 41; I/R = 41; Intern = 77. Participant 5: Pre Con = 34; Diss = 48; I/R = 70; Intern = 74. Participant 6: Pre Con = 47; Diss = 45; I/R = 34; Intern = 74. Participant 7: Post Con = 88; Diss = 34; I/R = 57; Intern = 27. Participant 8: Post Con = 47; Diss = 55; I/R = 70; Intern = 65.
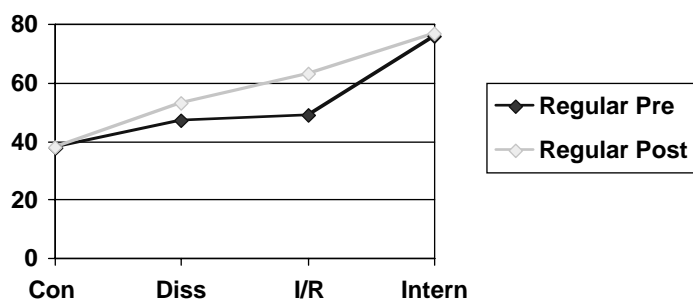
Figure 22. Racial Identity Profiles of Regular Attendance Group Pre and Post intervention. Racial Identity Profiles are Pre is prior to intervention. Post is following the intervention. Con = Conformity; Diss = Dissonance; I/R = Immersion/Resistance; and Intern = Internalization. Pre Con = 38; Diss = 47; I/R = 49; Intern = 76. Post Con = 38; Diss = 53; I/R = 63; Intern = 77.
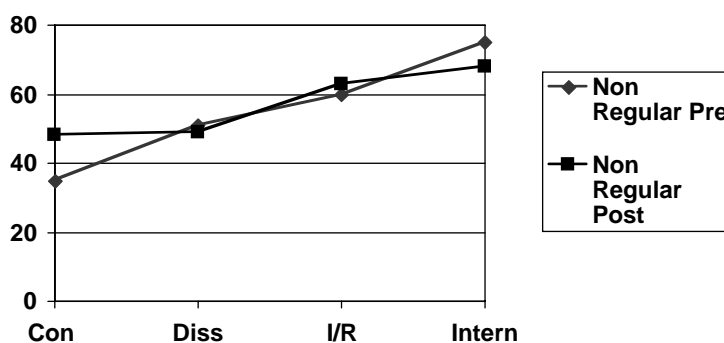

Figure 23. Racial Identity Profiles for the Non-regular Attendance Group Pre and Post Intervention. Racial Identity Schemas are Con = Conformity; Diss = Dissonance; I/R = Immersion/Resistance; and Intern = Internalization. Pre is prior to the intervention. Post is following the intervention. Pre Con = 35; Diss = 51; I/R = 60; Intern = 76. Post Con = 48; Diss = 49; I/R = 63; Intern = 68.

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