Race in the Classroom: Identifying and Uprooting Bias

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ABSTRACT

This is a review of the literature including 30 studies examining the ways in which children perceive and enact racial bias and discrimination in the schools, and how children's experiences with and ideas about racism influence their well being and academic success. The research reviewed herein includes psychological formation of racial bias, consequences of experiencing racism, and the ways in which multicultural and anti-bias curriculum influence children's biases and self concepts. Research included in this review examines primarily African American and White children and youth.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Question

As children grow up in the USA, they encounter racism both within and beyond the boundaries of school. Children learn about historical and present day racism through the explicit and implicit curriculum of the classroom. They may become targets of discrimination and exclusion, as well as adopt and enact prejudice. What are the ways in which encounters with racism shape children's well-being and academic success? This paper will examine the development of biases in childhood, the ways in which children experience, enact and consider racial bias in the school setting, and the impact of anti-bias education on children's sense of self and other.

Rationale

At the time this paper is being written the United States anticipates the inauguration of its first African American president, Barack Obama. A time of historical significance, the election has provoked a renewed consideration of race in the U.S. Citizens celebrate the nation's progress from a past in which it denied citizens basic freedoms including the right to vote on the basis of race, to a contemporary nation ready for the leadership of an African American. However, even in this contemporary era, it is widely acknowledged that strong racial disparities persist in poverty, imprisonment and educational attainment (Hanson et al., 2007).

On March 18, 2008 Obama delivered a speech of historical importance on the topic of race in the United States. In this speech, he addressed racial inequities in education:

Segregated schools were, and are, inferior schools; we still haven't fixed them, fifty years after Brown v. Board of Education, and the inferior education they provided, then and now, helps explain the pervasive achievement gap between today's black and white students...This time we want to talk about the crumbling schools that are stealing the future of Black children and White children and Asian children and Hispanic children and Native American children. This time we want to reject the cynicism that tells us that these kids can't learn; that those kids who don't look like us are somebody else's problem. The

children of America are not those kids, they are our kids, and we will not let them fall

behind in a 21st century economy. Not this time. (Obama, 2008, ¶ 29)

President Obama gave voice to public frustration with division and disparity between schools serving the rich and the poor. Schooling is considered highly important in the United States. Education is a gate-keeper, affording or denying individuals career opportunities on the basis of school success. Public schools in the U.S. are a focal point of racial tension, taking the blame for persistent economic inequity that disproportionately affects people of color (Noguera, 2008).

The American Dream rests on a claim of fundamental fairness: that anyone regardless of origin can achieve career success and material prosperity if they work hard enough. However, for much of the nation's history, laws restricted rights and limited opportunities for various groups of Americans. Following the long struggle for equal rights, the Dream expanded to include people of color. Many have recognized that without equal access to education and employment, or equal opportunity, this dream means nothing. Those concerned with the fairness in this promise condemn the failure of schools to nurture academic success among low income and minority youth at the same level as among White, middle class students (Hochschild & Scovronick, 2003).

The 2001 passage of the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act launched one of the most comprehensive and direct attempts to bridge the racial achievement gap nationwide. The act required schools to document achievement measured by test scores for ethnic and racial subgroups, and to bring all groups to core subject proficiency by the 2013-14 school year (Thernstrom & Thernstrom, 2003). Yet it remains to be seen whether or not, and by what means these gains will be accomplished. According to the Nation's Report Card (2005), 59% of Black students and 54% of Hispanic students attending urban schools ranked below proficient in reading, compared to 25% of White students at the same schools. Knaus (2007) charged that NCLB does not provide adequate means to attain this objective, emphasizing teacher credentials rather than culturally relevant, critical thinking pedagogy that will truly empower African American youth.

Schooling serves multiple functions; one valuable purpose of education is to equip students with the skills necessary for them to choose and access career opportunities. However, it is uncertain whether gains in academic achievement will equalize career opportunities without more systemic change. There may not be room at the top for everyone. Shor (1992) argued that the illusion of equal opportunity prevents social unrest that would provoke systemic change. Cultural reproduction theorists such as Bourdieu (1977) and Giroux (1982) posited that schooling replicates the existing economic and social structures of society, maintaining a status quo that benefits those in power. Through the ideology of equal opportunity, the powerful work to produce and reproduce a culture and ideology that places blame on the shoulders of individuals who suffer social ills that are actually systemic.

Not only do schools transmit skills necessary for career success; they transmit values. Whether intentional or not, the institution of schooling functions to inculcate youth with the values of the dominant culture (Rogoff, 2003). Fordham (1996) argued that a main function of schooling is to implant these values in non-dominant groups (Fordham, 1996). The teaching of values can be implicit, embedded in curricular choices, procedures and policies that reflect institutional and teacher values. However, the teaching of values can also involve explicitly opening up these practices and expectations for critical examination in the classroom (Shor, 1992). Some feel that schools should avoid teaching values and focus strictly on skills, leaving families free to guide the moral development of their children. However, his presents a false neutrality, denying that values are embedded in choices and practices that in fact train children to the values of the dominant culture (Shor, 1992, Giroux, 1982). Noddings (2002) countered the vision of schools as centers of skills transmission, arguing that teachers and schools must also nurture critical thinking about moral issues and help children grow into loving, lovable and caring human beings.

Schools can facilitate social development, bringing together members of diverse cultures and backgrounds to learn together as members of one school and classroom community. For this reason, schools have potential to further goals of democracy, teaching children skills needed not only for career success but for democratic citizenship. Not only should citizens of a democracy be prepared to think critically about the issues on which they cast their votes; they should be able to

communicate their perspectives, reason, consider differing points of view and build consensus. The values needed for healthy democracy include mutual respect for diverse values and rights, and the ability to cooperate and build shared vision. (Shor, 1992). Not only should schools teach for democratic citizenship, they have a responsibility to promote positive identity development in individuals.

As children grow, they develop a sense of self that is deeply influenced by their culture and its messages and values (Erickson, 1963). As children develop, they figure out how they fit into society through the lens of dominant culture's values acquired via socialization forces such as school and media. These values may reinforce or clash with children's family, community and cultural values. Dubois (2007/1903) called this double consciousness "this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity." Psychologists including White (1984) and Banks (Banks & Grambs, 1979) have examined the ways in which encounters with racism may shape identity development for African Americans. Not only can exposure to bias influence children's self concepts, but experiencing discrimination at school may impede student success, fostering the development of oppositional identity. Children of color may become unwilling to learn, feeling that they are prisoners of an institution that devalues and disrespects their cultural identity (Ogbu, 2003).

Children may encounter both individual and structural racism at school. Individual racism manifests as prejudice or discrimination from one person toward another, for example name-calling or exclusion. Systemic racism is less overt, including practices such as the unequal allocation of resources to schools serving poor and minority youth and school policies such as tracking or discipline practices that disproportionately impact students of color (Noguera, 2008).

One popular way for teachers to avoid discriminating against students has been to practice colorblindness (Tatum, 1997). Being colorblind means looking beyond skin color in order to perceive people as individuals. This may represent an attempt by teachers to avoid applying stereotypes. However, colorblindness can deny the significance of cultural differences and the reality of racism in the lives students (Paley, 1989). Tatum argued that no one is actually blind to

color. People see physical differences which often do indicate different cultural experiences. For adults in the workplace it may be appropriate to avoid making any assumptions about one another. For teachers, it may be harmful to suppress rather than acknowledge and work beyond biases or stereotypes. Also, it may be more appropriate for teachers to recognize the ways in which cultural differences shape behavior, communication styles and expectations in the classroom (Delpit, 1996).

Racism is a reality in the United States. A disproportionate number of high school dropouts, low income people and prison inmates are people of color (Jensen, 2005). Through the abolitionist and the civil rights or freedom movements, Americans took drastic steps to eliminate legally sanctioned racism. Although overt bias and discrimination are rejected by mainstream Americans, racism remains problematic.

Despite the successes of civil rights struggles, the decreased tolerance of overt prejudice, and legal successes securing the rights of people of color, anger over racism surfaces in the public sphere. In 1992 after jurors acquitted police for the beating of an African American man, race riots raged for days in South Central Los Angeles, killing 53 people (Crogan, 2002, ¶1). In 2005, inadequate emergency response as Hurricane Katrina hit New Orleans sparked anger over racial disparity as thousands, particularly low income and African American individuals were stranded in the hurricane (Giroux, 2007). At least 1,464 Louisiana residents died in the hurricane, many of whom were elderly (Louisiana Dept. of Health and Hospitals, 2006).

In 2006 the Jena Six case received national attention, when six high school students at Jena High School in Louisiana were charged with assault after months of escalating racial tensions at the high school, where White students had placed nooses on a tree in front of the school, evoking the violent history of lynchings, the public hangings of Blacks at the hands of Whites in the American South. Protesters nationwide condemned the actions of the White students, opposing what they considered excessive legal persecution of the Black students, including the trial of one teenager as an adult, and initial charges of attempted murder which were later reduced to assault. The Jena Six sparked nationwide concern and debate over the persistence of racial tension among youth of today (Whoriskey, 2007).

Tatum (1997) urged White teachers to consider the nature of the role of their own racial identity in the reproduction of power relations in United States society. She described the White culture of silence around racism and White discomfort with talking about racism, and the particular discomfort that White teachers feel when teaching about racism to students of color. Blais (2006), a high school teacher, described how her inability to acknowledge her whiteness as a form of power over a student fueled feelings of intense anger and disengagement from a previously successful Black teenage girl.

It is important, however, not to take a deterministic approach overemphasizing the power of racism to do harm. Individuals are unique and may respond or adapt in different ways to their experiences. Many factors influence individual adjustment. Brody (2006) found that among Black youth strong family and peer support may buffer the effects of experiencing discrimination. Also, taking pride in one's culture or heritage may prevent discrimination from causing harm (Rivas-Drake, 2008). Many individual factors may also influence a youth's well being. Anti-racist teaching not only means that teachers notice and intervene to stop overt and subtle discrimination in the school, but that they use authentic multicultural curriculum (Banks, 1996a).

A positive, respectful portrayal of many cultures through a thoughtful multicultural curriculum is necessary for effective anti-racist teaching. Tatum (1997) critiqued the way in which White teachers teach about racism, over-emphasizing the tragic aspects of race in American history: slavery, segregation and discrimination. She critiqued their failure to additionally create positive, authentic celebrations of diverse cultures. Banks (1996c) advocated for transformative multicultural education, which helps students evaluate the construction of cultural knowledge, create their own knowledge and change existing systems.

A truly anti-racist approach will not focus only on the actions of Whites, placing people of color in the victim role. It will share with students the beauty and integrity of the world's many cultures. It will no longer teach whitewashed history from the dominant cultural perspective. It will instead teach students from all ethnicities to examine U.S. history and culture through the lens of multiple perspectives and critically evaluate all sources of knowledge.

Some argue that a multiplicity of perspectives cannot and should not be taught by schools, because this will confuse students and create a divided culture. Schmidt (1997) argued that far from being whitewashed, history curricula often omit information critical of non-European cultures, such as poor treatment of women, or the existence of slavery in Africa prior to European invasion. D'Souza (1997) declared that the nation has reached the dawn of a new age in which race is no longer of relevance and oppression has been eliminated in the service of freedom and individual responsibility. Despite these optimistic proclamations, racism remains an issue, persistently troubling young people of color in America today (West, 2001).

Teachers must not be silent about racism. Neither should they downplay its importance in U.S. and world history, nor should they ignore its pervasiveness in present day inequalities and in the lives of the children they teach. All children will encounter knowledge of racism as they learn U.S. history of slavery and segregation, and as their social experiences bring them in contact with stereotypes, prejudice and discrimination.

To educate youth for social and democratic responsibility, teachers and schools should encourage and facilitate the examination of moral issues such as racism and inequality. They should help students to recognize stereotypes and biases they may have. To promote student achievement and well-being, teachers and schools must protect children from harassment and exclusion. In order to do so, it may be necessary to recognize and effectively reduce racial bias in the school. This paper will focus encounters with racism, seeking ways that teachers can effectively address racism to promote the well-being of all students.

Statement of Limitations

This paper focuses primarily on the individual dimension of racism, notably bias and discrimination, and how it manifests within and impacts individuals as they experience schooling. This individual psychological/affective component of racism may go unseen or under-examined by teachers. However, racial bias in schooling is more complex than individual prejudice. Hunt & Bowser (1996) identified three layers of racism: individual, systemic and cultural. Each strand of racism reaches its roots deep within the school system, worsening student alienation and allowing the achievement gap to persist.

Systemic and cultural racism is enacted in many ways, foremost of which include unequal school funding, insufficient numbers of teachers of color, language and teaching styles that privilege one group over another, curricula that conflicts with or does not connect with students' cultural backgrounds, insufficient representation in the curriculum, low teacher expectations, discipline policies and procedures disproportionately affecting students of color, and academic tracking when students of color are underrepresented in higher level courses. In order to create truly anti-racist schools, teachers must not only address prejudice, but must attempt to dismantle these systemic forces of inequity.

Race or ethnicity is only one component of identity and one level to address in anti-bias teaching. The salience of racial identity varies for each individual at different times. Adults who strive to create an anti-bias school community must address all types of bias including discrimination based on socio-economic status, gender identity, sexual orientation, ability, religion, nationality, language/dialect, IQ, body size and other physical and personal characteristics deemed culturally inferior or undesirable. Schools must work to build healthy communities that do not tolerate bullying or exclusion on any basis. Teachers should work to understand intersecting dimensions of identity. This paper, however, limits its scope to an examination of race/ethnicity.

This paper attends primarily to African American and White youth with limited consideration of bias and racial identity development among Latino/a and Asian youth. It does not provide a complete and complex picture of the experiences of multiple groups representing diversity teachers are likely to encounter. As schools serve an increasingly culturally/ethnically diverse student population, teachers should be aware of the distinct needs and experiences of the students they serve. Additionally, biracial/multiracial identity development is a unique process with its own concerns (Poston, 1990). As immigration, international adoption, and interracial coupling become more common, schools serve a growing number of multiracial/bicultural families and students. Considerations unique to biracial/multiracial identity are outside the scope of this paper, but should also be understood by teachers who wish to provide identity-affirming education.

Definition of Terms

Racism: A social system of dominance and oppression based on ethnicity or skin color, in the United States the dominance of European Americans and light skinned individuals over people of color. Racism is a broad term that includes individual, systemic and cultural dimensions of discrimination.

Prejudice/Bias: Negative feelings and beliefs felt by one individual toward others on the basis of identity, group affiliation or physical characteristics.

Anti-Bias or Anti-Racist Education: Education that seeks to eliminate prejudice and destroy systems of privilege that reinforce cultural dominance and oppression.

Multicultural Education: A movement and teaching practice that aims to transmit positive values toward multiple cultures by teaching children about multiple cultures and from multiple perspectives through an authentic, respectful pedagogy.

Race/Racial Identity: Race is a social construct that groups together people of similar features, primarily skin tone, associated with certain broad geographical regions of origin.

Ethnicity/Ethnic Identity: Typically self-defined and more specific than race, one's ethnicity signifies membership to a cultural group based on heritage, geographical origin or other cultural values.

Self-Concept/Identity: An individual's self-concept/identity is how that individual thinks of herself in relation to others, community and social categories and institutions and is based on unique experiences of the self in various contexts.

CHAPTER 2: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The story of racism and its social, political and individual consequences in world and U.S. historical and contemporary culture is much too complex to be detailed adequately in one short chapter. This chapter will broadly outline the evolution and function of the ideology of racism in world and U.S. history. It will then outline the history of race in public schooling in the United States. People of many cultures have experienced racism and cultural violence at the hands of public schooling in the U.S., from Native Americans to immigrants of diverse ethnicities and the poor (Spring, 2005). In the interest of limited space this chapter will present a story in alignment with the literature reviewed in chapter three, focusing primarily on Black and White. This chapter will conclude by describing movements in psychological and educational theory dealing with race, including the psychology of bias and identity development, and multicultural and anti-racist education movements.

The Development of Contemporary Racism

Guillaumin (1995) described racism as an ideology. The ideology of racism became a unique social scientific concept in the modern era, but has its roots deep within human history. Goldberg (1993) argued that racism should not be reduced to ideology alone, rather it is a system of institutions, practices and actions, typically promoted or rationalized by the ideology. The following brief summary of the development of racism in the modern era describes an interplay between ideology and action, suggesting that the ideology of racism serves a historical and contemporary function of justifying systems oppression.

Throughout human history, claims that certain groups of people were inherently inferior were used to justify and uphold the subjugation of groups or classes of people by other groups holding power (Guillaumin, 1995). Such thinking may have laid the groundwork for the modern ideology of racism. Theories of inequality thrived long before the colonialist system of white dominance and violence against the world's dark skinned indigenous people. Proto-racist ideas included slavery in ancient societies, the "Barbarian" in Greek thought, Jewish Ghettos in the European and Arab world, and all practices of hostility and aggression toward those perceived as foreigners (Guillaumin, 1995). Such thinking may have justified conditions of social inequality and

the exploitation of human labor. However, such thought did not conceptualize or name race in the way it is thought of today. Hannaford (1996) and Isaac (2004) cautioned against historians' tendency to pinpoint the origins of racism in Greek and Roman society when in fact they did not use the concept of race as it is known today. Samson (2005) distinguished between ethnocentric and xenophobic ideas which may be based on any type of cultural difference, and racism which is distinctly about physical difference and applies scientific thinking to the social phenomenon of race.

Examples of xenophobic, dehumanizing characterizations of foreigners can be found in many cultures both historical and contemporary (Guillaumin, 1995). However, the ideology of racism in its contemporary Western context emerged as a unique entity in the colonial period. In 1452 and 1455 Pope Nicholas V issued the papal bulls *Dum Diversas* and *Romanus Pontifex* which announced war against the world's non-Christians, authorizing the King of Portugal to use force, enslavement and the seizure of lands (Beazley, 1910). This initiated the Doctrine of Discovery, a legal principle refined throughout the following centuries by Europeans who forcefully claimed ownership of land far beyond their borders (Mills, 1997).

As Europe's colonial empire expanded, race became a powerful concept. Europeans designated races superior or inferior based on their achievements according to European values in the areas of technology, weaponry and test-based literacy. These values justified cleaving people into the categories Civilized and Uncivilized or "Savages." This served ideological and political ends, justifying colonial domination of those deemed incapable of self determination (Mills, 1997). Such thinking may persist subtly today as Westerners refer to "developing nations" who have yet to fully industrialize and establish the type of political economy valued by Western capitalists.

Not only did religion justify emerging political and social structures of colonialism; as science gained influence, scientific thinking was used to justify oppression (Banks, 1996b). As Europeans conquered and enslaved indigenous populations throughout the world a new ideology of racism emerged, one which built its foundation in the powerful ideology of science. German physiologist Johann Blumenbach coined the term Caucasian in his 18th century travels through

Europe, which inspired him to create a racial classification system used by the U.S. to restrict immigration with the 1790 Naturalization Act. Blumenbach's work inspired European scientists and eugenicists, who built a discipline of classifying race and measuring supposed capacities and qualities of races. Scientists applied this new system of racial classification with evolutionary theory, supposing that some races were more highly evolved than others (Mukhopadhyay, 2008). Scientists of this era devised systems measuring human skulls, skeletons and skin tone combined with intelligence tests (Fluehr-Lobban, 2006).

Craniometry, the brainchild of French anthropologist Paul Broca, emerged in the late 19th century. Craniometry was a field of science devoted to taking various types of skull measurements, and later measuring brain size by filling empty skulls with liquid to determine their capacity. European and American scientists of this era used measurements to create a racial hierarchy, documenting diminishing skull size that reflected the social order of racism, with Caucasians having the largest skulls, implying greater intelligence. It was later discovered that Broca used skulls from exceptionally small Africans, which biased his data to support the popular belief that Africans possessed inferior intelligence (Fluehr-Lobban, 2006).

Because racist ideology supports entrenched systems of inequality, racist ideology has been slow to disappear, and has reappeared in new forms. The sciences of craniometry and its ilk have long been debunked in the scientific community but the thinking that postulates genetic explanations for social inequalities has not been put to rest (Banks, 1996b). In the 1990's the bestselling book *The Bell Curve* by psychologists Herrnstein and Murray (1994) argued that genetic differences could explain class and race based differences in IQ and SAT scores, and may be found responsible for social ills such as poverty and crime. Banks (1996b) noted that the popularity of this book was connected to a conservative political agenda advocating closed borders and decreased welfare. This illustrates Goldberg's (1993) notion of racism as both idea and action, not only an ideology but the social and political consequences that it serves to rationalize and reinforce. Mills (1996) defined racism as a political power structure differentially distributing wealth and opportunities.

The conditions of slavery influenced the nature of racist ideology in the United States. Slave owners feared revolt and violence at the hands of slaves. Part of contemporary racism is a fear of Blacks, and exaggeration of Black crime and violence. The particular fear of the Black man persists in the White consciousness stirred by persistent cultural associations of African Americans, particularly males, with sex and violence. The Antebellum South was inflamed with a hysteria prompting false accusations of rape, answered by violent deaths and lynchings by vigilante groups of White males often, but not always, associated with the Ku Klux Klan. A sort of hysteria existed around the fear of uncontrollable, aggressive Black male, and these ideas persist in our culture and schools (West, 2001).

Racist ideology not only supported slavery and segregation of African Americans; it legitimized violence against Native Americans including the annexing land in the Southwestern U.S. and the forcible relocation of Native Americans along the Trail of Tears (Spring, 2005). Racist thought was used to support many actions and systems of dominance against people of color and economically disadvantaged ethnic groups including Whites who were forced into indentured servitude, unsafe work environments and squalid living conditions. Because it manifests as both ideology and practice, reinforcing and justifying persistent economic and power inequities, racism remains entrenched to this day.

Race and Schooling in the U.S.

U.S. schools have historically functioned to support and reinforce Anglo-Protestant dominance. Schools were used to assimilate the children of various immigrant and non-mainstream groups, socializing them into a common culture, which happened to be the dominant Anglo-Protestant culture. European Americans forcibly removed Native American children from their families, placing them in boarding schools, where they were isolated from their communities, language and customs and instead taught the English language and Anglo-Protestant living habits. Schools have also been used as tools of colonialism throughout the world wherever colonizers have sought to influence and erase the cultures and customs of native people, which they considered inferior and incompatible with colonial interests, establishing labor and political economies serving European powers (Spring, 2005).

Williams (2005) discussed the long tradition of African American intellectual pursuit, often at dire risk to one's safety. African Americans in slavery were typically forbidden, frequently by law, from learning to read in the Antebellum South. Slaves who learned to read faced punishment by death or physical violence. However, many slaves self-educated despite the risks, learning in small secret schools or teaching one another, passing along the knowledge secretly. African Americans would later persist in their pursuit of learning by fighting segregation. In contemporary times, African Americans rally against systemic inequality that privileges white middle class students and the schools that serve them. In light of this struggle, to characterize African Americans as uninterested in learning is a gross misrepresentation (Williams, 2005).

With the dissolution of slavery, African Americans in the South gained both the freedom to pursue education and the need to acquire work skills to support themselves. The era following the dismantling of the Confederacy and slavery is known as the Reconstruction era, approximately 1862 to 1877 (Richter, 1966). The Reconstructionist South was characterized by a rift in Black leadership around the purpose and function of education for African American youth (Spring, 2005). W.E.B. DuBois emerged as a prominent leader, arguing the need for Black leadership in the academy. Booker T. Washington accused DuBois of considering only the "talented tenth" and caught in his privileged background, ignoring the needs of the majority of common Blacks, who needed practical vocational training (Morgan, 1995). Washington's focus on hard work, skills and individual responsibility was posited against progressive intellectual leadership, and implicitly limited opportunities for Black thinkers (Spring, 2005). Regardless of his motivations, Washington's push for schooling that provided newly freed slaves with practical survival skills supported the White ideal of hardworking, mentally inferior, passive Blacks (Morgan, 1995).

In the late 19th century following the Reconstruction era, southern states passed a series of laws mandating racial segregation in public places such as parks, restaurants, barbershops etc. These laws were known as the Jim Crow laws. The U.S. Supreme Court upheld segregation in the landmark *Plessy v. Ferguson*, in which African American Homer Plessy challenged the Louisiana law segregating passenger trains. Supreme Court Justice Brown cited the custom of segregated schooling to defend his decision supporting "separate but equal" facilities. This

decision allowed racially segregated schooling to persist throughout the United States until 1954 (Irons, 2002).

After a long struggle by African Americans to gain access to equal education, the U.S. overturned *Plessy* with the pivotal Brown v. Board of Education decision. Integrationists believed that access to better-funded White schools would improve the welfare of African American children, providing them a truly equal education. However, the sad result was that many students left underfunded but supportive African American schools for White schools that were resistant to integration. Many Whites in the South resisted desegregation; Governor Orval Faubus deployed the Arkansas National Guard to prevent Black students from entering Little Rock Central High. Black children faced angry and hostile Whites who shouted slurs and attempted to block their entry into the schools, but also from peers, teachers and administrators who resented their presence (Spring, 2005).

It is important to note that the struggles of African American families to obtain equal education were paralleled by movements within other indigenous and communities of color. Native Americans and indigenous people in the U.S. territories fought for greater self determination in schooling (Spring, 2005). Mexican Americans in the Southwest fought racial segregation instituted under the rationale of cultural and linguistic differences. Some of the first successful cases overturning segregation were won by Mexicans in California and Texas in 1930, but these verdicts had only local impact (Gonzales, 1990).

Although Blacks won the right to attend school alongside Whites, they were both discouraged and prevented by both unwelcoming attitudes and unofficial segregation resulting from residential patterns. Desegregation was not so simple as it may have seemed to those who fought in the 1950's and 60's for equal access to schools. It proved to be a complex and ongoing legal and social struggle. Unofficial segregation persists to this day, with Knaus (2007) noting that schools have steadily re-segregated since the 1990's, a majority of African American students now attending schools with predominantly minority populations and high poverty levels. Within schools, re-segregation can be observed in academic tracking patterns which divide the populations of racially diverse schools into racially monolithic classrooms (Noguera, 2008).

The Psychology of Prejudice

Though racial prejudice was long known to exist in both adults and children, social scientists first demonstrated the extent of prejudice in white children through experiments conducted by Horowitz (1936) and Lasker (1968/1929). These experiments tested children's opinions of pictures and dolls of different races, revealing an alarming level of prejudice in very young children. White children showed strong biases against Blacks. Clark (1963) reported that social scientists were shocked by the extent of prejudice in young children, supposing that even very young children absorbed biases in the dominant culture from the adults who surrounded them.

The hostility of many Whites toward desegregation in the South increased young children's exposure to discrimination (Clark, 1963). Clark inspired psychologists to explore prejudice, describing its effects on African American children in the context of desegregation. Clark argued that racism damaged both African American and White children and that schools were to play an important role in reversing and eradicating prejudice. He urged teachers to examine their own beliefs and consider how their latent prejudices may harm students, pointing out that low expectations for students of color may result in low achievement. Clark rallied for anti-racist education, more African-American teachers and administrators, and a greater sensitivity to racial awareness on the part of teachers. While there were those who heeded his call immediately, the Civil Rights Movement brought awareness to all Americans of the urgency and intensity of the problem of racism (Banks, 1996a).

Schofield (1982) and Aboud (1988) examined the psychological dimension of racial prejudice in the school context in the 1970's and 1980's as struggles with desegregation persisted. Schofield conducted a seminal case study of a school implementing desegregation, documenting the discrimination and prejudice enacted and experienced within the school.

Aboud (1988) influenced the study of how bias develops in young children. She defined prejudice as distinctly hateful and negative. Belief in stereotypes alone may not constitute prejudice, because a stereotype may be positive, nonjudgmental or based in misinformation rather than hostility. In addition to its negative quality, Aboud defined prejudice as consistently

applied across individuals on the basis of one feature alone. Aboud described influential psychological theories of bias, including Allport's (1954) social reflection theory which suggested that children absorb prejudices from cultural environment surrounding them.

In the 1970's psychologists created theories of identity development to understand how race cultural values of race influence the individual's sense of self. Many psychological models for racial identity development were created in the 1970's and 1980's (Helms, 1990). Banks was influential in forming a developmental theory of African American identity, considering the ways in which culture, racism and politics influenced how Black youth develop a sense of self (Banks & Grambs, 1972). Ideas of White awareness and whiteness studies are a more recent development, as whiteness had earlier been an unmarked or unacknowledged category of racial identity, with all "nonwhites" considered racially marked (Katz, 1978). In 1990 Helms proposed a commonly accepted model of racial identity development for Whites.

Many prominent African American thinkers and writers have considered the ways in which racism may influence a Black American's sense of self. There are too many to consider in adequate detail here, but from DuBois' (1903/2007) exploration of Black psychology in *The Souls of Black Folk* to hooks (2003) have communicated a need for African Americans to pursue psychological healing to reverse the damage inflicted by White racism, which has devalued African American culture and identity in many ways. Hooks (2003) urged African Americans to decolonize their minds and rid themselves of harmful messages devaluing their identities, one example of which is the White supremacist definition of beauty as light skin and European features.

With theories of prejudice development and renewed considerations of the effects of prejudice on identity development, came theories of prejudice reduction/intervention through education. In the 1980's, the anti-bias/multicultural education movement gained ground. Psychologists refined and tested Contact Theory, rooted in Allport's (1954) work, demonstrating that a lack of intergroup contact influences higher levels of bias. Proponents of contact theory demonstrated reduced prejudice from intergroup contact and suggested that teachers intervene to encourage children to form cross-racial friendships (Stephan, 1999). Slavin's cooperative

learning studies showed that teacher intervention through heterogeneous grouping in classrooms could be an effective way to decrease prejudice (Slavin & Cooper, 1999). Slavin further suggested that teachers should promote inter-team competition and assign grades to groups rather than individuals in order to encourage heterogeneous groups to work together closely (McKown, 2005). In addition to decreasing prejudice, educators became concerned as minority achievement lagged following desegregation Movements of the later 20th century sought to reduce bias and increase academic engagement and success among students of color (Banks, 1996a).

Race and Education Theory

Educational theorists, mainstream media and millions of U.S. citizens are concerned with the plight of African American, minority and low income youth in the U.S. school system (Noguera, 2008). This section will briefly describe some of the main ideas influencing how teachers and schools attempt to respond to the needs of minority students, and have attempted in recent decades to correct perceived mismatches between students' cultural backgrounds and school expectations.

One persistent paradigm among teachers concerned with low achieving students is known as the deficit discourse. A deficit discourse is typically applied to children considered to come from backgrounds of poverty (Foley, 1997). The discourse manifests in many ways, but fundamentally it assumes that minority and lower-SES children enter school at a disadvantage because their families have not provided them with the skills, both obvious and subtle that will enable them to achieve school success (Valencia, 1997). The subtle skills could be considered cultural capital, or ways of preserving privilege by giving advantages to those with habits such as speech and behavior patterns acquired by virtue of their class or ethnic background.

One prominent example of cultural capital that may influence students' school success is the use of African American Vernacular English (AAVE) which has been pitted against "Standard English," the dialect of success, with speakers of AAVE corrected and told to speak proper English in the school setting (Delpit, 1995). Although linguists acknowledge AAVE as a dialect with distinct grammar, Cazden (1988) found that teachers and schools treated AAVE as an

inferior way of speaking English. She and other socio-linguists identified ways in which dialect privileged some children and disadvantaged others, with students who used AAVE typically considered lacking in academic potential.

Delpit (2002) encouraged teachers to equip students to code-switch from AAVE to Standard English, the dialect of power. However, she pointed out that teachers have historically done so in disrespectful ways, stigmatizing children's home language. Delpit argued that teachers must instead use supportive, nonjudgmental pedagogy that helps children to recognize the differences between their home dialects and Standard English. Christensen (2008) argued that AAVE should be celebrated as part of a cultural heritage of oral expression in which African Americans take great pride.

Dialect is but one example of cultural differences that educators viewed as handicaps to student success, or deficits. By using a deficit discourse, educators position school failure as the consequence of deficits imposed by students' families and home environments. Chilman (1966) characterized the homes of poor children as pathological, filthy and violent. Anthropologist Oscar Lewis (1968) conducted studies of the poor in various nations, characterizing them as lazy and dysfunctional. The deficit model birthed the Head Start program, which offers school readiness to impoverished pre-school aged children, but carries the implicit message that poor parents are inadequate caregivers. Ultimately, the deficit discourse and its assumptions of disadvantaged home cultures serves to limit or eliminate the responsibility of schools, placing blame on the families or conditions outside of schooling (Foley, 1997).

The deficit discourse persists in contemporary education. Influential author and speaker Ruby Payne (2005) advances a deficit discourse in in her well known Framework for Understanding Poverty. Stinnett (2008), reviewing Bomer, Dworin, May & Semingson (2008), noted that Payne's "culture of poverty" is rooted not in evidence, and simply perpetuates stereotypes associating poverty with guns, jail, scavenging, promiscuity and other ills. She framed Payne's popular workshops as a continuation of the deficit discourse.

Another popular explanation for the racial achievement gap is Ogbu's (1991) theory of oppositional identity or oppositional culture, which posits that academic disengagement among

minority youth results from perceived conflicts between cultural values of school and home, with youth feeling they must choose between school success and peer relationships or cultural identity. Ogbu distinguished between voluntary and involuntary minorities, an idea later refined by Valenzuela (1999) who studied Latino/a youth in Texas. Ogbu proposed that involuntary immigrants had feelings of lower status and had been socialized into a racist U.S. culture which fueled their oppositional identity. Lundy (2003) charged that Ogbu's theory is harmful, overly simplistic and inaccurately promotes the belief that Blackness clashes with academic achievement. The focus on oppositional youth cultures may be used by educators to minimize their responsibility for student failure, functioning as a type of deficit discourse and discouraging teachers from envisioning alternate possibilities.

Rather than identifying pathologies in youth or minority cultures, educators must be aware that the methods and practices of a White dominated institution of schooling may be at fault for student failure. Despite the struggles of Black leaders and activists toward greater self-determination in their education, the school system remains primarily in the hands of Whites who are often under-prepared in their knowledge of other cultures. Despite the good intentions of many such White teachers and school administrators, they often have difficulty communicating about race, understanding the perspectives of students of color, representing diverse cultures in the curriculum and becoming fully aware of the biases and assumptions that influence their treatment of students (Tatum, 1997).

The multicultural movement of the 1970's and beyond has advocated for balanced curriculum that respects and represents the diverse world cultures with which students identify (Banks, 1996a). In 1933 Carter Woodson published *The Mis-education of the American Negro*, in which he described the U.S. educational system as fundamentally racist, brainwashing young Black children into White supremacist thought that either disregarded or denigrated non-European cultures, particularly African heritage (Woodson, 2000/1933). In the early 20th century, voices critiquing the cultural blinders of the standard curriculum were marginal or faded quickly from prominence. Increased tolerance following the Civil Rights Movement allowed multicultural education to gain ground. Many educators were inspired by its potential to reduce the

achievement gap, remedy the alienation of minority youth, and provide a more balanced perspective for students of all cultures (Banks & Lynch, 1986).

Systemic and individual racism are intertwined, manifesting and reinforcing one another often simultaneously through institutions and actions. To reflect the reality of individuals working within a system, chapters one and two did not distinguish clearly between these two types of racism. It may be that individuals within racist institutions have an opportunity and obligation to intervene and create on the ground changes. In order to accomplish this, teachers must be reflective about their teaching, practicing critical thinking, intentional action and self awareness. The following review of the literature represents the efforts of one White teacher candidate to better understand how children think about and experience racism in the context of schooling today. This understanding may hopefully influence practice to address and redress various manifestations of racial bias, and to promote students' academic achievement and psychological well being.

CHAPTER 3: A CRITICAL REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE: EXPERIENCING RACIAL BIAS IN

CHILDHOOD AND ADOLESCENCE

Introduction

Chapter one explained the rationale for this review of the literature, describing ways in which schooling transmits values about race and ethnicity, and how these values influence identity formation. It argued that in order to transmit values for effective democracy and support the well being and academic success of all students, teachers and administrators must address racism. They must consider the role that racial/ethnic identity development and awareness of racism play in shaping the selves and lives of their students. Chapter one also established parameters of the research under review, as directed by the guiding question. Literature reviewed herein will specifically examine racial identity and prejudice formation in elementary and middle school students.

Chapter two described the historical development of racism the West and the role of racism in the history of schooling in the United States. It then broadly outlined the history of scholarly research on ethnic identity development, prejudice in children and the rise of multicultural movement as schools throughout the country have worked to achieve racial integration and reduce prejudice through multicultural and anti-racist teaching.

The following review of the literature will be divided into two sections: (a) research examining the ways in which students and teachers experience race and racial discrimination and (b) research concerning the effectiveness of anti-racist teaching and prejudice reduction interventions.

Experiences and Effects of Racial Prejudice

How do children develop an understanding of their own racial/ethnic identity in relation to their peers, and how do their school experiences shape their attitudes toward same and different race peers? Studies included in this chapter examine the effects of both academic curriculum and social encounters with racial prejudice on children's well being and academic success.

The following section will first review studies investigating children's development of racial awareness, identity and bias. It will then review studies that explored the influences of racism on students' emotional, social and academic well being.

Discrimination in Schools

Studies reviewed in this section investigate the ways in which students exercise and experience racial discrimination both from peers and school staff, and ways in which these experiences influence students' well being, academic success and self-concepts. While this represents a broad scope, evidence suggests that these dimensions are intertwined, and that children experiencing emotional or family problems may be more vulnerable to academic failure (Clauss-Ehlers, 2008).

Stoughton and Sivertson (2005) examined social relationships and discourse within and across racial boundaries at a large urban middle school located in a middle class area of a large Midwestern city. The school was socioeconomically diverse with the student body designated as 32% African-American, 7% Latino and 60% European American. The school had a pervasive atmosphere of racial disparity. Students were academically tracked into the school's Talent Development (equivalent of Gifted/Talented) or remedial basic skills courses. Study participants described the Talent Development classes as mostly White. Although the student body was only one third African American, 97% of students suspended or expelled in 2001-2 were African American. Despite the racial tensions described above, the school was characterized by the author as "colorblind" and silent about race. Stoughton and Sivertson found that students typically denied that racism was the cause of disparity in the school, instead citing situational or cultural differences as the source of social segregation.

The authors used purposeful sampling with the help of the school counselor to select the study's eighth grade participants. They chose students who had either spoken to the counselor about relational issues or were identified by the counselor through conversations or observations of peer interactions. The authors did not detail the reasons for this choice, but implied that they hoped students would benefit from their participation focus groups. However, the reader should note that the author's sampling strategy is very likely to influence the findings of the study. They

also used snowball sampling, obtaining peer nominations of students with desired characteristics such as popularity.

In order to observe relationships and social interactions, Stoughton and Sivertson (2005) conducted racially mixed focus groups in which students talked together about relational issues. Although the groups were racially mixed, the authors chose to use single gender groups to reduce potential discomfort students may feel in discussing sensitive issues. They conducted two focus groups including girls and boys described as socially dominant, and two comprised of students described as socially subordinate - neither social outcasts, nor popular.

White students initially expressed discomfort with talking about race in the mixed race group, fearful that their comments might appear racist. Once they overcame their initial hesitancy, White students criticized behavior of "rowdy" or loud African American students, characterizing them as "ghetto." African American students described feeling that they had to make difficult choices in their peer groups. Because there was no "Black smart kids" group at the school, African American students in Talent Development classes reported feeling that if they joined the "smart group" they were rejecting their African American identity and peers. One student reported being called an Oreo because she had chosen to socialize with her classmates in TD rather than with her African American peers.

Adults at the school observed that student self-segregation in cafeteria seating increased between sixth and eighth grade. School officials chose to conduct this study in order to understand the reasons for the trend toward self segregation. When asked about this, students gave reasons including: different behavioral norms, attitudes, interests (like rap music), and whether students are in the same classes. A White student described the segregation not as rejection of Black peers but that they felt more comfortable among same race peers. One Black student, however, explained that it happens because "some White people think they're better." Although these represent the words of only particular selected individuals, it is important to note that Black and White students expressed different beliefs about the cause of social segregation. White students were unlikely to cite racism or racial bias as a reason for their choice to self-segregate, but Black students may perceive it as a factor.

Because this was a case study focusing on a particular group of students, results should not be assumed to represent typically held attitudes, but viewed along with similar studies. The authors intentionally used racially mixed focus groups, but the reader should note the possible effects of this choice on students' expression of beliefs and attitudes about race. It is possible that very different ideas would be expressed in racially segregated groups. It would be helpful to replicate this study with same-race focus groups, as well as to conduct similar studies in different schools to examine the effects of situational variables. The authors provided no analysis of the effects of interviewer race or particular questioning techniques on the results of this study, nor is there analysis of individual factors beyond school climate and social standing that may have shaped the students' attitudes.

Rowley, Kurtz-Costes, Mistry and Feagans (2007) analyzed the relationship between children's social status and the stereotypes they held. This study examined stereotypes about children's abilities in academics, music, sports, and reading/writing along axes of gender, race and socio-economic status.

Four hundred forty eight children participated in the study, conducted in the Southeastern United States. Of these participants, 209 were European-American and 239 were African-American. Children of other ethnicities participated in the study but were dropped from the analysis, which examined the attitudes of White and Black children. The sample included 157 fourth graders (83 girls, 74 boys), 137 sixth graders (80 girls, 57 boys) and 154 eighth graders (99 girls, 55 boys), all of whom returned parental consent forms. The authors did not detail the sampling procedure they used.

The researchers administered self-report questionnaires to groups of 2 to 15 students. Research assistants, usually one White and one Black as well as one female and one male when possible, directed students on how to fill out the questionnaires. Participants filled out surveys using visual analog scales (VAS), a type of Likert scale considered more flexible than those requiring the subject to assign a numeric value. The VAS is a line used to mark an evaluation, with the end points designated as extremes, ranging for example from "very good" to "not good at all." The questionnaire asked children to rate the perceived skill of Blacks, Whites, girls, boys, rich

and poor along such an axis. Students rated how good they considered different groups to be at various skills including sports, music, academics and reading/writing.

Before examining results, Rowley et al. (2007) used ANOVAs to control for the effects of question order, which was found to affect outcomes on items measuring gender but not race. They also used ANOVAs to determine whether school race composition (which varied at the schools from which participants were drawn) affected scores, finding that schools with higher percentages of African American students typically reported higher ratings of Blacks' abilities and lower ratings for Whites. The authors controlled for this factor in their analyses of race stereotypes.

Rowley et al. (2007) found a significant main effect for group, $F(1, 435) = 9.22$, $p < 0.01$, showing that these participants considered Whites ($M = 67.98$, $SD = 17.28$) to be better than Blacks ($M = 65.99$, $SD = 19.52$) at academics (a collection of items assessing perceived skill in math, science, reading, writing, school grades and general intelligence). Fourth grade African Americans expressed an in-group bias, but sixth and eighth graders viewed Whites as more academically competent. Overall, students viewed Blacks as better at sports than Whites. Low status groups were more likely to provide favorable in-group ratings contradicting traditional stereotypes. The authors suggested this may be a self-esteem buffering practice, noting that high status groups were less likely to endorse positive in-group stereotypes and minimize negative ones. Overall, traditional stereotypes became more pronounced with age. A cross comparison of the effects of race and gender revealed that Black boys were less likely to show gender stereotyping.

One weakness of this study is the overall gender imbalance among participants, with substantially more girls than boys. Also, the VAS may provide more flexibility but may also be a questionable measure for cross comparison. Although all participants were given the same directions, it is possible that individuals may have used a limited range on the scale, which would make it difficult to accurately measure and compare the target beliefs. The authors suggested further research measuring longitudinal changes in individuals, to explore how children's assessments change between fourth and sixth grade. They also suggested further examination of

the effects of school racial composition, which was found to bear a significant, but not consistent, effect on racial stereotypes.

The results of this study suggest that children's racial stereotypes about academic ability change from fourth to eighth grade. Results suggested that school racial composition, or greater diversity, led to less negative stereotyping of Blacks. One implication for practice is that in schools with limited diversity, it may be more important for teachers and administrators to address and attempt to reduce negative stereotypes about African Americans. Also, because different groups hold different stereotypes, it may be best to target specific groups for intervention.

Patterson, Niles, Carlson and Kelley (2008) explored race relations and the legacy of desegregation in Parsons, Kansas, a racially diverse, economically depressed town of 11,000. This was an ethnographic study requested by the school district to help overcome achievement gaps. District personnel informed the research team that African Americans in the community were angry about the closure of Douglass School, an all-Black school that was closed in 1958 following the Brown v. Board of Education ruling. They reported that African Americans in the community felt they were being ill served in the White schools.

Seventy-six children and adults participated either by focus group or interview. Patterson et al. (2008) selected participants using purposeful and snowball sampling to reflect a range of race, socioeconomic status, gender and longevity in the community. Participants were about two thirds White and one third African American and included students, parents and school employees. Researchers recorded field notes, collected student and community documents and audio-recorded all interviews. They transcribed and analyzed data using the constant comparative method.

African Americans with roots in the community described the ways in which the district conducted desegregation, creating a long-lasting tension between the district and Parsons' African American community. They felt that they suffered from discrimination by the school district, both historically and in the present-day. When the district initially desegregated in the 1950's, they pushed out Black teachers who had worked at the African American school that they closed, giving jobs to only two of those teachers, and not as instructors. African American and

lower SES parents felt that Head Start was inadequate. They discussed frustrations with not being given the support and benefits of the school district. Black parents complained that honors and preparatory courses served primarily White students. Many poor students did not have access to computers and internet, yet the district implemented a program rewarding freshmen in honors science with palm pilots, which stirred envy and resentment in the Black community. A White parent describing the program appeared not to acknowledge or understand why Black parents would feel this way.

One strength of this study is its detailed history and exploration of the community. A weakness is that the authors did not describe the theoretical framework of the research. Although they interviewed teachers and students, they provided limited into student perspectives. A fuller examination of student and teacher perspectives could better help the reader understand the circumstances creating the tensions within the community. It would also prove useful to teachers working with students from disenfranchised communities.

Like Jewett's (2006) study of racial tensions at a middle school, this study explored the significance of the local context of race relations in the community and the influence of those tensions on a school's ability to serve students well. Although the authors did not detail student perspectives, it is reasonable to believe that children of families who express anger toward the school district also hold negative feelings. Whites in the study appeared to feel that the system was fair and that rewards bestowed upon White students were well deserved, showing limited intention or plan to reverse the inequity in the system. Better communication with parents who feel disenfranchised by the school may help teachers and administrators to understand the specific ways in which school policies and practices work against achieving equity. They must not only be prepared to listen, but willing to respond with change.

Lease and Blake (2005) explored the possible benefits of interracial friendship by examining the social, emotional and behavioral characteristics of children with different-race friends. In contrast with most existing research focused on university communities which the authors described as more socially progressive, this study sampled children from rural schools. The sample was drawn from a mixture of majority-white and majority-black schools with little

socio-economic diversity, making the SES range of students in this study narrower than that of research-typical urban schools. The authors labeled participants majority-race or minority-race depending on the school's racial composition.

Participants included 563 children from ten fourth grade (*n* = 172), 14 fifth grade (*n* = 299) and five sixth grade (*n* = 92) classrooms. The classrooms were drawn from three elementary schools in the rural southeastern USA. Of the total sample, 52% qualified for free or reduced-price lunch. Forty seven percent of participants were White, 50% Black. Of the sample, 46% were girls. The classrooms were reflective of school racial composition, which was reported to be typically homogenous. Of the total, 81.4% were majority race and 15.7% minority-race.

Lease and Blake (2005) conducted the study over two years, collecting data each spring from classrooms in two schools, one a majority Black school, the other majority White. They obtained parental consent with consent rates of about 85%. They provided the children with rosters listing all participating students in their class and instructed participants to nominate three children they liked most, in order to assess strong friendships. The authors determined reciprocal friendships by mutual nominations. Approximately 75% of all children across race and gender had reciprocated friendships. The authors dropped data on cross-race friendships other than Black/White due to limited numbers. Participants provided sociometric nominations for their peers in the categories of like-most and like least (three each). They then nominated peers demonstrating the following behavioral characteristics: smart, athlete, leader, good listener, self-confident, disruptive and shy. Students additionally completed a 24-item Loneliness and Social Dissatisfaction scale, designed to measure their own feelings of social comfort or inadequacy. The authors also gathered information about class-level characteristics such as gender proportion and class size.

Lease and Blake (2005) analyzed two groups of results: the focal group, or those children of majority race with a cross race friend and the comparison, group, majority race children without a cross race friend. The authors used MANOVAs to compare group, race and gender interactions, and follow up ANOVAs to compare the focal group and comparison group. Comparison groups, majority race children without cross-race friendships, were larger than focal

groups. The comparison groups contained 59 majority white boys, 38 majority white girls, 51 majority black boys, and 43 majority black girls, and focal groups were n= 19, 20, 13 and 17 respectively.

Lease and Blake (2005) discovered several significant social and behavioral differences between these two groups. Majority race children with cross-race friendships were more likely to be rated most liked and less likely to be rated least liked. This effect was most pronounced for However, this effect did not hold for Black boys. Majority-white children with black friends were viewed as smarter by peers compared to same-gender classmates without a black friend, $F(1, 259) = 5.79$ $p = 0.02$. Peers rated focal group children higher in leadership qualities, $F(1, 259) = 6.55$, p.= 0.01, except for Black boys with a white friend, who suffered other low ratings in connection with cross-race friendships.

Research design for this study was pre-experimental static group comparison, consequentially while it demonstrates correlation, any direction of causation is unclear. Lease and Blake (2005) suggested that the study measured not benefits following from cross-race friendships, rather reflected a precondition of secure social status in order for children to feel comfortable crossing racial boundaries. The study's design offers no information on how these characteristics developed or what, if any, changes may have resulted from the friendships. Another problem with this study is that approximately 15% of children in the classes did not provide parental consent. These children were excluded from nomination in any of the sociometric categories, meaning that some friendships went undetected, and results for categories such as least and most liked could have been influenced substantially because certain children were excluded from the study. The authors noted several additional limitations of the study, including the absence of socioeconomic status data, low sample sizes, that samples were drawn from only one majority-black and two majority-white schools, limited sociometric nominations process (only three peers could be nominated per category), and that the nominations process confounded friendship and popularity by relying on like-most nominations to determine friendships. Although this study included sample groups from both majority White and majority Black classrooms and provided data clearly by race and gender, the study did not

examine the characteristics of minority race children with majority race friends. The examination of characteristics found in minority race children with cross race friendships could prove an interesting corollary. Replication of this study using experimental design could measure characteristics before and after students form friendships to explore whether crossing racial boundaries causes a change in children's social status or perceived characteristics. It would also be helpful to explore developmental differences, replicating this study with younger and older students. It would also be helpful to include data on cross race friendships beyond Black and White.

Due to the many limitations of the study, results should not be generalized. Lease and Blake (2005) suggested however that the results could be encouraging as high status peers may be role models, paving the way for other children to form cross race friendships. They suggested that an awareness of these characteristics may help educators seeking to encourage cross race friendships, however the research implies no specific practices for teachers to achieve that goal. It is important for the reader to note that Black boys were an exception to the trend linking high status and cross-race friendships. This study should be considered alongside research illuminating the experiences of Black boys, whose experiences with cross race friendships may be uniquely different from the trends suggested by this study.

Despite the fact that 14.3% more Black girls than boys attained academic success, Black girls in England are still not achieving at the level of White girls (Rollock, 2007). Rollock's ethnography explored Black female identity and academic success among urban high school students. She explored the achievement gap using concepts of field and cultural capital to examine ways in which particular sites are controlled by the norms of dominant groups.

Rollock (2007) conducted interviews with 24 students and 21 school staff at an inner-city secondary school in England. Participant students represented a range of gender, ethnicity and grade levels (grades 9, 10 and 11). Rollock observed staff meetings, assemblies and achievement meetings but was not permitted by make classroom observations.

School staff showed two different definitions of success: inclusive, relating to grades of D-G and exclusive, or grades A-C, on General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) exams,

typically taken at age 16. Rollock examined teacher assumptions about race and academic success. Teachers expressed an assumption that their students were comparatively less capable than those who attended the grammar school, a higher status secondary school said to use unofficial selection processes. They characterized girls as more mature, responsible and organized, and assumed that girls were more likely to attain academic success. Teachers and staff portrayed Black male students as threatening in terms of physical size or clothing and overestimating their proportion of the school population. Rollock described adults as holding assumptions that positioned Black male students as "illegitimate" at the school, subject to surveillance and disproportionate discipline.

Students discussed importance of appearance, with two Black females citing the condition of school uniform as a sign of academic success. Rollock (2007) observed that Black male students did not understand the importance of appearance, considering it irrelevant to academic learning although in fact it influenced their positioning in the eyes of school staff. Compared to adults in the study, few students expressed a belief that girls were more likely to achieve; the prevalent view among students was that anyone who worked hard could succeed. Rollock concluded that Black girls were viewed in relation to Black boys and possessed cultural capital in school discourses, which positioned girls as more academically capable. However, such positioning could contribute to a tendency to overlook the needs of Black girls.

Rollock (2007) described study participants as diverse, but provided no breakdown of ethnicity and gender, so a reader cannot be sure whether certain perspectives received greater representation. However, the author did provide race, gender, and institutional position for each participant quoted. Rollock identified herself as a Black female, noting one instance where her identity influenced an interview, but she did not discuss the broad ways in which her identity may have influenced her ability to interview subjects and collect data.

Adult and peer assumptions linking perceived appearance to academic success may cause students to feel that they have to choose between reputation and peer standing and academic achievement. This concern is supported by Ogbu's theory of disengagement (Ogbu, 2003), and reflects Stoughton and Sivertson's (2005) finding that academically successful Black

students felt pressured to choose between peer groups. Rollock (2007) discussed frequent exaggeration of the numbers of Black students though they were relatively equal, a trend also observed Stoughton and Sivertson (2005). This suggests that unconscious assumptions or reactions to male students of color in particular influence alienation from academic success. These assumptions may be rooted in White America's historic fear of Black males, characterized as violent (West, 1994), as well as deficit-thinking that assumes a Black academic disadvantage (Valencia, 1997). The author also suggested that the "strong presence" of African American males could cause teachers to ignore the needs of female students of color.

Mattison and Aber (2007) investigated the relationship between students' self-reports of discipline and academic success and their perceptions of the school's racial climate. This expanded on existing research that focused more narrowly on socioeconomic status or race, seeking to further explore a possible relationship between school climate and behavior problems. Mattison and Aber suggested that some variation in achievement may be due to the racial climate of the school, described as the ways in which members of the school community interact with one another. Through this study, they sought to explicate the process through which Ogbu (2003) claimed that structural inequalities impact individual school adjustment.

The study included 1,838 high school (grade 9-12) students at two mid-sized Midwestern U.S. university towns. Results analyzed in this study included 382 African American students and 1,456 European American students, approximately 50% male, 50% female. Teachers collected data using optional surveys; about 90% of students in attendance participated. Surveys included the Racial Climate Survey – High School Version (RCSHSV), an assessment developed by one of the study's authors. The RCSHSV included demographic questions, 62 questions to measure students' perceptions of the school's racial climate, and questions about their own discipline problems. The survey included six school racial climate subscales, of which this study examined three: (a) students' perceptions of racial fairness (b) experiences of racism and (c) perceived need for change. Dependent variables measured against the participants responses included self-reported GPA, whether students had received a suspension in the past year and the number of detentions received in the school year.

Due to incomplete data, Mattison and Aber (2007) dropped the results for 152 students, leaving 1,686 in the final analysis. Of participants dropped from the analysis, 55% were White and 45% were African American. The overall sample   remaining was 84% White and 18.6% African American. In comparison to the overall totals African Americans were more likely to be dropped from analysis, possibly due to a reluctance to answer specific questions. One way ANOVAS revealed that for the racial climate scales, the study sample perceived more racial fairness, $F(1,1812) = 7.03$, $p = 0.008$, less experiences of racism, $F(1,1759) = 19.02$, $p = 0.000$, and less need for change compared to the attrition sample, $F(1, 1800) = 8. 41$, $p = 0.000$. Additionally, the study sample reported fewer detentions and suspensions and higher grades (B+ compared to B), $F(1, 1795) = 8.07$, $p = < 0.005$, fewer suspensions, $F(1, 1794 = 10.77$, $p = 0.001$ and detentions, $F(1, 1795 = 20.29$, $p = 0.000$, compared to the attrition sample.

Mattison and Aber (2007) first examined differences between the two participating high schools. Finding no independent effect for school, they combined data when testing the hypotheses. Findings confirmed the first hypothesis that African American race would predict lower perceptions of racial fairness and greater perceptions of racism and need for change. Fifty one percent of White students reported that they felt students at their school received fair treatment regardless of race, while only 31% of African American students expressed that belief. For all data, authors stated $p < 0.05$. Findings supported the hypotheses that students with positive perceptions of the school's racial climate would typically have fewer disciplinary problems while those with more suspensions reported more experiences with racism and a greater need for change.

One weakness of this study is the fact that African American students were disproportionately dropped from the analysis of results due to incomplete data. If those students perceived the racial climate did not feel comfortable reporting disciplinary or other data, this group of students would not have been counted in the overall results. The authors noted this, suggesting that the relationship between poor racial climate and low performance may be stronger than suggested by the data.

This study demonstrated race based differences in perception of the fairness of a school's racial climate, suggesting that White students untroubled by discipline may be unaware of inequities perceived by their Black peers. The same may hold true for White teachers and school staff as suggested by qualitative studies like those of Lindsay (2007) and Lewis (2001), who found that White school staff tend to overestimate the school's racial fairness in comparison to students and staff of color who are affected by racism. These studies indicate a need for White teachers to listen and respond to the concerns of students and families of color, Mattison and Aber (2007) demonstrated a relationship between perceptions of discrimination and school achievement problems. They noted however that data do not indicate a causal relationship, but most likely reflect a cycle in which students perceive unfair or excessive punishment, fueling oppositional identity and behavior. An awareness and willingness to respond to students' perceptions of unfairness may be a first step toward breaking this cycle.

Chapman's (2007) ethnography grounded in critical race theory investigated race and desegregation at a recently desegregated high school in Boulder City, Nevada. Chapman described Boulder City as a racially unsettled urban area rife with inequity, marked by a geographic divide between low-income families of color and a middle class, primarily white part of the city. Due to severe inequities, families had attempted unsuccessfully to sue the school district in the 1960's, and the district undertook segregation in the 1990's.

The study investigated a high school described as racially diverse: 21% African American, 22% Latino, 5% Asian American and 52% White. The author described school staff as primarily White and nearing retirement. This study focused on a ninth grade English class of 26 students with demographics reflecting the general school population. Chapman (2007) selected the teacher because they had a previous working relationship and because past students of color spoke highly of her and described her as an advocate for students of color. However, Chapman reported that the teacher felt uncomfortable and under-prepared to teach about race despite her participation in professional development workshops. This study included six primary participant students, one boy and one girl of each designation: African American, White and Latino/a.

Chapman (2007) conducted field research in the spring of 2001, using critical ethnography methodology. In addition to informal conversations and observations, the author formally interviewed 15 English teachers at the school and conducted nine interviews with Mrs. Williams, the primary participant. She observed Mrs. Williams' third-hour English class three times weekly over 18 weeks, videotaping some observations and taking field notes for all sessions. Chapman collected documents including curriculum papers, newspaper articles and student work. Chapman reported rigorously coding data, using themes including institutional barriers to learning, race, class and gender. She used multiple sources for triangulation, collecting and reviewing documents in addition to interviews. Chapman discussed the ways in which her insider-outsider status as a former teacher at the school, and an African American, may have helped participants feel more comfortable disclosing their opinions.

Chapman (2007) described the ways in which students approached issues of race in the classroom. Because students were uncomfortable sharing personal and emotional information about themselves and their life experiences in the whole group setting, Chapman explored the theme of emotional security in the classroom. She observed that when their emotional security wasn't threatened, students showed active engagement in learning. However, when students were asked to share about emotional experiences or consider racism, there was tension in the classroom. Students later reported perceived risk, which caused them to remain silent. Fear-based disengagement prevented students from sharing personal experiences and perspectives in ways that would have engaged what Chapman described as transformative multicultural learning. She also observed instances in which the teacher's discomfort in addressing the topic of race shut down possibilities for transformative dialogue to take place.

The racially tense environment at the school compounded students' fear to discuss race. Students were aware of the very public battle over racial inequity, and they complained about the age and limited supply of textbooks allocated to their school. One participant described a violent incident based on perceived racial slur, resulting in expulsion of the African American student. Chapman (2007) discussed the racial subtext of a mural installed by an anonymous group of alumni shortly after the school district won a victory overturning desegregation efforts. Chapman

described the mural, depicting ancient Greece and Lady Liberty as a tribute to European cultural roots, despite the fact that the school served primarily students of color. From a critical race perspective, the mural represented White cultural aggression, installed by White victors to flaunt their triumph over the community of color, who received no input or recognition in the mural.

Chapman's (2007) study has strong credibility. She provided reasoning for her choice of participants, and used member checking with primary participants as well as triangulation with supporting documents. She provided a brief, adequate summary of her theoretical positioning in critical race theory, and detailed both the history and context of her subject site as well as her research methodology. Findings are dependable, consistent with findings of other studies examined herein. Because it is site-specific, the findings of this study may not be transferable. However, there are generalizable aspects of its findings; the importance of emotional security for authentic dialogue, the impact of teacher discomfort in discussing sensitive issues and the impact of racial tension in the community surrounding a school.

Chapman's (2007) study examined the ways in which students and teachers discussed race and racism in the context of racial strife. School staff members were unwilling to take responsibility for their mistreatment of Blacks. White staff members tended to historicize racism, acknowledging it as a past but not present reality, possibly to protect themselves from personal responsibility. The school district had fought against efforts to equalize schools, showing relief that the judge's verdict placed blame for disparate achievement outside of the school. The school district's refusal to take responsibility contributed to racial tensions within the community. Another important theme was the importance of emotional security for students to feel comfortable discussing issues as sensitive and personal as racial and identity and racism. Chapman's findings in this area may be unique to the social and identity development of adolescents, and should not be considered representative of other age groups. However, this study highlights the importance of teacher willingness discuss race openly in the classroom and to establish an environment of respect and emotional safety, which is likely relevant for all grade levels. The study does not suggest specific practices and should be supplemented by further research examining the features of classrooms engaging in successful transformative dialogue about race,

as well as the types of dialogue and emotional needs of students at younger developmental levels.

Psychology of Prejudice

Recent research has elaborated early work by psychologists who identified and measured racial biases in children. Research reviewed herein used improved measures of racial bias in children, and explored the consequences for children who experience or exhibit racial bias.

Jackson, Barth, Powell and Lochman (2006) examined the effects of classroom racial composition and teacher race on peer acceptance or rejection. This study used sociometric peer nominations, a type of measure designed to assess a child's acceptance or rejection by peers. Sociometric nominations have been proven to predict behavioral problems among students rejected by their peers. This study was conducted to inform existing research in peer nominations, which had overlooked the effects of race and cultural variables.

The authors used data collected prior to intervention as part of a project evaluating the effectiveness of an intervention program for aggressive behavior. Fifty-nine classrooms in eight schools participated, with 1,321 children rated by their classmates. The researchers used unlimited nominations procedure, meaning that children were free to nominate any number of peers, as many or as few as they wished. They dropped forty four children from analysis because fewer than 40% of their peers provided ratings for them. The final sample contained 1,268 fifth graders, or 96% of the entire sample, in 57 classrooms. The schools were located in the Southeast of the U.S., in a state with strong history of racism. The eight participant schools represented a range of socioeconomic diversity, from 18% to 88% free and reduced lunch. Participant schools ranged from 3% to 95% African American. The total sample of children rated were 53% Black, 41% White, 2% Hispanic, and 1% or less for Asian, Native American and mixed race. This study focused only on European American and African American students. For 223 of the students, racial classification was missing because the teacher did not provide the information. A one-way MANOVA revealed a significant effect for unavailable race. Children with missing race information were given lower ratings than those with race information.

Jackson et al. (2006) interviewed students in the eight classrooms selected. The researchers distributed parental consent forms, returned by 67% of students. The district and cooperating institution gave permission for peers without consent forms to be rated, so while only those who provided parental consent evaluated classmates, all were eligible to be nominated and rated. Children completed sociometric survey following "unlimited" nomination procedure (Terry, 1999). Participants indicated which classmates they "liked most" "liked least" as well as who were the "leaders" and "fighters." They could nominate any number of classmates but not themselves. The authors cited other research that had established the unlimited nominations approach as more effective than previously common limited nominations procedure. Children made the nominations by filling in a bubble next to the child's name on a computer readable sheet

Jackson et al. (2006) examined data using hierarchical linear modeling, or HLM, looking at intra-class correlations between individual student race and how the student was rated by their peers. They then correlated data to these factors: the racial composition of students in the class, the teacher's race, and the associated behaviors of students, whether the student was rated by peers as a leader or aggressor.

African American children were less liked by peers when (a) there were few African American students in the class and (b) (to lesser degree) the teacher was White. Classroom racial composition had significant effect for all children, but a greater effect for African American children. The more African American students in a class, the more likely it was that African American children will be nominated as leaders and well-liked by peers. The ratings were not affected as strongly for White children unless they were substantial minority. Teacher race also had significant effects. All children received more "like most" ratings when their race matched the teacher's, but the effect was stronger for Black children.

The authors then analyzed results for the sociometric designations "Fights" and "Leader," which have been established as significant predictors of social preference ratings. Classroom racial composition and teacher race did not modify these effects, and teacher race had limited impact on the ratings. White children were more likely overall than Black children to be rated as leaders, but the gap narrowed in classrooms with Black teachers.

This study has several weaknesses and limitations. Jackson et al. (2006) noted that because they conducted the study in a Southeastern U.S. State with a history of racial conflict and discrimination, results should not be generalized to other regions or racial groups. Classrooms with Black student majorities were also more likely to have Black teachers, which limited the ability of the authors to examine the effects of each context separately. The authors did not separate the effects of race and socio-economic status, making it possible that findings were heavily influenced by SES. Only 67% of students provided ratings. The authors did not describe any differences in this group compared to the overall sample, but the absence of ratings from over 30% of students may substantially impact the findings. They did not analyze results for children rated by fewer than 40% of their peers. Although these students were a small fraction of the total, if they had common features this could impact conclusions drawn from the data. Jackson et al. (2006) did not include ratings for children with racial designations other than Black or White and 233 children for whom no designation was given. Children with no race provided differed significantly, $F(4, 1, 263) = 19.92$, receiving lower ratings. Understanding any shared features this group would better inform the study's conclusions. It is possible that participant responses may have been influenced by the context of nominations, with behavioral categories alongside popularity measures. This study would be further informed by considering characteristics of children who provided nominations as did Lease and Blake (2005). Future studies should separate the effects of race and SES. Replicating this study in other regions of the U.S. may determine whether findings are generalizable or unique to the history of racial strife in the region where this study took place.

The use of sociometric nominations presents additional considerations. Sociometric ratings are influenced by subjective opinions and biases of the rater, and are not objective measures of observable behavioral characteristics. Babad (2002) argued that sociometry may not be an accurate measurement of what adult researchers consider popularity, a concept conferring dominance and status. Babad noted that sociometric measures of like-least and like-most actually assess children's desire for intimate contact with individuals rather than indicating who is perceived as popular.

Jackson et al. (2006) revealed that teacher race and classroom racial composition had significant effects on children's peer acceptance, a measure predictive of school success and correlated with conduct problems. In classrooms with a higher proportion of Black students, Black children are likely to be selected as friends. The impact of contextual factors was not equal, White children's ratings being higher and less sensitive to these factors. Results are consistent with social reproduction theory (Bordeiu, 1977), suggesting that status structures in the broader culture permeate the classroom, creating subtle biases that may be difficult to identify and prevent. Friendships can be developmentally significant, with research indicating that friendships are beneficial particularly during transitions (Hartup, 2000). This may hold particular importance for African American youth because transitions can be a time of academic risk (Kunjufu, 1984). Teachers may have little influence over classroom composition or teacher race, but they can be aware of how these factors may affect children of color, and can advocate in favor of policies that promote de-segregation as well as providing support and encouragement to colleagues of color.

The studies described above examine the relationship between race and peer socialization. Results suggest that even very young children may possess and exercise racial bias, and that even subtle forms of bias may have consequences for children of color who are minorities at their schools. In order to challenge and reduce bias, educators should understand not only how bias forms but what it is. The following study examines the attitudes that contribute to the development of bias in children.

Aboud (2003) examined the component attitudes of racial bias in four to eight year old children. This study sought to disentangle two conceptions of racism that had been confounded in previous studies of prejudice in young children, and to determine whether there exists a correlation between these two attitudes. The first is in-group preference, the tendency to prefer members of one's own racial or ethnic group. A child who holds a strong in-group preference may not necessarily have negative feelings toward out-group members. Researchers had created tests to separate out these attitudes, allowing children to cross compare individuals of different races non-simultaneously. Previous research on the attitudes of younger children used either the Preschool Racial Attitudes Measure (PRAM), which forced single instance choices between two

individuals or the Multi-response Racial Attitude (MRA), which allowed children to evaluate members of different groups without choosing between two individuals. The MRA had not yet been used to examine the distinctions between in-group preference and out-group bias. Aboud (2003) administered the MRA, then conducted a cross comparison to determine whether in-group preference was correlated with out-group bias. She tested Brewer's (1999) hypotheses that (a) in-group preference and out-group bias are unrelated and (b) in-group preference is a primary attitude, meaning that in-group favoritism will develop first and grow more strongly than out-group prejudice.

Eighty four to eight year old White Canadian children (38 girls, 42 boys) from a mostly White suburb of a large city participated in the study. The children typically had little contact with neighboring Native Indian and African American populations. Their schools were approximately 90% White and most teachers were White. A White woman interviewer tested the children individually in three sessions, each several weeks apart. She administered the tests described below.

Participants first completed the PRAM, which contained six positive and six negative racial-stereotype evaluations, along with four gender stereotype items which were not analyzed. The PRAM asked children to choose from a pair of individuals (one Black, one White) which one has a specific positive or negative attribute. Following the PRAM, participants took the Multi-response Racial Attitude Measure (MRA), a test in which children were given cards with adjectives and behaviors, ten positive, ten negative and four neutral. The author provided the example naughty, coloring on the wall. The researcher provided participants with three boxes, each labeled with a picture of a child the same gender as the subject. The pictures differed only in skin color and hair texture to resemble one Black, one Native Indian and one White child. Researchers gave participants three identical cards for each attribute and instructed them to place the cards in the box or boxes of the child or children like that. Aboud (2003) evaluated internal consistency, finding Cronbach's alphas of 0.89 negative White, 0.90 positive White, 0.79 negative Black, 0.83 positive Black. The author did not provide results for the Native American example, which was not included in analysis.

In addition to the attitude measures PRAM and MRA, participants completed social cognition measures to assess their ability to distinguish race. From pictures of three children about their age, one Native Indian, one Black and one White, children selected photos to match each racial designation. They then answered yes or no to the questions "Are you a White/Black/Native Indian Canadian?" Researchers then tested the children to determine to determine their conceptions of within-group or between-group differences. Children received six pairs each of same-race and different-race photographs, which they placed close together or far apart according to perceived difference between the people. Researchers recorded the distance between photographs in centimeters to measure perceived difference. Aboud (2003) calculated out-group homogeneity by comparing within-group and between-group differences based on the average number of centimeters for each comparison.

To assess concrete operational thinking, participants completed an adapted Goldschmidt and Bentler Concept Assessment Kit, a measure including conservation tasks of quantity, weight, and volume. The children also took tests to measure their ability to classify objects while attending to multiple features, such as shape and size, simultaneously. The author believed that attaining concrete operational cognitive skills would either form a precondition or contribute to the development of bias.

Aboud (2003) looked for a correlation between in-group positive evaluations and out-group negative evaluations, first examining correlations without consideration to age, and then measuring frequency distribution of evaluations. In-group out-group evaluations were correlated, r (79) = - 0.04, p < 0.01. For positive items alone, there was a significant correlation between positive in-group and negative out-group evaluations, r (79) = 0.26 p < 0.05. In-group negative evaluations were significantly correlated with positive out-group evaluations, r (79) = .060, p < 0.01. Analysis of frequency distribution found that some combinations of attitudes were more common. Sixty percent or 30 of the 50 children who showed in-group favoritism also showed out-group bias. Of the 20 who were in-group neutral, 80% also showed neutral attitudes toward out-group members.

Aboud (2003) then tested the second hypothesis, which suggested that in-group favoritism was primary to out-group prejudice, meaning that in-group favoritism forms first. Finding no effects for gender, She divided the sample into three age groups: under five years old (n = 23), 5 to 5.99 (n = 27) and 6 to 6.99 (n = 30). She examined compared results from the MRA and the PRAM. PRAM results showed high levels of bias in all groups, with 65% of 4-year-olds and 80% of 6 year olds showing bias. MRA out-group evaluations did not vary with age. Five and six year old showed significantly higher levels of in-group favoritism (t (26) = 5.15 and t (29) = 3.85 respectively, p < 0.01), with scores higher than zero demonstrating bias.

The third hypothesis suggested that there would be a relationship to children's social-cognitive development and the types of biases they held. Results from the PRAM showed higher bias among children able to distinguish group affiliation and who recognized in-group differentiation but believed in out-group homogeneity. Development of those cognitive capabilities may contribute to or be a prerequisite condition for the development of racial bias in children. This suggests that bias may be reduced by helping children gain awareness of out-group as well as in-group differentiation.

Aboud (2003) included results from Study Two, a replica and extension of this study designed to focus on individual rather than age-group variations and to examine social-cognitive predictors of prejudice. This study included only children aged five or six years and the participants had had greater exposure to racial diversity than the participants in Study One. This review will not detail Study Two except to note that results suggested a link between in-group favoritism and the social cognitions of egocentrism, in-group differentiation and tendency to rely on race when sorting photos of people into groups. However, there was no relationship between the social cognitions tested and the participants' evaluations of out-group members.

Comparing samples from both studies, Aboud (2003) noted that in-group and out-group attitudes were less reciprocal among students who attended a racially diverse school, suggesting that children with little experience with out-group members may rely upon in-group favoritism to form evaluative judgments.

Aboud's (2003) studies included a fairly small sample size from single sites, and participants in each of the two studies were drawn from the same school and community. Aboud sought to establish generalizable principles about developmental features and correlations between in-group and out-group evaluations, however given the small, non-diverse sample size, results should not be generalized. A reader may consider that bias testing may not reflect active biases. Such tests create artificial situations that solicit negative evaluations in ways that don't reflect real life situations. The PRAM represents an improvement on the MRA by allowing more options and flexibility in assigning judgments, but it nevertheless provides an artificial situation pressuring children into making judgments

Aboud's (2003) study offers a deeper understanding of what attitudes psychologists have measured when evaluating racial bias in children, as well as exploring the developmental processes through which racial bias emerges. Effective anti-bias education will be grounded in an understanding of the component ideas and developmental features of racial bias in young children. Aboud (2003) suggested that those seeking to reduce bias target not in-group favoritism, which may be rooted in biological survival needs, but out-group derogation, the basis for discriminatory stereotypes.

Nowicki (2008) studied the relationship between racial bias and bias based on perceived learning ability, exploring which individual and developmental characteristics were correlated with holding biases. The hypotheses tested were that (a) younger children would have more negative attitudes toward different-race and lower-ability out-groups than toward same-race and higher-ability in-groups and (b) younger children would show more negative out-group and positive in-group bias than older children.

The study sampled 104 children from three schools, one rural, one suburban and one mixed, in a large central Canadian urban/rural school district. The sample had 49 younger children (20 boys, 29 girls) in grades K-1 with a mean age of 5.9 and 55 older children (30 boys, 25 girls) in grades three to five with a mean age of 9.9.

Nowicki (2008) used hypothetical children represented by dolls in order to avoid personality/behavior biases by asking children to evaluate their peers. She used identical male

and female dolls with white or brown skin. To avoid gender bias typical in early childhood, each participant evaluated two same-gender sets, one set with a doll of each race, both described smart and the other set described as having learning difficulties.

Participants completed three tests including the Multi-Response Attitude Scale (MRA) using the dolls instead of photographs. The Behavioral Intent Scale offered four possible responses, soft and hard yes or no, to questions asking what types of behavior they would participate in with the imaginary child represented by the doll. Behaviors ranged from casual (saying hello) to more intimate (sharing a secret). Nowicki (2008) also measured feelings toward the target children using the Pictographic Scale, a five item test asking questions to assess children's affective reactions to interacting with the target child.

Nowicki (2008) used analysis of variance, determining no significant differences across schools. Results of the MRA indicated a significant main effect for age, F (1,100) = 13.8, p < 0.001, η^2 = 12, with younger children having less positive beliefs (M = 3.0, SD = 3.5) than older children (M = 5.1, SD = 2.6). Nowicki found a significant effect for condition, F (3, 300) = 11.9, p < .001, η2 = 17. Participants gave more positive evaluations to the high-ability same-race child (M = 6.6, SD = 3.7) compared to the same-race lower-ability child (M = 3.6 SD = 4.8), the different-race, high-ability child (M = 4.5, SD = 5.7) and the different-race, lower-ability child (M = 2.1, SD = 5.5).

Strengths include that Nowicki (2008) controlled for gender bias, used example questions to ensure that children understood instructions and used cards adapted for pre-literate participants. This study was conducted in central Canada and may not be generalizable to other populations. As a one shot case study, design indicates developmental trends among the groups studied, but does not measure changes in individuals over time. Nowicki noted among the study's limitations that the children's reactions to dolls representing hypothetical children may not reflect their feelings or behaviors toward actual classmates. Therefore, the reader should note that findings indicate possible biases but do not confirm that these biases are enacted in peer social settings. This study did not account for outside variables or individual characteristics beyond race

and gender that may have influenced children's attitudes. The author suggested additional

studies considering multiple variables that may contribute to the development of bias.

This study investigated whether peer rejection may form a barrier to successful

mainstream inclusion of special education students. Results indicate that older students of both

genders and boys of any age show a willingness to interact with students regardless. Also, the

increase in acceptance as children grow older could be due to an increasing awareness that it is

not appropriate to express these biases. A reported willingness to play with out-group children

may not necessarily transfer to actually playing with them on the playground, where there are

many other options and preferences may emerge in practice that serve to alienate children. They

found that young White girls may most likely to discriminate, however it may be due not to higher

out-group bias but high in-group preference, which may be a developmental trend (Aboud, 1999).

Rutland, Cameron, Bennett and Ferrell (2005) found that intergroup contact decreased

out-group prejudice, and racial constancy was correlated to increased bias. This study sampled

three groups of British kindergarten students, aged three to five, at seven schools in different

geographical regions. The schools were designated (a) all White ($n = 63$), (b) mostly White ($n =$

45) and (c) mixed race ($n = 28$). The total sample included 136 Anglo-British children (61 male, 75

female) with an average age of four years, eight months ($SD = 6.07$ months).

Participants gave 15 minute interviews consisting of two components, a measure of racial

constancy and a test for stereotypes. In the first component, researchers provided four pictures

each of children and adults from four racial categories described as most common populations in

Great Britain: Asian-Indian, Far-East Asian, African-Caribbean and Anglo-British. Participants

answered questions designed to assess their concepts of racial identity, consistency and stability.

Researchers then administered the Multi-response Racial Attitude Measure (MRA) in which

children were asked to assign positive, negative and neutral descriptors to photographs.

Rutland et al. (2005) used ANOVAs to measure variations in bias between different racial

groups, with a significant effect for out-group, $F(2, 266) = 9.09$, $p < 0.001$. Participants showed

more bias against African-Caribbeans ($M = .1.67$, $SD = 3.98$, $p < 0.001$) in comparison with bias

against Asian-Indians ($M = .37$, $SD = 3.81$, $p < 0.05$) and Far-East Asians ($M = .91, SD = 2.92$, p

< 0.05) with *t*-tests showing that only scores for Far-East Asian, $t(133) = 3.61$, $p < 0.001$ and African Caribbean, $t(133) = 4.86$, $p < 0.001$ were significantly above a neutral level of zero.

Following a cross comparison of bias based on racial group, Rutland et al. (2005) examined the effects of interracial contact, using ANOVAs to cross compare individual's race, level of intergroup contact (whether subject attended an all-white, majority-white or mixed school) and valence: positive or negative bias. They found a main effect for valence, with children giving more positive ($M = 4.07$, $SD = 1.87$) than negative ($M = 3.19$, $SD = 2.17$) trait evaluations. There was a significant effect for valence among children in the all-white contact group, $F(1, 60) = 9.98$, $p < 0.01$, η2 = .14, power = 0.87, with these children giving more positive evaluations ($M = 4.48$, $SD = 1.78$) than negative ($M = 3.66$, $SD = 2.15$). These children gave significantly more in-group positive attributions, $t(60) = 2.98$, $p < 0.01$, than out-group negative attributions, $t(60) = -1.85$, $p = 0.07$. Similar results were obtained for students from the majority-white group. The mixed-contact group also showed a significant main effect for Valence, assigning more positive attributes, but showed no significant differentiation between out-group or in-group in either the negative, $t(27) = -1.10$, $p > 0.05$ or positive, $t(27) = 1.11$, $p > 0.05$, attributions.

Rutland et al. (2005) investigated the effects of children's understanding of racial constancy by running a four way ANOVA cross comparing intergroup contact, subject race, Valence and racial constancy. Children with the highest scores on racial constancy, those who scored a three, showed a significant interact between Group and Valence, $F(1,7) = 7.82$, $p < .001$, η2 = 0.53, power = 0.67, with the in-group favored significantly in positive attribution, $t(7) = 2.61$, $p < 0.05$, and the outgroup favored for negative attributions, $t(7) = -2.46$, $p < 0.05$. This finding, like that of Aboud (2003) shows a link between racial constancy and bias, suggesting that bias emerges developmentally after a child has gained an awareness of their own racial identity and learned to recognize racial identity as stable and constant feature of an individual.

Rutland et al. (2005) took adequate measures to exclude other bias from photograph-based test, tested for variance in small sample sizes. Limitations include small sample size in some of the subgroups, in particular the small size of the high racial constancy group. Because only eight children were in this group, the findings suggest but do not establish a solid relationship

between racial constancy and high bias. The authors did not provide a research basis for the testing methodology they used to assess racial constancy. In particular, the question "Which child are you most like?" may not accurately measure the target concept of racial identity. Although the authors stated that equally attractive photos were used in the MRA they did not disclose whether photographs matched the participant's gender, so results could be compounded by effects of gender bias. Rutland et al. (2005) noted that they were only able to measure the presence of intergroup contact, suggesting further research that included information about the quality and type of contact. This study shares common roots in the literature of intergroup contact theory, however the reader should note that this study was based in the UK, and may be influenced by culturally specific factors.

Findings of Rutland et al. (2005) support intergroup contact theory, suggesting that White children at racially diverse schools are less likely to exhibit negative out-group bias than those who attend more racially homogenous schools. Schools may promote bias reduction by eliminating practices and policies that contribute to segregation, such as racially imbalanced tracking. The previous studies examined bias in children; the following study explores children's awareness of and ideas about racism.

McKown's (2004) mixed qualitative/quantitative study asked (a) what do children identify as the salient characteristics of racism? (b) how does children's thinking about racism change with age? and (c) how is it related to their ethnicity? The study recruited children from variety of settings: a summer Talented and Gifted enrichment program, summer school program for Latino students, a public elementary talented/gifted program, and from the student body at one private and three public schools, all in the San Francisco Bay area. McKown (2004) recruited participants by sending letters to families. The racial composition of this group did not differ significantly from that of non-participants, but they did have significantly higher parent educational attainment levels. Children in the sample identified as: 84 White, 48 Black, 36 Latino, 32 Asian, 2 other. Participant ages were six years (24), seven (32), eight (41), nine (67), ten (35), and eleven (3). Ethnicity and age were obtained from school records. Only one site recorded bi-racial

identification. At this site 18 of 79 children were biracial including designations of Euro-Asian, Euro-Latino/a, African-American/Asian and Latino/a-Asian.

Trained interviewers, nine male and two female conducted the interviews. Of the interviewers, six were White, three Asian American one African American, one Latina. Interviews took place at a quiet location at the school and were audio-recorded for later transcription. After each interview, children took the Vocabulary subtest of the WISC-III and had the opportunity to ask questions.

Interviews explored stereotype consciousness, measuring the participant's ability to infer an individual's stereotype. The interviewers told participants two stories about an imaginary land populated by two groups of people, the Greens and the Blues. In each, a Green protagonist must choose either a G or B child to do something for which academic ability is important. Before telling the second story, interviewers introduced an experimental manipulation, providing the additional information that in this imaginary land Greens think Blues are not smart. After each story, children answered comprehension questions to ensure that they understood the story. They then decided who the main character would choose and why, and who the character thinks is smarter.

The second part of the interview measured children's awareness of stereotypes by asking them to describe how the real world resembles the story. If a child's response mentioned stereotypes or discrimination, the interviewer probed further and recorded responses for qualitative analysis. For this procedure, the researchers used only data from participants who compared the story to the real world by mentioning racism or stereotypes.

The author and assistants coded all transcripts in which children described racism, creating a scheme that identified four dimensions of racism: attitudes (prejudice), intergroup beliefs (stereotypes), behavior (discrimination) and strife (conflict). Children also identified what the authors described as hopeful counterpoints or alternative narratives. The children often provided secondary information about the perceiver or target and typically mentioned either in-group pride or out-group derogation.

Forty seven percent of children in the total sample showed awareness of racism. These children comprised the group included in qualitative analysis. Of these, 63.2% reported stereotypes and most were about intellectual ability. 42.1% described discrimination with 48.3% involving rights violations and 40% focusing on exclusion or negative treatment based on race. 16.8 % mentioned racial conflict. Only 13.7% used the word "racism" or "racist." Over half, 57.9% - reported some alternative to racism: 4.9% of those statements were children personally asserting an anti-racist stance and 37.5% talking about how race relations have improved from the past or will get better in the future.

McKown (2004) used hierarchical multiple regression to evaluate age and ethnic differences in what children reported about racism. He hypothesized that African American children would have more elaborated, differentiated and power-focused ideas about racism. He created a target code to reflect comparison between African-American and non-African American children. In accordance with the hypothesis, age and being African American predicted more differentiated ideas about racism. The increase in awareness of ethnic conflict and out-group derogation was tied specifically to African American identity, not to age. Age but not ethnicity was associated with making more statements about prejudice. For African American children only, discrimination was most frequent dimension of racism mentioned. For almost all other age/ethnic groups it was stereotyping. All children described racism in abstract, generalized terms – not simply specific people or events. Younger children, those six or seven years of age, typically described one dimension of racism: stereotyping. Older children told more elaborated narratives with different dimensions of racism, including historical roots.

The author described ways in which children's thinking about racism resembles that of social scientists: children identify behavioral, affective and cognitive components of racism. To explain this difference, McKown (2004) suggested that as children get older they are more able to think about what other people are thinking and are more likely to have encountered racism. More experience with racism would explain why African American children talked about it more.

The responses of children who did not identify racism were not formally coded, but McKown (2004) described five general responses that the students gave to the story as follows:

1) describing no similarity between story and real world 2) described other similarities such as schools and teachers 3)noted different groups of people but did not describe bias 4)described group competition based on categories other than race 5) described people disrespecting each other but did not relate it to race.

A strength of this study is that McKown (2004) obtained diversity in the sample by recruiting participants from a variety of schools and programs, although in the same metropolitan area. The use of mixed quantitative/qualitative analysis allowed for a better understanding of children's ideas about racism. There are both strengths and weaknesses in this study's interview procedure. The procedure allowed students to choose whether to identify and discuss racism directly themselves, rather than directly eliciting a definition and explanation of racism. Results indicated the salience of racism and may reflect the level of awareness for those who responded, but this procedure eliminated perspectives of participants who found racism less salient, or secondary to other features of comparison, but may have had ideas to share if questioned further. Although this study is intended to reveal how children understand racism, it is important to note that results represent children's response following two vignettes. Different ways of investigating may produce very different results. McKown included no analysis of factors beyond the participant's ethnicity that may have influenced their responses. Future research might determine the effects of SES, gender or ability groupings on children's conceptions of racism.

This study identified the dimensions of racism students are typically aware of from a developmental perspective. It points out the difference in Black and White children's thinking about racism. It does not address school-based, contextual influences that teachers can manipulate, nor any suggestions for intervention or teaching. However, the study does describe the developmental growth of ideas about racism. As children of color begin to understand racism, they may begin to perceive unfair treatment as racial discrimination. The following studies explore the ways in which children and youth experience racism and potential consequences of the experiences.

The Effects of Discrimination

Masko (2005) investigated the ways in which preadolescent children experienced racism at The Connection, an urban, multi-ethnic after-school program**.** In an ethnographic case study, she detailed the effects of discrimination on the mental health of one 12 year old African American girl.

Masko (2005) selected participants using purposeful sampling based on criteria including gender, age, ethnic background, relationship with the researcher, and openness to sharing feelings. She had a close relationship with the staff and students at the program, where she had served as director for five years and formed close relationships with many of the families. Masko (2005) described the experiences and feelings of one 12 year old African-American girl named Keandra. Because of her close relationship as a family friend, Masko was able to have intimate conversations with Keandra. This was particularly helpful given the sensitive and personal nature of her investigation.

Masko (2005) conducted the research as a participant observer, observing the interactions of students with peers, staff and volunteers at the site. She interviewed the participants, and collected heir writing and art. In the interviews, children discussed their experiences with racism. Masko recorded and transcribed all formal interviews and took field notes immediately following informal interviews. Masko organized and color coded data using six tenets of critical race theory (CRT). This article focused on the first tenet of CRT: Racism is ordinary, not aberrational, examining how racism was embedded in Keandra's life and consciousness.

Masko (2005) detailed several of Keandra's encounters with racism. Keandra typically reacted immediately with anger, sometimes to the point of uncontrollable rage and violence, but when talking about the incidences later she expressed deep sadness. Masko described an incident that occurred during a program field trip, as several program students and an adult rode on a public bus. A conflict erupted between Keandra, her friend, and a threatening stranger, forcing the group to de-board the bus. The adult chaperone responded by telling Keandra to "drop

it," dismissing and essentially invalidating her feelings. Masko suggested that the suppression of justified anger can result in deep-seated rage.

Masko's (2005) existing relationships with participants helped the children feel more comfortable sharing their feelings. This is particularly important given the personal, emotional nature of the stories being told. Because of the micro-focus of this study, deeply probing the experiences of one individual, it should not be generalized but considered alongside additional research. This study should be considered alongside the article (Masko 2005b) outlining the broader study from which she developed this case study. Masko did not use triangulation. She was not authorized to interview the adults at the center for the study, but did not consider this problematic as her goal was to obtain the children's perspectives.

Masko's (2005) findings urge teachers to be aware of the racial dynamics in the school setting, to openly and directly confront racism. It is particularly important to acknowledge the emotional pain resulting from discrimination, and to respond supportively. Masko (2005) argued that adults should acknowledge and respect a child's anger, and avoid responses that suppress or invalidate the natural response of anger. It may be a natural response for adults to attempt to diffuse a tense situation, and try to calm down a child who is angry. However, Masko suggested that suppressing this anger insults a child's dignity and may contribute to a deep and persistent rage.

Brody, Chen, Murray, Simons, Ge, Gibbons, Gerrard and Cutrona (2006) conducted a five year longitudinal analysis examining the link between perceived discrimination and conduct problems and depressive symptoms among African American adolescents in Iowa and Georgia. They analyzed data collected as part of the Family and Community Health Study (FACHS), a study of contextual effects on health of African American youth in areas other than inner-cities. The FACHS sampled sites including rural, suburban and urban communities. Researchers collected data at multiple sites using identical research procedures. They collected three waves of data, starting when the participant youths were in fifth grade. Subsequent waves occurred two and five years after the first. Data was collected in 1996, 1998 and 2001.

FACHS selected participants randomly from lists of families with children in the fifth grade who lived in neighborhoods with at least 10% African American population. Community liaisons and school officials compiled the lists. Researchers sent out introductory letters and made recruitment phone calls to each family, which were followed up by home visits requesting participation. The introductory letter included a toll free number to increase access to the study for low income families. Participants received monetary compensation of $100 per caregiver interview and $70 per youth.

A total of 897 families participated, 475 in Iowa and 422 in Georgia. All participant families included a fifth grade youth, 54% of whom were girls. The longitudinal the 897 families, 779 (87%) remained at wave two and 767 (86%) at wave 3. Mothers were primary caregivers in 84% of participant families, 37% of whom were married at wave one. The majority (71%) of primary caregivers were high school graduates. The families residential settings were urban (n = 120), suburban (*n* = 563) and rural (*n* = 101). The mean income of participant families across the waves was $33,120, but the authors provided no information on how this income compared to the local median at the time of reporting.

Brody et al. (2006) trained African American college students and community members to conduct the interviews, believing that participants would be more comfortable with same-race interviewers. The interviewers made two home visits lasting two hours each in one week. They administered self report questionnaires to the primary caregiver and the youth. Interviews took place in a private area of the home where other family members could not overhear. Interviewers read questions aloud from a laptop and entered each participant's response.

Measures used at each wave included the Schedule of Racist Events (SRE), a Likert scale assessing the frequency of perceived discrimination, revised for use with youths in late childhood or adolescence and tested on four focus groups of African American caregivers and youths aged 10-12. All focus groups expressed satisfaction that the revised SRE adequately covered discriminatory experiences that children and youth might encounter. The Diagnostic Interview Schedule for Children – Version 4 (DISC-IV) assessed symptoms of depression. Researchers assessed the youth's conduct problems using the 21 item Conduct Disorder section

of the DISC-IV. Youths reported the frequency with which, in the year prior, they participated in deviant acts such as shoplifting, vandalism and more. The nurturant-involved parenting scale was a Likert type test measuring parent involvement and communication style. Interviewers tested for school efficacy using a 15 item Likert type test asking participants to rate academic performance and factors like relationships with teachers. Researchers also measured whether the participants had the support of what they termed pro-social skills. At waves 1 and 2, youths responded to a 9-item questionnaire rating how supportively their friends would react to various "positive" behaviors like helping out with chores or doing well at school. At each wave researchers assessed socioeconomic status using the family's annual income and an index of the primary caregiver's educational level.

Brody et al. (2006) used latent growth curve modeling to assess changes in data over time compared to the predictions they had made. The conduct problems growth curve showed an acceptable fit: χ^2 (1) = 14.00, p = 0. 0001; CF = 0.93; RMSEA = 0.10 (C = 0.06; 0.12). The mean Conduct Problems score for wave one was 0.60, increasing at a mean of 0.19 per year. For depression, the linear model showed adequate fit: χ^2 (1) = 19.30, p = .001; CFI = 0.88; RMSEA = 0.11 (CI = 0.08; 0.13). The mean score for depression was 6.11 with a mean change of 0.06. The slope coefficient was not significant, indicating that overall, youth's depression levels did not change significantly over the course of the study.

Results of interest here include (a) increases in perceived discrimination were linked positively with depressive symptoms and conduct problems, (b) higher SES youths perceived more discrimination, (c) boys had a stronger link between discrimination and conduct problems, but depressive symptoms did not vary by gender and (d) youths with moderating factors were less likely to experience conduct problems and depression. Each moderator produced a chi-square reduction in conduct and depressive symptoms as follows. For school efficacy, Δx^2 (1) = 22.68 p < 0.01, affiliation with pro-social peers, Δx^2 (1) = 13.75 p = < 0.01, and for nurturant-involved parenting, Δx^2 (1) = 12.88 p < 0.01. Brody et al. (2006) suggested that the increase in perceptions of discrimination among higher SES youth may be the result of increased interracial contact.

This study has several strengths. It used participants from two different geographic locales, Midwestern and Southeastern U.S., and sampled from variety of rural, suburban and metropolitan communities. The authors took steps to increase representation of lower SES participants, so the selection process ensured adequate diversity among participants. The longitudinal design of this study allowed Brody et al. (2006) to measure links between childhood experiences and conduct or depressive problems experienced in adolescence. A weakness of this design is mortality, which could affect data if the attrition group shared common characteristics. Cross comparison with ANOVAs discovered no difference between attrition and completion groups in the characteristics measured by the study. The interview procedures present possible weaknesses of the study. It relied on self-reported data, a procedure described by authors as proven effective for collecting data. However, it is possible that this procedure could result in under-reporting. Participants may have been reluctant to disclose conduct problems, particularly those involving illegal behavior if they did not fully trust interviewers or feel they had adequate privacy. The researchers noted a discrepancy between youth and caregiver reporting. As youths got older caregivers underreported their conduct problems, possibly because they were unaware of the problems. All interviews were conducted in the participants' homes with family members present. Although interviewers took care to find a private area in the home where they could not be heard, it is possible that some participants may not have felt they had adequate privacy to answer all questions completely and honestly, a problem that might differentially affect those who lived in smaller houses or more crowded conditions, and might bear a link to lower SES.

Brody et al. (2006) demonstrated a correlation between perceived discrimination and depressive symptoms and conduct problems among African American youths. Although this data does not establish a causal relationship, the connection does provide further support for the need for teachers and school staff to reduce discrimination in its various forms, peer harassment, curricular underrepresentation or school policies with racial stratification consequences. This study showed a link between school efficacy, or positive attitudes toward school and school success, with decreased risk for depression and conduct disorder. This study did not suggest

specific teacher or school based interventions, but suggests that facilitating moderating factors in addition to reducing discrimination may benefit African American youth. White educators should also attend to the finding that by wave three of this study, only 8% of participant youth reported that they had not experienced racial discrimination. This suggests that teachers and administrators fight the protective tendency to deny that students experience discrimination, attributing school failure to other factors (Ogbu, 2003).

Rivas-Drake, Hughes and Way (2008) investigated the relationship between peer discrimination and self-esteem and depressive symptoms among urban Chinese American youth. Rivas-Drake et al. measured private regard, an individual's attitude toward their own ethnic group, and public regard, how youths believed others viewed their group. They hypothesized that high private and/or public regard would buffer against discrimination and that youths demonstrating lower private/public regard would also be more likely to experience peer discrimination.

Rivas-Drake et al. (2008) examined peer discrimination and adjustment among Chinese American youth using data collected as part of the Early Adolescent Cohort Study, a study of contextual factors influencing the psychological well-being of ethnically diverse middle school youth in New York City. The final sample included 203 youth, 119 African American and 84 Chinese, about 97% of whom were children of immigrants. Researchers recruited the youth in sixth grade general and ESL classrooms of several schools, providing bilingual materials and consent forms. Rivas et al. dropped some participants from analysis due to missing data including gender ($n = 2$), over 20% of discrimination items ($n = 10$) or other key variables ($n = 4$).

Participants completed surveys including an 18 item survey described as an established reliable measure of peer discrimination, however due to low variability in previous studies the authors' recoded questions into binary response items. Participants also took the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI) modified for use by any ethnicity by replacing "Black" with "my ethnic group." They also completed the Likert-type Rosenberg Self-Esteem scale and Children's Depression Inventory.

In comparison with African American youth who provided data, Chinese American children showed significantly more peer discrimination ($\eta 2 = 0.06$), lower self esteem ($\eta 2 = 0.15$),

more depressive symptoms ($\eta 2$ =.006) and lower private regard ($\eta 2$ =. 005) (all Fs ≥ 11.00, df =1, p < 0.001). Rivas-Drake et al. (2008) used hierarchical linear modeling to create a model that predicted depressive symptoms. They examined how the predictive factors of peer discrimination, private and public regard varied for Chinese American youth in comparison with African American youth. Both private and public regard correlated significantly with fewer depressive symptoms and higher self esteem among the study's Chinese American youth. For African American youth, however, public regard was not correlated with well-being.

This study has some weaknesses. Rivas-Drake et al. (2008) provided limited information about participant selection, so it is not clear from how many schools participants were drawn or whether factors such as SES influenced results. The authors cautioned against inferring causation from this co relational study. They noted that individual differences may influence the perception and reporting of discrimination. Additionally, they suggested that within-group discrimination based on regional or SES differences among children of Chinese immigrants may have contributed to the greater instances of discrimination among Chinese American youth.

Findings of this study suggest that in addition to reducing discrimination, educators can promote well being by working to increase public and private regard. Curriculum celebrating the culture and accomplishments of student cultures may promote high regard. This should be considered alongside research such as that of London, Tierney, Buhin, Greco and Cooper (2002) which examined the effects of specific multicultural interventions on youths' regard for their own ethnic group. Because this study focused only on Chinese American students, results should not be generalized but additional research could find similar effects for other groups. It should be noted that African American youth did not demonstrate effects for public regard; however the authors did not detail this data.

McKown and Weinstein (2008) investigated race-related differential teacher treatment, its relationship to classroom racial composition and explored whether differential expectations widened the achievement gap for students in high-bias classrooms. They hypothesized that in classrooms where students report high ability-based teacher bias, teachers would be more likely to base expectations on a child's ethnicity, controlling for prior achievement. Additional hypothesis

were that perceived differential treatment (PDT) would be higher in more diverse classrooms and that high PDT would contribute to the year-end achievement gap.

This investigation used data from two studies. For Study One, the authors used archival data from a study published in 1987. This study included 640 children from 30 urban classrooms, grades one, three and five. Study Two used data for 1232 children from 53 urban classrooms, also grades one, three and five. Both data sets included the same type of data and were analyzed using the same procedures. Data included ethnicity, teacher expectations, prior achievement, perceived differential treatment (PDT), aggregated classroom PDT and classroom diversity.

Both studies used the same categories of data, but methods differed slightly in how the data was obtained for all but the category of ethnicity, for which both studies used parent reported data from a review of the records. For Study One, teachers ranked students in expected order of year-end achievement in math and reading. The authors gathered students' prior year scores on the Comprehensive Test of Basic Skills (CTBS) and other data on prior school achievement. Participants completed the Teacher Treatment Inventory (TTI) in the fall, rating how they think their teacher would treat a same-gender hypothetical child who was either low-achieving, "not very smart" or high achieving. The children were randomly assigned to one of the two groups (high or low achieving example) and given forms to select possible teacher behaviors from negative feedback to opportunity and choice. The authors used both individual and aggregate scores to consider PDT as a classroom level variable. They used hierarchical linear modeling to analyze the variance between individual ratings and found sufficient within-classroom agreement to consider classroom PDT a useful measure.

Both studies found that child ethnicity influenced teacher expectations regardless of the child's prior performance. In Study One, teachers ranked Black and Latino children with identical achievement levels slightly less than one place lower than White and Asian children. This effect was constant across grade levels for teacher expectations in reading. However, teacher differential expectations of math achievement increased with grade level: they were 0.07, 0.19 and 0.36 standard deviations higher for Whites and Asians than for Black and Hispanic children in

grades one, three and five respectively. Study Two indicated that overall, teacher expectations for reading varied in relation to ethnicity, B = -0.32, T = -4.60, p < 0.05, with teachers rating White and Asian children an average of .32 points higher on a five point scale compared to Latino/a and Black children. Combining both datasets, McKown and Weinstein (2008) found that in high-bias classrooms, year-end achievement was 0.21 to 0.38 standard deviations lower for stereotyped children with an average effect of d = 0.29. In classrooms designated lower-bias, the year-end achievement gap did not increase significantly, with an average effect size of d = -0.003.

It should be noted that one of the two datasets used in this analysis is quite old, collected in 1987, over twenty years prior to the publication of McKown and Weinstein's (2008) analysis, so it may not reflect contemporary conditions. Of further note are the differences between studies one and two. Study Two was a modified replication of Study One. Although they collected the same categories of data, procedures and methods differed between studies one and two, which should be noted when considering the results of Study Three, the combined analysis of both datasets. For example, Study One used participant reading and math CTBS scores for the prior year and year-end, whereas Study Two used only reading section scores but for two years prior and instead used the Metropolitan Reading Readiness test for the first graders. The studies also differed ranking methods used by teachers and the procedures used to collect participant PDT. Measures of PDT could be influenced by student characteristics and may not reflect substantial differences in teacher behaviors. Additional research using objective measures of teacher behavior may further inform this research. Finding significant agreement among class members on PDT, the authors designated classrooms either high or low bias for Study Three. Without a more nuanced analysis of differentiation on these variables, it is possible for results to be highly influenced by a small number of classrooms with pronounced or extreme levels of PDT of differential expectations.

McKown and Weinstein's (2008) findings indicated a systemic function of incremental bias, indicating that biased expectations may contribute to lower student achievement. It is important to note that the findings that teacher expectations were influenced by race with teachers rating Black and Latino/a students lower regardless of prior achievement. This suggests

racial stereotyping or deficit thinking may influence teacher expectations. McKown and Weinstein's findings impel teachers to examine their expectations and guard against actions that students may perceive as differential treatment, which could also influence achievement.

Scott (2003) investigated the relationship between adolescents' strategies for coping with perceived discrimination and the salience of their racial identity. The study also investigated the relationship between messages about racism received from parents/guardians and coping strategies. Scott collected data from 88 African American adolescents at a private, small, religious school in Northern Alabama. Because some questionnaires had missing data, the final sample included 71 adolescents of whom 34 were male and 37 female. They were 9th, 10th and 11th grade students with a mean age of 15.6, with a fairly even distribution across grade levels. Scott described participants as primarily higher SES, children of educated professionals and skilled workers.

Researchers administered tests to measure the frequency and stressfulness of racial micro-aggressions, a term describing subtle manifestations of racism such as being ignored or followed by store staff when shopping. Scott (2003) measured micro-aggressions using the questionnaires Racism Experiences Stress Scale (EXP-STR) and Daily Life Experiences (DLE-R), combined for the purposes of this study to measure stressfulness caused by specific situations. The author further modified the survey to reduce its length by eliminating 10 of the original 20 questions, selecting experiences most likely to be encountered by adolescents, based on media and social science research. The Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity measures three dimensions of racial identity: ideology, regard and centrality. For this study, participants completed only the questions to measure racial centrality, the extent to which race is a central factor to self-conception and identity. Participants also completed nine selected items from the Racism-Related Socialization Influences Scale to measure the content and frequency of messages they received from parents and important adults regarding racism. Subjects also took the Self-Report Coping Scale, a 34 item inventory assessing the use of coping strategies in stressfull situations, modified to specifically assess reactions to perceived racial discrimination. Coping strategies were designated by categories: Reliance/Problem solving and Seeking Social

Support. Avoidance coping strategies included: distancing ("it doesn't matter"), internalizing ("worry about it") and externalizing ("curse out loud"). All measures were 5-point Likert questionnaires except for the 7-point Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity.

Scott (2003) conducted a preliminary analysis of the data using ANOVAs to determine the influence of demographic factors. Only one significant relationship was found: that gender was correlated with race centrality, $F(1,69) = 4.22$, $p = 0.04$, with male participants ($M = 3.63$, $SD = 0.48$) reporting that race was more central to their identity than female participants ($M = 3.39$, SD = 0.05). Scott found significant correlations among five of the ten investigated. Youths who used self-reliance/problem-solving were also more likely to use internalization and less likely to use distancing. Those who reported higher levels of discrimination used more internalizing and externalizing coping strategies. Youths with higher levels of racial centrality reported more frequent discrimination. Those who reported receiving more messages about racism from parents and guardians were more likely to use self-reliance/problem-solving coping strategies.

As with prior research, Scott (2003) found that racial centrality was correlated with perceived discrimination, meaning that the more salient race was as a part of a youth's identity, the greater the amount of discrimination they reported. Scott used a median-split to divide participant responses into two groups, high racial centrality ($n = 40$) and low centrality ($n = 31$), and conducted MANCOVAs to assess the effects of racial centrality. He discovered no relationship between racial centrality and coping strategies, Wilks's lambda = 0.96, $F(5, 62) = 0.50$, $p = 0.78$ partial $\eta2 = 0.04$. There was a strong correlation, however, between racial socialization messages and the type of coping strategies used, Wilks's lambda = 0.76, $F(5, 62) = 3.93$, $p = 0.004$, partial $\eta2 = 0.24$.

This study assessed a limited sample of participants, students at a private religious school in Alabama. Findings may be influenced by factors specific to the geographical location or participants' SES, and may not be typical of other African American youth populations. Research design was a one-shot case study, providing no measurement of changes over time. Scott (2003) provided Cronbach's alpha reliability scores for all questionnaires used in this study. They all

showed good reliability except for the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity, which was originally of acceptable reliability but Scott's modification, selecting only items measuring centrality, reduced the test to marginal reliability with a coefficient alpha of 0.52. Therefore, findings involving racial centrality should not be considered reliable. Scott cautioned against inferring a causal relationship from this data. Scott noted the limitations of this research and suggested additional research with more diverse populations.

There are substantial limitations on the reliability and generalizability of Scott's (2003) findings. Because this study measured the influence of family based racial socialization, the implications for teaching may be limited. Because youth who had received more messages about discrimination used more positive coping strategies, it may benefit students to address discrimination either in the curriculum or through specific intervention for students of color. This study measured only the frequency of messages about discrimination, not the type. It appeared that frequency of messages was the salient factor, but additional research could explore the outcomes of specific messages. This research may help teachers recognize that there are different responses to discrimination, coping or avoidance, of which coping strategies have been linked to well being and positive outcomes.

Lim (2008) conducted an ethnographic case study examining the relationship between gender, race, SES and math achievement. Lim observed two sections, regular and advanced, of a sixth grade math teacher's class at a rural Southeastern U.S. middle school described as racially and ethnically diverse. The school population was 70% White, 26% Black and a small number of Latino/a students. All teachers at the school were White, and the high school dropout rate among this cohort was high, with 53% of all students graduating and only 6.1% of these graduates were African American.

Lim (2008) selected eight students by purposeful sampling based on gender, race, achievement scores and academic standing in the class. This article presented two case studies, one of an African American working class girl, and the other of a White middle class girl. Lim selected these two girls because, despite their high standing in the advanced class, they were very different.

Lim (2008) contrasted the girls' attitudes toward the math teacher and class and their strategies for success. Jessica, the White middle class girl, felt secure in her ability to succeed in math. Jessica had a clear career goal, identified with a peer group of "smarties" with whom she expected to progress through math classes. She explained that the strictness of the teacher was reassuring, that it reflected her family's "strict loving" values. Teacher expectations were a strong theme, with the teacher repeatedly citing high expectations for Jessica. Jessica participated actively in class, asking questions when she needed help. When she was not able to answer questions, the teacher would respond by saying that she forgot or that she did know but had trouble explaining.

In comparison with Jessica, Stella presented very different attitudes and strategies for success. Mrs. Oliver described Stella as "sweet" and "quiet," but Stella described her constant effort to tone down her personality and not be "too loud" to avoid being considered a troublemaker. Stella sat near the one other Black student in the class and some White working class girls. She was apprehensive about success in math, telling the story of her cousin who failed math despite being smart. Unlike Jessica, Stella did not have a career goal connected to math. She described math as "hard" and compared herself as a math student to a "rat trying to get out of a maze." Stella said "I don't know" 48 times in her three interviews in contrast to Jessica's eight. Mrs. Oliver described Stella as underachieving, not working hard enough and disinterested in academics. When asked about her plans for next year, Stella expressed doubt about continuing on the advanced track and a desire to be with her friends in regular math.

Stella's test scores and grades were higher than Jessica's throughout the year, but Mrs. Oliver cited lower expectations for her and did not recommend her for the seventh grade pre-algebra class. She described Stella as not working hard enough, not interested in academics and as an average, not distinguished student. Lim (2008) characterized Mrs. Oliver as underestimating Stella's potential, suggesting that because Stella did not exhibit motivation and assertiveness, the teacher considered her a passive learner with lower potential.

Lim (2008) provided a thorough description of her theoretical framework, detailing Bordeieu's (1977) cultural reproduction theory and the work of related theorists. However, she did

not describe any existing relationship with participants, why she chose the site, or any possible consequences of her identity in relation to subjects. She provided no description of processes used to collect or code data, and there is no evidence of member-checking or triangulation. But this study did collect and contrast both student and teacher perspectives in a useful way, providing an understanding of the attitudes and interactions shaping these students' math successes. This study represents a complex interaction of factors influenced by race, gender and socio-economic status, which differ on an individual basis.

Lim's (2008) revealed ways in which African Americans may be structurally disenfranchised in school. Her findings suggest that factors such as class background may strongly influence math success, causing student behaviors that may begin a cycle of low expectations and declining performance. Tracking can limit student achievement, with math tracking posing particular challenges to career success (Lim, 2008). This study indicated that supportive peer networks, family support, future goals and high teacher expectations positively influence student success. Lim cited Berry's (2003), suggestion that direct instruction and individual seatwork, the style used by the teacher in this study, may be least effective for African American students.

Berry (2005) investigated the perspectives of two male African American middle school students who were successful in math. Using a phenomenological methodological framework grounded in CRT, he examined the ways in which these students overcame limiting factors of racism in schooling. This study included three student interviews, a written student questionnaire and a student written mathematical autobiography, as well as in class observations, review of documents and teacher and parent interviews.

Berry (2005) identified five themes contributing to the boys' success in math. Both boys had early experiences that supported their learning in math. Their parents provided them with math learning before they started school and provided them with homework and additional support emphasizing the importance of math. Both boys discussed their parents' careers, and how the parent taught the child how they used math on the job. Both boys attended church and mentioned positive Black male role models in the church. As a result of outside advocacy in the

school system, the boys had tested into the Academically Gifted program, receiving enriched math instruction, and later participated in a Math/Science Pre-College program. Additionally, the children had access to technology at home and their parents communicated with teachers and intervened to resolve academic and behavioral problems.

The stories also present clear cases of what Berry (2005) identified as aggregated individual racism. Their parents were very involved with the school and had to communicate a great deal with the teachers to get their children placed in advanced/gifted classes. Philip and his mother related their struggle to resist a pre-diagnosis of ADHD from Philip's second grade teacher. Philip's mother felt that because the teacher was White cultural differences influenced her to suggest the possibility that Philip had ADHD rather than suggesting that he might be gifted and insufficiently challenged. Berry suggested that different cultural expectations caused the teacher to misinterpret his behavior, for example she may have considered his talking out in class as a disruption rather than as a way of showing interest.

Some weaknesses of this study are that Berry (2005) did not detail the process by which he gained entry to the school, nor any existing relationship with subjects, other than to note that this study was part of his dissertation. There was no discussion of the local geographical culture or school climate, nor did Berry discuss the importance of socio-economic status as a factor in these students' success. Studies of lower-income African American students would further inform this research. Berry outlined his theoretical framework and described his methodology as phenomenological. He detailed the data collection process, using multiple sources and perspectives. Berry provided a solid understanding of these students' stories by interviewing the students, parents and teacher, and allowed them to write autobiographies, through which they self-selected factors they felt contributed most to their math success.

Berry's (2005) investigation suggests that White teachers may be less likely to recognize academic giftedness in African American students. They may perceive behavioral differences as disruptive, building negative expectations which in turn may limit student achievement due to tracking at regular or remedial levels. McKown and Weinstein (2008) found that low teacher expectations may have contributed to lower performance, and that these expectations can be

influenced by race. Berry's study suggests that different behavior and cultural expectations may contribute to differential expectations. These studies urge teachers to pursue careful self-examination and closely consider their interpretations of student behaviors and to notice their own behaviors which students may perceive as differential treatment.

The studies presented in this section explored the ways in which teachers and schools enact and perpetuate racial biases, exploring some of the overt and subtle structural and cultural functions that may work against students of color. They explored the ways in which children, particularly African American children, navigate the school system in pursuit of success despite the discouragement, both subtle and overt, that they may face.

Teacher and School Practices: An Assessment of Bias Reduction Intervention Effectiveness

The intergroup education movement of the 1940's and 1950's arose in response to urban race riots, urging teacher training colleges to respond, with several civil rights organizations sponsoring programs to increase tolerance (Banks, 1996a). However, this movement was driven largely by Whites and died down once the crises were past. In the 1950's, pioneering researchers in the psychology of prejudice in children argued that schools and teachers have an obligation to fight prejudice and cultivate racial tolerance (Clark, 1963). The 1960's and 1970's saw the emergence of the multicultural movement in the United States, with the support and activism of leaders and scholars of color (Banks & Lynch, 1986). In the present day, educators acknowledge the relevance of race and culture and are facing new accountability to communities of color with a growing awareness of their role in the reproduction of racial power disparity and examining the racial and cultural consequences of their practices (Noguera, 2008, Banks 1996a).

Section two of this literature review will describe studies assessing the effectiveness of anti-racist and prejudice reduction strategies. The focus of this review will be on teaching strategies that explicitly name and intervene in racial bias, however it will also include studies examining the significance of teacher assumptions and practices that run counter to the goals of anti-racist education.

Teacher Attitudes

Lewis (2001) examined the ways in which the color-blind ideology of a mostly-white school impacted students of color. Participants were students in Ms. Moch's fourth/fifth grade classroom, their parents, the teacher and other school staff. They were residents of Sunny Valley, an affluent, mostly white U.S. suburb located near a large, ethnically diverse city. Children attending the school were mostly middle and upper-middle class with a median income over $50,000 and only 2% of families living in poverty. Lewis interviewed parents and students including 12 White students and deliberately selected students identified as "racially marginal" or biracial including four biracial boys one Asian, one Latino, one African American and one African American girl, a newcomer to the school.

Over the course of the 1997-98 school year, Lewis (2001) observed twice weekly in both the target classroom and the broader school environment. She informally interviewed most students in the class and conducted formal interviews with 40% of the students (12 out of 30) in the classroom and their parents. She deliberately selected students who were biracial or described as racially marginal, and interviewed a random selection of White students in the class.

Lewis (2001) examined racial attitudes, asking White participants direct questions about the importance of race, their feelings about multicultural education, and reasons they chose to live in the community. She asked students and parents of color about their experiences with racism at school and the school's reaction. In her classroom observations, Lewis looked for moments involving race and racism, describing a racial-slur incident. She Included interview excerpts with student, parent, teacher and staff, examining how each reacted to incidences of racial harassment in the school.

White parents and school staff frequently affirmed a color-blind ideology, described multicultural education or talking about racism as "divisive" and spoke in support of a melting pot ideology, saying such things as "We should all be Americans." Teachers and staff, including an African American teacher, downplayed an incident of racial slurs. The teacher and African American staff member described the African American girl, Sylvie, as misinterpreting social conflicts as racially motivated. Both the classroom teacher and the African American reading

specialist described their efforts to explain to Sylvie that racism was not the cause of her problems. Her mother reported getting no response after calling the principal because her daughter had been harassed using racial slurs.

Lewis (2001) inquired as to whether adults at the school believed that it was important to include multicultural perspectives. She found mixed opinions on the topic of multicultural curriculum. There was some support from teachers in a limited way for multicultural curriculum. Parents, however, said they thought multicultural education was not necessary at Foresthills because there were few minority students. Parents revealed race as motivator in choice of where to live and what school their children attended, sometimes directly acknowledging the factor and at other times indirectly by citing concerns about safety, drugs or quality of education, which Lewis described as coded referents. Some parents described comfort around one's own race as a natural feeling.

Lewis (2001) selected the school to represent a typical majority-white suburban school, describing no previous relationship with the participants. It would be safe to assume that she had outsider status. She did not discuss the ways in which her identity as a White woman (Heredia, 2004) may have influenced interviews, however it presents a possible strength in that White participants may have been more comfortable talking about race and revealing biases. Lewis did not specify the geographical region in which this study took place, so it is possible that local culture or racial tensions contributed uniquely the findings. Nonetheless, the study would probably have good transferability to other suburban mostly-white settings. Findings appear to be consistent with existing research. Lewis provided an adequate description of the methodology used in this study, however she did not describe using any coding process, weakening the reliability of this ethnography, making it possible that Lewis excluded data diverging from her conclusions.

Interview excerpts provided evidence that the predominant color-blind ideology was harmful to students of color. School staff did not respond with adequate supportiveness when students of color encountered racism, and their refusal to acknowledge racism or cultural differences left families of color feeling unsupported. This case study indicates the importance of

acknowledging differences and supporting youth in coping with discrimination, which Scott's (2003) research suggested may benefit youth of color, and which Masko (2005) showed could have a significant impact on students' psychological well-being.

Hyland (2005) investigated the ways in which self-described anti-racist, good teachers of minority students may unknowingly support racism. Hyland interviewed teachers at a school in a mid-sized Midwestern U.S. City. The city was economically and racially segregated with most Blacks living in a poor section of town. In 1996 African American families had lodged formal complaint against school district for over-referring Black students for special education and under-referring to gifted and talented programs. They charged that systemic racism was pervasive in district practices. In 1998 the district implemented a plan to eliminate "racially identifiable schools." Hyland noted that this terminology actually meant eliminating schools that were majority-Black, functionally de-racializing Whiteness. Under this plan, each school was to maintain an African American percentage representing that of the district, 32%, or an allowable range of 15-45%. Hyland selected this school because it was known as the worst in the district, with the oldest building, most special education students.

Hyland (2005) selected as participants four teachers with whom she had an existing relationship because they participated in her on-site anti-racism seminar. Participants included (1) Pam, a White special education teacher with 35 years experience, over 15 at Woodson (2) Sylvia, an Ecuadorian woman adopted by a White family who considered herself White (3) Carmen, a White first grade teacher who had been at Woodson three years with a total of six years experience, the first three on a Navajo reservation and (4) Maizie, a White fifth-grade teacher in her third year of teaching who had taken three professional development courses on racism.

Hyland (2005) conducted the study over a period of three school years, 1997-2000. She conducted 42 interviews with 27 teachers and worked in eight teachers' classrooms on regular basis. Hyland participated in school events, social functions with staff and facilitated an antiracism seminar in 1999. Hyland conducted focus groups and a seminar on racism with 27 staff members, three of whom dropped out after its first weeks. She led 15 total seminar sessions, each of which

she audio-taped and transcribed. Seminar participants kept weekly journals that they allowed her to photocopy for data analysis.

Participants used deficit discourse, speaking of students as needing to overcome barriers or shortages presented by their backgrounds. They sometimes revealed low expectations for students. She noted that these features (deficit discourse, low expectations) are not considered effective culturally relevant pedagogy. The author identified ways in which the teachers' assumptions and pedagogical practices fell short of their self-concept as effective anti-racist teachers of students of color.

Pam demonstrated a sense of superiority and held low expectations for students. She viewed her role as a helper and described providing lunch or candy to her students because they were poor. She told a story about helping a mother pawn her stereo. Hyland (2005) argued that such actions could reinforce power imbalance and foster a sense of frustration and powerlessness. As a special education teacher she did not advocate for de-tracking, and felt that mainstreaming would harm students who needed extra help. Hyland described her teaching as reinforcing differential expectations for special education students, which may limit their achievement.

Sylvia showed an assimilationist perspective, stereotyping and low expectations of students. As a Latina woman who considered herself White, she was portrayed as an advocate of assimilation. She exhibited stereotypes and disassociated herself from Latino/as. Sylvia used limited pedagogical approaches, saying that the students couldn't handle more creative, open-ended work. Hyland (2005) described Sylvia's discussion of violence and drive by shootings as "coded language about race" that reinforces distinction between Whites/POC and the speaker's membership in Whiteness.

Carmen discussed cultural communication styles and how she changed her style to work with students of different backgrounds. She was "successful" and had highest parent conference attendance. Carmen did not consider her mimicry of AAVE to be appropriation or political. She did not politicize her understanding of culture, nor did she connect poverty to racism or White dominance. Carmen stated that it is "detrimental to students to use alternative curriculum"

emphasizing Black culture. She considered apolitical, not culture-based curriculum best for children, and was characterized as believing standard U.S. curriculum to be culture neutral. Over the three years of the study and seminars she began to understand systemic racism rather than characterizing racism as blatant bigotry.

Maizie described herself as a radical activist but also used deficit language when discussing self-esteem as the main problem for students. She was self-reflective, critiquing racism in her actions and those of colleagues. She went to visit families of incoming students at their homes over the summer, but expressed discomfort with not having a lot in common with them. She felt overwhelmed by her role. Hyland (2005) suggested that by emphasizing differences and considering her role a radical departure from the norm, she is participating in reproduction of racism.

Hyland (2005) detailed her relationship with participants, how she gained access to the study and her reasons for choosing the site and participants. She detailed data collection processes and described the coding method used as constant comparative analysis, although she did not detail categories used. Her interpretation of findings fits within her theoretical framework. Hyland provided a detailed description of the school, environment and experiences of the participants. The study may have limited transferability because of its location at a disadvantaged school in a community with racial tension, so participants' implicit attitudes and actions may arise from their unique experiences in this environment, and may be transferable only to similar environments. It is useful to note that participants were also taking part in anti-racist seminars conducted by the study's author, so while it allowed Hyland to explore the effectiveness of the seminar, this study presents a unique, nontransferable situation. Similar studies of teachers not participating in anti-bias training may produce different findings.

This study focused on teacher attitudes and behaviors, and did not examine actual impacts on teachers. This research could be further informed by comparative investigations into the ways in which actions and attitudes identified by Hyland (2005) impact students. Nevertheless this study may help teachers realize the ways in which their teaching practices and relationships with students are influenced by underlying racially influenced assumptions. Because of their

position of authority over students of color, White teachers can represent a racialized power dynamic (Blais, 2006). However, like the participants in this study, White teachers may not be fully aware of the racial subtexts of their assumptions and actions, and how these may influence students. This study's findings urge teachers toward deeper reflectiveness and self-examination in order to avoid subtle, unconscious ways of reproducing the racist paradigm.

Lindsay (2007) used post-structural discourse analysis to examine the ways in which teachers at a Seattle private middle school talked about the school's anti-bias vision, and the possible consequences of their discourse about race. Lindsay observed how White teachers spoke of themselves, asking why they chose to talk in certain ways, what other ways of talking were available to them, what were the consequences of their choices, and what might lead them to different discourses.

The study took place at Beacon Street Academy, a small private girls middle school in a socioeconomically and ethnically diverse Seattle neighborhood. Lindsay (2007) did not provide student demographics, but mentioned that as an independent, tuition-charging entity the school was having difficulty meeting its target of 30% low-income students. To recruit participants, the author made short presentations at the school to introduce the project and request participants and later used snowball sampling to access people with different views who did not initially volunteer to participate. The study included eight participants, six women of color and four white women. Participants represented a variety of positions in the institution, including administrator, teacher, parent, mentor, volunteer, recruitment officer. Lindsay interviewed each participant multiple times, conducting interviews of 60-90 minutes each, at a location selected by the interviewee. She recorded and transcribed the interviews, and then analyzed them using post-structural analysis, critical race theory and whiteness studies.

Lindsay (2007) identified two discursive strategies, or ways of using a discourse to develop knowledge. These strategies were (a) "Playing in the White World" and (b) "Naming the Problem." Participants discussed their difficulty in hiring and retaining African American staff members. Some expressed uncertainty as to whether students of color felt comfortable at the school. Participants of color discussed belonging to a racialized group, whereas White

participants did not raise the subject of their own whiteness in a significant way. Women of color expressed a sense of betrayal, feeling that although the school vocally claimed an anti-bias mission it was much like any other White organization. One White woman explained how the anti-bias agenda was enacted in the school, through Anti-Bias Fridays and the visual symbol of the LGBTQ pride flag hanging at the school's entrance. A woman of color, however, contested that there was no active plan to build and support the anti-bias agenda and that racism received inadequate attention compared to other forms of diversity. She noted that although the school encouraged its students to discuss "isms" there was no parallel process for teachers and staff. One woman of color reported that she had experienced racism at BSA. The White women cited the anti-bias agenda as a reason they chose to work at the school, but one White woman admitted that she did not devote time to workshops or examining her own whiteness. Overall, there was a willingness to participate but a lack of action and collaboration that left staff of color feeling disappointed and let down.

The study took place at a private school with a specific anti-bias mission, so its findings may not be transferable to other settings. Also, Lindsay (2007) described this study as an "initial take," because the school was newly established. Nevertheless, the study highlights some problems that may arise in creating and implementing an anti-bias vision at any school with a majority-white staff. Lindsay audio-recorded and transcribed interviews but did not detail her coding process or cite the use of supporting documentation, triangulation or member checking.

The usefulness of this study may be limited for the reasons cited above. Further, it examined only teacher and staff perspectives. This is significant to how an anti-bias agenda is formed and enacted, however this study reveals little about student perspectives and the impact of this discourse for the students. Collaboration among staff in building a cohesive, active agenda for the entire school may help in the retention of African-American staff. It appeared that Whites were unaware, not asking or actively listening and responding to concerns of Black staff members. A reluctance to communicate dissatisfaction may allow problems to persist or worsen. This study's findings indicate that White teachers and school staff should show a willingness to listen, because an apparent satisfaction may belie unspoken complaints.

Jewett's (2006) ethnography explored the ways in which teachers, students and administrators constructed and conceptualized race at Marshall Middle School (pseudonym), an urban school in the northeastern U.S. which was part of a district-wide desegregation program. Marshall Middle School was a "zero-based" school meaning that it did not enroll students from any particular elementary school but selected students through an application and lottery process. It was neither the most nor the least racially diverse of the 100 schools in the district's desegregation program.

Jewett's (2006) theoretical framework was a convergence of critical race theory and cultural production theory, focused on examining the intersections between power and identity. The study was conducted from winter through spring of the 2001-2002 school year. The author attended classes, faculty meetings, school assemblies and observed social interactions throughout the school, taking field notes throughout.

Jewett (2006) worked closely with a team of teachers, two White women and two African American women and two separate groups of students: one group of 11 eighth graders, consisting of four African American students (two girls, two boys), five White students (four girls, one boy), one Asian girl and one multiracial girl. The second year she continued working with the same teaching team, but with a new group of sixth grade students including two African American girls. She also observed three White school administrators (one woman, two men) and two other teachers, a white Male and an African American woman. A total of 20 students and 17 adults participated in the study. All participants completed individual interviews, and most participated in student or teacher/administrator focus groups conducted by the researcher.

Teachers and administrators expressed dissatisfaction with the district's lottery practices, which lumped students into a binary system of White or non-White. They felt that this made it difficult to ensure adequate multi-racial representation with a student body reflective of diversity in the broader community, particularly Latino, Asian and multi-racial students. Teachers and administrators also worried about the decreasing enrollment of White students, due in part to out-of-district transfers, or changing residential patterns tending toward more segregated urban neighborhoods of color.

Students discussed the ways in which their participation in the desegregated school changed their ideas about race and their interactions with peers of different backgrounds. Some students had entered Marshall from diverse schools, but others arrived from more segregated schools, and discussed how they felt about the change. Students of color and White students who transferred from more racially homogenous schools expressed initial discomfort and confusion about how to act around peers of different races. One White boy said he was initially more comfortable forming same-race friendships, but noticed a trend toward students "desegregating themselves" over time in school. This student, as well as a teacher participant, noted that boys tended to break down racial barriers through their participation in sports.

Students shared ideas about how their own racial identities and how they were perceived by peers. One girl discussed her frustration with being lumped into a singular category, Asian, and consequently feeling that her distinct Southeast Asian ethnicity was not recognized. A student of mixed race also expressed resistance against the monolithic categories of racialized identity. These students took opportunities to explore their heritage through class projects.

Jewett (2006) contrasted some examples of teaching pedagogy specifically directed toward recognizing and understanding racial and cultural differences. An African American woman teacher shared with students her own need to identify with African culture, discussing themes of history, culture and geography in how one constructs their identity. She taught students about the historical roots of African American Vernacular English (AAVE). Jewett (2006) examined a white male student's reaction to this lesson. The student referred to AAVE as "their" language, and said that they will need to learn to "talk regular" in order to get a job. He appeared to learn that it was part of a broader heritage, but did not show an understanding of how Standard English relates to systems of power and privilege.

An African American male teacher, Mr. Evans, took a different approach in teaching about race. He created a project in which students collected and graphed demographic data along with personal preferences around such things as food, entertainment and clothing. This project aimed to teach students about similarities, reducing perceptions of differences. Mr. Evans defined race as how you are born, something you have no control over. He contrasted it with culture, which he

defined as having an element of individual choice, such as joining a religion or learning a language. Jewett (2006) described this pedagogy as putting race into biological terms, casting culture as more neutral than it really is and avoiding issues of power. Jewett attributed this to the difficulty teachers have in helping students understand these difficult ideas, and the limited amount of support they received in doing so.

Teachers and students also described their experience of desegregation as causing them to not simply see beyond color, but to begin to not see race. This colorblindness was cast as a positive, emphasizing individuality and fairness. However, Jewett (2006) pointed out that this colorblindness may obscure issues of power and prevent students from gaining a critical understanding of how racism operates in U.S. Society. One counterpoint to this trend was an African American teacher who described how she helped students of color deal with racism and served as a mentor for students coping with discrimination.

Jewett (2006) acknowledged limitations in her communication and observation based on her identity as a White woman. She provided a brief discussion of the study's theoretical framework and data collection procedures. However, she did not detail data coding processes or categories. The study was conducted at a school with a relatively large African American population and a unique history with desegregation. Despite the unique contextual factors Jewett's examination og student and teacher attitudes may have moderate transferability to other contexts.

Jewett's (2006) findings contrasted with those of Stoughton and Sivertson (2005), who also studied race and peer socialization a middle school but reported increasing self-segregation among peers as students progressed from sixth to eighth grade. Students were comparatively more able to articulate understandings of racial identity, and more likely to express desire to overcome boundaries and socialize with different race peers. This difference could result from geographic or community differences, or individual differences in the particular participants. However, findings suggest students benefited from the school's deliberate agenda of desegregation, the presence of teachers of color, and that teachers explicitly addressed race and encouraged students to talk about issues of race in the classroom.

Lawrence (2005) investigated the relationship between teacher perceptions of the school environment and their implementation of anti-racist teaching learned through a semester-long professional development course. Effective Antiracist Classroom Practice For All Students. Twenty K-12 teachers and one administrator (15 European American, 4 Puerto Rican and 2 African American) participated in the study. They were from four northeastern U.S. school districts, with student populations ranging from approximately 94% to 25% White. Lawrence detailed perspectives of seven veteran teachers, one from each of three school districts and four from the Arbordale district. Six were classroom teachers and one principal, five were European American, one African American and one Puerto Rican.

Participants gave 90 minute interviews covering prior teaching experience, what they learned in the course, their current work, interactions with colleagues, parents and administrators and the meaning of these activities for the individual. Participants from the Arbordale school district, three teachers and one principal, reported positive reactions when they presented their learning to parents and colleagues. They continually cited the support of principal as crucial to their success in implementing program. Teachers from the other three districts felt that their colleagues and principals responded unsupportively to their learning and their attempts to initiate school-wide implementation of anti-racist teaching. They felt that colleagues reacted with defensiveness; either not wanting to be required to do more work or denying that racism was a problem at the school. These teachers felt that they did not have the support of their principals, who did not consider it a priority or did not want to allocate funds. Without this support, they felt limited in their ability to create school-wide change.

A strength of this study is Lawrence's (2005) detailed description of data collection and coding procedures. She provided clear rationale, breakdown of teacher and participant school district demographics. However, she did not use triangulation or member checking. This study's scope is limited to teacher perspectives. This research would be better informed by including interviewing principals and teacher colleagues.

Lawrence's (2005) findings suggest that teachers will be most effective at implementing school-wide anti-racist change if they have supportive peer networks and the support of the

principal. Additional training in communication and consensus building may help teachers who wish to shape their school's agenda. Lawrence (2005) emphasized the importance of peer networks, which successful teachers felt had been crucial to their success. She suggested that implementing change may involve a need for people to admit that there is a problem, which may contribute to resistance. Further, it may become a low priority for staff and administrators overwhelmed with other responsibilities.

Curricular Bias Interventions

Hughes, Bigler and Levy (2007) studied the cognitive and affective consequences of learning about historical racism. They conducted two studies, each using post-test control group design. Study One tested European American children, Study Two tested African American children aged 6 to 11. Participants in Study One were drawn from a summer school program in the Midwest. The researchers did not officially assess socio-economic status, but stated that students were drawn from a middle class neighborhood. Forty eight White children, 25 girls and 23 boys, participated in the study. Three students without parental consent and seven ethnic minority students were excluded from data analysis. Students were assigned as follows: 24 children (12 girls, 12 boys) racism condition and 24 (13 girls, 11 boys) control condition.

Participants in Study Two were African American students at after school or summer school programs in the Southwest USA, drawn from lower to middle class neighborhoods. Sixty nine African American children participated, 34 girls and 35 boys. Students were assigned as follows: 35 Racism condition (17 girls, 18 boys), 34 control condition (16 girls, 18 boys).

One classroom at each age level was assigned the racism condition, with another classroom assigned the control condition. All students were given lessons using biographies of famous Americans (6 European American and 6 African American) written specifically for this study. The biographies used with the racism group included specific information about discrimination and injustices perpetuated by Whites against Blacks, while those used in the control groups omitted that information. After 20 minute history lessons using these materials, children took a brief questionnaire to measure their immediate responses. Questions assessed three possible affective responses to learning about discrimination: defensiveness, guilt and

valuing fairness, and three possible cognitive responses: endorsement of counter-stereotypic beliefs, perceptions of within-group variability and perceptions of between-group variability.

Participants also took the Black/White Evaluative Trait Scale (BETS) which assessed their positive or negative attitudes toward African Americans and European Americans. The BETS asked children to rate a person of a stated ethnicity along five point Likert scale using positive or negative descriptors.

Hughes et al. (2007) analyzed data using a three step process with MANOVAs and follow-up ANOVAs to cross compare various factors that may have influenced student responses. The researchers first tested for the effects of age and gender, and then examined the effects of treatment condition on both racial attitudes (BETS) measures and the cognitive and affective responses to the lessons. They then tested whether children's cognitive and affective responses mediated the effects of condition on their racial attitudes.

European American children who received racism lessons demonstrated more positive attitudes, $F(1, 41) = 10.10$, $p < 0.01$, $\eta2 = 0.20$, and significantly less negative attitudes, $F(1, 41) = 10.84$, p < 0.01, $\eta2 = 0.21$, toward African Americans than those in the control group. In attitudes toward European Americans, they found no difference between control and treatment groups. Results indicated a significant main effect of condition on measures of cognitive and affective responses, except for the measure of within and between group variability. Children in the racism condition expressed higher valuing of fairness ($M = 2.96$, $SD = 1.40$) than children in the control condition ($M = 1.26$, $SD = 1.14$). They also demonstrated significantly more racial defensiveness ($M = 1.33$, $SD = 1.13$) than those in the control condition ($M = 0.57$, $SD = 0.73$) and 11 to 12 year olds in the treatment group demonstrated more racial guilt (M = 3.22, $SD = 0.58$) than control group participants of the same age ($M = 1.00$, $SD = 0.58$).

Study Two concerned the effects of these lessons on African American children. While Hughes et al. (2007) predicted an increase in their valuing of civil rights, they also speculated that exposure to these lessons might increase in-group negative attitudes or awareness of having a stigmatized racial identity. They used ANOVAs to assess the variables and tested for the effects of age using Bonferroni multiple comparisons. Six and seven year old children were significantly

more positive than negative toward African Americans (M = 3.06, SD = 0.61, negative M = 1.64, SD = 0.63) compared to those aged 8 to 11 (M = 2.89, SD = 0.55, negative M = 2.30, SD = 0.64). T tests showed that negative ratings of African Americans decreased significantly from pre-test to post-test, $t(68)$ = 4.66, p < 0.001, but their positive ratings did not change.

Overall, there were no significant differences between African American children in the control and intervention group. The authors suggested that because African American children may have more pre-existing knowledge about racism, the lessons would be less likely to change their attitudes. However, both groups showed an increase in positive attitudes and decrease in negative attitudes toward African Americans. This could be because the lessons represented an equal number of famous African Americans, or a progression over time, function of retesting or other factors. Children in the racism condition showed higher levels of lesson satisfaction and valuing of racial fairness.

The quasi-experimental study design provided strengths, allowing for pre-and post-test measures and comparison with control groups. However, the design allowed for no assessment of longitudinal effects of the lessons. It is useful to consider that measures like the BETS are rooted in cultural biases determining what descriptors are positive or negative. The authors did not clarify collection procedures, but it appears that the questionnaires were administered as written responses, making it possible that literacy influenced age related differences. In both studies a European American female, not the children's regular classroom teacher, presented the lessons. This could have an effect particularly on the African American children. Replication of this study using a same-race researcher may yield different results.

This study indicated that the consequences of learning about historical racism may be more positive than expected. White children experienced desired consequences of lessening bias and increased valuing of fairness as a result of learning about racial discrimination. However, teachers should note that learning about historical racism may also cause children to feel guilt or racial defensiveness. It may be appropriate to open a space in the classroom for children to acknowledge and share these feelings. The lessons did not damage in-group esteem for Black children and the inclusion of the information caused increased lesson satisfaction among Black

children, perhaps because it validated their experience. This may contribute to student motivation and is desired.

Levy, West, Bigler, Karafantis, Ramirez and Velilla (2005) conducted a quasi-experimental treatment intervention to examine how messages about the uniqueness and similarities of people impact social tolerance for Latino and African American youth.

 Sixth grade students at a New York City middle school participated in the study. The school did not include a prejudice reduction unit. It was located in a low SES area where 99% of students were eligible for free or reduced lunch, compared to an average of 70% citywide. Students were mostly Latino (62.5%) and Black (34.5%), with backgrounds from many different countries. The sixth grade had two bilingual classrooms but only students from the five monolingual classrooms participated in the study, which required parental consent. Sixty seven percent of participants self identified as Latino/a and 33% as Black. The final sample consisted of 57 boys (21 Black, 36 Latino) and 63 girls (19 Black, 44 Latino) between the ages of 11 and 14.

Levy et al. (2005) conveyed anti-bias messages using books in the subject area of science in order to avoid confounding the results with subject matter that may have made racial identity more salient. Teachers in the participating classrooms read two books: one about weather, the other on the topic of recycling. The books featured an equal number of light and dark-skinned males and females. The authors avoided picturing light and dark skinned people together in order to avoid confounding results with the effects of exposure to depictions of interracial friendship.

Group one received the similarities condition with a text promoting the message that all people are fundamentally the same and experience the same emotions. Group two received the uniqueness condition with a text emphasizing that people react differently to different things. Group three received a combined similar-unique message and group four was the control, reading books covering only the topics of weather and recycling, absent the anti-bias messages. The authors included an appendix detailing each text.

To assess social tolerance, the authors used two items the Katz & Hass conceptualization of egalitarianism and humanitarianism, a measure with demonstrated reliability, and created two

items specifically for this study. To measure desired social closeness they showed participants 16

black and white photographs and asked "Who would you rather NOT sit next to at a movie

theatre?" Interviewers asked questions in the negative in order to avoid in-group favoritism

triggered by asking who the child would rather sit near. The study also measured children's

perceptions of reduced societal racism using the Colorblind Racial Attitudes Scale (Neville et al.,

2000), a Likert test with items such as "Racism happens very little" or is "not an important

problem today." (Levy et al, 2005). Lastly, participants answered Likert scale survey measuring

how well they liked and understood the books, which could also influence the results. Two Latina

females conducted the experiment. Each of the five classrooms tested separately, with each

classroom experiencing the lesson as a group. Participants received a randomly selected

envelope containing two books (weather, recycling), each representing one condition of the

experiment. They also received a survey packet including the measures described above.

Levy et al. (2005) first conducted a MANOVA to determine whether condition influenced

participants' enjoyment and understanding of the books, with non-significant results. There was a

significant main effect of participant ethnicity on reported enjoyment of the books. Latino

participants (n = 80, M = 3.59, SD = 0.98) reported that they enjoyed the books significantly more

than Black participants (n = 40, M = 3.03, SD = 0.92). To determine whether the combined

similar-unique condition yielded greater social tolerance, they used MANOVAs to measure social

tolerance as a function of participants' ethnicity and condition. Overall, there was a significant

effect for ethnicity. Latino/as (M = 3.31, SD = 2.15)reported significantly greater desire for social

closeness to in-group members than did Black participants (n = 40; M = 2.43, SD = 2.12),

$F(1, 118) >= 4.58$, $p < 0.05$.

Condition influenced desired social closeness $F(3, 119) = 3.91$, $p < 0.05$. Similarities

condition participants reported less in-group preference compared to control group members,

$t(116) = 2.85$, $p < 0.01$. Results for the similar-unique condition did not differ significantly on this

measure, $t(116) = 1.25$, $p = 0.22$. There were no significant effects for the measure of participant

beliefs about societal racism. Levy et al. (2005) had hypothesized that a combined similar-unique

message would be most effective, affirming the youth's identity and improving their out-group

attitudes. They hypothesized that the pure uniqueness and similarities conditions would increase out-group prejudice or decrease in-group pride. However, they found no significant differences between the groups.

Strengths of this study include the thorough description of materials used, the multiple condition groups tested the same, and that the researchers tested for the possible effects of comprehension and enjoyment of the materials. The measures used may not be the strongest measures of target attitudes. Aboud's (2003) discussion bias measurements suggested that measures using binary choices force negative evaluations. The phrasing of preference questions represents a good attempt but may not eliminate the influence of in-group favoritism. The authors suggested that further studies should use longitudinal analysis. Additionally, they suggested research with curriculum materials presenting more moderate messages than the polar concepts taught in this experiment.

This research presents a useful consideration of the different concepts embedded in anti-bias education. The authors concluded that a complete anti-bias perspective acknowledges both differences and similarities. Although the results did not show a significant effect of condition on in-group and out-group preferences, it is useful for teachers to understand different approaches to anti-bias education and although this research did not reveal differential effects for these messages, they did find increased social tolerance among members who received intervention compared to the control groups.

An ethnography conducted by Rogers and Mosley (2006) explored the ways in which White students began to recognize and understand their own racial identity in relation to literacy curriculum about historical racism. Participants were White second grade students at an urban St. Louis, Missouri school. The student body at the school was mostly working class, and the group selected for detailed study was entirely working class. The ethnic composition of the classroom was primarily White with a sizable African American minority. The study examined one reading group consisting of five White students, three boys and two girls, whose parents provided consent.

Over a period of several months Rogers and Mosley (2006) observed the children, gathering over 100 hours of videotaped reading discussion and field notes describing the children's language and nonverbal communication. During literacy lessons, students read and discussed specially selected literature emphasizing African-American and European-American cultures. Researchers collected relevant artifacts including students' written work and became familiar with the context by reading local newspapers, history documents and census data.

Rogers and Mosley (2006) operated within a framework combining CRT, whiteness studies and discourse analysis. They examined the data using methods of critical discourse analysis (CDA). Developed within socio-functional linguistics, CDA is the process of closely reading the language of students, using semiotic analysis to interpret multiple meanings of communication in both its immediate and broader cultural contexts. Rogers and Mosley coded data into three categories of meaning: noticing Whiteness, resisting White privilege or enacting White privilege.

Several factors influenced the children's reactions to literature: their personal experiences, the racial composition of the group in which they were speaking, and language used by the text under discussion. Students tended toward enacting White privilege when they had read a text that characterized African-Americans using language like "they." The children also asserted such beliefs as "race does not matter" (colorblindness) and the belief that Martin Luther King had eliminated racism. Most evidence collected by the interviewers was in the categories of noticing Whiteness and enacting White privilege but there were counterpoints. When asked to imagine themselves in the stories, the children acknowledged their Whiteness and took a position of disrupting racial privilege. They complained about the lack of White allies in some stories.

This study's strengths include the detailed description of the theoretical framework, data collection and coding processes which included consulted with CDA scholars. Rogers and Mosley (2006) provided background about the school and community and detailed their identities, status and how access was gained through teacher-researcher partnership. They included appendices detailing specific lesson dates, content and artifacts collected and all literature included in the curriculum. They provided information about gender and socio-economic background for each

participant in the reading group. One weakness of this study is its transferability. The study took place in St. Louis, Missouri, described as a community highly charged with racial inequality and poverty. Reproducing this study in other communities may yield different findings. The study specifically examined how White students discussed their own racial identity when learning about discrimination. Studies of mixed-race groups would illuminate possible differences in the ways students communicate about race in different group compositions. The use of triangulation and member-checking were not mentioned in this study, perhaps due to the young age of the participants.

Rogers and Mosley (2006) concluded that White children need help in recognizing their racial identity, and that teachers must challenge the denial of white identity, which marks Whiteness as the norm. They noted a dearth of research literature on this topic and called for more. Teachers should note their observation that multicultural children's literature has insufficient inclusion of White allies, so teachers should take care to find books including White allies, and to provide room for White children to discuss how they could be allies. Without explicitly examining race in connection with their own identity and experiences, White students may adopt dominant discourses of colorblindness or denial of racism rather than developing a positive, anti-racist White identity. This study points out ways in which teachers should examine curricular choices, and emphasizes that educators should not overlook the importance explicitly addressing and examining whiteness and White identity.

McCarthey (2001) investigated the ways in which literacy learning shaped identity for students of diverse backgrounds. In addition to exploring children's self-concepts she interviewed teachers, parents and peers. This study also investigated how a student's level of success and interest influenced their identity construction, and what features of the literacy program played a role in identity construction.

McCarthey (2001) conducted the study at a Texas school, observing two sections of a fifth grade language arts class taught by a European-American woman with whom the she had a long term working relationship. The school was urban/suburban/rural mixed, with a student body

80% Latino, 15% European American, 5% African American. Ninety percent of students were lower SES, and the school was a Title One school.

McCarthey (2001) used purposeful sampling to select participants based on spectrum of reading achievement levels, representation of classroom diversity and parental consent. Ultimately, 12 students participated, six from each class. Of this total seven were Latino/a, two African American, one Asian American, one European American and one of mixed Latina and European background. Based on their Reading Renaissance ranking, five of the students were high readers, four were average and three were considered struggling readers.

McCarthey (2001) combined case study and narrative methods. She spent two mornings a week observing and interviewing students from January to May of 1999. Each student provided three 45 minute interviews covering topics including their background, self description, home life, self concept as readers and writers, book selection strategies, opinions of books read in class, perceptions of their peers and of the school's reading program. McCarthey also collected interviews with parents, teachers and peers. She detailed her process of reading, sorting and organizing data, cross comparing data collected from various sources for triangulation, distinguishing between cases in which stories from all perspectives were aligned and those with divergent points of view.

The broad range of involvement and importance placed on the Reading Renaissance (RR) literacy program seemed to have great influence over how students viewed themselves as readers. Because RR made public information of students' success or failure it may have shamed and discouraged struggling readers. Some students showed much greater concern with issues of race, culture and language than others. The children made connections with their identity in the literature, but mostly cited personality traits like patience, rarely mentioning race. One student linked a book's description of prejudice to her family's experiences of discrimination. An African American girl selected and described her favorite books, all of which featured African American characters. However, she gave other reasons for liking the books related to plot and character, never specifically mentioning race.

Strengths of this study include McCarthey's (2001) use of triangulation and thorough description of her theoretical framework and existing assumptions. She changed her assumptions during the study to better fit her data, shaping second and third interviews in response to data collected at first interview and the needs of the research. Despite this, however, she concluded that either she had not asked the right questions to make desired observations about racial identity, or that race/ethnicity was salient only for some students, citing Tatum's (1997) idea that race becomes more salient during adolescence. McCarthey disclosed that she was a white, middle class researcher with no previous relationship with the participants. This could have made them reluctant to discuss race with her. Although race was not prominent in students' self descriptions, evidence indicated that literacy learning was more effective when supportive of children's identity and connected with their cultural experiences.

Aboud and Fenwick (1999) conducted assessments of three school-based prejudice reduction interventions, examining the ways in which students discussed their racial biases and the consequent changes in their racial biases. They described the results of two studies involving pre-adolescents and a third study of college students. This review will discuss the two interventions provided to children, an 11 week teacher led discussion program and the dyadic pairing of low and high prejudice students to discuss racial stereotypes.

 Study One tested the effects of a five month long curriculum program emphasizing individual qualities of people. The study took place at a Canadian school in an unspecified large city, implementing the program with four classes of fifth grade students. The racial composition of the school's fifth grade was 11% Southeast Asian, 10% South Asian, 30% Black and 49% White. This article presented only data of the 46 Black (21 intervention, 25 control) and 80 White (34 intervention, 46 control) students.

The program consisted of prepared materials including teacher guide and 11 activities implemented over about 11 weeks with one or two classes per week. The lessons involved a variety of learning styles including group work, individual work, and dyadic discussion. The theme was "more than meets the eye" and the curriculum emphasized breaking down stereotypes. Students took pre-and post-tests administered by same-race female undergraduates for (a)

perceived dissimilarity within race (b) descriptions of differences and similarities between same-race pairs (Black, Asian and White) and (c) racial prejudice using the Multi-response Racial Attitude scale (MRA).

Aboud and Fenwick (1999) analyzed the data using ANOVAs to cross compare condition (control/intervention), prejudice level (low/high) and test (pre/post). They found no significant pre-post test effects for Black homogeneity, among any groups. However, the intervention group demonstrated a significant increase in perceived individual differences in same-race pairs, across prejudice levels ($F(1, 28) = 14.08$, $p < 0.001$). High prejudice intervention students demonstrated a significant pre-post test decrease in prejudice as measured by the MRA, according to a three way class, prejudice, testing interaction, $F(1, 76) = 15.43$, $p < 0.01$; $F(1, 76) = 7.18$, $p < 0.01$. There were too few Black students to create high/low prejudice subgroups. Black students demonstrated no measurable changes after completing the program.

Study Two investigated whether peers could influence one another's attitudes by pairing high and low bias children together in dyads. This approach was rooted in research finding that when children worked together in pairs to solve conservation problems, the less capable peer typically adopted the judgment of the more capable peer. Aboud and Fenwick (1999) examined the content of children's discussion for explanations and principles associated with low prejudice: similarities between races, differentiation within one racial group and examples disproving a negative stereotype. They examined whether the discussions contributed to decreased prejudice. They used a sample of 88 White children aged 8 to 11. Children took a pre-test, the MRA, to determine racial bias and were paired with a peer nominated as a friend who scored in the opposite bias category.

Aboud and Fenwick (1999) described the children as open with one another in their discussions. Low prejudice children typically gave more negative evaluations of Whites, with examples, rather than emphasizing within-race differences or similarities, or making positive or negative statements about minorities. The post-discussion MRA results lowered significantly for high prejudice students, and did not change for low-prejudice students. However, the authors did

not provide statistics in their discussion of the results for this study, which they detailed elsewhere.

Research design Study One was strong, using quasi-experimental pre/post intervention/control design. One weakness of these studies is that both lumped students into low/high bias binary categories, preventing more nuanced examination of individual level changes. In Study Two, this may have resulted in differences, with some dyadic pairings of children relatively close on the bias continuum. However, the authors' descriptions of conversations described low/high pairings as intended. Study Two used peers nominated as friends to create most effective possible conditions, but teachers wishing to use this strategy should note that may have contributed significantly to the effectiveness of the lessons. The authors did not describe their process for selecting schools and participants, and cautioned that findings should not be generalized because they may have been influenced by location unique factors such as school climate or geographical community. They did not provide information about participants' SES. Further research should use a variety of geographical locations to determine generalizability. Research using longitudinal design should examine whether these interventions provide lasting effects. This research should be considered alongside other interventions focusing not on stereotypes and individual differences but other dimensions of racism.

The studies described by Aboud and Fenwick (1999) found evidence for the effectiveness of anti-prejudice interventions reducing stereotypes through curriculum emphasizing individual differences, or through dyadic discussions in low/high bias peer pairings. The authors suggested that peer discussion may be more effective than teacher-led discussion, but that both methods in combination would be best. The authors noted that findings disproved the apprehension of some teachers to address race for fear of increasing prejudice. There was no increase in bias among the intervention participants. Resistance to curriculum, however, may interfere with positive effects. This may be more common among adolescent students, and might be reduced by allowing students a voice in the curriculum, shaping anti-bias learning to respond to student concerns. The following study examined high school students' resistance to anti-bias curriculum.

Whitehead and Wittig (2004) explored participation and resistance among ninth grade students in a prejudice intervention program conducted in California public high schools. This study examined the ways in which students resisted the lessons and messages presented, possibly limiting the program's effectiveness. They conducted one hour focus groups one week after a prejudice intervention program called Students Take Out Prejudice (STOP). A local university coordinated the STOP program, which used trained undergraduate interns to present seven to eight hour long lessons to social studies classes involving issues of race, culture, gangs, sexual orientation and gender. Four to nine youths aged 14-16 participated in each of seven focus groups. Youths were recruited using purposeful sampling and parent permission obtained. Forty seven youths participated, 45% were male and 55% female. The sample was racially diverse, not dominated by a single race.

Whitehead and Wittig (2004) recorded focus group data using a court stenographer, due to the school's reluctance to allow audio-taping. The data were analyzed using inductive style and techniques drawn from discursive psychology, through five step coding process. The authors discussed five linguistic strategies employed by students in resistance to the program: denying prejudice, describing lessons as boring, claiming that the diversity of their environment prevented prejudice, presenting self-segregation as normal and presenting prejudice or intergroup tension as normal.

Focus group interviewers invited student critiques of the STOP lessons. This article presented and examined extracts of conversations about the lessons in which students employed strategies of resistance. Students portrayed the lessons as unnecessary because they were not or had "never been" racist. The study's authors examine this strategy as a defensive reaction to the accusation of racism implicit in presenting the lessons. Students presented self-segregation as normal, citing the school's ethnic clubs and complaining that it was unrealistic to assign homework asking them to interview someone of another race/ethnicity. However, some youths claimed the lessons were unnecessary because their school was racially diverse, portraying diversity as evidence against prejudice. Youths also normalized prejudice, saying that everyone is a little bit prejudiced and contrasting this to extreme cases distanced from themselves and their

own communities, such as Nazis or Black Panthers. The authors discussed an overall theme by which students described racism as residing within individuals rather than as an institutional problem. Whitehead and Wittig (2004) concluded that students were presenting arguments that acted against the program's effectiveness.

Data collection measures may have limited the scope of findings. Additional measures to assess attitude changes may inform the program's effectiveness. Individual post-lesson interviews may have found different reactions before the convergence of opinion against the program. The negative attitudes may have reflected social pressures in the group interview situation. Whitehead and Wittig (2004) could have provided more information about the specific content and history of the program under evaluation, and considered ways in which the program's implementation affected students' reactions to it. Another weakness of this study is the limited explanation of the authors' theoretical framework, which appears to rely on processes within socio-functional linguistics. A strength of this study is the clear description of data collection and coding procedures.

Despite its limitations, this study provides insight into how adolescents experience anti-racist curriculum, and their ways of thinking about racism in relation to their school climate and everyday lives. The research suggests that a more effective pedagogical approach would acknowledge and attempt to work past personal defensiveness that White students may feel when discussing racism. Effective anti-racist teaching will work beyond the reactions and assumptions that normalize or deny racism, and can better do so by acknowledging and addressing these attitudes.

Zacher (2007) observed the ways in which fifth grade students in one classroom learned about race and oppression, and how they identified and enacted race in their interpersonal relations. Zacher observed a two-month long anti-oppression curriculum co-taught in one fifth grade classroom with a female teacher (and male co-teacher), as well as talking with teachers and students about issues of race, discrimination and their personal lives. An appendix listing some of the social justice oriented literature that students read in this unit.

Gonzales elementary was a public school of approximately 250 students, one third Latino/a, one third African American, one sixth Asian and one sixth White. Zacher (2007) had for several years prior been a colleague of the teacher whose classroom she observed, and about half of the students had been in Zacher's Kindergarten class when she taught at the school.

Zacher (2007) discovered some differences in how students came to recognize and understand racial oppression. The children came to demonstrate an understanding of historical racism and recognizing ongoing racism in terms of housing patters. The children drew connections between incarnations of racism in different historical events. However, Zacher described a gap between the children's growing understanding of racism and their day to day practice. She observed a process of social exclusion whereby a group of upper middle class girls further marginalized a lower-SES Black girl with emotional problems that hindered her ability to form friendships. Zacher chronicled the limitations on one white girl's willingness to associate with this child, even as she came to understand racism and racial oppression. Participants showed a gap between their understanding of racism in society and recognizing racism and classism in their relations with peers. White children were reluctant to describe themselves as white, instead describing their European ancestry.

Zacher (2007) did not describe her data collection and coding procedures and gave only a limited description of her theoretical framework, making credibility for this study weak. She used case study descriptions to detail the experiences of some students in the class, apparently selected to represent a range of race and SES identities. However it is possible that she discarded divergent perspectives not supporting her expectations. Strengths of this study include the author's description of her existing relationship with participants and descriptions of participant backgrounds including information about their homes and SES.

Tatum (1997) and others argued that acknowledging one's Whiteness is an essential step toward becoming antiracist. Describing oneself by European heritage may serve a protective function, subconsciously distancing Whites from an identity. Zacher (2007) observed that the white girl may have been wrestling with White guilt. This research seems to call for ways in which White children and youth can acknowledge their White identity and position themselves in relation

to racism, as White allies. Although the anti-oppression curriculum drew connections to present day conditions and observations children made in their communities, it seemed to be lacking an element that personalized it in the lives of children. Zacher's findings suggest that teachers should take anti-racist education a step further by not only discussing historical and systemic racism, but asking students to consider their relationships with peers and examine ways in which they may unconsciously perpetuate bias.

London, Tierney, Buhin, Greco and Cooper (2002) evaluated the effectiveness of a six week long multicultural summer program designed to increase children's appreciation of diversity. The program was based on intergroup contact theory, cooperative learning theory and Katz's ethnic attitude formation theory. Implemented in a diverse urban Midwestern city, the program included several multicultural elements: guest speakers, games and food from around the world, group discussion about discrimination and prejudice, and weekly field trips.

One hundred thirteen racially diverse fifth through eighth grade public school students in a diverse urban area participated in the Kid's College program. The program only admitted children who scored at or above grade level on the Iowa Basic Skills test. The program had high attrition because many students did not complete the entire program due to illness, family vacation or other reasons. The final sample included 38 children, 14 boys and 24 girls aged 10-13. Participants completed pre and post tests assessing their ethnic pride, self esteem, stereotyping attitudes and group prejudices. Measures used included the Hare General and Area-Specific Self-Esteem Scale, a 30 item three section Likert scale test assessing home, school and peer self esteem. This test had been compared to other established self-esteem scales and judged reliable. The Multi-Ethnic Intergroup Awareness Questionnaire (MEIAQ) was a Likert scale test measuring ethnocentricity, ethnic pride and multi-ethnic prejudices. It had not been tested in previous research and there was no information about the validity of this test. The Other People and Myself (OPAM) was the third measure used, a 10 item measure of acceptance or rejection of people of various backgrounds.

Multi-ethnic prejudice decreased significantly from pre-test (M = 0.30, SD = 0.22) to post-test (M = 0.17, SD = 0.19) for all ethnic groups, t (37) = 3.65, p = 0.00. Child ethnicity had no

significant effect on these results. London et al. (2002) used paired sample t-tests for the ethnic pride and self esteem (HARE) measures. They found no significant differences for ethnic pride, but found that general self esteem increased significantly from start of the program (M = 2.47, SD = 0.18) to the end (M = 3.08, SD = 0.43), t(37) = 8.31, p = 0.00.

This study has weaknesses in design, implementation and measures. It used tests not common in the research, two of which the authors noted had not been tested for reliability. The authors did not provide reasons for their choice of measures but noted that the amount of time needed to complete the measures (from 5 to 20 minutes) so this may have been a consideration. Further, the survey measures may have influenced participants to conceal bias rather than reflecting a real change in their attitudes. Additional weaknesses include the absence of a control group for comparison and the high attrition rate of the summer program, which narrowed the sample from 113 students to a final sample of 38. The sample size and the unique combination of anti-bias approaches used in this program render it unwise to make any generalizations from this data. It is also of note that due to selective admission, data is not reflective of a learning-diverse group. For all results, the author provided p=0.00, which would indicate absolute reliability. Replication of this study with a larger sample and better measure of racial attitudes would better establish the effectiveness of the curriculum.

Despite the limited reliability of this study, this study's findings suggest that a comprehensive curricular intervention with varied learning modalities can effectively decrease bias and increase self esteem among diverse students.

Studies included in this section assessed the effectiveness of a variety of explicit approaches to anti-bias education. These studies represent a fraction of the research assessing anti-bias interventions. They were selected based on the date of the study, content and participant diversity, and that the intervention explicitly discussed race and racism. With some exceptions this prevented examination of a more fundamental and pervasive multicultural curriculum. While evidence supports direct interventions allowing students to discuss and think about racial bias, the results may be limited without deeper change. True change requires

fundamentally altering a white dominated curriculum to consistently include and respect multiple

cultures and perspectives (Banks, 1996b).

CHAPTER 4: CONCLUSION

Review and Summary

Studies included in this literature review examined racial bias in the lives of children: factors influencing its development, its manifestations and possible consequences. Additional studies investigated the ways in which schools and teachers either reinforce or dismantle racial bias, from teaching styles and assumptions to intentional, structured curriculum interventions. This conclusion will discuss the main themes of the literature reviewed herein, first considering studies of how children develop and experience racial bias. Next, it will review those which explore ways in which teachers and schools influence children's thinking about race. Lastly, this conclusion will discuss implications for teaching based on findings in the literature.

Overview

This overview will summarize main themes of the literature reviewed in Chapter Three. It will describe main factors contributing to racially differential treatment including teacher awareness, teacher assumptions, school climate and academic tracking. It will discuss ways in which experiences of discrimination may affect students' academic and psychological well being. Lastly, this overview will discuss ways in which school climate and curriculum influence students as they develop identity and bias in relation to race.

The findings in this review indicate that teachers and administrators should develop a greater awareness of racial bias, particularly the subtle forms of bias which may go unseen and uninterrupted, but which sustain systemic inequity in schooling. Several studies indicated that Whites may have a conscious or subconscious tendency to deny the salience of race to students of color, or the persistence of racism. This attitude, called colorblindness (Tatum, 1997), states that one should view people as individuals rather than members of a group, thereby avoiding attendant bias. Several authors explored how colorblindness may harm students. Lewis (2001) described the ways in which White school staff ignored racial harassment, even when a student and her mother sought support. Colorblindness may make teachers hesitant to discuss race, and reinforce their desired belief that race doesn't matter. Evidence supports West's (2001) assertion that race does matter.

The bulk of research herein supports Delpit (1996) and Paley's (1989) argument that colorblindness is harmful to students, allowing teachers to overlook students' needs rooted in cultural differences and perpetuating unexamined teacher bias. However, Lucas (2008) argued that teachers must cultivate their understanding of students as individuals rather than focusing on group membership or else the U.S. cultural emphasis on the racial achievement gap may influence teacher expectations. Research herein (McKown & Weinstein, 2008) supported this argument, revealing that teachers held lower expectations for Black and Hispanic students.

Deep rooted, possibly unconscious race-triggered assumptions may influence teachers' expectations and contribute to differential treatment, even unintentionally. Also, cultural norms of communication and behavior expectations may interfere with teachers' ability to understand students. Berry (2003) described how teachers misinterpreted the behavior of African American children as indicating lower academic potential. Lacking knowledge of cultural differences in behavior or communication styles, teachers may not recognize a student's interest or aptitude, misinterpreting disruptive behavior as predictive of low achievement. Lim (2008) detailed how students' behavior influenced a teacher's expectation of their achievement in advanced math classes, contrasting student and teacher narratives to expose how the teacher constructed differential expectations based not on achievement or aptitude but on cultural capital rooted in race and class differences. In this case, the teacher misinterpreted a student's silence not as indicating the desire for approval she intended, but disinterest in learning.

Educators may be unaware that they carry assumptions and stereotypes that influence their treatment of students. Hyland (2005) examined unconscious assumptions that affected how teachers at a majority Black, low income school treated students of color. Their pedagogical and personal practices served to reinforce power differential and, however subtly, may have sent messages of low expectations. Lewis (2001) observed how teachers at a majority white suburban school did not consider racism to be a pertinent issue in the school. This assumption may have caused their non-responsiveness to racial harassment incidences, even when a student and her mother demanded help.

In addition to teacher assumptions, school climate communicates messages about racism. Policies and procedures may reinforce a status and racial hierarchy, and racial tensions in the local community. Mattison & Aber (2007) suggested that disciplinary practices disproportionately affecting students of color may contribute to perceptions of racial unfairness in the school environment. Their study linked perceptions of an unfair racial climate to lower levels of achievement and higher levels of disciplinary problems. Chapman (2007) described a high school that erected a mural glorifying Western culture shortly after the school district won a legal battle reducing their responsibilities to families of color.

Several studies showed that White staff had difficulty communicating effectively with families of color and responding to their concerns. Lewis (2001) described the non-response of teachers and a principal to a mother's complaint about racial slurs. Patterson et al. (2008) described the apparent inability of school officials to communicate with African American community members who felt disenfranchised by the school. Hyland (2005) suggested that assumptions rooted in deficit discourse interfered with the ability of teacher-participants to communicate and collaborate with families.

Some studies examined the link between discrimination and psychological well being for children of color. Brody et al. (2006) found that African American adolescents who reported more perceived discrimination were likelier to develop conduct problems or symptoms of depression in adolescence. Rivas-Drake et al. (2008) found a similar link among Chinese American youth, with those reporting higher levels of depression also reporting more incidences of perceived discrimination and an increased sense that out-group members did not respect their cultural group. Masko (2005) told the story of a 12 year old African American girl who suffered intense anger and psychological distress as a result of encounters with racism. Scott (2003) discussed the psychological health of different coping strategies. Although the research does not support a direct causal relationship, there was a link between experiencing discrimination and having emotional, behavioral or academic problems.

Family support played an important role in helping children and youth cope with racism. Studies by Brody et al. (2006) and Berry (2005) showed children were more academically

successful when they had highly involved parents who were aware and intervened in their children's school problems. Additionally Scott (2003) reported that youths whose parents talked about racism were more likely to use healthy coping strategies. For African American children, parent involvement promoted academic success, support from school staff and skills for coping with discrimination.

Stoughton and Sivertson (2005), Rollock (2007) and Berry (2003) observed that children of color were underrepresented in gifted classes and higher level math classes. Berry described the ways in which the parents of two African American boys advocated for their sons' placement in gifted classes. Stoughton and Sivertson argued that academic tracking as it is currently practiced re-segregates schools reducing intergroup contact and erecting barriers that serve as unofficial segregation. Some evidence supported Ogbu's (2003) theory of oppositional identity. Adolescent youth in these studies expressed feeling tension, or peer pressure to choose between academic success and peer acceptance, forfeiting a place in higher level classes in order to be around same race peers. Increasing enrollment of minority youth in advanced and gifted classes may help to change this trend. Tyson (2008) urged teachers to be mindful of their assumptions and to openly discuss race, building collaboration with colleagues to de-racialize tracking practices in their schools.

Some studies examined in chapter three explored the ways in which children conceptualize race and racism and how they develop biases and racialized identities. Aboud (2004), Nowicki (2008) and Rutland et al. (2005) measured racial bias in young White children. These authors identified developmental factors influencing the onset of bias. Concrete operational thinking may contribute to recognizing one's own racial identity and racial constancy, or understanding race as fixed, which were preconditions to bias (Aboud, 2003). Rutland et al. (2005) found that White children who experienced less out-group contact, attending mostly or all white schools, were more likely to show racial bias.

Although Rutland et al. (2005) found evidence supporting intergroup contact as promoting lower levels of bias among White children, evidence suggests that students of color may fare less well in majority White schools. Barth et al. (2006) found that Black children in majority-White

classrooms were less likely to be rated as liked by their peers and less likely to be thought of by peers as leaders. Further, they were more likely to be considered among those who fight the most, a measure predictive of conduct and academic problems. Additional studies herein, such as Lewis' (2001) suggest that students of color in majority-white schools may face added challenges of racial discrimination.

All studies herein identified factors contributing to the development and experience of bias among children and youth. These factors include school climate, intergroup contact or school diversity, geographical and community norms, tracking practices, and attitudes communicated directly or indirectly by teachers, parents and other adults through either direct discussion or through action.

The latter section of chapter three reviewed studies examined student responses to anti-prejudice interventions. All evidence supported at least short term benefits from opening space in the classroom for direct discussion of issues of ethnic identity and racial or ethnic biases. Children and youth of different groups have different identity development, different reactions to learning about racism and different needs. What messages and approaches are most effective for students of different races? Because this review considered primarily studies of African American and European American students, this section will focus on the different needs of these students. However, evidence supports identity affirming curriculum and support in coping with discrimination for children and youth of all ethnicities and backgrounds.

Most studies found immediate reductions in bias measured by surveys shortly after students experienced anti-bias curriculum. With the exception of Zacher (2007), whose case study observed students experiencing a year long anti-bias curriculum, no studies examined the long term effects of anti-bias interventions. Because studies were conducted separately with different conditions and measures, it is difficult to say which anti-bias interventions are most effective.

Two basic approaches aimed to reduce bias, emphasizing similarities or differences. Levy et al. (2005) and Jewett (2005) contrasted these approaches. Jewett observed that the approach acknowledging differences and helping students connect to their heritage created more

motivation and response from African American students. London et al. (2007) found that exploring and celebrating differences effectively reduced bias among diverse youth. Overall it may be most effective to combine messages, or to differentiate approaches.

Helping students to recognize their own biases and stereotypes was also effective. Aboud & Fenwick (1999) described how more capable peers debunked stereotypes in dyadic discussion. Rogers and Mosley (2006) explored emerging White identity and described positive results of allowing children to discuss their feelings about race and their own whiteness by imagining themselves as characters in literature depicting historical racism. Zacher (2007) identified a need for children to connect anti-bias curriculum to their day to day lives, because children may not be aware of ways in which race, class and power categories influence their own peer socialization.

The studies in this review examined a broad variety of factors influencing the development and awareness of racial bias among children and youth. Studies in section one documented that children frequently develop and/or experience racial bias between early childhood and early adolescence. These experiences can affect the ways in which children view themselves, their peers, and the likelihood that they will achieve school success. Studies in section two examined the ways in which teachers may influence student thinking about race and racism. Explicit examination of race, racism and cultural identity was effective in supporting students' motivation and showed short term benefits in terms of reducing children's bias and stereotype attitudes. Overall, studies found considerable evidence that children experience racism, and that this is not adequately addressed by teachers and school staff. However, findings provide encouragement that anti-racist teaching can reduce bias and support students' in their identity development.

<center>*Implications for Practice*</center>

Effective anti-bias teaching addresses and intervenes to prevent both systemic racism and individual discrimination. It requires of teachers a searching self-examination, responsive teaching and willingness to talk about difficult issues. All evidence supported benefits when teachers and schools addressed racial identity and bias, and showed no negative consequences of doing so. Evidence showed that cultural values and expectations around bias and inequity

permeate the classroom, affecting learning and socialization. If teachers and school staff make efforts to address these, they are likely to meet with some success. This section will briefly outline steps that educators can take to address some of the main manifestations of racial bias.

Most importantly, teachers should always intervene to address discrimination. Over 90% of African American children reported having experienced racial discrimination by the age of 15 (Brody et al., 2006). Studies in this literature review consistently demand greater awareness and responsiveness from educators. White teachers in particular may be unaware of the pervasiveness of racism. The literature consistently indicated an unmet the need for teachers and administrators to acknowledge the presence of racial bias in their schools, the denial of which proved to be a major roadblock toward rectifying the bias.

It is important for teachers to practice thorough self examination in order to recognize the ways in which their treatment of students may be influenced by bias, stereotypes or cultural communication expectations. Such subconscious expectations on the part of teachers may support and reinforce racial inequality. Several studies demonstrated that white school staff expressed beliefs that did not coincide with facts, and failed to acknowledge or understand nonwhite perspectives.

Teachers must consider the role that their own racial identity plays both in influencing assumptions, expectations and communication styles, as well as in discussing racism with students and families. This review written by a White teacher tended to focus on how White teachers interact with students and families of color to support or deny their academic success and positive identity development.

It is important to understand the local community, history, school climate and ways in which systemic bias may be rooted in the history of a particular institution. Teachers should consider the ways in which broader racial tensions in the school, community or geographic region may influence students' communication and learning in the classroom. Teachers may not be able to influence these factors, but should be aware of them and to make space in the classroom to discuss and deal with tensions in the community.

Teachers should be willing and able to listen and respond to the concerns of families and students of color, asking what types of support they need. It is important to back up with Whites may be apprehensive to discuss racism, for fear of saying the wrong thing. So be prepared – listen, understand local community and tensions, show willingness to change, be advocate for change. Build support with colleagues in order to be fully responsive.

Teachers should use pedagogy that fosters critical thinking. As with avoiding difficult issues, teachers may also be inclined to avoid complexities in order to communicate concepts and basic ideas, however that does not adequately address such complex social problems. Teachers should draw connections with students' existing knowledge and experiences, as well as recognizing what is developmentally appropriate. Developmentally appropriate teaching will understand foundations of bias and make connections to children's lives. In particular, it should encouraging white and high status students to recognize the hidden ways that bias and power may pervade their own lives, for instance influencing their peer relationships (Zacher, 2007).

Safe classrooms should help students acknowledge and discuss their racial identities. Rogers and Mosley (2006) noted that White children may be less inclined to recognize their racial identity. White children may need help in understanding their racial identities, and to recognize biases they may hold. It seemed to support positive identity development when students, working in small groups with same race peers, were encouraged to imagine themselves in stories about racism and discuss how they could be allies. Dyadic discussion may help peers to debunk, or disprove, one another's stereotypes (Aboud, 1999). Other studies herein showed that interventions discussing racial tolerance provided immediate reductions in racial bias among White children. Such curricula took one or both of the following approaches: emphasizing similarities across boundaries and/or discussing cultural differences to foster respect across perceived boundaries. Teachers should understand the validity and effectiveness of both messages, moderating their teaching to acknowledge both realities and to encourage understanding that best supports students' cultural identities while accomplishing anti-bias objectives.

Explicitly addressing and examining racial bias within the curriculum may reduce bias, increased engagement and possibly stronger identity development and psychological well being when teachers directly discussed and addressed matters of race and cultural differences. These are relevant to students, and making space within the curriculum can help students to think critically and examine their own beliefs, cultural messages and their own relationships with peers. Studies herein examined primarily supplemental interventions; it is arguably more important to ensure that diverse cultures are represented throughout the curriculum (Banks, 1996a).

Overall, students are best supported when teachers directly address racism, providing space for students to discuss their emerging cultural and racial identities. Teachers must overcome their hesitancy to discuss issues of racism, and not be afraid to acknowledge the possible influence of racism on students' identity development, peer relationships and school success.

Suggestions for Future Research

Future research examining the nature of bias in children and its developmental progress could account for multiple factors influencing the development of bias, such as SES, religion or other family factors. Despite high levels of in-group preference, not all children showed out-group derogation. Future research should identify additional contributing factors that lead some children to hold bias while others do not. A small range of influencing factors, intergroup contact, developmental stage and personal identity, were considered among variables. However, it could be found that additional factors contribute highly to the development or prevention of bias in young children.

It may be helpful to explore broader categories of racial identification. Although this selection of studies intentionally focused on African American and European American youth, there may be limited attention in the literature to the specific experiences of students of diverse backgrounds. In particular, bi and multiracial identities were frequently either not recorded or excluded from the studies. Jewett (2006) described students' frustration with conceptions of race as having solid boundaries and definitions, which the youths complained did not accurately reflect their own identities and experiences. It is also of note that the typical race designation categories

given in these studies do not include Arab Americans, many of whom suffered racially motivated attacks in the aftermath of September 11 and who continue to face hostility as the U.S. wars in Iraq and Afghanistan continue (Wingfield, 2006).

Socio-economic status may prove to be a significant factor in connection with holding or experiencing bias, and should be investigated separately. Also, many studies did not de-tangle relationships between race and socio-economic status, so results supporting apparent racism may be confounded by biases rooted in class status. In reality these are usually intertwined in complex systemic forms of oppression and restricted access to resources. Additional research, however, that seeks to separate out these typically confounded variables may help teachers understand the unique effects of race, as well as better serving low income youth of all ethnicities and understanding the needs of middle class minority youth.

Finally, studies should assess the long term effectiveness of anti-bias interventions. Much of the research herein used immediate response short term measures. Longitudinal studies may help determine which types of anti-bias education provide lasting results. Additionally the types of immediate response surveys used may not demonstrate real change in children's biases, rather their tendency to provide the desired answer. Longitudinal design with more nuanced measures of bias would better inform the effectiveness of anti-prejudice interventions.

Summary

Studies reviewed in this paper indicate the salience of race and racial identity for children of color, particularly African American youth. Evidence indicates that biases favoring Whites persist in U.S. culture and permeate the schools, affecting school climate, peer relationships, and possibly influencing academic success and emotional well-being for students of color. Research indicated that to be fully supportive and effective teachers of students of color, teachers must self-examine for attitudes, assumptions and practices that reinforce race-based power imbalance. Teachers and school staff should respond clearly to incidences of racial harassment. Children may help to prevent peer discrimination by overcoming their hesitancy to talk directly and candidly about race. To help students explore and discuss issues so personal, teachers must work to create a classroom culture of safety and support. Regardless of optimal conditions,

findings consistently indicated that whenever and wherever teachers and school staff

acknowledged and addressed racial bias, students were better served than where silence and

denial prevented teachers from creating positive change.

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