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**Lift Every Voice: Black High School Students' Lived Experiences with Racism and
Discrimination Through a Critical Race Theory Lens**

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to the Faculty of
Montclair State University in partial fulfillment
of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

by

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Montclair State University

Montclair, NJ

August 2022

Dissertation Chair: Dr. Robert Reid

MONTCLAIR STATE UNIVERSITY
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
DISSERTATION APPROVAL

We hereby approve the Dissertation

**Lift Every Voice: Black High School Students' Lived Experiences
with Racism and Discrimination
Through a Critical Race Theory Lens**
of
Lucinda Harris

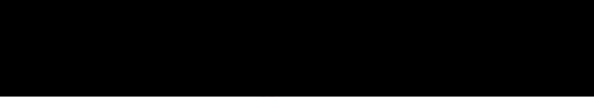
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Abstract

This qualitative study examined the experiences of racism and discrimination of Black high school students from two diverse high schools in the northeastern United States. Data was collected from 8 individual semi-structured interviews that focused on their lived experiences and how they navigated racialized encounters.

Utilizing (CRT) as a framework, this study revealed the lived reality of the 8 Black high school students. Participants recounted stories of racial stereotyping, discrimination from educators and peers, and the exclusionary aspects of the school's curriculum and access to resources. Their stories also revealed the use of counterspaces to help them cope. Counterspaces acted as a buffer to their racialized experiences by allowing them the space to use their voice, share their stories, process their feelings and thoughts, and reflect on their experiences. The ability to communicate openly without the threat of feeling judged also supplied them with the tools needed to negotiate future racialized encounters. Findings in the form of storytelling indicate that racism and discrimination exist in diverse spaces negating the idea that diversity signifies equity.

Additionally, the results support CRT tenets of the Permanence and Intercentricity of Race and Racism in diverse educational spaces, Critique of Liberalism as an operating premise in education, and the Commitment to Social Justice to evoke change. This study contributes to the limited qualitative research on the voices of Black students' lived experiences of racism and discrimination in diverse public high schools and affirms the importance of CRT.

Keywords: Critical Race Theory, discrimination, racism, lived experiences, counterspaces, storytelling,

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"For while the tale of how we suffer, and how we are delighted, and how we may triumph is never new, it always must be heard. There isn't any other tale to tell, it's the only light we've got in all this darkness."

-James Baldwin (Sonny's Blues)

Dedications

I dedicate this work to my family. They have been very supportive and encouraging throughout my doctoral studies. I appreciate their understanding of the time and space I needed to pursue this degree. Although the process sometimes infringed on our family life, they provided me with much-needed encouragement, love, and support.

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“They cripple the bird’s wing, and then condemn it for not flying as fast as they.”

-Malcolm X

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Chapter 1

Introduction

I don't know what most white people in this country feel, but I can only [co]nclude what they feel from the state of their institution. -James Baldwin, 1969

Research has documented the link between real or perceived racial discrimination and the damaging psychological and emotional trauma on Black youth (Flores et al., 2010; Khaylis et al., 2007; Pieterse et al., 2010). Carter (2007) contended that direct or indirect real or imagined experiences with racism that are unexpected, highly negative, beyond the individual and collective resources, and emotionally and psychologically painful constitute race-related stress. The effect of these stressful encounters is felt at the time of the event and continues long after the encounter is over, thus justifying the stress as emotionally traumatic (Carter et al., 2013; Carter & Sant-Barket, 2015; Carter et al., 2017; Comas-Díaz, 2016; Lewis et al., 2015; Kessler et al., 1999; Williams et al., 2010). Most research on racial discrimination and mental and emotional well-being in educational settings has focused on college-aged students or adults. There is limited research on how black high school students experience racism and discrimination in their high school (Seaton, 2003). Most research on racism and discrimination in education has focused on college-aged students reporting their college experience or reflecting on their high school years. Research that included high school Black students used quantitative measures. Generally, they concentrated on academically low or high performing Black students (Neblett et al., 2006) in predominantly White or Black high schools. The focus on college-aged students has failed to acknowledge discriminatory encounters and race-related stress at the high school level. Additionally, the use of quantitative measures to address discriminatory experiences tends to underplay the experience and insinuate a comprehensive knowledge of discriminatory encounters

(Griffith et al., 2019) without capturing the lived experiences and voices of Black students (Aragon, 2016; Knauss, 2016).

Statement of the Research Problem

This research focused on the racial discrimination experienced by eight current high school students from diverse urban high schools. Black students in the US encounter barriers to learning due to racial inequities in educational institutions and society (Crenshaw, 1989; Frankenberg, 1993; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). Thus, this study examined (a) Black high school students' lived experiences of discrimination in their high school and (b) how Black high school students navigated and coped with these experiences.

Research Questions

This phenomenological study examined the lived experiences of eight Black 10-12th grade high school students from two diverse high schools in an urban area in the northeastern part of the United States. Analysis and interpretation of the data was guided by Critical Race Theory (CRT). The research questions were:

RQ1: What are Black students' lived experiences of racism and discrimination in high school?

RQ2: How did the lived experiences of racism and discrimination affect Black high school students' well-being?

RQ3: What strategies/practices and resources did the students use to counteract racist and discriminatory experiences?

Purpose of the Study

This phenomenological qualitative study explored Black high school students' lived experiences with racial discrimination in their school, emotional trauma related to these

experiences, and the coping strategies they utilized. The findings will help address the literature gap in how Black high school students experience the connection between perceived discrimination, race-related trauma, and coping mechanisms. Much of the research on discrimination and racial trauma in education utilized quantitative methodologies (Griffith et al., 2019). Quantitative methods do not capture Black high students' lived experiences and voices of students still enrolled in high school at data collection time (Aragon, 2016; Knauss, 2016). Research has fallen short of capturing oppressed participants' voices and has focused on Black students in higher education that attend predominantly Black or predominantly white universities. (Khaylis et al., 2007; Pieterse et al., 2010). Few qualitative studies examined discrimination and race-related trauma experiences of Black high school students in diverse high schools. This study adds to the limited body of qualitative research on racism and race-related trauma in Black high school students. The findings increased the understanding of how systemic racism based on meritocracy affects Black students' psychological well-being, identity, and achievement (Crowther et al., 2017; McGee & Stovall, 2015; Powell, 2018). This study's findings may help inform school practices, programs, and policies to foster an equitable community of trust and inclusion. Additionally, this study gave marginalized groups voice and acknowledgment, which helped them feel validated and empowered to be agents of social change.

Background and Significance

In 1954, the Supreme Court determined that "separate is inherently unequal so, therefore unconstitutional," in *Brown v Board of Education of Topeka (1954)*. This landmark decision overturned the "separate but equal" doctrine of 1896 as it applied to public elementary and secondary schools (*Plessy v. Ferguson*, 1896, and was supposed to mark the end of segregation

in public schools in the United States; however, integration met with opposition. Although political leaders in some states agreed with this decision, many schools in the South defied it (Delvin, 2017). In Arkansas, then-Governor Orval Faubus deployed the state's National Guard to prevent Black students from attending high school in Little Rock, Arkansas. As a result, President Eisenhower deployed armed federal troops to escort the nine Black students, now known as the Little Rock Nine, into Central High School in 1957 (Delvin, 2017). The Supreme Court's decision set a legal precedent to repudiate segregation in other public spaces and acted as a catalyst for the Civil Rights Movement. Sixty-six years after the *Brown* decision, racial inequalities still exist, and racism is still pervasive in the United States. (Bailey et al., 2017; Delvin, 2017; Frankenberg et al., 2019; Tolliver et al., 2016).

According to Jones (1972; 2019), racism manifests at individual, cultural, and institutional levels. Racism at the individual level is the belief that people of color are inferior to whites, thus justifying Whites' position of power and privilege. Racism at the individual level can be verbal or nonverbal, overt or covert, and experienced directly or indirectly (Harrell & Sloan-Pena, 2006; Jones. 1972; 2019; Golash-Boza, 2015; Valdez & Golash-Boza, 2017). Comments about a Black student's intellect (Gillborn, 2016) and assumptions of criminality (Monahan et al., 2003) are examples of racism at the individual level. Cultural racism is the perception that the p Whites' practices, values, beliefs, language, and contributions are superior to other cultures (Jones. 1972; 2019; Golash-Boza, 2015; Valdez & Golash-Boza, 2017). Examples of cultural-level racism include the assumption that straight hair is superior to ethnic hairstyles (NEDSI, 2017; Thompson, 2009) and the limited acknowledgment of Blacks' contributions to society when learning about history. Institutionalized racism manifests in policies and practices dictated by organizations that disadvantage minorities (Golash-Boza,

2015; Harrell & Sloan-Pena, 2006; Valdez & Golash-Boza, 2017). Racial profiling is an example of institutional racism in society (Golash-Boza, 2015; Valdez & Golash-Boza, 2017). Segregated schools, standardized testing, criteria for advanced class placement, curriculum, and discipline policies are examples of racism in education systems (Constantine, 2006; Jones, 1972, 2019).

Nationally, race-related incidents against Blacks of all ages occur (Civil Rights Data Collection (CRDC), 2016; Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), 2016). Black families experience discriminatory acts daily on the micro and macro levels. On the micro-level, discrimination occurs in the racist messages conveyed in everyday encounters. While on the macro-level, discrimination is the implicit bias ingrained in our educational, political, and judicial system (Bailey et al., 2017; Constantine, 2006; DOE, 2016; DeGue et al., 2016; FBI, 2016; Geller et al., 2014; Hall et al., 2016; Harrell, 2000; Harrell & Sloan-Pena, 2006; Helms et al., 2012; Sue, 2013; Tolliver et al., 2016). Harrell (2000) contended that racism at the individual level reflects cultural and institutionalized racism embedded in our society. Private citizens, law enforcement, and educators, in public and private spaces in both subtle and overt ways, have carried out incidents of racial discrimination (Bailey et al., 2017; Constantine, 2006; DeGue et al., 2016; DOE, 2016; FBI, 2016; Geller et al., 2014; Hall et al., 2016; Tolliver et al., 2016). One example of a micro racial injustice carried out by a private citizen that was reinforced on a macro level by the media and the U.S. judicial system, is the fatal shooting of an unarmed Black teenager, Trayvon Martin, and the exoneration of his shooter, Mark Zimmerman in 2012 (Golash-Boza, 2015; Hodges, 2015). Zimmerman's defense centered on Florida's Stand Your Ground Law, which states that extreme force is legal if people fear their life is in danger. The Stand Your Ground Law is a modern-day version of the Castle Doctrine of the 1870s, enforced just after the Civil War, to protect White men's property (Ferraro & Ghatak, 2019; Peterkin,

2013). Although the law and doctrine appear to pertain to all, history and research show they are not adjudicated neutrally (Ferraro & Ghatak, 2019; Peterkin, 2013). Zimmerman claimed that he was in danger of losing his life when he confronted the unarmed Black teen. Despite evidence indicating that Trayvon was not a threat and the fatal force was unnecessary, Zimmerman was exonerated of all charges by a majority white jury (Golash-Boza, 2015; Hodges, 2015).

The premise that an unarmed Black teen is threatening to Whites centers on a belief that Black males are dangerous and criminals (Golash-Boza, 2015; Hodges, 2015). The stereotypical view of Black males has been perpetuated by society, reinforced by media outlets, and upheld in the U.S. judicial system. Viewing Black males as dangerous is systemic and dictates how Black males are approached (DeGue et al., 2016; Golash-Boza, 2015; Hodges, 2015). For example, DeGue et al. 2016 national report on violent deaths by law enforcement indicated that Blacks were victims of law enforcement fatalities at a 2.8 times higher rate than Whites. Racism on the macro level is also evident in reports that investigate acts of discrimination. According to the Federal Bureau of Investigations (FBI) 2016 hate crimes report, approximately 4,229 hate crimes were related to a victim's race or ethnicity. In more than half of the cases, the victims were Blacks. Black families experience discriminatory acts daily in the racist messages conveyed in everyday encounters and the implicit bias ingrained in our educational, political, and judicial systems (Bailey et al., 2017; Constantine, 2006; DeGue et al., 2016; DOE, 2016; FBI, 2016; Geller et al., 2014; Hall et al., 2016; Harrell, 2000; Helms et al., 2012; Sue, 2013; Tolliver et al., 2016).

In the U.S. education system, racial inequalities – often referred to as the "opportunity gap" (Gorski, 2017; Rubin et al., 2016; Verstegen, 2015) – are evident in discipline procedures, access to resources such as special programs, and challenging curriculums (DOE, 2016; Gorski,

2017; Verstegen, 2015), and educational barriers (Vega et al., 2015). The United States Department of Education's Office of Civil Rights collects and analyzes civil rights data annually. The United States Department of Education (DOE) Civil Rights Data Collection (CRDC) June 2016 report is based on the 2015-16 academic year. The report included data from 17,337 school districts in the United States, 96,360 public schools, and over 50 million students. The report indicated that while Black students represent 16% of enrolled students, they account for 39% of the out-of-school suspensions (U.S. Department of Education (DOE), 2016).

The CRDC (2015-2016) report also indicated a disparity in access to preschool, advanced classes, and college counselors compared to white students (U.S. Department of Education DOE, 2016). Other research indicates inequality in funding (Aleman, 2007a; Holzman et al., 2009; Wishon, 2004), access to qualified teachers (Darling-Hammond, 2011; Holzman et al., 2009; Knight & Strunk, 2016 ;) and access to challenging college preparatory curriculum (DOE, 2018). These inequalities can account for the racial achievement gap, including disparities in test scores, drop-out rates, and those who seek higher education (Gorski, 2018; Lebron et al., 2015; Rubin et al., 2016; Vega et a., 2015; Verstegen, 2015). The Civil Rights data and research findings suggest that Black students are impacted most by low test scores, poor graduation rates, and limited access to higher education (Aleman, 2007a; Darling-Hammond, 2011 DOE, 2018; Gorski, 2017; Holzman et, a. 2 009; Lebron et al., 2015; Rubin et al., 2016; Verstegen, 2015).

Low test scores, poor graduation rates, and low enrollment in post-secondary schooling among Blacks result in educational policies that purportedly address these deficits in education and educational opportunities (Rubin et al., 2016; Verstegen, 2015). No Child Left Behind (NCLB) and its successor, Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA), are two educational policies implemented to address racial disparities in education (Darling-Hammond, 2011; Fritzberg,

2004; Gay, 2007; Mathis & Trujillo, 2016). The goal of NLCB and its predecessor, ESSA, was to improve the academic achievement of minorities in federally funded schools (Darling-Hammond, 2011; Fritzberg, 2004; Gay, 2007; Mathis & Trujillo, 2016). These initiatives set high academic standards for what all students should know (Darling-Hammond, 2011; Fritzberg, 2004; Gay, 2007; Mathis & Trujillo, 2016). State testing gauged success by assessing if schools met or exceeded proposed measurable goals. Under NCLB, educational accountability was the federal government's responsibility (Fritzberg, 2004; Gay, 2007), while under ESSA, the state was responsible for holding schools accountable (Mathis & Trujillo, 2016). Although ESSA required states to implement a plan to assist schools with failing scores, both acts fell short of improving the academic achievements of Black students (Carter, 2018; Darling-Hammond, 2011; Fritzberg, 2004; Ladd, 2017; Gay, 2007; Mathis & Trujillo, 2016)).

While the acts set high academic standards, they ignored the plight of poverty on academic achievements and inequality in resources that rely on property taxes that determine teacher quality and access to educational programs (Darling-Hammond, 2011; Fritzberg, 2004; Ladd, 2017; Gay, 2007; Mathis & Trujillo, 2016; Verstegen, 2015). As a result, both acts disproportionately penalized schools serving minority students by requiring more testing, opening charter schools to compete with schools in their districts, and forcing school closures because of poor performance or low enrollment (Darling-Hammond, 2011; Frankenberg et al., 2019; Ladd, 2017). For example, schools deemed failing mainly were in large urban districts such as Chicago, New York City, and Baltimore and were heavily populated by disadvantaged minority students (Frankenberg et al., 2019; United States Census, 2010). Under the guise of school choice, students could leave a failing school and attend a school of choice. This option led to low enrollment in urban schools, the flight of nonwhites from the failing schools, and the

redirecting of funding to charter schools (Frankenberg et al., 2019). NCLB and ESSA are educational reforms tasked with closing the achievement gap but, in reality, created a greater discrepancy in the educational divide (Darling-Hammond, 2011; Ladd, 2017; Rubin et al., 2016).

Garcia Coll et al. (1996) investigation into conceptual models and frameworks suggests that discrimination is the norm for youth of color. Research has shown that most children of color experience at least one recent discriminatory encounter before reaching adolescence (Gibbons et al., 2004; Guthrie et al., 2002; Prelow et al., 2004). Whether it is the racist messages conveyed in everyday encounters or the implicit bias ingrained in our educational, political, and judicial system, studies indicate that encounters with racism are detrimental to the psychological and physiological well-being of Blacks (Williams et al., 2007; Williams et al., 2010). The effect of these stressful encounters is felt at the time of the event and continues long after the encounter is over, thus justifying the stress as traumatic (Carter et al., 2013; Kessler et al., 1999; Williams et al., 2010; Williams et al., 2007). Repeated exposure to actual or perceived racism (Harrell, 2000) causes racial stress and trauma (Stevenson et al., 1997). Race-related stress and trauma are the psychological helplessness resulting from repeated experiences with individual, institutional, and cultural racism (Harrell, 2000). Unresolved racial stress and trauma can lead to a multitude of psychological problems, including low self-esteem (Utsey, 1998), poor academic achievement (Brown et al., 2000; Karlsen & Nazroo, 2002), aggression, anxiety, depression (Brown et al., 2000; Karlsen & Nazroo, 2002; Kessler et al., 1999) substance abuse and psychosis (Karlsen & Nazroo, 2002). Additionally, prolonged racial stress and trauma can interfere with Black adolescents' identity development, their ability to appraise racial encounters, and their ability to utilize effective coping strategies when subjected to racialized encounters (Stevenson et al., 1997), leaving them to question who they are and their position in the world (Harrell, 2000).

The marginalization of Black students in historical and contemporary educational systems is reinforced by the negative narrative based on stereotypes. Research indicates that Black students are subject to discriminatory practices by peers, educators (Gregory et al., 2010; Neblett et al., 2006), institutional practices, and policies (Darling-Hammond, 2011; Ladd, 2017; Rubin et al., 2016). The literature review focuses on the historical significance of racism in education and then identifies common themes in contemporary educational research.

Understanding the lived experiences of racism and discrimination from the voices of Black high school students counters the majoritarian view of equity. The stories gave insight into how these experiences affect Black high school students' academic and mental well-being and may lead to educational policy changes that improve Black high school students' experiences. The findings could potentially help to inform educators' training. In addition, capturing lived experiences of racism encountered in schools through the voices of the oppressed validates their narrative and may empower them to evoke change. This study contributes to the body of literature since little research captures the lived experiences of current Black high school students' lived experiences of racism and discrimination in diverse urban high schools.

Methods and Materials

This qualitative study was designed to investigate racism and discrimination based on the lived experiences of eight Black high school students from racially and economically diverse high schools. Black students are often faced with challenges in their high school experiences based on race and socioeconomic status. Semi-structured interviews allowed the researcher to probe to capture stories of the phenomena (Lauterbach, 2018; Neubauer et al., 2019). Critical Race Theory (CRT) was used as the theoretical framework to analyze and interpret collected

data. Creswell (2016) contended that data be analyzed, coded, and organized utilizing the data analysis spiral.

Participant selection relied on purposeful, snowball sampling. Since the research required participants to have experiences related to the research, criterion sampling was also used. Participants that were utilized met the following criteria: (a) Black high students, (b) in 10th-12 grade, and (c) experienced racism or discrimination in their diverse high school.

Definition of Terms

Cultural Racism is the view that one's culture is superior to other cultures (Jones, 1999)

Discrimination is treating someone differently based on the group they belong to

Individual Racism refers to an individual's assumptions and beliefs about race.

Institutionalized racism is racism in which society's structure, policies, norms, and programs impose disparate conditions on groups based on race or ethnicity (Awad et al., 2019).

Perceived discrimination is defined as the belief that one is mistreated by individuals or systems based on physical characteristics (Sibrava et al., 2019).

Race is a socially constructed term reflective of the social and political times that separate groups based on physical characteristics (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001).

Racial Identity is the view of self in relation to one's racial group in terms of beliefs and attitudes about racial heritage, identity, and pride (Helms, 1993)

Racial stress and trauma are feelings of danger resulting from real or perceived discriminatory race-related encounters (Comas-Diaz et al., 2019).

Racism is a race-based hierarchical structure of power and privilege that encourages exclusion, harassment, and inequity and is ingrained in the United States country's history of oppression (Harrell, 2000).

School belonging is the perception of being valued, accepted, recognized, and included in an academic community.

Stereotypes are overgeneralized, misleading beliefs about a group of people.

Students (people) of color refer to people who differ from the norm in culture and race.

Marginalized groups are people subjected to discrimination and inequalities based on physical traits and characteristics.

Microaggressions are subtle daily slights in the form of words or actions by White people or society that "communicate negative messages addressed towards people because of their membership in a marginalized group" (Sue, 213, p. 663).

White Privilege refers to a system of advantages, benefits, and courtesies that are standard in being White (Delgado 1995).

Results

Findings indicated that Black high school students encounter racism and discrimination in their diverse high schools in the form of microaggressions from teachers and peers. Racism and discrimination fell under three themes (a) negative stereotypes, (b) invalidating Black history or culture and (c) equating equality. Each theme supports Critical Race Theory tenets of the permanence and intercentricity of race and racism and critique of liberalism. Black student voices about their lived experiences support Critical Race Theory's storytelling and counter storytelling. Their coping strategies empowered them to tell their story for this research with the hopes of evoking change and fighting for social justice in educational spaces.

Discussion/Conclusion

Chapter 2

Introduction

Key findings from the literature indicated that experiences of racism and discrimination in schools could be an obstacle to the academic achievement of students of color. Students of color often utilized coping and racialization skills to navigate racial encounters. Additionally, most research was directed at college-aged students. Research involving high school students focused on high-performing or low-performing students of color in majority White or Black schools. Few studies have incorporated high school Black students' voices in racially diverse high schools, illustrating the need to capture their lived experiences with racism and discrimination.

Literature Review

This qualitative research explored the lived experiences of racism and discrimination experienced by eight current Black high school students in large, diverse public high schools. To assess the existing literature that analyzes Black students' experiences with racism in education, a general search for *racism in education* utilizing the years 2011-2020 yielded over 14,000 peer-reviewed, full-text articles and books from Montclair State University Sprague Library databases (EBSCOhost) MasterFILE Elite, Education Research Complete, Complementary Index, and Educational Resource Information Center (ERIC). Using the same term *racism in education*, an additional search for full text, peer-reviewed journal articles, and books published in the United States between the years 2011-2020 was conducted using Education Research Complete, ERIC, Psy Info, and Social Science database, which reduced the list to 834 articles and books. This list was reduced further by utilizing the specific search terms of *racism in high school* (169 articles), *adolescents, discrimination and education* (115 articles), *black students, and school discrimination* (117 articles), which yielded 401 articles. The articles were reviewed, divided, and analyzed for commonality, resulting in two categories: the history of racism and research

related to black students' experiences with racism and discrimination. The literature reviews the history of racism in education and then explores contemporary research related to Black students' experiences with racism and discrimination in educational spaces.

History of Racism in Education

The significance of racism is well documented in United States history, dating back to slavery. Critical Race theorists contend that to fully understand the complexity of racism in education today, it is essential to acknowledge the history of race and racism in the United States. Additionally, CRT scholars contended that acknowledging and examining racism in education is imperative to resolving equity issues (Bell 1980; Ladson-Billings 1998). Additionally, Ladson-Billings (1998) emphasized the importance of centering on race when examining iniquity in the U.S. Further, CRT recognizes that to understand systemic oppression and inequality in educational spaces today, an analysis and acknowledgment of United States racist history is necessary. Starting with *Plessy v Ferguson 1896*, this section gives a view of the history of racial inequities in society and education that demonstrate CRT's tenets, the permanence and Intercentricity of race and racism, and critique of liberalism. This overview will illuminate how the U.S. history of racism is systemic and continues to govern education today.

The 1800s

Plessy v Ferguson 1896

In 1896, the Supreme Court was petitioned to determine if Louisiana's mandated separate railroad cars for Blacks and Whites violated the Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment (*Plessy v Ferguson 1896*; Wishon 2004; Woodward 1964). Homer Plessy, a mixed-race man with 1/8 "colored" blood, was represented by the Citizens Committee of New Orleans, a civil rights group that opposed Louisiana's separate rail car law. They argued that separate cars

insinuated that Blacks were inferior to whites (Wishon, 2004; Woodward, 1964). The Court examined precedent cases dating back to the 1850 Massachusetts Supreme Court's decision in the *Roberts v City of Boston*, which found that segregation was in the best interests of the children of both races (Wishon 2004; Woodward 1964). In a landmark decision, the Supreme Court determined in *Plessy vs. Ferguson* that "separate but equal" as stipulated in Louisiana's 1890 law was constitutional (*Plessy v Ferguson 1896*; Wishon 2004; Woodward 1964). Assenters on the Court concluded that the 14th Amendment referred to political and civil rights, not social rights.

Further, the assentors stated that the racial stigma and subordination Blacks perceived was self-imposed ((Wishon 2004; Woodward 1964). Alternatively, the only dissenter stated the constitution was "colorblind" (Wishon 2004; Woodward 1964). While the notion of "colorblindness" insinuates equality under the law, Critical Race theorists and modern sociology contend that "colorblindness" ignores the realities of systemic racism. For example, although Plessy's $\frac{7}{8}$ White blood presented him as white, the $\frac{1}{8}$ Black background assigned him to the Black race, a race with a long history of inferior status in the U.S. The ruling reinforced that being pure white was protected by the law and a privilege and reinforced that people with Black blood were not protected under the constitution (Wishon 2004). The issue of race in this decision was about transportation; however, the conclusions applied to and sanctioned segregation in southern public forums, including educational institutions (Wishon 2004; Woodward 1964). While separate facilities were observed in most situations, the promise of "equal" remained elusive. The quality of schools was intertwined with the blatant and systemic racism and other systems of oppression popular at the time (Wishon 2004; Woodward 1964). Since "equal" was determined and ensured by each state, and southern whites ran states, places designated for

Blacks continued to be inferior because they were in disarray, lacked resources, and were poorly funded compared to White spaces (Woodward 1964). For example, in 1897, Richmond County, Georgia, levied the same taxes on Black and white residents; however, the county provided funding to educate all white students, but only half of the Black students in the county (Wishon 2004). Despite having two high schools designated for White students, the school board decided to close the county's only Black high school (Wishon 2004; Woodward 1964). In *Cumming v School County Richman Georgia 1897*, the Supreme Court upheld the county's funding decision, stipulating that the Cumming failed to prove the law was discriminatory and ratified because of racial opposition (Wishon 2004; Woodward 1964). According to Woodward (1964), *Plessy v Ferguson 1896* was a significant impediment to racial equality. The decision set precedence for numerous cases that followed, that empowered the White majority to continue to designate unequal spaces based on race under the illusion that the spaces provided equity in opportunities (Wishon 2004). The decision upheld Jim Crow Laws that disenfranchised the rights of Blacks in the South for the next 58 years.

The 1900s

Pearson v Murray, 1935

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was formed in 1909 to fight for Blacks' rights and ensure equity. The NAACP's defense of equity cases garnered public interest and support that guided protests advocating civil rights. (Wishon 200.4; Woodward 1964) To challenge the "separate but equal" doctrine in public education, the NAACP represented Donald Gaines Murray in *Pearson v Murray 1935*. Murray met the criteria for admittance to the University Of Maryland School Of Law; however, he was denied entrance because he was Black. The letter of rejection from the law school referenced *Plessy v Ferguson*

1896 and suggested that Murray seek admittance to law school in a different state (Wishon 2004; Woodward 1964). The plaintiff's lawyers argued that Murray's rights under the Fourteenth Amendment were violated since Maryland failed to provide Blacks with a "separate but equal" law school. The lower court and Court of Appeals ruled in favor of Murray. Murray became the first Black American to attend law school (Wishon 2004; Woodward 1964). Since the case never made it to the Supreme Court, the court's decision was limited to Maryland. The decision was a significant blow to the "separate but equal" doctrine. In the subsequent years, based on the decision in *Person v Murray*, the NAACP challenged the "separate but equal" doctrine in a series of cases in various states. Although the cases resulted in mixed rulings, they strategically laid the foundation for the landmark case in 1954.

Brown v. Board of Education Topeka 1954

In a stand against segregated and unequal schools, the NAACP bought five cases from four different states before the Supreme Court (Frankenberg 2019). Citing similarities among the cases, the Supreme Court elected to combine the five cases under *Brown v Board of Education Topeka 1954*, with Brown as the lead case, to determine if the rights of the appellants were violated under the "separate but equal" doctrine (Bonilla-Silva 2015; Frankenberg 2019; Wishon 2004). Linda Brown, an 8-year from Topeka, Kansas, was denied the right to attend her local and superior elementary school because she was Black (Bonilla-Silva 2015; Frankenberg 2019; Wishon 2004). The NAACP relied heavily on social scientists' testimony, whose research concluded the psychological damage that segregation caused minority children (Clark & Clark, 1947). The Supreme Court's landmark decision ruled that "separate but equal" was unconstitutional because segregated schools are "inherently unequal." Although the decision did not specify how schools should integrate and despite the resistance to implementing

desegregation, the Supreme Court's ruling was a catalyst for segregation laws changes in education and other public forums (Bonilla-Silva 2015; Delvin 2017; Frankenberg 2019; Wishon 2004).

In 1955, the Court rendered a second opinion in *Brown II*; future desegregation cases would be remanded to lower courts. Lower courts and school boards were ordered to desegregate "with all deliberate speed" (Delvin 2017; Frankenberg 2019; Wishon 2004). Since desegregation was met with opposition from some states and the terminology "with deliberate speed" was an ambiguous term, desegregation efforts were unhurried, inefficient, and obstructed (Delvin, 2017; Frankenberg et al., 2019; Ladson-Billings, 1995, 1999). Ladson-Billings (1995; 1998) asserted that *Brown I* and *II* allowed school districts to desegregate at their discretion. For example, in 1956, according to Delvin (2017), southern congress members denounced and blocked the Court's ruling on integration by drafting and signing the Southern Manifesto, citing States' rights. In 1957, despite violent protests from the local population and elected officials, nine Black students enrolled in Little Rock Central High School (Delvin 2017; Frankenberg et al., 2019). Under President Eisenhower's order, the students were escorted into the school by the National Guard (Delvin 2017). Although *Brown* 1954 marked the end of legal segregation and propelled the Civil Rights Movement leading to the Civil Rights Act of 1964. De facto segregation and more subtle forms of racism and discrimination replaced it (Delvin 2017; Frankenberg et al. 2019; Wishon 2004)). For example, White opposes exerted their place of privilege and resisted integration by closing entire school districts or white flight-withdrawing their children from public schools or moving to primarily White neighborhoods, making integration difficult and equity in educational opportunities impossible (Delvin 2017; Frankenberg et al. 2019).

Despite *Brown 1954*, integration remained fleeting. Court challenges to de facto segregation-segregation based on personal interest resulted in courts' refusal to intervene in de facto segregation cases; the court had no jurisdiction over personal choices. Court, however, acknowledged the absence of qualified teachers in predominantly minority public schools. Federal assistance for desegregation was offered through a provision in the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which threatened to withhold federal funding from schools that refused to desegregate (Chinh, 2010). Additionally, in 1965, the federal government recognized the intersection of race and economics, contending that disparities in education can only be resolved when other inequalities are also addressed (Chinh, 2010; United States Commission on Civil Rights, 2018), supporting Ladson-Billings (1995; 1998) argument that race, economics, and power determines the status quo. Under President Johnson's guidance, the federal government attempted to resolve educational and opportunity inequality by funding districts that mainly served minority and low-income students (Chinh, 2010; United States Commission on Civil Rights, 2018). For example, Title 1 of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965, Head Start, and the Higher Education Act allocated federal funds to districts serving high minority low-income students (Chinh, 2010; United States Commission on Civil Rights, 2018). While the intentions of federal education funding for minority, low-income students were quite visionary, the funding allocation at the district level often shifted from meeting the needs of the poor minorities to closing budgetary gaps, and most inequities outside government entities remained unrecognized (Chinh, 2010).

Despite efforts to employ federal mandates, desegregation and equity in opportunities remained elusive. For example, in 1974, twenty years after the *Brown v Topeka, 1954* decision, Linda Brown, then a mother of two school-aged children, petitioned the Court in *Brown III*,

charging that Kansas schools were still segregated and had not adhered to *Brown I* and *Brown II*. Efforts for educational equity reached its peak in the 1970s (Chinh, 2010). Ultimately, desegregation was stymied under the Reagan administration, when busing was eliminated as a federal remedy to desegregation (Chinh 2010). Inequity in opportunities and resources continued to disenfranchise minority students and communities well into the next decade.

The 2000s

In the early 2000s, in a bipartisan compromise, legislation attempted to remedy educational funding under the Bush Administration. Ignoring President Johnson's proclamation that educational reform can only be effective when addressing the economic needs of marginalized groups, policymakers passed the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB). NCLB focused on standards without allocating resources (Darling-Hammond, 2011; Fritzberg, 2004; Frankenberg et al., 2019; Gay, 2007; Ladd, 2017). Utilizing federally mandated student testing, the NCLB Act assessed educators and administrative ability to meet federally imposed standards. Schools that did not meet testing standards, which often were in marginalized communities, were forced to close (Darling-Hammond, 2011; Fritzberg, 2004; Frankenberg et al., 2019; Gay, 2007; Ladd, 2017). The parameters set by NCLB compelled districts to teach to the test, which diverted funds to testing and diminished the quality of classroom instruction (Darling-Hammond, 2011; Fritzberg, 2004; Frankenberg et al., 2019; Gay, 2007; Ladd, 2017; Verstegen, 2015). Although NCLB was enacted to resolve the achievement gap, the focus on testing standards neglected to consider educational and opportunity inequities and how they intersect with race and economics and further increased the achievement gap between Whites and students of color.

The Obama administration continued to support assessing proficiency through benchmark standards that assess individual students' academic growth instead of the number of proficient students on each grade level (Frankenberg, 2019; Mathis & Trujillo, 2016). To be eligible to receive funds through a grant program, the Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA) required states to set standards that prepared students for post-secondary endeavors (Frankenberg, 2019; Mathis & Trujillo, 2016). Much like its predecessor, ESSA faced opposition. Critics of ESSA contended that too much responsibility falls on states, which often have a history of overlooking marginalized groups (Mathis & Trujillo, 2016). The Administration is credited with addressing issues that affected marginalized groups, such as increasing the high school graduation rate to 83.2% in 2014-2015, income-based repayment plans for student debt, holding for-profit career colleges responsible for guaranteeing employment for students by tying it to federal aid and bringing national attention to disparities in discipline under the "zero-tolerance" policies that penalized minority students more severely than whites for the same infractions (Frankenberg, 2019; Mathis & Trujillo, 2016).

Almost 70 years after the *Brown v Topeka 1954* decision, students of color continue to face many challenges as they navigate racialized environments. The Trump Administration's condemnation of minority groups through divisive and damaging rhetoric has emboldened blatant racism, discrimination, and white supremacy. Additionally, many of Trump's policies have put minorities at a more significant disadvantage in all aspects of society, including education (Burke & Jeffries, 2018). For example, in 2019, Rogers (2019) and his researchers investigated the impact of Trump's presidency on students' school climate, learning, and emotional well-being. The researchers relied on information gathered from 40 interviews and over 500 online survey responses from high school principals from diverse educational

communities across the US (Roger, 2019). Findings for the 17-18 academic year revealed a more pronounced division among the school population that incited malice, mistrust, and heightened disrespect based on differing political and racial views influenced by the influx of misinformation that negatively affected the schools' minority population (Roger, 2019).

Additionally, the Trump administration's actions honed in on restricting anti-racism education and rolling back civil rights protections (Rogers et al., 2019). The Civil Rights Unit, which traditionally protected marginalized groups' rights, instead defended the white majority's rights by denouncing affirmative action, thereby creating greater inequity in educational opportunities for students of color (Burke & Jeffries, 2018; Rogers et al., 2019). Furthermore, the appointment of Betsy DeVos as Secretary of Education in 2017 put marginalized groups at a more significant disadvantage. With the federal government's support, DeVos minimized, delayed, rolled back, or eliminated regulations established to protect students (Burke & Jeffries, 2018; Rogers et al., 2019). The deregulations and policy changes had the most significant negative impact on low-income and minority students (Burke & Jeffries, 2018; Rogers et al., 2019). For example, DeVos's de-emphasis on the school's Title 1 status related to educational funding, resulted in lower local and state funding allocated for Title 1 high poverty schools (Burke & Jeffries., 2018; Rogers et al., 2019). Additionally, DeVos rescinded the Department of Justice and the Education Department of Civil Rights partnership that oversees school districts' racial disparities in discipline practices (Burke & Jeffries, 2018; Rogers et al., 2019). DeVos also eliminated the Department of Civil Rights' duty to investigate civil rights violations cases to determine if systematic issues existed. The elimination allowed violations to go unresolved and rolled back the appeal process, which negated state and local accountability for civil rights violations (Burke & Jeffries, 2018; Rogers et al., 2019).

The history of education in the US demonstrates the inequities in power and privilege that disenfranchised minorities and reinforced White privilege (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). CRT theorists contended that today's US history of racism continues to inform inequities and discrimination in educational systems. This literature review synthesizes the research related to Black students' experiences with racism and discrimination, identifies the literature gaps, and identifies coping mechanisms that students of color utilized when situated in hostile racial environments.

The literature fell into four common themes that presented struggles and resilience for students of color as they maneuvered racialized school environments. Appendix I summarizes the literature reviewed that identified the factors that impacted Black students, which fell under the themes of school belonging and racial identity, stress and mental well-being, academic achievement, and coping mechanisms. The themes emphasized CRT's tenets that guided this study: the permanence and intercentricity of race and racism, critique of liberalism, storytelling, and social justice commitment.

Racial discrimination is associated with lower academic achievement in African Americans (Neblett et al., 2006). When adolescents perceive discrimination in school and other public spaces, it impacts their beliefs and attitudes towards school, mental and emotional wellness, and school performance. The academic consequences of a hostile racial climate on the well-being and academic achievement of students of color have been well documented throughout US history and in research (Bottiani et al., Chavous et al., 2003; Clarke et al., Neblett et al., 2006; Najjar et al., 2019; Thompson & Gregory, 2011). When adolescents perceive discrimination in school and other public spaces, it impacts their beliefs and attitudes about self, school, and school performance. For example, research indicates that experiences of racism and

discrimination in school settings can affect identity and school belonging, which are predictors of academic success and social and emotional wellness (Bottiani et al., 2007; Najjar et al., 2019). Specifically, Chavous et al. (2008) found that school-based discrimination, academic self-concept, and school importance were linked with lower academic motivation and poor self-esteem. The following sections will examine the themes utilizing a Critical Race Theory lens, which can help understand racism on a structural level.

Permanence and Intercentricity of Race and Racism

School Belonging

Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) applied a CRT lens to analyze the inequities of power and privilege in educational institutions. Their seminal research findings illuminated that students of color encounter racism and discrimination in the U.S. educational systems, reinforcing inequities and white privilege (Ladson-Billings & Tate 1995). Educational institutions are structured based on the norms of dominant white society, so normalcy is measured by how well students mimic white America (Carter, 2018; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; McGee & Stovall, 2015). Behaviors, beliefs, and traditions that deviate from white America's status quo are categorized as deviant, inferior, and problematic, perpetuating the deficit view of people of color (Carter, 2018; McGee & Stovall, 2015; Powell, 2018). White privilege guarantees Whites access to rights and privileges not afforded to students of color; therefore, students of color feel alienated, excluded, and marginalized in institutions that do not acknowledge their abilities and ignore their voice and rich history (Carter, 2018; Powell, 2018). These feelings of exclusion can weaken their sense of belonging at school (Bottiani et al., 2016; Byrd, 2015; Carter, 2018; Chavous et al., 2008; Griffith et al., 2019; Powell, 2018; Wang & Huguley, 2012; Wong et al. 2003). School belonging is the perception of being valued, accepted,

recognized, and included in an academic community (Booker, 2007). Black students must contend with racism and discrimination that are an integral part of educational institutions and evidenced in daily microaggressions, the discipline practices, curriculum, and academic policies that put Blacks at a disadvantage (Ladson- Billings 1999; McGee & Stovall 2015), and impede Black students' feelings of inclusion in schools (Booker 2007; Carter, 2018; Vega et al., 2015).

Alternatively, research has indicated that a sense of school belonging is associated with increased confidence, school satisfaction, and psychological well-being for all youth, which are indications of academic success (Osterman, 2000). The linkage between adverse racial climate and school belonging has been well documented by scholars (Bottiani et al., 2016; Byrd, 2015; Carter, 2018; Chavous et al., 2003, 2008; Griffith et al., 2019; Wang and Huguley, 2012; Wong et al. 2003). Griffith et al. (2019) examined racial stressors and coping strategies of 12 Black college students and ten minority mentors that attended predominantly white institutions (PWI). Through semi-structured interviews, the researchers found that Black students experienced a myriad of "race-related stressors" related to encounters with stereotypes, microaggressions, and blatant racism, which designated Black students at PWIs subordinate to the White school population and made Black students feel unaccepted and unwelcome (Griffith et al., 2019). Griffith et al. (2019) noted the utilization of racial socialization coping strategies to process and buffer the experiences.

Bottiani et al. (2016) found similar results when researching student perceptions of school belonging, equity, and emotional wellness among Black students. The researchers utilized data from the US Department of Education's school climate survey to examine perceived discipline disparities among 19,726 Black and White students in 58 high schools in Maryland (Bottiani et al., 2016). Bottiani et al. (2016) affirmed that Black students' higher risks of being

expelled from school were associated with their perception of school fairness. Black students' higher risk of out-of-school suspension fractured Black students' perceptions of school belonging and school equity and attributed to their ability to adapt. Additionally, Carter (2018) examined Black students at affluent diverse high schools with a history of inclusion and integration issues. Findings indicated that Black students who encountered racism and discrimination felt excluded, creating academic achievement barriers (Carter, 2018).

Similarly, Byrd's (2015) study of Black middle and high school students from a majority Black charter school examined student perceptions of the environment and its effect on school belonging, abilities, and innate drive. Byrd (2015) administered surveys to the 99 participants. Findings noted that the perception of constructive relationships across races positively affected belonging. In contrast, perceptions of meritocracy resulted in feelings of incompetence (Byrd, 2015), emphasizing the salience of racial climate in promoting Black students' connectedness and motivation.

In a qualitative study of eight Black high school students from two economically and racially differing school districts, Hope et al. (2015) examined student perceptions of racial discrimination. Investigators used semi-structured interviews to extrapolate experiences related to their "social identity" (p. 90) in school and social community. Findings revealed that Black students experienced discrimination in schools that included negative messages conveyed by teachers, negligence in maintaining a positive racial climate, and inequities in resources among the two school districts that negatively affected Black students' identity and sense of belonging (Hope et al., 2015).

Thus far, the research supports CRT's tenet of the intercentricity and normalcy of racism in education. The interviews and surveys offer insights into how Black students' experiences

with discrimination on the individual and institutional levels informed them that they were outsiders and did not belong, echoing the US's history of subjugating people of color. The studies highlight how racial climate impacts school belonging and identity and offer credence that, despite gains made in educational opportunities for Black students, school environments, programs and policies continue to relegate Black students as subordinates.

Stress and Mental Well-Being

Whether perceived or real, students' race-related encounters affect their mental well-being. Studies have shown the detrimental outcomes of a hostile racial climate and discrimination on students of color's well-being. For example, Wong et al. (2003) examined adolescents' perceptions of discrimination by peers and teachers and the effect on well-being. Wong et al. (2003) used self-report data from a longitudinal two-wave study of middle school students from an economically and racially diverse large city. Findings showed an association between ethnic discrimination and lower academic engagement, lack of motivation, and poor self-esteem accompanied by anxiety, depressive symptoms, and behavioral issues (Wong et al., 2003). Additionally, the researchers asserted that a strong ethnic identity buffered the negative impact of ethnic discrimination (Wong et al., 2003).

English et al. (2016) used a longitudinal mediation model to investigate racial discrimination and academic performance with depressive symptoms as a mediator of 495 Black public school adolescents. Findings indicated that discrimination experiences affected emotional well-being a year later and negatively impacted future academic achievement (English et al., 2016). The results suggest that racism and discrimination are detrimental to students of color's mental well-being and predict adverse educational outcomes.

Academic Achievement

Another theme identified in the literature is the effect of racial discrimination on students of color's academic achievement. Racial discrimination is associated with lower academic achievement in African Americans (Neblett et al., 2006). When adolescents perceive discrimination in school and other public spaces, it impacts their beliefs and attitudes about self, school, and school performance.

Educational institutions proclaim they are inclusive; however, they continue to marginalize students of color (Carter, 2018; Frankenberg, 2019; Gorski, 2018; Vega et al., 2015; Walker & Pearsall, 2012). Efforts to be more inclusive have been elusive since the curriculum is still white America's narrative. For example, although many states have adopted policies to offer advanced placement course offerings in diverse, high schools (Education Commission of the States [ECS], 2016), graduating with AP credit is difficult for many Black students. Information obtained from the National transcript that examined data from 2000 to 2009 indicated that the percentage point gap almost doubled when comparing white students who graduated with AP credit to Black students who graduated with AP credit (National Center for Education Statistics [NCES], 2014).

Several studies have also concluded that offering advanced classes is not enough (Carter, 2018; Frankenberg, 2019; Gorski, 2018; Patrick et al., 2020; Vega et al., 2015; Walker & Pearsall, 2012). Since access to these classes is often based on teacher recommendations, standardized test scores, and grade point averages (GPA), all created for and by whites, students of color are often overlooked if their academics do not mirror what society deems is required (Carter, 2018, Frankenberg 2019; Gorski 2018; Patrick et al., 2020; Rodriguez & McGuire, 2019; Vega et al., 2015; Walker & Pearsall, 2012). Additionally, when AP classes are readily available for minority students, fear of failure and isolation cause many minority students to opt-

out of taking AP-level courses. Minorities have adopted society's stereotype of themselves. For instance, Walker and Pearsall (2012) investigated why so few Latinx students are represented in advanced placement classes. The researchers used focus groups consisting of high school students and seven mostly Latinx parents or guardians. The findings indicated that most parents question the usefulness and cost of AP programs. On the other hand, Latinx students who met the standards often opted out of AP classes for fear of failure, the classes' rigor, social isolation, and imposter syndrome (Walker & Pearsall, 2012). Since educational institutions traditionally have reserved AP classes for white students, Latinx students felt they did not belong (Booker 2007; Gillborn 2016; Howard 2008; Vega et al., 2015; Walker & Pearsall 2012).

The effect of discrimination on academics was also investigated. Vega et al. (2015) conducted one-on-one interviews of 18 Black and Latinx students from a diverse, economically disadvantaged school district to determine what high school students perceived as barriers to learning. Their findings asserted that the school environment, including peers, teachers, and educational policies, could be barriers to Black and Latinx students' academic success. The result is supported by other research. Carter (2018) analyzed barriers to Black and Latinx students' academic achievement at an affluent, diverse high school with a history of inclusion and integration issues. Students who encountered racism and discrimination felt excluded, creating academic achievement barriers (Carter, 2018). The findings confirmed that educational inequalities in school policies, programs, and social and economic factors put Black and Latinx students at a disadvantage and perpetuate minorities as subordinates (Carter, 2018). The studies underscore the importance of creating an environment where students of color feel valued and accepted to reach their fullest academic potential (Carter, 2018; Hope, 2015; Vega, 2015).

Despite the negative impact of racism and discrimination on students of color, the research found that curricula that embraced diversity by including ethnic studies curriculum positively impacted the academic success of minority students counteracting the feelings of exclusion in education (Dee & Palmer 2016; Verstegen, 2015). For example, Dee and Palmer's (2017) quantitative study examined the effectiveness of ethnic studies curriculum in low-performing, predominantly minority middle schools. The results indicated that the inclusion of ethnic studies had a positive effect on the students' attendance and academics (Dee & Palmer, 2017).

Critique of Liberalism, Storytelling, and Counter-Storytelling

Coping Mechanisms

Research has presented relevant findings on how students of color navigate racial encounters. Students often rely on identifying with their racial heritage to help them cope with racial encounters (Liu et al., 2019). Many deficit theoretical models about racial group identification posit that awareness about the group's inferior status in society puts the group members at risk for limited academic engagement (Aronson, 2002; Fordham, 1988; Fordham & Ogbu, 1986). Fordham and Ogbu (1986) asserted that Blacks who have adopted a collective group identity do not accept institutions based on dominant ideologies. This premise suggests that accepting a Black identity rejects academic success in institutions developed by mainstream culture. Fordham (1988) further asserted that for Blacks to attain academic success, they must curtail their Black identity and assimilate to the White majority. According to Sellers et al. (2007), Fordham's (1988) basis of becoming aracial is comparable to the colorblind ideology, which suggests everyone is raceless and not noticing race will make up for inequalities in society. Both aracial and colorblindness ideologies ignore the systemic historical and

contemporary oppression of people of color and exemplify CRT's tenet of intercentricity and permanence of race (Ladson-Billings, 1999; Powell, 2018; Yosso, 2005). While some researchers have advocated for assimilation for minority students, compelling research has demonstrated that racial identity is an essential coping strategy for youth of color to navigate racial discrimination experiences.

When faced with racism in school, research has found that racial identity can be a buffer for students of color to help them cope. For example, Carter's (2007) year-long study followed nine high achieving 10th-12th grade, Black students in predominantly White schools; these students found it necessary to create formal and informal "counter spaces" (p. 543) to assert their identity and voice their experiences. Carter (2007) emphasized the plausibility that these counter-spaces, which allowed students to have their voices heard and acknowledged, may have influenced the students' positive sense of self, sense of belonging, and academic success.

Similarly, Griffith et al. (2019) findings from their study of 12 college students also concluded that coping strategies helped Black students navigate race-based encounters. The racial socialization messages from their mentors taught students to first self-process the encounter, then seek support from others who may have had similar experiences (Griffith et al., 2019). The opportunity to share experiences gave students of color the ability to use their voices to share their experiences of racism and discrimination in the educational system from their perspective (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). The stories offered insight into Black students' lived experiences and can counteract the majoritarian narrative and negate society's view of a post-racial society (Griffith et al., 2019; Powell, 2018). The stories are necessary to cope with and counter the dominant group's narrative by allowing whites to see the experiences through a different lens (Bryant-Davis & Ocampo, 2006; Griffith et al., 2019). Although the coping

strategies often resulted in academic success, racialized encounters are still psychological and physiological debilitating for Blacks.

Similarly, McGee and Stovall (2015) examined the stressors Black students experience due to racism in school. McGee and Stovall (2015) contended that although Black students utilize various coping strategies to navigate racialized encounters, coping strategies do not negate these encounters' emotional and racial stressors. They criticized the dominant culture's virtue of "grit and resiliency" for examining students' success. It ignores the emotional and psychological toll that experiences of racism have on successful students in their study (McGee & Stovall, 2015). The authors propose a need to mend traditionally oppressed students' psychological and physiological health and suggest giving them tools to prepare them for racialized encounters can help maintain their academic, mental, physical, and emotional wellness (McGee & Stovall, 2015). McGee and Stovall (2015) asserted that students of color should affiliate themselves more closely with their racial identity by forging connections within their communities, including platforms to discuss experiences with members who may be experiencing similar stressful situations. Connecting and communicating stories of experiences with racism with others who shared similar encounters gave voice and validity to the experiences and countered the dominant culture's post-racist narrative dictated by society.

Research has documented that experiences with racism in educational settings have detrimental emotional and psychological effects on students. The effects can be exacerbated or moderated by students' coping strategies; however, the environment also plays a role in how successfully they cope. For example, Najjar et al. (2019) investigated how schools promote or obstruct Arab American students' healthy acculturation. Utilizing 5-6 focus groups, the authors analyzed how 21 Arab American college students' high school experiences impacted how they

navigate identity. The researcher found that the Arab culture, assimilation, and how the participants mediate identity were altered by individual and cultural discrimination within institutions. Najjar et al. (2019) contended that students subjected to teacher discrimination and ethnic stereotypes either downplayed their Arab identity or shared information about their culture to enlighten others. Downplaying their Arab identity included not associating with other Arabs for fear of reinforcing stereotypes (Najjar et al., 2019). Additionally, participants expressed that the lack of or quality of Arab culture and heritage in their high school curriculum made them feel like outsiders. The participants advocated for the chance to educate others about their culture to negate the stereotypical beliefs about Arabs. Participants were most comfortable assimilating and had a greater sense of belonging in more inclusive schools that were more accepting of their Arab heritage. The findings underscore that the environment in social structures impacts “identity negotiations (p. 267).” McGee and Stovall (2015) asserted that assimilation and conformity to the white identity forces minorities to compromise their identity, culture, and ethnicity, which can cause stress, anxiety, and depression (Hardy, 2013) and maintain the power and privilege of Whites.

This literature review indicated limited qualitative research that focuses on the voices of Black high school students' lived experiences. The limited number of studies about Black students was quantitative and focused on high or low-achieving students in predominantly white high schools, predominately white institutions, or historically Black universities. Research on the lived experiences utilizing Black high school students' voices in diverse urban high schools is limited. Capturing Black high school students' lived experiences with racism and discrimination in schools may help illuminate the systemic racism embedded in education institutions and evoke advocacy for change on the institutional and societal levels.

Theoretical Framework: Critical Race Theory (CRT)

Critical Race Theory (CRT) guided this study. CRT framed this study because CRT focuses on examining systemic racism and social inequities through the oppressed voices. CRT provides a culturally relevant framework to explore Black students' experiences while also analyzing systems of oppression and dominant ideologies that dictate policy, economic power, and political privilege (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012; McGee & Stovall, 2015). Researchers use CRT to examine and attempt to disrupt the interplay of race and racism embedded in social systems central to maintaining inequity. Researchers use CRT to challenge the dominant ideology and narratives through a race-based lens and encourage subjects **to** share their truths to counter the majoritarian narrative (Howard, 2008; Delgado & Stefancic, 2012; McGee & Stovall, 2015).

CRT emerged in the early 1970s when a group of lawyers, scholars and activists were dissatisfied with the slow progress in race relations and the law's neutrality after the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). Delgado and Stefancic (2012) purported that scholars, including Bell, Crenshaw, and Freeman, contended that subtle forms of racism, such as liberalism and colorblindness, appeared to be neutral and progressive, had replaced the blatant racism of the Jim Crow Era. They argued that liberalism, which focused on individualism and egalitarianism, professed social reform but did little to dismantle social inequality (Bell, 1980; Crenshaw, 1988; Delgado, 1995; Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). For example, liberalism advocates meritocracy and casts blame for the social situation of individuals, on the behavior and circumstances of the individual, without acknowledging the impact of oppression due to discriminatory practices within structures (Bonilla-Silva, 2006, 2015; Carter, 2018; Crenshaw et al., 1996; Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). Racial colorblindness, which is the practice of not

noticing race, ignores systems of privilege based on race and how systems of privilege disadvantage minorities through discrimination in the criminal justice system, housing, economics, education, and job opportunities (Delvin, 2017; Frankenberg et al., 2019; Haifa et al., 2016; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; 2016; Tolliver et al., 2016). Although laws, which included school integration and voting rights, made it illegal to prevent Blacks from attending white spaces and voting, appeared to be neutral and progressive, they were stifling racial progress and promoting White dominance (Brown, 2008; McGee & Stovall, 2015; Powell, 2018). Activists and scholars discerned that new theories, methodologies, and strategies were needed to address race, racism, and marginalized groups' subordination (Bell, 1980; Crenshaw, 1988; Delgado, 1995; Delgado & Stefancic, 2001, 2012).

CRT is rooted in Critical Legal Studies (CL) With class and economic structures as the center of analysis, CLS is, contended that laws, despite their neutrality claims, reflected and favored the views of those in economic and social class power, thereby perpetuating structural inequalities (Tate, 1997). Critical Race Theorists criticized CLS for minimizing the role of race in the context of U.S. institutions. Critical Race Theorists maintain that society is divided along racial lines and separated into the oppressors and oppressed (Bell, 1980; Crenshaw 1988, 2011; Delgado, 1995; Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). According to Delgado and Stefancic (2012), the main goal of CRT is to "transform the relationship among race, racism, and power" (p. 2) by analyzing economics, history, group, self-interests, feelings, and the unconscious.

CRT purports that reality is determined by society's social, political, and economic climate (Brown, 2008; Delgado & Stefancic, 2012; McGee & Stovall, 2015; Ortiz & Jani, 2010; Howard & Navarro, 2016). Critical race theorists examine this reality and recognize that racism has been etched into our society to create an imbalance in power (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012).

The theory examines and critiques the interplay of race, privilege, and power in manifesting inequality and subordination (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). CRT aims to empower the powerless in the hopes of evoking change on a societal level (Brown, 2008; Ortiz & Jani, 2010; Delgado & Stefancic, 2012; McGee & Stovall, 2015; Howard & Navarro, 2016). Through analysis, critical race theorists bring attention to racial stereotypes, racism, and other group-based oppression by questioning social constructs under the guise of liberal order. One type of liberal order is legal reasoning that protects hate speech directed at the oppressed because it falls under the First Amendment (Bell, 1980).

CRT's goal is to eliminate oppression by transforming the relationship between race, racism, and power (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). By offering a perspective of the lived experiences of Blacks, CRT challenges Eurocentric ideas and illuminates the discourse of racism and inequality, giving voice to those who have been silenced and marginalized (Brown, 2008; Delgado & Stefancic, 2012; Hayes, 2014; Howard & Navarro, 2016; McGee & Stovall, 2015; Ortiz & Jani, 2010).

Although CRT has its roots in legal research, it has been recognized in many other disciplines, such as family studies, sociology, and education (DeCuir & Dixson, 2004; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). In 1995, Ladson-Billings and Tate introduced CRT to K-12 education to analyze the persistence of racism in education (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Howard, 2008; Sleeter & Delgado, 2003; Yosso & Solórzano, 2005). Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995; 2016) offered a critique of systemic oppression in the context of historical and modern manifestations of race and how it dictates inequities in U.S. educational systems. The authors contended that the US has an ominous history of racial discrimination and segregation in education for Blacks, dating back to slavery when Blacks were forbidden to read and write to today, when Black

students are denied access to resources that are readily available to White students. While class and gender may affect school performance, the authors asserted that race is central. Ladson-Billings and Tate's (1995, 2016) examination of social and educational inequity centered on three premises; race is a determining factor in inequity, property rights define the U.S. social structure and the intersection of race and property. Through an examination of U.S. history, the authors contended that property rights, a foundation of U.S. society, guaranteed civil rights, social benefits, and power to Whites and ignored the human rights of Blacks (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1997, 2016). For example, under the 5th Amendment, ratified in 1791, White enslavers had the right to sell their property, which at the time included enslaved people; thus, the rights of Blacks were not considered (Constantine, 2006; Howard 2008; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1997, 2016; Pilon; 2017). U.S. history is muddled with instances when property rights took precedence over human rights, including slavery and the annexing of Native Americans in America's early and current history. The disconnect between human rights and property rights is still a factor in education. In education, property rights are aligned with intellectual rights, which reinforce the marginalization of people of color (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1996, 2016).

Central Tenets of Critical Race Theory

Critical Race Theory (CRT) analyzes and deconstructs race and racism in society. As CRT branched into other disciplines over the years, many tenets were added and revised. As developed by Solórzano and Yosso (2002), four tenets will frame Black students' experiences with racism. Solórzano and Yosso's (2002) tenets include the permanence and intercentricity of race and racism, critique of liberalism, commitment to social justice, and storytelling. Each CRT tenet is explained further in the next section.

Permanence and Intercentricity of Race and Racism

CRT scholars asserted that race is a category that society creates and adjusts based on our society's social, economic, and political times (Bell, 1980; Bell et al., 2016; Delgado & Stefancic, 2012; Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). CRT recognizes that race intersects with other social identities such as socioeconomic status, gender, and sexuality that contribute to oppression and discrimination individuals experience (Bell, 1980; Bell et al., 2016; Delgado & Stefancic, 2012; Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). According to CRT, racism is so deeply embedded (systemic) in U.S. history that it seems normal. Racism controls the political, legal, social, educational, and economic systems in the United States, which dictate dominant ideologies based on Eurocentric ideals (Bell, 1980; Bell et al., 2016; DeCuir & Dixon, 2004; Delgado & Stefancic, 2012; Golash-Boza, 2016; Solórzano & Yosso, 2002; McGee & Stovall, 2015; Powell, 2018). The U.S. hierarchical structure fuels systems of privilege and oppression by privileging white people over marginalized groups (Bell, 1980; Bell et al., 2016; DeCuir & Dixon, 2004; Delgado & Stefancic, 2012; Golash-Boza, 2016; Solórzano & Yosso, 2002; McGee & Stovall, 2015; Powell, 2018). The normalcy of racism is so entrenched in our society; that it is difficult for White people to detect; therefore, it goes unacknowledged (Bell, 1980; Bell et al., 2016; Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). The author contended that since racism is the norm in U.S. society, whiteness has the right to possess objects, rights, and privileges (Bell, 1980; Bell et al., 2016; Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). According to Harris (1993), white privilege is a possession that only Whites possess and coordinates with privileges not available to nonwhites. Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) examined White privilege in relation to educational institutions. The authors contended that White privilege is evident in educational institutions through curricula and policies established to service the White majority (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). To ensure white privilege in schools, resources for schools are contingent upon property values. Ladson-Billings and Tate's (1995)

findings indicated that low socioeconomic status is more prevalent for people of color and limits people of color's access to own property. Due to redlining, areas of cities are designated as desirable and undesirable, and people of color are designated to live in areas with low property value and low tax base (Ladson Billings, 1999; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). Since property value and taxes determine school funding, schools in high minority neighborhoods have limited access to funding for school resources; therefore, a disproportionate number of Black students in urban areas do not have access to a challenging curriculum, quality teachers, and other school resources (Ladson-Billings, 1998). Additionally, white as privilege is evident in school curricula and policies based on White America's status quo (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). All other races are compared to White America's standard. Oppressed groups that fall short of this normative standard are viewed as inferior and at fault. This deficit thinking about oppressed groups is often used to explain the academic gap (Solórzano & Yosso, 2001). Blame is placed on oppressed groups without considering the role of the systemic barriers in place in educational settings.

White as power is entrenched in U.S. systems that oppress people of color to maintain the power and dominance of Whites. The normalcy of racism is also evident in daily encounters of people of color (Bell et al., 2016; Golash-Boza, 2016; Sue, 2013). For example, according to Sue (2013), microaggressions are subtle daily slights in the form of words or actions by White people or society that "communicate negative messages addressed to people because of their membership in a marginalized group" (p. 663). Sue (2013) contended that since Whites sit at a place of privilege in society, they often do not realize the impact of the messages. Since the messages are subtle, they often leave the person of color questioning the messages' intent (Sue, 2013). The continuous delivery of these biased messages erodes the psychological well-being of

people of color and causes them to question themselves and their place in society (McGee & Stovall, 2015).

Critique of Liberalism

CRT challenges dominant ideologies such as liberalism, meritocracy, colorblindness, and equality, purporting that these ideologies conceal the dominant group's self-interests (Bell, 1980; Bonilla-Silva, 2014; Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; McGee & Stovall, 2015; Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). Liberalism promotes meritocracy and colorblindness, which purports equality. They, however, are mechanisms that allow ignorance of racist policies that perpetuate social inequity. The dominant ideology of meritocracy is liberalism, based on the belief that everyone in the United States has equal potential to succeed if they work hard (Bonilla-Silva, 2014; Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; McGee & Stovall, 2015). This premise insinuates that failure to attain goals is a product of individuals' failure to work hard, ignoring the disadvantages experienced and the lack of available opportunities to people of color (Reynolds & Xian, 2014). Similarly, colorblindness, which proclaims and encourages overlooking race to promote racial harmony, rejects the history of racial oppression that created inequity in opportunities and resources (Bonilla-Silva, 2014; Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; McGee & Stovall, 2015; Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). Bonilla-Silva (2014) asserted that the focus on individual freedoms and not seeing color ignores the systemic obstacles that people of color experience and reinforces the U.S. hierarchical racial structure that empowers Whites and disadvantages people of color.

Commitment to Social Justice

Yosso & Solórzano (2005) contended that CRT acknowledges that oppressed identities intersect and attempt to analyze, challenge, and eliminate all subordination forms. The commitment to social justice tenet stresses the importance of evoking societal changes with

equity as the goal. In education, the commitment to social justice includes challenging the educational status quo by dismantling the hierarchy of power and privilege that oppresses and marginalizes students of color (Ladson-Billings, 1995, 1998) under the guise of equity. Social justice includes revealing the dominant's group self-interest in programs and laws that allegedly are implemented to help marginalized groups (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017; McCoy & Rodricks, 2015). For example, the NCLB and ESSA were initiatives implemented to create equality by closing the achievement gap; however, funding for majority-minority failing schools was diverted through school choice to either charter schools or majority White schools (Darling-Hammond, 2011; Fritzberg, 2004; Ladd, 2017; Gay, 2007; Mathis & Trujillo, 2016). Social justice starts by disrupting deficit thinking and stereotypes, programs, and policies that reinforce the dominant culture's power and privilege. Steps towards achieving equity in education include acknowledging cultural differences, seeing experiential knowledge as assets to learning, and restructuring instruction educational institutions to value all learners (Ladson-Billings, 1995, 1998; McGee & Stovall, 2015). The commitment to social justice can "heal" the mental health and well-being of oppressed individuals, groups, and communities (McGee & Stovall, 2015, p. 500).

Storytelling and Counter-Storytelling

CRT acknowledges the importance of the personal stories or narratives of people of color that legitimize marginalized groups' racial experiences (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). CRT contends that this experiential knowledge is essential when identifying and analyzing systems of privilege and oppression (Delgado, 1989; Delgado & Stefancic, 2012; Ladson-Billings, 1998; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Solórzano and Yosso, 2002). Solórzano and Yosso (2002) purported that "critical race theory recognizes that the experiential knowledge of people of color

is legitimate, appropriate, and critical to understanding, analyzing, and teaching about racial subordination” (p. 26). Similarly, Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) stated, “the voice of people of color is required for a complete analysis of the educational system” (p. 58) and that giving voice to the oppressed is “a first step on the road to justice” (p. 58).” Ladson-Billings (1998) further argued that “adopting and adapting Critical Race Theory for educational equity means that we will have to expose racism in education and propose radical solutions for addressing it” (p. 22).

Counter-narratives legitimize marginalized groups' experiences, giving them the space to reveal their truths while also challenging the narrative dictated by Whites (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012).

The literature review connected the history of racism and discrimination to present-day racial barriers in the classroom.

Chapter 3: Methodology

This qualitative study explored how Black high school students from diverse urban public high schools in the Northeast region of the United States experience racism and discrimination. Phenomenological research captures the innermost meaning of a phenomenon that individuals experience to understand what that experience is like (Abayomi, 2017; Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016; Creswell, 2016; Wertz et al., 2011). The phenomenological approach is sensitive to the “meaning of lived experiences” of Black students who experienced racism and discrimination (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016, p. 48). First, this method places Black high school students’ experiences with racism and discrimination at the forefront of the study by allowing the researcher to capture the voices, describe, interpret, and understand the lived reality of Black high school students (Creswell, 2016). Second, garnering the perspective on phenomena experienced by marginalized groups offers voice to the oppressed that challenges society’s

normalized discourse (Crowther et al., 2016; Knauss, 2016; Griffith et al., 2019; McGee & Stovall, 2015; Schelbe et al., 2015). In seeking to understand the phenomena, this study addressed four research questions: that guided this study: (a) what are Black students' lived experiences of racism and discrimination in high school? (b) How did the lived experiences of racism and discrimination affect Black high school students' well-being? And (c) What strategies/practices and resources did the students use to counteract racist and discriminatory experiences?

This chapter chronicles the study's research methodology organized in the following areas: (a) rationale for qualitative research, (b) research questions, (d) summary of information needed to conduct the study, (e) overview of the research design, (f) pilot study and protocol development, (g) participant selection, (h) overview of research site, (i) the researcher's role in qualitative research, (j) data collection, (k) trustworthiness in data collection, (l) data analysis, and limitations of the study. The chapter culminates with a brief concluding summary.

Overview of Qualitative Research

Bloomberg and Volpe (2016) contend that qualitative research focuses on how “the complexities of the sociocultural world are experienced, interpreted, and understood in a particular context and at a particular point in time (p. 169).” Phenomenological research is a type of qualitative research that focuses on the meaning of the lived experiences of a phenomenon (Abayomi, 2017; Creswell, 2016). Rooted in philosophy, phenomenological research focuses on the lived experience of participants. Research can be transcendental or hermeneutical. One of the key factors in transcendental phenomenology is bracketing. Bracketing requires the researcher to set aside any personal preconceived notions, biases, and judgments, focusing solely on a descriptive analysis of the experience (Abayomi, 2017; Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016; Creswell, 2016). Hermeneutical phenomenology understands that

human experiences are entrenched in any meaning assigned to a phenomenon (Abayomi, 2017; Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016; Creswell, 2016). This research relied on the interpretation that was constantly revised based on the researcher's understanding of the whole while examining small parts of the text, then revised again as meaning emerged, and the commonality of all participants was identified (Abayomi, 2017; Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016; Creswell, 2016). Hermeneutic phenomenology requires researchers to collect and analyze in-depth data that answers the how what and why of a phenomenon (Creswell, 2016). Lincoln and Guba (1985) posit, "If you want people to understand better than they otherwise might, provide them information in the form in which they usually experience it" (p. 120). Therefore the data gathered in phenomenological research must be based on the participants' lived experiences.

Overview of Study Design

This section lists and gives a more detailed discussion of the steps used to conduct this research.

1. A review of the literature was conducted to determine the prior research in the area of racism and discrimination and students
2. The researcher obtained Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval to conduct the research. IRB required the researcher to outline procedures while adhering to standards required when studying vulnerable human subjects, including consent and assent, and confidentiality (Appendix H)
3. Flyers were posted at local eateries, laundromats, community centers, church information boards, barber shops, and hairdressers.

4. Since recruitment was slow, the researcher approached the director of the Enrichment Center near School 2, requesting to speak about the research to a group of students directly
5. Potential participants scanned the QR code on the flyer and left their contact information or left their contact information on an interest form. The researcher contacted each prospective participant. After a brief screening, those who qualified to participate in the study were asked to select a date, time, and location for the interview.
6. After parent consent and participant assent forms were signed, semi-structured, in-depth interviews were conducted with ten 10th-12th grade Black high school students from two diverse urban high schools in the northeastern part of the United States.
7. Interviews were recorded and transcribed verbatim using Otter.ai, and the researcher checked for accuracy.
8. The first two participants' responses were used as a pilot study to assess the interview protocol. Adjustments were made accordingly. The pilot study participants' data responses are not included in the final analysis
9. Each participant's transcription was emailed to that participant for member checking. They were given seven days to respond if a correction was necessary. Of the eight participants, 0 responded
10. Interview transcriptions were analyzed and hand-coded.

Literature Review

The literature review identified areas where students of color experienced struggles navigating educational institutions and the history of education institutions marginalizing

students of color. The literature highlighted the challenges in academic achievement, sense of belonging, mental and emotional wellness, and resiliency.

IRB Approval and Proposal

Approval to conduct research was obtained from Montclair State University's Institutional Review Board (IRB) in early March 2021. The researcher successfully defended the proposal for this study in late March 2021. The proposal included the introduction, statement of the problem, the significance of the research, the literature review, ethical issues, reflexivity, and the proposed methodological approach, including recruitment, data collection, and data analysis.

Study Design- Storytelling

Phenomenological research gathers stories of participants' lived experiences in the context of how history, society, culture, and institutions shape those experiences. Creswell (2016) contended that phenomenological research allows the researcher to pinpoint phenomena, gather information about the participants' experiences in context, and identify the essence of these experiences.

Storytelling as a means of communication has a long tradition in the lives of Blacks. According to Mahfouf and Al-Shetawi (2019), Griots in Africa were oral historians who shared the art of story-telling. The stories are passed down from generation to generation, shared history and culture, and reinforced moral codes (Mahfouf & Al-Shetawi, 2019). Africans were kidnapped from their villages, transported across the Atlantic Ocean, and sold into slavery. During slavery, enslaved people were forbidden to read and write, so like their African ancestors, enslaved people used the art of storytelling to communicate the hardships of their lived reality and expressed hope of escaping from it (Mahfouf & Al-Shetawi, 2019). In the form of stories and songs, the words fell on the deafened ears of slave owners but resonated with Black people,

enabling them to communicate their lived experiences, their hopes of escaping these experiences, and routes to freedom (Mahfouf & Al-Shetawi, 2019). CRT emphasizes lived experiences in the form of storytelling and counterstories, which allow populations that are most often overlooked and not heard the opportunity to reveal their reality (Delgado, 1995; Delgado & Stefanicic, 2012; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1996; Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). Additionally, CRT encompasses the historical foundations of racism and discrimination and how it influences society as it is experienced today; therefore, the following CRT tenets were used to analyze, code, and interpret the data in this study:

1. Permanence and Intercentricity of Race and Racism
2. Critique of Liberalism
3. Social Justice

The phenomenological design allowed the researcher to explore Black students' lived experiences of racism and discrimination, how Black high school students' experiences of racism and discrimination influenced their academic and socio-emotional well-being, and how they coped with racism and discrimination. Additionally, with analysis and coding other themes out of the scope of the CRT tenets emerged for which coding strategies were devised.

Pilot Study

To assess the research design, a pilot study was conducted with two Black high school students who attend diverse high schools in the northeast United States. The researcher recruited two extra participants and used them for a pilot study to determine the practicality of the procedures and evaluate the quality of the questions. The pilot study allowed the researcher to modify the questions and the interview format as necessary. One participant saw the recruitment flyer posted in the local library, then initiated interest in participating in the study by scanning

the QR code and entering their contact information. The researcher contacted the participant via telephone and screened him to determine if the participant fit the criteria for the study. The participant chose the public library for his interview. The researcher secured a private area in the library based on the date and time the participant requested. The participant was accompanied by his mother. Both assent and consent forms were signed, and both the mother and participant received a copy of the form they signed. The parent was not present during the interview. The interview was audio-recorded and transcribed using Otter.ai and then analyzed. The interview questions (Appendix E) were asked in sequential order and focused on the participant's experiences of racism and discrimination in his high school. The interview was 55 minutes long. At the end of the interview, the participant volunteered a friend whom he had mentioned often when recounting his experiences during the interview. His friend attended the same high school. Contact was made with the other participant who agreed to participate in the study. The second participant was interviewed the same day, at the same library but in a private room on the other side of the building. The data from these two participants were not included in the data analysis for this study; however, the data gathered gave the researcher insight into areas that needed modification in the interview process. The first notable change needed centered on functionality. The first participant was extremely soft-spoken, and there was background noise from a construction site nearby, which muddled the audio-recording of the participant's voice. Although Otter.ai transcribed the interview, upon reading and rechecking the transcript, the researcher noted numerous errors, most likely due to the loud noise in the background. The researcher corrected the transcript to ensure it matched what the participant said. Another adjustment needed centered on the questioning technique; analysis of the transcripts indicated that although the researcher used prompts, the prompts did not encourage the participants to elaborate further.

Lastly, both pilot study participants discussed racism and discrimination experienced outside of high school. One discussed experiences during the interview. The other participant mentioned that he felt validated after the interview and suggested experiences outside of high school should be included in the interview.

As a result of the pilot study, the following modifications were made:

1. In addition to the desk microphone, a lapel microphone was used for each participant. The microphone was able to pick up every utterance from participants. The interview was moved to a more quiet area of the library. This ensured that Otter.ai was able to record and transcribe more accurately.
2. The following probes were added to most of the interview questions to gain better insight into the participants' lived experiences of racism and discrimination in their diverse public high school:
 - a. Can you please elaborate on that
 - b. Tell me about a time when ...
 - c. Tell me more about it
 - d. Have you observed racism or discrimination?
 - e. Please be as specific as possible
 - f. How did that make you feel?
4. Participants were encouraged to share any other experiences of racism and discrimination they encountered outside of high school, including experiences from elementary and middle school.

Both participants were 12th-grade friends who attended School 1, which has over 1800 students.

Sample. Criterion-based sampling was used to recruit participants for this study who identified as Black, are current 10th-12th grade students at the identified schools, and have experienced racism and discrimination in high school. Qualitative research uses criterion-based sampling to ensure participants have experienced the phenomena being investigated (Abayomi, 2017; Crowther et al., 2015; Wertz et al., 2011). Snowball sampling was utilized because finding participants was stalled for a few weeks after posting the first flyer. Additionally, it appeared that the number of participants would fall short of the targeted number of eight. Snowball sampling consisted of asking participants and local organizations to refer other Black high school students they knew fit the study's criteria. Two of the participants from School 1 were members of Black Lives United (pseudonym). All of the participants from School 2 were affiliated with their local enrichment center. The criteria for the selection of participants were as follows:

- All participants identified as Black,
- All participants were current 10th-12th grade students at the identified school,
- All participants experienced real or perceived racism and discrimination in high school.

The researcher decided on participants in 10th-12th grades since current 9th graders did not have adequate experience with in-person learning at the high school level due to school transitioning to remote learning in March 2019 and remaining remote until September 2021.

The research sample for this study consisted of eight participants from two different high schools in two different counties in the northeastern region of the United States. Individual semi-structured interviews took place from October 2021 through February 2022. All participants in School 1 contacted the researcher via email after either hearing about the study or seeing the flyer. Two of the participants from School 2 contacted the researcher via email after scanning the

QR code on the flyer, while the other two participants signed up for the study when the director of their paid after-school program outside of school announced the research. All interviews Meeting places and times of the interviews were decided by each participant, based on what was convenient for them. One participant from School 1 chose to meet in a private room of the local library, and three participants decided to meet during the quiet hours at the local community center. Three of the participants from School 2 were selected to be interviewed in a private room at the after-school enrichment program they attended. One participant chose a local cafe as the meeting location. She arrived with her mom and a baby in a stroller. The interview took place in a private booth in the cafe. Her mom and the baby remained on the opposite side of the cafe for the entire interview.

Sample size. The sample size for this study was eight high school students. Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggested that sampling continues until information obtained from participants becomes redundant. Redundancy is characterized when participants' responses to interview questions are the same, and new information about the phenomena is not gleaned from the interview. This redundancy indicates that the sample size is sufficient (Creswell, 2016). Creswell (2016) contended that when using a phenomenological design, a sample of 3-15 participants is suggested; however, the phenomena under investigation, and the data's richness should also be considered. Additionally, the author suggested reviewing research to determine the sample size (Creswell, 2016). An analysis of research that utilized phenomenological design indicates that eight participants signify saturation, the point at which no new information is emerging (Abayomi, 2017; Schelbe et al., 2015; Wertz et al., 2011). The research had hoped to get an equal number of male and female students from Schools 1 and 2; however, the sample included three males and one female student from each school. Merriam & Tisdell (2016)

contended that the ambiguity of human subjects and social issues make it difficult to identify definitive protocol before data collection.

Recruitment. Recruitment was directed toward students from the identified high schools. The schools were chosen because of several student and guardian reports to community leaders of the inequity in Black students' treatment. Creswell (2016) contended that "in qualitative research, it is essential that participants have experienced the phenomena" under investigation (p. 110). Participants were recruited through flyers soliciting Black high school adolescents who have experienced real or perceived race-based unfair treatment at their high school (see Appendix A). The flyers were posted at local community centers, public libraries, eateries, laundromats, barber shops, hair salons, and churches. As indicated on the flyer, parents of interested participants who met the criteria of being a Black high school students who experienced racism or discrimination at a local public high school had the option to contact the researcher via email to learn more about the study. None of the potential participants or their parents requested more information. Parents of participants gave written, informed consent before the interview began. The parents were then led to the designated waiting area. Parents were not present for the interview. With signed parent consent forms, the potential participants signed assent forms (see Appendix C and Appendix D). The consent and assent form advised the participants and their parents of their rights, which included the purpose of the study, the right to withdraw from the study at any time without penalty, the ability to refuse to answer a question, confidentiality, benefits to participation, and possible adverse effects of participation. Participants received an Amazon gift card with a value of up to \$15 as compensation for their time and participation. To ensure that participants participated by choice and not for an incentive or being coerced, compensation was distributed at \$5 at three different intervals, after the consent

and assent forms were signed, in the middle of the interview, and after the interview (Schelbe et al., 2015).

Setting. The participants were students from two large urban high schools in the northeast. The student population for both schools was both racially and economically diverse. The schools were chosen because of a history of complaints centering on race. The researcher was privy to the complaints and concerns since she had well-established relationships with community stakeholders in both school districts. The following information describes the school settings. The schools included in the study are referred to as School 1 and School 2. Information about the locations for most interviews is also included.

School 1

The enrollment for School 1 during the 2021-2022 academic year was 1,929 9th – 12th-grade students and 134 full-time classroom teachers. At the time of data collection, the student population consisted of adolescents from the town and four surrounding majority White towns. The racial makeup of students is 37% Latinx, 28% Black, 30% White, and 5% other. Approximately 60% of the school is eligible for free or reduced lunch. Over 90% of the teacher population is White. In March 2020, School 1 transitioned to remote learning due to the pandemic. September 2021 marked the school's return to full-time in-person learning for students and staff. The school has incorporated alternative discipline measures for the school for Spring 2022.

Community Center -School 1

The community center is a refuge in School 1's community. It is a non-profit organization that provides services and programs to the underserved community where School 1 is located. The center's mission is outreach to the community to ensure the best interest of

minorities, and disadvantaged families are acknowledged and honored. The facility is located approximately four blocks from School 1 and is nestled among the housing projects where most students of color from the high school reside. Many of the high school students have attended the community center during their elementary and middle school years. As a result, the community center is a safe haven for the students. High school students often stop by to say hello, assist the staff, pick up their younger siblings or participate in one of the center's activities or programs.

Public Library -School 1

The newly renovated library offers various activities geared towards different age groups. The library provides culturally relevant and age-appropriate literature that encourages self-esteem and reviews the history and the contributions that minorities have made. The teen program provides workshops and activities for students 7-12. Many students are comfortable in this space since the library has been a significant source of resources for students.

Black Lives United -School 1

Black Live United is a community group formed shortly after the police killing of George Floyd. Community organizer witnessed the difficulty the Black community member experienced in processing their feeling about police brutality and other forms of racism and discrimination. The group started as an online platform for adult community members but n time branched off to serving the children of these adults. The high school group which meets on a bi-weekly basis is facilitated by community members. The meetings are held at a local church's family center.

School 2

The enrollment for School 2 during the 2021-2022 school year was over 2000 9th-12th grade students and 157 full time teachers, and one part-time teacher. Student population

generated from one town. The racial makeup of students was 44% Latinx, 25% Black, 28% White and 3% other. Approximately 48% of the student population is eligible for free or reduced lunch. The researcher could not find any information that gave the racial breakdown of the teachers. Data indicated that 38% of white students, 10 % of Black students, 13% of Latinx students, and 33% of other race students were enrolled in advanced placement classes. Although the school district has adopted more innovative strategies to address discipline issues, data indicates that less than 1% of white and Hispanic students received an out-of-school suspension. In comparison, 4% of Black students were penalized with out-of-school suspensions. Similar to School 1, in March 2020, School 1 transitioned to remote learning due to the pandemic. October 2021 marked the school's return to full time in-person learning for students and staff.

Enrichment Center- School 2

The enrichment center has forged a relationship with Black families in the community. The center has provided high school students cultural training workshops and afterschool homework and tutoring programs. The center has several rooms, each invitingly decorated and geared towards a post-secondary option. Over four years since the center opened in 2018, it has become a staple for the Black community surrounding School 2. While the enrichment center still provides services, as mentioned earlier, the center's function has evolved into a safe space for teens to talk, process and reflect on their racialized experiences. A former student of School 2 founded this for-profit company. The company's website recounts her racialized experiences at School 2. She was inspired to start the center based on the lack of outlets for black teens. At the time of data collection, the center offered drop-in options for high school students and had 15 high school students who attended the afterschool program regularly.

Data Collection Methods

Students had to be current 10th-12th grade high school students at the selected high schools in the northeast, identify as Black, and experienced racism in their high school. To maintain confidentiality, and since the high school setting was a source of stress based on the students' racialized experiences, recruitment and interviews occurred outside the school. The local eateries, community center, public library, and enrichment centers were designated interview locations. The criteria for the location included the space that allowed privacy and the ability for the researcher and participant to remain six feet apart. The designation of which location was chosen by the participant and the parent. Based on the Center for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) guidelines at the time of the interviews, Montclair State University's COVID protocol for research, the designated site, and the local health departments recommendations, the researcher and each participant and parents were screened for COVID exposure and symptoms using the questionnaire indicated in Appendix B remained 6-feet apart and wore a mask that covered their mouth and nose throughout the interview to reduce the spread of COVID 19. Additionally, the area and any items used during the interview were disinfected after each participant's use.

Phenomenological interviews aim to gather detailed, in-depth information about a specific experience (Abeyomi, 2017; Lauterbach, 2018). Interview questions are geared toward getting details about the experiences and the participants' perceptions during and after the experience, thereby telling stories of the actual experiences (Abeyomi, 2017; Lauterbach, 2018); Werz et. al., 2011). Sharing of stories based on lived realities is a qualitative method in CRT that captures participants' lived experiences (Delgado, 1990). Bell (1995) asserted that story-telling is a tradition passed down through generations and acts as a powerful tool to learn about history, contest normative narratives (counterstories) and create a collective consciousness. After signing

consent and assent forms, participants participated in one-on-one semi-structured interviews with the researcher. All interviews were approximately 1 hour and 30 minutes long and took place in locations and at times as decided by each participant. The semi-structured interviews utilized probes that allowed the participant to expand on answers and formulate stories, thereby revealing the participant's reality. The probes asked participants to clarify and or expand their responses. Stories of experiences were prompted by "tell about a time when you experienced being treated differently because of your color" (Roulston, 2010). With the participants' permission, the interviews were audio-recorded using Otter.ai. Otter.ai is a voice-to-text transcription software. The researcher then listened and cross-checked each transcript to ensure the interviews were transcribed correctly by Otter.ai. After member-checking the transcripts with participants for accuracy, the transcripts were hand-coded by the researcher to identify themes.

Semi-Structured Interviews. Each face-to-face interview with high school participants was approximately 90 minutes long and at locations chosen by each participant. Four participants were from School 1, and four participants were from School 2. Three interviews with students from School 1 took place in a private room of the local public library and one took place in an office at the community center. The three interviews from School 2 took place at a community enrichment center, and one took place in a booth at a local cafe. In phenomenological research, an interview aims to gather information about a phenomenon experienced by a group of people to gain a deeper understanding of their lived realities (Creswell, 2016; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Further, CRT scholars Delgado and Stefancic (2012) contended that capturing the voices of subordinated groups' lived experiences with racism allows social injustices to be viewed through the lens of the oppressed. The interview protocol for face-to-face semi-structured interviews starts with prepared, structured questions but allows the researcher to ask follow-up questions to

gain further insight into the phenomena (Lauterbach, 2018; Neubauer et al., 2019). After introductions and a description of the study, including their rights, the researcher gathered demographic information. The interview questions were developed to collect information to address the research questions, including defining racism and discrimination, reflection on their experiences of racism and discrimination, and strategies and resources that have helped them navigate racialized spaces and experiences. Each participant was debriefed after the interview. Debriefing reiterated the purpose of the study, confidentiality, a list of local resources for emotional support if needed, and contact information for any questions or concerns about the study. Additionally, the researcher and each participant discussed how much of the information shared during the meeting was already shared with parents. The researcher also obtained permission to email each participant a transcript of his/her responses to check for accuracy.

Recordings. All interviews were audio-recorded (with permission from the participants) and transcribed by Otter.ai, a recording and transcribing platform. To ensure confidentiality, each participant was assigned a number (e.g., Participant 1-Participant 8). Additionally pseudonyms were used in place of the name of local community group or organization that participants were affiliated with. All audio recordings and transcripts were physically, administratively, and technically safeguarded to protect all participants' privacy and confidentiality. These safeguards included using private rooms for interviews, secure filing cabinets for hard copies, and 2-step authentication password-protected access to digital data limited to the researcher.

Reflective Journals. The researcher kept a reflective journal and field notes to record her insights, feelings, expectations, observations, reactions, and biases. A reflective journal and field notes of the researcher's observations during the interview helped facilitate interpretation of the

text, record the researcher's biases, added rigor to qualitative research, and provided additional data during analysis (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016).

Data Analysis

All audio recordings of interviews were transcribed using Otter.ai, which prepared the collected data for analysis (Creswell, 2016). The researcher read each transcript as soon as possible after the interview and compared it to the audiotape to ensure accuracy. The researcher reread each transcript several times, first to garner an understanding of each participant's words, then used the constant comparative method to make ongoing comparisons of the identified words, phrases, and ideas across transcripts to form categories and themes as new data was examined (Glasser, 1965). As part of the member-checking process, and as indicated in the assent form and debriefing of participants, the transcripts were emailed to each corresponding participant's personal email address to review for accuracy. The participants were given one week to make changes and return to the researcher. Transcripts not returned within the one-week time frame were considered correct, and analysis proceeded. After the 7-days of waiting for a response, the researcher reread the transcripts. The researcher followed the steps to coding as offered in Creswell's (2016) essential skills for the qualitative researchers. The transcripts, as transcribed by Otter.ai and then saved and stored on a password personal computer. The researcher used hard copies of the transcripts for manual coding. The researcher reread each hard copy of each transcript and highlighted words, phrases, or paragraphs within the text, noting thoughts, impressions, observations and possible themes in the margins. The researcher also reviewed field notes, journal entries, and observation checklists. This first round of coding explored all data looking for consistencies. Hard copies of the transcripts were stored in a locked file cabinet at the researcher's office.

CRT was used to frame, analyze and interpret the data gathered. Creswell (2016) purported that coding text data is essential to qualitative research since most qualitative research data is in the form of text, whether in the form of documents, field notes, observations, or transcribed interviews. The researcher used hand coding to analyze data and included observations, such as non-verbal cues and silences in the analysis. Creswell (2016) contended that when analyzing data, the analysis procedure involves a) data management, b) reading and memoing, d) identifying and grouping codes, e) identifying themes, and “writing a theme passage” (p158), f) use themes to develop a conceptual map, g) develop a narrative story that summarizes the themes that capture the reality of the participants. The researcher adhered to Creswell’s (2016) data coding steps and constantly compared the data as each transcript was coded. Each transcript, transcribed by Otter.ai, was reread several times to allow the researcher to gain familiarity with the data until the researcher garnered an understanding of the text. After member-checking for accuracy, the researcher with the research questions in mind, reread each transcription, reviewed the audit trail, field notes, and observations checklists, and made notations in the margins. The researcher began the first cycle of hand-coding by highlighting, underlining, circling, and making notations on the hard copies of the transcripts and their relationship to the study were made in the margins. The notes included emerging thoughts, questions about the text, impressions, observations, memos, and concepts addressed in the literature and summarized the meaning emerging from the data (Creswell, 2016; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016).

In the second coding cycle, the researcher examined, interpreted, and classified the words, phrases, and notations to form categories. (Creswell, 2016; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016).The researcher then used axial coding. Axial coding analyzes all open codes, notations, and journal

notes to identify how the codes are connected. Through interpretation and reflection, categorizes the codes into a list of themes and the groups that emerged from these recurring themes. Table 1 displays the themes of the experiences of Black high school students. The list of themes was then analyzed, grouped, and reorganized to identify the commonness in their relationship to how they answered the research questions. The researcher then separated the groups into easily identifiable sub-themes that offered insight into the CRT tents. Table 2 presents a visual representation of how the themes fall under each CRT tent. The themes and sub-themes identified from hand-coding illuminated the phenomena of Black high school students' experiences with racism and discrimination (Creswell, 2016; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Issues derived from the literature and CRT tenets were used to categorize and analyze the data.

Table 1

First Cycle Codes						
slow learner	different	support	outsider	doubted	challenge	judged
negative	unmotivated	invisible	ignored	not valued	defeated	
isolated						
intimidating	worthless	different	questioned	angry	less than	self-
doubt						
racist	discrimination	not smart	thief	loud	law breaker	coping
lazy	criminal	race	hair	insulted	safe space	sad
upset	distant	trust	bond	talk	athletes	focus
low expectations		distracted	hurt	connected	safe	relief
undeserving						

Table 2

Permanence and intercentricity of race and racism	Critique of liberalism	Social Justice	Story and counter storytelling
Curriculum	Stereotypes	Creating Black spaces	Valuing experiential voice

Students educators	Identity opportunities	Equity in curriculum opportunity Empowering Black voices	Providing space to acknowledge Black voices/history Updating curriculum to include more Black history and voices
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Table 3

Emergent Themes			
Confidence in self a learner Supportive social network sense of belonging	criminality overcoming stereotypes	need to prove oneself White norms	doubts by others Black history

The themes that emerged from the data, as noted in Table 3, supported the literature presented in Chapter 2 and exemplified the following CRT tenets:

1. Permanence and intercentricity of race and racism
2. Critique of liberalism
3. Social Justice

Trustworthiness

The trustworthiness in qualitative research refers to how accurately the researcher's description and analysis of the data correctly represent the reality of the participants, in addition to the assurance that the researcher was able to control for "potential biases that may have been present throughout the design, implementation, and analysis of the study" (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016 p 176). Lincoln and Guba (1985) argued that a study's credibility, dependability, confirmability, and transferability must be assessed to determine the trustworthiness of qualitative research.

Credibility. Credibility refers to the study's findings' accuracy and is an essential criterion in assessing qualitative research's trustworthiness. From the researcher, participants, and the reader's perspective, credibility establishes the validity of the conclusions found by examining the study's purpose, research questions, design, and methodology (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016; Connelly, 2016). The researcher kept an audit trail to describe a record of the activities and processes. The researcher also determined the validity of the research questions' by utilizing a pilot study of two participants whose data only modified the research process. Additionally, the researcher used triangulation by cross-checking multiple data collection methods, including interviews, observations, reflective journal entries, and field notes. The researcher used member checking by sharing the transcripts with participants for their feedback and to confirm the transcriptions accurately reflected the participant's experiences to establish validity (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016; Connelly, 2016; Creswell, 2016).

Dependability. Dependability focuses on if the study has enough information to be replicated with consistent findings. The researcher kept an audit trail as a record to document consistency in the researcher's process. Audit trails help to confirm the research study's findings by illustrating that the findings are based on the participants' responses and absent of the researcher's biases (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016).

Transferability. Transferability addresses consumers' ability to apply the research findings to other times, spaces, and settings (Connelly, 2016; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Although it is the responsibility of the reader to determine if the research results can be applied to other situations, populations, and spaces, it is the researcher's responsibility to provide precise information so that the reader can make that determination (Connelly, 2016; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). The researcher established transferability by keeping copious records and journaling that

included telling a story with vivid details about the research, including setting, participants, conditions, observations, and the phenomena. According to Lincoln and Guba (1985), providing a full, detailed description can help transferability. Additionally, the researcher was transparent about the analysis.

Confirmability. Confirmability ensures that the research findings are objective, free of the researcher's biases, and reflect the participants' voices (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016). Creswell (2016) contended that in qualitative data, especially research involving marginalized groups, the researcher must self-reflect to assure that personal biases do not influence any part of the research process. To safeguard the study from researcher's bias, the researcher evaluated and reflected on any preconceived notions and personal and literature-based biases through reflexivity and bracketing (Creswell, 2016; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016).

Reflexivity/Positionality

Creswell (2016) stated that when conducting phenomenological research, bracketing is necessary to ensure personal experiences with the phenomena do not influence the researcher's approach, interpretation, and reporting of the study. In positioning herself in the study, the researcher knew she had to take precautions to manage bias in all the research process stages. Merriam and Tisdell (2016) contended that confirmability could be established by using a dialogue about biases, reflective journaling/memoing, and transparency in the process, including acknowledging bias and positions of power and privilege. The researcher kept a memo journal as a running record of when biases and preconceived notions arose throughout the research process. The document and running record were filed and used as a source for self-reflection and self-awareness (Creswell, 2016; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). The researcher is a Black female high school counselor who has worked for 29 years in a large urban high school. Merriam and Tisdell

(2016) posited the concept of the researcher's positionality in reference to the research context, participants, and position of power which determines the researcher's insider/outsider status. As an insider, on both a personal and professional level, the researcher is aware of institutionalized racism and bias and how systems of oppression further marginalize students of color (Milner, 2007). On a personal level, the researcher attended a public high school in a large urban area and experienced racism as a high school student and as an adult both within and outside educational spaces. As a school counselor, the researcher has first-hand knowledge about Black students' and parents' experiences with racism. The researcher is aware that her position of privilege can both enhance and deny her access to the participants' lived experiences (Milner, 2007). Since the researcher is a Black woman, participants may feel more comfortable and open about sharing their lived experiences of racism and discrimination. She is also aware of how her position of power within the researcher and participants' relationships could affect research. The researcher was transparent by utilizing a reflective journal, memos, audit trails, member checking, and her research position to establish the study's trustworthiness (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016). The researcher hoped this research would give voice to and legitimize marginalized students' experiences to evoke change in educational spaces.

Ethical Considerations

This research was conducted in accordance with the ethical guidelines of Montclair State University Institutional Review Board (IRB). As indicated in the consent and assent forms (Appendices B and C), privacy, confidentiality, integrity, protection of the participants, and the right to withdraw from the study were addressed. Creswell (2016) stipulated marginalized groups can include many subgroups. The participants in this study are marginalized because of the intersection of race, age, and socioeconomic status. According to Creswell (2016), barriers to

collecting data from marginalized groups include access to willing participants, trust issues based on marginalized groups' perceptions of the researcher, the position of power, and the research process. Additionally, cultural concerns can arise if they lack knowledge about the population. Unfamiliarity with the population's cultural norms, values, and beliefs can misinterpret what the participants communicated. The researcher established relations with stakeholders in both communities and easily developed a rapport with the population, so access and trust was already established before interviews were conducted. The researcher's positionality designates her as an insider in relation to her helping position, race, and culture.

Strengths and Limitations

Qualitative research has both strengths and limitations. Limitations include the general critique of the research methodology in gathering and interpreting data. Critics of qualitative research contend that research is limited because of the researcher's subjectivity and bias. In reference to this research the issue of subjectivity and possible bias is a limitation because of the researcher's experiences of racism and discrimination. Additionally, face-to-face semi-structured interviews allowed the researcher to gather in-depth descriptions of the participants' live reality and captured the essence of the experiences of racism and discrimination experienced by Black high school students, it is not comprehensive. The findings reveal information gleaned from one study by a specific researcher at a given time and place (Abayomi, 2017; Crowther et al., 2016).

The researcher addressed this limitation of subjectivity and bias by being transparent about her positionality. Additionally, the researcher kept and referred to detailed notes that included her assumptions and reactions in an audit trail, reflective journal, and field notes.

This research used snowball recruitment strategies. Although snowball sampling is utilized in phenomenological research, more random sampling could have yielded more diverse

findings. Another limitation is that this study cannot be generalized to other school districts. The participants were recruited from two different large diverse, urban high schools in the northeast region of the United States. Seven of the participants had an affiliation with a community cultural awareness group. The experiences of Black students in smaller schools, different types of communities, in other regions of the country, and not involved in cultural awareness programs may have garnered different outcomes.

Chapter 3 Summary

Chapter 3 described the research methodology utilized for this study. Phenomenological research was used to present the lived experiences of Black high school students' experiences of racism and discrimination. The sample consisted of eight Black high school students who experienced the phenomena. Data collection consisted of individual face-to-face semi-structured interviews recorded and transcribed by Otter.ai and checked by the researcher for accuracy. The transcripts were analyzed and hand-coded for emergent themes. Issues of trustworthiness were addressed by utilizing various strategies including the researcher keeping an audit trail, field notes, member checking, journaling, and stating the researcher's reflexivity.

Chapter 4

Introduction

This chapter presents the results of a phenomenological study that investigated the lived experiences of eight Black students enrolled in two diverse high schools in the northeastern part of the United States. The chapter contains the findings from eight in-depth interviews of participants who were part of the study. The chapter presents the demographics, personal portraits and the major themes illuminated by the participants' voices in the interviews that answered the research questions and supported the literature and CRT themes.

<i>Participant 1</i>	17	M	Black and Native American	4th year	12	Free lunch	CP 9 & 10th Honors & AP 11th & 12th	Smart but question myself often	1
<i>Participant 2</i>	16	M	Biracial (Black)	3rd year	11	no	Honors 11 th , CP previous years	fast learner	2
<i>Participant 3</i>	15	M	Black	2nd year	10	yes	no	Don't know	2
<i>Participant 4</i>	16	M	Black	3rd year	11	yes	no	lazy	2
<i>Participant 5</i>	15	F	Black	2 nd year	10	yes	no	slow	1
<i>Participant 6</i>	17	M	Black	1 st year (transfer)	12	yes	Special education	It takes time, but I get it	1
<i>Participant 7</i>	18	M	Black	1 st year (transfer)	12	yes	no	I do my work	1
<i>Participant 8</i>	18	F	Black	3 rd year	11	no	Honors curriculum	fast	2

Participant Personal Profiles

Participant 1 (pseudonym) was the first participant interviewed after the pilot study interviews. He was an 18-year-old 12tader who attended School 1. He identified himself as a Black male mixed with Native American. His mom is one-fourth - and his father is one-eighth. When asked what percentage that makes him, he replied, “a lot of -but most people only see me

as Black.” He has light brown skin and a tightly coiled short afro. He sat awkwardly at the conference table, fidgeting his hands with his eyes cast down and an occasional glance to his left and right. He was small in stature and often adjusted himself in the chair to ensure his feet touched the floor.

At first, participant 1 appeared very uncomfortable but grew more relaxed as the interview progressed. He described himself as an eager learner whose eagerness is thwarted by others. He struggles with social relationships in and out of school and prefers activities where he can work independently. He equates his interest in computers to his desire to work alone. Participant 1 acknowledged that he was not given the option to enroll in honors classes until his sophomore year. He enrolled in three honors courses and finished all three with a B average. He completed one advanced placement class and one honors-level class with a B average in his junior year. He averages a B in two advanced placement classes and one honors class this year. Despite his performance in the classes, Participant 1 stated that most of his honors teachers asked him at several points during the semesters if he “thought about dropping down to a college preparatory level.”

Participant 2 is a star three-season athlete at School 2. He is 6 '5", is a muscular junior at School 2. He appeared to be very comfortable and confident. When he entered the interview room after signing consent and assent forms, he reintroduced himself and shook the hand of the researcher. He sat and leaned back in the seat. His skin was light mocha, and he often ran his right hand through his curly dark brown hair when responding to the interview questions. Participant 2 identified as Black but is Biracial with a Black mom and White father. He considers himself a fast learner and a very social person, and an avid writer.

Participant 2 admitted that although he received all A's during his freshman year, he was only recommended for honors-level classes in English. To challenge himself, Participant 1 convinced his parents to sign a waiver of recommendation so that he could enroll in an honors science class. During the summer before his sophomore year, his parents received an email stating that a college prep level would be a better fit for Participant 2. Participant 2 was determined to "prove that teacher wrong." He completed the Honors science class with an A-average that year. Despite his performance, he was again overlooked for the honors level science class for his junior year. Participant 2 recalls that every year including this year, his parents had to sign a waiver of recommendation forms so that he could take honors and advanced placement history and science classes. At the time of the interview, Participant 2 had a grade point average of 3.67 on a 4.0 scale.

Participant 3 is a 10th grader in School 2. Due to the pandemic shutdown, he spent the entire 9th grade as a remote learner. September 2021 marked the first time he entered high school. He had difficulty adjusting to remote learning last year and now is having difficulty adjusting to in-person learning. When asked what type of learner he was, he responded "I don't know." Participant 3 identified as Black. He was short, stocky, and had medium brown skin. He wore his hair in braids and constantly twirled his front braid around his index finger. He stated that doing that helped him to focus. Participant 3 is aware of how others think of him; "everybody think I'm stupid or something, but I'm not," when asked why he believes that, he replied, "They always look at me like I'm dumb." When asked to elaborate, he shook his head and asked to move on with the rest of the interview. Participant 3 was open and responded elaborately to the interview questions.

Participant 4 was a 16-year-old male from School 2. He is a football player who wants to play at the next level. His position on the team requires him to maintain a specific weight to which he has not had any problems. He referred to himself as “my fat Black ass” several times. He was dark skin, with tightly coiled hair, about 5’9, and weighed “close to 260 pounds.” When asked to describe himself as a learner, he responded with one word “lazy.” When asked why he describes himself as a lazy learner, he replied, “I’ve been called that my whole life. He continued, “especially now that I’m a man- they see me this big and this Black and teachers be like I’m lazy, and anyplace else they think dangerous, shit they probably think dangerous at school too you know how it is.” Participant one is enrolled in a basic curriculum and when asked how he is performing he responded, “Aight, I’m just lazy.” He expressed concern that he may not have the required GPA to be eligible for National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA). When answering interview questions, the researcher noted Participant 4 often changed the subject and had to be redirected to the question. He stated that the only place he feels accepted is on the football field because “teachers be like, why you here, you don’t do work.”

Participant 5 is a 15-year-old 10th grader from School 1. She spoke with an accent and identified herself as Black. Her family moved to the United States just before she entered 9th grade. She has brown skin with shoulder-length dreads and one gold front tooth. She considers herself a slow learner. Due to the COVID shutdown, September 2021 marked the first time she experienced in-person learning at the high school level in the United States. She stated that there was a lot to learn because they did not use computers for learning in Jamaica. Despite this, she liked remote learning better for two reasons: it allowed her more time to complete work at her pace, and the other reason was that she could have her camera off. When asked why the latter was a factor, she said, “Teachers can’t see me.” Participant 5 also expressed that she doesn't like

to speak in class because some White teachers always “say to me repeat it slower” or try “to change what me say.” She appeared very comfortable and talkative during the interview.

Participant 6 is a 17-year-old male who transferred to School 1 in September 2021, the start of his senior year. He is over 6'3, has dark skin, wears a short afro, and has a muscular build. He is quiet in his demeanor. He indicated that the school he transferred from was also diverse, and he played football there. He decided to enroll in School 1 “because of the football program.” He mentioned his Individual Education Program (IEP) several times during the interview. He said that it takes time to learn, but he eventually gets it. He said that he takes school seriously and keeps his “cool” even when faced with how some teachers treat him. Participant 6 recalled many instances in which he was humiliated by the same White teacher in front of the entire class. He stated, “Even though I was burning up inside my heart and soul, my head told me not to react because I know how it is out there, they look at me, and then I’m the aggressor.” He said that his grades are good, and he hopes to play football in college.

Participant 7 is an 18-year-old 12th-grade transfer football player. He transferred to School 1 at the start of his senior year. He is about 6 feet tall, has medium brown skin, and has a muscular build. He identified as Black and described himself as an average learner. When asked to clarify what he meant, he replied, “sometimes I get it, sometimes I don’t.” Despite his size, he is quiet and reserved, which goes against what people think when they see him. He appears cautious in what he reveals about himself but open about his experiences of racism and discrimination. For example, when he mentioned his job, he pointed out not identifying where he worked and stated, “I keep that private-don’t want people showing up there because they know me.” He has experienced many instances of racism and discrimination since he enrolled at

School 1. Participant 7 wants to play football at the next level; however, he plans to attend a junior college next year to “get more looks from college coaches.”

Participant 8 was an 18 year old 11th-grade honors and advanced placement student from School 2. She was tall, slim, dark skin, and curly shoulder length black hair. She was one of the few Black students who had been scheduled in an advanced curriculum since grade 9. Even though she was 18 years old, parental consent to participate was required by the researcher. She appeared comfortable during her interview and expanded on many of the questions with elaborate stories of her experiences. Although she has maintained an A average in all of her classes, she sometimes felt that some teachers and peers questioned her presence in advanced curriculum her presence in the advanced curriculum. She indicated that she always felt like an outsider since there were so few Blacks in the class and teachers and peers often questioned the ability of Black students. For example, she recalled when she walked in the first day of her AP Biology class, and a White student commented while laughing “what are you even doing here? This is an AP class.” Some teachers reinforced this perception. For instance, some teachers always grouped the Black students together when putting students in groups. Additionally, some teachers often questioned the work of Black students by asking the rest of the class, “so what do you think of that answer?” something they never did to White students. Her right to be in an advanced curriculum was questioned even further when she became pregnant in 10th grade. She continued to perform well; however, a few of her teachers suggested on several occasions, “Honey, I don’t think you will be able to keep up with the workload.” The messages suggested that she would never make it as a Black teen mom. Participant 8 completed 10th grade with Grade Point Average of 4.0 on a 4.0 scale. She gave birth to a girl in August 2021 and returned to school in September 2021. At the time of the interview, Participant 8 was still an A student.

Results

The purpose of this phenomenological research was to explore Black high school students lived experiences of racism and discrimination in their high schools. The researcher believed that capturing the voices of Black students' lived reality would help inform teacher training, school practices, programs, and policies to foster an equitable community of trust and inclusion. Additionally, giving voice to Black students would make them feel acknowledged, validated, and empowered to be agents of social change. This section presents the results of the eight semi-structured individual interviews that captured the voices of eight Black high students. The transcribed interview words were hand-coded, analyzed, and categorized into themes that answered three CRT driven research questions:

1. What are Black students' lived experiences of racism and discrimination in high school?
2. How did the lived experiences of racism and discrimination affect Black high school students' well-being?
3. What strategies/practices and resources did the students use to counteract racist and discriminatory experiences?

The following section presents the participants' voices in block quotes taken directly from the transcripts. The research question is presented, followed by the identified theme and participant quotes. Direct quotes provide a thick, rich description which depicts the true reality of participants and assist the researcher in drawing conclusions and interpreting the data (Creswell, 2016). Utilizing participants, exact words also demonstrates CRT's tenet of storytelling and gives voice to Black high school students' lived experiences of racism and discrimination in their diverse high schools.

Research Question 1: What are Black students' lived experiences of racism and discrimination in high school?

Analysis of the voices of the eight Black students indicated that the participants experienced racism and discrimination in their interactions with peers, educators, and the curriculum daily. Their stories fell under the following themes: a) negative stereotypes, b) denial of Black history/culture, and c) equating equity. Their stories reflect the systemic nature of racism and discrimination that Black students encountered as they navigated racialized spaces.

Negative stereotypes

All participants reported experiencing being judged based on stereotypes. As indicated in Chapter 1, stereotypes are overgeneralized, misleading beliefs about a group of people. The stereotypes attributed to the participants by educators and peers were often presented as microinsults or microinvalidations (Sue, 2013) and ranged from preconceived notions about family life, intelligence, and criminality. The stereotypes participants encountered at school included having their intelligence questioned, being labeled a threat, and assumptions about their family life. This section offers the voices of the participants as they reflected on their marginalized experiences of racism and discrimination from teachers and peers. The participants believed that teachers' preconceived notions about the academic ability of Black students created an environment that was detrimental to Black students' view of themselves as learners. Participant 1 recalled a time in his advanced placement history class when he raised his hand to answer a question, and the teacher appeared to call on him to respond reluctantly.

“I knew the answer, so my hand went straight up. My teacher called on four white students. They answered wrong-all of them, then she looked at me and said, “okay you want a shot at it/? I don't know; we don't want more misinformation,”-when I gave the right answer, she

acted as if my answer was luck, saying-you got by a process of elimination.” I know what she’s wrong -but it still bothers me -like why does she think I’m so limited? She got me thinking like-do I belong here?”

Participant 5 recalled a similar incident in her college-preparatory math class. Participant 5 said she didn’t raise her hand, but the teacher called on her anyway. When she gave the correct answer the teacher appeared surprised and replied in a knowing voice, “Surprised that you can get this, but the next chapter is harder,” Participant 5 indicated that this was not the first time the teacher questioned her intelligence.

That (teacher’s response) makes me feel like nothing-that’s why I don’t raise my hand no more,-if I have a question, she makes me feel dumb, and I mean, when I give the right answer, she still puts me down. I thought it was just me at first-then, I noticed she do it to all the Black people-...she’s a good teacher because I learn, but she is just ra-I really don’t want to call her a racist, but look at how she reacts to Black people-She always try to make us feel we’re not smart or something-When anybody else raises their hand she don’t act like that, right or wrong answer, she’s just different.

Participant 5 continued with an instance in which the same teacher belittled the intelligence of another Black student:

“...like this Black boy was asking for help, and she said, “do you even know how to add-I don’t have time to teach you what you should’ve learned in first grade.” Yo that’s just mad wrong on so many levels-yup my teacher really think this is helping ...it really hurting us”

Participant 8, an honors student, reflected to a time when she was accused of cheating on a test.

She walked over to my desk and gave me a test that had a 0 on it and a note that said “see me after class,”-I was like confused and shocked, I never got any grade lower than a 90 in my classes. I don’t remember anything after that-the bell rang, I walked to her desk, and she said that my answers were almost the exact words as another student (White)who sat next to me-I looked around; I was the only one seeing her after class, so she thought it was me that cheated.

I practically begged her to believe me, but she just kept saying something about “academic integrity,” I had to have my mom come up and meet with her and her supervisor-she (the teacher) wouldn’t answer questions about what she was doing with the other student. Her (the teacher) supervisor made her retest me with a different test-I got 100 on the retest. She (teacher) never apologized, and I don’t think anything was ever done about the student who copied me-guess why?

Some participants recalled times when teachers appeared surprised by their academic or language use ability. Participant 3 told a story of a teacher who said “wow, you are so articulate,” whenever he spoke in class-Participant 3 acknowledged that he does speak well, “but the way he (the teacher) says it makes it seem like I’m not supposed to be-when he (teacher) adds the wow-that tells me something.” Participant 3 continued by stating, “but that’s not gonna stop me from talking-I know he has the problem, not me.”

Participant 2 described what “racist: remark made by a teacher in his school bothered him the most:

There’s a teacher I’ve had her two years in a row, and I get so heated when I hear her say when a Black student asks a question, she says, “Why is it that Ken can do it and Kenyatta can’t? Both of them sat through the same lesson?” -yo what’s crazy though, is

that nobody in the class is named that- ...she don't always say the same names, but one always sounds like it's a Black name and its always the one who she says can't do it - what she really saying is that Black kids can't get what she teaching, but White kids do- she don't even know how that makes us feel.

In addition to participants reporting incidences of encountering stereotypes that questioned their intelligence, they also reported experiences of stereotypes about their family life. The comments from staff reinforced the stereotype that Black students come from one-parent homes that do not care about education.

“Why am I working harder than you and your mother to get you on track?” Participant 2 said he was shocked when the teacher assumed that he did not have a father at home. Participant 2 expressed a different view of the father from the book during a conversation about the father's role in the story. Participant 2 remembered that after he stated his view, the teacher discounted his statement then said:

Looking directly at me, my English teacher said, I know you can't relate to the Father in this story, but when you are writing, pretend your dad is in your life,”
My dad is my life and lives with us.

Participant 4 recalled when his teacher assumed that his home life lacked any work ethic.

I know you weren't taught this at home but in this class, doing your work is required,”
The participant added that he was more hurt by that statement than any discriminatory statement directed at him, reasoning that “she's talkin bout my moms-I don't play that.”

When Participant 5 was reluctant to share why she was called to the office with her teacher, her teacher responded: in an all know voice:

“Well, you should tell me-I’m the best female figure in your life -you should be thankful that I’m asking, all I want to do is better your chances.”

The stereotype of Black males being associated with criminality is deeply embedded in the long history of oppression in the United States. This belief is echoed in the reflection of all six male participants. All six male participants described times when they were made to feel that they were a danger to the safety of their White teachers or peers. The five of the male participants reported experiences in which they were made to feel like a threat to an educator’s space or personal belongings. Participant 3 remembered how for this entire year, he was made to feel like a thief with a simple move to the front of the class so he could see the board better:

When I move from my back seat closer to the front, she (teacher) picks up her purse and puts it on her shoulder-at first I didn’t think nothing of it, but I noticed that she only does that when a Black person moves to the front -any other time her bag is just sitting there. I decided I won’t move to the front no more, I’ll do the best I can from my seat way in the back

When Participant 5 went to the teacher’s desk to ask if he could go to the bathroom, the teacher responded:

“Are you trying to intimidate me-sit down, don’t stand over me like that.”

Similarly Participant 6 reflects on a time this year when he was belittled in front of everyone then because of his size and accused of trying to intimidate the teacher:

I walked into class and the teacher stopped me at the door and asked where I Was yesterday-she was absent the day before, so I figured it had something to Do with the substitute. So when I told her that I went to Drop-In, she said that The next time I want to go, I have to ask first. She raised her voice and said

“Repeat after me; I will ask before going to Drop-In.” She wouldn’t let me in the Room until I said it, and yo she made me repeat it three times- that was some Slave shit, and then she wrote me up saying I was trying to intimidate her-she said I was standing over her. Of course, I was; I’m 6’5”. I stand over most people (shaking his head). I guess I’m the Big Black Boogey Man.”

Participant 7 told his story of being viewed as a violent aggressor. He revealed a story of breaking up a fight in the hallway during his first month of school at School 1:

“I was holding one of the kids back, and when teachers and security arrived they grabbed me and held me down-I’d like to believe it was because they didn’t recognize me since I was new, but the two kids fighting were White dudes, but they grabbed me and another Black student that was just standing there, let’s be real, two White kids fighting and they grabbed the two biggest and darkest males in the crowd, come on now.”

Participant 2 recalls his teacher always responding to his questions about the curriculum lacking “real” Black history with: “uhhh, always so angry, you folks”

Conversely, Participant 1 shared how he once felt not acknowledged because he did not fit the Black male stereotype. Participant 1 stated, “I feel like I’m invisible-I don’t fit what some people think a Black male is -I’m not an athlete, no one cares that I’m smart. When the researcher asked Participant 1 how he thinks others see Black males he replied, “Athletic, which I’m not, and bad which I never thought of myself being until one time my teacher said I am “the quiet, sneaky one.” When asked how he interpreted her comment, Participant 1 responded, “She basically said I can’t be trusted.”

The two female participants also experienced racism at the intersection of race and gender.

Participant 8 recalled when one of her teacher found out that she was pregnant, the teacher

stated” I expected it would have been Anaya or Dasani before you.” Participant 8 and the pseudonyms mentioned above are the only three Black girls in the class

Invalidating Black History or Culture

Another theme that emerged from the participants’ experiences centered on invalidating Black history and culture. All participants felt that the school’s curriculum relied heavily on the revisionist version of history. While Black history was touched upon during Black History Month, it focused on surface information about the most popular leaders and contributors “like MLK and Harriet,” who they have learned about throughout their school years. The majority of participants indicated that the curriculum minimized Blacks’ contributions throughout history and underplayed the atrocities about how Blacks were treated and are still treated today.

Participants lamented about not being learning about the positive contributions of Black figures that White America has deemed too controversial. Participant 5 commented “Every year we talk about MLK , Harriet and the underground Railroad- how many times can they say the same thing over and over-I’m not tryna say they not worth talking about but we don’t learn nothing new in class” Similarly, Participant 4 stated “ I’m think I could learn better if I learned about somebody that was like me ,-you know somebody that I could connect to- with what I learn, I’m not interested so I just don’t try,”.

When Participant 3 brought up the Black Panthers and Malcolm X during a discussion about the Civil Rights Movements, the teachers discounted his ideas by saying “they actually hurt the movement more than they helped it, “to which a White classmate commented “Malcolm X was just a trouble maker.” Participant 3 indicated that at first he was shocked that several White students in the class only associated the Black Panthers with the movie, noted by statements such as “Wait, that movie was out in the 60s?” “There was only one Black Panther,”

“So the movie was a remake?” and “That movie was fictional.” Participant 3 then realized the White students were giggling and discounting the Black Panthers’ place in history.

Similarly, Participant 4 recalls a White classmate stating, “Why decorating doors is for Black History Month a thing, I mean we don’t even call Columbus Day Columbus day no more.”

Participant 2, in response to the interview question about the school’s curriculum, lamented:

I don’t get why I don’t learn that much about Black History in the three History classes we have to take-why is it I have to take Back History to learn about it - isn't Black history part of US history? And guess what? The Black History class is a free elective, it doesn’t even count for graduation requirements- and when you look around, the entire class (Black History class) is Black.

Equating Equality

The third theme that emerged from the data focused on how White teachers and peers assumed Blacks and Whites were on equal footing. This assumption allowed the White teachers and peers to ignore the adversity Blacks encountered in their daily lives, which also maintained the status quo of Whites maintaining their positions of power. Participants shared their experiences of how Whites equated their experiences with the experiences of Blacks.

Participant 2 recalled a time in his history class when he voiced his opinion that requests for President Obama to produce his birth certificate were racially motivated:

We were talking about Obama’s presidency, and someone in the class asked if Obama ever showed his birth certificate-I said you know, the whole birth certificate thing was racist. Another kid (White) said, “How could it be about race, the man was President of the United States -if it was racist, he wouldn’t have been president.”

Similarly, Participant 7 remembered when he told a White student that he planned to be a Black Lives United member, her response was, "Isn't that like racist? "I mean, you're excluding a lot of people here."

When Participant 8 brought up the ramifications of systemic racism, her White female teacher cut her off and said they had to move on with the lesson. When class ended, the teacher asked, "Why are you trying to hijack my class by playing the race card -I know how it feels to be oppressed.

Participant 3 was astounded when his teacher, under the guise of treating everyone equally stated,

"For the record I see everyone the same so we all are starting at the same place in this class."

Participant 5 was taken aback when during a class discussion about poverty, the teacher remarked, "There are so many opportunities here, so if they're struggling, it's because they haven't tried hard enough." Being an immigrant and eligible for free lunch, Participant 5 felt the teacher's insensitive directly attacked on her.

When Participant 8 was accepted into a very competitive medical science summer program that provides preparation for students who intend to study nursing in college, her White classmate, who was not accepted, responded, "You got in because you're Black.":

I shook my head in disbelief-her grades aren't as good as mine -she didn't even think of that -they (Whites) say we pull the race card but they the ones always using it when Blacks do better than them.

Participant 3 talked about an incident in which a White student's statement insinuated that Blacks need to stop protesting and get on with their lives

When people started protesting after the Breonna Taylor verdict, a White boy basically said he was tired of the protests-he didn't stop there. He said, "Why don't they just get over it and move on."

Participant 2 was very disappointed when someone he knows told him that another person in their friend group used a derogatory term to describe him:

I was like, so what did you say- the kid (White) didn't even answer-he just kept going on with the story. I was angrier because he didn't say anything to the other guy (White). When I approached the other guy about what I was told, he said, "I didn't call you a Nigger" I said you're acting like a Nigger."

Participant 2 continued like that makes a difference, that made me tight (angry)-it took everything in my power to walk away from him-then you know what he said?-he said, "hey you guys call each other Nigger all the time," He never even heard me use the word!

Research Question 2. How the lived experiences of racism and discrimination affect Black high school students' well-being?

Participant 1

I don't think my teachers have ever looked at me and said "hey, that's a smart guy. I feel like no matter how well I do, I still have to work harder than White people to get my teachers' attention -and then their response kinda undercuts me being smart and being Black, sorta an insult but not an out-and-out insult - I ask myself is it me overreacting? I spend a lot of time thinking about this, questioning if I am reading too much into what they say and how they react. Most of the time I feel that I don't belong and you know that's kinda sad and lonely.

Participant 2

My mom and dad taught me to always do my best no matter what people say-no matter what they think. I always try my best to be this way -I keep my head high but I always say to myself why some people are so ignorant? Why do I always have to keep my cool when I'm being insulted? Sometimes I get so frustrated even when I know it's not my fault -it's a lot of work keeping other people in check-sometimes I get overwhelmed even though I know it's them with the problem not me.

Participant 3

It all makes me ask myself , hey am I really stupid?-if you told something enough times then you start to believe it- I used to be smarter, but that changed in high school...it makes me sad sometimes -sometime it don't bother me at all

Participant 4

I know that I'm fitting the mold that they set for me- I'm not sure if I'm lazy - I just know teachers (White) say I'm "not motivated to do anything" they really mean lazy-I've been told that my whole life so I guess they right. I get mad at myself and mad at them (White teachers) for putting me in a box that I can't get out of.

Participant 5

School was always hard for me, and coming here from Jamaica, the pandemic and remote school made it harder. Sometimes I feel hurt inside when teachers say things that put a race down, but what makes me feel worse -I mean what good is it to call them out about it if they don't even realize what they said was wrong?

Participant 6

I'm stereotyped as soon as a person sees me; even though I am not what they (White people) think, I still know I have to stay calm because of my size and the way I look. I

have to make them feel comfortable, but they don't know how uncomfortable they make me feel. I don't know how to say how it makes me feel -it is what it is, all I can do is be respectful even when I'm being disrespected

Participant 7

I'm pretty quiet but most teachers (White) don't even take the time to learn that about me-they just assume-they see a big Black guy who speaks up and boom I'm labeled with all the negative stereotypes. It makes me angry but I never react with anger

Participant 8

It's upsetting to me- how can so many people be so blind to what Black people have to go through- like I work hard and get good grades but still have to deal with nonsense when they the ones trippin (ignorant). I don't get it-guess they like to think they're better

Research Question 3: What strategies/practices and resources did the students use to counteract racist and discriminatory experiences?

Tenet 3 Social Justice

Coping

Tenet: Social Justice

All but one (participant 4) of the participants indicated that their exposure to stereotypes in educational spaces and their knowledge about the role of racism and discrimination in United States history propelled them to engage in behavior that countered the narrative. They chose to use various coping strategies, which included walking away from the situation, addressing the racialized situation immediately, or finding safe spaces within the school and in the community to discuss their experiences and develop plans to evoke change. Participant 4 was the only

participant who appeared to adopt the belief that he is “lazy,” a concept that the white majority has perpetuated to maintain the status quo.

Walking away was a strategy that Participant 8 used with one teacher who never took ownership of some of the offensive things she said.

Participant 8

Sometimes I get heated (angry). I just need to get away from it. I'm like, did she really just say that? All I can do is just leave the room; if I say something about it, then I know she'll just deny it-I tell her I need to see the counselor, and I go to Guidance to bring it down (decompress).

Sharing experiences of racism and discrimination has also helped Participant 7 process what happened. He contended that he is in the process of learning and sharing strategies to address the issues faced by students in School 1:

I'm so glad that Black Lives United exists. I joined it because I wanted to be a part of representing the Blacks in my community, but it has become more than that. It's a place where I'm okay talking about things that happened to me -the unfair things that happen 'cause I'm Black-we come up with ideas about the best way to react -positive ways.

Similarly, students from School 2 (all that attended the enrichment center) could share and process their negative experiences. They felt more at ease since the enrichment center was not affiliated with their school, as indicated by Participant 2:

I really like going to the Enrichment center, every day we talk about the racist things that

happen in school or on the news then hash out (talk) how it makes us feel and what steps we can take to deal with it-talking about it helps- I feel stronger cause I have a place to talk honestly, and nobody judges me.

Summary of Results

This chapter presented the three themes that emerged from this study. The captured voices of the eight participants are presented in block quotations under each corresponding research question. The quotations are the participants' exact words to give an accurate account of their lived experiences with racism and discrimination. The findings reflect and support CRT's tenets a) Permanence and Intercentricity of Race and Racism, b) Critique of Liberalism, and c) Social Justice which will be used to analyze the themes in the next chapter.

Chapter 5

Introduction

Although many studies have examined Black student experiences of racism and discrimination, few have gathered the voices of high school-aged students from diverse high schools while in high school using Critical Race Theory (CRT) as a theoretical framework, methodology, and interpretive lens.

This study gathered the stories of eight 10th-12th Black students' experiences of racism and discrimination. The participants attended one of two diverse high schools in the urban Northeast. Gathering the participants' voices sought to collect counterstories that negate the premise that the United States is a post-racist society. The study was guided by CRT-based research questions. This section presents the interpretation of the results, the study's limitations, the conclusions and implications, and recommendations for future research. The overall analysis and interpretation of the data in relation to the literature and CRT tenets a) Permanence and

Intercentricity of Race and Racism, b) Critique of Liberalism, and c) Social Justice are addressed in the following discussion.

Discussion

CRT offers a lens that examines how race is the epicenter of inequity in educational space (Yosso & Solórzano, 2005). CRT centers on the voices of the oppressed to counter the false narrative dictated by the White majority that often relies on excluding marginalized groups. As shared in chapter 4, the stories were organized under three themes that reinforced the literature and supported CRT tenets of the permanence and intercentricity of race and racism, critique of liberalism, and social justice. The tenets of CRT will be used to analyze the participants' responses.

CRT Tenet 1: Permanence and intercentricity of Racism and Racism

The permanence and intercentricity of race and racism echoed in the experiences of the eight participants. Their stories exposed the racialized challenges Black high school students encountered in diverse educational spaces. The experiences illuminated racial bias in the form of negative stereotypes from their White teachers and peers, who were oblivious to the impact of their racialized actions and words (Bell, 1980; Bell et al., 2016; Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). The first research question exposed the subtle forms of racism so ingrained in United States society that it has become normalized (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017; Gillbourn, 2008). As noted in the participants' voices most forms of racism and discriminations\were evident in the attitudes and remarks of their White teachers and White peers in the form of microaggressions that questioned their family values, intelligence, and honesty. The participants indicated that their peers and teachers seemed unaware of how their comments and attitudes marginalized Black students. Critical race theorists contend that deficit thinking about the abilities of Blacks is reinforced in

US institutions (Solórzano & Yosso, 2001). Delgado & Stefancic (2012) affirmed, that racism is ingrained in US society on a conscious and unconscious level.

Stereotypes about Intelligence

Students described experiences of racialized encounters in the classroom, hallways, and cafeteria which often made them feel like they did not belong in the school. In the classroom, since the participants' ability to meet the demands of Honors level and AP classes was often questioned, it signified White teachers and peers believed that advanced classes were reserved for only White students. Black students who were well prepared for Advanced Placement classes were often not given the opportunity to enroll unless their parents signed a waiver of recommendation. Once in the class, they were made to feel as if they didn't belong. These exclusionary tactics were also practiced in college preparatory (CP) classes and other spaces in the school. Ladson-Billings (1995) purported the right to an advanced curriculum has been reserved for White students since White as privilege is evident in educational institutions and society. Response data also suggest that the only classes that most participants felt as if they were always accepted were physical education classes. Black males were the always first to be chosen for any physical education games but the last selected to work on classroom projects. Carter (2018) purported that exclusionary practices lead to "micro-level inequity in schools, (p 10),

"Students learn their places, experience boundaries, learn their lines from the real and symbolic distinctions they see mirrored in their schools and from the signals they receive from educators and other adults in schools. When various social dynamics emerge daily in schools and elsewhere and reinforce social lines or boundaries that other particular students, they invariably reproduce inequality (p. 9)."

The message subliminally conveyed to Blacks that they would always be inferior to White students despite their academic abilities. Participants felt marginalized, excluded, and negatively impacted by their experiences and found alternate spaces to process their feelings.

As noted in the literature review, education is a White privilege in the US and is used as leverage to maintain power. History and contemporary times have shown how people of color have been denied the same educational opportunities available to Whites. CRT scholars recognized that racism is a natural part of American culture on a collective conscious and unconscious level (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Milner, 2007; Tate, 1997) and helps maintain the status quo.

Stereotypes at the Intersection of Race and Gender

Participants experienced discrimination at the intersection of race and gender. Associating Black males as aggressive criminals and Black females as loud, angry, and promiscuous is due to systemic racism and discrimination embedded in US institutions. This association influences how people interact with Blacks. Their stories chronicled the assumptions made by school staff and their peers based on the stereotype about Blacks.

CRT Tenet 2: Critique of Liberalism

Bell (1980) purported that liberalism conceals the self-interest of Whites and promotes inequity. Participants from School 1 and School 2 discussed the lack of inclusivity in the high school curriculum in both schools. Any study of Black history was taught during Black History Month and focused on familiar Black figures of the Civil Right era. The whitewashed history does not portray an accurate account of US history, perpetuated myths and minimized the contributions of Blacks. The lack of culturally relevant curriculum further marginalized Black students.

Participants also shared experiences laden with a deficit view about Black culture and Black families. For example, one belief is that Black families do not value education. Proponents of this thinking inherently believe that Black students are less intellectual than White students. Deficits in learning are often attributed to the dysfunctionality of Black families- in short, blame is cast on Black families and individual efforts without considering the educational system that historically put Black students at a disadvantage. Critical Race theorists contend that these stereotypical views are a product of the history of racism and discrimination that continues to be reinforced to marginalize Black students.

CRT Tenet 3: Social Justice

This study's findings offer significant insights into the reality of how Black students negotiated racism at their diverse high schools by finding counterspaces to help them cope. Counterspaces are spaces where Black students explored their identity and shared and processed any racism and discrimination they encountered.

Although the participants from School 1; explore cultural identity at the community center and it was a safe haven for them, it was not considered a counterspace. Discussions of racism and discrimination were rarely addressed. Instead, students found solace in Black Lives United. According to the facilitators for the community based group, the group was formed out of necessity in the wake of the George Floyd murder. They saw that Black community members did not have an outlet to discuss and process their experiences of racism and discrimination.

For the participants of School 2, the enrichment center was a counterspace that initially started as a space to assist students with homework and academics, but early on shifted to a place where students discussed Black History, culture and oppression. The discussion soon included personal experiences of racism and discrimination. The ability to share stories in a space devoid

of Whites allowed students to be fully honest and open. The students felt included and validated without the fear of being judged. The enrichment center was a safe counterspace where students felt valued and validated. The enrichment center supplied students with the tools needed to navigate racial experiences. This is in contrast to deficit theoretical models about racial group identification that insist that Black identity acts as a deterrent to Black students' achievement and self-actualization (Fordham, 1988; Fordham & Ogbu, 1988). Instead, the findings of this research support the premise that racial identity affiliation is a buffer for students of color to help them cope (Griffith et al., 2019; Powell, 2018). Acknowledging the experiential voice of the Black students made them feel valued, heard, and empowered. Students from Black Lives United in the same community as School 1 and the enrichment center in the same community as School 2 were empowered to use their voices on an individual and collective level to be agents of change.

Chapter 2 affirmed that educational institutions are structured based on what is normal for White America (Carter, 2018; Ladson-Billings & Tate; McGee & Stivakk, 2015). White spaces alienated, excluded, and marginalized students of color by ignoring their voice, questioning their abilities, denying their history, and made them feel like outsiders. (Carter, 2018, Powell, 2018). The findings support previous research about coping strategies and school belonging. Osterman (2000) stated that school belonging is the perception of being valued, accepted, recognized, and included and is associated with increased confidence, school satisfaction, and well-being. The ongoing sharing and processing of stories empowered students to move towards advocating for social justice.

This study aimed to explore racism and discrimination through the lived experiences of eight Black high school 10-12th grade students from two diverse high schools in the northeastern

part of the United States. The research addressed the questions of how Black high school student experience racism and discrimination at their high school, the effect these experience have on the emotional well-being, and coping strategies they utilized to navigate the racialized spaces and incidences. Past literature that addressed these questions were either quantitative, or conducted in majority black or majority white higher education institutions. Studies that were conducted about experiences of racism and discrimination relied on reflective thinking of high school graduates who discussed their experiences in retrospect. Using CRT's tenet of storytelling this study attempted to address the gap in literature by gathering the voices of Black students lived experiences of racism and discrimination in diverse high schools while the participants were students in high school. This qualitative phenomenological research relied on eight semi-structured interviews that gathered the voice of the participants. Participants shared experiences included capturing the voices of the participants' reality allowed them the space to share their truth and counter the stories of the majority that promote a post racist society and assume that diversity equates with equity. The three themes that emerged from the interviews support CRT tenets of a) the permanence and intercentricity of race and racism, b) Critique of Liberalism and, c) commitment to Social Justice.

Lifting Black voices can counter the belief that the US is a post racist society. Further, the findings stressed the importance of developing curriculum, teaching training, programs and policies that negate the negative experiences of Black students.

Limitations

Qualitative research has strengths and limitations. Limitations include the general critique of the research methodology in gathering and interpreting data. Critics of qualitative research contend that research is limited because of the researcher's subjectivity and bias. In reference to

this research the issue of subjectivity and possible bias is a limitation because of the researcher's experiences of racism and discrimination. Additionally, face-to-face semi structured interviews allowed the researcher to gather in depth descriptions of the participants' live reality and captured the essence of the experiences of racism and discrimination experienced by Black high school students, it is not comprehensive. The findings reveal information gleaned from one study, by a specific researcher at a given time and place (Abayomi, 2017; Crowther et al., 2016).

The researcher addressed this limitation of subjectivity and bias by being transparent about her positionality. Additionally, the researcher kept and referred to detailed notes that included her assumptions and reactions in an audit trail, reflective journal and field notes.

This research used snowball recruitment strategies. Although snowball sampling is utilized in phenomenological research, a more random sampling could have yielded more diverse findings. Additionally, another limitation is that this study cannot be generalized to other school districts. The participants were recruited from two different large diverse urban high schools in the northeast region of the United States. Five of the participants had an affiliation with a community cultural awareness group. It is possible that the experiences of Black students in smaller schools, different types of communities, in other regions of the country, and not involved in cultural awareness programs may have garnered different outcomes.

Implications

The counterstories of Black high school students confirmed that racism and discrimination is evident in diverse public high school. The participants' shared experiences that challenged their daily lives both in and outside of the classroom. Their stories and their resolve affirm the need for several changes to take place in all high schools in the United States

The first recommendation is for educational institutions to acknowledge that deficit thinking has no place in schools. One way to address this is by revising teacher training programs to include more multicultural and antiracist training to assure that staff is culturally competent. Additionally, school curriculum must be revised so that it is more inclusive. In order to address issues of systemic racism and discrimination, assumptions based on stereotypes and false narrations must be addressed. Acknowledging racial inequalities in educational policies, practices and curriculum as CRT purports, is essential to addressing inequities.

Another recommendation is to provide counterpaces within and outside of school that students feel safe revealing their truths. Students in the study found counterspaces and mentors valuable as they made meaning of racial encounters. Students need spaces where their voices are acknowledged and respected. Further, mentors can also prepare students for dealing with racial encounters through racial socialization. Stevenson et al., (1997) contended that developing racial literacy can buffer stress and trauma associated with experiences of racism and discrimination. According to Anderson and Stevenson (2019) Racial Encounter Coping Appraisal and Socialization Theory (RECAST), racial literacy is developed via racial socialization to build racial self-efficacy (RSE) which can mediate racial stress by giving Black youth and parents the skills needed, to effectively deal with any racialized encounters they experience.

Since there is limited research that captures the voices of high school students while they are in high school, more qualitative research is recommended. A study using more participants from marginalized groups from various districts utilizing focus groups and face-to-face interviews may help illuminated the inequities embedded in educational spaces. This type of research would lift every voice.

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Appendix A: Recruitment Flyer



**ARE YOU A BLACK HIGH SCHOOL STUDENT?
HAVE YOU EVER FELT YOU WERE TREATED DIFFERENTLY IN HS BECAUSE YOU ARE BLACK?**

IF SO, THEN I WANT TO HEAR ABOUT IT, BECAUSE YOUR LIVED EXPERIENCE MATTERS!

The study is looking at how Black high school students experience racism and discrimination in their high schools

A 60-90 minute interview will be conducted at a location of your choice.

Each participant will be eligible to receive an Amazon gift card with a value of up to \$15.

Lucinda Harris, a doctoral student at Montclair State University is conducting this study. If you want to participate or have questions, please send her your contact information by scanning the QR Code or email her at harrisL5@montclair.edu



SCAN ME



MONTCLAIR STATE UNIVERSITY

This study has been approved by Montclair state University Institutional Review Board
MSU # FY 20-21-2065

Appendix B: COVID -19 Screener**COVID- 19 Screener**

In the past 7 days, have you experiences any of the following symptoms?

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Fever (temperature of 100.4 or higher) | <input type="checkbox"/> Sore Throat |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Congestions | <input type="checkbox"/> Headache |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Runny Nose | <input type="checkbox"/> Fatigue |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Body Ache | <input type="checkbox"/> Nausea/ Vomiting |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Diarrhea | <input type="checkbox"/> Chills |
| <input type="checkbox"/> None of the above | |

In the past 7 days, have you experienced any of the following symptoms?

- | | | |
|--|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Cough | <input type="checkbox"/> Shortness of breath | <input type="checkbox"/> loss of taste or smell |
| <input type="checkbox"/> None of the above | | |

Have you:

(Check all that apply)

- | |
|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Tested positive for COVID-19 in the past 10 days |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Cared for or have close contact with someone who tested positive for COVID-19 in the past 14 days (within 6 feet for greater than 15 minutes) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Cared for or have close contact with someone with symptoms of COVID-19 in the past 14 days (within 6 feet for greater than 15 minutes) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Traveled outside the tri-state area in the past 10 days |
| <input type="checkbox"/> None of the above |

Appendix C: Parent Consent Form

PARENT/GUARDIAN CONSENT FORM

Please read below with care. You can ask questions at any time, now or later. You can talk to other people before you fill in this form.

Title: Lift Every Voice: Black High School Students' Experiences with Racism and Discrimination through a Critical Race Theory Lens

Study Number: IRB-FY20-21-2

Why is this study being done? I am conducting a research study to Black high school students' experiences with racism in the high school setting.

The purpose of the study is to investigate Black high school students' lived experiences with racial discrimination, the emotions related to the experiences and coping strategies

What will happen while your child or dependent is in the study? If you choose to allow your child to be in this study, you will sign this consent form and your child will sign an assent form. Your child or dependent will participate in one 60-90-minute face-to-face interview with the researcher. All interviews will be audio-recorded. All information will be kept confidential. Each participant will be assigned a number which will identify their interview, and only I will have access to the key which indicates which number belongs to which participant.

The results of this study may be used in reports, presentations, or publications but your name will not be used.

Time: The interview will take about 60-90 minutes

COVID 19 Precautions: In accordance with the Center for Disease Control and Preventions (CDC) guidelines, the local health department recommendations and the site policy, the researcher and each participant will be 6-feet apart and wear a mask that covers their mouth and nose throughout the interview to reduce the spread of COVID 19. Additionally, all areas and items used will be disinfected after each participant's and each parent's use.

Risks: Your child or dependent may feel discomfort with answering questions about their high school experiences in reference to race. If your child feels any discomfort in answering questions, he/she may skip that question or if he/she does not wish to continue with the interview, he/she has the right to withdraw from the study at any time.

Benefits: The benefit of the research is that you child or dependent will be helping to understand how Black high school students experience with racism affect their feelings and behaviors. This information can be beneficial to addressing racism in schools and possibly affect school policies

Compensation To compensate your child or dependent for the time he/she will spend in this study, your child will receive an Amazon gift card as follows: your child is eligible to receive a gift card valued at \$5 once the assent and consent forms are signed. He/She will be eligible for an additional \$5 for the second half hour, and \$5 for the third half hour-total amount of the gift card will not exceed \$15

Who will know that your child or dependent is in this study?

You and your child or dependent will know that you are in this study. I will know that your child is here, but I won't tell anyone else. Your child's participation and responses are confidential.

You should know that New Jersey requires that any person having reasonable cause to believe that a child has been subjected to child abuse or acts of child abuse shall report the same immediately to the Division of Child Protection and Permanency.

Does your child or dependent have to be in the study?

Your child or dependent does not have to be in this study. She/he is a volunteer! It is okay if she/he wants to stop at any time and not be in the study. She/he does not have to answer any questions that she/he does not want to answer. Nothing will happen to your child or dependent. She/he will still get the things that were promised.

Do you have any questions about this study? If you have questions about the study, please email me at harris15@montclair.edu. You can also contact my Advisor Dr. Robert Reid at reidr@montclair.edu. If you have any questions about your rights as a participant in this research or if you feel your child has been placed at risk; you can contact the IRB Office at irb@montclair.edu.

Do you have any questions about your rights as a research participant? Phone or email the IRB Chair, Dr. Dana Levitt, at 973-655-2097 or reviewboard@montclair.edu.

Future Studies It is okay to use his/her data in other studies:

Please initial: _____ Yes _____ No _____

As part of this study, it is okay to audiotape my child or dependent:

Please initial: _____ Yes _____ No _____

One copy of this consent form is for you to keep.

Statement of Consent

I have read this form and decided that I agree to my child's participation in the project described above. Its general purposes, the particulars of involvement, and possible risks and inconveniences have been explained to my satisfaction. I understand that my child can withdraw at any time. My signature also indicates that I have received a copy of this consent form.

If you choose to have your child or dependent in this study, please fill in the lines below.

Child's Name: _____

Name of Parent/Guardian	Signature	Date
--------------------------------	------------------	-------------

Name of Parent/Guardian	Signature	Date
--------------------------------	------------------	-------------

Name of Principal Investigator	Signature	Date
---------------------------------------	------------------	-------------

Appendix D: Participant Assent Form**Assent Form****(To be accompanied by the Parent/Guardian Consent Form)**

Please read below with care. You can ask questions at any time, now or later. You can talk to other people before you fill in this form.

Title: Lift Every Voice: Black High School Students' Experiences with Racism and Discrimination through a Critical Race Theory Lens

Study Number: IRB-FY20-21-2

Who am I? My name is Lucinda Harris and I am Ph.D. candidate in the Family Science and Human Development Department at Montclair State University.

Why is this study being done? I am conducting a research study to Black high school students' experiences with racism in the high school setting.

The purpose of the study is to investigate Black high school students' lived experiences with racial discrimination, the emotions related to the experiences and coping strategies

What will happen while you are in the study? If you choose to be in this study, you will sign this assent form and you will participate in one 60-90-minute face-to-face interview with the researcher. All interviews will be audio-recorded. All information will be kept confidential. Each participant will be assigned a number which will identify their interview, and only I will have access to the key which indicates which number belongs to which participant.

The results of this study may be used in reports, presentations, or publications but your name will not be used.

Time: The interview will take about 60-90 minutes

COVID 19 Precautions: In accordance with the Center for Disease Control and Preventions (CDC) guidelines, the local health department recommendations and the site policy, the researcher and each participant will be 6-feet apart and wear a mask that covers their mouth and nose throughout the interview to reduce the spread of COVID 19. Additionally, all areas and items used will be disinfected after each participant's and each parent's use.

Risks: You may feel discomfort with answering questions about their high school experiences in reference to race. If you feel any discomfort in answering questions, you may skip that question or if you do not wish to continue with the interview, you have the right to withdraw from the study at any time.

1. **Benefits:** The benefit of the research is that your child will be helping to understand how Black high school students' experiences with racism affect their feelings and behaviors. This information can be beneficial to addressing racism in schools and possibly affect school policies.

Compensation: To compensate you for the time you spend in this study, you are eligible to receive an Amazon gift card valued at \$5 once your assent and consent forms are signed. You will be eligible for an additional \$5 for the second half hour and \$5 for the third half hour-total amount of the gift card will not exceed \$15.

Who will know that you might be in this study? You and your parent(s) will know that you are in this study. I will know that you are here, but we won't tell anyone else

Do you have to be in the study? Your participation in this study is voluntary. You may decline participation at any time. You may also withdraw from the study at any time; there will be no penalty.

You do not have to be in this study. We won't get mad with you if you say no. It is okay if you change your mind at any time and leave the study. You do not have to answer any questions you do not want to answer. Nothing will happen to you. You will still get the things that you were promised. You will

Do you have any questions about this study? If you have questions about the study, please email me at harris15@montclair.edu. You can also contact my Advisor Dr. Robert Reid at reidr@montclair.edu. If you have any questions about your rights as a participant in this research or if you feel your child has been placed at risk; you can contact the IRB Office at irb@montclair.edu.

Do you have any questions about your rights as a research participant? Phone or email the IRB Chair, Dr. Dana Levitt, at 973-655-2097 or reviewboard@mail.montclair.edu.

It is okay to use my data in other studies:

Please initial: _____ Yes _____ No _____

It is okay to audiotape me while I am in this study:

Please initial: _____ Yes _____ No _____

It is okay to use my audiotaped data in the research.

Please initial: _____ Yes _____ No _____

Name of Research Participant

Signature

Date

Name of Witness

Signature

Date

Name of Principal Investigator

Signature

Date

Name of Faculty Sponsor

Signature

Date

Appendix E: Interview Questions

Time of Interview: Begin: _____ **Ending time:** _____

Date: _____

Place: _____

Interviewee Pseudonym: _____

Background

1. **What high school do you attend?**
2. **How long have you attended that high school?**
3. **What grade are you currently in?**
4. **How old are you?**
5. **Are you eligible to receive free or reduced lunch at the high school you attend?**
6. **Tell me about your racial and cultural background (what race and culture do you identify with-tell me about each)**
7. **What words come to mind when you think of yourself as a learner (in terms of academics)? Please explain why**
8. **Is there anyone at home or school who helped shape your ideas about yourself as a learner?**
9. **How would you describe the classes you have enrolled in in high school? Do you consider them challenging? Easy? Or just right? How do you know?**
10. **Are you enrolled or have you ever taken any advanced placement (AP) classes? Why or Why not?**

11. How is enrollment in AP classes determined at your high school? What are your thoughts on this process? How do you think it should be determined? What is your reasoning for this?

12. Tell me the discipline policy at your school. What do you think of it? Do you think it is fair? Please elaborate with examples.

13. Tell me what you know about in-school and out-of-school suspensions. Can you give some examples? Have you ever been suspended? Do you know someone who has been suspended? Talk about it.

Interview Questions

1. Tell me how you define racism? Tell me how you define discrimination?

I. To what extent do you perceive racism exists in your high school?

II. To what extent do you perceive discrimination exists in your high school?

III. What messages about race have you received from your high school? Teachers? Peers? Polices? Curriculum? Please elaborate

2. Tell me about your experiences of any differences in treatment in your high school between you and white students? What did you observe or experience?

I. How did the differences in treatment affect you?

II. How aware are teachers of this difference in treatment? Peers? Administration? Support staff (coaches, counselors and social workers)? How do you know? Please give some examples

III. Please give examples of instances of racism that you personally experienced or witnessed someone else experiencing. Tell me about

- it? What are your thoughts on what you experienced? How did it make you feel?
- IV. Please give examples of instances of racism that you personally experienced or witnessed someone else experiencing. What made you perceive it as discrimination?
- V. Please give examples of instances of discrimination that you personally experienced or witnessed someone else experiencing. What made you perceive it as discrimination?
- VI. In what ways has race affected your experiences at your high school? Please be as specific as possible
- VII. In what ways has racism affected your experiences at your high school? Please be as specific as possible
- VIII. In what ways has discrimination affected your experiences at your high school? Please be as specific as possible
- IX. Talk about experiences at your high school that made you feel welcomed as Black student.
- X. Have you heard anyone say that they treat everyone the same because they don't see color? Tell me about it. How did that make you feel?
- XI. Tell me about any experiences at your high school that made you feel not welcomed as a Black student. Is there any experience that sticks out more than others? Tell me about that experience.

- XII. Have you ever shared information about any of your perceptions of racism/discrimination with teachers? Peers? Administrators? Support staff? Did you feel supported-were your perception validated or dismissed? What made you feel that way? Tell me more about that**
- XIII. Do you feel that black students are valued at your school? Please elaborate on that**
- 3. Thinking about your experiences at your high school, how have those experiences and observations that you just described affect you? Tell me how they affect/ed how you feel about yourself as a student, person?**
- I. Have these experiences/observations affected your mood? Health? Eating habits? Sleep habits? Willingness to attend school/class? Willingness to participate in class discussions? Academics? Attendance?**
- II. How often do you think of these experiences?**
- III. Describe your physical and psychological feelings when experiencing or witnessing racism or discrimination. Describe how you feel after these experiences. Tell me how you are feeling talking about these experiences now. Please elaborate.**
- 4. Thinking about these experiences that you personally experienced or witnessed, what strategies or resources have you utilized to deal with how they make you feel?**

- I. Do you see these strategies as being productive or detrimental to your well-being? Tell me what makes you think that?
 - II. Have the strategies helped you cope and deal with the experiences of racism and discrimination? Which has helped the most? The least?
 - III. Do you have a trusted person you can talk to about these experiences? Have you talked to them about any of these experiences? How does talking to them make you feel? Be specific and tell me about a time you discussed your experiences with this person or people
 - IV. Is there a place in school where you feel protected and validated discussing your experiences? How has this helped you to cope
 - V. What resources or support do you think will help Black students feel welcome, validated, and heard at your high school?
5. Thinking about your perceptions of racism and discrimination that we just discussed and your overall experiences, how would you like to see teachers, administration and support staff work to improve the experiences of Black students at your high school?
 - I. If you could update teacher training, school policy or curriculum to ensure equity for Black students, what would you update? What makes you feel that this is important to make a change to? Where would you start? What is the reasoning for starting there??
6. Is there anything else that you would like to share about racism and discrimination at your high school?

Appendix F: Interview Protocol

Prior to Interview

Prior to the interviews all potential participants will be briefed on the following:

1. The purpose of the research
2. The procedures of the research
3. The risks and benefits of the research
4. Confidentiality
5. The rights of the participants
6. Signing of two copies of the assent and consent forms, one for the participant and one for the researcher

During the Interview

During the interview:

1. All interviews will be audio recorded and transcribed using Otter.ai using both a desk microphone and lapel microphone
2. The researcher will observe and make notations of the body language and expressions of each participant
3. The research will use prompts to garner richer descriptions as needed
4. Debrief each participant

After the Interview

At the conclusion of the interview:

1. Thank the participant
2. The researcher will a) record field notes, b) journal in log and c) complete observation checklist
3. Listen to participant's interview

Appendix G: Audit Trail

January 24, 2021

The researcher submitted an application to Montclair State University Internal Review Board (IRB).

February 5, 2021

The application was resubmitted with minor revisions

March 1, 2021

The application was resubmitted with different revisions requested that were not noted the previous two requests for revisions.

March 11, 2021

The application was resubmitted with different revisions requested that were not noted the previous three requests for revisions.

March 12, 2021

Received email notification from IRB that the application and study was approved.

March 25, 2021

The researcher defended the proposal.

March 25- September 4, 2021

Committee suggestions included. Based on the committee's feedback, the following changes were made:

1. questions in interview were reorganized
2. A question asking participants to define racism and discrimination was included at the beginning of the interview
3. More detail was added about the setting of the school the participants attended

4. Background information about storytelling was added
5. Researcher's role as an insider/outsider was added to Reflexivity
6. Information about the community center, enrichment center and the libraries where most interviews was included in the setting section
7. Change the orientation of a chart that summarized literature about race and racism to landscape and move it from the body of the document to the appendix.

June 2021

The researcher acquired permission to post flyers about research at barber shops, hair salons, laundromats, community centers and church message boards in each community.

Potential participants could contact me via the email address indicated on the flyers

September 4, 2021

The researcher submitted a modification to Montclair State University's IRB. Modification included changes to the image on the flyer, the type of compensation, the wording and a QR scan code was added to make contacting the researcher an easier process and interview questions. The modifications were approved on September 9, 2021. The researcher purchased six \$5 Amazon gift cards and ten \$15 dollar gift cards from Amazon. The physical cards were delivered to the researcher on September 6, 2021. The \$5 cards were purchased for potential participants who chose not to complete the interview.

September 11, 2021

The delivery from Amazon arrived at the researcher's home

September 11-16, 2021

The researcher revisited the places where the original flyers were posted. The researcher acquired permission to replace the original recruitment flyer with the updated recruitment flyer.

October 1 2021

The researcher contacted the community and enrichment centers local to School 1 and School 2 to get permission to make a 5-minute presentation to the students that attend the centers. Both centers agreed on a date of October 11, 2021 since it would be a holiday, more students would be present.

October 11, 2021

Since recruitment was stalled, the researcher visited the local community center near School 1 and the enrichment center near School 2. The researcher presented a 5 -minute overview of the research. Clarified any questions potential participants had about the research. One student asked if everything will be private. The researcher reiterated confidentiality. Another potential participant inquired if their parents had to be present for the interview. The researcher reviewed that the parent or guardian would need to be present to sign the consent form and would not be present in the interview room. Another potential participant lamented that she didn't want to do the interview in her school. The researcher reiterated that the location date and time of the interview would be decided by the participant. More recruitment flyers were posted around the centers.

October 15, 2021

The researcher received three emails via the QR scan code. The researcher contacted each potential participant via the telephone number they indicated. The number for one potential participant was not valid. Upon screening the other two potential participants, the researcher discovered that they did not fit the criteria of the study. One student was a current 9th grader at School 1 and the other potential participant indicated that she had not experienced any racism and discrimination, but was interested in the study.

October 19, 2021

The researcher revisited sites where the recruitment flyers were posted to check that they were still posted. A recruitment flyer in one of the barber shops had to be replaced since it had some water damage to QR code due to a leak. One recruitment flyer placed on a public message board in a laundromat was also replaced since other flyers were placed on top of it. The researcher also handed out flyers to three customers that were waiting for a haircut, when they expressed interest in the research.

October 19, 2021

The researcher received an email via the QR scan code. The potential participant indicated that he was interested in being interviewed and that he had met the researcher in the Barber shop yesterday.

October 20, 2021

The researcher contacted the potential participant from the barber shop. After a brief screening, a location date and time for the interview was made. The potential participant was aware that his data would be used as a pilot would test and improve the interview questions. He chose to meet at the local library at 10:00 am on October 23, 2021. The researcher secured a private room in the library for that date and time

October 22, 2021

The researcher received a cancellation email from the potential participant scheduled for October 23, 2022. The researcher contacted the participant via telephone to reschedule the interview. The interview was rescheduled at the same location for October 25th at 3:30 pm. The researcher secured a private room at the local library.

October 25, 2021

The first interview for the pilot study took place as planned. The participant recommended a friend that might be interested in the interview. He called him so that the research could talk to him. The conversation ended with the potential participant agreeing to be interviewed on that day at the same location. The researcher secured a different private room on the other side of the library since the noise level from a construction site was so loud midway during the first meeting. The 2nd potential participant arrived as agreed upon and was interviewed. Both participants received a \$15 Amazon gift card. The researcher listened and read the transcriptions of the two interviews several times and noted modifications that were needed. The two participants' data was used as a pilot study to modify the interview questions by adding more prompts to encourage participants to expand on their stories and improve audio-recordings. The researcher noted that the original room near the construction site should not be used for any future interviews.

October 25, 2021

After recording field notes, completing the journal and completing the observation checklist, the researcher listened to each recording, and read and corrected the transcripts of the two pilot interviews. The researcher open coded each transcript then used axial coding to group the highlighted text and notes into categories and possible themes. The researcher noted that some of the responses did not give in depth, descriptive answers and both interviews were under one hour. To get longer and more descriptive responses the researcher added probes such as a) Tell me more about that, b) Can you please elaborate on that, c) Tell me about a time when ..., d) Have you observed racism or discrimination? e) Please be as specific as possible, f) how did that make you feel?

October 28, 2021

Received an interest email from a potential participant from School 1. The researcher made contact and the respondent met the criteria. A meeting for the interview was set up for Friday at 4pm in the local library.

October 29, 2021

Participant 1 arrived at the library 10 minutes before the scheduled time. Consent and assent forms were signed and the interview was conducted. Participant 1 received a \$15 Amazon gift card. The researcher entered field notes, journal notes and completed the observation checklist noting the end of the interview, the researcher checked Otter.ai transcription against audio and made minor corrections. The transcript was emailed to the participant so that he could check the accuracy. The researcher received emails from 3 other respondents who were interested in the study. Two of the respondents were eligible and interviews were set up for the next day.

October 30, 2021

The interview with Participant 2 from School 2 was scheduled to take place at 12pm at the Enrichment Center. The noise level at the center was high since the center was celebrating Halloween a day early. After consent and assent forms were signed, the meeting was moved to a private room at the library. The interview was conducted. Participant 2 received a \$15 Amazon gift card. The researcher returned to the enrichment center and left copies of the recruitment flyer at the center for the director to distribute students and parents.

Interview 3 was conducted with Participant 3 at the library near School 2 at 4 pm. The same protocol was followed which included signing consent and assent forms, debriefing and presentation of a \$15 Amazon gift card. The researcher entered field and journal notes and completed the observation checklist. The researcher checked Otter.ai transcription against audio and made minor corrections.

November 1, 2021

The participants 2 and 3 were emailed their respective transcripts to check for accuracy.

November 2, 2021

The researcher received an email from the director of the enrichment center stating that four more students that attend the center expressed interest in the study. The director invited the researcher back to the center for November 4, 2022 so that she can screen the potential participants. The researcher set an appointment to screen interested participants on November 4, 2022 at 3:15.

November 4, 2021

The four potential participants were screened and three were eligible to participate. In an effort to ensure the study had the same number of participants from each school, the researcher made a decision to interview two more students from School 2. The mother of one of the potential participants arrived to drop off a permission slip for an unrelated event. She signed the consent form. Participant 4 signed the assent form and was interviewed. The same debriefing and presentation of gift card was followed. An interview with the other participant was scheduled for November 13, 2022 at a local cafe. The researcher entered field and journal notes and completed the observation checklist. The researcher checked Otter.ai transcription against audio and made minor corrections.

November 5, 2021

The researcher emailed Participant 4 his transcript so that he could check the transcript for accuracy. The researcher began open and axial coding on Participant 1's transcript since no changes were requested.

November 8, 2021

Since today was day 7 and there was no response from Participants 2 and 3, the researcher began open and axial coding and compared the codes and categories to the codes and categories in the transcript of Participant 1. The researcher received an alert email from the director of the enrichment center stating that several students tested positive for COVID. The researcher contacted the participant scheduled for November 11, to postpone the interview until a later date. The participant indicated that she would be available after the New Year.

November 11, 2021

The researcher was concerned about the possible delay in conducting interviews due to COVID concerns. Although she tested negative and is fully vaccinated, she quarantined for 10 days. She decided to reread each transcript several times and began the first cycle of coding; she highlighted words, phrases and paragraphs and made notes inside in the margins of the four transcripts.

November 12, 2021

The researcher started open and axial coding on the transcript for Participant 4 since the day was day 7 and the researcher had not received a response requesting changes.

November 22, 2021

Participant 5 from School 1, was interviewed at the community center at 3:30 pm. The same protocol was followed which included signing consent and assent forms, debriefing and presentation of a \$15 Amazon gift card. The researcher entered field and journal notes and completed the observation checklist. The researcher checked Otter.ai transcription against audio and made minor corrections.

November 23, 2021

The transcript was emailed to Participant 5 so that she could check the accuracy.

November 30, 2021

The researcher started open and axial coding the transcript for Participant 5 since the day was day 7 and the researcher had not received an email response requesting changes.

December 10, 2021

Participant 6 from School 1 was interviewed at the community center. His appointment was scheduled for 3:30. The same protocol was followed which included signing consent and assent forms, debriefing and presentation of a \$15 Amazon gift card. The researcher entered field and journal notes and completed the observation checklist. The researcher checked Otter.ai transcription against audio and made minor corrections. The transcript was emailed to the participant so that he could check the accuracy. The researcher noted possible saturation but decided to interview more participants because she wanted to have an equivalent number of participants from both School 1 and School 2. The researcher emailed the interview transcript to Participant 6 so that he could check the document for accuracy.

December 17, 2021

The researcher started open and axial coding on the transcript of Participant 6. The researcher compared this transcript to the previous 5 noting the similarities and that she had perhaps reached saturation since no new information was gleaned from interview 6. The researcher again revisited the research questions as she focused the students' experiences, the literature and the Critical Race Theory tenets.

January 3, 2022

The researcher contacted the participant from School 2 whose interview was canceled due to COVID cases. The participant scheduled a meeting for January 12, 2022.

January 6, 2022

The researcher received a cancellation email from the potential participant who was scheduled for January 12, 2022. The researcher called the potential participant and the meeting was rescheduled for February 1, 2022. The researcher was concerned that the meeting was scheduled for over a month later and the possibility of the potential participant would cancel again. The researcher continued to solicit potential participants.

January 10, 2022

Participant 7 was interviewed at the community center near School 1. He arrived at the meeting at 4 pm alone. When asked where his parents or guardian was he replied that he was 18 but volunteered to call his mom since she worked “down the street.” His mom arrived at 4:15. The same protocol was followed which included signing consent and assent forms, debriefing and presentation of a \$15 Amazon gift card. The researcher entered field and journal notes and completed the observation checklist. The researcher checked Otter.ai transcription against audio and made minor corrections.

January 12, 2022

The transcript was emailed to Participant 7 so that he could check the accuracy.

January 13- February 8, 2022

The researcher did not start coding transcript 7 since she was still awaiting to hear if Participant 7 wanted to make corrections to the transcript sent to him. She reviewed transcripts 1-6 to refresh her memory and noted that by transcript 6 saturation was met. She decided she wanted to include the transcripts of Participant 7 and 8 which was scheduled for February 1, 2022. The researcher continued identifying categories and the commonality of themes across transcripts 1-6.

January 19, 2022

The researcher receive an email from Participant 7 indicating the transcript was accurate . Open, axial and then comparison across transcripts 1-6 was the next step and the analysis to determine which theme should be categorized with.

February 1, 2022

Participant 8 from School 2 was interviewed at a local cafe. She arrived at the meeting with her mom and a baby. The same protocol was followed which included signing consent and assent forms, debriefing and presentation of a \$15 Amazon gift card. The researcher entered field and journal notes and completed the observation checklist. The researcher checked Otter.ai transcription against audio and made minor corrections.

February 2, 2022

The transcript was emailed to Participant 8 so that she could check the accuracy.

February 2- February 9, 2022

The researcher continued to analyze transcripts 1-7 using the “constant comparison” method (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). On February 9, 2022, the researcher began first and second cycle coding of transcript 8, then included in the cycle of comparison with transcript 1-7.

February 2, 2022 - March 29, 2022

The researcher continues to analyze and interpret data. The researcher wrote the data analysis and chapter 4 of the dissertations

March 30, 2022

The researcher met with Montclair State University’s doctoral writing assistant for a final review of formatting.

March 26, 2022

The researcher contact her committee chairperson about the process of submitting the complete dissertation. The chairperson indicated that the researcher would not meet the March 31st deadline for May 2022 graduation

March 26, 2022

The researcher emailed the department chairperson to ask about not enrolling in the Dissertation extension for the summer 2022, although she is graduating in August 2022.

March 28, 2022

Based on the department chairperson's advice, the researcher emailed the graduate department at the address she provided. The researcher committee chairperson was Cc'd on the email

March 29, 2022

Emailed Pezo to withdraw May 2022 graduation and move it to August 2022

March 30, 2022

The researcher re-sent the email.

March 31, 2022

The researcher called the graduate office and was told that she would have to wait for a response.

April 11, 2022

The researcher resent the original inquiry email because no one ever responded.

Researcher spoke to chairperson who gave her a specific person in the grad office to email.

Response from grad office was immediate.

Emailed Chairperson asking if a defense would be possible

April 29, 2022

Received email from dissertation can that if I submitted by Friday May 6, 2022, it may be possible for a May 20, 2022 defense.

May 6, 2022

Submission of dissertation to committee, via Google Docs, emailed them Form E

Appendix H: IRB Approval

Mar 12, 2021 12:28:17 PM EST

Ms. Lucinda Harris Dr. Robert Reid Montclair State University Department of Family Sci And Human Devel 1 Normal Ave. Montclair, NJ 07043

Re: IRB Number: IRB-FY20-21-2065 Project Title: SS Lift Every Voice: Black High School Students' Experiences with Racism and Discrimination through a CRT Lens

Dear Ms. Harris,

After an exempt review:

Category 2.(i). Research that only includes interactions involving educational tests (cognitive, diagnostic, aptitude, achievement), survey procedures, interview procedures, or observation of public behavior (including visual or auditory recording). The information obtained is recorded by the investigator in such a manner that the identity of the human subjects cannot readily be ascertained, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects.

Montclair State University's Institutional Review Board (IRB) approved this protocol on March 12, 2021. Your exempt study will require an Administrative Check In, every two years, updating our office with the status of your research project. Your check in date is March 12, 2023. We will send you a reminder prior to that date.

This study has been approved under the conditions set forth by current state regulations due to COVID-19 and Montclair State University Restart Plan's Research guidance. You are required to follow the approved plan for face-to-face research interactions. If you have any questions about the impact of COVID-19 with regards to the methods proposed in your study, please do not hesitate to contact us.

All active study documents, such as consent forms, surveys, case histories, etc., should be generated from the approved Cayuse RB submission.

When making changes to your research team, you will no longer be required to submit a Modification, unless you are changing the PI. As Principal Investigator, you are required to make sure all of your Research Team members have appropriate Human Subjects Protections training, prior to working on the study. For more clarification on appropriate training contact the IRB office.

If you are changing your study protocol, study sites or data collection instruments, you will need to submit a Modification.

When you complete your research project you must submit a Project Closure through the Cayuse IRB electronic system.

If you have any questions regarding the IRB requirements, please contact me at 973-655-2097, cayuseIRB@montclair.edu, or the Institutional Review Board.

Sincerely yours,

Dana Levitt RB Chair

cc: *Ms. Caren Ferrante*, Graduate Student Assistance Coordinator, Graduate School

Appendix I: Summary of Literature of Racism and Discrimination's Impact on Black Students

Study	Participants	Theoretical Framework	Methodology	Findings	Theme
Booker (2007)	13 high school students with low to middle socioeconomic status at a majority white urban high school	Maslow's hierarchical theory of motivation and personality	Qualitative-Interviews	School belonging was dependent on comfort level and similarities with other school population - academic performance was not related to comfort level or similarities	School belonging
Bottiani et al. 2017	764 Black & 12,622 White from 58 of Maryland's Suburban rural high schools		Quantitative-Observation, surveys, school data	58 Maryland schools had a history of disparity in out-of-school suspensions for Black vs. White students-School belonging was negatively associated with Black students' perceptions of sense of belonging, school fairness, and behavior issues	School belonging
Byrd (2015)	99 Black students from a majority Black public charter		Quantitative-Surveys	School belonging encompasses many aspects of the school environment, and interactions-interaction across races was positively associated perception of school belonging-	School belonging. Academic performance

	middle/high school in urban southeast Michigan			colorblindness was negatively associated with the lower performance of Black students	
Chavous et al. (2003)	606 Black adolescents and follow up two years later (Grade 12) from 4 midwestern majority Black high schools	Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (MMRI)	Quantitative	Race centrality and pride acts as a buffer to discrimination	Racial identity, racial group identification, and academic performance attitude & attainment, Coping mechanisms
Chavous et al. 2008	410 Black students grades 2-11 (204 boys, 206 girls) with diversity in family income, educational level, and ecological settings	The phenomenological variant of ecological systems theory (PVEST), racial identity, developmental perspective	Quantitative	Confirmed earlier findings of the importance of race centrality on buffering discrimination and the positive effects on academics- no connection between race centrality and awareness to racial discrimination-school discrimination had a negative impact on academics that differed for boys and girls Girls-high & lower centrality insulated girls from the detrimental effect of racial discrimination on academic & beliefs about ability Boys - early experiences of	Race centrality, racial identity, academic achievement coping mechanisms

				school discrimination predicted school disengagement in future years	
Clarke and Clarke (1947)	253 Black children (134 from segregated schools in the south, 119 from mixed-raced schools in the northeast)		Quantitative	The majority of the children preferred the white doll and considered the Black doll bad- additionally most children self-identified with the white doll- demonstrating the detrimental effects of discrimination and segregation on the mental well-being of Black children	Racial identity
Dee and Penner (2016)	Data gathered from a 5-year cohort of 1405 students enrolled in ethnic studies courses offered at San Francisco's Unified School District		Quantitative	Culturally relevant pedagogy in 9th grade improved the attendance and increased GPA of the participants the following year of school	Identity Coping mechanisms

Fordham (1988)	Six high achieving Black students from a predominate ly Black school district (taken from a 2-year study of 600 students)	Fictive Kinship, Oppositional Social Identity	Qualitative-observations interviews	high achievers distance themselves from being Black and adopt a “raceless” person for school and see it as a means to academic mobility	Identity, academics Coping mechanisms
Fordham and Ogbu (1986)	33 11th graders from a predominate ly Black HS	Oppositional Social Identity Oppositional Cultural Frame Fictive Kinship	Ethnographic	Within group factors about	
Griffith et al. (2019)	12 Black 3rd & 4th-year college students from a highly selective PWI and their mentors (someone to discuss race with)		Qualitative - open-ended interviews	Black students face a myriad of race-related stressors about discrimination and use coping mechanisms such as reflection, talking to trusted others about it, and adopting strategies to defy stereotypes	Coping, race-related stressors

Hope et al. (2015)	8 Black high school students from two southeast Michigan (one school majority Black the other majority White) who demonstrated leadership qualities		Qualitative Interviews	Teaching Black students to analyze experiences of racism critically is essential to helping them to cope with the realities of racism in society and encourages a positive identity and their place in the world	Academics, identity Coping mechanisms
Howard (2008)	Waiting for an article for Research Gate	Critical Race Theory	Qualitative - Case study	Participants were aware of how their race determined how they were seen by teachers and administration and revealed the struggles participants encountered in dispelling stereotypes about Black males. CRT's counter-storytelling allowed the students to discuss school race-related issues-solutions to resolving inequities in school should consider the intersection of race, class & gender	Identity, well-being Coping mechanisms
Ladson-Billings		Critical Race Theory	Non-applicable	The intersection of race & property rights to analyze	

and Tate (1995)				educational inequities	
McGee and Stovall (2015)	Black college students at a predominantly white university (PWI)	Critical Race Theory	Qualitative	Black students employ a number of coping strategies to deal with racism and discrimination. Although they may be successful students, the detrimental effect on their emotional and mental wellness should not be ignored-oppressed students need strategies to help them deal with racial encounters and maintain their emotional and mental wellness	Emotional wellness Coping strategies
Najjar et al. (2019)	21 first-generation Arab American college-aged Students reflecting back on high school experiences of discrimination	Grounded Theory	Qualitative-focus groups	Peer and staff discrimination, neglect of Arabic culture and history in the curriculum and school's openness to allowing Arab students to be open about their culture affected, stress, school climate, Arab students' identity and sense of belonging	Identity, acculturation, school climate, stress Coping mechanisms
Neblett et al. (2006)	548 7th-10th grade adolescents		Quantitative	Experiences of racial discrimination affect academic achievement and effort;	Academic persistence, academic

	from 11 public middle and high schools in the Midwest US			however, parent racial socialization messages that instill pride and awareness to biases act as a buffer to discrimination and encourages Black students to be persistent in their educational endeavors	achievement, positive self-image Coping mechanism
Osterman (2000)	Review of literature	Organizational research	Qualitative research	Students' School belonging has a multifaceted effect on behaviors	School belonging and academic achievement
Thompson and Gregory (2011)	46 poor-performing Black students from public midwestern majority Black high school	Developmental Theory	Quantitative-Scales	Experience of perceived discrimination resulted in Black students not engaging Racial centrality did not predict engagement Students who saw school as important were more engaged in school	School belonging, school engagement, identity, and adjustment
Vega et al. (2015)	18 Black and Latinx high school students from a majority Black urban low-income school district	Theory of Invitational Education	Qualitative-semi-structured interviews	Students perceptions equated positive school experiences with the relationships they had with other students and staff, in addition to school policy and community safety	Support and school belonging

Walker and Pearsall (2012)	4 Latinx 14-16-year-old HS students and 7 Parents (of the students) from one public suburban high school in western US	Critical Race	Qualitative Focus Groups	The underrepresentation of Latinx students in AP classes was due to their relationship with peers and parents, indicating a lack of communication community building, and positive peer relationship	Racial & ethnic identity
Wang and Huguley (2012)	630 Black students from a diverse urban district who participated in 2 waves - Wave 3 were students going into 9th grade. Wave 4 were the same students going into the 11th grade.		Quantitative	Parent racial socialization messages buffered the effects of teacher & peer discrimination on GPA & educational goals of Black students-Teacher discrimination was more damaging for Black males than Black females	School belonging, academic achievement academic goals student effort Coping mechanisms
Wong et	629 Black	Risks, promotive	Quantitative	Experience of ethnic	Academic

al. (2003)	economically diverse students from an urban area in Eastern US during 7 & 8th grade	factors, and protective factors framework		discrimination is detrimental to adolescents' academic achievement, identity, and psychological well-being -ethnic identification acts as a buffer to incidents of discrimination	achievement, identity, psychological well-being Coping mechanisms
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