2016

In Plain Sight: How Social Images in Education Shape the Social Identity of Black Students

Kandyce Cabacar
Loyola University Chicago, cabacark@gmail.com

Recommended Citation

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY CHICAGO

IN PLAIN SIGHT: HOW SOCIAL IMAGES IN EDUCATION SHAPE THE SOCIAL

IDENTITY OF BLACK STUDENTS

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO

THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

PROGRAM IN CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL POLICY STUDIES

BY

KANDYCE CABACAR

CHICAGO, IL

DECEMBER 2016

For all the Black children in whom this world refuses to recognize the legacy of your greatness, I see you.

I am invisible, understand, simply because people refuse to see me. Like the bodiless heads you see sometimes in circus sideshows, it is as though I have been surrounded by mirrors of hard, distorting glass. When they approach me they see only my surroundings, themselves or figments of their imagination, indeed, everything and anything except me.

-Ralph Ellison, *Invisible Man*

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT

This thesis will postulate that social identity development in Black students is shaped by their school experience. Reviewing how racial grouping is a critical factor in how we engage with others socially, this study will curate the variables of society that assemble the Black image. Social construction influenced by media messages and the neighborhoods that determine our respective schools will also be analyzed. By borrowing from the research of social psychology and contributions of sociologists on race relations, this thesis will demonstrate how expectations influenced by racial stereotypes of Black students create a correlation to social identity. These findings are discussed in terms of empirical studies involving social imagery of Blacks projected in society. Furthermore, the thesis will discuss how those images find their way into the public schools and begin to shape the social identity of Black students.

THESIS

IN PLAIN SIGHT: HOW SOCIAL IMAGES IN EDUCATION SHAPE

THE SOCIAL IDENTITY OF BLACK STUDENTS

Introduction

The social experiences of Black youth in American public schools actuate how

they integrate within a larger society. James Baldwin said, "to be a Negro in this country

and to be relatively conscious is to be in a rage almost all the time. The paradox of

education is precisely this - that as one begins to become conscious one begins to

examine the society in which he is being educated." This sentiment could easily be

applied to the current status of black students in America. Although Americans have

myriad markers that suggest we don't live in the racial turmoil of the past, i.e. a Black

president, Black Americans remain the only marginalized group whose afflicted history

of enslavement, poverty, education deprivation, and social reductions ripple through time.

The negative social images of the Black community are presented and reinforced by daily

life interactions, creating negative associations (stereotypes). While in school, these

images can be perpetuated through social interactions.

Why does it appear that the black community continuously holds disproportionate

membership of the "have-nots" side of the color line, a DuBoisian term to reference

racial segregation (1903)? Years of social stratification designed barriers for the black

community but where do children begin to learn their place socially? The inherited

1

mistrust concerning black/white race relations is overtly present in today's media and pours into American neighborhoods. Whether you live in gentrified, segregated, or suburban neighborhoods or you tune in to any media stream, the illustrations of black people are consistently negative. These illustrations of stereotypical behavior are embedded in our minds and have the ability to be automatically activated when perceiving others (Gaerther & McLaughlin, 1983; Smith & Zarate, 1990; Bargh, 1999).

The interest of this study is to evaluate how schools serve as social setting for children. Furthermore, how does the school experience involve social images that shape the social identity of black students? According to Bandura (1977) our associations are formed by repetitive symbolic representations. Socially, we observe "rewarding and punishing consequences" and "differential responses" (p. 3). What we experience in our immediate and neighboring environments presumably follows us into the classroom. This study postulates the answer lies in our everyday lives (how we choose to live and socialize) and that those beliefs/actions are unfolded in our education system.

Social Images Definition and Examination

Before we can discuss how social images shape social identity, it is imperative that the definition and implications be outlined. Psychologist Trigant Burrow (1924) speaks of social images in his work "Social Images versus Reality" by stating, "Consciousness offers an infinite variety of frames, but we, in our unconscious limit of outlook, are confined to the position of observation that is our own petty viewpoint" (p.231). More specifically, for the purpose of this study, social images are external visuals that existentially shape our position (socially) in life. These images can be in-

person or displayed media messages (television) that illustrate our place/value in society. This would include areas such as their personal interactions with peers, school structures/climate, and teacher engagement. As children travel from their homes to school, the social experience they learn from school begins to hold meaning. Therefore, the social perspectives children form are either reinforced or challenged in school when forming social identity.

Media messages over-represent Black people in highly stereotypical roles (Henderson and Baldasty, 2003). These images are well projected throughout society through social construction that both Black and White children are exposed to far before they enter school. The degrading social images of Black people offer representations that establish White people as normative and superior while simultaneously establishing Black people as inferior (Campbell, 1995; Entman, 1990). This is problematic because Black children prefer and identify with the Black characters (Wade, 2004). If characters are portrayed in stereotypical roles, presumably, Black children are creating connections of self to the stereotypical characters shown on television.

Gorman and McLean (2009) speaks of the media (specifically television) as a capitalist tool that "reduces critical consciousness and encourages hypnotic passivity" (p.3). Early on, children are exposed to these images and, as a result, are responsible for interpreting what they see. This is especially significant to identity formation when "8- to 18-year-olds in this country spend more than 7 hours using media—almost the equivalent of a full work day, except that they are using media seven days a week instead of five" (Rideout, Foehr, Roberts, 2010). As an increasingly mobile society, Americans are

becoming more influenced by an overwhelming amount of visual propaganda and messages. There have been few studies that offer a connection between these messages and how children develop socially. Moreover, there is a lack of research that links what we see in our daily lives, including our time spent entertained by media outlets, and how it manifests in social environments such as schools. Inevitably, children continue to experience and process social images in school.

As most Americans live segregated lives, where citizens are most likely divided at the intersections of race and class (creating another color-line), it is plausible to think that most social perspectives are indeed supported rather than questioned. Neighborhoods are more likely to be separated by race then income (Reardon, Townsend, 2015).

Regardless of class, Whites are still more likely to live in White neighborhoods (80 percent) in comparison to Blacks (Reardon, Townsend, 2015). Reflected in this divide is also an unjust and disproportional distribution of resources. Black areas become desolate spaces that lack valued resources. Those images are then undeservingly projected onto the people who live there. Though schools may be integrated through educational policies and law, neighborhoods remain divided. As a result, we are subconsciously digesting our immediate surroundings and using those images to define our social norms. "Whites benefit from segregation because it isolates higher rates of black poverty within Black neighborhoods. These higher concentrations of Black poverty then reinforce the connection, in Whites' minds, between Black race and behaviors associated with poverty, such as crime, family disruption, and dependency" (Massey, 1990, p.353). This privilege is not only very visible to a conscious mind; this structure

sets the foundation for what Black people think of others and themselves. Social images we experience in person serve as a proxy for our group/membership associations and social placement for individuals that differ from us.

For years, Social Psychology has made advances in understanding how humans engage with one another. The majority of the research is based on situational circumstances and the subject recollecting and associating knowledge that has already been programed cognitively. The field is defined as how people's thoughts, feelings, and behaviors are influenced by the actual, imagined, or implied presence of others (Smith, Mackie, Claypool, 2015). DiMaggio (1997) proposes that the development of automatic cognitive responses is conditional. "Everyday cognition relies heavily and uncritically upon culturally available schemata – knowledge structures that represent objects or events and provide default assumptions about their characteristics, relationships, and entailments under conditions of incomplete information" (p.269). This principle is applicable to the social identity of youth in schools, the second form of socialization**.** Every day, we are bombarded with videos, pictures, and visuals that then serve as our available cultural schemas. What we bring into the classroom affects how we learn, engage, teach, and socialize with peers. Social images are a catalyst to how we navigate society and nurture self-fulfilling prophesies. For Black children, social images that affirm their being are rare among the images they are exposed to daily. Presumably, these images result in experiences that are responsible for how we are socially positioned.

In its current perilous state, our society has commissioned our school system to preserve the status quo. Schools are arguably social institutions that filter and categorize

citizens. I am going to narrow the scope by examining social images related to what we see through media and our immediate surroundings and how they manifest in classroom settings. I suspect that the shaping of Black children's social identity may be hiding in plain sight in their daily interactions. Therefore, I will investigate how social images (what we see) play as a guileful stakeholder in positioning Black students socially.

Literature Review

The frustration disclosed by Lisa Delprit in her book, *Multiplication is for White People*, is aligned with this study's analysis of the layers of society that affect the social mobility of the Black community. In describing her issues of racism in education, Delprit states:

> The problem is that the cultural framework of our country
> has, almost since it's inception, dictated that 'black ' is bad
> and less than and in all arenas 'white' is good and superior.
> This perspective is so ingrained and so normalized that we
> all stumble through our days with eyes closed to avoid
> seeing it. We miss the pain in our children's eyes when
> they have internalized the societal belief that they are
> dumb, unmotivated, and dispensable.

The simplicity in this statement is clear yet powerful. It sheds light on how our social conditioning contributes to what we believe we have to offer to the world. Freeman (2006) states that teaching style and curriculum have "discounted the social and cultural capital of Black populations (consciously or subconsciously) and have therefore minimized the culture of Black populations. Who has taught, what has been taught, and how it has been taught over time have severely eroded the cultural identity and educational opportunities of Blacks" (p. 52). On its own, this statement is enough to spark a desire for further investigation. However, there is an abundance of research,

books, and articles dedicated to understanding the plight of the Black community (including clear outcomes and solutions), yet the issue of education of Black students hasn't reached a resolution.

Studies and literature are ample in the salient factors of the educational experiences of Black students. Stereotype threat (Steele, Aronson, 1995), social capital (Coleman, 1988, 1990), and culturally responsive teaching (Gay, 2010; Ladson-Billings, 2009; Hooks, 1994) contribute to the daily experiences that shape how Black students develop self-concept while in school. "The very real images of racial and ethnic groups are available to children through direct observation of the world around them, and these images are grounded in the dynamic social structure of the society – as seen around them and in the mass media- and in their past and ongoing interactions with other adults and children" (Ausdale, Feagin, 2001, p. 17). Though there are three proposed layers that contribute to the illustration of Blacks in society (community, media, and the school experience), this study focuses narrowly on how our education system supports and perpetuates these images.

The American education system has been charged with perpetuating the inequities of society, including racial segregation (Kozol, 1991; Lewis, 2003). Authors like Hooks, Gay, Ladson-Billings and others have dedicated their careers in academia to addressing the experiences of Black students. The overarching themes of their work speak to culturally responsive teaching, student assimilation (socialization), identity formation, social acceptance, and the social mobility (opportunities) of Black students. There has been little work that discusses how society's ailments find their way into the classroom.

The scope of this study considers the dual process of how Black children shape their social identity by deciphering social images. Outcomes of the "Doll Test" (1940) and the "A Girl Like Me" (2005) show that even in what Americans may consider a post racial society, Black children are still internalizing inferiority. To delve deeper into the reasons why Black children may develop a social inferiority complex, it is necessary to understand how they view and interpret their social environments.

For the purpose of clarity and establishing a foundation, it is important to understand how the other two layers (the social stratification of neighborhoods and media portrayals) function. First, it is important to delve into what is known about the social constructs that support the shape of the current state of education for Black students. Schools are arguably a microcosm of a greater society, which would require a glance at the overall image of America (Ravitch, 1969). What has been studied and reported with regard to what this looks like? Since students generally attend school in their neighborhood, it is sensible to begin looking at how communities are formed. The notion that people live and work in particular areas is described by Richard Rothstein in *Education Policy is Housing Policy* as a misjudgment of what is de facto and/or de jure (by circumstance or intentional oppression). This idea is further outlined by connecting policy such as housing regulations before the Fair Housing Act (1968) to how Blacks were restricted from certain housing areas and therefore limited to others.

Though diversity in our population has increased, segregated neighborhoods remain, especially for Black neighborhoods (Holloway, Wright, Ellis, 2012). Through education diversity programs such as busing, schools are more integrated than the actual

neighborhood make-up. What does it mean if those who have the best learning conditions

all look the same, or if those who have the worse learning conditions all look the same?

Though both Blacks and Whites want to live in same-race neighborhoods, Whites mostly

prefer segregated neighbors (Lacy, 2004; Krysan, Couper, Farley, Forman, 2009). Even

when Blacks are earning middle class incomes, they are still living in less than desirable

conditions (Readon, 2015). The impact of segregation presents a host of devastating

conditions that have lasting affects on families, especially children. These conditions

include higher exposure to violence, lower performing schools, food deserts, and poor

housing/environmental conditions (Buka, Stichick, Birdthistl, Earls, 2001). These

conditions become the layers of an oppression that is linked to social marginalization.

The media's portrayal of social images can be arguably more influential on the

mind, yet there has been little research on the topic. Out of the three moving parts of how

social images are presented to us, the media has been recognized but in some ways

disregarded. Children spend an astounding amount of time digesting media (Rideout,

Foehr, Roberts, 2010). What we have studied in the past is the lack of diverse

representation, stereotypical castings, and racial biases (Hancock, Jolls & Jolls, 2013;

Poindexter, Stroman; 1981). The consistent presentation (if any representation) of Blacks

placed in unfavorable and/or buffoon roles is alarming (Wilburn, 2002). The ways in

which these illustrations are being interpreted and how they affect our socialization

(social identity) require further investigation.

Children form self-concept from their experiences with institutions, in particular

the media (Stroman, 1984, 1991; Graves, 1993; Berry, 1998). With a lack of racial

diversity, opportunities for tolerance development and building cultural bridges are rare.

Therefore, strong associations (i.e. stereotypes) fester into what then becomes the

standard for all Blacks. If better performing schools and communities are filled with a

white majority, optically we begin to register a who's who in social belonging and

placement. This reinforcement and over-representation determines how the rest of the

world sees Black people: Poor, uneducated, criminal, and lacking ambition (Gliens, 1996;

Dixon, Linz, 2000). Outside of our forms of socialization (the family and school), what

we see in the media (especially when we don't have access to various communities and

cultures) shapes how we think of others and ourselves (Mastro, 2003; Hogg, Reid, 2006;

Anatasio, Rose, Chapman, 1999). The appropriation of Black culture and the need for

representation are critical problems, especially for lack children because they are

especially vulnerable to negative images (Berry, Mitchell – Kernan, 1982).

Ultimately, what we see is interpreted, and then we begin to unpack these

associations in the classroom. "As children adopt, adapt, and make these shared

expectations their very own, they apply them in active interaction with the physical and

social worlds around them. They act, practice and do race in these worlds." (Ausdale,

Feagin, 1954, p.34). However, the psychological effects of the constant exposure to

social images (that form societal expectations) can establish self-fulfilling prophecies in

the social position of black people that need further investigation. The discourse then

turns to what we know about how these social images affect how students are learning

and engaging with each other. An example experiment is the Blue Eyes/Brown Eyes

exercise (1968), which is often used as an example of how children interpret the ills of a

racist society. This experiment displays how children internalize inferiority that affects their social, emotional, and intellectual development.

The American school system has been often charged with being Eurocentric, where we are required to take English literature and European history with the elective choice or absence of ethnic studies. Black children who are threatened by the constraints of racism are also burdened with the task of having to navigate through our education system (Carter, 2003). As we all bring our prior experiences to the classroom, how are these social images affecting how Black children position themselves socially? Studies such as Perry (2003) describe this compromise as the "cost of education" for Black students. "Can I commit myself to work hard, to achieve in a school, if cultural adaptation effectively functions as a prerequisite for skill acquisition, where 'the price of the ticket' is separate from the culture of my reference group" (p.5). Trying to connect how Black students perform in educational settings to the underlying compromises that sometimes take place (i.e. double consciousness development) for success can be a delicate task (Frantz 1952; Du Bois, 1903). Consequently, more research is needed on how Black children, with a lack of affirmative social images, can benefit from our education system and develop confident social identity.

The interesting aspect of how social images register in our minds, whether consciously or subconsciously, is that they contribute to how we respond to life situations. In social settings, whether familiar or unfamiliar, cognitively we extract from prior experiences to form associative thoughts. The classroom is an example of a social setting that triggers this activity. Presumably, what we see in our daily lives, we bring to

school. Marginalized representations of the Black community in society create the images used to form associations. "Lacking such firsthand information, Whites must base their responses on whatever information they may have at their disposal" (Sigelman, Welch, 1993). Fujioka (1999) found this effect more prominent when there is limited direct exposure (lacking contact with the Black community), however, more positive portrayals of Blacks reduced the amount of negative associations.

However, researchers have failed to supply ample empirical research on how these images (what we see in society) contribute to Black social identity. While most of our lives involve social institutions, schools are arguably the most influential since we spend the majority of our most impressionable years there. Therefore, meticulously investigating how these social images affect how we learn and develop is necessary. The first step would be to recognize the images society presents as intersecting and continuous. They are not separate entities, yet they are working together to form a film of social categories. The social images are all intersecting to form associations of self-worth and value (social identity) and we bring these beliefs to the classroom. The need for further research of how Black children perceive, interpret, and possibly internalize their surroundings is critical for a meaningful education experience.

Research Questions

How do social images of Blacks shape the educational experiences of Black students, and how do Black students' educational experiences consequently contribute to social identity formation? This question will be the core investigation of this study. I plan to answer this question by asking how the Black youth educational experience is

instrumental to Black students' self-image formation. To achieve this objective, I will use

research methods that critically examine both the problem and effective solutions for a

more culturally affirming educational experience.

Research Design

I have chosen a literature analysis as my research method, specifically a

secondary data analysis, because it is both viable and feasible considering my time

restraints and access to resources. This study will be executed by collecting empirical

studies that focus on how Black people are portrayed in society, Black children's social

identity formation based on these images, and/or how social images affect how we

experience school. I followed the framework for a literary analysis that is outlined in

Qualitative Analysis Techniques for the Review of the Literature (Collins, Leech, and

Onwuegbuzie 2012). As I review empirical studies of the education experiences of Black

students, I will determine if they are both warranted and transparent. The American

Education Research Association (AERA 2006) describes this distinction as "First, reports

of empirical research should be *warranted;* that is, adequate evidence should be provided

to justify the results and conclusions. Second, reports of empirical research should be

transparent; that is, reporting should make explicit the logic of inquiry and activities that

led from the development of the initial interest, topic, problem, or research question;

through the definition, collection, and analysis of data or empirical evidence; to the

articulated outcomes of the study" (p. 33). After I have collected empirical studies that

are both warranted and transparent, I will analyze the material by both a within-study and

between-study method. According to Collins, Leech, and Onwuegbuzie, this method

helps with reliability and validity when analyzing empirical studies. This method

describes a critical read of an entire study, using the information to assist in a theoretical

thinking process (within-study). It also suggests that it is imperative that information is

compared to other works, identifying similarities and differences (between).

To store this data, I will use a matrix that has key terms in the columns and the

related research in each row (Appendix B). I will use this matrix to cross reference

studies that have areas of similarities. Once the studies are listed, I will conduct a

qualitative comparative analysis (making connections amongst the categories). Since

there will be multiple data sources I will design a typology (based on the matrix of

empirical studies) described in the Onwuegbuzie piece (9) to enhance representation and

legitimation.

Research Methods

The research will involve qualitative methods using empirical studies related to the

research question. The data collected for the empirical studies may be both qualitative

and quantitative in nature to help conceptualize the development of social identity in

Black youth in a school setting. The purpose of the literary analysis is first to identify the

outcomes of the studies and then to analyze the findings to answer my research question.

I will use the Loyola library, Eric, and the Social Psychology network databases to gather

the empirical data for my analysis. The following are keywords that may be used in

combination to search and collect the data: "Black student identity", "racial/social

identity"," social mobility", "Black images", "cultural competence in schools" and

"shaping identity in school". In this search, I am interested in information from the past

20 years. There have been technological advances in these years that I suspect are critical in the development of social images and propaganda.

Through this search I intend to find empirical studies that will help develop conclusions for my research question as well as solutions. These data sources may be in the form of academic journals, scientific research, reports, fact sheets, transcripts of interviews, and bulletins that describe research statistics. A literary analysis of empirical studies is substantial for this specific thesis topic because areas of race and school experiences have been abundantly researched. A content comparison qualitative technique that requires identifying and labeling themes using deductive and inductive methods throughout the research is used for literature analysis. The discovered themes will serve as the headings and subheadings of the study. In my literary analysis, I hope to find commonalities that will either help solidify my ideas or offer another perspective. I will use the research questions to assist in this process and to guide my purpose while reading data outcomes of the research. I will then categorize the results by whether they support the claim, reject it, or offer another possibility that contributes to positive social identity in schools.

Findings

Gathered below are the findings of the empirical studies and how they intersect when shaping the identity of Black students. The findings through current empirical research had reoccurring themes of school experiences (teacher expectations, peer interactions, and climate/structure), racial identity, and social identity (formation/placement).

School Experience

School Structure and Climate

The structure and cultural climate of schools contribute to how powerful social stereotypes are put into action. Schools can easily reflect the same images we see in our greater society: everyone having their place. Therefore, schools as an institutionalized structure have the ability to "amplify" Blackness (O'Connor, Mueller, Lewis, Rivas-Drake, Rosenburg, 2011). The social make-up of schools that house Black and White students both resembles and recalls Tatum's (1997) question of "why are all the Black kids sitting together in the cafeteria"? Schools arrange students by what is supposed to be academic ability, but on the surface it appears schools follow a color scheme instead. Findings show that students are often put on a tracking system that places mostly Whites in higher performing classes, while Black students are overrepresented in lower/vocational tracks (Carter 2006; Mickelson, 2001). Lucas and Berends (2007) found that the more diverse the school, the greater chance of White students receiving a college-prep track over Black students. In addition to tracking, studies report that Black students are also disproportionately represented in school discipline, at times receiving harsher punishments than their White peers for similar offenses (Skiba, Micheal, Nardo, Peterson, 2002; Skiba, Horner, Chung & Rausch, May & Tobin, 2011; Wallace Jr, Goodkind, Wallace, Bachman, 2008). Findings support that this form of education apartheid begins to inherently develop exclusively Black and exclusively White spaces within one building (O'connor, Mueller, Lewis, Rivas-Drake, Rosenburg, 2011).

Essentially, schools become a replica of what we see socially in our respective

neighborhoods and encourage through social portrayals in the media.

Even if schools are racially diverse, segregation is enforced through practices like

academic tracking. Findings reveal that schools create mutually exclusive Black and

White spaces that are influenced by school structure and climate. An example of this

theme is disclosed in a study by O'Connor, Mueller, Lewis, Rivas-Drake, Rosenburg

(2011) where Black students describe Black and White students attending classes and

convening with their friends in separate spaces. One reason for this separation is that high

track classes are on separate floors (mostly attended by White students) and activities

such as basketball mostly involve Black students. The Black students who find

themselves placed in higher tracks are often culturally displaced throughout their

schooling experience. Their academic placement challenges their social position. To

cope, Black students produce explanations to validate their social experiences of

academic White assimilation while siloed from Blacks culturally (Carter, 2006). Findings

suggest that Black students reconcile this separation by defending their academic

achievements, describing other Black students as less desirable as students, and

describing themselves as physically restricted to specific parts of the school because of

their academic schedule (O'connor, Mueller, Lewis, Rivas-Drake, Rosenburg, 2011;

Ispa-Landa & Conwell, 2015).

Peer Interactions

Schools bring children together to learn what is socially appropriate and are

introduced to other facets of life outside their home. This social interaction in most ways

supports the social images embedded into a child's mind before they enter school.

Findings have also reported that the solution to combat how other "out groups" (non

Blacks) view Black people outside of stereotypical beliefs is having more

exposure/relationships to the Black community (Mastro, Tropp, 2004). Schools serve as

an opportunity for students to accept or abandon these social perceptions as truth by

forming relationships. There have been increases of cross-race relationships amongst

students (Moody, 2001); however, the majority of students (even with the increase of

other racial groups, i.e Hispanic and Asian) still choose to have same-race friends

amongst Black and White youth (Quillian & Campbell, 2003). How children choose

their friends often suggests their level of social adaptation. Another finding of peer

interaction in relation to social identity development was that children often prefer same-

race friends as a method of social support and safety (Hamm, 2000; Munniksma &

Juvonen, 2012). Due to school structure, students form friendships and engage more with

other students in similar spaces (same classrooms). White students are more present in

schools that track courses (Carter, 2006), so Black students that find themselves in these

courses choose their friends and socialize with other students of similar interests

(academic aspirations) (O'Connor, Mueller, Lewis, Rivas-Drake, Rosenburg, 2011; Ispa-

Landa & Conwell, 2015).

  Alexander, Brewer, Livingston (2005) found that Black students perceived more

of a power differential than Whites. Findings revealed that Black students perceive

Whites as an enemy rather than an ally. White students from urban schools also shared

the belief that Blacks were allies. A thought-provoking finding was that White students

from rural schools rated Blacks higher as allies. An explanation for this finding would be that Whites in rural areas experience fewer examples of Black social images being reinforced personally because of the lack of racial diversity in rural schools. In addition, the lack of diversity also eliminates the need for social and academic competition. Blacks aren't present to pose a threat; therefore White students in rural areas may be less likely to identify Black students as an enemy in comparison to urban White students (who have motive to activate forms of oppression to establish a better social position).

Teacher Expectations

A general consensus of research examining teacher expectations finds that teachers judge White students to be more academically engaged/capable than Black students (Mickelson, 2001; Ispa-Landa &Conwell, 2015). This could be problematic when considering how this judgment affects how students develop socially in their schooling experience. The most valuable aspect of teacher perceptions, which eventually form student expectations, is where their perceptions originate. When teachers were confronted with evidence of perpetuating Black stereotypes (the same stereotypes presented in the media), in response the teachers reacted in "stages of grief—shock, denial of the results, bargaining for alternative interpretations of the data, and finally reluctant acceptance" (Peterson-Lewis & Bratton, 2004, p. 96). Finally, the teacher response explains why blame often falls on the home environment (parents), while the parents blame peers and peers point towards the media (p. 96). To the contrary, studies such as Spencer et. al (2001) contend that immediate social systems such as schooling (teachers) strongly influence the social perceptions of youth. If this evidence is accepted,

then it leaves out where teachers receive their perceptions of Black youth. Presumably,

teachers are also introduced and socialized by the social images that bombard us in

society.

Social Identity

We are programmed by the social images provided to respond in particular ways

in our daily interactions with one another (as in the before-mentioned case of Black

images). When children are finally socialized through their schooling experience, it is

plausible to think they bring their ideals of self into the classroom. When children are

finally challenged in their social status by interacting with their peers, the well-

established White superiority of the American social order is put into action. In the terms

of social identity, children are learning who they are in comparison to others. So, in a

society that provides levels of privilege to Whites, who is the Black student? By the age

of 10, children are aware of stereotypes, especially those belonging to the stigmatized

group (Mcknown &Weinstein, 2003). Children comprehend distinctly that "they are not

us and we are not them" (p.503) and this categorization indirectly "hampers" cognitive

performance (p.510).

The social-emotional effects on Black children who learn through their school

experience that being smart, capable, or anything worthy of praise is out of their reach is

daunting. Steele (1997) explains how Black children could be affected by environments

that cue negative stereotypes as stereotype threat. In this study (1997) Steele found that

stereotypes involving academic ability directed towards stigmatized groups have

detrimental consequences, particularly in mainstream institutions (Purdie-Vaughns,

Steele, Davies, Ditlmann, Crosby, 2008). Another study found that Black students who had a greater investment in their education and exposed to stereotype threats long term are most affected. In this study Black students began to show signs of withdrawal in comparison to their White peers with comparable investments in education (Osborne, Walker, 2006). However, Steele (2005) found that identity safe environments eliminate the vulnerability to stereotype threat and allow stigmatized groups to engage in previously threatening environments without feeling devalued.

A suggested psychological response is that Black students who don't withdraw from their academic experience opt to adopt lifestyle traits that are associated with White mainstream culture. Black students who are accused of abandoning their cultural and racial identity for academic success are labeled as "acting White" (Fryer & Torelli, 2010; Carter, 2003). Aligning yourself with the dominant culture is considered essential for optimum social positioning and acceptance (Ispa-Landa &Conwell, 2015; Carter, 2003). The social validation achieved by this alliance is credited to the gain of social capital. In addition to this finding, Blacks subscribing to the "acting White" social position could have negative consequences for their self-esteem and mental health, including anxiety (Constatntine & Blackmon, 2002; Murray, Neal-Barnett, Demmings, Stadulis, 2012).

The drawback to the socialization of Black children through schooling is that it creates a dichotomy of those who assimilate to the established social norms and those who don't. This divide creates a separation in the Black community that affects how they see each other's value to society. The stereotypical social messages streamed through the media are digested as truth (Punyanunt-Carter, 2008), and people begin to stigmatize

each other based on these stereotypes. These stereotypes are under the label of "Acting Black," which Peterson-Lewis and Bratton (2004) found was associated with five categories of expression: academic, aesthetic/style, behavioral, disposition, and impressions. Throughout the findings, the word "ghetto" was commonly linked to the disapproval of nonconforming Black students (O'Connor, Mueller, Lewis, Rivas-Drake, Rosenburg, 2011). This ghetto stigma was also used by Black students who lived in marginalized communities, yet adopted the "acting White" position – as they have also adopted the belief that White is better (Ispa-Landa &Conwell, 2015). Though the accusations of "acting White" or "acting Black" are social brands, the associations tied to "Black" carry the weight of social condemnation. However, the most concerning aspect of this perspective is that the social positioning, acceptance, and contrivance to gain social mobility is developed by the pretense of White normative culture. Black students are denied "a culturally specific normative developmental perspective of their own, and instead, compares their experience to the normative developmental processes observed in White children" (Spencer, Noll, Stolzfus, & Harpalani, 2001).

The compromise of having an "either or" approach to social identity requires cultural concessions from Black students. Carter (2006) describes those in this social position as "cultural straddlers" who function according to both the dominant and non-dominant cultural lines and embrace skills to participate in multiple environments (306). This ability has often been referenced as a social consciousness called code switching. Carter (2003) found that this ability to code switch allows the non-dominant culture (Black students) to gain resources (education and economic) through their social capital

within the dominant group (White students). However, Black students who have more

positive associations with Black images are distressed by having to sustain their

Blackness in systems that support White culture. Gender differences were also discovered

when negotiating social identity. Multiple studies found that Black boys associated traits

such as good grades and obedience with femininity (Peterson-Lewis, Bratton, 2004;

Smalls, White, Chavous, Sellers, 2007).

<div align="center">Racial Identity</div>

The social significance of racial identity appears consistently as a major theme

amongst the studies. Ispa-Landa & Conwell (2015) found that racial classification of

schools reinforces antagonism between Black students attending ''White'' and ''Black''

schools and perpetuates harmful racial stereotypes. Logically this finding is somewhat

expected because social images are visual representations of social concepts. Essentially,

we tie our social associations to what we actually see: race. There were several studies

that found Whites are also motivated by the quality of neighboring schools when

choosing a neighborhood (Farkas, Johnson, 1998; Roda, Wells, 2013). However, the

results are suspiciously contradictory. In fact, Bonilla-Silva and Embrick (2006) finds

that residential segregation may be intentional and uses the term "White habitus" that

aligns with social construction and social identity theories. When Farkas and Johnson

(1998) reviewed surveys of Black and White parents, they found that Black parents,

though most interested in academic achievement, have doubts about diversity policies.

White parents agree that they also value academic achievement and diversity but show

ambivalent views on race relations. Though White parents expressed interest in their

children going to schools with students from different backgrounds, they also they also

attribute academic decline and social problems to an influx of Black students. Another

finding that explains neighborhood choice, when based on "good" schools, is more

related to social status than school choice (Holme, 2002). Findings from this study

confirm through interviews that White parents rely mostly on social networks when

choosing a neighborhood and in almost all cases, parents who claimed to choose a

neighborhood for "good" schools did not research the school district and knew very little

about their child's school. This standard could easily be attributed to and associated with

class; however, debunking this notion of people living where they can afford was a

finding across multiple studies that Whites within the same class as Blacks still prefer

White neighborhoods (Baybeck, 2006; Darden & Kamel 2000; Iceland, Sharpe, &

Steinmetz 2005)

  To extend on the social relevance of race, racially divided institutions such as

schools are perceived as socially threatening environments amongst Black students

(Cook, Purdie-Vaughns, Garcia, Cohen, 2011). Schools trigger thoughts of an inferior

social position that is first perceived in broader society, resulting in a social stereotype

threat that affects how Black students function socially in academic settings (Steele,

Spencer, Aronson, 2002). When racial inequities are concealed within social structures,

targeting and defining the experience of racism can become difficult for children. To

justify their experiences, children begin to practice creating concepts of separatism,

beliefs along the lines of "they are not us and we are not them" (Mckown and Weinstein,

2003). The re-runs of social images that place Blacks in a negative light serve as

convenient schemas when using deductive reasoning to explain why some Black students don't succeed. The generalized and stigmatized meanings of what it means to be Black, presented through social images and accepted as truth (Carter, 2008), is useful when explaining how "acting Black" (Peterson-Lewis & Bratton, 2004) results in a series of consequences related to failure. Gordon (2016) found that when these social images are projected through the media, Blacks students have a lower-self perception resulting in mentally placing themselves in a lower social position. Though this low self-image is successfully defeated by positive racial messages reinforced by parents and other intimate forms of socialization (Constantine & Blackmon 2002), it is the Black child who is consistently burdened with managing their Blackness socially.

Discussion

This study intended to understand how social images are applied in schools and how these images contribute to shaping the social identity of Black students. Findings revealed themes of Black images (how they are formed through media and immediate environments), school experiences, social identity, and racial identity. This study makes a distinct contribution that extends on prior research of social identity by linking our everyday lives to classroom experiences. The claim of this study is that all identified themes in the research work as a continuum in contributing to the social identity of Black students. Findings indicate that social images of Black people are formed through media messages and where people decide to live based on these messages. Though research finds that neighborhood choices are connected to high performing school districts, findings also suggest that school choice reasoning may be superficially motivated by

social status. The social images become problematic when they result in stereotypes and marginalization of communities based on these images. In this case, evidence was provided through research that demonstrates that both Black and White people accept these stereotypes and in return they influence how we see others and ourselves. Lippmann (1922) warns against this form of social construction by stating that stereotypes are "a very partial and inadequate way of representing the world" (p.72).

Once these images find their way into the classroom, they reinforce mostly stereotypical social images of Blacks through school practices such as tracking. Similar practices as tracking have been identified to create exclusive Black and White spaces within schools. These segregated spaces suggest that friends are formed through proximity and/or cultural familiarity. Teachers' expectations also reinforce stereotypes by how they engage with both Black and White students. Teachers offer media messages and home environments as a reason for why Black stereotypes are perpetuated through schools. However, findings contradict this claim by providing evidence that social systems (schools) influence how children identify socially. Lewis (2003) supports this finding, stating, "Schools play a role in the production of race as a social category both through implicit and explicit lessons and through school practices" (p.188). A social mechanism identified as cultural straddling (Carter, 2006) explains how Black students adapt to their environment. It should be noted that research leaves out how and if White children are burdened with the thought of race as it applies to their social identity. Schools support the White normative ideology that posits White culture as standard yet this seems to happen organically and unknowingly through school structures/climate.

Findings also suggest that who you are socially is greatly defined by racial categories and that children become increasingly aware of social inequities based on race with age. To combat this pipeline of social placement (social identity) based on race, one would need to begin by replacing the social images of the Black community (change how Black people are seen). Though this would mean a rearrangement of the power structure, preparing Black youth by teaching more positive meanings of the Black image and outlining racial socialization messages help Black students navigate their school experience more successfully and without cultural compromise (Sanders, 1997; Constantine & Blackmon, 2002).

How Black students learn who they are socially is rooted in Black stereotypes that have to be unlearned. American culture and its ills of institutionalized racism have carefully and cleverly hidden the evidence of its social reproduction of White superiority and Black inferiority in plain sight. Education practices of tracking and stricter discipline application for Black students strongly suggest to Black students that who they are socially is connected to negative associations of who they are racially. Though this concept of social identity is extremely limiting, there is little effort through American institutions, specifically schools, which contradict this conviction. Ultimately, with more favorable, uplifting, and proper representation of social images of Black people, there could be a substantial increase of positive social identity formation amongst Black students.

Implications

This study has established how schools influence the social identity development of Black students. The social experiences of school for Black students were deeply affected by the school climate and peer/teacher relationships. Both of these areas are rooted in creating and cultivating culture. With years of research that find racial inequities in education as a contributor to the academic performance and social development of Black students, what are educators to do?

Logically, the implications for developing positive social identity development for Black students should begin by abandoning educational practices that are perpetuating racial division. Creating a school climate that expects Black academic excellence by developing racially heterogeneous classrooms and encourages peer based learning using a rigorous curriculum would affirm Black students' existence in school. The dualism created by academic tracking systems construct a disjointed culture of ability that is often divided by race. The purpose of tracking claims to categorize students by ability but academic potential can be subjective – often linked to each student's access to resources and the ability to afford them. What is seen is an overwhelming presence of White students in higher tracked classes while Black students are over-represented in lower tracks. The same racial make-up is shown in disciplinary practices in education. No tolerance disciplinary policies create a culture of mistrust and a power dominating school staff. Rather than punitive codes that can be isolating and damaging socio-emotionally, many school districts have adopted a restorative justice approach that cultivates a community of open communication, trust, and relationship building.

School administration and teachers that are culturally diverse and have deep understanding and solidarity in the communities they serve are essential. Though effective teaching and learning doesn't require school staff that is from the same background as the student body, the presence of Black teachers actualizes the values of diversity. Moreover, it is important to be aware of the type of culture needed based on the student population. This means that race is not the only qualifying factor for a affirming and thriving school climate. Teachers and school administrators most actively believe in the potential of all students and set high expectations. The cultural competence and knowledge of diverse backgrounds should be taken as serious as any other employment requirement as well as annual evaluations.

Employment and education policy that encourages parent engagement in schools is another influential method in forming positive school climates. If parents were encouraged to spend more time assisting in their child's education and well-being, it would increase the opportunities for relationship building in the classroom. Collaborating with school districts to form more positive images within the Black community that translates into schools. Murals of historical Black figures culturally focused after school programs and opportunities in school that reinforce positive roles of Black children and their families. This effort would also strengthen the role schools play as members of a community.

Limitations

Although this study has presented how social images contribute to the social identity of Black students, it is important to note its limitations. The most restricting

factor of this study was the lack of empirical research to reference that is all encompassing of the variables discussed. Limitations of this study also include methods that are vulnerable because they mostly involve empirical research from peer-reviewed articles that has been restricted to the coding and interpretation of one perception (the researcher). This study does not include in-depth qualitative research, which makes the conclusions and criticisms subjective to the reader. Another limitation would be the generalization of the system being evaluated. This thesis declares schools are institutions and presumably conclude that most schools operate similarly. This thesis does not include all aspects of the learning experience. The claim is narrowed to only examine the effects of social and cultural deficits in schools that could damage the positive social identity of black students. Furthermore, like any written work evaluating culture, there is a lens that may contain the unintentional biases of the researcher.

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND RESOURCES

American Educational Research Association. (2006). Standards for reporting on empirical social science research in AERA publications. Educational Researcher, 35 (6), 33–40.

Alexander, M. G., Brewer, M. B., & Livingston, R. W. (2005). Putting stereotype content in context: Image theory and interethnic stereotypes. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *31*(6), 781-794.

Anastasio, P. A., Rose, K. C., & Chapman, J. (1999). Can the media create public opinion? A social-identity approach. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, *8*(5), 152-155.

Bandura, A. (1977). *Social learning theory.* Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall.

Bargh, J. A. (1999). The cognitive monster. In S. Chaiken & Y. Trope (Eds.), *Dual process theories in social psychology (pp. 361-382).* New York: Guilford Press.

Baybeck, B. (2006). Sorting out the competing effects of racial context. *Journal of Politics*, *68*(2), 386-396.

Berry, G. L. (1998). Black family life on television and the socialization of the African American child: Images of marginality. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 233-242.

Bonilla-Silva, E., Goar, C., & Embrick, D. G. (2006). When whites flock together: The social psychology of white habitus. *Critical Sociology*, *32*(2-3), 229-253.

Buka, S. L., Stichick, T. L., Birdthistle, I., & Earls, F. J. (2001). Youth exposure to violence: prevalence, risks, and consequences. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 71(3), 298.*

Burrow, T. (1924). Social images versus reality. *The Journal of Abnormal Psychology and Social Psychology, 19(3), 230.*

Carter, P. L. (2003). " Black" cultural capital, status positioning, and schooling conflicts for low-income African American youth. *Social problems*, *50*(1), 136-155.

Carter, P. L. (2006). Straddling boundaries: Identity, culture, and school. *Sociology of education*, *79*(4), 304-328

Clark, K. B., & Clark, M. K. (1940). Skin color as a factor in racial identification of Negro preschool children. *The Journal of Social Psychology, 11(1), 159-169.*

Coleman, J. S. (1988). Social capital in the creation of human capital. *American Journal of Sociology, 94, S95-S120.*

Coleman, J. S. 1990. *Foundations of social theory.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Cook, J., Purdie-Vaughns, V., Garcia, J., & Cohen, G. (2011). Longitudinal impact of a values affirmation and its timing on minority students' belonging and performance in middle school. In *Presentation at the 2011 Biannual Meeting for the Society for Research on Child Development in Montreal, Canada.*

Constantine, M. G., & Sha'Kema, M. B. (2002). Black adolescents' racial socialization experiences their relations to home, school, and peer self-esteem. *Journal of Black Studies*, *32*(3), 322-335.

Darden, J. T., & Kamel, S. M. (2000). Black residential segregation in the city and suburbs of Detroit: Does socioeconomic status matter?. *Journal of Urban affairs*, *22*(1), 1-13.

Davis, K., & Filmmaking, R. W. T. (2005). *A girl like me [documentary].* Brooklyn, NY: Reel Works Teen Filmmaking.

Davies, P. G., Spencer, S. J., & Steele, C. M. (2005). Clearing the air: identity safety moderates the effects of stereotype threat on women's leadership aspirations. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, *88*(2), 276.

Delpit, L. D. (2012). *" Multiplication is for White People": Raising Expectations for Other People's Children*. The New Press.

DiMaggio, P. (1997). Culture and cognition. *Annual review of sociology, 263-287.*

Dixon, T. L. (2008). Crime news and racialized beliefs: Understanding the relationship between local news viewing and perceptions of African Americans and crime. *Journal of Communication*, *58*(1), 106-125.

Dixon, T. L., & Azocar, C. L. (2007). Priming crime and activating blackness: Understanding the psychological impact of the overrepresentation of blacks as lawbreakers on television news. *Journal of communication*, *57*(2), 229-253.

Dixon, T. L., & Linz, D. (2000). Overrepresentation and underrepresentation of African Americans and Latinos as lawbreakers on television news. *Journal of communication*, *50*(2), 131-154.

Dixon, T. L., & Maddox, K. B. (2005). Skin Tone, Crime News, and Social Reality Judgments: Priming the Stereotype of the Dark and Dangerous Black Criminal1. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, *35*(8), 1555-1570.

Du Bois, W. (1968). *The souls of black folk; essays and sketches. Chicago, A. G. McClurg, 1903.* (Basic Afro-American reprint library). New York: Johnson Reprint.

Bonilla‐ Silva, E., & Embrick, D. G. (2007). "Every Place Has a Ghetto…": The Significance of Whites' Social and Residential Segregation. *Symbolic Interaction*, *30*(3), 323-345.

Farkas, S., & Johnson, J. (1998). *Time To Move On: African-American and White Parents Set an Agenda for Public Schools*. Public Agenda, 6 East 39th Street, New York, NY 10016.

Feagin, J. R., & Van Ausdale, D. (2001). *The first R: How children learn race and racism.* Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Fordham, S., & Ogbu, J. U. (1986). Black students' school success: Coping with the "burden of 'acting white' ". *The urban review, 18(3), 176-206.*

Fanon, F. (1967). Black Skin, White Masks [1952]. *New York.*

Freeman, K. (2006). If Only My Eyes Were Different: The Loss of Identity and the Underutilization of Black Children's Educational Potential—Rethinking Assimilation and Social Justice. *In Education and social justice (pp. 39-55). Springer Netherlands.*

Fryer, R. G., & Torelli, P. (2010). An empirical analysis of 'acting white'. *Journal of Public Economics*, *94*(5), 380-396.

Fujioka, Y. (1999). Television portrayals and African-American stereotypes: Examination of television effects when direct contact is lacking. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, *76*(1), 52-75.

Fujioka, Y. (2005). Black media images as a perceived threat to African American ethnic identity: Coping responses, perceived public perception, and attitudes towards affirmative action. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, *49*(4), 450-467.

Gaertner, S., & Mclaughlin, J. (1983*). Racial Stereotypes: Associations and Ascriptions of Positive and Negative Characteristics. *Social Psychology Quarterly, 46(1), 23-30.*

Gay, G. (2010). *Culturally responsive teaching: Theory, research, and practice*. Teachers College Press.

Gilens, M. (1996). Race and poverty in America public misperceptions and the American news media. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, *60*(4), 515-541.

Gilliam, F. D., Valentino, N. A., & Beckmann, M. N. (2002). Where you live and what you watch: The impact of racial proximity and local television news on attitudes about race and crime. *Political Research Quarterly*, *55*(4), 755-780.

Gordon, M. K. (2016). Achievement Scripts Media Influences on Black Students' Academic Performance, Self-Perceptions, and Career Interests. *Journal of Black Psychology*, *42*(3), 195-220.

Gorman, L., & McLean,. (2009). *Media and society into the 21st century: a historical introduction*. John Wiley & Sons.

Graves, S. B. (1993). Television, the portrayal of African Americans, and the development of children's attitudes.

Hamm, J. V. (2000). Do birds of a feather flock together? The variable bases for African American, Asian American, and European American adolescents' selection of similar friends. *Developmental psychology*, *36*(2), 209.

Hancock, Q., Jolls, T., & Jolls, P. (2013). Racism and Stereotypes in Electronic Media. *Public Library Quarterly, 32(4), 333-344.*

Hogg, M. A., & Reid, S. A. (2006). Social identity, self- categorization, and the communication of group norms. *Communication theory*, *16*(1), 7-30.

Holloway, S. R., Wright, R., & Ellis, M. (2012). The racially fragmented city? Neighborhood racial segregation and diversity jointly considered. *The Professional Geographer, 64(1), 63-82.*

Holme, J. J. (2002). Buying homes, buying schools: School choice and the social construction of school quality. *Harvard Educational Review*, *72*(2), 177-206.

Hooks, B. (2014). Teaching to transgress: Education as the practice of freedom. New York, NY: Routledge.

Iceland, J., Sharpe, C., & Steinmetz, E. (2005). Class differences in African American residential patterns in US metropolitan areas: 1990–2000. *Social Science Research*, *34*(1), 252-266.

Ispa-Landa, S., & Conwell, J. (2015). "Once You Go to a White School, You Kind of Adapt" Black Adolescents and the Racial Classification of Schools. *Sociology of Education*, *88*(1), 1-19.

Jennifer Jacobs, H., & Gerald J, B. (2003). Race, Advertising, and Prime Time Television. *The Howard Journal of Communications, 14(2), 97-112*.

Kershaw, T. (1992*).* The effects of educational tracking on the social mobility of African Americans. *Journal of Black Studies, 23(1), 152-169.*

Kozol, J. (2012). *Savage inequalities: Children in America's schools*. Broadway Books.

Krysan, M., Couper, M. P., Farley, R., & Forman, T. A. (2009). *Does race matter in neighborhood preferences? Results from a video experiment.* American Journal of Sociology, 115, 527–559.

Lacy, K. R. (2004). Black spaces, black places: Strategic assimilation and identity construction in middle-class suburbia. *Ethnic & Racial Studies, 27(6), 908-930*

Ladson-Billings, G. (2009). *The dreamkeepers: Successful teachers of African American children*. John Wiley & Sons.

Levinson, M. (2011). Racial Politics and Double Consciousness: Education for Liberation in an Inescapably Diverse Polity. *Canadian Issues*, 80.

Lewis, A. (2003). *Race in the Schoolyard Negotiating the Color Line in Classrooms and Communities*. Piscataway: Rutgers University Press

Lippmann, W. (1922). The world outside and the pictures in our heads.

Lucas, S. R., & Berends, M. (2007). Race and track location in US public schools. *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility*, *25*(3), 169-187.

Massey, D. S. (1990). American apartheid: Segregation and the making of the underclass. *American journal of sociology, 329-357.*

Mastro, D. E. (2003). A social identity approach to understanding the impact of television messages. *Communication Monographs*, *70*(2), 98-113.

Mastro, D. E. & Tropp, L. R. (2004). The effects of interracial contact, attitudes, and

stereotypical portrayals on evaluations of Black television sitcom characters. Communication Research Reports , 21 , 119_ 129

McKown, C., & Weinstein, R. S. (2003). The development and consequences of stereotype consciousness in middle childhood. *Child development*, *74*(2), 498-515.

Mickelson, R. A. (2001). Subverting Swann: First-and second-generation segregation in the Charlotte-Mecklenburg schools. *American Educational Research Journal*, *38*(2), 215-252.

Munniksma, A., & Juvonen, J. (2012). Cross-ethnic friendships and sense of social-emotional safety in a multiethnic middle school: An exploratory study. *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly*, *58*(4), 489-506.

Murray, M. S., Neal-Barnett, A., Demmings, J. L., & Stadulis, R. E. (2012). The acting White accusation, racial identity, and anxiety in African American adolescents. *Journal of anxiety disorders*, *26*(4), 526-531.

O'Connor, C., Mueller, J., & Lewis, R. L. Heureux., Rivas-Drake, D., & Rosenberg, S.(2011)."Being" black and strategizing for excellence in a racially stratified academic hierarchy. *American Educational Research Journal*, *48*, 1232-1257.

Oliver, M. B., & Fonash, D. (2002). Race and crime in the news: Whites' identification and misidentification of violent and nonviolent criminal suspects. *Media Psychology*, *4*(2), 137-156.

Onwuegbuzie, A. J., Leech, N. L., & Collins, K. M. (2012). Qualitative analysis techniques for the review of the literature. *The qualitative report*, *17*(28), 1.

Osborne, J. W., & Walker, C. (2006). Stereotype threat, identification with academics, and withdrawal from school: Why the most successful students of colour might be most likely to withdraw. *Educational Psychology*, *26*(4), 563-577.

Perry, T. (2003). Up from parched earth. In T. Perry, C. Steele, & A. Hilliard (Eds.), Young, gifted and black: Promoting high achievement among African American students (pp. 1–10). Boston, MA: Beacon Press.

Peterson-Lewis, S., & Bratton, L. M. (2004). Perceptions of "acting Black" among African American teens: Implications of racial dramaturgy for academic and social achievement. *The Urban Review*, *36*(2), 81-100.

Poindexter, P. M., & Stroman, C. A. (1981). Blacks and television: A review of the research literature. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media, 25(2), 103-122.*

Punyanunt-Carter, N. M. (2008). The perceived realism of African American portrayals on television. *The Howard Journal of Communications*, *19*(3), 241-257.

Purdie-Vaughns, V., Steele, C. M., Davies, P. G., Ditlmann, R., & Crosby, J. R. (2008). Social identity contingencies: how diversity cues signal threat or safety for African Americans in mainstream institutions. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, *94*(4), 615.

Quillian, L., & Campbell, M. E. (2003). Beyond black and white: The present and future of multiracial friendship segregation. *American Sociological Review*, 540-566.

Quillian, L., & Pager, D. (2001). Black Neighbors, Higher Crime? The Role of Racial Stereotypes in Evaluations of Neighborhood Crime1. *American journal of sociology*, *107*(3), 717-767.

Reardon, S. F., Fox, L., & Townsend, J. (2015). Neighborhood income composition by household race and income, 1990–2009. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 660(1), 78-97.*

Rideout, V. J., Foehr, U. G., & Roberts, D. F. (2010). *Generation M [superscript 2]: Media in the Lives of 8-to 18-Year-Olds.* Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation.

Roda, A., & Wells, A. S. (2013). School choice policies and racial segregation: Where White parents' good intentions, anxiety, and privilege collide. *American Journal of Education*, *119*(2), 261-293.

Rosenbaum, E., & Harris, L. E. (2001). Low-Income Families in Their New Neighborhoods The Short-Term Effects of Moving From Chicago's Public Housing. *Journal of Family Issues*, *22*(2), 183-210.

Sampson, R. J., & Raudenbush, S. W. (2004). Seeing disorder: Neighborhood stigma and the social construction of "broken windows". *Social psychology quarterly*, *67*(4), 319 -342.

Sanders, M. G. (1997). Overcoming obstacles: Academic achievement as a response to racism and discrimination. *Journal of Negro Education*, 83-93.

Sigelman, L., & Welch, S. (1993). The contact hypothesis revisited: Black-white interaction and positive racial attitudes. *Social forces*, *71*(3), 781-795.

Skiba, R. J., Horner, R. H., Chung, C. G., Rausch, M. K., May, S. L., & Tobin, T. (2011). Race is not neutral: A national investigation of African American and Latino disproportionality in school discipline. *School Psychology Review*, *40*(1), 85.

Skiba, R. J., Michael, R. S., Nardo, A. C., & Peterson, R. L. (2002). The color of discipline: Sources of racial and gender disproportionality in school punishment. *The urban review*, *34*(4), 317-342.

Smith, E. R., Mackie, D. M., & Claypool, H. M. (2014). *Social psychology*. Psychology Press.

Spencer, M. B., Noll, E., Stoltzfus, J., & Harpalani, V. (2001). Identity and school adjustment: Revisiting the" acting White" assumption. *Educational Psychologist*, *36*(1), 21-30.

Stanton-Salazar, R. D. (2011). A social capital framework for the study of institutional agents and their role in the empowerment of low-status students and youth. *Youth & Society*, *43*(3), 1066-1109.

Steele, C. M. (1997). A threat in the air: How stereotypes shape intellectual identity and performance. *American psychologist*, *52*(6), 613.

Steele, C. M., & Aronson, J. (1995). Stereotype threat and the intellectual test performance of African Americans. *Journal of personality and social psychology, 69(5), 797.*

Steele, C. M., Spencer, S. J., & Aronson, J. (2002). Contending with group image: The psychology of stereotype and social identity threat. *Advances in experimental social psychology*, *34*, 379-440.

Stroman, C. A. (1984). The socialization influence of television on black children. *Journal of Black Studies*, *15*(1), 79-100.

Stroman, C. A. (1991). Television's role in the socialization of African American children and adolescents. *The Journal of Negro Education*, *60*(3), 314-327.

Swaroop, S., & Krysan, M. (2011). The determinants of neighborhood satisfaction: Racial proxy revisited. *Demography*, *48*(3), 1203-1229.

Tarrant, M., North, A. C., Edridge, M. D., Kirk, L. E., Smith, E. A., & Turner, R. E. (2001). Social identity in adolescence. *Journal of adolescence*, *24*(5), 597-609.

Tatum, B. (2003). *Why Are All the Black Kids Sitting Together in the Cafeteria?: Revised Edition*. Basic Books.

Tyson, K., Darity, W., & Castellino, D. R. (2005). It's not "a black thing": Understanding the burden of acting white and other dilemmas of high achievement. *American Sociological Review, 70(4), 582-605.*

Wallace Jr, J. M., Goodkind, S., Wallace, C. M., & Bachman, J. G. (2008). Racial, ethnic, and gender differences in school discipline among US high school students: 1991-2005. *The Negro Educational Review*, *59*(1-2), 47.

Ward, L. M. (2004). Wading Through the Stereotypes: Positive and Negative Associations Between Media Use and Black Adolescents' Conceptions of Self. *Developmental Psychology*, *40*(2), 284.

Zarate, M. A., & Smith, E. R. (1990). Person categorization and stereotyping. *Social Cognition, 8(2), 161-185*.

VITA

Kandyce Cabacar is a Graduate Student in the Cultural and Educational Policy Studies program with a concentration in the Sociology of Education at Loyola University Chicago. She is interested in racial and social identity development of Black youth. More specifically, her work examines the educational experiences of Black students in public school settings. Kandyce holds a bachelor's degree in Human Services and Psychology from Old Dominion University.