

The unexplored voices of the “New African Diaspora”: An examination of the impact of race,
ethnicity, and teacher discrimination on academic performance for Nigerian and Black American
adolescents

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Abstract

The unexplored voices of the “New African Diaspora”: An examination of the impact of race, ethnicity, and teacher discrimination on academic performance for Nigerian and Black American adolescents

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Because African immigrant and Black American adolescents share identifiable phenotypic characteristics (e.g. skin color and hair texture), many researchers and educators have assumed that they have a monolithic racial identity and similar educational experiences. Much of the scholarship has failed to acknowledge the increased ethnic diversity among Blacks in the United States—particularly the expanding African immigrant subpopulation. Moreover, differences in group identity, culture, and reaction to inequitable treatment may distinguish the two ethnic groups from one another. In response, this dissertation investigated how and in what ways ethnic group membership and racial identity contributed to the academic performance of 59

Black American (N=38; $M_{age}=15.79$; 44.7% female) and Nigerian (N=21; $M_{age}= 16.43$; 76.1% female) high school students.

Study 1 assessed internal validity and reliability of the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Racial Identity-teen (MIBI-t), a survey traditionally used to measure Black youth's racial identity (Scottham, Seller, and Nguyen, 2008) using three dimensions: Centrality (the degree to which a person defines themselves racially), Private Regard (the degree to which an individual personally feels positively or negatively towards Blacks), and Public Regard (the degree to which a person feels Blacks are viewed negatively or positively by broader society). Exploratory factor analyses showed a 3-factor solution to be the best-fitting model, consistent with prior research. Inspection of the internal reliabilities suggested possible improvement to the MIBI-t. Reliability for both groups combined was low for Centrality, $\alpha = 0.51$; marginal for Private Regard, $\alpha = 0.65$ (but improved by dropping one item, $\alpha = 0.78$), and adequate for Public Regard, $\alpha = 0.71$. Similar results were found for each group separately.

Three 2 (ethnic group) by 2 (gender) ANOVAs conducted for each MIBI-t subscale showed no significant main effects by ethnic group or by gender. However, significant ethnic group by gender interactions were found for Centrality and Public Regard. For Centrality, Black American girls' average Centrality score were higher than Nigerian girls ($p < .001$). For Public Regard, Nigerians and Black American females reported that broader society perceived Blacks more positively than Black American males (all $ps < .05$). Results suggest that neither ethnic group membership nor gender alone are sufficient to explain mean level differences in the sub-factors of identity. Rather the *intersection* of ethnic group membership and gender illuminated mean level differences among the four subsamples.

Study 2 assessed (1) whether an “immigrant advantage” in grades existed for Nigerian relative to Black American youth, and (2) examined the relationship of racial identity to perceived teacher discrimination and grades. Two 2 (ethnic group) by 2 (gender) ANOVAs conducted for grades and perceived teacher discrimination showed no significant main effects or ethnic group by gender interactions. Pearson product-moment correlation analyses showed, contrary to previous studies, no significant relationships between discrimination and grades for the whole sample nor for each group separately. To examine the extent to which the Black racial identity subscales, individually or in combination, moderated the contribution of perceived teacher discrimination to grades for Black American and Nigerian youth, four block-wise hierarchical regression analyses were performed. Gender, ethnicity, and discrimination were entered in Block 1, racial identity subscales in Block 2, and interactions of gender by ethnicity and racial identity subscales by discrimination in Block 3. Across all four analyses, gender was the only statistically significant predictor. However, when all of the interactions were entered into Model 3 the contributions of Public Regard became significant. In this sample, there was no indication of an “immigrant advantage” in grades for Nigerian youth relative to Black American youth, nor were the racial identity nor perceived discrimination significant.

Taken together, these two studies provided a more nuanced picture of the ways in which Black racial identity operates for Black American and Nigerian youth. Study 1 contributed to limited psychometric studies of the MIBI-t’s internal validity and reliability by extending analyses to African immigrants. Although this study identified needed improvement, it suggests that the MIBI-t is applicable to Nigerian youths’ racial identity. Future research might examine the relative importance of racial and ethnic identity for Nigerian youth, as this might provide important insight into their psychological adjustment and academic achievement. Study 2

contributed to limited studies on the relationship between ethnic group membership, discrimination, and academic achievement between Black American and Nigerian youth. It debunked the notion of African immigrant youth as a “New Model Minority”. When care is taken to compare groups that are equivalent in parent education, Black Americans perform as well as Nigerians. This project lays an important foundation for future assessments of the Black racial identity and academic achievement of the youth of the African Diaspora.

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my brothers. Ike and Uche, our collective struggles and triumphs in school were the driving force for this study and my life's work. You both were the inspiration to pursue this degree. My doctorate is our collective doctorate.

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Chapter I

Introduction

Why do some Black high school students succeed while others falter? Decades of research has identified psychological, social, and structural forces that can impact Black high school students academic success. Strong contributing factors to academic success or failure that have emerged include achievement expectations and motivation, cultural mismatch between students and teachers, socioeconomic status, discrimination, and self-esteem (Carter, 2006; Kraus, Rheinschmidt, & Piff, 2012; Morris, 2010; Nasir & Hand, 2006; Nasir, McLaughlin & Jones, 2009; Syed, Azmitia & Cooper, 2011; Wilson, 2009). Most of the research, however, has focused on differences between Black and White students' school success, and has failed to account for the increased ethnic diversity among Blacks in the United States—especially the growing African immigrant subpopulation. Without attending to within-group differences, we cannot identifying protective factors that may be unique to African immigrant or Black American high school students, or common to both groups. Identifying such differences may help researchers and educators search for mechanisms that contribute to the academic success of these students rather than continue to identify generalized deficits.

Because the two groups share identifiable phenotypic characteristics, such as skin color and hair texture, African immigrants share some common experiences with multigenerational Black Americans in the United States. Both groups must cope with oppression, discrimination, and institutional racism (Kraus et al., 2012; Morris, 2010; Wilson, 2009). Simultaneously, differences in group identity, culture, and responses to inequitable treatment may distinguish the two groups from one another. Without attending to diverse cultures, linguistic backgrounds, and experiences of African immigrants and Black Americans, these ethnic groups are, as stated by

Portes and Rumbaut (2014) “...defined as single entities in numerous official publications, lumped together in affirmative action programs, counted together by the census, and addressed jointly in official rhetoric” (p. 159). Generalizing across these groups assumes that “Blackness” is defined the same way for all and that all Blacks share the exact same history, culture, and experiences.

Including the African immigrant narrative will enable the fields of education, psychology, and sociology to better understand the origins of individual and group differences, question educators’ deficit thinking, and critically examine the factors that negatively and positively affect Black youths’ academic performance. Addressing these issues will require a deeper understanding of the different, yet similar ways in which race, ethnicity, and culture operate for African immigrant and Black American youth as well as critical investigation of the various ways in which these two groups define, negotiate, and contend with what it means to be Black in America.

Overview of the Dissertation

The overall purpose of this dissertation is to investigate how race, ethnicity, and discrimination influence the academic trajectories of Black American and African immigrant high school students. It also explores the role of racial identity in moderating the effects of teacher discrimination on students’ academic performance. Theoretically, this research extends the current focus on a monolithic Black educational experience by teasing out the differences between race and ethnicity for Black American and African immigrant youth. Methodologically, this dissertation examines the utility of a renowned Black identity measure for an African immigrant population.

Chapter II

General Review of Literature

This dissertation focuses on the sub-fields of racial and ethnic identities, racial and ethnic discrimination, immigration, and academic performance. Therefore, it is important to define, critique, and re-operationalize key terminology that are central concepts to my study. In this section, I provide a review of past and current research from psychology and sociology on race and ethnicity, identity, immigration status, and discrimination. Psychology and sociology go hand in hand as humanistic social sciences that study people, groups, and institutions. Traditionally, psychology is the study of the individual's mind, behavior, and emotions, whereas sociology is the study of society, social groups, social relationships, and institutions. For the purpose of this dissertation, psychology and sociology are considered complementary fields and both are perceived as necessary to understand the complex interactions among individual and societal level processes.

Race and Ethnicity

Given how closely linked race and ethnicity are, researchers have mistakenly used the terms interchangeably (Benner & Graham, 2013; French et al., 2006; Phinney & Ong, 2007). It is commonly understood that race is the macro-level socially constructed identifier in which people are grouped together based upon identifiable physical features, such as skin color and hair texture (Betancourt & Lopez, 1993; Helms, Jernigan, & Mascher, 2005). As Hirschman (2016) lamented, race categories in the United States are treated as mutually exclusive, meaning that an individual can only embody one racial category. In the United States, such racial categories are Native American, Asian, Latino, White, or Black/African American (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010).

Ethnicity, on the other hand, is a narrower, yet still socially constructed, classification that clusters individuals based upon their shared history, cultural beliefs, ideology, language, and religion (Betancourt & Lopez, 1993; Helms, et al., 2005; Zagefka, 2009). Furthermore, ethnicity “recognizes that ethnic groups are porous and heterogeneous” (Hirschman, 2004, p.410). Ethnicity in the United States, is often linked to nationality or country of origin (Portes & Rumbaut, 2014). Some examples of ethnic categories are Muslim, Filipino, Hawaiian, or Ghanaian.

Drawing from key psychological and sociological literature, *I operationalize race as a two-part construct that is comprised of: 1) one’s socially ascribed race (the way in which one is perceived by others) and; 2) one’s self-ascribed race (the way in which one sees themselves). Ethnicity on the other hand refers to how one categorizes oneself. It is a subjective, self-ascribed category.*

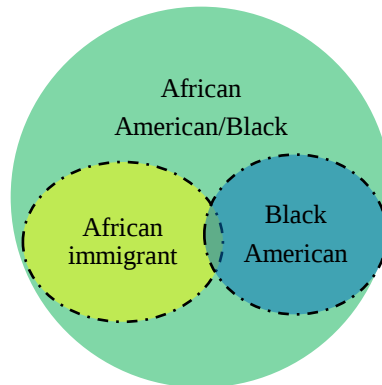
To Summarize:

Race = socially ascribed race + self-ascribed race

Ethnicity = self-ascribed ethnicity

Race and Ethnicity as it pertains to the Black population. According to Waters (1999), “Americans tend to see race and ethnicity as interchangeable for [Blacks] failing to recognize an ethnic heterogeneity within the racial category of [B]lack” (p. 7) [See Figure 1]. For most Black Americans, their racial identity (African American/Black) is synonymous with their ethnic identity (for this study, referred to as Black American), however, for African immigrants this is not the case. African immigrants must negotiate with their ethnic identity (African) as well as their racial identity (African American/Black).

Figure 1. Race and Ethnicity for Black populations



For many African immigrants, society makes their Black American identity more salient while their African identity is ignored, therefore *racializing*¹ them as Black. This results in African immigrants facing similar experiences of interpersonal and institutional racism that multigenerational Black Americans have faced for centuries. The racialization process is further exacerbated by “homogenizing views of *Blackness* in the United States” (Bashi & McDaniel, 1997 as cited in Awokoya, 2012). The construction of Blackness, and by association race, is a direct result of larger sociohistorical, geopolitical, and economic power structures in the United States, which have unfortunately positioned and constrained Black Americans and African immigrants to be *perceived* as only Black.

Identity and Adolescence

Identity, much like race and ethnicity, is a dynamic and multidimensional construct. For example, one’s identity includes gender and sexual orientation, religious ideology, and ability, among many constructs. It is influenced by one’s social context (e.g., cultural traditions, societal inequality) and personal characteristics (e.g. immigration status, SES, gender) (Carter, 2006;

¹ Originally coined by Omi and Winant (1994) racialization refers to the act of a dominate group using their power and privilege to impose a racial categorization on a minoritized group which often leads to differential treatment that manifests in the forms of interpersonal, institutional, and structural racism.

Nasir & Hand, 2006; Syed et al., 2011). Oyserman, Elmore, and Smith (2012) define identity as the “traits and characteristics, social relations, roles, and social group memberships that define who one is” (pg. 69). In other words, identity is comprised of the various social groups and roles one inhabits. It is also a matter of how central one’s gender, race, ethnicity, or other social categories are to their overall personhood.

More importantly, during adolescence, the process of identity formation may foster feelings of confusion or insecurity about oneself and how one fits into society, since individuals are in the process of developing a sense of self and personal identity (Erikson, 1968). Erikson’s theory of identity development has been critiqued for not taking into account how cultural context, societal and institutional factors, and geopolitical context influence one’s identity formation (Gleason, 1983; Marcia, 1980; Spencer, 1999; Yeh & Hwang, 2000). “Persons are always embedded in the very social structure that is, at the same time, being created by those persons” (Stets & Burke, 2012, p.3). Therefore, one’s identity cannot be adequately understood void of the context and social structures that created it. Furthermore, recent researchers have also noted that Erikson failed to take into account how an individual’s racial and ethnic identities affects the formation of overall self-identity (French et al., 2006; Phinney, 1997; Phinney & Ong, 2007; Spencer, 1999; Tatum, 1997). In sum, identities are socially constructed, constantly negotiated, and heavily contextual.

Racial and Ethnic Identity. William Cross was the first to tackle the topic of racial identity development for African Americans. He developed his theory of Nigrescence to describe “the process of becoming African American” (Cross, 1991). The Nigrescence theory laid the foundation for the development of various Black identity models throughout the late 1990s and early 2000s, such as the Black Racial Identity Scale (BRAIS) (Parham & Helms, 1981),

Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI) (Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Selton, & Smith, 1997) and Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity –Teen (MIBI-t) (Scottham, Sellers, & Nguyen, 2008). These scales all assess the significance, centrality, and meaning of Black racial identity to one's self-identity. The MIBI-t has become the most widely used Black racial identity measure for Black youth in the United States. A limitation of all of these models of Black racial identity development is that they have been developed using only a Black American sample and does not assess the significance, centrality, or meaning of Black *ethnic* identity for Black youth. Immigration status may be a factor that may lead to differences in the racial and ethnic identity formation of African immigrant youth.

Phinney's (1990) Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) is often cited as the first model of ethnic identity formation that could be used for all ethnic groups. Ironically, the studies that use the MEIM have also only used Black American samples (Phinney, 1992; Phinney & Ong, 2007; Worrell, 2008). While there has been increased attention to racial and ethnic identity formation, the lack of an ethnic identity model or measure for African immigrants within the United States highlights the fact that the ethnic and cultural diversity of the Black population is being overlooked.

Racial and Ethnic Identity in Adolescence. Many researchers have noted that adolescence is an important developmental stage for Black youth because they are beginning to distinguish who they are in relation to their family and peers (Brittian, 2012; Erikson, 1968; Seaton, Yip, & Sellers, 2009). Scholars have noted that race complicates Black youth's identity development as they begin to consider themselves with regard to race, begin to differentiate friendships by racial group, and show increased racial exploration (Brittian, 2012; French et al., 2006; Nasir, 2011; Steele, 2010). Empirical research that has investigated the role of race,

ethnicity, or immigration status on the identity development of African immigrant adolescents is limited. A handful of studies have found that adolescence is an especially challenging time for African immigrant adolescents who often have to simultaneously construct and negotiate identities related to race, ethnicity, gender, and immigration status (Awokoya, 2012; Balogun, 2011; Benson, 2006; Traoré, 2003).

Immigration Status

Immigrants migrate to the United States for a variety of reasons and come with varying levels of skills and resources. Some immigrants are regulated to low-wage jobs while others come to advance their professional and career aspirations (Portes & Rumbaut, 2014; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). Despite these differences, immigrants become the perpetual Other or Outsider: “Immigrants are by definition in the margins of two cultures. Paradoxically, they can never truly belong neither ‘here’ nor ‘there’” (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001, p. 92). An immigrant’s ability to successfully straddle their culture of origin and the culture of their host society may be contingent upon their generational status, which is the number of generations an individual’s family has lived in the United States (Kaufman, Chavez, & Lauen, 1998).

First generation. Individuals who were born outside the United States are considered 1st generation (Kaufman, et al., 1998; Portes & Rumbaut, 2014; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). 1st generation individuals vary widely in their English language capacity (little understanding to fluent) as well as in their educational attainment (no formal schooling to advance graduate degree). In terms of economic social mobility, 1st generation immigrants tend to have lower earnings compared to native-born workers (Borjas, 2006); however, this finding does not hold true for all 1st generation immigrants (Hirschman, 2016; Portes & Rumbaut, 2014).

According to Rumbaut (1994), depending on the age of immigration, the first generation population can be further disaggregated into 1.25, 1.5, and 1.75 generations. **1.25 generation** refers to individuals who are foreign born and immigrated to the U.S. by age 5. **1.5 generation** individuals are foreign born and immigrated to the U.S. before age 12. And lastly, we use **1.75 generation** to categorize individuals who are foreign born and immigrated to the U.S. between ages 13 and 17. However, given the difficulty of tracking age of migration, much of the literature just refers to all three sub-divisions of 1st generation youth as 1.5 generation (Portes & Rumbaut, 2014; Rumbaut, 1994; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001).

Second generation. 2nd generation is a label for persons who were born in the United States and have at least one parent that is foreign born (Kaufman, et al., 1998; Portes & Rumbaut, 2014; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). In both psychological and sociological literature, they are commonly referred to as “children of immigrants” (Portes & Rumbaut, 2014; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). They are more likely to be highly fluent in English. If bilingual, they may provide translations for foreign born parents. In terms of economic social mobility, some scholars have found that 2nd generation immigrants “catch up” to the economic status of native-born workers and on average earn 5-20% more than their 1st generation parents (Borajs, 2006). Researchers have also found that regardless of parental skill level and family background, 2nd generation immigrants tend to fair better academically, economically, professionally, and in health relative to their 1st generation parents (Hirschman, 2016; Portes & Rumbaut, 2014; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001).

Third generation. Individuals born in the United States have parents who were also born in the United States, and have at least one foreign born grandparent are known as the 3rd generation (Kaufman, et al., 1998; Portes & Rumbaut, 2014; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco,

2001). They are sometimes referred to as the “grandchildren of immigrants”. English is typically the first language these individuals learn and they may not have linguistic competence in the language of their foreign born grandparents. Although there is limited research on the social mobility of 3rd generation immigrants, research has found that social gains typically drop off after the 2nd generation (Borjas; 2006; Portes & Rumbaut, 2014; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). This means that grandchildren of immigrants (3rd generation), on average, do not continue the upward social mobility trend in economic earnings, educational attainment, and health, that comes forth with children of immigrants (2nd generation).

The immigration categories mentioned above are suitable descriptions of Africans who voluntarily immigrated the United States since 1965. However, these do not adequately reflect the migration experiences of Black Americans. To accommodate their forced immigration experience, I use the category multigenerational.

Multigenerational. Multigenerational individuals were born in the United States and have several generations (4+ generations) born in the United States. This includes a majority of Black Americans with multigenerational roots in the United States due to slavery. English is typically the first and only language these individuals use.

Discrimination

In order to operationalize discrimination, I must first distinguish it from other important terms such as prejudice, stereotyping, and racism. Discrimination is an action that is distinct from prejudice (attitudes), stereotyping (beliefs), and racism or any other ism (ideology). However, prejudices, stereotypes, and racism can lead to discriminatory acts.

Gordon Allport's (1954) scholarship has been the foundation of discrimination research in both psychology and sociology. He described discrimination as act of denying "individuals or groups of people equality of treatment which they may wish" (p.51). Different types of discrimination include individual-level characteristics such as race, religion, or gender; which can manifest in social settings and institutions in the forms of residential segregation, employment/hiring practices, and education (Allport, 1954; Pager & Shepherd, 2008). Therefore, *I define discrimination as an act of inequitable treatment or exclusion of individuals or groups based upon socially ascribed categories.*

Discrimination as it pertains to the Black population. Discussions of discrimination as it pertains to Black populations are typically focused on racial discrimination (English, Lambert, & Ialongo, 2016; Pager & Shepherd, 2010). In my work, *I define racial discrimination as the inequitable treatment or exclusion of individuals or groups based upon race.* These racially charged discriminatory acts can occur in overt ways, such as 20th century Jim Crow laws or hate crimes. They can also be expressed covertly as when employees ignore store patrons or follow them around. Much like the previous discussion about race and ethnicity, racial discrimination is often used synonymously with ethnic discrimination. For African immigrant populations, this is particularly problematic, because researchers are not clearly able to assess whether participants perceive that they are being discriminated against for being Black, for being African, or both. Hence, assessing both racial and ethnic discrimination for African immigrant populations can help clarify the structural mechanisms that shape their lives.

In this section, I have provided an overview of key terms that pertain to my dissertation work on Black American and African immigrant youth. My discussion of the operationalization of these terms are in fact addressing the larger problem of the lack of psychological and

sociological scholarship on African immigrants. The sections that follow demonstrate a promising direction in research that not only validates the merits of continuing to refine these constructs and processes, but also substantiates the importance for thoughtful and meticulously crafted research designs.

Structure of Dissertation

This dissertation proposes two empirical studies. Together these two lines of inquiry will provide a more complete picture of the role of race, ethnicity, and perceived teacher discrimination on the academic performance of Black American and Nigerian high school students.

The first study will bring together three bodies of literature related to adolescents, racial and ethnic identity, and measurement to investigate the extent to which race and ethnicity operate similarly and/or differently for Black American and Nigerian youth. The aim of this study is to examine the racial identity of Black American and African immigrant youth. This study will use exploratory factor analysis (EFA) to explore the following:

1. Evaluate if the MIBI-t is an internally valid and reliable measure of Black racial identity for Black American and Nigerian youth;
2. Assess if there is a similar underlying factor structure to the data across Black American and Nigerian youth;
3. Compare means of racial identity between Black Americans and Nigerians for Black identity.

The second study will build on the first by investigating the contributions of racial identity, ethnic group membership, and perceived teacher discrimination to academic performance for Black American and African immigrant youth. This study will utilize hierarchical regression analyses to:

1. Determine whether there is a difference in perceived teacher discrimination and academic performance for Black American and Nigerian youth;
2. Compare the relationships between perceived teacher discrimination and academic performance for Black American and Nigerian students;
3. Assess whether the Black racial identity subscales, individually or in combination, moderate the contributions of perceived teacher discrimination to academic performance for both groups.

This two-study dissertation provides a more refined landscape of the role of race, ethnicity, and perceived teacher discrimination on the academic performance of Black American and African immigrant high school students. With the rapid growth of the African immigrant subpopulation in the United States, the results from these studies build on existing scholarship that seeks to complicate our understanding of who is Black in America as well as our notions of race, ethnicity, and immigration.

Chapter III

Why Nigerians?

It is important to lay the historical foundation of the various immigration policies between 1965 and 1990 because these policies played an undeniable role in the rapid increase of African immigrants in the U.S. during the late 20th and early 21st centuries. Furthermore, these policies provided diverse modes of entry to the United States that allowed for a myriad of Africans from all over the continent.

African migration to the United States dates back to 1619, when the first African slaves were *involuntarily* brought to Jamestown, Virginia (Capps, McCabe, & Fix, 2012). In 1808, Congress banned the African slave trade, therefore also placing a halt on African migration to the United States (Foner, 2008). African migration to the United States between 1808 and 1965 was severely restricted due to numerous national origin quotas passed by Congress. 1965 marked the end of those restrictive quotas and allowed for the open stream of *voluntary* African migration to the United States.

The 1965, 1980, 1986, and 1990 Immigration Acts (see Appendix A) were instrumental in the Africa-United States migration flow. Given the small numbers of Africans in the U.S. prior to 1965, the first wave of Africans that entered the U.S. immediately following the implementation of the 1965 Act were highly skilled laborers or on student visas. This also ignited the “brain drain” of Africa. The brain drain, coined by the Royal Society (the UK’s equivalent of the Academy of Sciences), is the mass exodus of highly educated and skilled workers from developing countries to more advanced industrial countries.

The 1980 Act led to the first large scale wave of African immigrants from the Horn of Africa (i.e. Somalia, Ethiopia, and Eritrea) to seek asylum in the U.S. A relatively high

proportion of African immigrants came as refugees from Eritrea, Liberia, and Somalia. Roughly, 35,000 sub-Saharan Africans obtained legal status through the Immigration Reform and Control of 1986 (IRCA)'s undocumented legalization provision (Kent, 2007).

Lastly, the implementation of the 1990 Act allowed for a larger proportion of African immigrants to come to the U.S. through family reunification as well as through the diversity visa program. The 1990 Act was responsible for opening the door for the diverse cultures and peoples of Africa to seek refuge and new beginnings in the United States. Lobo (2006) estimated that the diversity visa accounted for half of the increase of African migration to the U.S. between the 1990s and the early 2000s. The Census Bureau found that among Africans that came to the United States between 2000 and 2013, 45% entered via family reunification, 28% as refugees and asylees, 19% through the diversity visa, and only 6% as high skilled laborers (Anderson, 2015).

Today, 1st generation African immigrants account for 4%, or roughly 1.6 million, of the foreign born population in America (Anderson, 2015; Capps, McCabe, and Fix, 2012; Gambino, Trevelyan, & Fitzwater, 2014). This is a significant increase from the roughly 35,000 African immigrants in 1960 (American Immigration Council, 2012; Shaw-Taylor & Tuch, 2007). Even more noteworthy, is that over half a million or 36% of 1st generation African immigrants arrived after 2005. This steady increase of 1st generation African immigrants means the continued growth of 1.5 and 2nd generation African immigrant youth in our nation's schools.

Approximately 576,000, or 36%, of foreign born Africans, are from West Africa; 29%, or 464,000, are from East Africa; 17% (272,000) are from North Africa and 7% (112,000) and 5% (80,000) are from Middle and Southern Africa, respectively. According to a 2014 U.S. Census report, in order of population size in the United States, Nigeria, Ethiopia, Egypt, and Ghana

represented 41% or 649,000 of the total 1st generation Africans in the U.S. (Gambino et al., 2014). As the demographic data demonstrates, Nigerians comprise the largest African immigrant group in the United States at approximately 376,000 individuals (213,000 1st generation adults and 163,000 2nd generation youth). Most notable, 63% of 2nd generation Nigerian youth are under the age of 18. Therefore I selected Nigerian youth to begin the exploration of the African immigrant youth experience in the United States. This, however, does not mean, that the findings from this dissertation will adequately fit or explain the experience of all African immigrant youths.

Chapter IV

Empirical Paper One:

A psychometric analysis of the validity of the MIBI-t for Black American and Nigerian adolescents

Introduction

Identities are a byproduct of their context and vice versa. Therefore, it is important to note that in the wake of the current U.S. racial climate, daily killings of unarmed Black people, and the #BlackLivesMatter movement, race and ethnicity have become a political stance (Noguera, 2014). Given the socio-historical and political landscape of the United States' racial hierarchy, African immigrants are racialized as Black by larger society and must contend with identifying as Black *and* African, as opposed to identifying as simply Black *or* African. As noted by internationally renowned author, Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie (2013), "In America, you don't get to decide what race you are. It is decided for you" (pg.70). Given this context, Black American and African immigrant youth cannot escape their Blackness and employ various tactics to navigate and resist our racially oppressive, anti-Black nation and its schools.

Black racial identity has been at the center of much educational and psychological research over the last 40 years (Cokley, 2002; Cross, 1991; Nasir, 2011; Phinney, 1997; Worrell, 2008). Over the last 20 years researchers have examined the relationship between Black racial identity and Black adolescents' development of their self-concept as well as countless educational, psychological, and social outcomes (Brittian, 2012; Carter, 2006; Fordham & Ogbu, 1986; French et al., 2006; Nasir, McLaughlin, & Jones, 2009; Rowley, Sellers, Chavous, & Smith, 1998; Seaton, Yip, & Sellers, 2009). Studies have found that strong Black racial identity predicts higher grades, higher rates of self-esteem, and lower levels of depression. The continued

importance of racial identity is reflected in the creation of the Ethnic and Racial Identity in the 21st Century Study Group (see Society of Research in Child Development) and various special issues on racial and ethnic identity in *Child Development* (Feb 2014 & Mar 2017) and *Journal of Research on Adolescence* (Mar 2017). However, the focus on Black adolescent racial identity has not included the racial identity development experiences of African immigrant adolescents.

While there is a large body of research on the racial identity of Black American adolescents (Brittian, 2012; Carter, 2006; Fordham & Ogbu, 1986; Harper & Tuckman, 2006; Nasir, McLaughlin, & Jones, 2009; Phinney, 1997; Robinson & Biran, 2006; Rowley et al., 1998; Seaton, Yip, & Sellers, 2009; Steele, 1997), there is virtually no research that assesses the racial identity of 2nd generation African immigrant youth. On many occasions, their Black racial identity is questioned or their African ethnic identity is overlooked (Awokoya, 2012). The dissonance between seeking an identity that accommodates both their racial and ethnic identities highlights a common challenge faced by many 2nd generation African immigrant youth growing up in the United States.

Due to the homogenization of Blackness in the United States, African immigrants', ethnicity and nationality are often subsumed by race. Research on Black adolescents often merges native and foreign born Blacks as a single group or excludes Black immigrants (George Mwangi, 2014; Massey, Mooney, Torres, & Charles, 2007). Thus, we know very little about the way in which African migration to the United States complicates our understanding of who is Black and muddles traditional boundaries of race, ethnicity, and immigration. Moreover, a few retrospective studies have found that adolescence is an especially challenging time for African immigrant adolescents as they negotiate overlapping identities related to race, ethnicity, and immigration status (Awokoya, 2012; Balogun, 2011; Benson, 2006; Traoré, 2003).

In this study, the Black racial identity of Black American and Nigerian adolescents was examined using Scottham, Sellers, and Nguyen (2008)'s Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity-teen (MIBI-t). To set the stage for this study, I provide a rationale for why I focus on Nigerian youth, provide a brief overview of the MIBI-t, discuss the previous psychometric analysis of the MIBI-t, and critique the MIBI-t.

Why Nigerians?

Today, 1st generation African immigrants account for 4%, or roughly 1.6 million, of the foreign born population in America (Anderson, 2015; Capps, McCabe, and Fix, 2012; Gambino et al., 2014). This is a significant increase from the roughly 35,000 African immigrants in 1960 (American Immigration Council, 2012; Shaw-Taylor & Tuch, 2007). Even more noteworthy, is that over half a million or 36% of 1st generation African immigrants arrived after 2005. Currently, Nigerians comprise the largest immigrant population from Africa at approximately 376,000 individuals (213,000 1st generation adults and 163,000 2nd generation youth) (Awokoya, 2012; Capps et al., 2012; Shaw-Taylor & Tuch, 2007). Because, 63% of 2nd generation Nigerian youth are under the age of 18, I selected Nigerian youth to begin the exploration of the African immigrant youth experience in the United States.

The Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity-teen (MIBI-t)

The Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity-teen (MIBI-t) is a widely utilized measure in adolescent Black racial identity studies. It is the adolescent-friendly adaptation of the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI) (see Sellers et al., 1998 for more information). For the MIBI-t, each subscale is comprised of three items. The MIBI-t assesses the significance and meaning of race to Black youth's self-concept (Scottham et al., 2008). It is

comprised of three constructs: centrality, regard, and ideology. For the purpose of this paper, we focus on the first two.

Centrality. *Centrality* refers to the degree to which a person defines themselves racially. Implicit in this definition is the hierarchical importance of race as compared to various identities, and its proximity to a person's core self-concept. Centrality is a cornerstone of the racial identity literature that finds that race is central to the normal functioning and psychological well-being of Black youth (Scottham et al., 2008).

Regard. The regard subscales assess one's positive and negative evaluation of their racial group. They are comprised of two sub-components: public regard and private regard. *Public Regard* is the degree to which a person feels that Blacks are viewed negatively or positively in the broader society. This represents the individual's assessment of one's racial group as viewed by others, and is thought to influence one's identification with that racial group (Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, & Chavous, 1998). On the other hand, *Private Regard* refers to the degree to which an individual personally feels positively or negatively about being Black and being connected with other Blacks (Sellers et al., 1998). This aspect of regard is aligned with the concepts of racial pride and psychological closeness to one's racial group (Cross, 1991).

Previous Psychometric Analysis of the MIBI-t

Although the MIBI-t is widely used for Black adolescents' racial identity research, only one study has assessed the psychometric properties of the scale and that study was conducted by those who created it (Scottham et al., 2008). It's important to remember each subscale is comprised of three items. The authors study found moderate levels of Centrality ($M=3.85$, $SD=0.80$), high levels of Private Regard ($M=4.66$, $SD=0.58$), and moderate levels of Public Regard

($M = 3.32$, $SD = 0.90$) among its sample of 489 Black American early and middle adolescents. In terms of reliability, they had one scale above 0.70 (Private Regard) and two scales below 0.70 (Centrality and Public Regard). Centrality was particularly low with $\alpha = 0.55$ and Public Regard was moderately low with $\alpha = 0.66$. Private Regard was a strong reliable construct with $\alpha = 0.76$.

Even though the authors found some mean grade level and gender differences among the three scales (Centrality, Regard, and Ideology), they concluded that the underlying factor structure was the same regardless of demographic characteristics. More specifically, Scottham et al. (2008) found that the MIBI-t evidenced 1) construct and conceptual validity with the MIBI; 2) stability in identity across early and middle adolescence; and 3) invariant across grade level and gender. Although quantitative studies utilizing the MIBI-t have not found gender differences in Black racial identity for Black youth (Rivas-Drake et al., 2009; Scottham et al., 2008; Seaton et al., 2009), qualitative studies have found that Black boys and girls report qualitatively different responses when asked about their experience as Black youth or what it means to be Black (French et al., 2006; Nasir, 2011; Rogers, Scott, & Way, 2015).

Critique of the MIBI-t

Although the MIBI-t is a psychometrically sound measure it has several limitations. A primary concern about the generalizability of the MIBI-t is that nearly all studies have utilized the MIBI-t with an exclusively Black American sample. Limited research has been done on the construct of Black racial identity across the African diaspora, especially examination of the application of the MIBI-t to all people of African descent. As the Black population continues to diversify in the U.S., it is important to understand different Black groups' subjective understanding of race and ethnicity as well as the role their understanding of these constructs may play in their psychological, social, and academic adjustments. This study will assess the

validity of the MIBI-t for assessing Black racial identity among Black American and African immigrant youth.

Moreover, nearly all studies that have employed the MIBI-t have been on participants in early or middle adolescence, specifically 7th through 10th grade (Rivas-Drake, et al., 2009; Scottham et al., 2008). Scottham and colleagues found that “early and middle adolescents view their racial identity in a similar manner” (Scottham et al., 2008, p.11). However, in a longitudinal assessment of racial and ethnic identity with a similar developmental group, French et al. (2006) found that Black youth’s racial identity changed over time. Along with these inconsistent findings about the stability of racial and ethnic identity over the course of early and middle adolescence, it is important to note that there may be developmental differences in the understanding and importance of racial and ethnic identity to self-concept in late adolescence.

The Current Study

This study attempted to disentangle the relationship of racial and ethnic identity by investigating the extent to which race operates similarly and/or differently for Black American and Nigerian youth. Through exploratory factor analyses and mean-level group comparisons, this study had three research questions:

1. To what extent is the MIBI-t, specifically centrality, private and public regard, an internally valid and reliable measure of Black racial identity for Black American and Nigerian youth?
2. Will Black American and Nigerian youth display a similar underlying factor structure on the MIBI-t?

Hypothesis 1: There will be a three factor loading for the MIBI-t across Black American and Nigerian youth.

3. To what extent will there be mean-level differences in the MIBI-t between Black Americans and Nigerians for Black racial identity?

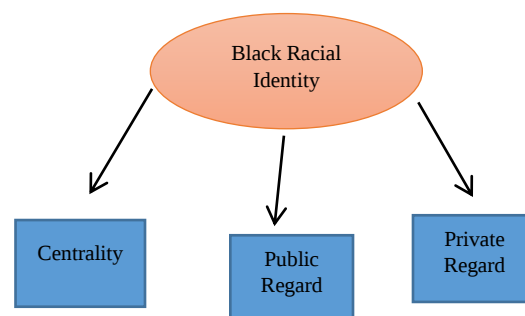
Hypothesis 1: Black American and Nigerian youth will have similar mean levels of centrality, private regard, and public regard (Scottham et al., 2008).

Hypothesis 2: I predict there may be some gender differences in mean levels of centrality, private regard, and public regard.

Conceptual Framework

This study is based on theoretical and empirical investigations indicating that racial identities are multidimensional constructs (Phinney & Ong, 2007; Scottham et al., 2008; Sellers et al., 1998). Thus, the multidimensional MIBI-t was used. Racial identity, a latent construct, is comprised of *centrality* (the extent to which race is an important aspect of one's definition of self), *private regard* (the extent to which one has positive feelings toward their racial group), and *public regard* (the extent to which one feels other groups have positive feelings toward their racial group). Figure 1 demonstrates the latent construct of Black racial identity for Black American and Nigerian youth. For both groups, their Black racial identity is comprised of Black Centrality, Black Public Regard, and Black Private Regard.

Figure 1. Conceptual Model: Comparing the measurement models of Black American and Nigerian youth



Methods

Participants

The current sample consisted of 59 Black American ($N=38$; $M_{\text{age}}=15.79$; 44.7% female) and Nigerian ($N=21$; $M_{\text{age}}=16.43$; 76.1% female) adolescents from across the United States. The study consisted of two waves of students. The first wave consisted of 49 students; 10 were in the second wave.

The specific grade breakdown of the present sample was as follows: 19% 9th grade; 25% 10th grade; 24% 11th grade; and 32% 12th grade. Girls ($N=33$) comprised 56% of the total sample. Participants ranged in age from 13 to 19 years with a mean age of 16.02. 39% ($N=23$) of students reported receiving free or reduced lunch. Students reported receiving mostly A's and B's ($M=2.68$; $SD=1.51$); 28.8% ($N=17$) were in Honors/AP/IB classes. English language learners accounted for 15% ($N=9$) of the sample. All students were from a two-parent household and reported that parents' level of education ranged from high school graduate to advanced/professional degree with most parents having an associate's degree ($M_{\text{motherlevelofed}}=4.42$, $SD=1.29$; $M_{\text{fatherlevelofed}}=4.58$, $SD=1.21$).

In order to recruit generally comparable Black American and Nigerian participants, I used personal networks to gain entry into Black American and Nigerian organizations (churches, community and non-profit organizations, etc.) across the United States. These organizations play important roles in the US by fostering foster unity, kinship, and belonging in Nigerian and Black communities. While using schools is the typical portal to recruit students, conventional strategies of recruitment via schools may not have been fruitful given the intended population of interest. I make this assumption based largely on the research on the lack of trust minority and immigrant groups express toward schools and school administration (Bryk & Schneider, 2002; Tschannen-

Moran, 2014). Therefore, recruitment through racial and ethnic based organizations allowed me to meet participants within their own communities and begin to build supportive and trusting relationship with participants and parents.

Participants had to meet the following criteria to be considered for the study: 1) Family must have membership in a local Black American or Nigerian community organization; 2) Student is currently in high school; 3) Student is of African descent [has at least one parent who identifies as Black/Black American/ African American or 1st generation Nigerian].

Measures

Demographic survey. The demographic survey included nineteen items that gathered background information regarding the student's gender, age, generational status, self-reported grades, class track, and parents' level of education (see Appendix C).

Identity survey. Racial identity was measured by using the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity, Teen (MIBI-t) (Scottham et al., 2008). *Centrality* – the importance of race to self (“If I were to describe myself to someone, one of the first things that I would say is that I’m Black”), *Private Regard* – personal evaluation of race (“I am happy that I am Black”), and *Public Regard* – personal evaluation of how others perceive one's race (“People think Blacks are as good as people from other races or ethnicities.”). Each subscale included three items measured on a 4-point Likert scale with 1= strongly disagree to and 4=strongly agree (see Appendix D).

Procedure

Youth who chose to participate in the study were contacted via email and sent a link to the web based survey via Qualtrics. In addition to the measures mentioned above, there were a

handful of validity questions to ensure that participants were reading survey items carefully. Participants were compensated with a \$10 gift card to Target, Starbucks, Chipotle, or Visa upon completion of the survey. The survey took participants 20-45 minutes ($M_{\text{time}}=25.5$ minutes) to complete.

Analysis Plan

I used SPSS 19 (IBM Corp, 2010) to conduct data analysis. The first step in the analysis was to examine descriptive statistics and inspect item distribution and multicollinearity. Exploratory factor analysis (EFA) was used to see if the data fit the MIBI-t model (Research Question 1 & 2). EFA is a statistical technique used to uncover an underlying theoretical factor structure for a given data set and to examine internal reliability (Allen & Yen, 2002; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001). A Varimax rotation was used because it maximizes the variance between factors. This typically provides a “simple structure” compared to other rotations. Many social scientists rely on the Varimax rotation because the models provide less overlap between factors and are easier to interpret (Alreck & Settle, 1994; Hinkin, 1998; Rossi, Wright, & Anderson, 2013). Additionally, I employed a Varimax rotation because it was utilized by previous studies that used the MIBI-t. In the case of this study, I assessed whether nine items loaded cleanly on to the constructs of centrality, public regard, and private regard. Then, I determined, the EFA goodness of fit by using the chi-square test (χ^2) (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001). Finally, I examined the internal reliability of the individual factors using Cronbach’s alpha.

Next, I made group mean-level comparisons with a series of Analysis of Variances (ANOVAs). ANOVA is a statistical method used to determine whether there are statistically significant differences between the means of two or more groups (Courvoisier & Renaud, 2015; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001). In order to analyze the third research question, I performed a series

of 2 (ethnic group) by 2 (gender) ANOVAs to assess mean-level differences in the identity subscales. I followed up with protected t-tests to further examine significant ethnic group by gender interactions.

Results

Exploratory Factor Analysis

Descriptives for the MIBI-t for the total sample and by each ethnic group can be found in Table 1. Nine questions relating to racial identity were factor analyzed using principal component analysis with Varimax rotation. Communalities ranged from a low of 0.37 to a high of 0.83, which indicated that each factor has at least 38% of its variance accounted for by each item. The EFA analysis yielded three factors explaining 62.60% of the variance for all nine items. Factor 1, Public Regard, assessed the extent to which a person feels that Blacks are viewed negatively or positively in the broader society. This factor accounted for 21.64% of the variance. Private Regard, the degree to which a person feels positively or negatively about being Black and towards other Blacks, was the second factor and explained 20.77% of the variance. Centrality, the third factor, is the extent to which a person defines oneself racially as Black. It accounted for 20.18% of the variance. As we see from Table 2, Private Regard 2 (I feel good about Black people) loaded onto the Centrality factor. After further examination of the correlation matrix, we see that Private Regard 2 is significantly correlated with Centrality 2 and 3 (all $ps < .05$). Given this, Private Regard 2 was dropped. Reliabilities for the three factors is as follows: Centrality $\alpha = 0.51$, Public Regard $\alpha = 0.71$, and Private Regard $\alpha = 0.65$. After dropping Private Regard 2, the Private Regard alpha rose to 0.78.

Next, I assessed the goodness of fit to determine the best model for this data. The model fit for the three factor EFA is $\chi^2(36) = 126.03$, $p < .001$. This significant p-value demonstrates

that we may need to estimate another factor. I ran additional analyses of a four factor EFA. Only 1 item loaded on the fourth factor (Centrality 1) and the four factor EFA resulted in the same model fit as the three factor EFA. Thus, the four factor EFA was no better fit for these data, which lead me to proceed with the three factor EFA model.

Table 1.
Means and Standard Deviations for the MIBI-t

Measure	Total sample <i>n</i> = 59		Black American <i>n</i> = 38		Nigerian <i>n</i> = 21	
	<i>M</i>	(<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i>	(<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i>	(<i>SD</i>)
Centrality 1	2.71	(0.95)	2.66	(0.94)	2.81	(0.98)
Centrality 2	2.92	(0.82)	3.00	(0.81)	2.76	(0.83)
Centrality 3	3.02	(0.80)	3.05	(0.87)	2.95	(0.67)
Public Regard 1	2.59	(0.87)	2.45	(0.86)	2.86	(0.85)
Public Regard 2	2.49	(0.73)	2.42	(0.68)	2.62	(0.81)
Public Regard 3	2.61	(0.79)	2.55	(0.83)	2.71	(0.72)
Private Regard 1	3.14	(0.84)	3.05	(0.84)	3.29	(0.85)
Private Regard 2	3.15	(0.78)	3.26	(0.64)	2.95	(0.97)
Private Regard 3	3.29	(0.79)	3.32	(0.78)	3.24	(0.83)

Note. MIBI-t: Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity teen. Range 1=Strongly Disagree to 4=Strongly Agree.

Table 2.

Exploratory Factor Analysis with Varimax Rotation for Total Sample

Item	Description	Communalities	Factor1 Loading	Factor2 Loading	Factor3 Loading
1	Centrality 1	0.37	-0.20	0.32	0.47
2	Centrality 2	0.68	0.03	0.19	0.80
3	Centrality 3	0.6	0.12	-0.21	0.74
4	Public Regard 1	0.76	0.87	0.02	-0.05
5	Public Regard 2	0.71	0.83	-0.09	0.07
6	Public Regard 3	0.58	0.59	0.35	0.34
7	Private Regard 1	0.83	-0.08	0.90	0.09
8	Private Regard 2	0.41	0.25	0.28	0.52
9	Private Regard 3	0.7	0.15	0.81	0.10
			Factor1	Factor2	Factor3
Eigenvalue			2.63	1.76	1.24
Unrotated Variance Accounted For			29%	20%	14%
Variance			22%	21%	20%

Note. $N=59$. Estimates from principal component analysis with Varimax rotation; statistically significant loadings shown in boldface.

Subsample analyses. The primary research question of this study was to assess the extent to which the MIBI-t is a valid and reliable measure of Black racial identity for Black American and Nigerian youth. Given, the small sample, particularly for Nigerians, exploratory analyses were performed for the Black American and Nigerian subsamples. It is important to be cautious when interpreting the findings in light of the small sample size and unbalanced cells. Nine items relating to racial identity were factor analyzed using principal component analysis with Varimax rotation for Black American and Nigerian subsample.

Table 3.
Exploratory Factor Analysis with Varimax Rotation by Ethnic Group

Black American (N=38)						Nigerian (N=21)			
Item	Description	Communalities	Factor1 Loading	Factor2 Loading	Factor3 Loading	Communalities	Factor1 Loading	Factor2 Loading	Factor3 Loading
1	Centrality 1	0.27	-0.15	0.47	0.16	0.55	-0.13	0.23	0.69
2	Centrality 2	0.61	0.17	0.75	0.15	0.73	0.03	0.77	0.38
3	Centrality 3	0.59	0.12	0.70	-0.29	0.84	0.11	0.91	-0.03
4	Public Regard 1	0.78	0.87	-0.08	0.13	0.89	0.84	0.18	-0.38
5	Public Regard 2	0.68	0.77	0.07	-0.29	0.79	0.88	-0.09	0.01
6	Public Regard 3	0.56	0.66	0.28	0.22	0.74	0.63	0.29	0.52
7	Private Regard 1	0.87	-0.04	0.23	0.90	0.73	-0.02	-0.06	0.85
8	Private Regard 2	0.47	0.13	0.64	0.19	0.53	0.58	0.10	0.43
9	Private Regard 3	0.68	0.09	0.06	0.82	0.72	0.38	0.29	0.70
			Factor1	Factor2	Factor3				Factor3
Eigenvalue			2.4	1.77	1.33				1.22
Unrotated Variance Accounted For			27%	19%	15%				14%
Variance			21%	20%	20%				19%

Note. Estimates from principal component analysis with Varimax rotation; statistically significant loadings shown in boldface.

For Black Americans, communalities ranged from a low of 0.27 to a high of 0.87, which indicated that each factor has at least 27% of its variance accounted for by each item. The EFA analysis yielded three factors explaining 61.06% of the variance for all nine items (See Table 3). Factor 1, Public Regard, accounted for 20.77% of the variance. Centrality was the second factor and accounted for 20.31% of the variance. Private Regard, the third factor, accounted for 19.98% of the variance. As in the whole sample EFA, Private Regard 2 loaded onto the Centrality factor. Examination of the correlation matrix demonstrates that Private Regard 2 is significantly correlated with Centrality 3 ($p < .05$). Reliabilities for the three factors is as follows: Centrality $\alpha = 0.46$, Public Regard $\alpha = 0.67$, and Private Regard $\alpha = 0.66$. After dropping Private Regard 2, the new alpha for Private Regard is 0.78.

The model fit for the three factor EFA is $\chi^2(36) = 76.35$, $p < .001$. This significant p -value demonstrates that we may need to estimate another factor. EFA reported a fourth factor with eigenvalue of 1.09 and accounted for 12% of the variance. I ran additional analyses of a

four factor EFA. Only 1 item loaded on the fourth factor (Centrality 1) and the four factor EFA resulted in the same model fit as the three factor EFA. Thus, the four factor EFA was no better fit for these data, which lead me to proceed with the three factor EFA model.

For Nigerians, communalities ranged from a low of 0.53 to a high of 0.89, which indicated that each factor has at least 53% of its variance accounted for by each item. The EFA analysis yielded three factors explaining 72.43% of the variance for the nine items (See Table 3). Factor 1, Private Regard, accounted for 27.16% of the variance. Public Regard was the second factor and accounted for 24.50% of the variance. Centrality, the third factor, accounted for 18.78% of the variance. Centrality 1 loaded with the Private Regard factor and Private Regard 2 loaded with the Public Regard factor. Upon further examination of the correlation matrix, there were no significant correlations between Centrality 1 and Private Regard, yet there was a significant correlation between Private Regard 2 and Public Regard 3 ($p < .001$). Reliabilities for the three factors is as follows: Centrality $\alpha = 0.62$, Public Regard $\alpha = 0.75$, and Private Regard $\alpha = 0.67$. After dropping Private Regard 2, the new alpha for Private Regard is 0.81.

The model fit for the three factor EFA is $\chi^2(36) = 73.95$, $p < .001$. This significant p-value demonstrates that we may need to estimate another factor. I ran additional analysis of a four factor EFA. Only 1 item loaded on the fourth factor (Centrality 1) and the four factor EFA resulted in the same model fit as the three factor EFA. Thus, the four factor EFA was no better fit for these data, which lead me to, once again, proceed with the three factor EFA model.

In sum, the EFA analyses demonstrated that 1) the MIBI-t is a moderately sufficient scale to measure Black racial identity for both Black American and Nigerian youth and 2) has a similar underlying factor structure for the three subscales for both groups. More specifically, Public

Regard was an adequate scale, Centrality was a poor scale due to its low internal reliability, and Private Regard was marginally acceptable, but greatly improved by removing one item.

Group and Gender Mean-Level Differences

Tables 4 and 5 present the correlations among variables in the study for the total sample, and for Black Americans and Nigerians separately. Means and standard deviations for all variables included in the analyses separately by ethnic group are shown in Table 6. None of the correlations were significantly different between groups. Of particular note is that gender negatively correlated with Centrality and Public Regard for Black American youth.

Table 4.

Correlation Among Variables for Total Sample

Measure	1.	2.	3.	4.
1. Gender	-			
2. Centrality	-.11	-		
3. Private Regard	.12	.24	-	
4. Public Regard	-.27*	.16	.13	-

Note. N=59. Gender (1=Female; 2=Male). MIBI-t range 1=Strongly Disagree to 4=Strongly Agree.

* $p < .05$.

Table 5.

Correlation Among Variables by Ethnic Group

Measure	1.	2.	3.	4.
1. Gender	-	.22	.42	.49*
2. Centrality	-.41*	-	.15	.33
3. Private Regard	.05	.14	-	.18
4. Public Regard	-.43**	.18	.06	-

Note. Correlations for Black American youth (N=38) are presented below the diagonal and those for Nigerian youth (N=21) are presented above the diagonal.

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

Table 6.

Means and Standard Deviations of Factor Scores by Ethnic Group and Gender

Measure	Black American				Nigerian			
	Female n = 17		Male n = 21		Female n = 16		Male n = 5	
	<i>M</i>	(<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i>	(<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i>	(<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i>	(<i>SD</i>)
Centrality	3.18	(0.61)	2.68	(0.51)	2.69	(0.59)	3.33	(0.53)
Private Regard	3.15	(0.58)	3.21	(0.85)	3.13	(0.81)	3.70	(0.45)
Public Regard	2.76	(0.55)	2.24	(0.58)	2.67	(0.62)	2.93	(0.76)

Note. MIBI-t range 1=Strongly Disagree to 4=Strongly Agree.

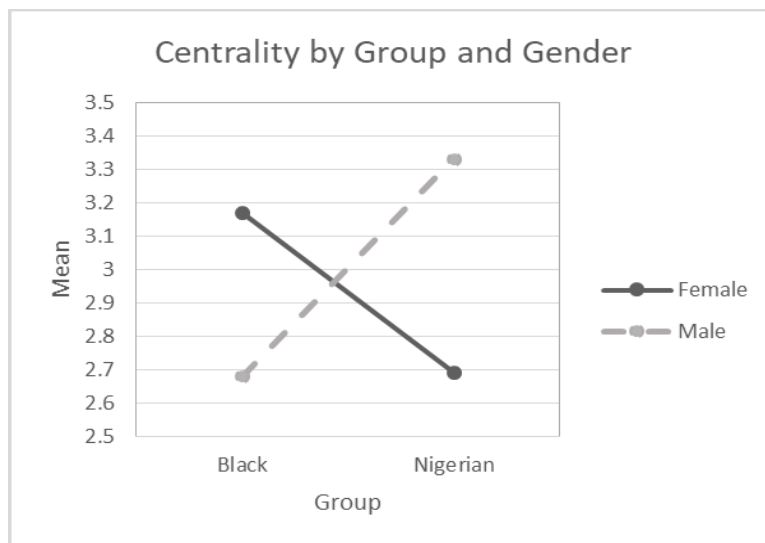
Next, three 2(ethnic group) by 2(gender) ANOVAs were conducted for each MIBI-t subscale to examine ethnic group and gender differences in mean scores of the MIBI-t. There were no significant main effects by ethnic group or by gender. However, a significant ethnic group by gender interaction was found for Centrality and Public Regard. There was significant ethnic group by gender interaction for Centrality, $F(1, 55) = 11.02, p = .002, \eta^2 = .03$ (see Figure 2). A follow-up independent sample t-test was conducted to compare the average centrality scores of Black American and Nigerian girls. There was a significant difference between Black American and Nigerian females average centrality score ($t_{58} = -10.492, p < .001$). On average, Nigerian girls centrality score was 1.09 points lower than Black American girls (95% CI [-1.29, -0.88]). Differences between Black American and Nigerian boys probably contributed to the significant interaction. No post-hoc comparisons were performed, however, due to the low number of Nigerian males ($n = 5$).

Table 7.

Source	SS	MS	(df)	F	p	η^2
Ethnic Group	0.07	0.07	1	0.22	.639	
Gender	0.06	0.06	1	0.20	.660	
Ethnic Group x Gender	3.52	3.52	1	11.02	.002	.030
Error	17.57	0.32	55			

Note. SS= Sum of Squares; MS = Mean Square; η^2 = effect size.

Figure 2.



Note. Small N for Nigerian males ($n = 5$). Range 1=Strongly Disagree to 4=Strongly Agree.

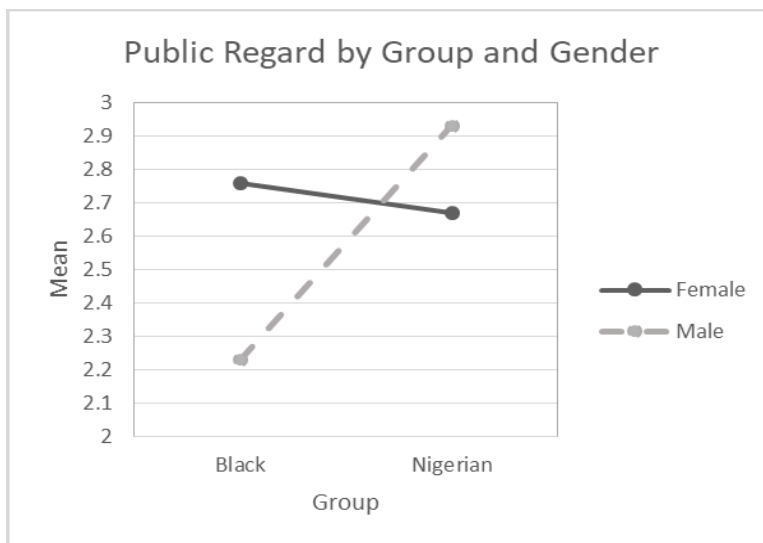
There was a significant ethnic group by gender interaction for Public Regard, $F(1, 55) = 4.78$, $p = .033$, $\eta^2 = .03$ (see Figure 3.). Although all four subgroups believed other groups have a positive view of the Black community, Black American boys had a slightly less positive outlook than Nigerian males and females as well as Black American females. Additionally, Black American females had a marginally more positive outlook on outer group perceptions of the Black community compared to their Nigerian female counterparts. Again, no post-hoc comparisons were performed due to the low number of Nigerian males ($n = 5$).

Table 8.

<i>ANOVA Summary for Public Regard</i>						
Source	SS	MS	(df)	F	p	η^2
Ethnic Group	0.97	0.97	1	2.71	.105	
Gender	0.18	0.18	1	0.51	.477	
Ethnic Group x Gender	1.71	1.71	1	4.78	.033	.030
Error	19.62	0.36	55			

Note. SS= Sum of Squares; MS = Mean Square; η^2 = effect size.

Figure 3.



Note. Small N for Nigerian males ($n = 5$). Range 1=Strongly Disagree to 4=Strongly Agree.

Taken together, the results suggest that neither ethnic group membership nor gender alone are sufficient to explain mean level differences in the subscales of Black racial identity. Rather the *intersection* of ethnic group membership and gender highlighted mean level differences among the four subsample.

Discussion

This study provided useful information to guide a large study of Black racial identity development in Black American and Nigerian adolescents in the United States. It evaluates the internal validity and reliability of the MIBI-t, the commonly used measure of Black racial

identity. Although both groups replicated the three-factor structure found in prior research, the current study identified areas of concern and possible improvements. Although the present study revealed more similarities than differences in the MIBI-t for Black American and Nigerian youth, there appears to be differences in the factor structure and endorsement of the subscales between the two groups.

Applicability of the MIBI-t for Black American and Nigerian youth

It appears that the MIBI-t may be a suitable measure of Black racial identity for Black American and Nigerian youth. As predicted, there was a three factor loading structure for the whole sample as well the Black American and Nigerian subsamples. These findings generally suggest that the MIBI-t is a valid measure of Black racial identity for this sample of Black American and Nigerian adolescents, especially if efforts are taken to improve specific items in the service of greater reliability and a cleaner factor structure. The findings from the exploratory factor analysis indicated that the three factor structure of Centrality, Private Regard, and Public Regard is generally consistent with other studies (Rogers et al., 2015; Scottham et al, 2008; Sellers et al., 1998). Moreover, it appears the three factor structure remains the best model, especially after removing Private Regard 2. Factor loadings for the total sample and each subgroup were moderately better than those found in the original MIBI-t (range 0.27-0.80).

Much like my findings, Scottham et al. (2008) had a mix of reliability scores (Centrality $\alpha = .55$, Public Regard $\alpha = .66$, Private Regard $\alpha = .76$), with low scores for Centrality in both studies. The alpha levels for the total sample and the subsamples of this study were on par with Scottham et al., the original MIBI (Seller et al. 1998) and other scholars who have utilized the MIBI-t or MIBI (Douglass & Umana-Taylor, 2016; Rivas-Drake, Hughes, & Way, 2009; Rogers et al., 2015; Seaton, Yip, & Sellers, 2009). Although the present findings are consistent with

previous studies, a scale with more items would possibly boast stronger alpha levels. Three-item scales tend to lack adequate internal consistency, hence why measurement scholars recommend scales with four to six items per construct (Alreck & Settle, 1994; Hinkin, 1998; Rossi, Wright, & Anderson, 2013). That might be strongly considered in the case of Centrality and Private Regard, which appeared to more elusive constructs than Public Regard. Future studies should add additional items per construct in order to bolster stronger alpha levels. Such items could be created from scratch, taken from the original MIBI, or adapted from other racial and ethnic identity scales such as the Cross Racial Identity Scale-CRIS (Worrell, Andretta, & Woodland, 2014).

Although the present results suggest that the MIBI-t may be an internally valid method for assessing some aspects of Black racial identity for both Black American and Nigerian adolescents, it could be possible that the three-factor structure is compromised by the study's low sample size. Thus, future research with a larger sample size is needed before definitive conclusions can be drawn about the factor structure.

Ethnic and Gender Differences: An Intersectionality Approach

Considering the low sample size and reliability of Centrality, group comparison can be thought of as hypotheses generating exploration. Beginning at a descriptive level, there were more similarities than difference between Black American and Nigerian youth. None of the correlations were significantly different between ethnic groups. As predicted, there were no significant mean level differences in Centrality, Public Regard, and Private Regard by ethnic group membership. However, my prediction for simple gender differences was not supported. This is consistent with Scottham and colleagues findings of no statistically significant gender differences across the MIBI-t subscales.

Yet, findings suggest a more compelling story was told when assessing the interaction of ethnic group membership and gender. Nigerian females and Black American males reported lower levels of Centrality compared to Black American females. Nigerian males reported higher levels of identifying as Black being a central component of their identity as well perceiving that others hold the Black group in high regard relative to their Black American male peers. Additionally, Nigerian youth and Black American females had higher mean levels of Public Regard relative to Black American boys. These findings contradict Scottham et al.'s finding of no mean level differences in Centrality, Public Regard, and Private Regard for Black American boys and girls. One possible explanation for this difference is that the highly publicized deaths of Trayvon Martin, Michael Brown, Freddy Gray and countless other Black boys are sending a message to Black American boys that their lives don't matter. That could result in Black boys' negative perceptions of how others view of the Black group. Although #Blacklivesmatter also stands for all Blacks in the African Diaspora and Black women, it grew out of the tragedy of the countless deaths of Black American boys and men. Also important to note, is that whole sample's high positive levels of Private Regard may highlight the indirect of effects of social media movements such as #BlackExcellence, #BlackBoyJoy, and #BlackGirlMagic, that were developed as direct opposition of the anti-Black narrative in U.S. media and the larger geopolitical context (Carney, 2016; Fiske & Hancock, 2016; Grimes, 2017).

These findings demonstrate that considered in isolation, ethnic group membership and gender may not adequately explain how Black youth come to understand their racial identity. Rather, we must pay attention to the intersection of ethnicity and gender. This is important for several reasons. As Rogers et al. (2015) discovered in their mixed methodological examination of adolescent Black males in an all-boys school, Black male racial identity is inextricably linked

to their gender. Black boys are never seen as just *Black* or *boys*, but rather as *Black boys*. Further research is needed to determine what aspects of Black racial identity and gender identity, independently and in combination, account for mean differences in identity for Black American and Nigerian boys and girls. Additionally, item response theory (IRT) analysis, with a larger sample, may illuminate the group differences among the subgroups at the item level.

Limitations

As with any study there are limitations. The first limitation was the small sample size. The modest *n*, plus unbalanced cells in terms of ethnic group and gender, limited the analysis to an EFA. A larger sample would have allowed for confirmatory factor analysis, in order to verify the EFA findings of whether the MIBI-t is indeed a valid and reliable scale to assess racial identity for Black American and Nigerian adolescents. Moreover, limited statistical power because of the modest sample size of the present study (*N* = 59) reduced the number of possible significant statistical comparisons. A post hoc power analysis revealed that on the basis of the mean level between-groups comparisons effect size observed in the present study ($\eta^2 = 0.03$ or Cohen's *d* = 0.35), an *N* of approximately 204 participants would be needed to obtain statistical power at the recommended 0.80 level (Cohen, 1988).

Another disadvantage to this study was that it was one-time snapshot of data at a single point in time, therefore I was unable to capture the development or on-going process of participant's racial identity. Additional data time points, would not only capture the change or consistency in youth's racial identity over time, but it would have also allowed for within group analyses. Moreover, the data and data analysis plan afforded me the opportunity to investigate relationships and infer associations, but I am unable to make causal inferences about the relationship between ethnicity and gender.

Lastly, the uniqueness of this sample limits the generalizability of the findings. There was great care in recruiting an equivalent samples of Black American and Nigerian youth. Participants reported being in two family households and with two highly educated parents (a majority of parents had associates or bachelors degrees). Therefore, the findings from this study are not generalizable beyond Black American and Nigerian youth from two family households with highly educated parents.

Future Directions: Power Analysis

This study provides important information for a future psychometric assessment of the MIBI-t. Although a sample size of 300 was originally desired for this study, according to Sim and Lewis (2012) a sample of at least 50 participants is adequate and sufficient for a pilot to detect statistically significant results. With a sample of 59 and a handful of notable significant findings, this study generates useful questions, hypotheses, and lessons for future recruitment. Drawing from the findings of this study, below is a power analysis to infer future studies.

A statistical power analysis was performed for sample size estimation, based on the pilot study above, comparing the utility of the MIBI-t in measuring aspects of Black racial identity for Black American and Nigerian adolescents. The effect size in this study for the group comparison was $\eta^2 = 0.03$ or Cohen's $d = 0.35$, which is considered small. With an alpha set at 0.05, power at 0.80, and effect size set of Cohen's d of 0.35, the projected sample size needed to replicate this study is approximately 204 participants, or 102 Black American youth and 102 Nigerian youth. Thus, a future proposed sample of 250, 125 Black Americans and 125 Nigerians, will be more than adequate for comparing groups and should allow for balanced cells by ethnic group and gender, as well as additional within group analyses specifically tailored for Nigerian youth.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the present study contributed to broader methodological and theoretical frameworks focused on Black racial identity (Scottham et al. 2008) while adding an often forgotten voice in discussion of Black youths racial identity—African immigrants. This study significantly contributed to limited psychometric studies of the MIBI-t’s usefulness in adequately assessing Black racial identity for African immigrants. It’s also the first to test the psychometric properties of the MIBI-t between a Black American and African immigrant adolescent sample. African immigrant youths’ understanding of their Black racial identity may provide important insight into their social, psychological, and academic adjustment. This study lays an important foundation for future assessments of the Black racial identity of the youth of the African Diaspora.

Chapter V

Empirical Paper Two:

An examination of the impact of perceived teacher discrimination and racial identity on the academic performance of Black American and African immigrant adolescents

Introduction

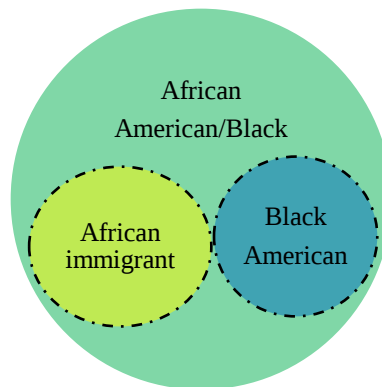
Why do some Black high school students succeed while others falter? Decades of research has identified psychological, social, and structural forces that can impact Black high school students' academic success. Strong contributing factors to academic success or failure that have emerged include achievement expectations and motivation, cultural mismatch between students and teachers, socioeconomic status, discrimination, and self-esteem (Carter, 2006; Kraus et al., 2012; Morris, 2010; Nasir & Hand, 2006; Nasir, McLaughlin & Jones, 2009; Syed et al., 2011; Wilson, 2009). Most of the research, however, has focused on differences between Black and White students' school success, and failed to account for the increased ethnic diversity among Blacks in the United States—especially the growing African immigrant subpopulation. Without attending to within-group differences, we cannot identify protective factors that may be unique to African immigrant or Black American high school students, or common to both groups. Identifying such differences may help researchers and educators recognize mechanisms that contribute to the academic success of these students rather than continue to identify generalized deficits.

Because the two groups share identifiable phenotypic characteristics, such as skin color and hair texture, African immigrants share some common experiences with multigenerational Black Americans in the United States. Both groups must cope with oppression, discrimination, and institutional racism (Kraus et al., 2012; Morris, 2010; Wilson, 2009). Simultaneously,

differences in group identity, culture, and responses to inequitable treatment may distinguish the two groups from one another. Without attending to diverse cultures, linguistic backgrounds, and experiences of African immigrants and Black Americans, these ethnic groups are, as stated by Portes and Rumbaut (2006) “...defined as single entities in numerous official publications, lumped together in affirmative action programs, counted together by the census, and addressed jointly in official rhetoric” (p. 159). Generalizing across these groups assumes that Blackness is defined the same way for all and that all Blacks share the same history, culture, and experiences.

Given how closely linked race and ethnicity are, researchers often use the terms interchangeably. Race is a macro-level socially constructed identifier in which people are grouped together based upon identifiable physical features, such as skin color or hair texture (Betancourt & Lopez, 1993; Helms et al., 2005). Ethnicity, on the other hand is a narrower, yet still socially constructed, classification that clusters individuals based upon their shared history, cultural beliefs, ideology, language, and religion (Betancourt & Lopez, 1993; Helms, et al., 2005; Zagefka, 2009). Thus for the purpose of this article, Black Americans and African immigrants are one race (African American/Black) but of two ethnicities (Black American and African immigrant) (see Figure 1). Within-group variations among Black youth based on ethnicity may have relevant implications for their academic success.

Figure 1. Race and Ethnicity for Black populations



In this study, the relationship between racial and ethnic identity, perceived teacher discrimination, and academic performance for Black American and Nigerian high school students is examined. To set the stage for this study, I provide a rationale for why I focus on Nigerian youth, provide a brief overview of the literature on Black racial identity and academic performance, perceived teacher discrimination and academic performance, and the immigrant advantage.

Black Racial Identity and Academic Performance

Previous literature has resulted in inconsistent findings in how Black racial identity affects the academic performance of Black American youth. Some scholars found a positive relationship between embracing Black racial identity and academic performance for Black American youth (Chavous, et al., 2003; Okeke, Howard, Kurtz-Coastes, & Rowley, 2009; Seaton et al., 2009), while others found a negative relationship (Fordham & Ogbu, 1987). In addition to the inconsistent findings, research has not examined the role of race *and* ethnicity on the academic performance of African immigrant youth. This is a crucial, yet understudied area of research given that African immigrant youth must negotiate between their Black racial identity and their African ethnic identity.

Perceived Teacher Discrimination and Academic Performance

In addition to identifying associations between racial and ethnic identity and academic performance, research has examined the effects of perceived teacher discrimination on Black American students' academic performance (Chavous et al., 2003; English et al., 2016; Hughes, Del Toro, Harding, Way, & Rarick, 2016; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004; Rowley, et al., 1998; Seaton et al., 2009; Steele, 2010). Perceived teacher discrimination is defined as a student's perception of unfair treatment from a teacher due to race, ethnicity, or other social identities (English, et al., 2016; Greene, Way, & Pahl, 2006). English and colleagues (2016) argue that "racial discrimination is *prevalent, pernicious, and persistent* in the lives of African American adolescents" (p. 29).

In terms of discrimination within schools, studies have found that Black American students report experiencing racial discrimination at the hands of teachers. Benner and Graham (2013), English et al. (2016), and Hughes et al. (2016) found a strong correlation between perceived teacher discrimination and poor academic performance for Black American youth. However, other studies have found that racial or ethnic identity can buffer the negative effects of perceived teacher discrimination for Black American and Caribbean Black youth's academic achievement (Rong & Brown, 2002; Thomas, Caldwell, Faison, & Jackson, 2009; Waters, 1999; Wong, Eccles, & Sameroff, 2006). More specifically, Chavous et al. (2003) and Nasir (2011) found that a Black racial identity that was central to the person's self-concept appeared to buffer, or reduce, the negative impact of perceived teacher discrimination. Other studies have suggested that low public regard may also buffer or reduce the negative effects of discrimination for Black youth (Sellers, Copeland-Linder, & Martin, 2006). In general, people have negative views about the Black group, thus the discrimination Black youth face is not specific to them. In other words,

Black youth expect racial discrimination and may be less likely to internalize racially discriminatory experiences (Graham & Juvonen, 2002). Hence low public regard may be linked to less self-blame for racial discrimination which may buffer the negative impact of perceived teacher discrimination on academic performance. Yet, no study to date has examined the links between racial identity, perceived teacher discrimination, and academic performance for African immigrant adolescents.

Immigrant Youth

Studies with Latino, Asian, and Caribbean Black youth have found that immigrant youth perceive and report less teacher discrimination relative to their U.S. born peers (Hirschman, 2016; Portes and Rumbaut, 2014; Rong & Brown, 2002; Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, & Todorova, 2008; Waters, 1999). There appears to be generational differences in perceptions of discrimination for 1.5 (those born abroad) and 2nd (those born in U.S.) generation youth. Although all immigrant youth are aware of discrimination or differential treatment, 1.5 generation youth are less likely than their 2nd generation peers to attribute discrimination to race or ethnicity (Suárez-Orozco, et al., 2008). This may present as an immigrant advantage, which may also buffer the negative effects of perceived teacher discrimination on academic performance.

Is there an immigrant advantage? Research shows that compared to native minoritized populations, immigrant youth² and children of immigrants³ have higher academic outcomes (e.g., test scores, GPA, etc.) referred to as an “immigrant advantage.” Scholars have found an

² Immigrant youth refers to 1st generation immigrants who were born abroad and immigrated to the United States by age 17.

³ Children of immigrants refers to 2nd generation immigrants who have at least one foreign born parent and were born in the United States.

academic “immigrant advantage” relative to U.S. born peers exists despite the numerous risk factors associated with immigrant status (Bennet & Lutz, 2009; Hirschman, 2016; Kasinitz, Waters, Mollenkopf, & Holdaway, 2009; Portes and Rumbaut, 2014; Rong & Brown, 2002). Such risk factors included institutional and policy barriers that prevent access to economic and educational resources, xenophobia, school and neighborhood violence, high poverty rates, and high stress levels. Previous literature has found that simply identifying as an immigrant, can buffer the negative effects of discrimination (Kasinitz et al., 2009). Conversely, some research has found that there may not be an “immigrant advantage” for academically successful 1.5 and 2nd generation youth, because they tend to experience similar levels of discrimination as their U.S. minoritized peers (Kasinitz et al., 2009; Portes and Rumbaut, 2014; Rong & Brown, 2002). These inconsistent findings, beg the question, does the immigrant advantage exist?

Much of the research on the “immigrant advantage” has focused primarily on Asian, Latino, and Caribbean Black immigrant youth. This advantage has contributed to Asian immigrants to be perceived as the *model minority* (Lee, 1994; Suzuki, 1977). Seen as a positive stereotype, the model minority myth positions Asian immigrants as the ideal group—an exemplar of success to which all immigrants and minoritized groups should aspire to act like in order to succeed. Some scholars have also noted that Asian immigrants’ advantage may have more to do with their relative proximity to Whiteness (Marinari, 2005; Pyke & Dang, 2003). For Latinx populations, immigrant advantage is negatively correlated with skin tone (Frank, Akresh, & Lu, 2010; Thompson & McDonald, 2016). The darker one’s skin is the less advantaged they are and the lighter their skin they more advantaged they are.

Yet skin tone does not quite explain the immigrant advantage experienced by Caribbean Black youth in our schools. High academic achievement among Caribbean Black youth has

inspired some to label them the new model minority (Ifatunji, 2016; Upokodu, 2018). But like Asian immigrant youth, the label overgeneralizes the academic success of Caribbean Blacks. Given the increasing number of African immigrants, it is imperative to also critically assess the factors contributing to academic performance differences among African immigrant and Black American youth.

Why Nigerians?

Today, 1st generation African immigrants account for 4%, or roughly 1.6 million, of the foreign born population in America (Anderson, 2015; Capps, McCabe, and Fix, 2012; Gambino, Trevelyan, & Fitzwater, 2014). This is a significant increase from the roughly 35,000 African immigrants in 1960 (American Immigration Council, 2012; Shaw-Taylor & Tuch, 2007). Even more noteworthy, is that over half a million or 36% of 1st generation African immigrants arrived after 2005. Nigerians comprise the largest immigrant population from Africa at approximately 376,000 individuals (213,000 1st generation adults and 163,000 2nd generation youth) (Awokoya, 2012; Capps et al., 2012; Shaw-Taylor & Tuch, 2007). More importantly, 63% of 2nd generation Nigerian youth are under the age of 18. Therefore, I selected Nigerian youth to begin the exploration of the African immigrant youth experience in the United States.

The Current Study

As the U.S. Black population continues to diversify, it is important to examine how different Black groups' subjective understanding of race and ethnicity, and how that understanding contributes to academic performance. This study will investigate the relationship that racial identity and ethnic group membership have to perceived teacher discrimination and academic performance for Black American and Nigerian high school students. Through mean-level group comparison and regression analyses, this study had three research questions:

1. To what extent will there be mean-level differences in perceived teacher discrimination and academic performance for Black American and Nigerian youth?

Hypothesis 1: Given the findings from other studies with other immigrant populations (i.e Latinos, Asians, and Caribbeans), I predict that Nigerian youth will perceive less teacher discrimination relative to their Black American peers.

2. What is the relationship between perceived teacher discrimination and academic performance for Black American and Nigerian youth?

Hypothesis 1: I anticipate that perceived teacher discrimination will have a negative association with academic performance for both Black American and Nigerian youth (Chavous et al., 2003; English et al., 2016; Hughes et al., 2016; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004; Rowley, et al., 1998; Seaton et al., 2009).

3. To what extent will the Black racial identity subscales, individually or in combination, moderate the contributions of perceived teacher discrimination to academic performance for Black American and Nigerian youth?

Hypothesis 1: In line with previous research, I anticipate that higher racial centrality and lower public regard may buffer the negative effects of perceived teacher discrimination on academic performance for both Black American and Nigerian youth (Chavous et al., 2003; Nasir, 2011; Sellers et al., 2006).

Methods

Participants

The current sample consisted of 59 Black American (N=38; M_{age}=15.79; 44.7% female) and Nigerian (N=21; M_{age}= 16.43; 76.1% female) adolescents from across the United States. The

study consisted of two waves of students. The first wave consisted of 49 students; 10 were in the second wave.

The specific grade breakdown of the present sample was as follows: 19% 9th grade; 25% 10th grade; 24% 11th grade; and 32% 12th grade. Girls (N=33) comprised 56% of the total sample. Participants ranged in age from 13 to 19 years with a mean age of 16.02. 39% (N=23) of students reported receiving free or reduced lunch. Students reported receiving mostly A's and B's (M=2.68; SD= 1.51); 28.8% (N=17) were in Honors/AP/IB classes. English language learners accounted for 15% (N=9) of the sample. All students were from a two-parent household and reported that parents' level of education ranged from high school graduate to advanced/professional degree with most parents having an associate's degree (M_{motherlevelofed}=4.42, SD= 1.29; M_{fatherlevelofed}=4.58, SD= 1.21).

In order to recruit generally comparable Black American and Nigerian participants, I used personal networks to gain entry into Black American and Nigerian organizations (churches, community and non-profit organizations, etc.) across the United States. These organizations play important roles in the US by fostering foster unity, kinship, and belonging in Nigerian and Black communities. While using schools is the typical portal to recruit students, conventional strategies of recruitment via schools may not have been fruitful given the intended population of interest. I make this assumption based largely on the research on the lack of trust minority and immigrant groups express toward schools and school administration (Bryk & Schneider, 2002; Tschannen-Moran, 2014). Therefore, recruitment through racial and ethnic based organizations allowed me to meet participants within their own communities and begin to build supportive and trusting relationship with participants and parents.

Participants had to meet the following criteria to be considered for the study: 1) Family must have membership in a local Black American or Nigerian community organization; 2) Student is currently in high school; 3) Student is of African descent [has at least one parent who identifies as Black/Black American/ African American or 1st generation Nigerian].

Measures

Demographic survey. The demographic survey included nineteen items that gathered background information such as student's gender, age, generational status, self-reported grades, class track, and parents' level of education (see Appendix C).

Identity survey. Racial identity was measured by using the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity, Teen (MIBI-t) (Scottham, Sellers, & Nguyen, 2008). *Centrality* – the importance of race to self (“If I were to describe myself to someone, one of the first things that I would say is that I’m Black”), *Private Regard* – personal evaluation of race (“I am happy that I am Black”), and *Public Regard* – personal evaluation of how others perceive one's race (“People think Blacks are as good as people from other races or ethnicities.”). Each subscale included three items measured on a 4-point Likert scale with 1= strongly disagree to and 4=strongly agree (see Appendix D).

Perceived Teacher Discrimination scale. The perceived teacher discrimination scale was developed by Way (1997) and adapted for this study. Way (1997) assessed the extent to which youth attribute unfair treatment from adults in their school due to race or ethnicity (“How often do you feel teachers grade you harder because of your race or ethnicity?”). The scale consisted of five items measured on a 5-point Likert scale with 1=never to 5=often (see Appendix E).

Procedure

Youth who chose to participate in the study were contacted via email and sent a link to the web based survey via Qualtrics. In addition to the measures mentioned above, there were a handful of validity questions to ensure that participants were reading survey items carefully. Participants were compensated with a \$10 gift card to Target, Starbucks, Chipotle, or Visa upon completion of the survey. The survey took participants 20-45 minutes ($M_{\text{time}}=25.5$ minutes) to complete.

Analysis Plan

I used SPSS 19 (IBM Corp, 2010) to conduct data analysis. The first step in the analysis was to examine descriptive statistics and inspect item distribution and multicollinearity. Next, I made group mean-level comparisons with a series of Analysis of Variances (ANOVAs). ANOVA is a statistical method used to determine whether there are statistically significant differences between the means of two or more groups (Courvoisier & Renaud, 2015; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001). In the case of this study, I performed a series of 2 (ethnic group) by 2 (gender) ANOVAs to assess mean-level differences between Black American and Nigerian youth in reports of perceived teacher discrimination and grades (Research Question 1).

Following the ANOVAs, I ran two analyses. The first was a Pearson product-moment correlation analysis to explore the inter-relationships of each individual variable (Research Question 2). Four hierarchical regression analyses were performed to examine the extent to which the Black racial identity subscales, individually or in combination, moderated the contribution of perceived teacher discrimination to grades for Black American and Nigerian youth (Research Question 3). This procedure allowed me to specify a priori a sequence for sets, or blocks, of predictor variables (Lomax & Hahs-Vaughn, 2012). Gender, ethnicity, and

discrimination were entered in Block 1, racial identity subscales in Block 2, and interactions of gender by ethnicity and racial identity subscales by discrimination in Block 3.

Results

Descriptives and Mean-Level Differences

Descriptives for the total sample and by ethnic group are reported in Table 1. On average, adolescents reported “Mostly A’s and B’s” for their grades and perceived low levels of teacher discrimination. They showed moderate levels of Centrality, high levels of Private Regard, and moderate levels of Public Regard.

Table 1.

Means and Standard Deviations

Measure	Total sample <i>n</i> = 59		Black American <i>n</i> = 38		Nigerian <i>n</i> = 21	
	<i>M</i>	(<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i>	(<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i>	(<i>SD</i>)
Grades	2.68	(1.15)	2.74	(0.94)	2.57	(1.29)
Discrimination 1	1.73	(1.01)	1.76	(0.81)	1.67	(0.91)
Discrimination 2	2.00	(1.22)	2.11	(0.87)	1.81	(1.03)
Discrimination 3	2.03	(1.20)	1.97	(0.86)	2.14	(1.39)
Discrimination 4	2.14	(1.09)	2.29	(0.68)	1.86	(1.06)
Discrimination 5	2.22	(1.16)	2.24	(0.83)	2.19	(1.17)
Average Discrimination	2.02	(0.88)	2.07	(0.91)	1.93	(0.82)
Average Centrality	2.88	(0.61)	2.90	(0.60)	2.84	(0.63)
Average Private Regard	3.21	(0.74)	3.18	(0.73)	3.26	(0.77)
Average Public Regard	2.57	(0.64)	2.47	(0.62)	2.73	(0.65)

Note. Grades range 1= Mostly A’s to 8= Mostly D’s & F’s; Discrimination range 1=Never to 5=Always; MIBI-t range 1=Strongly Disagree to 4=Strongly Agree.

Two 2 (ethnic group) by 2 (gender) ANOVAs were conducted to examine whether there were ethnic group and gender differences in adolescents' average reports of perceived teacher discrimination and self-report of grades. There were no significant main effects or ethnic group by gender interactions. Descriptives by ethnic group and gender are reported in Table 2. In sum, descriptives and mean-level analyses demonstrated no differences in perceived teacher discrimination and academic performance for Black American and Nigerian youth, and no differences between boys and girls.

Table 2.

Means and Standard Deviations by Ethnic Group and Gender

Measure	<i>Black American</i>				<i>Nigerian</i>			
	Female n = 17		Male n = 21		Female n = 16		Male n = 5	
	<i>M</i>	<i>(SD)</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>(SD)</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>(SD)</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>(SD)</i>
Grades	3.12	(1.05)	2.43	(1.03)	2.69	(1.30)	2.20	(1.30)
Discrimination	1.82	(0.66)	2.28	(1.05)	2.06	(0.85)	1.52	(0.58)
Centrality	3.18	(0.61)	2.68	(0.51)	2.69	(0.59)	3.33	(0.53)
Private Regard	3.15	(0.58)	3.21	(0.85)	3.13	(0.81)	3.70	(0.45)
Public Regard	2.76	(0.55)	2.24	(0.58)	2.67	(0.62)	2.93	(0.76)

Note. Grades range 1= Mostly A's to 8= Mostly D's & F's; Discrimination range 1=Never to 5=Always; MIBI-t range 1=Strongly Disagree to 4=Strongly Agree.

Correlations

Correlational analyses were used to examine the relationship between ethnic group membership, gender, perceived teacher discrimination, grades, and the three racial identity subscales. Correlations among the variables for the total sample are reported in Table 3. There was no correlation between grades and discrimination. However, there was a statistically significant negative relationship between discrimination and each of the Black racial identity subscales. Results indicated an inverse relationship between discrimination and centrality ($r(57)$

= -.44, $p < .01$), discrimination and private regard ($r(57) = -.43$, $p < .01$), and public regard and discrimination ($r(57) = -.45$, $p < .01$). These results suggest that Black adolescents who believe that identifying as Black is central to their self-identity (Centrality), have positive views about the Black group (Private Regard), and believe larger society has a positive outlook about Black people (Public Regard) have lower levels of perceived teacher discrimination.

Table 3.

Correlation table for total sample

Measure	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
1. Gender	-					
2. Grades	-.23	-				
3. Discrimination	.11	.00	-			
4. Centrality	-.11	.06	-.44 **	-		
5. Private Regard	.12	-.15	-.43 **	.24	-	
6. Public Regard	-.27 *	-.09 *	-.45 **	.16	.13	-

Note. N=59. Note. Grades range 1= Mostly A's to 8= Mostly D's & F's;

Discrimination range 1=Never to 5=Always; MIBI-t range 1=Strongly

Disagree to 4=Strongly Agree.

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

Subsample Analyses. Exploratory correlational analyses were performed for the Black American and Nigerian subsamples to further investigate the relationship between perceived teacher discrimination and grades as well as the other variables. Correlations among the variables for the subsample are reported in Table 4. For both ethnic groups, the findings were very similar to those for the total sample. The relationship between discrimination and grades was not statistically significant. For both groups, much like for the total sample, there was also a statistically significant negative relationship between discrimination and each of the Black racial identity subscales. One key difference was that for Black Americans only, there was a statistically significant negative correlation between gender and grades ($r(36) = -0.32$, $p < .05$).

This finding indicates that Black American boys reported having higher grades than Black American girls.

In sum, there were no significant relationships between perceived teachers discrimination and grades for the total sample nor for the individual ethnic groups. Yet, for the total sample and each ethnic group individually, there was a negative relationship between discrimination and each identity subscale.

Table 4.

Correlation among variables by ethnic group

Measure	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
1. Gender	-	.22	.42	-.44 *	.29	-.17
2. Grades	-.32 *	-	.15	-.49 *	-.17	-.29
3. Discrimination	.25	-.17	-	-.57 **	-.18	.45 *
4. Centrality	-.41 *	.21	-.45 **	-	-.39	.33
5. Private Regard	.05	-.13	-.40 *	.14	-	.18
6. Public Regard	-.43 **	.14	-.39 *	.18	.06	-

Note. Correlations for Black American youth (N=38) are presented below the diagonal and those for Nigerian youth (N=21) are presented above the diagonal.

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

Regressions

Regression analyses were conducted to examine the extent to which the Black racial identity subscales, individually or in combination, moderated the contribution of perceived teacher discrimination to grades for Black American and Nigerian youth. Four hierarchical regression analyses were performed. Gender, ethnicity, and discrimination were entered in Block 1, racial identity subscales in Block 2, and interactions of gender by ethnicity and racial identity subscales by discrimination in Block 3. Model 1 examined Centrality, Model 2 assessed Private Regard, Model 3 investigated Public Regard, and Model 4 examined all identity subscales (see Tables 5-8).

Consistent with correlations, in the first block, gender was significant in all four models, but ethnic group membership and perceived teacher discrimination were not. Boys outperformed girls by an estimated 0.64 grade points, holding all else constant ($b = -0.64$, $SE = 0.31$, $t(55) = -2.02$, $p = 0.48$). Models 1 and 2, which analyzed Centrality and Private Regard, respectively, showed no significant predictors for grades. Additionally, Model 4, which analyzed all the identity subscales in combination, results showed no significant predictors for grades.

Table 5.

Model 1-Hierarchical Regression Model for Centrality

	Block 1					Block 2					Block 3				
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β	R^2	R^2_{change}	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β	R^2	R^2_{change}	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β	R^2	R^2_{change}
Discrimination	0.03	0.17	0.02	0.07	0.07	0.05	0.19	0.04	0.08	0.00	-0.45	0.67	-0.34	0.09	0.01
Ethnic Group	-0.36	0.33	-0.15			-0.35	0.33	-0.15			-0.67	1.10	-0.28		
Gender	-0.64	0.31	-0.28	*		-0.63	0.32	-0.27			-0.70	0.41	-0.31		
Centrality						0.08	0.28	0.04			-0.39	0.62	-0.20		
Ethnic Group X Gender											0.23	0.78	0.13		
Discrimination X Centrality											0.20	0.25	0.37		

Note. $N=59$.

* $p < .05$.

Table 6.

Model 2-Hierarchical Regression Model for Private Regard

	Block 1					Block 2					Block 3				
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β	R^2	R^2_{change}	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β	R^2	R^2_{change}	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β	R^2	R^2_{change}
Discrimination	0.03	0.01	0.61	0.07	0.07	-0.05	0.19	-0.04	0.09	0.01	0.16	0.98	0.13	0.09	0.00
Ethnic Group	-0.36	0.33	-0.15			-0.34	0.33	-0.14			-0.72	1.02	-0.30		
Gender	-0.64	0.31	-0.28	*		-0.58	0.32	-0.25			-0.68	0.40	-0.30		
Private Regard						-0.20	0.23	-0.13			-0.05	0.79	-0.04		
Ethnic Group X Gender											0.28	0.73	0.16		
Discrimination X Private Regard											-0.06	0.29	-0.14		

Note. $N=59$.

* $p < .05$.

Table 7.

Model 3-Hierarchical Regression Model for Public Regard

	Block 1					Block 2					Block 3				
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β	R^2	R^2_{change}	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β	R^2	R^2_{change}	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β	R^2	R^2_{change}
Discrimination	0.03	0.01	0.61	0.07	0.07	-0.06	0.19	-0.05	0.09	0.02	-1.08	0.64	-0.83	0.15	0.05
Ethnic Group	-0.36	0.33	-0.15			-0.32	0.33	-0.14			-0.95	1.00	-0.40		
Gender	-0.64	0.31	-0.28	*		-0.71	0.32	-0.31	*		-0.77	0.39	-0.34		
Public Regard						-0.30	0.27	-0.16			-1.15	0.55	-0.64	*	
Ethnic Group X Gender											0.52	0.72	0.30		
Discrimination X Public Regard											0.46	0.27	0.75		

Note. *N*=59.* $p < .05$.

Table 8.

Model 4-Hierarchical Regression Model for all Identity Subscales

	Block 1					Block 2					Block 3				
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β	R^2	R^2_{change}	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β	R^2	R^2_{change}	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β	R^2	R^2_{change}
Discrimination	0.03	0.01	0.61	0.07	0.07	-0.12	0.23	-0.09	0.11	0.04	-0.64	1.15	-0.48	0.16	0.05
Ethnic Group	-0.36	0.33	-0.15			-0.28	0.33	-0.12			-0.93	1.13	-0.39		
Gender	-0.64	0.31	-0.28	*		-0.64	0.33	-0.28			-0.76	0.45	-0.33		
Centrality						0.08	0.28	0.04			0.05	0.71	0.03		
Private Regard						-0.22	0.23	-0.14			0.23	0.85	0.15		
Public Regard						-0.31	0.28	-0.17			-15.00	0.62	-0.63		
Ethnic Group X Gender											0.52	0.80	0.29		
Discrimination X Centrality											0.01	0.28	0.02		
Discrimination X Private Regard											-0.15	0.30	-0.35		
Discrimination X Public Regard											0.44	0.30	0.73		

Note. *N*=59.* $p < .05$.

However, when all of the interactions were entered into Model 3 the contributions of Public Regard became significant. Results from the final block, which included all interaction terms, showed that gender was no longer a statistically significant predictor of grades ($p = 0.06$). However, Public Regard was now a significant predictor such that students with lower average scores of Public Regard reported higher levels of grades by 1.15 grade points, holding all else constant ($b = -1.15$, $SE = 0.55$, $t(52) = -2.08$, $p = 0.043$). In sum, across all four models, gender

was a statistically significant predictor of grades. Public Regard was the only identity subscale, when assessed individually, to predict grades.

Discussion

By examining the relationship between racial identity, perceived teacher discrimination, and academic performance the present study provided important insights into the importance of racial discrimination and racial identity on Black American and Nigerian adolescents' educational experiences. Overall, this sample of youth are doing well in school despite the challenges that Black youth often encounter in education. They reported that they experienced little discrimination and received mostly A's and B's. Across the total sample and subgroups discrimination was not correlated with grades, although it was negatively related to all three identity subscales.

Racial Discrimination and Academic Performance

Beginning at a descriptive level, on average, youth reported that they experienced little teacher discrimination. This is consistent with other studies, in which African American youth have reported low levels of perceived teacher discrimination (Douglass & Umana-Taylor, 2017; English et al., 2016; Hughes et al., 2016; Niwa, Way, & Hughes, 2014; Sellers, Copeland-Linder, Martin, & Lewis, 2009). Therefore, the findings did not support the hypothesis that Nigerian youth would report less discrimination relative to their Black American peers. It is curious that youth report such low levels of discrimination given their awareness of social inequities in school (Gray, Hope, & Matthews, 2018; Nasir, 2011; Yeager, Purdie-Vaughns, Yang, & Cohen, 2017). A possible explanation for the low levels of perceived discrimination could be that youth may be experiencing discrimination from peers, friends, or other adult figures at school (administration, guidance counselors, principals, etc.) at greater levels, which

were not measured during this study. Future studies should examine the impact of discrimination from various actors such as peers, friends, and guidance counselors.

Additionally, there were no significant ethnic group differences in levels of perceived teacher discrimination. Therefore, the findings did not support the first hypothesis that Nigerian youth would report less discrimination relative to their Black American peers. A possible reason is that regardless of ethnic group, Black American and Nigerian youth are seen as Black by their teachers and the rest of society, therefore they may experience similar rates of discrimination.

Contrary to my second hypothesis, there was no significant relationship between teacher discrimination and academic performance, for the entire sample nor for the individual subsamples. This finding diverges from other studies which have found a significant negative relationship between discrimination and grades (English et al., 2016; Hughes et al., 2016; Neblett, Philip, Cogburn, & Sellers, 2006; Wong et al., 2004). All of these studies found similar low levels of perceived discrimination with sample sizes ranging from 150-500, yet they still found a negative relationship between grades and discrimination. One possible explanation is that the combination of low perceived teacher discrimination and the generally high grade attainment of the sample may have yielded too little overall variability—which is necessary for any relationships to emerge in regression analyses. Another possible explanation is that in the current study there was a basement effect for perceived teacher discrimination. The small sample size, low statistical power, and the low levels of reporting of discrimination may have made it difficult to distinguish differences between the two ethnic groups. Alternatively, for this comparable sample, teacher discrimination may occur too infrequently to impact grades. However, it is possible that discrimination, even low levels, may be related to other aspects of academic performance and engagement that were not examined in this study. Future research

should examine the effects of discrimination on other metrics of academic performance and engagement such as access to honors/AP course, class participation, teacher expectations, and sense of belonging.

An interesting finding was the negative relationship between discrimination and each of the identity subscales. Some research has noted that racial identity develops through racial awareness or exploration (French et al., 2006; Rogers & Way, 2016; Sellers et al., 2006,) and racial discrimination may be one way in which adolescents consider the importance of race to their self-concept. Thus Black youth whose race is a central part of their identity (Centrality), have positive views of their Black group (Private Regard), and slightly negative/ambivalent views on how others view their racial group (Public Regard) may have “heightened sensitivity toward racial cues” (Sellers, et al. 2006, pg.206).

Tackling the Immigrant Advantage and Challenging the New Model Minority label

There were no significant ethnic group differences in grades between Black American and Nigerian youth. Therefore, the findings did not suggest an “immigrant advantage” in grades for Nigerian youth relative to Black American youth. This study demonstrated that when care is taken to compare groups that are equivalent in terms of family background and parental level of education, Black Americans perform as well as Nigerians. A possible explanation for why other studies may have found this effect, is that they may have not had comparable groups, therefore the immigrant advantage could have been a result of other factors, such as differing socioeconomic status, skin tone, family background, etc.

Conversations of an immigrant advantage are often closely tied to conversations about the model minority myth. The model minority myth positions a minoritized group, often of an immigrant background, as the ideal group in which all minoritized groups should aspire to act

like in order to succeed. With a different sample, Ukpokodu (2018) also failed to find support for an “immigrant advantage”. Across schools and school districts in 10 major U.S. metropolitan cities with the highest proportion of African immigrant youth, Ukpokodu found no differences in academic achievement between Black American and African youth. Across the entire sample, both Black American and African youth were underperforming relative to their peers from other racial and ethnic groups. In two districts, located in the Pacific Northwest, she did find that African immigrant youth were marginally outperforming their Black American peers. However, the students “did not measure up to the school district’s average test pass rate in reading and math” (Ukpokodu, 2018, p.80). By labeling African immigrant youth as the “New Model Minority” educators could be making it difficult to see the needs that African immigrant youth might have, and fail to provide the necessary support for Black American youth to reach their full academic potential. Future research should examine whether an immigrant advantage is found across other African immigrant populations, such as Kenyans, Ethiopians, and Somalians.

Gender and Academic Performance

On average, students reported receiving Mostly A’s & B’s, however, further disaggregation of the data demonstrated that boys reported marginally higher grades than girls, Mostly A’s & B’s versus Mostly B’s. This is contrary to previous research that has found that girls academically outperform their male peers (Mickelson & Greene, 2006). This finding may indicate the need to change the socio-historical pejorative narrative that Black boys are underperforming in our schools (Dumas, 2016; Toldson & Johns, 2016; Wright, Maylor, & Becker, 2016). Instead, when keeping all other variables constant, in this sample, Black boys are doing as well, if not better, than their female peers. A possible explanation could be that gendered educational policies such as My Brother’s Keeper (MBK) have pushed schools to focus

on the academic experiences of boys. The main goals of MBK, which was launched by the Obama administration in February 2014, was to increase school readiness, competent reading by third grade, high school and college completion, successful entry into the work force, and reduction of violence for Black and Latino males (Barbarin, Murry, Tolan, & Graham, 2016; My Brother's Keeper, 2014). An important question is whether policies, practices, and procedures focused on Black boys are occurring at the expense of Black girls, or whether sufficient attention is also being paid to the needs of Black girls.

Racial identity as a moderator between Discrimination and Grades

The main focus of this study was to examine the potential moderating role of the racial identity of Black American and Nigerian youth's academic performance. Contrary to my predictions, none of the identity subscales, individually or in combination, moderated the relationship between perceived teacher discrimination and academic performance. This was not in line with previous studies that found that Centrality and Public Regard buffered the negative relationship between discrimination and grades (Hughes et al., 2016; Seaton et al., 2009; Sellers et al., 2006). Again, the most parsimonious explanation is that given the low levels of discrimination reported by this sample and the non-existent relationship between discrimination and grades, there was nothing for the identity subscales to buffer. Yet, there several variables that contributed to the analyses that were *nearly* significant. This demonstrates that power was an issue. Future studies would want to ensure a sufficiently large sample size and examine the potential buffering effects of racial identity to other metrics of academic performance such as academic identity, teacher expectations, and class participation using more heterogeneous samples.

Limitations

This study, like those before it, is not without limitations. The first limitation was the sample size. The modest sample which lead to unbalanced cells in terms of ethnic group and gender, made it difficult to tease out potential findings. This provided insufficient statistical power for the hypotheses and number of variables. I tried to address this by entering each identity subscale separately, but sample size remained a serious constraint.

Another disadvantage to this study was that it was one-time snapshot of data at a single point in time, therefore I was unable to capture the development or on-going process of participant's racial identity. Additional data time points, would not only capture the change or consistency in youth's racial identity over time, but it would have also allowed for within group analyses. Moreover, the correlational design only afforded me the opportunity to investigate relationships and infer associations. I was unable to make causal inferences about the relationship between ethnic group membership, racial identity, perceived teacher discrimination, and grades.

Lastly, the uniqueness of this sample limits the generalizability of the findings. There was great care in recruiting equivalent samples of Black American and Nigerian youth. Participants reported being in two family households and with two highly educated parents (a majority of parents had associates or bachelors degrees). Therefore, the findings from this study are not generalizable beyond Black American and Nigerian youth from two family households with highly educated parents.

Future Directions: Power Analysis

The small sample size of this study prevents conclusions, but the work yields strong pilot data that will be useful for designing future studies on racial identity, perceived teacher discrimination, and grades. Although a larger sample size was originally desired for this study,

according to Sim and Lewis (2012) a sample of at least 50 participants is adequate and sufficient for a pilot to detect statistically significant results. The sample of 59 enables a strong basis for making assumptions regarding power. To illustrate, I provide a power analysis to determine the needed sample for evaluating the hypotheses of the current study in the future.

A statistical power analysis was performed for sample size estimation, based on the pilot study above, comparing the relationship between the moderating role of racial identity on discrimination and grades for Black American and Nigerian adolescents. The effect size in this study was $f^2 = 0.19$, which is considered small. With an alpha set at 0.05, power at 0.80, and an effect size set at $f^2 = 0.19$, the projected sample size needed for the simplest between group comparisons is approximately 176 participants, or 88 Black American and 88 Nigerian youth. Thus a future proposed sample of 250 participants, 125 Black Americans and 125 Nigerians, will be more than adequate for comparing groups and should allow for balanced cells by ethnic group, as well as additional within group analyses specifically tailored for Nigerian youth.

Conclusion

This was one of very few studies to measure and compare the effects of racial discrimination on academic performance for both Black American and African immigrant adolescents. It added an often forgotten perspective in the discussion of Black youth's educational experiences. More importantly, the study demonstrated the considerable resilience within these groups, despite the specter of inequities in school discipline, and the influence that inequities appear to have for school engagement. Given the current U.S. racial climate, #BlackLivesMatter movement, and the pervasiveness of racial discrimination in schools, it's important to understand how youth of the African Diaspora are persevering and succeeding in school.

Chapter VI

General Discussion and Conclusion

General Discussion

This study suggested the unique and similar ways that race, ethnicity, and teacher discrimination may impact the Black racial identity development and academic performance of Black American and Nigerian youth. By ensuring matched groups, the findings demonstrated that the Black American and Nigerian youth in this study were more similar than different in terms of racial identity, rates of perceived teacher discrimination, and grades. More specifically, Study 1 suggested that being Black is a highly central component of Black American and Nigerian youth's identity, both ethnic groups have strong positive feelings toward the Black group, and believe that others have generally positive perceptions of the Black group. In Study 2, both ethnic groups reported low levels of teacher discrimination and high academic performance (a mixture of A's and B's). Unfortunately, the Black racial identity buffering hypothesis could not be tested, because the youth showed no relationship between discrimination and grades. Lastly, gender and Public Regard positively predicted grades, such that boys and youth who perceived low Public Regard had higher grades.

Although the sample as a whole was thriving academically, it was a unique finding that there were no academically underachieving youth in the sample (grades ranged from receiving mostly A's to Mostly B's and C's) and boys, although a smaller portion of the total sample, were performing better than girls. Yet, several of the significant, and *nearly* significant, findings underscored the importance of examining the intersection of ethnic group membership and gender. These intersectional findings suggest that the subjective meaning and importance of race, in this case Blackness, may differ by youth's ethnic group and gender. Future research using a

mixed methodological approach to survey and interview youth in depth could provide clarity on what being Black means to them. Neither quantitative nor qualitative methods alone may be sufficient by themselves to capture the patterns and details of a complex social phenomenon, such as the racial identity development of Black American and Nigerian youth. In combination, a quantitative and qualitative exploration of Black youth's racial identity development will allow for a more thorough analysis and explanation of how and in what ways Black American and Nigerian high school students make sense of their racial, ethnic, and Pan-African identities within the school context.

Limitations and Complications

Although this study made several contributions to research by taking an intragroup examination of Black racial identity development, teacher discrimination, and academic performance, it is not absent of limitations. First, this study focused on the racial identity formation of Black American and Nigerian youth. Nigerians were selected as an example, or case of an African immigrant population. However, the findings cannot be generalized to all African immigrant youth in the United States. Africa is comprised of 54 vastly different nation states that are linguistically, religiously, and culturally diverse. Therefore future studies should include African immigrant youth from other regions of the continent. Additionally, all but one of the Nigerian youth identified as 2nd generation (born in the U.S. to immigrant parents); therefore findings also cannot be generalized to 1.5 generation youth (immigrant youth who immigrate to the U.S. by age 17). Being born and raised within U.S. social systems may provide 2nd generation youth with a different understanding of the U.S. racial hierarchy compared to 1.5 generation youth. Future studies should include 1.5 generation African immigrant youth who immigrate to the U.S. at various ages to explore and unpack their understanding of their racial

and ethnic identities and how it might compare to 2nd generation African immigrant and Black American youth.

Another limitation was the sampling strategy and inclusion criteria. Recruiting youth from race and ethnic based organizations may have yielded a highly selective sample that is not representative of all Black youth across the United States. Participants and their families that are involved in such organizations may have a unique relationship with their Black identity given that these organizations focus on educating and fostering about Black American and Nigerian culture and traditions. One way to address the sample limitation, would be to remove participation in a community based organization as a mandatory criteria for participation. That change along with recruitment from schools and other organizations may aid in yielding a more nationally representative sample of Black American and Nigerian high school students.

A major limitation was money and time required to collect data. I was only able to fly to the Bay Area and Dallas to make connections with community organizations, parents, and youth during the first wave of data collection. I attempted to enlarge my recruitment efforts by tapping into personal, familial, and professional networks in each state. However, the most effective recruitment approach was meeting organization leaders and members face to face. Leaders, community members, and parents often remarked that being able to place a face to the emails and phone calls aided in quelling their fears about someone doing research on their community and children. Although my personal, familial, and professional networks were helpful in connecting me with the local community, more time and closer proximity was needed to build stronger, authentic, and more reciprocal relationships with local organizations, its members, and teens. It had been over 10 years since I was physically located in some of these communities. Despite my connections and identifying as Black and Nigerian, I may have been perceived as an

outsider, or what Banks (1998) would call an indigenous-outsider. My indigenous-outsider researcher identity afforded me a unique position in where I understood the “values, perspectives, behaviors, and beliefs” of the Black American and Nigerian communities but my “assimilation” into the academy may have been a barrier. On several occasions, parents from Nigerian and Black organizations remarked that I sounded “White” or spoke in “proper” English. Additionally, I was often questioned by Nigerian communities on why I did not speak with a Naija accent. One way to solve this problem in the future will be to work with the local community organizations for at least 8-12 months before data collection. This would aid in building trusting and authentic relationship with the community as I would not be perceived as an “outsider” coming to collect data and leave.

Another possible solution would be to utilize a community-based participatory research (CBPR) methodology. CBPR involves an equitable collaborative relationship between researcher and community members throughout the entire research process: co-creating the research questions and design, execution of data collection, and collaborating on data interpretation and dissemination (Strand, Cutforth, Stoecker, Marullo, & Donohue, 2003). Education and health researchers report that utilizing a CBPR approach with vulnerable and disenfranchised communities leads to larger sample sizes, impactful research findings, and long term relationships between researchers and community (Aguayo & Eames, 2017; Horowitz, Robinson, & Seifer, 2009; Vaugh, Jacquez, Linqvist-Grantz, Parsons, & Melink, 2017 Wallerstein & Duran, 2006). Such a communal investment may aid in obtaining larger sample sizes for future studies on Black American and African immigrant youth and their communities.

Lastly, the demographics of the sample size was a strength as well as a limitation. The restricted sample yielded academically achieving Black American and Nigerian youth from

highly educated two parent households. The lack of heterogeneity in grade attainment of the youth, family households, and parental levels of education limited generalizability of findings. This is in contrast to a large majority of studies utilizing the MIBI-t. These typically have a sample of Black American youth from working class backgrounds and parents with limited post-secondary education. Such studies can also be criticized for limited generalizability. This study contributes by looking at the other end of the spectrum. It highlights the need for future studies with Black youth that have more diversity in parental levels of education, grades of participants, and familial socioeconomic status. The fact that this study drew from families with parents that had high levels of education, limits generalizability and limited my ability to find significant effects, but it also provides strong evidence that the so-called “immigrant advantage” may be a marker of socioeconomic status, visible only when ethnicities vary across socioeconomic backgrounds. When examining comparable middle and high socioeconomic families with equitable access to education, an immigrant advantage may not exist.

Conclusion

The current study illustrated the need for additional research on race, ethnicity, perceived discrimination and grades for Black American and Nigerian adolescents. The significant, and nearly significant, findings provided sufficient evidence for a strong pilot study and demonstrated that this is an important research agenda to continue to pursue. It shifted the focus from a pejorative comparative analysis of which Black ethnic group is doing better in school, to highlighting the potential factors that positively contribute to the academic performance of Black American *and* African immigrant youth. Understanding and highlighting the rich diversity of Blackness within our schools can aid in increasing a sense of belonging for all Black youth—and

positive socioemotional and academic outcomes. As this study demonstrated, Black American and Nigerian youth can thrive academically.

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APPENDIX A

Mid to Late 20th Century U.S. Immigration Policies

In this section I provide details about four United States immigration policies that influenced the immigration of Africans immigrant to the United States.

Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965

The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, also called the Hart-Celler Act, abolished the national origin quotas of 1921 and was replaced with a preference system tied to two main avenues for permanent residency—family reunification and high skilled labor. The 1965 Act allowed for open migration from all countries to the United States, “setting a cap of 20,000 [persons] per country and a global limit of 290,000 [immigrants]” per year (Portes and Rumbaut, 2014, p.23). However, these quotas did not apply to individuals entering the U.S. through family reunification or high skilled labor.

The United States Refugee Act of 1980

According to the United Nations’ 1951 Refugee Convention, a refugee is:

someone who owing a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality, and is unable to, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country (UNHCR, 2001).

The United States Refugee Act of 1980 was the first American policy to address the needs of *all* refugees (up till this point, the US. focused on refugees under Communist rule) and formally adopted the UN definition of refugee. It was an amendment to the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 to “revise...and establish a more uniform basis for the provision of assistance to refugees” (Public Law 96-212). More specifically, the 1980 Act raised the number of refugees admitted yearly from 17,400 to 50,000 per year and sought to establish effective resettlement and absorption policies (Kent, 2007; Thomas, 2011).

The Immigration Reform and Control (IRCA) of 1986

The Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986, also called the Simpson-Mazzoli Act or IRCA, was passed to control and deter illegal immigration to the United States. IRCA increased border patrol and had three main requirements for employers: 1. required employers to verify employee’s immigration status; 2. made it illegal to *knowingly* hire or recruit undocumented immigrants; and 3. legalized *some* undocumented immigrants who were seasonal agricultural workers (Portes & Rumbaut, 2014). However, the most important provision of IRCA was the legalization of

undocumented immigrants who had entered the United States before January 1, 1982 (Anderson, 2015; Portes & Rumbaut, 2014).

The Immigration Act of 1990

The Immigration Act of 1990, also known as the Diversity Visa Program, was a reform of the 1965 Immigration Act and aimed to diversify the immigrants wanting to make the United States their new home. The 1990 Act sought to increase the number of immigrants from “underrepresented nations” (Anderson, 2015) through the diversity visa program, increase the allotment of visas for family reunification (however was reduced to immediate family only), and expanded employment visas by creating 5 distinct categories based upon type of occupation.

APPENDIX B
STUDY VARIABLES

Dependent Variable	Independent Variable	Moderating Variables	Control Variables
<i>Academic Performance</i> • Grades	<i>Perceived Teacher Discrimination</i> <i>Ethnic Group Membership</i>	<i>Racial Identity</i> • Black ○ Centrality ○ Private Regard ○ Public Regard	<i>Age</i> <i>Grade Level</i> <i>Socioeconomic Status (SES)</i> • Parental level of education <i>Generational Status</i> <i>Gender</i>

APPENDIX C
DEMOGRAPHIC SURVEY

1. Are you Black or Nigerian?
 - a. Black
 - b. Nigerian
 - c. Neither (logic to end survey)
2. How old are you?
 - a. Numeric response
3. What is your gender?
 - a. Fill in
4. What grade did you just finish?
 - a. 9th
 - b. 10th
 - c. 11th
 - d. 12th
5. What is the name of your school?
 - a. Fill in
6. Do you receive free or reduced lunch?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
7. Were you born in the United States?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No, if so where were you born? _____
 - i. How old were you when you came to the United States? _____
8. Was your mother born in the US?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No, if so where were they born? _____
9. Was your father born in the US?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No, if so where were they born? _____
10. Was English your 1st language?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No, if so what was your first language? _____

11. Please list any other languages that you may speak and/or understand:_____

12. What is your mother's highest level of education?:

- a. Less than high school
- b. High school graduate (includes equivalency i.e. GED)
- c. Some college, no degree
- d. Associate's degree (i.e. A.A./A.S.)
- e. Bachelor's degree (i.e. B.A./B.S.)
- f. Master's degree (i.e. M.A./M.S.)
- g. Ph.D., M.D., J.D. or other advanced/professional degree

13. What is your father's highest level of education?:

- a. Less than high school
- b. High school graduate (includes equivalency i.e. GED)
- c. Some college, no degree
- d. Associate's degree (i.e. A.A./A.S.)
- e. Bachelor's degree (i.e. B.A./B.S.)
- f. Master's degree (i.e. M.A./M.S.)
- g. Ph.D., M.D., J.D. or other advanced/professional degree

14. What type of classes do you take?

- a. Do you take EL/ESL/ELL classes?
 - i. No
 - ii. Yes, if so how many? (numerical)
- b. Do you take Regular classes?
 - i. No
 - ii. Yes, if so how many? (numerical)
- c. Do you take Honors/AP/IB classes?
 - i. No
 - ii. Yes, if so how many? (numerical)
- d. Other (please specify):_____

15. In school, I get (circle one response)

- a. Mostly A's
- b. Mostly A's & B's
- c. Mostly B's
- d. Mostly B's & C's
- e. Mostly C's
- f. Mostly C's & D's
- g. Mostly D's
- h. Mostly D's & F's

16. How do you racial identify? Or What is your race?
17. What race do others think you are?
18. How do you ethnical identify? OR What is your ethnicity?
19. Are you a member of any race or ethnic based organizations or clubs at school or in the community (ie. 100 Black men, Igbo Church, Black Student Union, African Student Union)?
 - a. No
 - b. Yes, if so please list all the clubs and organizations you participate in.

APPENDIX D

BLACK RACIAL IDENTITY MEASURE

	Please circle <u>ONE</u> response for each question	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1.	If I were to describe myself to someone, one of the first things that I would say is that I'm Black.	1	2	3	4
2.	I have a strong sense of belonging to other Black people.	1	2	3	4
3.	People think Blacks are as good as people from other races or ethnicities.	1	2	3	4
4.	Black parents should surround their children with Black art and Black books.	1	2	3	4
5.	Being an individual is more important than identifying yourself as Black.	1	2	3	4
6.	It is important that Blacks go to White schools so that they can learn how to act around Whites.	1	2	3	4
7.	People of all minority groups should stick together and fight discrimination.	1	2	3	4
8.	I feel close to other Black people.	1	2	3	4
9.	I am proud to be Black.	1	2	3	4
10.	Most people think that Blacks are as smart as people of other races or ethnicities.	1	2	3	4
11.	There are other people who experience discrimination similar to Blacks.	1	2	3	4
12.	I think it is important for Blacks not to act Black around White people.	1	2	3	4
13.	Blacks should think of themselves as individuals, not as Blacks.	1	2	3	4
14.	Whenever possible, Blacks should buy from Black businesses.	1	2	3	4
15.	I feel good about Black people.	1	2	3	4

16.	People from other races or ethnicities think that Blacks have made important contributions.	1	2	3	4
17.	I am happy that I am Black.	1	2	3	4
18.	Black People should not consider race when deciding what movies to go see.	1	2	3	4
19.	Blacks should act more like Whites to be successful in this society.	1	2	3	4
20.	Blacks should spend less time focusing on how we differ from other minority groups and more time focusing on how we are similar to people from other minority groups.	1	2	3	4
21.	Blacks should support Black entertainment by going to Black movies and watching Black TV shows.	1	2	3	4

APPENDIX E

PERCEIVED TEACHER DISCRIMINATION

	Please circle <u>ONE</u> response for each question	Never	A little	Sometimes	Often	Always
1.	How often do you feel teachers call on you less because of your race?	1	2	3	4	5
2.	How often do you feel teachers grade you harder because of your race?	1	2	3	4	5
3.	How often do you feel teachers discipline you more because of your race?	1	2	3	4	5
4.	How often do you feel teachers think you are not smart because of your race?	1	2	3	4	5
5.	How often do you feel teachers think you will not do well in school because of your race?	1	2	3	4	5