# Fighters, thinkers and bees: how racialized minority students experience learning about ethnic inequality in education

**Left running head:** A. VAN DE PEER ET AL.

Aurélie Van de Peer[a], Orhan Agirdag[b] and Freddy Mortier[c]

[a]Centre for Sociological Research, KU Leuven, Leuven, Belgium;

[b]Department of Educational Sciences, KU Leuven, Leuven, Belgium;

[c]Department of Philosophy and Moral Sciences, Ghent University, Ghent, Belgium

## Corresponding Author

CONTACT Aurélie Van de Peer aurelie.vandepeer@kuleuven.be Centre for Sociological Research, KU Leuven, Leuven, Belgium.

## ABSTRACT

Educational research acknowledges the significant challenges faced by racialized minority students at school. This interview-based study examines the experiences of racialized minority students in Flanders, the Dutch-speaking region in Belgium, regarding a social science curriculum that addresses the power dynamics and privilege involved in perpetuating ethnic inequality in Flemish education. The study aims to develop typologies of students' responses to this curriculum. First, the fighters, thinkers and bees demonstrate diverse reactions to the curriculum. However, all students agree on the necessity of the curriculum for both racialized minority and majority students. Second, the interviews demonstrate that racialized minority students in Flanders possess a wealth of undervalued capitals. Contrary to conservative assumptions, the study finds no evidence that teaching about structural racialized inequalities causes division and impedes the agency of racialized minority students. The article concludes by emphasizing the implications of these student experiences for teaching practices.

## KEYWORDS

## Funding

## Introduction

Racialized minority students encounter substantial barriers in their educational paths. The disparities in achievement compared to ethnic majority students are well documented (Stevens and Dworkin 2019). They often experience discrimination from peers and teachers at all education levels through implicit racial microaggressions like humor and social exclusion (Colak, Van Praag, and Nicaise 2020; Stevens 2008). These implicit victimizations can cause psychological harm and affect study outcomes (Yosso et al. 2009).

Sociological scholars have focused on studying the achievement gap (Reardon 2013) and the impact of school segregation, including early tracking systems in Europe (Agirdag, Van Avermaet, and Van Houtte 2013; Van Praag et al. 2015). Psychologically-oriented research examines how negative stereotypes influence the cognitive achievements of minority students. For example, Stereotype Threat Theory (STT) reveals that negative stereotypes lead to insecurity, hindering performance (Steele and Aronson 1995). Teachers often have lower expectations for racialized minorities, overestimating the abilities of affluent and white students (Tenenbaum and Ruck 2007; Ready and Chu 2015). These lower expectations particularly occur in schools with a high proportion of racialized minority students and contribute to ethnic inequalities (Agirdag, Van Avermaet, and Van Houtte 2013; Peterson et al. 2016). Moreover, in student-teacher interactions educators tend to approach racialized minority students from a deficit perspective (Yosso 2005), especially apparent in teachers' referral to linguicism (Agirdag 2010). Racialized minorities are also often blamed for their failure in a seemingly equitable system (Yosso 2005).

Academic attention has turned to how schools and policymakers can address these inequities. Affirmation studies show that stereotype threats can be reduced through targeted classroom interventions (Cohen et al. 2006, 2009). Various approaches to inter- and multicultural pedagogy highlight the need for curriculum relevance to a diverse student population (Yosso 2005; Banks 1993). Banks' model (1993) includes 'the knowledge construction process', emphasizing how knowledge is formed from specific viewpoints, possibly biased against minority students. Research in the U.S. and the U.K. is expanding our understanding of student responses to such interventions (Brown et al. 2017; Elhinnawy 2022; Olcoń, Pulliam, and Gilbert 2022). In this study, we explore how racialized minority students in Flanders, Belgium, respond to a social science curriculum focusing on the reproduction of ethnic inequality in Flemish education, using in-depth interviews with sixteen students to examine their thoughts, feelings, and actions towards the presented knowledge construction.

## Study setting

Flanders, an educationally autonomous region, is marked by a pronounced gap in academic outcomes between

ethnic majority and minority students, especially in comparison with other European regions (Van Praag et al. 2019). The socioeconomic factors of racialized minority students only partially explain these educational disparities (Danhier and Martin 2014). In Flanders, these students often face victimization from peers and teachers (D'hondt et al. 2016), along with lower teacher expectations and assumptions about their 'problematic' home environment and language proficiency in Dutch, the official instruction language (Clycq, Nouwen, and Vandenbroucke 2014; Agirdag 2010).

Like elsewhere, the social science curriculum in Flanders usually overlooks this reality, in line with international observations about curriculum color-blindness and reluctance to discuss race (Agirdag, Merry, and Van Houtte 2016; Bolgatz 2005; Colak, Van Praag, and Nicaise 2020). The hidden curriculum emphasizes Eurocentric, middle/upper-class perspectives (Elhinnawy 2022; De Jong et al. 2019; Yosso 2002), which can leave minoritized students feeling alienated and unable to identify with the curriculum (Elhinnawy 2022).

## The ban on teaching about inequalities

The relevance of pedagogical interventions addressing diverse inequalities, particularly CRT, has been sharply contested (Kaplan and Wings 2021). Conservative movements in the U.S. and beyond are pushing to ban CRT from being taught at schools, fearing it may hinder minority students' sense of agency and cause discomfort among white students (Ray and Gibbons 2021). Proposed legislation aims to limit classroom discussions of racism and other types of discrimination (Pendharkar 2021), arguing such teaching promotes divisiveness (Beertema 2021). However, this avoidance restricts opportunities to comprehend historical and current societal realities (Kaplan and Owings 2021, 13) and contemplate solutions (Morgan 2022).

While the role of CRT in Flemish teachers' reluctance to discuss race is undetermined, several factors might contribute, including fear of professional ostracization (Hess 2009), inadequate preparation in teacher education (Byford, Lennon, and Russel 2009), and concern about offending minoritized students (Bolgatz 2005; Kahne and Middaugh 2008). Students, however, deem the exploration of power structures in the reproduction of inequities essential (Olcoń, Pulliam, and Gilbert 2022; Colak, Van Praag, and Nicaise 2020; Elhinnawy 2022). Given the current backlash against anti-racism (Liu et al. 2021), considering the perspectives of students of color on learning about ethnic inequalities is vital.

This study, guided by CRT's regard for racialized minority students as 'holders and creators of knowledge' (Delgado Bernal 2002), aims to contribute to understanding pedagogical methods that may address ethnic inequities in education. What exactly does CRT try to achieve in education?

## Critical race curriculum and forms of capital

CRT, originating as a legal framework by US scholars of color, examines racism as a political-ideological construct within societal institutions. It seeks to dismantle racialized oppressions (Solorzano and Bernal 2001) and address racism's contemporary manifestations, such as colorblindness and deficit thinking towards people

of color (Bonilla-Silva 2017). With its intersectionality approach, considering how racism intertwined with linguicism, sexism, and classism (Lynn and Parker 2006), CRT's applications extends to Western European contexts, affecting racialized and religious minorities (Colak, Van Praag, and Nicaise 2020, 4–5).

For over two decades, CRT has been applied to educational systems (Ladson-Billings 1998; Ledesma and Calderón 2015; Busey, Duncan, and Dowie-Chin 2023; Savas 2014). Yosso (2002) brought the tenets of CRT in education to a reflection on the development of a Critical Race Curriculum (CRC). CRC addresses how various 'isms', including racism, converge in perpetuating inequality in the curriculum, critiques dominant deficit-oriented perspectives, seeks social justice, values minoritized groups' experiences and knowledge, and contextualizes education within a broader societal framework. It offers students a language to counter deficit societal discourses (Yosso 2002, 102).

CRC promotes what Schwarzenthal et al. (2022) term 'critical consciousness raising at school', founded in Freirean pedagogy (1970/2018). It fosters awareness of oppressive systems and readiness to alter them, encouraging critical reflection and action (Bañales et al. 2019; Schwarzenthal et al. 2022). This consciousness is valuable for marginalized students, buffering against internalized deficits and positively impacting motivation and achievement (Heberle, Rapa, and Farago 2020). Unlike multicultural curricula celebrating diversity, CRC explores and addresses power imbalances and exposes biases, aiding understanding of structural inequalities (Schwarzenthal et al. 2022; Yosso 2005).

By focusing beyond a multiculturalist perspective, CRC enables students through an understanding of racist biases at the intersection with other inequities to experience a sense of control over their schooling and become 'empowered participants' (Yosso 2005, 75). Hence, when minoritized students build critical consciousness in class, it supports the building of 'resistant capital,' knowledge challenging inequality, which may transform into 'transformative resistant capital' occurring when students understand the systemic nature of oppression and are motivated to change such structures. (Yosso 2005, 80). Yosso's work illuminates how minoritized students self-emancipate by leveraging multiple forms of capital often insufficiently valorized by conventional education and how educational discourses, practices, and structures can support them in doing so. Through examining racialized minority students' responses to ethnic inequities, this study explores the potential role of such learning in addressing educational landscape disparities.

## Participants and procedure

### Research questions

This interview study sought to address two main questions. First, do racialized minority students see a curriculum focused on structural power dynamics and ethnic inequities in education as a source of empowerment and belonging (Colak, Van Praag, and Nicaise 2020; Olcón, Pulliam, and Gilbert 2022), or as an impediment to their agency, as assumed by proponents of Eurocentric curriculum (Kaplan and Owings 2021)? Second, considering racialized minorities' potential internalization of negative stereotypes and deficit

thinking, will education on ethnic inequities alter self-defeating or counterproductive attitudes?

## Participants

In 2021, sixteen racialized minority students, all but one of Turkish or North-African descent participated in semi-structured interviews discussing their perspectives on ethnic inequality in Flemish education. All were enrolled in the final or penultimate year of a general track high school in the subject field 'Human Sciences.'

The study aimed to highlight only students of color's views, an area less explored in social science education literature (for a review study see Busey, Duncan, and Dowie-Chin 2023, 20–21). The perspectives of students taught by the first author, a high school teacher at the time, influenced the development of a curriculum emphasizing ethnic inequality in education while challenging prevailing deficit theories. Prior to 2021, students of color addressed informally after class that their racialized realities were not represented in what they were taught about the reproduction of social inequality in education. This pushed for a curriculum reflecting their experiences better.

The primary researcher, their long-term teacher, designed and taught the curriculum, but was on leave during interviews. In the Flemish educational context this entails that the primary researcher did not evaluate the students during the school year nor was part of the teacher board that decides on the diploma (for senior students interviewed) or on a general pass to enter the subsequent year (for students in the penultimate year). Students were also notified informally that the substitute teacher nor other teachers at the school were made aware of their decision to participate as to diminish influence on teacher's expectations. Nevertheless, the student-teacher power dynamic was alleviated rather than eliminated because the long-term teacher remained a figure of authority to students, which enabled beneficial consequences for researcher-interviewee trust. Students who wished to participate in the study informally told the researcher that they agreed to be interviewed because the long-term relationship made them feel at ease to share their thoughts and feelings about the curriculum, while also being recognizant of the reciprocity of student-teacher relationships. 'You have enabled us to learn for several years and now is the time for us to share our stories with you, so we can help you', said Dihya.

The three person research team consisted of one scholar who identifies as Turkish-Belgian and two white scholars, the primary author and a researcher who code and concept triangulated the data. The students only encountered the primary researcher (their long-term teacher), who designed and taught the curriculum and conducted the interviews, at the requested interview location. They were informed informally on the ethnicity and the research expertise of the members of the expanded research team. The course material was based on the research findings presented in the general audience book 'Onderwijs in een gekleurde samenleving' (Agirdag 2020). The impromptu reaction in class of student Rodan, when he was reading the back cover of the book, testifies to the general absence of racialized minority scholars in curriculum in Flanders: 'Agirdag, that's a Turkish name. We never hear from Turks in class'. In informal conversations with the primary author the students reflected on the difference in teacher-student ethnicity and its potential impact on the research

process. The friends Sude and Nesrine shared that 'we were talking about it yesterday, and of course, miss, we don't have the same color, so it's not like you have felt what we feel, but you want to listen to our stories about what it's like to be a student in Flanders. No one ever asked us this before. So, that's why we want to join in'.

## The developed curriculum on ethnic inequality in education

The curriculum was part of a larger unit on social stratification in post-industrial societies. It included visualizations of the attainment gap between ethnic minority and majority, and a graph that depicted minimal change in attainment gap between first and second generation migrant background students and their native peers. Another graph highlighted the intersection of socioeconomic background and ethnicity, revealing that the gap is widest among students from the top 25% wealthiest families (Agirdag 2020, 38–44 based on PISA 2018). At the microlevel, the curriculum focused on student-teacher interactions, including teaching about the Pygmalion effect in education. First, students encountered the classic Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968) study which indicated that teacher's positive expectations of a student's potential influenced the student's study outcomes. Next, during a class discussion the students explored the mechanisms behind this so-called Pygmalion effect, such as students indicating that they could derive teacher's expectations from subtle teacher behaviour like being allowed plenty time to speak in class, which they in turn found to positively motivate them. Finally, the curriculum addressed research that indicated the relevance of teacher expectations for racialized minority students' attainment (Peterson et al. 2016) and lower teacher expectations based on SES and ethnicity (Jussim, Eccles, and Maddon 1996). Additionally, research on self-defeating ideas or feelings of academic futility in racialized minority students was discussed.

The curriculum presented several sociological theories that explain ethnic inequality in education, including deficit, systemic and social reproduction theories (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977). The curriculum also highlighted the dangers of victim blaming for deficit theories and the limitations of students' agency associated with systemic theories.

## Design and analysis

Students and the parents of minor students (under the age of 18 in Belgium) consented to being interviewed. Students selected their own pseudonyms and were interviewed at their preferred locations for durations ranging from forty-five to one hundred minutes. The study was ethically cleared by the ethical committee of the Faculty of Arts and Philosophy of Ghent University.

The interview protocol did not directly address the students' experiences with ethnic discrimination at school (Colak, Van Praag, and Nicaise 2020, 6), but rather focused on the biographical educational trajectory of the students, beginning with memories of their educational experiences. During the interviews, students were asked about their thoughts and feelings in class when being presented again with course material. This material included graphs discussing aspects of the attainment gap and printed material of the PowerPoint slides

describing research on the impact of the Pygmalion effect on racialized minority students. Students were also inquired about how they used the acquired knowledge after class, whether they discussed the classes with others, and, if so, which elements of the course material they discussed. The interviews were transcribed and coded using NVivo 12.

After each class, field notes were taken on student-teacher and student-student interactions. The primary author likewise maintained a reflective handwritten diary to support reflectivity (Meyrick 2006). We conducted a thematic analysis in several phases. Initially, the primary author familiarized herself with the data by repeatedly reading the transcripts and field notes. Subsequently, a codebook was created using an inductive thematic approach (Guest, MacQueen, and Namey 2012), which included codes related to the students' thoughts, feelings, and evaluations of the presented curriculum. To ensure the validity of the developed codebook, the other authors independently coded the transcripts according to the draft codebook. They provided feedback to the first author in case of disagreement regarding coding and interpretation of the quotes, resulting in a fine-tuned codebook. Saturation in coding was achieved after twelve interviews were analyzed. Next, upon consensus, the authors merged codes with related meanings into the themes presented in Figure 1. The primary author scrutinized patterns within these themes to cultivate a student typology. Subsequently, co-authors independently categorized respondents according to this typology, assessing its comprehensiveness. This independent classification revealed significant congruence with the primary author's classification, with only one student's classification being amended upon mutual consensus. An informal member check was conducted during the 2022–2023 school year. During this check, the primary author discussed the findings with the students who had engaged with the curriculum in 2021, ensuring the developed typology's reliability.

Figure 1. How the fighters, the thinkers and the bees react to the themes in the interviews.

| | FIGHTERS | THINKERS | BEES |
|---|---|---|---|
| **EXPERIENCES WITH DATA ON THE ATTAINMENT GAP** | | | |
|    A.  Surprised? | No | No | Yes |
|    B.  Emotional response in class? | No emotion | Recognition | Feeling inferior |
| **DISCUSSION OF CURRICULUM WITH PEERS & FAMILY** | | | |
|    A.  Discuss curriculum with peers & family (Figure 2 & 3) | Yes | Yes | *Girls*: Yes<br>*Boys & non-ethnic identifying bees*: No |
|    B.  Impact of discussion | Shared feelings of indignation + social justice action | Recognition | Solution: "work even harder" |
| **EXPERIENCE OF SELF-DEFEATING IDEAS** | No | Yes | *Bees*: Yes, blame themselves<br>*Non-ethnic identifying bees*: No |
| **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF THE ROLE OF FAMILY IN EDUCATIONAL SUCCES** | Focus on 'resistant capital' | Focus on 'aspirational capital' | Focus on help within the family |
| **ATTITUDES TOWARDS CHARACTERISTICS OF DOMINANT DISCOURSE IN EDUCATION** | Aware of linguicism, less emphasis on deficit thinking, support for meritocracy | Aware of linguicism, no deficit thinking, low invisibility of the system, low support for meritocracy | Internalization of linguicism, support for 'culturalization of educational failure' (Clycq et al. 2014), support for meritocracy, high degree of invisibility of the system |

## Results

We identified three student typologies based on their reactions to learning about ethnic inequalities in Flemish education: fighters, thinkers, and bees. These typologies are neither exhaustive nor exclusive; thus, an individual student's experience might resonate with more than one typology. We discerned five central themes in the students' learning processes (refer to Figure 1). Figures 2 and 3 offer network visualizations that depict discussions about the curriculum with peers and family outside the classroom context.

Figure 2. Discussions of lessons on ethnic inequality in education with peers and/or family: 5 human sciences.
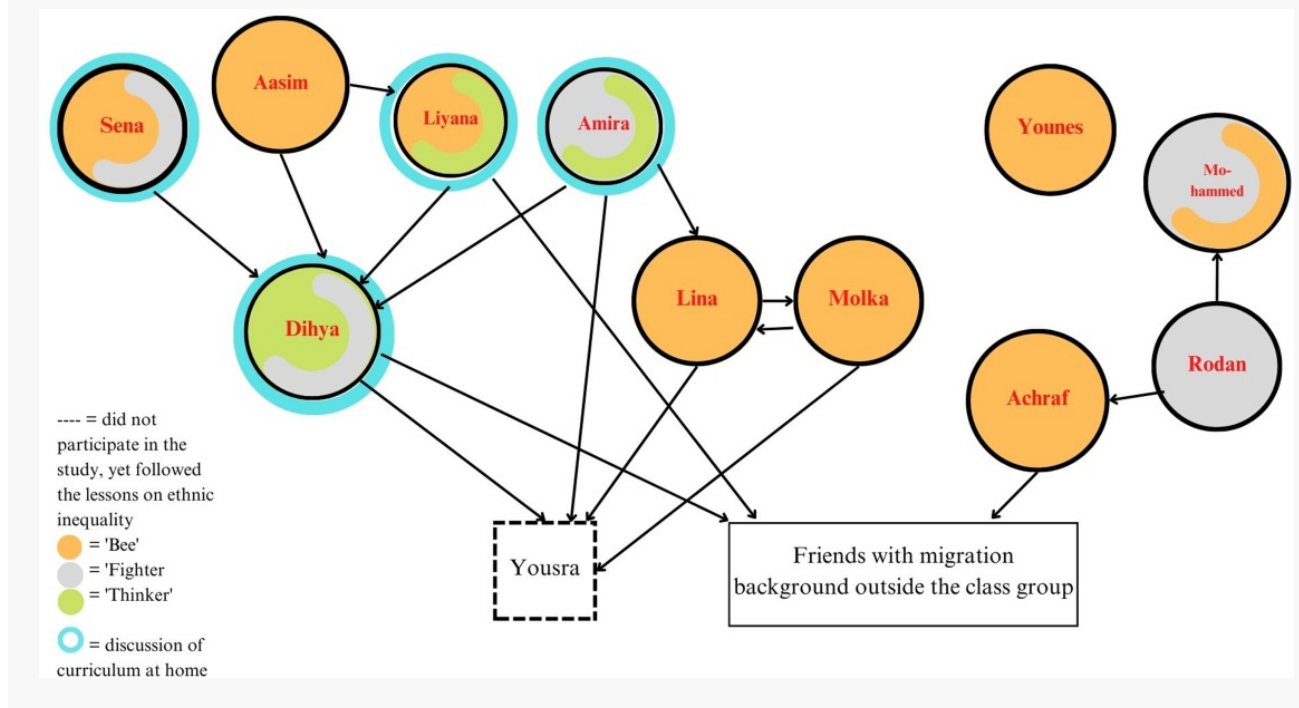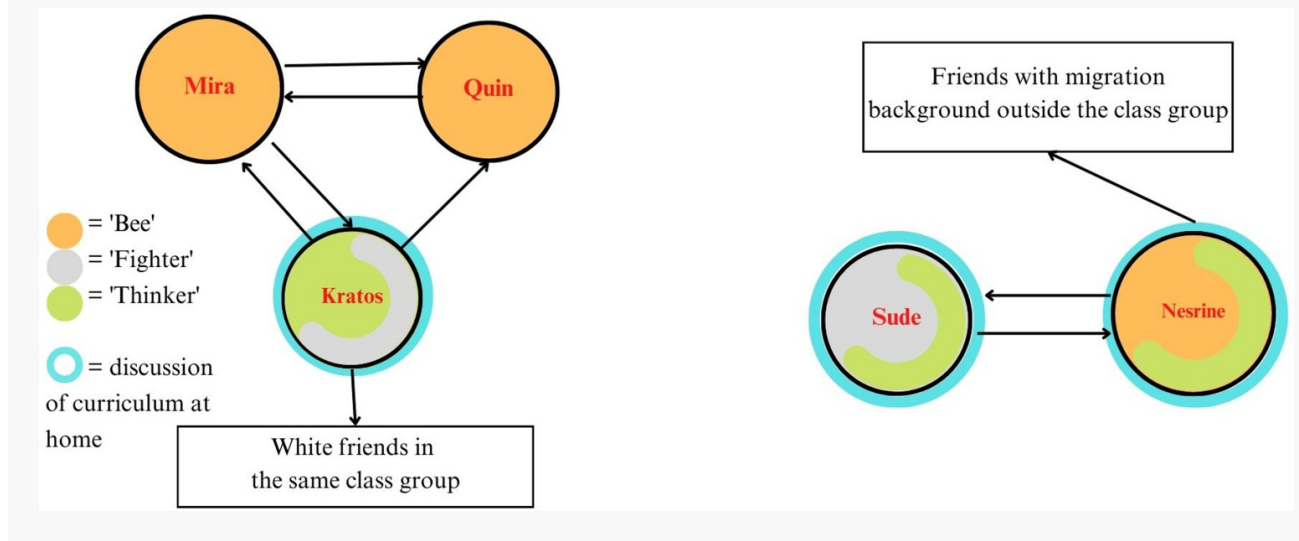


Figure 3. Discussions of lessons on ethnic inequality in education with peers and/or family: 6 human sciences.

## Fighters

In our study, we categorized seven students, either wholly or partly, as fighters. Operating under the ethos of 'proving them wrong,' these racialized minority students resist lower teacher expectations and peer victimizations. They recognize the role of their families in this practice of resistance. Fighters often critique the deficit thinking and linguicism present in Flemish education, while supporting the tendency toward meritocracy.

Fighters expressed minimal surprise when confronted with graphs delineating disparities in educational outcomes. When asked about how they recalled feeling when first discussing the graphs, the fighters offer two narratives. First, they state not sensing any emotions, because the graphs refer to a lived educational reality (Amira) or because 'statistics try to tell you general things. It's not like it is trying to tell me: 'you are bad'' (Rodan). Alternatively, others, like Mohammed, described positive feelings of recognition, sharing that the graphs made him 'feel less alone because […] I realized that other people with a migration background deal with the same difficulties'.

Fighters seldom aligned themselves entirely with the predominant educational discourse in Flanders (Clycq, Nouwen, and Vandenbroucke 2014). They appear to resonate with its meritocratic principles but dismiss its deficit thinking and linguicism. Amira explains how she does not believe in the deficit idea that ethnic minority students are less motivated to perform ly at school, an idea confirmed by the study of D'hondt et al. (2016), which was discussed in class as part of the critiques of the deficit theories levelled against racialized minority students.

> [T]he autochthone students, they do get more chances. They are seen as more intelligent and more motivated to go to school. While (silence) this is not the case. [H]ow I experience it in class, it usually is the other way around. I see […] that students with a migration background, say things like 'when we get home we are going to start studying immediately'. And you hear the other ones saying things like 'we'll just study for that test in the morning'. And then I am thinking like 'and they get better grades than us? You see, miss? Something is off there.

Many fighters voiced their frustrations regarding the linguicism they encountered or were witness to during their educational journey. One poignant account is that of Sude, who, like many other students in the study, experienced a prejudiced response from a teacher in a science course. The teacher linked her difficulty in the subject to her linguistic background, suggesting she 'didn't understand this material' and should consult a Dutch teacher for language help. This incident is likened by Sude to a 'hit in the head'.

The discussion of the Pygmalion effect in the classroom resonated with students across typologies, linking directly to their personal educational experiences. Numerous students recounted instances of discouragement

from teachers, such as teachers explicitly advising them against continuing in the general track, emphasizing the profound influence of teacher expectations on students' academic paths.

A recurring sentiment among fighters, exemplified by Mohammed, is the drive to 'prove them wrong'. This determination often emerges stronger in the face of negative teacher expectations. Mohammed shares that 'negative teacher expectations make me want to do the opposite thing, it actually motivates me somehow. When I graduate the general track, I will go to […] this particular teacher. […] I want to prove her wrong.' However, those who perceive they couldn't counteract the biases of the educational system viewed it as a personal failing. For instance, Kratos grappled with his teachers' advice to shift to the less prestigious field of human sciences, feeling he was succumbing to stereotypes. Describing a similar racial microaggression that Yosso et al. (2009, 678) witnesses in Latino/a students in the US, Kratos felt that he carried the burden of representing all Moroccan descent students. He shares his internal conflict, fearing his decision would be perceived as 'I'm Moroccan and that's why I can't make it work in this more prestigious subject field'. Fighters also demonstrate their resistance against stereotypes and prejudice in school, especially when faced with victimizations from their native Belgian peers, even if it results in strained friendships and a sense of exhaustion.

When fighters reflect on the interview question why they have been successful in the general track while other racialized minority students have not, they emphasize how their parents resisted the under-advising of their children. They highlight how they were raised following the motto put forward by Dihya's parents, which is, 'you should not behave according to the expectations others have of us, and that we can always perform better. […] *don't let anyone trick you into believing you cannot'*. Moreover, fighters recognize their parents' familiarity with the Flemish educational system (Colak, Van Praag, and Nicaise 2020) as instrumental in their success.

Predominantly, female students within the fighter typology engaged in discussions about the curriculum with peers and family outside the classroom setting (Figures 2 and 3). Like the thinkers and the bees, fighters found the graphs and discussions on the Pygmalion effect to be significant conversation points, while they also valued being able to share feelings of indignation. Furthermore, being exposed to this curriculum inspired them to perceive it as a catalyst for social justice actions. Sude, for example, believes that this knowledge empowers her to assist others facing similar dilemmas in education. Likewise, Kratos's aspiration to pursue an educational master's degree in psychology and become a teacher stems partially from understanding these ethnic disparities. He emphasizes the motivational impact of having educators who mirror the ethnic backgrounds of their students.

## Thinkers

The six thinkers in this study challenge the dominant educational discourses in Flanders, viewing such discourses as perpetuating the structural inequalities that racialized minorities face in education. These students lean on their networks of peers and family to navigate educational obstacles and also offer support to fellow

students on similar journeys.

Generally, thinkers were unsurprised by the discussed attainment gap. However, they found the course material both 'confronting' and validating of their experiences with educational inequality. Dihya clarifies, '[L]ike, we are not imagining things; these things are real.' She surmises that other students, while perhaps expressing it differently, 'also felt the recognition'. The initial confrontation stemmed from connecting the curriculum to their personal educational challenges and to ethnic minority friends who switched tracks during secondary school. Thinkers especially appreciated the presentation of course material through the lens of educational sociology research. 'When you clarified that these findings are based on scientific studies, it was reassuring,' Kratos shared, who continued that this lens offered him the words to articulate 'something of which I knew what it was, before I actually knew what it was'.

Thinkers, least of all students, support the elements of the dominant educational discourse in Flanders. They reflected on how the linguicism they notice is related to lower teacher expectations and to peer victimizations. Kratos integrates a discussion on linguicism in his reflection on 'whiteliness' (Tate and Page 2018), when he describes how a different orientation towards the white episteme of education in Flanders impacts the peer victimization of racialized minority students. Focusing his discussion on the phenotype of two Turkish descent classmates, he explains that the Dutch language of Sude, 'who looks more Turkish than Mira', is policed 'only by Belgian people […] who comment that her Dutch is not good, while she speaks enormously good, I mean, she sometimes makes less mistakes than the Belgian kids.' Yet when Sude does commit a language error, 'they blow things up […] they criticize her so much faster than they would Mira. […] I told them: 'this is not fair, you need to think a little further''.

Reflections on 'whiteliness' also surface when thinkers lay bare 'the invisibility of the system' (Clycq, Nouwen, and Vandenbroucke 2014) through, for instance, thinking about their educational success in high school and comparing their own orientation to the white episteme of education to other racialized minority students' orientation. Dihya shares that 'I have the feeling that I hide my migration background. While they [euh] dare to stand up for theirs. […] I put it away when I am at school and [silence] I think the teachers are not bothered by my background then'. She continues that she learned such 'denial of her ethnicity', as Dihya calls it, at her predominantly white primary school. Several thinkers emphasize the benefits of attending schools with a diverse student body for both well-being and educational success.

Thinkers offer critical perspectives of meritocracy, echoing the reasoning discussed in class by Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) about how specific student groups can inadvertently exclude themselves by accepting the education system as just and merit-based. Thinkers believe that racialized minority students have the responsibility to self-empower in education by not hiding behind narratives of the very real and perceived oppressive conditions they face in this institution. Yet, they maintain compassion, understanding the challenges their peers confront in Flemish education.

Thinkers draw strength from their social networks, both for emotional support and to combat self-defeating ideas. Recognizing these thoughts in themselves and peers, they leverage shared experiences for mutual

empathy and encouragement. Sude states, 'You do have to get yourself out of such thoughts, and talking to other people about it really helps', facilitating regaining a sense of control over one's educational experiences.

Every thinker mentioned sharing the curriculum with peers outside the classroom. In the penultimate year, Diyha became a central figure, disseminating the curriculum to racialized minority students across study fields via an online chat group (Figure 2). Notably, all thinkers discussed the course content with their parents, crediting them for continuously reinforcing belief in their children's capacities, even when they faced ethnic victimization 'in school during crucial phases in their personal development and their school career' (Van Praag et al. 2019, 195). As an illustration, Diyha recalls a pivotal parent-teacher meeting from her final primary school year, noting a pattern of under-advising racialized minority students (Van Praag et al. 2013): 'I wasn't the first in the family, my sister was given the same advice to attend a technical track'. Still, her parents remained resolute, enrolling her in a general track school and consistently instilling the mantra: 'You will study, and you'll see where it leads you.'

## Bees

The bees in this study are hardworking racialized minority students who tend to have internalized the dominant educational discourse in Flanders. When facing ethnic victimizations by peers or teachers, they respond through 'not saying anything, because the next year you have another teacher anyway' (Lina). Bees answer to setbacks in their educational career by 'working even harder'. Either fully or partially, eleven students fall under this typology, making it the dominant student typology (Figures 2 and 3). We also identified one subtype among the bees: the non-ethnic identifying bee (Mira and Quin). These bees do not identify with the attainment gap discussed in class, do not report ethnic victimization by peers and teachers and only speak of experiencing high teacher expectations. However, they share with the other bees the following characteristics.

The bees were surprised by the graphs showing the extent of disparities in educational attainments. Mira, who identifies as a 'Belgianized Muslim', commented that she 'was a bit shocked by it, […] I mean there's always a difference, of course, because of the language barrier […] but I never imagined it to be this pronounced'. She further delves into the educational attainment gap in mathematics, a subject where bees believe that proficiency should not be affected significantly by 'a lack of language'.

Many bees expressed feelings of inferiority when first introduced to the curriculum. Achraf, for instance, remarked, 'It felt, euh, special to learn that many allochthone students [racialized minority students, AVDP] receive lower grades than autochthones [racialized majority students, AVDP]. […] I'm uncertain how to phrase this, but it felt as if we are somehow less intelligent than the autochthone students.' Bee-thinker Sena shared these sentiments but, after discussing the curriculum with her friend Dihya and her mother, began to view the material with new insight. She observed, 'I thought about it more and because I talked about it, I don't think it is a bad thing to teach these classes. Because it should be done, if we don't say it, then we can't do things about it'.

Several female bees, when discussing the curriculum with peers and family, used it to help combat initial

feelings of powerlessness, feelings stemming from the fact that 'we do not choose our migration background', as described by thinker Dihya. These discussions often revolved around their personal educational experiences, leading to resolutions based on individual merit, such as Molka's declaration that 'we said to each other, we will work even harder'. However, male bees and non-ethnic identifying bees either did not discuss the curriculum outside of class or did so derisively, like Achraf who humorously lamented that 'again, we are the dumbasses'. Consequently, feelings of inferiority persisted among these students.

In the interviews, the bees often expressed intense self-defeating thoughts which they often kept private and for which they blamed themselves. For instance, Molka shared that her chances at university were slim, attributing her potential failure to her Dutch proficiency rather than her migration background. In her words, if she did not succeed, it would be 'because I am a quitter'.

All the bees displayed an inclination towards the dominant white cultural episteme in Flemish education and were strong proponents of meritocracy. They believe that their progression to the final years of the general track was a result of their diligence. Conversely, they view most peers who didn't advance as lacking perseverance. Achraf expressed this sentiment, noting, 'I may not be the most gifted student, so I put in the extra effort'. He perceives that his peers who 'drop out and shift to a technical or vocational track didn't truly persevere'. The bees have adopted the dominant deficit thinking in terms of linguicism more deeply than students in other typologies. Their interpretations of personal challenges at school or ethnic disparities in Flemish educational outcomes often hinge on a perceived language deficiency. Consequently, the underlying values and narratives shaping the educational system largely remain unnoticed, indicating the pervasive influence of deficit and meritocratic ideologies in this contemporary educational context.

Despite these orientations, bees, like all other student categories, believe the curriculum is valuable for both racialized minority and native Belgian students. Their reasons for this conviction, however, differ. Bees emphasize empathy, suggesting lessons can help 'autochthones relate to our experiences' (Younes). Conversely, fighters and thinkers focus on the curriculum's potential to 'challenge the preconceived notions ethnic majority students hold about racialized minorities', while also addressing Belgian students' potential naïveté about societal realities.

When asked about the curriculum's value for racialized minority students, responses suggested that it can alleviate feelings of insecurity, provide a sense of solidarity, and boost self-esteem. Fighters and thinkers, meanwhile, emphasized the potential for social action, suggesting the curriculum can empower students to support their racialized minority peers in navigating educational challenges. Therefore, while bees may not be predisposed to critique the system, they do express a wish for all students to be educated about the dynamics of power and privilege within education.

## Discussion and conclusion

This study aimed to examine how racialized minority students respond to a social science curriculum that

explicitly discusses ethnic inequities in education. Through in-depth interviews, we asses if students perceive such curriculum as a means to empower themselves or as undermining their agency to succeed in education. Given the current socio-political landscape, where the importance of social justice objectives embedded in teaching about racialized and other inequalities is being questioned, it is crucial to expand the existing body of research on students' experiences with a diversity curriculum that addresses structural power and privilege to include the experiences of racialized minority students in high school (Milner 2010). We read the students' experiences with the curriculum through the lens of CRC (Yosso 2002) and critical consciousness raising (Bañales et al. 2019). Both literatures have a strong US research base. Only recently scholars began to explore the tenets of these literatures in a European educational context (i.e. Colak, Van Praag, and Nicaise 2020 for CRT and Schwarzental et al. 2022 for critical consciousness). Both literatures stress the importance of talking about structural injustices, racial and other, in classrooms for fostering critical reflection and social justice actions in racialized youth. For instance, Schwarzenthal et al. (2022) indicated for Germany that the positive developmental outcomes of critical consciousness raising in class noted in US studies (Bañales et al. 2019) translate to German adolescents. Our study adds to this growing body of work by focusing on how racialized minority students in Flanders reacted to learning about the educational inequalities they face. Based on these reactions, we discern a typology of fighters, thinkers and bees.

Across typologies, a common thread was the reliance on a specific set of capitals to advance academically. Similar to other contexts (Yosso 2005; 2009), these capitals often go unrecognized and undervalued in Flemish education. The fighters in our study manifested considerable 'resistant capital' (Yosso 2005). They confronted both overt and covert forms of peer discrimination and recognized the role of upbringing in families that challenge ethnic biases. These students also emphasized the importance of discussing the formal curriculum with peers and family, believing such discussions pivotal for social justice involvement.

The thinkers underscored the significant role of familial support in their educational trajectories, especially the 'aspirational capital' they derived from their families. This refers to sustaining hope and ambition for the future despite real or perceived obstacles (Yosso 2005, 77). The 'thinkers' showed an ability to dissect and begin understanding the 'cultural knowledges of structures of racism' (Yosso 2005, 81). The thinkers were aware of the larger systemic structures in education and the micro-level inequities that racialized students faced in interactions with teachers and ethnic majority peers. They recognized the interrelatedness of these issues, which was evident in their reflections on how the 'navigational capital' of racialized minority students is related to their orientation to the white episteme of education.

The 'bees' also stressed the fundamental role of familial backing in their academic success. Contrary to Clycq, Nouwen, and Vandenbroucke (2014, 806) findings on racialized minority students in Belgium, where negative perceptions of their family environment indicated the internalization of deficit thinking at the level of the broader home environment level, all students in this study acknowledged the support and resources their families provided for their academic endeavors. Regardless of their typology, students viewed their family environment as a source of wealth, not a lack.

Nonetheless, deficit ideas resurface in the bees. When these students discuss the school results and motivation of racialized minority pupils in less prestigious tracks, they take on the '*culturalization of educational failure* […], namely the idea that a "problematic" home environment is to a large extent culture-bound' (Clycq, Nouwen, and Vandenbroucke 2014, 809). In particular, the bees highlight the strong deficit discourse in Flanders in terms of Dutch language comprehension, especially for students socialized in Arab, Berber and Turkish home languages (Agirdag 2010). They report that other racialized minority students have fewer chances of achieving educational success than they have had. The bees, therefore, do not perceive themselves as part of this 'problematic home environment'. This might be explained, in part, by the fact that the interviewed bees are students in the most prestigious general track, who tend to offer stronger support for meritocratic beliefs (Clycq, Nouwen, and Vandenbroucke 2014).

Furthermore, across typologies, mostly the female students recognize the importance of building their 'social capital', involving wider networks of people who provide emotional support and cultural knowledges to navigate through society's institutions to achieve self-emancipation (Yosso 2005, 79). Previous studies have underscored the role of such support in countering ethnic victimization (Van Praag et al. 2019, 195), and regaining a sense of control in situations of ethnic victimization (Colak, Van Praag, and Nicaise 2020, 10; D'hondt et al. 2016, 697; Yosso et al. 2009). This study points at a possible gender gap in how racialized minority students self-emancipate through drawing on their social capital, especially in discussions on self-deprecating beliefs, peer and teacher victimization, and possible initial discomfort elicited by a curriculum anchored in CRC (Yosso 2002).

In summary, our study categorizes student responses to the curriculum into 'fighters', 'thinkers', and 'bees'. Moreover, we unearthed that racialized minority students in Flanders harbor a plethora of undervalued capitals. The interviews with fighters and thinkers reveal that teaching a curriculum that moves beyond the additive and contributive approach, dominant in multicultural education in Flanders (Agirdag, Merry, and Van Houtte 2016), and that helps students to think critically about how knowledge is constructed in education, assists students who experience firsthand what it means to be perceived through a deficit gaze in learning a sociological language to defend themselves (Yosso 2002, Bañales et al. 2019). This is an important step in dismantling the process of self-elimination by, for instance, allowing students to understand the structural embeddedness of the self-defeating ideas they experience or recognize in other racialized minority students (Heberle, Rapa, and Farago 2020).

The critiques against teaching about racialized and other inequalities are not validated by the students in our study. Contrarily, they overwhelmingly believe that teaching this curriculum to all students is essential for promoting mutual understanding and empathy, and that is has the potential to empower them to take social justice actions. The students also report feeling more confident and less alone after learning about the obstacles faced by other racialized minority students. The idea that such education might demotivate students isn't reflected in our findings, especially among the 'bees', who instead expressed a deeper commitment to working hard. These findings support previous research on higher education students, which has shown that students recognize the need for official curriculum to address ethnic inequities in societal institutions (Olcoń, Pulliam,

and Gilbert 2022; Elhinnawy 2022).

Nevertheless, we continue to advocate for an agency-building pedagogical strategy that bolsters how the curriculum allows racialized minority students to self-emancipate. Therefore, students should be taught about the ways in which education reproduces inequalities, but also learn about research, such as Yosso's body of work (2002, 2005, 2009), that demonstrates the hitherto unvalorized forms of capital that racialized minority students embody and which enable them to flourish at school. Such approach would further sustain the needed changes in authorial point of view in curricula because it demonstrates the authority of the perspectives and experiences of racialized minority students (Agirdag, Merry, and Van Houtte 2016). The dominant typology in this study, the bees, report initial feelings of inferiority when first being confronted with this material in class. Therefore, pedagogical strategies promoting the social capital that is shown to, for instance, harness against the negative impact of victimizations at school (Van Praag et al. 2019) prove important. In doing so, educators might devote special attention to strategies that enable male students to seek support in racialized minority peergroups.

Research has indicated that many teachers experience discomfort when discussing racialized inequalities in the classroom, often feeling inadequate and unmotivated to address these issues. We support Clycq, Nouwen, and Vandenbroucke (2014, 813) argument that it is crucial to reinstate the idea of teacher agency, as strategies to strengthen this sense of teacher-agency ultimately benefit the socio-emotional educational experiences and material conditions (i.e. educational attainment) of racialized minority students. Despite the challenges of discussing race, racism and ethnic inequities in the classroom, our findings suggest that the responses of racialized minority students to such teaching can motivate teachers to engage in these discussions (Deepak, Rountree, and Scott 2015).

Moreover, when teachers focus on creating 'teachable moments' or opportunities for students to connect their own learning experiences with classroom discussions, powerful learning can occur (Brown and Brown 2011, 12). In this study, all students cited learning about the Pygmalion effect in education as such a teachable moment. Of course, teacher education programs have to support teachers in training to acquire this sense of agency when teaching about structural inequalities (Milner 2010). We cannot expect future teachers to transform schools into 'institutions of hope and social change' (López 2003, 71) without preparing them to lead robust discussions on ethnic (and other) inequities that permeate the current educational landscape. By banning discussions of structural societal inequalities at school, we risk inadequately preparing our students to create a life of hope and social change for themselves.

## Disclosure statement

AQ1

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s)

**Note:** this Edit/html view does not display references as per your journal style. There is no need to correct this. The content is correct and it will be converted to your journal style in the published version.

## References

Agirdag, O. 2010. "Exploring Bilingualism in a Monolingual School System: Insights from Turkish and Native Students from Belgian Schools." *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 31 (3): 307–321. https://doi.org/10.1080/01425691003700540. AQ2AQ3

Agirdag, O. 2020. *Onderwijs in Een Gekleurde Samenleving*. Berchem: EPO.

Agirdag, O., M. S. Merry, and M. Van Houtte. 2016. 'Teachers" Understanding of Multicultural Education and the Correlates of Multicultural Content Integration in Flanders." *Education and Urban Society* 48 (6): 556–582. https://doi.org/10.1177/0013124514536610.

Agirdag, O., M. Van Houtte, and P. van Avermaet. 2012. "Why Does the Ethnic and Socio-Economic Composition of Schools Influence Math Achievement? The Role of Futility and Futility Culture." *European Sociological Review* 28 (3): 366–378. https://doi.org/10.1093/esr/jcq070.

Agirdag, O., P. Van Avermaet, and M. Van Houtte. 2013. "School Segregation and Math Achievement: A Mixed-Method Study on the Role of Self-Fulfilling Prophecies." *Teachers College Record: The Voice of Scholarship in Education* 115 (3): 1–50. https://doi.org/10.1177/016146811311500305.

~~Aldiabet, KM., and CL. Le Navanec. 2018. "Data Saturation: The Mysterious Step in Grounded Theory Methodology." *Qualitative Report* 23 (1): 245–261.~~

Bañales, Josefina, Adriana Aldana, Katie Richards-Schuster, Constance A. Flanagan, Matthew A. Diemer, and Stephanie J. Rowley. 2019. "Youth anti-Racism Action: Contributions of Youth Perceptions of School Racial Messages and Critical Consciousness." *Journal of Community Psychology* 49 (8): 3079–3100. https://doi.org/10.1002/jcop.22266.

[please add the following reference to the reference list: Banks, James A. 1993. "Chapter 1: Multicultural Education: Historical Development, Dimensions, and Practice." Review of Research in Education 19 (1): 3–49. 10.3102/0091732X019001003.

]Beertema. 2021. "Jaarverslag en Slotwet Ministerie Van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap 2020." 35 830 VIII14.

Bolgatz, J. 2005. "Revolutionary Talk: Elementary Teacher and Students Discuss Race in a Social Studies Class." *The Social Studies* 96 (6): 259–264. https://doi.org/10.3200/TSSS.96.6.259-264.

Bonilla-Silva, E. 2017. *Racism without Racists: Color-Blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in America*. 5th ed. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Bourdieu, P., and J. Passeron. 1977. *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*. London: Sage.

Brown, K. D., and A. L. Brown. 2011. "Teaching K-8 Students about Race: African-Americans, Racism, & the Struggle for Social Justice in the U.S." *Multicultural Education* 19 (1): 9–13.

Busey, C. L., K. E. Duncan, and T. Dowie-Chin. 2023. "Critical What What? A Theoretical Systematic Review of 15 Years of Critical Race Theory Research in Social Studies Education, 2004–2019." *Review of Educational Research* 93 (3): 412–453. https://doi.org/10.3102/00346543221105551.

Byford, J. M., S. Lennon, and W. B. Russel. III 2009. "Teaching Controversial Issues in the Social Studies: A Research Study of High School Teachers." *The Clearing House* 82 (4): 165–170. https://doi.org/10.3200/TCHS.82.4.165-170.

Clycq, N., W. Nouwen, and A. Vandenbroucke. 2014. "Meritocracy, Deficit Thinking and the Invisibility of the System: Discourses on Educational Success and Failure." *British Educational Research Journal* 40 (5): 796–819. https://doi.org/10.1002/berj.3109.

Cohen, G. L., J. Garcia, N. Apfel, and A. Master. 2006. "Reducing the Racial Achievement Gap: A Social-Psychological Intervention." *Science (New York, N.Y.)* 313 (5791): 1307–1310. https://doi.org/10.1126/science.1128317.

Cohen, G. L., J. Garcia, V. Purdie-Vaughns, N. Apfel, and P. Brzustoski. 2009. "Recursive Processes in Self-Affirmation: Intervening to Close the Minority Achievement Gap." *Science (New York, N.Y.)* 324 (5925): 400–403. https://doi.org/10.1126/science.1170769.

Colak, F. Z., L. Van Praag, and I. Nicaise. 2020. "Oh, This Is Really Great Work—Especially for a Turk: A Critical Race Theory Analysis of Turkish Belgian Students' Discrimination Experiences." *Race Ethnicity and Education* 26 (5): 623–641. https://doi.org/10.1080/13613324.2020.1842351.

D'hondt, Fanny, Lore Van Praag, Mieke Van Houtte, and Peter A. J. Stevens. 2016. "The Attitude-Achievement Paradox in Belgium: An Examination of School Attitudes of Ethnic Minority Students." *Acta Sociologica* 59 (3): 215–231. https://doi.org/10.1177/0001699316636944.

Danhier, J., and É. Martin. 2014. "Comparing Compositional Effects in Two Education Systems: The Case of the Belgian Communities." *British Journal of Educational Studies* 62 (2): 171–189. https://doi.org/10.1080/00071005.2014.930091.

De Jong, S. 2019. *Decolonization and Feminisms in Global Teaching and Learning*. London: Routledge.

Deepak, A. C., M. A. Rountree, and J. Scott. 2015. "Delivering Diversity and Social Justice in Social

Work Education: The Power of Context." *Journal of Progressive Human Services* 26 (2): 107–125. https://doi.org/10.1080/10428232.2015.1017909.

Delgado Bernal, D. 2002. "Critical Race Theory, LatCrit Theory, and Critical Raced-Gendered Epistemologies: Recognizing Students of Color as Holders and Creators of Knowledge." *Qualitative Inquiry* 8 (1): 105–126. https://doi.org/10.1177/107780040200800107.

Elhinnawy, H. 2022. "Decolonising the Curriculum: Students' Perspectives in Criminology." *Race, Ethnicity and Education.* 1–17.

Freire, P. 1970. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. New York: Continuum.

Guest, G., K. M. MacQueen, and E. E. Namey. 2012. *Applied Thematic Analysis*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Heberle, A. E., L. J. Rapa, and F. Farago. 2020. "Critical Consciousness in Children and Adolescents: A Systematic Review, Critical Assessment, and Recommendations for Future Research." *Psychological Bulletin* 146 (6): 525–551. https://doi.org/10.1037/bul0000230.

Hess, D. 2009. *Controversy in the Classroom: The Democratic Value of Discussion*. New York: Routledge.

Jussim, L., J. Eccles, and S. J. Maddon. 1996. "Social Perception, Social Stereotypes, and Teacher Expectations: Accuracy, and the Quest for the Powerful Self-Fulfilling Prophecy." *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology* 29: 281–388.

Kahne, J., and E. Middaugh. 2008. "High Quality Civic Education: What Is It and Who Gets It?" *Social Education* 72 (1): 34–39.

Kaplan, L. S., and W. A. Owings. 2021. "Countering the Furor around Critical Race Theory." *NASSP Bulletin* 105 (3): 200–218. https://doi.org/10.1177/01926365211045457.

[Please insert the following reference in the reference list:

Ladson-Billings, Gloria. 1998. "Just What is Critical Race Theory and What's It Doing in a Nice Field like Education?." International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education 11 (1): 7–24. 10.1080/095183998236863.

]Ledesma, M. C., and D. Calderón. 2015. "Critical Race Theory in Education: A Review of past Literature and a Look at the Future." *Qualitative Inquiry* 21 (3): 206–222. https://doi.org/10.1177/1077800414557825.

Liu, H., A. Martinez Dy, A. Dar, and D. Brewis. 2021. "Anti-Racism in the Age of White Supremacy and Backlash." *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal* 40 (2): 105–113. https://doi.org/10.1108/EDI-03-2021-339.

López, Gerardo R. 2003. "The (Racially Neutral) Politics of Education: A Critical Race Theory Perspective." *Educational Administration Quarterly* 39 (1): 68–94. https://doi.org/10.1177/0013161X02239761.

Lynn, M., and L. Parker. 2006. "Critical Race Studies in Education: Examining a Decade of Research on U.S. Schools." *The Urban Review* 38 (4): 257–290. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11256-006-0035-5.

Meyrick, J. 2006. "What is Good Qualitative Research?: A First Step towards a Comprehensive Approach to Judging Rigour/Quality." *Journal of Health Psychology* 11 (5): 799–808. https://doi.org/10.1177/1359105306066643.

Milner, R. M. 2010. "What Does Teacher Education Have to Do with Teaching? Implications for Diversity Studies." *Journal of Teacher Education* 61 (1-2): 118–131. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022487109347670.

Morgan, H. 2022. "Resisting the Movement to Ban Critical Race Theory from Schools." *The Clearing House: A Journal of Educational Strategies, Issues, and Ideas* 95 (1): 35–41. https://doi.org/10.1080/00098655.2021.2025023.

Olcoń, Katarzyna, Rose M. Pulliam, and Dorie J. Gilbert. 2022. "Those Are the Things That We Need to Be Talking About': The Impact of Learning about the History of Racial Oppression during Ghana Study Abroad." *Race Ethnicity and Education* 25 (5): 665–682. https://doi.org/10.1080/13613324.2019.1679750.

Pendharkar, E. 2021. "Four Things Schools Won't Be Able to Do under 'Critical Race Theory' Laws." *Education Week*, June 30, https://www.edweek.org/policy-politics/four-things-schools-wont-be-able-to-do-under-critical-race-theory-laws/2021/06.

Peterson, E. R., C. Rubie-Davies, D. Osborne, and C. Sibley. 2016. "Teachers' Explicit Expectations and Implicit Prejudiced Attitudes to Educational Achievement: Relations with Student Achievement and the Ethnic Achievement Gap." *Learning and Instruction* 42: 123–140. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.learninstruc.2016.01.010.

Ray, R., and A. Gibbons. 2021. "Why Are States Banning Critical Race Theory?" *The Brookings Institution*. https://www.brookings.edu/blog/fixgov/2021/07/02/why-are-states-banning-critical-race-theory/.

Ready, D. D., and E. M. Chu. 2015. "Sociodemographic Inequality in Early Literacy Development: The Role of Teacher Perceptual Accuracy." *Early Education and Development* 26 (7): 970–987. https://doi.org/10.1080/10409289.2015.1004516.

Reardon, S. F. 2013. "The Widening Income Achievement Gap." *Educational Leadership* 70 (8): 10–16.

Rosenthal, R., and L. Jacobson. 1968. "Pygmalion in the Classroom." *The Urban Review* 3 (1): 16–20. https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02322211.

Savas, G. 2014. "Understanding Critical Race Theory as a Framework in Higher Educational Research." *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 35 (4): 506–522. https://doi.org/10.1080/01425692.2013.777211.

Schwarzenthal, M., L. P. Juang, U. Moffitt, and M. K. Schachner. 2022. "Critical Consciousness Socialization at School: Classroom Climate, Perceived Societal Islamophobia, and Critical Action among Adolescents." *Journal of Research on Adolescence: The Official Journal of the Society for Research on Adolescence* 32 (4): 1452–1469. https://doi.org/10.1111/jora.12713.

Seider, Scott, Daren Graves, Aaliyah El-Amin, Shelby Clark, Madora Soutter, Jalene Tamerat, Pauline Jennett, et al. 2016. "Preparing Adolescents Attending Progressive and No-Excuses Urban Charter High Schools to Analyze, Navigate, and Challenge Race and Class Inequality." *Teachers College Record: The Voice of Scholarship in Education* 118 (12): 1–54. https://doi.org/10.1177/016146811611801206.

Solorzano, D. G., and D. D. Bernal. 2001. 'Examining Transformational Resistance through a Critical Race Theory and LatCrit Theory Framework: Chicana and Chicano Students in an Urban Context.' *Urban Education* 36 (3): 308–342. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042085901363002.

Steele, C., and J. Aronson. 1995. 'Stereotype Threat and the Intellectual Test Performance of African Americans.' *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 69 (5): 797–811. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.69.5.797.

Stevens, P. 2008. 'Exploring Pupils' Perceptions of Teacher Racism in Their Context: A Case Study of Turkish and Belgian Vocational Education Pupils in a Belgian School." *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 29 (2): 175–187. https://doi.org/10.1080/01425690701837539.

Stevens, P., and A.G. Dworkin. (eds.) 2019. *The Palgrave Handbook of Race and Ethnic Inequalities in Education*. Second edition. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Tate, S. A., and D. Page. 2018. "Whiteliness and Institutional Racism: Hiding behind (un)Conscious Bias." *Ethics and Education* 13 (1): 141–155. https://doi.org/10.1080/17449642.2018.1428718.

Tenenbaum, H. R., and M. D. Ruck. 2007. 'Are Teachers' Expectations Different for Racial Minority than for European American Students? A Meta-Analysis.' *Journal of Educational Psychology* 99 (2): 253–273. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0663.99.2.253.

Van Praag, L., M. Verhoeven, P. Stevens, and M. Van Houtte. 2019. 'Belgium: Cultural versus Class Explanations for Ethnic Inequalities in Education in the Flemish and French Communities.' In *The Palgrave Handbook of Race and Ethnic Inequalities in Education*, edited by P. Stevens and A. G. Dworkin, 159–213. 2nd edition. London: Palgrave MacMillan.

Van Praag, L., S. Boone, J. Stevens, and M. Van Houtte. 2015. 'How Tracking Structures Attitudes towards Ethnic out-Groups and Interethnic Interactions in the Classroom: An Ethnographic Study in Belgium.' *Social Psychology of Education* 18 (1): 165–184. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11218-014-9273-7.

Yosso, T. 2002. 'Toward a Critical Race Curriculum.' *Equity & Excellence in Education* 35 (2): 93–107. https://doi.org/10.1080/713845283.

Yosso, T. 2005. 'Whose Culture Has Capital? A Critical Race Theory Discussion of Community Cultural Wealth.' *Race, Ethnicity and Education* 8 (1): 69–91.

Yosso, T., and D. G. Solórzano. 2006. 'Conceptualizing a Critical Race Theory in Sociology.' In M. Romero and E. Margoli (Eds.) *Blackwell Companion to Social Inequalities*. Hoboken: Blackwell Publishing: 117–147.

Yosso, Tara, William Smith, Miguel Ceja, and Daniel Solórzano. 2009. 'Critical Race Theory, Racial Microaggressions, and Campus Racial Climate for Latina/o Undergraduates.' *Harvard Educational Review* 79 (4): 659–691. https://doi.org/10.17763/haer.79.4.m6867014157m707l.