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Institutional Racism and Campus Racial Climate: Struggles for Sense of Belonging and Academic Success Among Black Students in the K-12 Public Schools

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Abstract

This paper explores racial discrimination as the primary underlying factor which creates an unwelcoming campus racial climate for Black students in K-12 public schools. It also highlights how the validation of the White race over the Black race perpetuates racial discrimination in the form of institutional racism. It shows how institutional racism creates negative relationships between most Black students and their White teachers, resulting in hostile campus racial climates. This paper, through the lens of racial battle fatigue and critical race theory, argues that hostile campus racial climate results in a lack of sense of belonging and low academic achievement among Black students in K-12 public schools. In addition, this paper demonstrates that the negative relationship that often exists between Black students and White teachers is due to negative perceptions (deficit thinking) and behaviors of White teachers. Various ways White teachers can help eliminate hostile campus racial climate against Black students are discussed. Data for this study were collected through the review of scholarly literature that discusses the experiences and negative effects of campus racial climate on the relationship between most White teachers and Black students in K-12 public schools.

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This paper explored racial discrimination as the primary underlying factor which creates an unwelcoming campus racial climate for Black students in K-12 public schools. It also highlights how the validation of the White race over the Black race perpetuates racial discrimination in the form of institutional racism. It shows how institutional racism creates negative relationships between most Black students and their White teachers, resulting in hostile campus racial climates. This paper, through the lenses of racial battle fatigue and critical race theory, argues that hostile campus racial climate results in a lack of sense of belonging among Black students in K-12 public schools. In addition, this paper demonstrates that the negative relationship that often exists between Black students and White teachers is due to negative perceptions (deficit thinking) and behaviors of White teachers. Various ways White teachers can help eliminate hostile campus racial climate against Black students are discussed. Data for this study were collected through the review of scholarly literature that discussed the experiences and negative effects of campus racial climate on the relationship between most White teachers and Black students in K-12 public schools.

Keywords: K-12 public school | Black students | White teachers | sense of belonging | academic success | campus racial climate

Campus racial climate is an important factor that determines the sense of belonging and academic success of Black students. Campus racial climate accounts for the issues and practices of racial equity in schools to accommodate the racially minoritized students, and the promotion of these practices results in a positive campus racial climate (Hart & Fellabaum, 2008). Hart and Fellabaum (2008) added that campus racial climate is a set of attributes, such as perception and attitudes, which shape the ways organizations deal with their members. By emphasizing the two key concepts, perception and attitudes, Hart and Fellabaum (2008) showed the importance of the members of an organization's discernment on the way they understand and react to or behave toward their members. While Hart and Fellabaum (2008) was based on the higher education experience of racial campus climate, research has demonstrated that higher education and the K-12 public schools are tightly held together on the issues concerning racial equity as both perpetuate racially imbalanced attitudes and perceptions that do not support racial and ethnic diversity (Wells, 2020). This is pertinent because presently, "more than any other time in U.S. history, Black students are being educated by people who are not of their racial or cultural background" (Douglas et al, 2008, p. 48). According to the report published by the National Center on Education Statistics in 2019, White teachers accounted for 90% of staff at elementary and secondary schools with more minoritized students. These statistics demonstrate that most Black students in K-12 public schools are taught by White teachers.

Despite the importance of a positive campus racial climate, which promotes racial equity and acceptance of Black students, research has shown that institutional racism, according to Murji (2007), is defined as subtle attitudes, negative perceptions, deficit thinking, and practices

that led to racist outcomes through unquestioned administrative procedures promotes a negative campus racial climate. The negative campus racial climate, in turn, promotes adverse relationships between White teachers and Black students as they are devalued by their White teachers (Kramarczuk Voulgarides et al., 2017). This kind of relationship has adverse impacts on the Black students' self-identity, sense of belonging, and academic success in K-12 public schools (Anglin & Wade, 2007). For the purpose of this review, negative perception, attitude, deficit thinking, and negative relationship are interchangeably used to reference any behavior from a White teacher that does not promote the sense of belonging and academic success of Black students. Negative perception, attitude, deficit thinking, and negative relationship, this review argues, lead to negative campus racial climate. For the purpose of this review, the negative campus racial climate is analyzed as the result of institutional racial discrimination, which limits the functioning and success of Black students in their school environments. Deficit thinking about Black students by White teachers results in a negative campus racial climate. This phenomenon is often the primary cause of unfriendly relationships existing between White teachers and Black students. Smith et al. (2011), through racial battle fatigue, showed that some of the race-based discriminatory stresses that are faced by Black students in schools come in the form of subtle behaviors in the White dominated school environment. Also, Smith et al. (2016) showed that such racial discrimination created boundaries that limit the sense of belonging of Black students in schools. Sense of belonging, as used in this paper, means the ability of Black students to feel that they are racially accepted in their school environment. Smith (2008) demonstrated that the most racially discriminatory experiences that Black students suffer in their school shape campus racial climate and create racial battle fatigue for the students. The definition of racial battle fatigue includes the emotional, physiological, psychological, and behavioral strains that are imposed on Black students as they struggle to cope with institutional racism (Smith, 2003).

Therefore, this literature review uses the racial battle fatigue and critical race theory (CRT) analytical lenses to show that a hostile campus racial climate results in both a negative relationship between White teachers and Black students, and the students' lack a sense of belonging in K-12 public schools. The author draws from these two theoretical frames because they acknowledge the existence of race and racism as the issue that causes institutional racism and impacts Black students negatively in schools. The author argues that a welcoming campus racial climate in the form of acceptance of Black students who bring varied perspectives, racial identities and experiences to the campus serve as an important determining factor for the successful adaptation, development of sense of belonging, and academic success of Black students in general, including those in K-12 public schools.

This review consists of eight subsequent sections. Each section contextualizes how the unwelcoming campus racial climate negatively impacts White teacher–Black student relationships in K-12 public schools. The first section provides an overview of the background meaning of campus racial climate. It also highlights the importance of a positive campus racial climate to Black students' sense of belonging and academic success in K-12 public schools. This is followed by the literature review section, which provides comprehensive analyses of how campus racial climate relates to racial discrimination and the race-related discriminatory experiences that Black students have in K-12 public schools. The third section uses the critical race theory analytical frame to demonstrate that race is a social construct that aims at the categorization of race into power structures. Race separates people by their racial backgrounds to reinforce power dynamics and discrimination based on the hostile treatment that most Black

students have faced from most of their White teachers. The fourth section analyzes how White teachers perpetuate racial discrimination against Black students, and how this results in unwelcoming campus racial climate and negative forms of relationships between White teachers and most Black students in K-12 public schools. In addition, this section, using the racial battle fatigue theory and CRT analyses, outlines some of the adverse effects of the unwelcoming campus racial climate and White teacher–Black student relationship on Black students. Using racial battle fatigue, this section affirms that racism has negative psychological implications for Black students, resulting in their lack of self-identity, sense of belonging, and academic success in K-12 public schools. Next is the discussion section which highlights the key findings from the reviewed literature. This is followed by a discussion of the limitations of this study. The limitation section calls for a broader research study that will help provide a correct estimate of the number of White teachers who perpetuate institutional racism against Black students. The final section is the conclusion for the paper. These sections of analysis provide answers to the following research question: How does the negative campus racial climate affect Black students' sense of belonging and academic success? The answer to the above question helps impart the negative experiences of some Black students in K-12 public schools and to assist in creating awareness on the effect of negative White teacher–Black student relationships on Black students' sense of belonging and academic success in some K-12 public schools. Also, the author hopes that the analyses will furnish more compelling arguments by providing the conceptual framework of negative campus racial climate and institutional racism against Black students in K-12 public schools, which builds on the higher education campus racial climate literature.

Background

CRT scholars have linked institutional racism to campus racial climate (Solórzano & Yosso, 2001; Yosso et al., 2009). There are different definitions of campus racial climate. However, some definitions are essential in understanding the relationship between campus racial climate and teacher-student relations, their connection to institutional racism, and the implications they have on Black students' sense of belonging and academic success in K-12 public schools (Hart & Fellabaum, 2008). Research continues to show that positive campus racial climate is vital for the success of the Black students (Smith, 2004), and the negative campus racial climate remains detrimental to the academic success of students of color in predominantly White schools (Bush & Bush, 2010; Harper & Hurtado, 2007; Worthington et al., 2008). Also, studies have shown that Black students often face different forms of degradations by their White teachers in schools (Smith, 2010). Studies on racial battle fatigue theory have also demonstrated that most of the racial discrimination faces by student of color, though subtle, come in the form of microaggressions, unconscious degradations and putdowns, which have negative psychological implications on those students (Smith et al., 2011; Yosso et al., 2009). These studies continue to establish the problem of institutional racism, and its implication of creating lack of sense of belonging and academic success for Black students in K-12 public schools. So, while there is a general establishment on the importance of positive campus racial climate to the academic success of every student, racial discrimination has continuously created a negative campus racial climate and negative campus experiences for Black students due to different biased behaviors they face from their White educators in schools (Feagan, 1992; Yosso et al., 2009). Thinking through Feagan (1992) and Yosso et al. (2009) concerning campus racial climate and its resultant effect on the racial oppressions of students of color, mostly by their White teachers in schools, as

argued by Hart and Fellabaum (2008), such treatments are connected with the teachers' perception. The impact is that Black students are often associated with poor attitudes. Meanwhile, this paper acknowledges that some Black students have experienced a positive relationship with their White teachers (Dance, 2002; Dickar, 2008); however, through research evidenced here, this paper argues that most Black students have negative relationship experiences with their White teachers because of White teachers' negative perception of Black students often as a result of institutional racism (Feagin, 1992; Yosso et al., 2009) and that such negative relationships lead to lack of self-identity, sense of belonging, and academic success (Franklin et al., 2014; Smith et al., 2012; Smith et al., 2016).

Further, some scholars have linked the different treatments, perceptions, and attitudes of most White teachers of students of color in K-12 public schools to institutional racism (Clark & Mitchell Jr., 2018; Delpit, 2012), often resulting in negative relationships between most White teachers and their Black students (Boysen, 2012). The above studies all indicate that a negative campus racial climate have different negative implications for the students' perception and engagement in the school environment. Meanwhile, Museus et al. (2017) demonstrated that a positive perception about campus racial climate is pivotal in forming appreciation among the students for their academic campus, which helps them to develop a sense of attachment and belonging to the school environment (Museus et al., 2017). Museus et al. (2017) showed there is a need for students to develop a sense of belonging in their school campuses. The study argued that students of color tended to persevere more towards succeeding in school when they created a sense of belonging in White dominated school spaces. Museus et al. (2017) clearly validated the importance of students of color's appreciation of their academic environment and its connection to the nature of their campus racial climate. Museus et al. (2017) argued there is a positive link between psychological consciousness and Black students' sense of connection to their school community. Maintaining a sense of connection is crucial for the students' development of a strong desire to be part of their school community. In addition, as Museus et al. (2017) showed, Black high school students will build a greater sense of connection to their school campus, develop a sense of belonging, and do better academically if the campus environment allows Black students to thrive in their studies. Also, with Museus et al. (2017), the author advanced that failure for Black students to develop a positive sense of connection in their school spaces leads to a lack of sense of belonging

Moreover, although not significantly conclusive in the study, Museus et al. (2017) indicated to me that cross-racial relationships between White teachers and minoritized students promote increased sense of self, sense of belongings and academic success among the minority students in schools. Negative perception, attitude, and negative relationship as used in this paper mean any behavior from a White teacher, which does not promote the self-identity, sense of belonging, and academic success of Black students. The use of institutional racism denotes the type of racism that is carried out in social institutions such as K-12 public schools, which often results in negative perceptions and behaviors against the students of color in K-12 public schools. Negative campus racial climate leads to negative school experiences for Black students in K-12 public schools, thus shaping the nature of interactions and relationships they have with White teachers.

Literature Review

Campus racial climate has been identified as an important factor that helped to shape the relationships between most teachers and Black students, which allowed students to develop a

sense of belonging in K-12 public schools (Museus et al., 2017). Meanwhile, literature on the effect of institutional racism on minoritized students has supported that a welcoming campus racial climate particularly helped Black students to develop a sense of belonging in their school environment (Love, 2015; Museus et al., 2017). Not only has a conducive campus racial climate promoted the belongingness of students of color in schools, but research on campus racial climate has also established the importance of a conducive campus racial climate to the academic success of students of color (Hall & Kuh, 1998; Hyland, 2005; Smith, 2008). However, Black students had significant negative experiences in K-12 public schools due to negative campus racial climate, which research has identified to be the issue of racial discrimination in the form of institutional racism (Smith, 2008). Also, CRT scholars like Crenshaw (1988) asserted that institutional racism is reproduced in ways that continually subject Blacks to "subordinated other" (p. 1331). This statement showed that institutional racism manifests through biased beliefs that Black students are inferior in their school environment. This is consistent with some studies that indicated that the negative perception of most White teachers manifested in the form of deficit thinking (Hale, 2001; Henfield & Washington, 2012; Milner, 2009) about Black students.

To highlight how perception and attitudes promote institutional discrimination between racial groups, social institutions such as schools, Smith (2008) argued that White dominated campus racial spaces are made up of both unconscious and subtle racial discrimination against Black students. This paper defined negative campus racial climate as the influence of institutional racial discrimination, which limits the functioning and success of Black students in their school environment. Smith's (2008) analogy of White dominated space also pertained to predominantly White schools or mostly White schools, where White people were teaching Black students.

As highlighted earlier, a negative campus racial climate has been traced to institutional racism that has affected U.S. social institutions for decades (Morgan & Davis III, 2019; Vaccaro, 2010; Worthington et al., 2008). In addition, it has been shown that Black students across U.S. public schools have significant experiences of institutional racism (Smith, 2004), which usually result in the existence of negative relationships between most White teachers and Black students due to deficit thinking about those students (Douglas et al., 2001; Hall & Kuh, 1998; Milner, 2006; Smith et al., 2011; Thompson, 2004; Wade, 2008). Studies have shown that most of the racial discrimination faced by students of color in school are subtle, unconscious degradations and putdowns, which have psychological negative implications on those students (Yosso et al. 2009). These experiences, according to racial battle fatigue theory, have psychological implications for the students and impact their sense of belonging and academic success in schools (Smith et al., 2007). The studies above showed that just like in predominantly White universities, Black students in the K-12 public schools also faced negative racial campus climate. There are numerous research studies from the past decades, which demonstrated that racial discriminations are significant in the U.S. public schools, with minoritized students being the target of racial discrimination (Apple, 2009; Kozol, 2012; Ladson-Billings, 1999; Lee & Bowen, 2006; Oakes et al., 2012; Omi & Winant, 1994; Solórzano, 1997). Additionally, research has demonstrated that Black students experienced a more hostile racial campus racial climate than other students of color in schools (D'Augelli & Hershberger, 1993; Feagin et al., 2014; Smith, 2004; Thompson & Fretz, 1991). This is explained more explicitly in Feagin et al. (2014), who stated: "Racial discrimination of African Americans is a socially organized set of practices that deny African Americans the dignity, opportunities, spaces, time, position, and rewards the nation offers White Americans" (p. 7). This quote shows that institutional racism against Black students

is to give preference to the White race. This is consistent with Cabrera et al. (2016), who demonstrated that racial discrimination is rooted in the beliefs that shape behaviors of most White teachers in schools. Cabrera et al. (2016) affirmed that White privilege is systematic and is imposed on students of color.

Racial discrimination promotes White privilege and is maintained through the systemic subordination of Black students in public schools. Harris (1992) contended that the inferior racial category, where racial branding legitimatizes imposed prejudices by hegemony, was connected to the development of slavery where the word Negro becomes appropriate and reasonable for enslavement. Harris (1992) showed that the racial exploitation of Blacks has existed since the time of slavery and has been used as a justification for ranking Black people lower than Whites. DiAngelo (2011) also drew attention to the degradation Black people by showing that Whiteness serves as a unique dimension of racism, which uplifts Whites above people of color. Meanwhile, the relationship between White teachers and Black students is determined from the perspective of how White teachers viewed the characteristics of Black students (Douglas et al., 2008), which is heavily due to the racial identity of Black students. Robinson (1998) referred to some White educators as White masters due to their belief that Black students are fundamentally different from White students. Robinson's (1998) study indicated that White teachers' race-based privilege is linked to their racial discriminatory attitudes toward Black students. Other scholars have shown that the implication of race-based biased behaviors of White teachers are culturally demeaning to Black students who are part of different ethnicities, cultures, and racial groups in American society, and eliminating unfair racial discrimination is required to promote social and intellectual development for students from the minoritized race (B. Bell et al., 2014; Chapman, 2007; DeCuir & Dixson, 2004; Ladson-Billings, 1999; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 2006; Lareau & Howat, 1999; Lewis, 2003; Pollock, 2005, 2008; Solórzano & Ornelas, 2002; Woodson, 2006). Gusa (2010) challenged that racism formed the cultural dogmas in U.S. schools and believed that it would likely not come to an end, even if there is an elimination of individual racism.

Expanding on the established racial discriminatory perceptions and behaviors against Black students in K-12 public schools, Bowman and Smith (2002) extended that the racial pathology stereotypes against Blacks shifted attention away from systemic barriers by creating another, subtle form of prejudice in the public schools, which has replaced Jim Crow racial discrimination. These indicate that Black people have long been at the forefront of social rejection in the history of the United States. Also, Bowman and Smith (2002) demonstrated that the contemporary racism which forms hostile campus racial climate against African Americans in high schools is due to the same issues of racial discrimination against Black students in K-12 public schools. Again, this indicates that racial discrimination has become an underlying factor for the observation and study of campus racial climate in schools (Harper & Hurtado, 2007; Jayakumar & Museus, 2012). The adverse impact is that these institutions' campus racial climates are usually not conducive to Black students' survival. This is because Black students have a significant record of dissatisfaction in mostly White K-12 public schools as their racial identity is disparaged mainly by the dominance of Whiteness through negative perceptions (D. Bell, 1987; Solórzano et al., 2000; Solórzano & Yosso, 2001, 2002), even though Black students' demographic population in school is contributing to the racial and cultural diversity and cultural enhancement on campus (Milem et al., 2005). Evidence from the above analyses indicate that schools as social institutions help to perpetuate racial discrimination against Black students.

White teachers relate to Black students based on the systemic racial privilege they have over Black students (Bell, 1987; Solórzano et al., 2000; Solórzano & Yosso, 2001, 2002). Meanwhile,

research has shown that race serves as a societal tool for the distribution of status, power, and prestige (Bonilla-Silva, 2009; Burton et al., 2010; Delgado & Stefanicic, 2012; Fultz, 1995; McIntosh, 1990; Smith, 1999; Yosso, 2005). Again, studies have shown that White students are privileged, and do not face the same problems of institutional racism that Black students are exposed to in K-12 public schools (Ladson-Billings, 1999). It is documented that White teachers often view Black students as disruptive. Emdin (2016) showed that his teacher education program taught all the teacher education candidates to be mindful of urban students because they are tough. Emdin (2016) served as an indication that institutional racism is established in schools. In addition, Emdin (2016) asserted that most White teachers already have stereotypical beliefs against minoritized students. Since K-12 public schools are dominated by White teachers, with this literature review, the author emphasizes that White teachers are trained to hyper-analyze everything about Black students to affirm those negative stories and thoughts they already have about the students.

Research has supported that being white is a privilege. This privilege overrides most White teachers' relationships with their Blacks Students in K-12 public schools (Delgado & Stefanick, 2012; Lareau & Horvat, 1999). The studies by Delgado and Stefanick (2012) and Lareau and Horvat (1999) provide pieces of persuasive evidence to demonstrate that White teachers are furnished with enough privilege to value the White race more than the Black race by overpowering and degrading Black students due to race. Some CRT scholars have consistently demonstrated that Whiteness is systemically constructed, executed as normal, and remains institutionally hegemonic against Black students in K-12 public schools (D. Bell, 1987; Solórzano et al., 2000; Solórzano & Yosso, 2001, 2002; Yosso, 2005). Racism against Black students has numerous negative implications that impact them in K-12 public schools. The nature of the relationship between most White teachers and their Black students is often associated with some established race-related stereotypes. Black students have negative relationships with their White teachers because the teachers have stereotypical students' racial backgrounds are devalued due to the stereotypical assumptions of most White teachers (D. Bell, 1995; Chang, 1993; Chapman, 2007). Consequently, evidence from research has shown that Black students struggle for adaptation, belongingness, and academic achievement due to racism in K-12 public schools (Delpit, 2012; Sojoyner, 2016). To this end, Delpit (2012) and Sojoyner (2016) pointed out that most of the race-rooted challenges faced by Black students as a result of their negative experiences with White teachers, adversely impact the Black students' sense of self-worth and engagement in their school spaces.

Again, the negative experiences that Black students have with their White teachers have significant adverse implications for the students' academic success (Bush & Bush, 2010). Feagin (1992) demonstrated that Black students reported more experiences of racially estranged behaviors than White students since Black students reported the highest marginalization and social isolation in the campus subculture. Feagin (1992) demonstrated that racism, which resulted in a hostile campus racial climate, promoted Black students' attenuation and reduced their academic achievements. This showed that the issue of racism against Black students is historical in K-12 public schools and maintained mostly by Whites. Feagin et al. (2014) asserted that White educators consent to the racial subordination of Black students, as a result of demeaning attitudes against Black race. Feagin et al. (2014) show that Black students in the K-12 public schools face a significant amount of racism from most White teachers. This is also shown to have negative implications on Black students' sense of belonging and academic achievements in school (Smith et al., 2007).

Theoretical Frameworks

For the purpose of this work, CRT is defined as a theoretical framework that examines race and racism represented by the dominant group's ways of cultural expression and practices. CRT emerged from law in response to the critical legal studies and civil rights scholarship in the 1970s (Milner, 2008). Since its formation in the 1970s, CRT scholars have used the framework to challenge the racial categorization that maintains White dominant power in the country's social and political systems. CRT states that race and racism are endemic and permanent D. Bell (1987). The analytical and logical description of race and racism through the tenets of the CRT's theoretical framework provides the necessary knowledge about the historical existence of racial discrimination against students of color in general in U.S. public schools. CRT comprised of five tenets: the permanence of racism, interest convergence, the critique of liberalism, counter-storytelling, and Whiteness as property (Hiraldo, 2010). The CRT framework analyzes each of these tenets to expose different ways through which the oppression of people of color are legalized and perpetuated (Hiraldo, 2010). This review utilizes one of the CRT tenets' logical frames that emphasized race as a social construct and a systemic phenomenon, and a long-established formulated concept, to analyze how White people preserve the interest of Whiteness over the minoritized group in schools (D. Bell, 1987; Crenshaw, 1988; Solórzano et al., 2000; Solórzano & Yosso, 2001, 2002; Yosso, 2005). This is used to demonstrate that Black students why Black students face the problems of lack of sense of belonging in K-12 public schools. CRT's emphasis on race as a social construct and a systemic phenomenon critically demonstrates that campus racial climate is the effect of institutional racism that devalues the racial identities of Black students. This sheds light on why the majority of Black students face a negative form of relationship with their White teachers in K-12 public schools. Some CRT scholars extensively argue that the issues of race and racism against people of color are continuous and serve as a determinant factor through which American social institutions operate (B. Bell et al., 2014; Solórzano et al., 2000; Solórzano & Yosso, 2001, 2002; Yosso, 2005).

Other CRT scholars have shown that Black students in K-12 public schools experience a significant amount of racial oppression (Crenshaw, 1989, 1993, as cited in Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). Highlighting more on the negative impacts of these racial discriminatory experiences faced by students of color in schools, Smith (2003), using racial battle fatigue theory, demonstrated that those racial oppressions had negative psychological implications for the overall well-being of students of color. The negative psychological implication of racism has shown to result in lack of self-identity and sense of belonging for Black students in particular, and students of color in general, in schools (Franklin et al., 2014; Smith et al., 2012; Smith et al., 2016). Meanwhile, regrettably, CRT scholars observe that schools, which are meant to provide equal access and educational opportunities to all students regardless of their racial backgrounds, often lack the characteristics that promote their educational support to students of color (Chapman & Bhopal, 2013). To this end, some CRT researchers have criticized the negative perceptions of White teachers for viewing students of color as inferior in public schools (D. Bell, 1995; Chang 1993; Chapman, 2007; Delgado & Stefancic, 2012; Yosso, 2005), which this paper argues, has some significant negative implications on Black students' relationship with their White teachers.

Method

In this review, the author examined relevant peer-reviewed journal articles, from 1990 to 2020, to provide the descriptions, summary, and critical evaluations of the negative impacts of institutional racism on campus climate and how it results to adverse form of classroom relationships between White teachers and their Black students. The literature between 1990 and early 2000 was purposely chosen as they provided the foundational knowledge of CRT, institutional racism, and campus racial climate. Most of the literature from 2010 to 2020 enabled the researcher to concentrate more on the studies that address the race-based psychological experiences of institutional racism, negative campus climate, and their implications on White teacher–Black student classroom relationships. Databases Google Scholar, Ebscohost, Wiley, and ERIC were used. Using the keywords: "Institutional racism," "White teachers," "negative perception," "White teacher-Black students' relationship," "K-12 public schools," and "elementary school," a total of 1,400 results were found. After eliminating work that did not meet the parameters of K-12, a total of 127 articles remined. However, most of the findings were studies conducted in higher education; therefore, most articles were eliminated with only 127 articles remaining. Also, after narrowing for the parameter (1990-2020), 64 manuscripts remained. Once all parameters were met, the author was left with a total of 64 manuscripts to analyze. The author employed CRT and racial battle fatigue theory lenses throughout the analyses of these 64 manuscripts. Upon completion of my analyses, one common theme emerged: Campus racial climate versus institutional racism and were discussed.

Racism: Implications on Black Students' Sense of Belonging

As noted, racial battle fatigue theory has shown that racism has several negative psychological implications for Black students' sense of belonging and academic success in their schools (Franklin et al., 2014; Smith et al., 2012; Smith et al., 2016). Some CRT scholars like Crenshaw (1988) and Ladson-Billings (2009) demonstrated that racism has negative implications on the educational engagement of Black students in K-12 public schools. There is a piece of profound evidence that Black students usually have negative experiences with their White teachers (Dance, 2002). While, Dance (2002) demonstrated that a Black student can have a positive experience with some of their White teachers, this is not always the case. Dance (2002) continued to share the story of ninth-grade student Malcolm. As Malcolm shared his story, a look of frustration washed across his face, "Man I hated her. I always wanted to beat her up. But I knew if I beat her up, I'd probably get expelled or something" (p. 71). This example showed how Black students had significant adverse experiences with their White teachers. Dance (2002) analyzed that the frustration between Malcolm and his fifth-grade teacher began with a disagreement following the teacher's (Ms. Hines) refusal to teach them Black history during Black history month. Ms. Hines claimed that she already knew everything about Black history, hence, there was nothing else for her to learn nor teach about Black history.

From here, Dance (2002) revealed that Malcolm complained that his teacher was a racist. Malcolm clearly showed his dissatisfaction with his teacher's negligible behavior towards a race-based activity that is very important to Black people. Malcolm was not happy that his teacher refused to teach the Black history content during Black history month. Hart and Fellabaum (2008) pointed to the relevance of perceptions and attitudes in the treatment of certain members of any organisation. In this narrative, Malcolm's teacher showed a negative perception and attitude on an issue critical to Malcolm's racial identity. This showed that race was the trigger for

the teacher's negative behavior due to the negative perception she already has about the Black race. Her perception and attitude showed the negative implication these characteristics had on the relationship between Black students and White teachers and how some White teachers help to perpetuate institutional racism. Meanwhile, in sharp contrast, Dance (2002) provided this quote from Malcolm:

> [In the] sixth grade, my teacher was Ms. Bronzic; she was a Jewish lady-man, she was so cool. She was the coolest teacher I ever knew: The coolest white lady teacher I have ever knew…. It's like, I don't know, but Jewish people, they're cooler than regular white people anyway…. (p. 71)

This showed that while Malcolm had a very negative impression about his fifth-grade teacher, he referred to his sixth-grade teacher, Ms. Bronzic, who was also White, as the coolest teacher he ever knew. Malcolm liked his teacher because she believed he could do better and so pushed him to excel in his studies. Malcolm doubted that his teacher, Ms. Bronzic, who was White and Jewish was White. As a resulted, he justifiably shifted the racial identity of Ms. Bronzic from White to Jewish, even after first calling her the "coolest white lady teacher" (Dance, 2002, p. 71). Malcolm's statement showed that Black students are aware that race is the key factor which determines their relationship with their White teachers. In addition to Black students' perception of race as the major factor that creates a negative relationship between them and their White teachers, the above illustrations demonstrated that institutional racism, White teachers' perception and attitude also play major roles in determining the nature of the relationship that exists between Black students and White teachers in K-12 public schools. Clearly, based on how Malcolm spoke about Ms. Bronzic versus Ms. Hines', the positive experience he had with Ms. Bronzic was helpful with his sense of belonging and academic success versus his time with Ms. Hines. In addition, while Black students could have a good rapport with their White teachers, Malcolm's doubt whether White teachers can be cool showed that it is uncommon for Black students to maintain a genuine positive relationship with their White teachers, which is anchored in institutional racism.

Institutional racism has a lasting negative impact on Black students. While Black elementary school students are different from their high school counterparts, Feagin and Van Ausdale (2001) found that Black children from age three understood race differences based on skin color. It is important to recognize that children from age three to seven do not understand abstract ideas as most institutional racism against Black students is subtle (Smith, 2008). However, research has documented that Black children, from the age of three have knowledge of concrete ideas, therefore, could understand discriminatory behaviors that are mostly represented through negative attitude and words about Black students (Jordan & Hernandez-Reif, 2009). During the early period of post-slavery, poor educational provisions were made for freed Blacks in K-12 public schools (Anderson, 1988), and their academics resources were mostly the cast-offs from white schools (Ladson-Billings, 2009). These studies showed that all Black students suffer from institutional racism. Ladson-Billings (2009) asserted that most of the hostility and educational issues facing Black students in today's K-12 public schools, including the report of their negative relationship with White teachers, were the problems emanating from the racial discrimination perspectives from a historical standpoint. The author agreed that Black students' experiences of race-based discrimination in K-12 public schools were as a result of negative perception and attitudes against them in those school spaces (Cabrera & Corces-Zimmerman, 2017; Cabrera & Hurtado, 2015; Delpit, 2012; Duran & Nicolazzo, 2017; Shotton, 2017; Wun, 2016). These

studies demonstrated that racial discrimination have adverse effects on Black students' adaptation and connection to their academic environments.

Rolón-Dow (2005) showed that the negative perception of Black students by White teachers affected the way they relate with Black students. In their study, a White middle school teacher stated: "I think a lot of it is that a lot of them [parents] just don't care. They just don't care…They don't care about their kids." (Rolón-Dow, 2005, p. 77). In addition, the expression of these White middle-class teachers might mean that she had the belief that the Black parents did not care about their children's education, which has a negative influence on how Black students engage in their education. It revealed her thoughts about Black students' commitment to their education. This kind of negative perception would impact the kind of relationship she had with Black students. Rolón-Dow helped to show that as social institutions, through the behavior of most White teachers, K-12 public schools perpetuated negative views and behaviors. This results in a lack of self-identity, sense of belonging, and academic success for Black students in K-12 public schools (Gusa, 2010).

Research has established that campus racial climate that is receptive to the minoritized culture increases the self-identity, and eventually the sense of belonging and academic success, of students of color in schools (Elliott & Healy, 2001; Franklin et al., 2014; Jayakumar & Museus, 2012; Smith et al., 2007; Smith et al., 2012; Smith et al., 2016; Walton et al., 2012). These studies support the importance of courteous campus racial climate on Black students' development of a sense of belonging and improved academic achievement in schools. However, through the racial battle fatigue analytical lens, research has shown that Black students are faced with unwelcoming campus racial climates (Smith, 2008). Black students are unlikely to have a sense of belonging in schools that maintain a negative campus racial climate due to racial discrimination in White-dominated school environments. Other scholars have expanded that the minoritized students have faced race-related pressure to comply with the dominant stereotypes and race-related discrimination in mostly White campuses (Jayakumar & Museus, 2012; Manning & Coleman-Boatwright, 1991; Museus, 2008). Again, racial battle fatigue researchers have shown that Black students face more race-related discrimination than other students of color in the hands of their White teachers in predominantly White colleges (Smith, 2004, 2010; Smith et al., 2007; Smith et al., 2012).

Smith (2008) showed that the majority of Black students faced racial prejudices from both White students and administrators in the form of subtle and unconscious microaggressions. Smith (2004) posited that African Americans spent so much energy and their study time tackling racial attacks coming from White people in hegemonic spaces because of institutionalized racism. Smith's (2008) analysis helped to ascertain the unwelcoming nature of campus racial climate that upholds White culture, how it has perpetuated racism, and reduced the positive relationship between most White teachers and Black students. Kohli (2014) demonstrated that Black students' racial identity sensitized them to their school environment and was adversely impacted if the school space was not created for them, especially when their White teachers were promoting mainstream racial discrimination against them. The study showed that in such situations, some Black students began to internalize that they are inferior, causing them to disconnect. Kohli (2014) stated:

> What plays out with them the most is white supremacy and teasing each other about being too dark, having nappy hair, having parents that look a certain way, dressing a certain way, or not having things associated with is associated with mostly white wealth.

But it's just these undertones of white supremacy that are never really discussed, and I think teachers hear it, and no one EVER stops to talk about it (p. 382).

This quote illustrates that Black students in the study spent a significant amount of time experiencing the challenge of acknowledging and making sense of their identity in school because of their racial identity. Kohli showed that some Black students, due to how their White teachers perceived them, became frustrated about their own identities and belonging in school. The racial subordination that emanates from Whiteness has made it difficult for Black students to freely engage in their school environment.

Further, an experimental study conducted by Hausmann et al. (2007) showed that African Americans developed a sense of belonging and showed their intent to continue enrollment in mostly White schools if the campus racial climate was welcoming. This showed that a more receptive campus racial climate led to positive adjustment and an increased sense of belonging among Blacks students. On the other hand, thinking through this study, the author argues that the perception of hostile campus racial climate by Black students can cause repulsion on the desire of Black students to connect and flourish in their academic environment. Some CRT scholars like Feagan (1992) argued that schools that upheld the White race were often deeply rooted in the domination of Black students whose racial identity was different. In addition, Worthington et al. (2008) showed that race always played a key role in initiating a nurturing friendship and relationship in schools that upheld White culture. Worthington et al. (2008) also argued that isolation in a racialized academic environment arose from exasperation among African Americans, as they are primarily attacked by different racial stereotypes. The record of hostility faced by Black students in those environments continues to increase, leading to a lack of belongingness among these students (Jayakumar & Museus, 2012). A negative campus racial climate is perpetuated by the White teachers' negative perception in the form of deficit thinking about Black students in school. Douglas et al. (2008) stated:

…some teachers at my school, when you first get in their class, they assume that you're bad and stuff because you are Black. Like, they think, "I can tell this person is going to be bad." And they don't even know you that much (p. 57).

The author argues that such negative perception, as shown by Douglas et al., discourages the students from developing a sense of engagement in their school environment. Also, the student's comments asserted that Black students tend to view schools that were dominated by the referencing of White people over Black people as inimical and discouraging. Therefore, the author argues that what Douglas et al. stated can lead to the development of seclusive behaviors such as high dropouts among Black students due to a lack of sense of belonging.

Similarly, Carter (2007) highlighted that Black students were aware of exclusive behaviors they received from their White teachers, such as not acknowledging when Black students raised their hands and exclusion of their projects. Carter (2007) stated:

I'll be like, "what's up? How come you don't want my stuff written on the board?" I'll be like, "write mine on the board." [DC: You'll say that to the teacher?] Yeah. They'll be like, "okay, fine." It does make a difference you know? Even that little thing proves something to me, you know? (p. 546).

A child isolated by the teacher in the classroom will not feel welcomed in such an environment; hence, a lack of feeling of belongingness in the school space. Smith et al. (2012), through racial battle fatigue theory confirmed that racism overshadows one's efficacy. Research has supported that the truculent campus racial climate has led to poor engagement of Black students in school (Delpit, 2012; Ferguson, 2020), and a decline in the academic success of students of color (Bush

& Bush, 2010; Harper & Hurtado, 2007). The enrollment of Black students in K-12 schools has increased, yet they continue to be mistreated compared to White students due to a high rate of the reclusive nature of campus racial climate (Feagin et al., 2014). Feagin et al. (2014) asserted that the increase in the enrollment rate of Black students in schools demands a more race-based conducive environment to support their academic success. Smith et al. (2007) warned that the growing concern on racial distress and academic attrition among Black students should not be misinterpreted as the students' lack of academic preparedness. More extensively, Smith (2008) used racial battle fatigue theory to demonstrate that the psychological impacts of racism are draining and counter-productive for Black students in achieving their academic goals This was due to the students' constant struggle to deal with racial prejudice in their school environments. Schools are expected to provide their diverse students with the opportunity to succeed on campus (Allen 1992; D'Augelli & Hershberger, 1993; Feagin, et al., 2012; Feagin et al., 2014; Perna, 2000). However, Black students' negative experiences in most K-12 public schools have continued to strain the relationship of Black students with most White teachers. Thompson (1998) stated:

> African American students cannot trust teachers who (wittingly or unwittingly) lie to them about racism, ignore Black achievements, gloss over slavery and segregation, or confine the study of Black history and culture to Black History Month (p. 540).

Through this quote, just like Dance (2002) showed earlier, Thompson (1998) demonstrated that Black students developed trust and built a positive relationship with White teachers who genuinely accepted them for who they are. The continuous hostility of campus racial climate is synonymous with the poor relationship between White teachers and Black students and that it jeopardizes the Black students' sense of belonging in high schools. Hostile campus environment as Dance (2002) argued, increases the challenge for Black students and makes it more difficult for them to concentrate and succeed academically.

Discussion

This literature review examined the role of hostile campus racial climate in generating unease tensions among Black students in a way that negatively affects their self-identity, sense of belonging, and academic success in K-12 public schools that upholds Whites over Blacks. There are different racial minority groups in most high schools in K-12 public schools; however, this paper concentrated on Black students' experience. It analyzed how negative campus racial climate results in the existence of a negative relationship between most White teachers and their Black students. Therefore, the major findings of this review are as follows: CRT shows that racial discrimination against Black students is historical and systemic, resulting in the derogatory campus environment and the existence of a negative relationship between most White teachers and Black students; racial battle fatigue shows that racism has some negative psychological implications on Black students' sense of belonging, self-identity, and academic success in schools; the negative relationship existing between Black students and most White teachers results in a lack of sense of belonging and lack of academic success of these students in K-12 public schools.

Aside from demonstrating the benefits of creating a welcoming campus racial climate for Black students, this review of literature also determined specific suggestions that are especially relevant to White teachers in high schools that uphold the White race more than the Black race. This paper provided White teachers with the knowledge of the damages they caused to Black

students through their race-based hostility that also reflects negatively on the school climate. This review also shows the inequalities resulting from school activities that are rooted in preference to the White race, which is often used as the landmark in maltreating Black students from different racial backgrounds. With the knowledge provided by this review, White teachers should make necessary academic adjustments by cautiously eliminating some race-related approaches that promote hostility of campus racial climate against Black students, such as having negative perceptions and exhibiting negative behaviors against Black students. Additionally, White teachers should apply some of the findings from this literature review to re-assess and re-design school cultural policies and include diverse racial programs that will help Black students make a more positive racial adjustment and promote their sense of belonging and academic success in K-12 public schools.

Limitations of the Study

Literature relating to the negative impact of institutional racism on Black students has focused on its negative impact on racial campus climate (Murji, 2007), its psychological impacts on Black students (Smith, 2008), and its role on the students' development of a sense of belonging and academic success (Smith et al., 2007). However, literature is lacking on how institutional racism creates negative forms of relationships between Black students and White teachers (Anglin & Wade, 2007). This review of the literature supports there were negative implications of adverse campus racial climate on Black students' sense of self, sense of identity, and academic success in K-12 public schools that values the White race over the Black race. Also, it shows that White teachers' negative perceptions and attitudes result in poor relationships between them and Black students. However, what is less clear is the actual percentage of White teachers that perpetuate racism through negative perception and attitudes against Black students. Therefore, there is a need for more research in this area that will help make an accurate judgment on the rate at which White teachers maintain institutional racism against Black students.

Moreover, to better grasp the distressing effects of hostile campus racial climate on Black students, Smith (2008) emphasizes the importance of recognizing that racism is a systemic issue that has a profound negative impact on African Americans. Research has argued that predominantly White institutions do not have to be categorically racist to produce a hostile campus (Feagin, 1992). Hostile campus racial climate could be formed or stirred by any form of historically White cultures and ideologies embedded in languages, beliefs, cultural practices, and perceptions used in day-to-day activities, particularly between White teachers and Black students in the school (Gusa, 2010). Gusa's (2010) study demonstrated the high level of correlation between racism and hostile campus racial climate and its impact on Black students and their self-identity, sense of belonging, and academic success. To eliminate the ongoing racial antagonisms against Black students in K-12 public schools, research has established the need for White teachers to create the kind of relationship that shows genuine hatred for racism, and genuine regard for Black culture, to maintain the kind of relationship that promotes educational opportunities for Black students (Thompson, 1998). Therefore, for Black students to succeed in schools that value the White race more than the Black race, Worthington et al. (2008) asserted the necessity to improve campus diversity to define academic excellence in the 21st century, in a society where every student is demanded to live and work in a multicultural environment. In addition, Worthington et al. (2008) reiterated decades of established importance of diversity in schools, to promote self-confidence, critical thinking, and interpersonal capabilities, and to

reduce racial prejudices. There is a lack of diversity in the K-12 public schools, which poses a limitation for Black students' development of a sense of acceptance in the K-12 public schools.

Conclusion

This paper examined studies that investigated the discriminatory behaviors of White teachers in K-12 public schools. The reviewed literature, mostly from CRT scholars, showed that the existence of negative campus racial climate against Black students in schools is rooted in institutional racism. In addition, institutional racism against Blacks is identified as the major source of influence on relationships between Black students and most White teachers in K-12 public schools. Also, the reviewed literature demonstrated that White teachers, due to systemic racism, helped perpetuate negative campus racial climate through their deficit thinking and discriminatory behaviors against Black students. The effect of race-based discriminatory experiences of Black students was a lack of development of a sense of belonging in their academic environment. More studies in this field of research are very crucial as it will be useful to help Black students develop a better sense of self, develop a sense of belonging, and achieve academic success in K-12 public schools. Additionally, more research in this area is required, to gain a better understanding of how to create more positive relationships between Black students and the majority of White teachers in K-12 public schools.

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