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Researching Race Within Educational Psychology Contexts

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In this article, we question why race as a sociohistorical construct has not traditionally been investigated in educational psychology research. To do so, we provide a historical discussion of the significance of race as well as present current dilemmas in the exploration of race, including an examination of the incidence and prevalence of race-related constructs in top educational psychology journals. As a means of expanding educational psychology's use of race as a sociohistorical construct, we introduce the concepts of race-focused and race-reimaged constructs. We end the article with suggestions for how we can begin exploring race as a sociohistorical construct in the field of educational psychology, including the need to challenge traditional paradigms and embrace culturally relevant methodologies.

The racial demographics of the United States have been rapidly changing. According to the U.S. Census Bureau (2012), the U.S. population was 78.1% White, 13.1% African American/Black,[1] 16.7% Hispanic/Latino/a, 1.2% Native American, 5% Asian, and 2.3% multiracial. Currently, people of color make up nearly 35% of the population and are expected to represent nearly 50% of the population by 2050, with Latinos/as as the largest minority group and Asians as the fastest growing minority group (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013). Although race has historically played an important role in the school context, because of the increasing change in racial/ethnic diversity, race will undoubtedly continue to play an even more influential role in the teaching–learning process. Thus, it is imperative that educational psychologists expand their understanding of the roles that race plays within educational contexts. It is important to note that although the need to research race is a global concern, this article focuses on the examination of race within the U.S. context. However, this conversation has great implications for the international audience, particularly those countries around the world with growing racial/ethnic diversity.

The purpose of this article is to examine educational psychology's use of race-focused and race-reimaged constructs. *Race-focused* constructs (e.g., racial identity, racial socialization, stereotype threat, etc.) are centered around issues of race and are developed from racial categorizations and racial categorization theories (Helms, Jernigan, & Mascher, 2005), whereas *race-reimaged* constructs are traditional constructs (e.g., self-efficacy, self-regulation, achievement motivation, etc.) that are reconceptualized to include racially influenced, sociocultural perspectives (e.g. history, context, multiple identities, etc.). To do so, we begin with a description of race, including a discussion on the historical significance of race and current dilemmas in exploring race, and how race has or has not been examined in the discipline of educational psychology. With this description and discussion of race, we review and critique the incidence and prevalence of race-focused and race-reimaged constructs in some of the top educational psychology journals. This review then leads us to query why race as a sociohistorical construct has not traditionally been investigated in educational psychology research and then explicate how the field of educational psychology can rectify

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[1]The U.S. Census defines "Black or African American" as anyone with origins in the Black racial groups of Africa.

this oversight by challenging paradigms, embracing race-focused and race-reimaged methodologies, and exploring the use of race-focused and race-reimaged constructs in relation to other well-investigated and well-established educational psychology constructs. We end the article by providing guidelines for the investigation of race as a socio-historical construct in the field of educational psychology.

WHAT IS RACE?

Although most researchers agree that race is a significant issue within education, there is not agreement in how race should be defined. People often think of race in terms of phenotypical differences such as skin color (Omi & Winant, 1994). However, scientists have found that genetically there is little difference between racial groups (e.g., Jorde & Wooding, 2004). Despite this, humans still categorize one another based upon perceptions of racial differences. This suggests that race is a socially constructed concept that uses categories to differentiate between groups of people in order to establish systems of power (Fields, 1982; Massy, 2007; Omi & Winant, 1994). Because race is a socially constructed concept, the definition of race has changed over time based upon the particular context (Haney Lopez, 2006).

Another issue that makes defining race difficult is its conflation with ethnicity. Ethnicity can be defined as "the result of a group formation process based on culture and descent" (Omi & Winant, 1994, p. 15). Specifically, an ethnic group is considered to be a group of people that shares common characteristics such as a shared nation or region of origin, ancestry, language, and culture, as well as a sense of solidarity (Hutchinson & Smith, 1996). Scholars differ on their perceptions of the relationship between race and ethnicity. Phinney (1996) viewed ethnicity as encompassing race, whereas other scholars (e.g., Helms, 1990; Helms & Talleyrand, 1997) argued that race and ethnicity are different constructs that do not overlap. Our position is that the two constructs are related but distinct in that groups can be racially similar but ethnically different. For example, African Americans and many Caribbean groups such as Jamaicans are both considered to be racially Black (at least in the United States) because of their common African ancestry. However, African Americans and Jamaicans are different ethnically because of different customs, cultural practices, and ways of being.

As suggested, defining race is a complex process. It involves taking into consideration issues of power and the importance of the sociopolitical context. A definition of race should also include the significance of history. This is an important element, particularly in the U.S. context, because race has played an integral part in the founding of the country and continues to play a role in all areas of life. As such, Markus (2008) provided a comprehensive description of race:

> [Race is] . . . a dynamic set of historically derived and institutionalized ideas and practices that (1) sorts people into ethnic groups according to perceived physical and behavioral human characteristics; (2) associates differential value, power, and privilege with these characteristics and establishes a social status ranking among the different groups; and (3) emerges (a) when groups are perceived to pose a threat (political, economic, or cultural) to each other's world view or way of life; and/or (b) to justify the denigration and exploitation (past, current, or future) of, and prejudice toward, other groups. (p. 654)

We agree with Markus's (2008) conceptualization of race because it expands beyond the traditional definitions of race that largely rely on physical attributes and geographical locations by focusing on historical, cultural, and social aspects. Specifically, this definition includes a description of how groups are categorized, the meanings of the categorizations, and the reasoning behind the categorizations. Because of the similarity of our conceptualizations of race, we are using Markus's definition of race to guide our thinking in this article. Her definition ultimately describes race in terms of history and power.

The Historical Significance of Race

To better understand the impact of race within the United States, it is necessary for us to briefly discuss the role that race has played over time. From a social historical perspective within the United States, the conceptualization of racial differences emerged in 1619 with Africans arriving on a Dutch ship in Virginia and being traded for food and supplies (Morgan, 2003). As the colonies grew, the need for cheap labor increased, thereby helping to solidify the differentiation between non-Whites and Whites. Further, the desire to highlight racial differences played a significant role in the creation of the U.S. Constitution (adopted in 1787 and put into effect in 1789) because of the growing number of African slaves in the southern colonies and the subsequent fear of the southern population outnumbering the northern population (Kulikoff, 1986). In adding in Article 1, section 2, paragraph 3 of the U.S. Constitution that only three fifths of slaves would count in terms of the population, the founders solidified the importance of race in the United States. In *Scott v. Sanford* (1856), the U.S. Supreme Court clarified by ruling that African Americans, whether free or slave, were not considered U.S. citizens. Later, the 14th Amendment, passed in 1868, specifically stated that "all persons" born in the United States were entitled to the rights and privileges associated with citizenship. Many, particularly Southerners, continued to question this assertion and began to circumvent the amendment by passing and implementing anti-Black legislation, such as the Jim Crow laws.

While creating the aforementioned race-based legislation, the U.S. Census began to count people in terms of

"free persons" and "slaves," essentially racial categorizations (Anderson, 1988). Eventually, the U.S. Census began to refine the racial categories used. For example, in 1850, the U.S. Census only had one racial category—Black, mulatto. In 1860, a racial category for "Indian" was added as an option. Then in 1870, to address the country's growing diversity, more racial categories emerged, including White and Chinese[2] (Mays, Ponce, Washington, & Cochran, 2003). Adding various racial and ancestral categories enabled a way to further distinguish Whites from non-White groups.

The need to distinguish between racial groups continued through further delineations in the law. In the late 1800s/early 1900s, there were a series of court cases, including Supreme Court cases, that examined which racial/ethnic groups (e.g., Lebanese, Japanese, Chinese, etc.) could be constituted as White (see Haney Lopez, 2006). These racial/ethnic groups petitioned to be White in order to gain access to full citizenship (e.g., the ability to vote, own property, etc.)—rights non-Whites, particularly African Americans, were not afforded. In addition, some ethnic groups became White over time. For instance, when Italian, Irish, Polish, and Jewish immigrants arrived in the United States, they were considered to be non-White and were often compared to African Americans and the Chinese, groups that were not viewed favorably. (However, currently Chinese Americans are viewed positively and are considered a model minority; Massey, 2007.) At the time, Whiteness implied having Anglo-Saxon roots and, to become White, ethnic groups had to appear to become less European and more American. They began to "work" their way into Whiteness by assimilating into the American culture, adopting the "American work ethic," and separating themselves from African Americans (Roediger, 2005).

In general, the courts operated under a "common understanding" test that determined racial group membership by analyzing phenotypical characteristics and geographic origin (Perea, Delgado, Harris, & Wildman, 2000). From this, many states created antimiscegenation laws (laws against racial mixing) including the "one-drop" rule, which determined that any person with "one drop" of Black blood was considered to be Black (Davis, 1991). This general rule is still in place and was upheld as recently as the 1980s in the Susie Guillory Phipps case. Susie Guillory Phipps, who lived her life as a White woman, sued the Louisiana Bureau of Vital Records in order to change her racial classification from Black to White. Because she was listed as Black (Colored) on her birth certificate and was at least one-thirty-second Black (her great, great, great, great grandmother was of African descent), in accordance to Louisiana law, she was determined to be Black. The state had the right to determine racial classification, thereby denying Phipps's request (Omi & Winant, 1994). The courts have historically determined who is non-White while never explicitly defining Whiteness. This has helped to further legitimize perceived biological and social differences between racial groups.

Although the U.S. Census has historically featured various racial categories, the courts have largely viewed race in terms of the Black/White binary (Haney Lopez, 2006). Those that were non-White were essentially considered Black in that they had limited civil rights. In the United States, there was little distinction among racial groups until *Hernandez v. Texas* (1954). In this case, the Supreme Court expanded the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment to include Latinos/as, specifically Mexican Americans (Haney Lopez, 1997). With the *Hernandez* case, the courts attempted to reconceptualize race by moving beyond the Black/White binary. However, it must be added that at that time Mexican Americans were considered to be White in terms of the legal system. Over time, in the state of Texas, Mexican Americans became less "White" because of their darker skin and language differences (Haney Lopez, 1997).

More recently, the conceptualization of race is continuing to expand. In the 1970s, the term "Hispanic" became popularized in order to become more inclusive of the growing Latin American population within the United States (Gomez, 1992). The term first appeared in the U.S. Census in 1980 and was seen as less politically charged (i.e., not as political as "Chicano") and culturally neutral (i.e., did not refer to a specific ethnic group). Many Latinos/as liked the term "Hispanic" because it was sanitized and had little cultural connections, yet others disliked the term because it was seen as an attempt to separate Latinos/as from their respective cultural heritages (Gomez, 1992). In addition, in 2000, the U.S. Census allowed for the designation of a multiracial category, including a write-in option. At this time, the "White Hispanic" option was added. These new options allow U.S. citizens to declare their specific racial and ethnic heritages, thereby continuing to move beyond the Black/White paradigm. (For more detailed discussions of the historical impact of race, see Fields, 1982; Franklin, 1976; Roediger, 2010.)

THE CURRENT RACE DILEMMA

Recently a number of researchers have begun to question how "race" is being used in their disciplines. In part this renewed interest in race has been the result of researchers investigating the human genome project and the questions arising regarding the usefulness of a biological conception of race. For example, in the area of genetics, researchers have suggested that *Homo sapiens* share around 99.9% of their DNA (Lehrman, 2003). Likewise, a recent editorial in *Nature Genetics* ("Genes, Drugs and Race," 2001) stated, "Scientists have long been saying that at the genetic level

[2]It is important to note that "Chinese" is not a racial category but was considered one then. It would now generally be considered an ancestral or ethnic category.

there is more variation between two individuals in the same population than between populations, suggesting little or no biological basis for 'race'" (p. 239). Such genetic findings have resulted in organizations, such as the Institute of Health, reevaluating the use of the term "race" by researchers (Oppenheimer, 2001). As Smedley and Smedley (2005) described, "The consensus among most scholars in fields such as evolutionary biology, anthropology, and other disciplines is that racial distinctions fail on all three counts—that is, they are not genetically discrete, are not reliably measured, and are not scientifically meaningful" (p. 16).

Although we have a number of researchers from a variety of fields providing evidence questioning the usefulness of a biological conception of race, there are also researchers in the biomedical field who provide evidence suggesting that racial or ethnic groups in the United States demonstrate differences in disease-related outcomes (LaVeist, 1996). For example, Hummer, Benjamins, and Rogers (2004) reported that African Americans tended to have higher rates of mortality on eight of the 10 top causes of death, and European Americans tended to die more often from heart disease and cancer. Vega and Amaro (1994) documented that Latinos/as had higher rates of death from diabetes and liver disease than non-Latinos/as. It is also clear that these differences may begin early in life, in that African American infants, when compared to European American infants, have higher rates of low birth weights and preterm delivery and they are twice as likely to die during their 1st year of life (Giscombé & Lobel, 2005).

As a way of attempting to resolve the aforementioned dilemma, Ossorio and Duster (2005) suggested that "race and racial categories can best be understood as a set of social processes that can create biological consequences; race is a set of social processes with biological feedbacks that require empirical investigation" (p. 116). Thus, although "race" as a definable genetically predetermined biological construct is probably untenable, it has acquired meaning as a definable sociohistorical construct (Ossorio & Duster, 2005). This suggests that current constructions of "race" can be associated with over- and underrepresentation of certain medical outcomes, thus providing evidence for the importance of investigating race as a construct in biomedical research.

Similarly, sociohistorical discrepancies have been documented among racial/ethnic groups in education. For example, students of color are overrepresented in special education programs and underrepresented in Gifted and Advanced programming. According to the U.S. Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights (2006), African Americans made up around 17% of the school age population yet were involved in 36% of all corporal punishment cases. In addition, 29% of the students labeled emotionally disturbed were African American, and 20% of the students labeled with a specific learning disability were African American. On the other hand, African American students were underrepresented in areas like being invited into Gifted and Talented programs (9.2%), enrolling in AP programs (7.9%), and receiving a high school diploma (13.4% of all students who received a high school diploma). Likewise, Hispanic students made up 20.4% of the population and were underrepresented in Gifted and Talented programs (12.8%), enrollment in AP programs (13.3%), and receiving a high school diploma (13.7% of all students who received a high school diploma).

As demonstrated, the concept of "race" is currently associated with both medical and educational over- and underrepresentation. In an effort to reconcile these conflicting notions of race, some researchers have suggested that, although there is questionable scientific evidence for a biological conception of race, the construct has developed meaning because of the sociohistorical nature of the concept (Ossorio & Duster, 2005; Smedley & Smedley 2005). In other words, when people use beliefs (e.g., races are naturally unequal and therefore can be ranked hierarchically) either overtly or covertly, there is the potential to create systems where some groups have more access to better jobs, education, housing, and medical care than other groups (Massey, 2007; Ossorio & Duster, 2005; Smedley & Smedley 2005), which, in this case, may result in the aforementioned health and educational disparities. Thus, although race may not have a genetic basis, it is important sociohistorically, and it is therefore vital for social scientists to investigate race as a sociohistoric phenomenon.

THE EXAMINATION OF RACE IN EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY JOURNALS

Because of the existence of various race-focused and race-reimaged issues in education, which were alluded to earlier in this article, it is important for researchers to be more proactive in the examination of race. Generally, in empirical research there are at least three basic reasons why constructs like race are included in the research process: (a) for descriptive/demographic purposes (i.e., to simply describe participants in the Methods section but without using race in any further analysis), (b) for explanatory purposes (i.e., when race is used to explain variance in an outcome variables such as academic performance in mathematics), and/or (c) for comparative purposes (i.e., when the information is used to make comparisons among various groups, e.g., comparing South Korean students with U.S. students on goal orientation). However, to better explore racial issues in education, we propose two additional approaches: (d) using *race-focused constructs* to provide theoretical understandings of race-related issues and (e) embracing *race-reimaged* constructs, which combine traditional approaches with race-influenced perspectives. It is through the additional approaches of using *race-based* and *race-reimaged* constructs that we base our argument for why the study of race is important in the field of educational psychology.

Race-Focused Constructs

Race-focused constructs are grounded in race-based and cultural theories. Utilizing a race-focused approach involves placing racial constructs at the center of analysis, making it the focus of the research rather than simply playing a cursory or nonexistent role. Examples of race-focused constructs include racial identity, racial socialization, ethnic identity, racial microaggressions, and stereotype threat, among others. An example of a race-focused approach would be to examine the influence of Hispanic/Latino/a students' racial identity development on academic identity and achievement, where the emphasis is on racial identity development rather than the other variables. Taking a race-focused approach to research differs from the three aforementioned reasons race is often used in research. First, taking a race-focused approach requires more than just presenting a racial group(s) as a description or demographic; taking a race-focused approach involves focusing on a construct that is theoretically based in racial literature. Second, a race-focused approach goes beyond explaining variance based upon race; rather, it focuses on understanding the race-focused construct instead of how race explains other constructs. Third, using a race-focused approach goes beyond comparing racial groups; it focuses on how a racial group(s) experiences a racially-grounded construct. With a race-focused approach, the racial construct itself is essential to understanding the educational experience of the research participants.

Within the research literature, there are examples of race-focused research. One such example is that of Thomas, Caldwell, Faison, and Jackson's (2009) study that examined how racial identity moderated the relationship between perceptions of teacher discrimination and academic achievement for African American and Caribbean Black adolescents. In the study, the researchers found that African American and Caribbean Black students perceived discrimination by their teachers. In addition, they found that some aspects of racial identity (e.g., public regard or perceptions of others' feelings of one's racial group) moderated the relationship between perceived discrimination by teachers and academic achievement, whereas other aspects did not serve as moderators (e.g., centrality or the importance of race to one's identity). In using a race-focused approach, the African American and Caribbean Black participants were not just demographics; their racialized experiences were core to the study. Also, race was not used as a means of explaining variance; instead, racial identity and perceived teacher discrimination, race-focused constructs, were the center of analysis. Although some comparisons were made between the African American and Caribbean Black participants, such analyses were conducted in order to provide a more nuanced understanding of how racial groups experience race-focused constructs (racial identity and teacher discrimination) in context.

Race-Reimaged Approaches

Race-reimaged constructs are similar to race-focused constructs in that they center on issues of race. However, race-reimaged constructs differ in that they involve viewing a traditional construct (one not necessarily derived from a racial theory such as self-efficacy, goal theory, etc.) from a socioculturally relevant lens. This includes employing a race-influenced theoretical framework to explicate a nonracial construct using participants from specific racial group(s). In doing so, all aspects of the research study are influenced by race-influenced research and theories, including the theoretical framework, research methods, and research interpretations. An example of such research includes using indigenous education theories to examine parent–teacher relationships among Native American parents and White teachers in Native American communities. To better clarify, engaging in a race-reimaged approach to research differs from the three aforementioned reasons race is often used in research. First, taking a race-reimaged approach goes beyond using race just as a demographic in that the goal of the research is to explore a traditional construct that is applied using a sociocultural lens. In doing so, race becomes a central focus of the study. Second, a race-reimaged approach does more than explain variance based upon race; rather, it focuses on understanding how sociocultural perspectives can be applied to traditional constructs. Third, using a race-reimaged approach goes beyond comparing racial groups; it focuses on how a racial group(s) experiences particular constructs, using sociocultural lenses.

Within the research literature, there are examples of race-reimaged research. One such example is that of Rodgers and Summers (2008). In the article, the authors reconceptualized (or reimaged) a psychological college student retention model using a culturally sensitive framework that focused on a way to better understand how African American students attending predominately White institutions experience the process of retention. Within the model the authors addressed various traditional constructs including academic self-efficacy, motivation, achievement goals, and attributions, among others. They also discussed race-focused constructs such as ethnic and bicultural identity development. The authors ended the article by providing a discussion on how their model could be expanded using a more afrocentric approach (e.g., focusing on African-based values) and the need to better understand the successful retention practices at historically Black colleges and universities.

Race-Focused and Race-Reimaged Constructs in Educational Psychology

To explore the use of race-focused and race-reimaged research, it was necessary to examine how race has been addressed in the educational psychology research literature.

In 2001, *Educational Psychologist* published a special edition focusing on the schooling of ethnic minority children and youth. The articles in the special edition highlighted the need for the field of educational psychology to further examine issues involving the education of ethnic minority children and youth. Thus, in writing this article, we decided to examine how the field of education psychology has embraced this call. Delimiting our parameters from 2001 (when the call was made in the special issue) to 2012, we made a targeted search for race-related terms in the top educational psychology journals: *Educational Psychologist* (*EP*), *Journal of Educational Psychology* (*JEP*), *Review of Educational Psychology* (*REP*), *Contemporary Educational Psychology* (*CEP*), and the *British Journal of Educational Psychology* (*BJEP*). We included terms such as *race, ethnicity, stereotype threat, acting White, urban, minority,* and *prejudice*. We excluded all studies that were not explicitly examining race-focused constructs or using race-reimaged perspectives. As such, we excluded research studies that essentially used race as a demographic variable by examining constructs in multiple cultural contexts without connection to race as a sociohistorical construct (e.g., studying self-regulation using Chinese and Mexican participants without grounding the study in socioculturally relevant literature).

Since 2001, only a paucity of studies in the top educational psychology journals have utilized race-focused or race-reimaged constructs to explore the experiences of ethnic minority children and youth (see Tables 1–5). In exploring these five educational psychology journals, we found 27 articles out of 2,146 articles published during the 11-year period. Specifically, there were three in *BJEP*, four in *CEP*, 12 in *EP*, three in *EPR*, and five in *JEP*, representing roughly 1.3% of all articles published in these journals during the past decade. *EP* featured the most race-focused and/or race-reimaged articles. However, it must be noted that seven of the 12 articles in *EP* came from the aforementioned 2001 issue on ethnic minority youth. Almost all of the 27 articles explored issues in motivation except for a few that examined linguistic issues (e.g., African American Vernacular English, ESL issues, etc.). There were more articles featuring race-reimaged constructs than race-focused constructs. Overall, the most common race-focused construct was stereotype threat, whereas the most commonly used race-reimaged construct was teacher expectations.

Although the majority of the articles reviewed in journals were not race focused or race reimaged, many of the journals did have studies that included participants from a variety of racial and ethnic groups, including some international and cross-cultural samples. We do acknowledge that there has been some cross-cultural work published in educational psychology journals. However, just because a study includes participants from various racial groups, it should not automatically be assumed the study is investigating race-focused race-reimaged constructs or issues. Unless a study specifically states that its goal is to measure or inquire about some race-focused or race-reimaged construct, the study cannot be assumed to be measuring or inquiring about a race-focused or race-reimaged construct.

Why the Lack of Race-Focused and Race-Reimaged Research?

As demonstrated, in more than a decade of research, there were only a limited amount of race-focused and race-reimaged articles in the top educational psychology journals (1.3%), and the majority of those articles came from special issues. We postulate that there are several reasons for the lack of race-focused or reimaged research in educational psychology such as the nature of the history of psychology, the perceptions of the universality of constructs, the idea of single truths versus multiple realities, and the lack of racial/ethnic scholars in the field of educational psychology.

One reason for the lack of race-focused or race-reimaged research articles in educational psychology journals stems from the history of the broader field of psychology. Psychologists have historically been inclined to use race as a means of exploring variation and differences in areas such as intelligence (Smedley, & Smedley, 2005; Yee, 1983). Such approaches often promoted deficit views of racial groups—for example, viewing Whites as more intelligent than other racial groups (Yee, Fairchild, Weizmann, & Wyatt, 1993). By focusing on perceived genetic-based views of race, psychologists have not explored race as a

TABLE 1
Race-Focused and Race-Reimaged Articles in *British Journal of Educational Psychology* from 2001 to 2012

Author(s)	*Title*	*Race Focused*	*Race Reimaged*
den Brok, van Tartwijk, and Wubbels (2010)	"The Differential Effect of the Teacher–Student Interpersonal Relationship on Student Outcomes for Students With Different Ethnic Backgrounds"		X
Rubie-Davies, Hattie, and Hamilton (2006)	"Expecting the Best for Students: Teacher Expectations and Academic Outcomes"		X
Verkuyten and Thijs (2004)	"Psychological Disidentification With the Academic Domain Among Ethnic Minority Adolescents in The Netherlands"	X	

Note. Total number of articles published between 2001 and 2012 = 441.

TABLE 2
Race-Focused and Race-Reimaged Articles in *Contemporary Educational Psychology* from 2001 to 2012

Author(s)	*Title*	*Race Focused*	*Race Reimaged*
Gutman (2006)	"How Student and Parent Goal Orientations and Classroom Goal Structures Influence the Math Achievement of Africa Americans During the High School Transitions"		X
Osborne (2001)	"Testing Stereotype Threat: Does Anxiety Explain Race and Sex Differences in Achievement?"	X	
Xiang, Lee, and Shen (2001)	"Conceptions of Ability and Achievement Goals in Physical Education: Comparisons of American and Chinese Students"		X
Zusho and Barnett (2011)	"Personal and Contextual Determinants of Ethnically Diverse Female High School Students' Patterns of Academic Help Seeking and Help Avoidance in English and Mathematics"	X	

Note. Total number of articles published between 2001 and 2012 = 340.

TABLE 3
Race-Focused and Race-Reimaged Articles in *Educational Psychologist* from 2001 to 2012

Author(s)	*Title*	*Race Focused*	*Race Reimaged*
Balfanz, Herzog, and Mac Iver (2007)	"Preventing Student Disengagement and Keeping Students on the Graduation Path in Urban Middle-Grades Schools: Early Identification and Effective Interventions"		X
Gallimore and Goldenberg (2001)	"Analyzing cultural models and Settings to Connect Minority Achievement and School Improvement Research"	X	
Good and Nichols (2001)	"Expectancy Effects in the Classroom: A Special Focus on Improving the Reading Performance of Minority Students in First-Grade Classrooms"		X
Hudley, Graham, and Taylor (2007)	"Reducing Aggressive Behavior and Increasing Motivation in School: The Evolution of an Intervention to Strengthen School Adjustment"		X
Logel, Walton, Spencer, Peach, and Mark (2012)	"Unleashing Latent Ability: Implications for Stereotype Threat for College Admissions"	X	
McKown (2005)	"Applying Ecological Theory to Advance the Science and Practice of School-Based Prejudice Reduction Interventions"	X	
Meece and Kurtz-Costes (2001)	"Introduction: The Schooling of Ethnic Minority Children"	X	
Okagaki (2001)	"Triarchic Model of Minority Children's School Achievement"	X	
Ryan and Ryan (2005)	"Psychological Processes Underlying Stereotype Threat and Standardized Math Test Performance"	X	
Slaughter-Defoe and Rubin (2001)	"A Longitudinal Case Study Case Study of Head Start Eligible Children: Implications for Urban Education"		X
Spencer, Noll, Stoltzfus, and Harpalani (2001)	"Identity and School Adjustment: Revisiting the 'Acting White' Assumption"	X	
Wong and Rowley (2001)	"The Schooling of Ethnic Minority Children: Commentary"	X	

Note. Total number of articles published between 2001 and 2012 = 267.

sociohistorical construct. The earliest psychologists largely excluded the experiences of people of color and women, focusing almost exclusively on the experiences of White men (Kennedy, 2000). It is important to add that, excluding the baby doll studies[3] by Kenneth and Mamie Clark (1939, 1940, 1947), people of color and women did not begin to take more prominent roles within psychological theories and research until the 1960s (see Philogène, 2004). As an extension of psychology, educational psychologists have tended to maintain this research approach. As such, there seems to be little discussion of race-focused or race-reimaged constructs in major educational psychology textbooks. Most discussions on race are relegated to a few paragraphs at the end of chapters (e.g., adding a paragraph on culture at the end of a chapter on another topic). Race-focused and race-reimaged constructs are often seen as topics of discussion for other fields of psychology such as counseling

[3]In the Clarks' landmark doll experiments, Black children were asked about their preference for playing with a "white doll" or a "black doll." The results of these studies were key to the Supreme Courts decision on *Brown v. Board of Education*. See Clark and Clark (1947).

TABLE 4
Race-Focused and Race-Reimaged Articles in *Educational Psychology Review* from 2001 to 2012

Author(s)	*Title*	*Race Focused*	*Race Reimaged*
Phalet, Andriessen, and Lens (2004)	"How Future Goals Enhance Motivation and Learning in Multicultural Classrooms"		X
Rodgers and Summers (2008)	"African American Students at Predominantly White Institutions: A Motivational and Self-Systems Approach to Understanding Retention"		X
Smith (2004)	"Understanding the Process of Stereotype Threat: A Review of Mediational Variables and New Performance Goal Directions"	X	

Note. Total number of articles published between 2001 and 2012 = 296.

psychology, social psychology, or multicultural psychology, as well as other social science areas. In fact, there has been work in related fields such as math education (e.g., Cross & Hong, 2012), social studies education (e.g., Dixson, 2003), language education (e.g., Lee, 1995), social foundations of education (e.g., Alridge, 2008), social psychology (e.g., Steele, 1997), and the learning sciences (e.g., Nasir, 2005). However, not all major books in educational psychology neglect the discussion of race-focused and/or race-reimaged constructs. For example, the *APA Educational Psychology Handbook* (2012), edited by K. R. Harris, Graham, and Urdan, features several chapters on race-focused and race-reimaged topics, including a chapter on racial and ethnic identity.

Another reason for the lack of race-focused and race-reimaged research is the potential assumption that theory, constructs, and how those constructs are measured are culturally neutral and universally applied (Berry, Poortinga, Segall, & Dasen, 2002; Zusho & Clayton, 2011). From this perspective, researchers with an absolutist worldview would tend to assume that psychological processes and constructs are essentially universal, culture free, and therefore are universally applicable across populations. We would suggest that some of the dominant theories that provide the foundation for much of the research in educational psychology hail either explicitly or implicitly from an absolutist worldview (e.g., Achievement Goal Theory will work the same with any social or cultural group; Zusho & Clayton, 2011). These assumptions may be problematic if the theories and constructs, as well as the measurements of theories and constructs, have been developed using a White, male, and/or middle class frame of reference. It is an untested assumption to suggest that all groups function in the same manner as those that are White, male, and/or middle class. Likewise, it is even more problematic to assume that groups that do not perform in the same manner are deficient. Instead, using a universalist worldview assumes there may be some basic psychological processes that are species-wide and universal but also recognizes the impact of the larger contextual and sociohistorical influences on psychological processes (Berry et al., 2002; Zusho & Clayton, 2011). The development of race-focused and race-reimaged research stems from this perspective.

A third, related reason for the lack of race-focused and race-reimaged research in educational psychology might stem from the discipline's roots in psychology where the goal of research tends to be the search for universal truths. One problem with this approach is that "the truth" tends to be the majoritarian truth or the truth of the dominant group. In addition, "the truth" is often assessed using research

TABLE 5
Race-Focused and Race-Reimaged Articles in *Journal of Educational Psychology* from 2001 to 2012

Author(s)	*Title*	*Race Focused*	*Race Reimaged*
Harber et al. (2012)	"Students' Race and Teachers' Social Support Affect the Positive Feedback Bias in Public Schools"		X
Pressley et al. (2004)	"Providence–St. Mel School: How a School That Works for African American Students Work"		X
Taylor and Graham (2007)	"An Examination of the Relationship Between Achievement Values and Perceptions of Barriers Among Low-SES African American and Latino Students"		X
Tenenbaum and Ruck (2007)	"Are Teachers' Expectations Different for Racial Minority Than European American Students? A Meta-Analysis"		X
Thomas et al. (2009)	"Promoting Academic Achievement: The Role of Racial Identity in Buffering Perceptions of Teacher Discrimination on Academic Achievement Among African American and Caribbean Black Adolescents"	X	

Note. Total number of articles published between 2001 and 2012 = 802.

methods that are not necessarily socioculturally relevant for all groups (e.g., using inferential statistics in a school district where African American students make up only a small percentage of the population). Embracing the examination of race-focused and race-reimaged constructs involves accepting the potential for multiple truths and realities and the use of socioculturally relevant measurements. Because race is a social construction and various racial groups have different experiences and histories, the examination of race-focused and race-reimaged constructs challenges the fundamental assumption that there is one "truth" and that researchers are obtaining close approximations of that "truth." The examination of race-focused and race-reimaged constructs also supports the need for more socioculturally relevant means of assessment.

The fourth reason involves the racial/ethnic demographics of researchers in educational psychology. Quite simply, there is a lack of scholars of color in educational psychology. For example, in 2011, the Educational Psychology division (Division 15) of the American Psychological Association had 1,130 members (American Psychological Association, 2013). Of the total number of members, only 108 identified themselves as people of color: American Indian (one), Asian (41), Hispanic (23), Black (39), and multiracial/multiethnic (five). The remaining members identified as either White (863) or with no racial classification (158). We are not implying that all educational psychologists are members of American Psychological Association Division 15. However, membership demographics of Division 15 tend to be reflective of the larger number of practicing educational psychologists. The presence of scholars of color is more apparent in other divisions of psychology including the society of counseling psychology (Division 17) and the society for the psychological study of ethnic minority issues (Division 45). One of the possible reasons for more scholars of color in other divisions of psychology is that researchers in these areas more frequently address diverse topics and populations. Also, scholars of color are more likely to examine race-focused and/or race-reimaged constructs than White scholars. Ultimately, research in a discipline's field is reflective of the values held by the members of the discipline. In the case of educational psychology, it is reflective of the older (61% older than 60), White (69%), largely male (55%) membership.

When we combine those potential reasons we also end up with the potential for bias at several levels including at the journal article reviewing process. It tends to be difficult to publish race-focused and race-reimaged research in traditional educational psychology journals. This issue has a history in many fields as indicated by Amado Padilla (2003), when discussing the reasons for the creation of the *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*. He stated,

> On the dark side, however, was the feeling shared by many Latino scholars by the latter part of the 1970s that it was very difficult to publish in professional guild journals such as American Psychological Association–sponsored journals. The identified problem was the peer-review process that favored the traditional paradigms and methodologies of the day and that made it difficult for ethnic scholars who were thinking outside of the traditional paradigm box to find outlets for their research articles. (p. 4)

Thus, when we look at the combined influence of these potential reasons it may shine some light on the small number of articles that have been published in this area. So the question becomes, Where do we go from here?

THE FUTURE OF RACE-FOCUSED AND RACE-REIMAGED RESEARCH IN EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY

To further the development of race-focused/reimaged research in educational psychology, it may be necessary for the field to both evaluate and expand its current approaches to scholarship. More specifically, it is imperative that we revisit our philosophical assumptions and broaden our methodological approaches in order to better explore race-focused and race-reimaged constructs, incorporate race-focused and race-reimaged constructs into the educational psychology canon, and expand our approach to measurement by taking more socioculturally relevant approaches.

Race-Focused and Race-Reimaged Methodologies

In terms of methodologies, we are suggesting an expansion of the current approaches to take into consideration a multiplicity of experiences and interpretations. As such, it will be useful to move to embrace the complexity of race-focused and race-reimaged experiences. Such approaches include but are not limited to postmodernism, poststructuralism, and critical theories. Critical approaches, particularly that of critical race theory, is a useful perspective to use to examine race-focused and race-reimaged issues.

Critical race theory. Critical race theory (CRT) was an approach developed by Derrick Bell and other legal scholars in the 1970s to challenge traditional views of race in the legal arena (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). CRT takes a historical approach while placing race at the center of analysis. A primary tenet is counterstories, which are stories that challenge the master narrative or majority perspective by focusing on the experiences of marginalized groups (Delgado, 1989). In addition to counterstorytelling, the tenets of CRT include the permanence of racism, which investigates the pervasiveness of racism (Bell, 1992); the critique of liberalism, which critiques liberal discourses regarding colorblindness (race neutrality), meritocracy (beliefs of equal access and opportunity), and incremental

change (the need to make small changes rather than systematic changes; Gotanda, 1991); interest convergence, which explores how racial progress occurs only when Whites benefit (Bell, 1980); intersectionality, which examines the intersection of identities, specifically race and gender (Crenshaw, 1989); and Whiteness as Property, which explores White privilege and the expansive rights associated with Whiteness (C. Harris, 1993).

An essential aspect of CRT is counterstorytelling, which is a method of telling stories that enables the questioning of the views of the majority (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). Counterstorytelling serves as a method of both hearing the voices of the marginalized and analyzing and challenging the majority discourse and reality (Delgado, 1989; Delgado & Stefancic, 2012; Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). By allowing marginalized groups to provide an alternate vision and reality, counterstorytelling enables the majority to understand the perspectives of others and thereby question their social reality. Counterstories can be personal stories/narratives, other people's stories/narratives, and composite stories/narratives (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002).

Although counterstorytelling is the central method used in CRT, the key tenet of CRT is the permanence of racism or the acceptance that racism is a normal, customary, and routine social construction (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). CRT presupposes a racial realist perspective in that racism remains an "integral, permanent and indestructible component of this society" (Bell, 1992, p. ix) and is institutionalized throughout all economic, social, and political systems of the United States (Bell, 1980). In addition to addressing the institutionalization of racism, the permanence of racism also examines an individual's ideas, attitudes, and beliefs regarding race that are formed by cultural experiences. Ultimately, examining the permanence of racism includes addressing how racism is individually perpetuated.

Another tenet of CRT is the critique of liberalism, which addresses colorblindness, neutrality of law, and incremental change. Colorblindness assumes a sense of race-neutrality of the law that translates into the "nonrecognition" of race and racial differences (Gotanda, 1991; Lewis, 2001). This is problematic because ignoring race also means ignoring the social and cultural experiences that are associated with race. The neutrality of the law operates under the notion that there is equal opportunity and that advancement occurs as a result of merit. The idea of a meritocracy assumes that all things are equal and that hard work translates into success. This view, however, does not acknowledge the inequities that result from systemic practices of racism, the function of financial privilege, or group contributions to success. Specifically, the myth of meritocracy helps to serve as justification of racial discrimination and class hierarchies (Bonilla-Silva, 2009; Peller, 1990). Under the idea of incremental change, any gains for marginalized groups are to come at a pace that is agreeable to those in power, most often at a slow and sometimes unreasonable pace. From this perspective, marginalized groups are encouraged to wait because progress is deemed to come in time. Meanwhile, those in power continue to get further ahead while marginalized groups continue to lag further behind. Incremental change is beneficial to those that are not adversely affected by racism and racist practices as well as the inequity in social, economic, and educational arenas (Peller, 1990).

A fourth tenet of CRT is interest convergence. Bell (1980) suggested that although civil rights gains within communities of color have been plentiful, early civil rights legislation provided only the basic rights that had been enjoyed by Whites for centuries. These basic civil rights gains were superficial in that they represented fundamental human rights that had been guaranteed to all U.S. citizens under the U.S. Constitution. Because of this, Bell (1980) argued that these very basic rights were enacted only because they *converged* with the self-interests of Whites. In addition, it is important to note that these concessions were not enacted as a significant disruption to the "normal" way of life for the majority of Whites. For instance, school desegregation that resulted from *Brown v. Board* did not change the schools in which White children attended. In the majority of cases, African American children were bused to schools in White communities rather than White children being bused into African American communities (Love, 2004). White children benefited from attending school with African American children without having to lose their neighborhood schools.

A fifth tenet of CRT is intersectionality, which focuses on the idea that women of color are often not included when discussing racial or gender legal issues in that issues of racism are often associated with African American men whereas issues of sexism are associated with White women (Crenshaw, 1989). This forces women of color to choose between race and gender; however, this is problematic because one's racial and gender identities intersect (Carbado & Gulati, 2001). As described by Wing (2003), intersectionality is not simply race plus gender. Instead, intersectionality implies that women of color have a multiplicative identity in that race and gender are "multiplied together to create a holistic One" (Wing, 2003, p. 7).

Whiteness as property, the last tenet of CRT, suggests that Whiteness has value and can be viewed in the same terms as property (see C. Harris, 1993). This includes the property rights of possession, use, and disposition. More specifically, like property rights, Whiteness includes the rights of transferability, the right to use and enjoyment, reputation rights, and the right to exclude others. The right to transferability (or disposition) ensures the inalienability of Whiteness through the guarantee that Whiteness can be transferred generationally from one person to another. By transferring Whiteness across generations, those possessing it are entitled to all of the rights and privileges held by previous generations. The right to use and enjoyment refers to

asserting White privilege and maintaining White identity. From this perspective, Whiteness is seen as intangible, something that you experience, as well as tangible, and something that is seen as a resource. The property right of reputation means that there is a value for White identity as well as a desire to preserve White identity, even at the expense of other racial groups' identities. It involves establishing Whiteness as the most socially desirable identity and thus the most respectable. The right to exclude is the right to establish a system of exclusion that determines opportunities, access, and rights based upon race. This right concerns the absolute exclusion of those who are not White and extends to all arenas where Whiteness can conceivably have power.

Because CRT is rooted in the legal literature and takes a historical perspective, much of the theory concerns the Black–White binary. However, extensions of CRT such as LatCrit (Haney Lopez, 1997), TribalCrit (Brayboy, 2005), and AsianCrit (Chang, 1993) are also helpful approaches to exploring issues of race beyond the traditional Black–White binary. CRT is a growing theory within education (see DeCuir & Dixson, 2004; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Parker, 1998) as indicated by the recent publication of the *Handbook of Critical Race Theory in Education* (Lynn & Dixson, 2013). This growth in other disciplines within education could help facilitate race-focused and race-reimaged research within educational psychology.

For example, DeCuir-Gunby and Williams (2007) engaged in a race-reimaged approach by using a CRT perspective to examine the impact of race and racism on African American students' emotions within the private school context. In this study, students reflected upon a Black history month assembly led by a civil rights leader that was perceived negatively by many of the White students in attendance because of the civil rights leader's references to the history of racism in the South and the idea that slavery was an essential cause of the Civil War. Specifically, the authors used counterstorytelling to present the participants' experiences. The authors focused on telling what Solórzano and Yosso (2002) referred to as "other people's stories or narratives" (p. 33). Such stories are biographical, situated within the sociohistorical context, and used to discuss experiences regarding racism. The authors explored the stories of the marginalized students at the school, the African American students, which challenged the dominant discourse of the White students at the school. In analyzing the students' stories, the authors focused on CRT's tenets of the permanence of racism and the critique of liberalism (colorblindness). They discussed how the participants' emotions were impacted by their classmates' lack of understanding of the pervasiveness of racism as well as the idea that race does not matter. By using a CRT lens, the authors were able to explore the negative emotions experienced by the participants while relating those experiences to the racial history of the school and the larger U.S. sociohistorical context, thus race-reimaging the construct of emotions. A race-reimaged approach provided a broader understanding of how issues of race and racism can impact students within the school context. By taking a race-reimaged approach, the authors were able to take a traditional construct such as emotions and refocus it by applying a racial lens. This approach went much further than the prevalent way of viewing race as simply a demographic. Instead, race was the center of focus.

Expanded methodologies. In addition to revisiting commonly used theoretical approaches, educational psychologists need to broaden the specific research methods used. Educational psychologists have tended to focus on quantitative approaches, with emphases on experimental and quasi-experimental designs. They have relied on traditional inferential statistics (e.g., analyses of variance, regressions, etc.). However, problems within educational contexts are not always best answered using quantitative approaches. As such, educational psychologists need to embrace additional research methods beyond traditional quantitative approaches. Qualitative methods such as interviewing allows for a more in-depth understanding of phenomena. It enables researchers to more deeply explore individuals' experiences. For example, Pressley, Raphael, Gallagher, and DiBella (2004) conducted a grounded theory study in order to better understand a high-achieving K-12 school that served urban, African American students. They used observations, open-ended questionnaires, and documents as their data sources. The goal of their study was to create a theory to explicate why the school was academically successful. They found that the school was successful because of many community, cultural, and psychological factors, consistent with the research literature. Because the researchers were attempting to understand the context with the ultimate goal of generating theory, a qualitative approach was most appropriate. This study could not have been conducted from a quantitative approach in that quantitative approaches tend to be used to test theories rather than create theories.

Qualitative approaches are essential to exploring race-focused and race-reimaged constructs in that racial experiences are often individualized despite common narratives amongst groups. We are not suggesting the abandonment of quantitative approaches; on the contrary, we are suggesting that researchers embrace both quantitative and qualitative approaches, which will allow the field to more thoroughly examine phenomena, particularly race-focused and race-reimaged constructs. Likewise, the use of mixed-methods research should be further embraced.

Although there has been significant growth in the use of mixed-methods research, much of this has been quantitative dominant. For example, a common quantitative-dominant mixed-methods approach involves utilizing a quantitative component followed by a qualitative component. If a

researcher wants to examine Latino/a students' experiences with stereotype threat in the calculus classroom, a quantitative dominant mixed-methods approach may involve collecting a Likert survey regarding their experiences and conducting interviews to support the findings of the surveys. In such a design, referred to as an explanatory sequential mixed-methods design (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011), the emphasis is on the quantitative component.

Because of the common focus on individual experiences, in researching race-focused and race-reimaged constructs, it may be helpful to utilize more qualitative-dominant mixed-methods studies in addition to quantitative-dominant mixed-methods studies (see Hesse-Biber, 2010). Qualitative-dominant mixed-methods studies place emphasis on the qualitative rather than the quantitative components. In the case of the aforementioned example, researchers could still use an explanatory sequential mixed-methods design where they give Likert surveys and then conduct interviews in order to understand Latino/a students' experiences with stereotype threat in the calculus classroom. However, in a qualitative-dominant approach, the Likert surveys are collected only to inform the interviews. The interviews are the main source of data rather than the surveys. For instance, Torres (2006) examined issues of college retention for Latino/a students. She wanted to create a model to better understand the retention of Latino/a commuter students. To do so, she conducted a survey with 542 Latino/a students that guided her interviewing of 31 participants. Her analysis of the qualitative data resulted in the creation of a model of Latino/a student retention. It was the model created by the qualitative data that was most essential to her study rather than the quantitative data.

Race-Focused and Race-Reimaged Constructs

In addition to utilizing race-focused or race-reimaged methodologies, it is important for educational psychologists to study specific race-focused and race-reimaged constructs. Some specific constructs that have the potential to broaden our understanding of social and motivational issues that impact the teaching–learning process include racial/ethnic identity development, racial socialization, racial discrimination, and racial microaggressions, to name a few. For educational psychologists, it would be informative to examine the multiple ways that race impacts student–teacher–parent interactions, peer relationships, approaches to teaching, and achievement. It is important to add that educational psychologists are conducting research on race, including in the aforementioned areas. For example, using a race-focused approach, Okagaki (2001) attempted to understand the achievement and underachievement of children of color. To do so, she created a model called the triarchic model of minority children's school achievement that focused on three components: the function of schools, the family and school expectations, and the characteristics of the child. All three components must be addressed to understand the achievement of minority students. Embedded in these three areas were issues of race. Examining schools involved exploring racial disparities within education, examining families included exploring families' racial and cultural experiences, and examining the characteristics of the child included racial identity and experiences with racial discrimination. Race remained a core component within all aspects of the model and the research. Similarly using a race-reimaged approach, Taylor and Graham (2007) used peer nomination procedures to examine the relationship between achievement values and perceptions of barriers of low socioeconomic status (SES) African American and Latino/a students across three grade levels—second, fourth, and seventh grades. They found that African American and Latina girls tended to nominate average to high-achieving girls as classmates they admired across grade levels. They found a similar trend for second- and fourth-grade African American and Latino boys in that they nominated average to high-achieving boys. However, seventh-grade African American and Latino boys both tended to nominate low-achieving boys as valued classmates. The authors then interpreted the findings using culturally relevant research such as research on racial socialization. In the case of this study, the authors focused on a traditional construct of peer relationships but engaged in race-reimaging by analyzing it within a sociocultural framework.

Despite the described research, little of such research has been published in educational psychology journals (see Tables 1–5). The majority of such work has been published in general education journals (e.g., *American Educational Research Journal*, *Teachers College Record*, *Harvard Educational Review*, etc.) or journals that focus on issues of diversity (e.g., *Urban Education*, *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, *Equity & Excellence in Education*, etc.).

It is also important to expand the nomological network of race-focused and race-reimaged constructs (Cronbach & Meehl, 1955). By exploring the interrelationships between race-focused and race-reimaged constructs, researchers can develop a better understanding of their differences (e.g., race focused are based upon racial theories, whereas race-reimaged constructs are traditional constructs viewed from a sociocultural perspective) and similarities (e.g., sociocultural influences). It is also important to make connections between race-focused, race-reimaged, and other constructs such as self-regulation, academic achievement, and student-teacher relationships, among others. Ultimately, making these connections will help to demonstrate how issues of race can potentially influence a variety of educational constructs by providing both stronger theoretical and empirical claims. Also, as connections continue to be made between race-focused constructs and other educational constructs, researchers will become more exposed to sociocultural interpretations of educational research. In turn, this will provide researchers with more opportunities to apply

sociocultural theories to their work and develop more race-reimaged constructs. For instance, researchers in the area of stereotype threat have already begun to explore its nomological network, such as in the work of Cromley et al. (2013), who examined the relationships between stereotype threat, achievement, cognition, and motivation. Such an approach goes beyond treating race as a variable in that it focuses on stereotype threat, a race-focused construct, and examines how it relates with other educational constructs.

Culturally Relevant Measurement

Expanding our methodological approaches and utilizing race-focused and race-reimaged constructs also requires the incorporation of culturally sensitive approaches to measurement. The cultural characteristics of the population being studied must be taken into consideration during all aspects of the measurement process (Tran, 2009). First, when developing or refining a theory, it is necessary to consider the various groups that are potentially involved with or will be impacted by the theory. Specifically, when creating theories that pertain to communities of color, the impact of race should be considered. Next, when a theory is operationalized, it is also necessary to norm all items using a representative sample. If a group was not included in the norming sample, the resulting measure/instrument may not be relevant to those groups not included in the norming sample. Unfortunately, in education research as well as many other fields, measures/instruments that were not normed using people of color tend to be used to make assertions regarding people of color (Knight, Roosa, & Umana-Taylor, 2009). Third, it is also important to consider cultural relevance when interpreting findings. It is necessary to use more socioculturally relevant theories (e.g., CRT and culturally relevant pedagogy, particularly race-focused and race-reimaged theories) to help explain the trends in the data. This will help to avoid viewing of communities of color from deficit perspectives by promoting strength-based approaches. For instance, in an article by Gallimore and Goldenberg (2001), they described that to improve schooling and achievement within a diverse context, it is necessary to understand the impact of culture on students. In the article they argued that researchers should focus on cultural settings and cultural models in order to create change. They specifically suggested that when addressing the underachievement of Spanish-speaking children, teachers should draw upon the culture resources and strengths that children bring to school rather than focusing on the skills that they lack.

Given the sociohistorical nature as described earlier, it is also important for researchers to continue to develop socioculturally relevant theoretical frameworks to inform the development of their research questions, data collection, and interpretations of their research findings (e.g., CRT). As indicated, many of the dominant theoretical frameworks currently at the forefront of research in educational psychology are somewhat silent when it comes to race and racial identity. Therefore, it will be important for individual researchers who are informed by those dominant theories to additionally explore socioculturally relevant approaches to issues of race in order to expand or reorganize existing dominant theories.

IMPLICATIONS FOR INVESTIGATING RACE-FOCUSED AND RACE-REIMAGED CONSTRUCTS

It is our contention that the concept of race and its continual social historical construction has been, and will continue to be, a key factor in how educational contexts are developed, organized, and experienced. From this perspective, the continual social historical construction and reconstruction of race will continue to influence educational outcomes. We, therefore, suggest that investigating issues such as race and racial identity has the potential to be useful in our efforts to improve educational outcomes. As such, we end this article with some preliminary guidelines for exploring race-focused race-reimaged constructs.

Assumptions Regarding Race

In an effort to develop guidelines for investigating race as a sociohistorical construct, we begin by stating what we believe there to be three important assumptions (Fullilove, 1998; Kaplan & Bennett, 2004; McKenzie & Crowcroft, 1996). First, at the societal level, as indicated, the nature of how we define race and who are members of particular racial groups has changed in the past, and we expect it will continue to change in the future (e.g., the continual changing U.S. Census classification). As such, researchers will have to take the historical context into consideration when attempting to understand the experiences of a group during a particular period. Second, at the intraindividual level, it is also important to keep in mind that individuals' racial identifications also have the potential to change over their lifetimes (e.g., a biracial person identifying monoracially may begin to identify biracially). This issue is particularly relevant for researchers that are engaged in longitudinal work. Third, the treatment of a particular racial group has the potential to change depending upon the social, cultural, and political context (e.g., post-911 anti-Muslim/Arabic sentiments). This suggests that researchers should be aware of current events and their potential impacts on society. As indicated, these three assumptions indicate that both at the social historical as well as the individual identity level—race and racial identity tend to be fluid. Therefore, it seems clear that individuals' racial identities will not be easily sorted into mutually exclusive valid and reliable groups, suggesting a need for the development and continual revision of guidelines for investigating issues of race.

Understanding Racial Identification

As indicated, as well as because of the ever-changing sociohistorical nature of race, efforts should be made to study people according to their perceived racial identities. With that in mind, there are a number of potential options. One way is to collect self-reported racial identification information with open-ended responses. The strength of this method is that the participants are able to state how they currently and specifically identify with the current array of potential sociohistorical constructed labels. However, a potential weakness is that some individuals may provide descriptions that, although useful to them, may be somewhat unique or useful for only a small group of individuals (e.g., identifying as Hmong or biracial Hmong and African American). These specific distinctions create challenges for some quantitative data analysis strategies; however, they also provide opportunities for the use of mixed-method strategies to explore emerging and complex identities.

A related approach would be the self-reported measures with closed response categories such as the system used for the U.S. Census classification. In this case, at least for the participants who choose to respond, you may end up with everyone in a particular category. However, it is very difficult to construct a closed-response measure that captures all of the potential variability in racial or ethnic identities. For example, the closed-response category may be Asian—but not allow for the possibility to select Korean, Vietnamese, or Japanese. So even though you end up with everyone with a group category, for some of the participants, that group may not match how they actually see themselves. This is important because there is great variation in the experiences of ethnic groups. For example, Asian Americans are considered to be "model minorities" and are often treated more positively than other racial groups. However, research has demonstrated that Hmong, Filipino, and Vietnamese American students often perceive experiencing more negative treatment in schools than Chinese American students (Teranishi, 2002, 2004). Researchers will need to challenge their assumptions that racial groups are monolithic and embrace a more nuanced approach to exploring the experiences of a racial group.

An additional issue here is that in some places, such as school districts or state departments of education, there may already be a closed response system, which has the potential to restrict your options as a researcher. This basically means that however you collect the data, it is important to explicate specifically how the data were collected, what potential options were available to the participants, and any potential limitations those options may have created for the researchers. It would also be important that researchers, when citing other research, specify how racial/ethnic data were defined and collected in those studies.

In addition to the race and racial identification data, it would be useful to collect as many other related constructs that may be relevant to the research questions being investigated. Some potential related constructs might be ancestry, language (and dialect), religion, migration history, housing and employment patterns, age, or educational attainment level. Considering issues of intersectionality (the overlapping of identities), as well as when this additional data are collected and used, should provide the opportunity to make interpretations and findings more useful (Fullilove, 1998; Kaplan & Bennett, 2004; McKenzie & Crowcroft, 1996).

CONCLUSIONS

As schools in the United States become more racially/ethnically diverse, it is imperative that educational psychologists begin to investigate "race" as a sociohistorical construct. We need to move beyond using race as a background variable that is included only in the Methods section to describe the sample or population. Instead, we should begin foregrounding issues of race and consider them central to the research questions being investigated. If educational psychologists want to be able to better explore the experiences of 21st-century students, we need to continue to develop more useful ways of talking about race within the sociohistorical context.

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