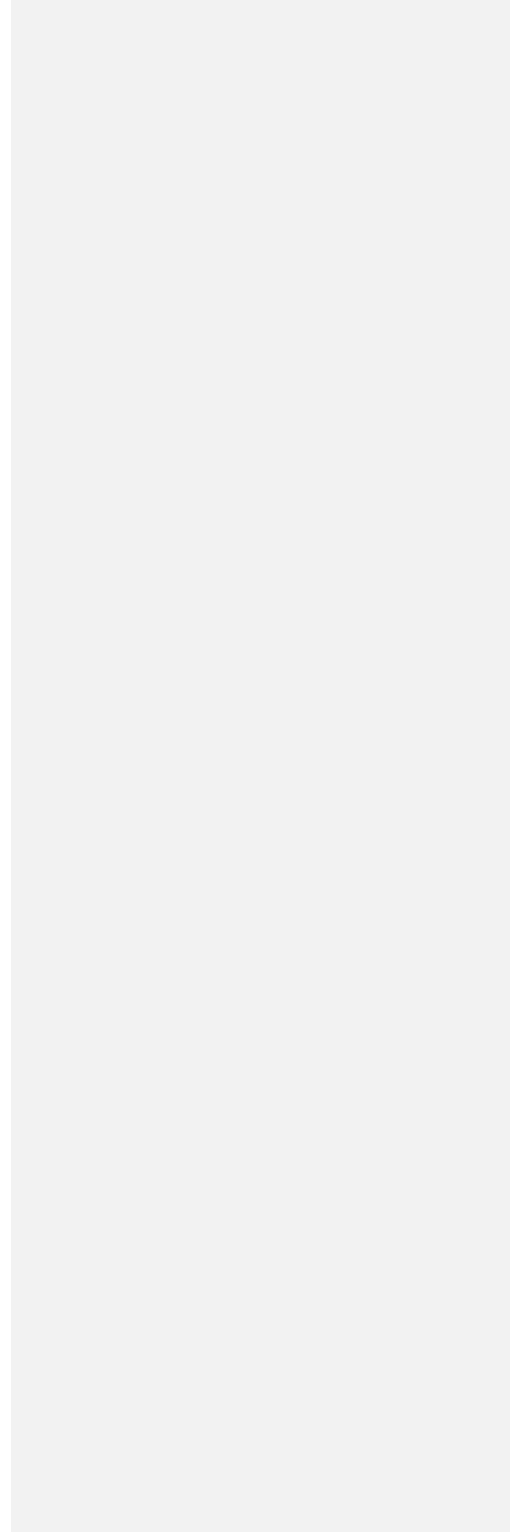**Racialization of Immigrant Youth in Multiracial School Settings, 2011 to 2022: A Systematic Review of the Research**

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Abstract: The purpose of this systematic review was to understand how scholars are approaching research at the intersections of race, immigration, language, citizenship, and education. We asked How have researchers explored the intersection of race and immigrant education between 2011 and 2021 among the population of immigrant students in the United States? The studies included in this systematic review examined research conducted and published on the racialization of immigrant youth in multiracial school settings between 2014 and 2022. Four main findings emerged from this review with implications for future research.

Introduction

Historically, immigration and citizenship studies have been theoretically and practically separated from race and ethnicity studies. The resulting intellectual silos have led to a fragmented understanding of immigrant youth and their families in the United States (Abu El-Haj, 2007; Bosniak, 2006; Kohli, 2009, Lee & Walsh, 2015; Ogbu, 1999; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). Scholars have continually called for a more intersectional and integrated approach to the racialized experiences of immigrant youth for more than a decade, arguing that speaking a language other than English (Nieto, 2010), being undocumented (Rodriguez, 2017), and being socially positioned as "model minority" (Lee, 2016; Yoon, 2018) or alien "other" (Abu El-Haj, 2014; Yosso, 2005; Jaffe-Walter, 2017) are racialized experiences that must be studied as such.

The purpose of this systematic review was to understand how scholars have been approaching research at the intersections of race, immigration, language, nationality, and education since 2014 at the beginning of the Black Lives Matter Movement, as well as throughout the election of Donald Trump, the COVID pandemic and the murder of George Floyd. The questions that guided this review are:

1. How have researchers explored the intersection of race and immigrant education between 2012 and 2021 among the population of immigrant students in the United States?
2. What theoretical and conceptual frameworks have been used to better understand the racialized experiences of immigrant youth?
3. How are researchers examining interactions between students, their peers, and their teachers in multiracial, multinational, and mix-status settings?

We find that significant research has been conducted on how immigrant students experience racialization in the U.S. However, much of this research has focused on single groups defined by geography, language, religion, nationality, or home country. Few studies explore how immigrant students in multiracial settings make sense of the racial order they are exposed to in the U.S. Fewer still examine the dialogue between youth of different ethnoracial backgrounds and/or between immigrant youth and educators.

The following section outlines our approach to the systematic review, a synopsis of the articles that met our inclusion criteria, and our descriptive and analytical findings.

Methodology

For the purposes of this review, we focused on studies of educational spaces in the U.S. and defined immigrant youth as young people who were born outside of the U.S. and who are now living and attending school in the U.S. This study assumes studies of immigrant education may focus on English language learning policies and programming and explicit or implicit messages surrounding citizenship or civic identity directed at immigrant students. We were interested in studies that took place in both traditional learning environments, like schools (public, private, charter) and in supplementary programs and community spaces. We were also interested in racialized learning in both the formal curriculum and in social interactions between peers,

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educators, and families. Using these general guidelines, we developed inclusion criteria explained in the following sections.

Inclusion Criteria. We restricted the geographic scope of the review to the United States, however, no restrictions were placed on state or rural/suburban/urban settings. Time period and study design filters were applied to ensure data collection and publication dates were between 2011-2022. We chose this time period because of the historically significant events within this time period that have led to public racial reckonings and recentered schools in racial culture wars in the U.S. These events include the beginning of the Black Lives Matter Movement in 2013 after the acquittal of George Zimmerman in the shooting death of Trayvon Martin; the election of Donald Trump, who ran on a racist and anti-immigrant platform; the disproportionate impact of COVID-19 on low-income immigrants and People of Color; and the murder of George Floyd at the hands of Minneapolis police.

The studies included in this systematic review examined the research conducted and published on the racialization of immigrant youth in formal and informal school settings between 2011 and 2022. Our review looks across disciplines, including anthropology, economics, psychology, and sociology, to identify studies which use theoretical and conceptual frameworks on racial learning to examine the racialized experiences of immigrant youth.

We included mixed-methods and qualitative research to acquire first-hand accounts from youth, administrators, educators, and families. Research participants in each study had to be immigrant students, teachers or administrators of immigrant students, and/or immigrant families engaged with their children's educations.

In sum, included studies met the following criteria:
- Data collection and publication between 2011 and 2022
- Took place in educational spaces or with immigrant student/family participants who talked about school
- Qualitative or mixed-methods were used
- Theoretical or conceptual framework explicitly or implicitly engaged the concepts of race or racialization

Data Collection. We began our search by using two general databases, ERIC via EBSCOHost and Web of Science with the search string:

> (rac* AND "immigrant education" AND "United States") OR (rac* AND education AND "United States) OR (rac* AND immigra* AND education AND "United States" AND multiracial)

This search string yielded 85 total articles, 36 that met the inclusion criteria based on title and abstract alone. In ERIC via EBSCOHost this search string yielded 60 articles. A screening of titles and abstracts excluded 39 articles. The included 21 articles were saved and exported to a Zotero group library. In Web of Science, this search string ring yielded 25 articles of which 10 were excluded after reading the title and abstract, and 15 articles were saved and exported to a Zotero group library.

After reading these 36 articles, we eliminated an additional 25 after reading the full text of the articles using our inclusion criteria. Not original research articles, data was collected before 2011 and if the participants were not recently arrived immigrants or did not take place in K-12 schools or did not take place in the U.S.

The final 11 articles were analyzed on a spreadsheet. Author 2 and Author 3 used Google Sheets to record the search results. **Table #** presents the categories we used to organize our data. The sheet was divided into two sections: descriptive data about the article and descriptive data about the studies. In the descriptive data about the article, we included the complete APA citation, author(s), and year of publication. In the descriptive data about the study, we included the location of research, school context (public, private, charter, supplementary, or community-based programs), participant demographics, methods, conceptual or theoretical framing, study description, and key findings.

In answering our research questions, we developed the following codes and marked them as an "X" on the Sheet if the themes applied to the articles: class dynamics, linguistic ideologies, citizenship/civics, and relationships. The code *class dynamics* was applied to articles about the broader categories of "immigrants" to the US, and since this group is incredibly heterogenous based on race, class, and language, this code arose naturally. We applied the code *linguistic ideologies* to articles that examined how immigrant youth who are multi-/translingual are often sorted in schools based on (perceived) language ability/practices (in ESL or Sheltered Immersion Programs). The *citizenship/civics* code was applied when the focus of the research addressed how citizenship and civics discourse impact identity formation within multiple/hybrid national communities. Finally, the *relationships* code was applied to articles written about inter-peer relationships, teacher-student, and family-school relationships.

After this initial analysis, we decided to conduct a third search of articles using Web of Science to search for any articles that we may have missed by creating a new search string that included the terms *school** and *relationship** to the search string. The search string we used was:

(rac* AND immigra* AND "United States" AND school* AND relationship*)

This search yielded 83 articles. The authors then applied filters to the publication years and selected 2011-2022. The search then dwindled to 59 articles. The authors subsequently applied filters to the categories and selected education/educational research, ethnic studies, sociology, psychology educational, urban studies, family studies, psychology social, social science, and psychology multidisciplinary. This final search yielded 33 articles which were saved and exported to a Zotero group library.

In total, 168 articles were identified and 69 articles were included after an initial screening of titles and abstracts. Author 2 and Author 3 read the full texts of the 69 articles to collaboratively determine relevancy and to identify if they met inclusion criteria. This process excluded 56 articles. Figure #1 details the process and reasons for elimination.

The authors supplemented database searches by searching the reference lists of articles in the final data set, examining the dataset in chronological order. Once relevant articles were pulled from reference lists, Author 2 and Author 3 again read their abstracts to identify inclusion criteria

and decided together if they were to be included in the dataset. This search yielded 9 articles which were saved and exported to a Zotero group library. After the authors read the full texts of the 9 articles to collaboratively determine relevancy and to identify if they met inclusion criteria, 3 articles were excluded for not being original research. Ultimately, the preceding systematic review methods yielded a total of 16 papers that form our final dataset.

Data Analysis.
Descriptive Statistics
Participant Trends. Of the 16 articles which met our inclusion criteria that the study took place in a multiracial setting, 12 focused on the experiences of students and/or families from similar geographic regions, nationalities, religions, or language groups.

The majority of the articles focused on the experiences of participants from countries in Africa and who could speak to the experience of being Black in the United States. Seven studies focused on immigrant students from specific countries in Africa. Lee et al. (2014) focused on Somali immigrant students. Kumi-Yeboah and Smith (2017) included 60 Ghanaian-born immigrant high school students who had lived and attended public school in the U.S. for at least two years. Bryan's (2020) study included Sudanese immigrant students who were self identified women and girls with refugee parents from South Sudan. Braden's (2020) study included one Senegalese immigrant family. Knight and Watson's (2014) study included 20 second and 1.5 generation participants from several countries in West Africa. Davila and Doukmak (2021) focus on seven students that participated in focus group interviews who were from the Democratic Republic of Congo and Cameroon; they arrived in the U.S. between the years 2012-16 while the study began in 2017.

Dryden-Peterson's (2018) study of Black African immigrant students and families stood out for its selection criteria because participants were from every region of Africa (Liberia, Cameroon, DR Congo Kenya,Somalia, Ghana, Ethiopia, Zimbabwe, Guinea Bissau, Liberia and Nigeria).

Within the 12 articles focused on students or families from similar backgrounds, only five studies looked at immigrants who were either not perceived by the researcher as Black in the U.S. context or did not self-identify as Black. Huber's (2011) participants were all self-identified women of Mexican origin. Isik-Ercan's (2015) study looked at Muslim and Turkish-American elementary and middle school students. Leo (2020) also included Muslim newcomers. Ghaffar-Kucher et al. (2022) included Muslim immigrant youth between the ages of 13 and 23. Park's (2020) study included 55 Korean immigrant youth and their families in community-based educational spaces.

Hemmler and Kibler's (2019) study was the only article in our data set in which the participants were from different nationalities, regions of the world, language groups, or racioethnic backgrounds. Of the four participants, one was a documented immigrant student from Central America who had been attending school in the U.S. for three years. Two participants were undocumented immigrants from Central America who both had been attending school in the U.S. for three years. One participant was a documented Russian-speaking immigrant who had been in U.S. schools for six months.

Finally, three studies focused on teachers of immigrant students. Deiri (2021) included seven Arabic language teachers from different regions in the Middle East; Free and Kriz (2022) focused on teachers who were bilingual (English and Spanish) or learned English as a second language, and who self-identified as migrants or the children of migrants; and Dávila and Linares (2020) focused on ESL/bilingual public school teachers, the majority of whom were bilingual (English and Spanish), and half of whom were white—the other half was Mexican.

Results:

Four main findings emerged from our analysis. First, we found that most articles on the racialization of immigrant youth or educators focused on specific identities related to geography (West African, Somali, Sudanese, Congolese, Cameroonese, Ghanaian, Korean, Syrian, Lebanese, Jordanian, Palestinian, and Moroccan migrant youth). While many of the students in these studies may have a shared religion or language, these were secondary points for comparison.

Second, most studies that addressed race and racialization disrupted a Black/white binary lens. For example, Lee et al. (2014) and Kumi-Yeboah and Smith (2017) focused on the "Universal Black Experience" and how African immigrant youth in their study dismantled this and began to identify themselves as being Black and African. In Dávila and Doukmak (2021), all three of their findings centered on how students made sense of immigrant policies and debates through their "African diasporic identities" (p. 128). Knight and Watson (2014) explore Black African immigrant students' multifaceted relationship to civic engagement (which they describe as "participatory communal citizenship"). On one hand, cultural knowledge passed down by elders and a sense of debt to their transnational communities compels these students to contribute to the global African Diaspora through civic engagement. On the other hand, shared racialization with African Americans in the United States encourages these students to engage in critical civic thought surrounding structural anti-Blackness within the country's present and history. Leo (2020) further complicates the Black/white binary by exploring how Muslim newcomer students' lived experiences of the Model Minority myth place them in opposition to Black American students and erode potential for cross-racial solidarity between ethnically diverse non-white student populations in the U.S.

Third, the literature identified a clear link between race and language in identity formation, self-perception, and peer interaction. Huber (2011) identified a relationship between racialization and linguistic ideologies/English language learning between Chicana students. Similar themes were explored in Free and Križ's research (2022). Deiri (2021) also identified a relationship between racialization and linguistic ideologies/English language learning among Arab students, but mainly as a lens to understand how the Arabic language has been associated with "danger."

Finally, we found that many of the most recent studies use a framework of raciolinguistics to operationalize understandings of migrant youth's experiences & subvert dominant notions of literacy in the field of education (Bryan, 2020; Deiri, 2021, Park 2020).

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Discussion

Understanding how students grapple with identities and questions around race is central to our democracy. Particular attention should be paid to the country's newest arrivals. As immigrant populations have increased in traditional enclaves and new immigrant destinations, public schools have been the institution of first contact for many immigrant youths and their families. Subsequently, there has been a growing recognition of the need to address immigrant youth's social and academic needs. This careful, detailed, systematic, and analytic literature review critically analyzes existing research to see where we are in the attempt to racialize ethnic and language studies and identify avenues for future research. Our findings demonstrate that qualitative researchers are well versed and seeped in exciting new ways of understanding intersectionality around race, nationality, and language. We are particularly excited about the operationalization of work by Flores and Rosa (2019) around raciolinguistics.

There is more work to be done to uncouple the work from a Black/white binary by thinking about what race and racialization mean outside of the U.S. and how pre-migration experiences impact how youth understand race in the U.S. after migration.

Finally, more work needs to address questions of school culture and interracial peer and teacher relationships. Dryden-Peterson (2018) addresses this--add to Results section and conduct further research to see if other scholars have explored this or not

While there is much to be done to better understand how migrant youth experience race and racialization, the current research is promising and demonstrates that researchers are grappling with this phenomenon in complex and compelling ways.

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