Editorial Essay

Journal of Adolescent Research
1–31
© The Author(s) 2021
Article reuse guidelines:
sagepub.com/journals-permissions
DOI: 10.1177/07435584211043288
journals.sagepub.com/home/jar

Anti-Racism Education and Training for Adult Mentors Who Work With BIPOC Adolescents

Bernadette Sánchez[1], Amy J. Anderson[1], Torie Weiston-Serdan[2], and Beth S. Catlett[3]

Abstract
Racism and White supremacy culture shape the experiences of youth and adults in mentoring programs, which is detrimental to the development of BIPOC youth. The aims of this paper are to a) show why anti-racism training and education for adult mentors is necessary for promoting the positive development of BIPOC youth and b) offer a framework for anti-racist education and training for mentors. We review research showing how mentors' attitudes about race, ethnicity and culture can harm their relationships with BIPOC youth and research on general mentor training, anti-racism training for mentors, and general diversity and anti-bias training in the workplace. Crossing disciplinary boundaries to inform developmental science, we draw upon critical mentoring, culturally relevant and sustaining pedagogy, and ethnic/racial identity frameworks, and propose four components for anti-racist education and training for mentors: a) acknowledging, confronting, and interrupting racism, b) facilitating youth critical consciousness, c) supporting positive identity development in youth, and d) mentors and mentees as active agents and partners. At the foundation of these pillars is decentering and interrupting Whiteness and youth as co-constructors of knowledge. We offer suggestions for future research and

[1]University of Illinois Chicago, Chicago, IL USA
[2]Claremont Graduate University, CA, USA
[3]DePaul University, Chicago, IL, USA

Corresponding Author:
Bernadette Sánchez, University of Illinois Chicago, ETMSW MC 147, 1040 W. Harrison St., Chicago, IL 60607-7133, USA.
Email: bsanchez@uic.edu

practice in anti-racism training for mentors, which also have implications for youth-adult relationships across settings.

Keywords
mentoring, adolescents, anti-racism, training, mentors

> "The hill we climb
> If only we dare
> It's because being American is more than a pride we inherit,
> it's the past we step into
> and how we repair it"
>
> —Amanda Gorman (2021)

The last decade has witnessed a growing interest about how mentoring relationships and programs may address some of the societal and systemic challenges experienced by youth who identify as Black, Indigenous, and People of Color (BIPOC; Garringer et al., 2017). This interest is not surprising given the national data on mentoring programs that indicate approximately 76% of mentees served are BIPOC children and adolescents (Garringer et al., 2017). These same data further reveal that the majority (approximately 53%) of their volunteer mentors are White. This demographic profile, in conjunction with cross-racial matching program practices, presents a "sociocultural gap" (Gay, 1993) between the lived experiences of adult mentors and BIPOC mentees. Such a gap runs the risk of negatively impacting mentees and mentoring relationships. Indeed, although mentoring programs are created and implemented with the goal of improving the lives of BIPOC youth, these programs may be, however inadvertently, reproducing inequality and promoting a system of White[1] supremacy which has detrimental consequences for BIPOC adolescent development.

Lack of programmatic attention to differences between mentors and BIPOC mentees' lived realities leaves room for adults' racial biases and inattention to systemic racism to go unchecked, and as a result, risk causing harm in the relationship (Albright et al., 2017; Cormier, 2020). And although research on youth-adult relationships in developmental science has been rooted in positive youth developmental frameworks in which the focus has been on the youth side of the equation, less has been done in examining the adults in these relationships, particularly mentors. Thus, to build upon existing work that already has begun to focus on mentors, and the benefits of the mentor training they receive, our article centers on anti-racism education and

training for mentors. This type of anti-racism education and training refers to training that helps mentors to actively interrupt and oppose racism in their interactions and relationships with youth.

To date, most mentoring programs offer training and/or support to mentors (Garringer et al., 2017), and evidence suggests that training strengthens mentoring relationships (Kupersmidt, Stump, et al., 2017). Building on this existing work, we suggest that increasing a focus on anti-racism education within mentor training can have a positive impact. We draw on existing training evidence and offer a conceptual model for anti-racism training and education for mentors. We are optimistic about the potential for anti-racism mentor training to have a positive influence in the field. That said, we also are mindful that anti-racism mentor training will not solve the myriad challenges that systemic racism presents for BIPOC youth in this country. But in line with Amanda Gorman's poem at the inauguration of President Biden on January 20, 2021, it is essential that volunteer mentors hold themselves accountable for participating in a process of repair, with their work contributing to the larger project of interrupting social inequity and injustice. Moreover, it is important for mentors to reflect on how systems of power, privilege, and oppression have impacted their own experiences, as well as learn the racist history of the United States that has harmed the lives of BIPOC adolescents and their communities.

To demonstrate the need for anti-racism education and training for mentors, we first discuss how racism and White supremacy culture show up in youth mentoring programs and relationships. Next, we review research on mentor training and its effects on mentor attitudes, relationship processes, and youth outcomes, as well as review the limited available evidence on anti-racism mentor training on mentor attitudes. We also discuss meta-analyses and reviews of diversity and anti-bias training to inform future development of anti-racism mentor training and education. We then draw on theories outside of developmental science to push the field to develop and examine anti-racism education and training for adults who work with BIPOC adolescents. Using the conceptual and theoretical frameworks of critical mentoring (Weiston-Serdan, 2017), culturally sustaining pedagogy in education (Ladson-Billings, 1995; Paris & Alim, 2017), a White identity development model (Helms, 2020), and ethnic/racial identity development, we propose a framework of anti-racism education and training for volunteer mentors. In describing the framework, we review research that shows how the framework components are related to the positive development of BIPOC adolescents. We end the article with recommendations for future research and practice on anti-racism education and training for mentors serving BIPOC adolescents. Although the focus of the article is on youth mentoring relationships, the

proposed framework is applicable to anti-racism education and training for adults working with youth across a variety of settings.

Racism and White Supremacy Culture in Youth Mentoring Programs

Because mentoring programs exist in and are a microcosm of a larger society, the foundational underpinnings of most mentoring and youth development programs are rooted in White supremacy culture. Even with the best intentions, and sometimes without fully knowing or understanding, out-of-school-time programs, including mentoring programs, are most often designed to fix, correct, or remedy some imagined blight within BIPOC communities (Baldridge, 2020; Weiston-Serdan, 2017). The very beginning of the problem, then, is that mentoring programs are built upon deficit ideas of particular communities and young people who belong to them. In other words, the implicit, and sometimes explicit, message suggests that communities have deficits that others can fill through service. These deficit perspectives, rooted in racism and White supremacy culture, are pervasive and present significant risks for youth's and adults' experiences in youth-serving programs.

The deficit perspective begins with the idea that "Whiteness is the norm." Although Whiteness is seldom explicitly discussed, it is normed to be the invisible standard for all. Researchers have discussed how Whiteness has been socially constructed and how it has been socially centered in U.S. society (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Thomas & Thomas, 1928). Critical race theorists have also explored the concept of Whiteness, how it is normed, and the material privileges that come along with its possession (Bell, 1988; Harris, 1993). Both the concept of Whiteness and basing programs on deficit models as normed by Whiteness becomes essential to consider when discussing the problems identified within predominantly White-led or White-normed programs. Whiteness as a norm and racism itself is part of how the U.S. is structured and its institutions, and thus, it influences all of the individuals in society, including mentoring researchers, practitioners and volunteers, no matter one's race/ethnicity.

In 2019, social media timelines were full of news articles highlighting a Chicago nonprofit that had received substantial funding from Jay Z and the National Football League (Golden, 2019). The articles lambasted the Crushers Club founder, Sally Hazelgrove, for a posted picture of her cutting off a Black boy's dreadlocks in the program. The caption read, "and another crusher let me cut his dreads off. It's symbolic of change and their desire for a better life" (Golden, 2019). The Crushers Club, a nonprofit organization

that touts itself as "an innovative youth violence prevention and reduction program" became the center of a debate about the ability of White-led and White-normed programs to work with BIPOC youth in culturally responsive ways. The caption implied that Black boys with natural hair, the most representative of their Blackness, hampered their ability to thrive, not the systemic and institutional racism plaguing their communities. This particular instance is one of many and demonstrates a pervasive issue in mentoring and youth development programs.

Other mentoring programs may not be as explicit in their White supremacist norms, whether White- or BIPOC-led, but White supremacy culture still impacts how programs are structured. For example, some mentoring programs and research include the term "at-risk youth" as the population of focus without defining the term. The assumption behind the term, however, is deficit-based and victim-blaming, and oftentimes used to refer to low-income, BIPOC youth. So when mentoring researchers and practitioners use the term "at-risk youth," the assumption is that low-income, BIPOC youth need help and have problems. Another example is the respectability politics promoted in some mentoring programs, such as teaching African-American and Latino boys how to tie a tie or teaching BIPOC youth the etiquette of fine dining. Although these behaviors are needed to assimilate in White-dominant institutions, it is predicated on the idea that assimilation will help BIPOC communities and that they just need to accommodate White standards and norms to be successful.

Another example is the historically popular model of mentoring: a hierarchical one-on-one relationship between an unrelated adult volunteer and a child, which is based on Eurocentric, middle-class, individualistic values of relationships and does not consider other adults who might play an integral role in the development of the mentee (Sánchez & Colón, 2005). However, BIPOC communities have historically had other models of mentoring (e.g., group mentoring) given that these other approaches are more consistent with their cultural values and practices (e.g., Rites of Passage programs; Sánchez et al., 2018; Utsey et al., 2003). Relatively recently, mentoring researchers have expanded their views of mentoring to also include group mentoring (Kuperminc & Thomason, 2014) and youth-initiated mentoring (e.g., Schwartz et al., 2013), for example, and have pushed others to consider the role of parents and other adults as important influences of the mentoring relationship (Keller & Blakeslee, 2014; Spencer et al., 2011). However, much work still needs to be done to disrupt the White supremacist norms of youth mentoring.

Many low-income BIPOC youth spend time outside their homes interacting with adults whose backgrounds (e.g., race, ethnicity, socioeconomic

status) differ from their own, and who may have attitudes that are harmful to BIPOC youth. Youth mentoring programs across the United States are no exception (Garringer et al., 2017). A study of 1,310 youth served through primarily Big Brothers Big Sisters (BBBS) mentoring programs found that most mentors were dissimilar to their mentees in their socioeconomic, cultural, or family background (Herrera et al., 2013). For example, only 15% of mentors reported having experienced poverty, while most mentees were from low-income homes (Herrera et al., 2013). Given these sociocultural differences, mentors may begin interacting with youth with preconceived notions about youth and their environments. For example, a qualitative study of the reflections of 32 predominantly White college student mentors serving mostly low-income BIPOC youth revealed that some had negative assumptions and stereotypes about their mentees when they entered the relationship (Hughes et al., 2009). An online survey of 1,022 White adults who worked or volunteered with children revealed that at least 27% endorsed one or more negative stereotypes (i.e., lazy, violence-prone, unhealthy habits) about Black teens and other teens of color. In contrast, fewer participants endorsed negative stereotypes about White adolescents (Priest et al., 2018). These negative views toward BIPOC adolescents could affect the initial stages of relationship development, mentor expectations, and the kinds of opportunities they provide or fail to provide BIPOC youth.

Research shows that mentors' skills and attitudes about race, ethnicity, and culture may be harmful to their relationships with youth. For example, in a study of mostly White mentors (70%) and mostly BIPOC mentees (81%) about why mentoring relationships fail (i.e., they ended before the agreed-upon time commitment in the program), it was found that some mentors were unaware of their own biases and negative stereotypes or did not have the skills to bridge cultural differences between themselves and their mentee (Spencer, 2007). Another study of mostly White volunteer mentors (56%) who were serving mostly Latinx male mentees (53%) involved in the justice system revealed that those mentors who had less experience in mentoring youth or had short-term relationships were more likely to express racist views about the youth and their families (Duron et al., 2020). In contrast, mentors who developed longer-term relationships with mentees developed a critical consciousness about the issues that their mentees were facing. Specifically, they developed a self-awareness about their own understanding of delinquency, thought about how environmental challenges and structural racism shaped mentees' lives, and expressed ideas about advocacy and policy changes that were needed to improve the lives of mentees (Duron et al., 2020). Finally, another study revealed that lower cultural competence among volunteer mentors was significantly related to mentors' lower satisfaction

with their mentoring relationships (Suffrin et al., 2016), which could influence the effort they put into sustaining their relationships with youth.

Much of the previous research reveals how BIPOC adolescents are engaged in mentoring and the potential negative impact of mentors' attitudes and skills around race, ethnicity, and culture. Normed by Whiteness and deficit-based perspectives, these programs can become sites of trauma and harm. The assumption in these programs may be that BIPOC youth are to be fixed or remedied, and these fixes may be detrimental to adolescents' fundamental identities. Perpetuating negative stereotypes, centering respectability, and reinforcing White supremacist hierarchies leave these youth with little voice, power, and choice and maintain the same structures that oppress them outside of these programs. The lack of liberatory structures in mentoring programs further keeps BIPOC young people from growing in the ways most program staff say they intend. BIPOC adolescents miss out on opportunities to be their own advocates, lead their own work, and learn how to organize and amplify their own voices. The liberatory work required of these programs means centering BIPOC youth identities, not displacing them; centering BIPOC youth voices, not hampering them; and building on their assets, not identifying their deficits. Given the pervasiveness of White supremacy culture and the absence of liberatory structures in many youth mentoring programs, we now turn to anti-racism training and education for adult mentors as one mode for promoting the positive development of BIPOC adolescents.

Research on Mentor Training and Anti-Racist Education and Training

General Mentor Training

Rhodes's (2005) conceptual model of youth mentoring posits that the quality of the mentor-youth relationship is moderated by program practices that help to establish and foster the relationship. These practices include mentor training prior to the mentoring relationship and ongoing training and support over the course of the relationship. Specifically, a theoretical framework of mentor training suggests that these practices shape mentor attitudes and knowledge, which promote the duration and quality of the youth-mentor relationship, and ultimately, youth developmental outcomes (Kupersmidt & Rhodes, 2014).

Research shows that mentor training is linked to improved mentor attitudes and mentor-youth relationships. Experimental research reveals that mentor training is significantly associated with higher self-efficacy in carrying out the mentor role, higher scores on mentoring knowledge (based on the content of the training), a better understanding of appropriate and inappropriate mentor

roles, and lower scores on unrealistically positive expectations of mentoring (Kupersmidt, Stelter, et al., 2017). Mentor training has also been found to be significantly related to closer and more supportive relationships between youth and volunteer mentors (Herrera et al., 2000) and longer mentoring relationships (Kupersmidt, Stump, et al., 2017).

Ongoing training and support during the mentoring relationship also appears to promote stronger relationships and better youth outcomes. Researchers have found that ongoing training and supervision predicted closer and more supportive relationships (Herrera et al., 2000), more frequent contact and longer mentoring relationships (Herrera et al., 2013), and a lower likelihood of the mentoring relationship ending early (Peaslee & Teye, 2015). A meta-analysis of evaluations of youth mentoring programs found that the provision of ongoing training for mentors was associated with significantly larger effect sizes on youth outcomes (DuBois et al., 2002). Similarly, recent research shows that ongoing support and guidance from program staff to volunteer mentors was related to a range of educational outcomes (e.g., positive classroom affect, classroom misbehavior; Herrera et al., 2008) as well as greater life satisfaction, higher math grades, and fewer behavioral office referrals among adolescents (McQuillin et al., 2013).

Anti-Racism Training for Mentors

Although general mentor training influences mentoring relationship processes, mentor attitudes, and youth outcomes, few studies have examined the extent to which anti-racism mentor training shapes mentoring. There is some research on diversity, social justice, and cultural humility training that shows the potential of this work for mentoring. For example, graduate students mentoring children in foster care attended a 3-day training that included a unit on cultural differences (Taussig et al., 2010). Over half of mentors felt they were "very well" prepared to work with mentees from diverse cultural backgrounds, compared with 47% of mentors who received the training without the unit on cultural differences (Taussig et al., 2010). Although promising, the modest difference between reports by mentors in these two groups and the fact that even with the training module, 44% of mentors did not feel "very well" prepared suggests that mentor training on this topic may be helpful.

Research on longer training shows that volunteer mentors' racial attitudes change. One study examined the role of a 7-week, critical mentoring preparation course on college students' ability to mentor youth with marginalized identities and interrogate deficit-thinking and Whiteness in mentoring (Livstrom, 2020). Mentors' weekly reflection and interview data indicated that mentors increased their awareness of racialized sociopolitical histories

in their community, their own racial biases and stereotypes, and the negative impact of White saviorism in mentoring (Livstrom, 2020). Another study of two 2-day trainings on race equity and social justice aimed at mentors and staff who work with low-income, BIPOC youth revealed pre/post increases in their cross-cultural competencies and self-efficacy beliefs in providing ethnic/racial support (e.g., confidence in helping their mentee to feel good about their racial/ethnic group, confidence in helping their mentee to cope with prejudice and discrimination) to their mentees (Anderson et al., 2018). In a study of predominantly White, middle-/upper-class mentors matched with predominantly Black, low-income high school students, after receiving training on race, class, and White privilege, mentors' journals and reflection papers indicated that they reflected on both positive assets and negative conditions of their mentees' communities (Hughes et al., 2012). Furthermore, mentors described increased recognition of their own biases and stereotypes, but some continued to perpetuate blame toward their mentee rather than recognizing the role of social context (Hughes et al., 2012), suggesting that further research is needed to determine why some mentors begin to disrupt inequality while others reinforce it.

There has been some research conducted on anti-racist training for educators, which have implications for training volunteer mentors. Lawrence and Tatum (1999) conducted a qualitative study of their anti-racist courses for current and future educators, which aimed to help them become aware of the effects of institutional and individual racism and to be agents of change in disrupting racism in their teaching and everyday lives. Their research found that White participants developed a more anti-racist White identity by the end of their courses. Specifically, many gained awareness of the effects of racism on BIPOC people, and some acknowledged their own White privilege and became aware of how the experiences of BIPOC people were invisible in their own education. Some educators even developed action plans to change their teaching practices and curricula to include race and the history of BIPOC communities. However, the authors reported that some participants experienced discomfort, shame, and guilt in the course, which caused some to be defensive or "withdraw" from discussions (Lawrence & Tatum, 1999). Some participants also did not benefit as much as others for a variety of reasons, including resistance or previous experiences and exposure to the course content.

Research on race equity, social justice, and anti-racism training for mentors and educators shows the potential of this work in changing adults' attitudes. These studies suggest that more intensive and ongoing training for volunteer mentors is needed to change their attitudes. However, it is unclear to what extent the trainings in the previous studies actually caused the changes in mentors' attitudes and views, highlighting the need for more rigorous

quantitative and qualitative evaluations that isolate the effects of these practices and gain an in-depth understanding of how these trainings work. Another gap in the previous research is that it is unknown to what extent participating in these trainings and education influenced mentors' and educators' interactions and relationships with BIPOC adolescents, and ultimately, the promotion of positive developmental outcomes in BIPOC adolescents.

Diversity and Anti-Bias Training in the Workplace

Meta-analyses and systematic reviews of diversity and anti-bias training in the workplace can inform implementation of anti-racism training for mentors. These reviews reveal that anti-racism training should occur in conjunction with broader organizational efforts; multipronged approaches demonstrate larger effects on training attendees' outcomes compared with stand-alone efforts (Bezrukova et al., 2012). Additionally, anti-racism training should be mandatory for all volunteer mentors given evidence that mandatory training exhibits greater effects than voluntary training, which tend to attract attendees who are already educated on the topic (Bezrukova et al., 2016; Kulik et al., 2007). These strategies can demonstrate a mentoring organization's commitment to anti-racism.

Previous research on training focus and content also has implications for anti-racism mentor training. Kalinoski and colleagues' (2013) meta-analysis indicated that single-issue training (e.g., racism) had more positive effects on attendees' cognitive outcomes compared with generic, multicultural trainings. Another meta-analysis, however, found that issue-specific and multi-issue trainings had comparable positive effects on attendee outcomes (Bezrukova et al., 2016). Researchers argue that multi-issue or generic diversity training runs the risk of de-centering racism in order to preserve attendees' comfort and reduce backlash from attendees (Abrams & Moio, 2009), but that discomfort is a necessary part of anti-bias training and learning (Carter et al., 2020). When focused on a specific issue like anti-racism, researchers suggest that training should also emphasize developing specific behaviors or skills alongside awareness (Bezrukova et al., 2016; Carter et al., 2020). Together, this research suggests that although some resistance is expected, anti-racist mentor training focused on developing both behaviors and awareness can demonstrate positive outcomes.

Finally, research on training delivery factors has implications for maximizing anti-racism training effects for mentors. For example, longer trainings have been consistently found to be associated with more positive attendee outcomes (Bezrukova et al., 2016), with training longer than 4 hours exhibiting larger effects on affective outcomes compared with trainings less than 4

hours (Kalinoski et al., 2013). Additionally, in-person training with a human instructor, training that includes social interaction, and both active and passive engagement among attendees demonstrated greater effects than computerized training and passive engagement, respectively (Kalinoski et al., 2013).

Crossing Disciplinary Boundaries to Inform Anti-Racism Praxis in Youth Mentoring

To understand youth mentoring, we rely on Positive Youth Developmental processes (Lerner et al., 2005), which is grounded in Relational Developmental Systems Paradigm (Overton, 2015) and emphasizes that developmental regulations of adolescent strengths and ecological assets influence youth outcomes (Lerner et al., 2015). Specifically, developmental regulations in adolescence are reciprocal exchanges between adolescents and their environments and are considered "adaptive" when they are mutually beneficial to the youth and their context (Lerner et al., 2015). Furthermore, developmental regulations in adolescence occur within broader ecological contexts, including cultural processes (Bronfenbrenner & Ceci, 1994; Lerner et al., 2015). We focus on mentoring relationships as an ecological asset for BIPOC adolescents and contend that the historical and cultural processes of White supremacy culture shape the interactions between youth and their mentors, thus influencing the relationship and its role in positive youth outcomes. We argue that anti-racist training for adult mentors working with BIPOC adolescents is needed for relationships to be optimally adaptive and beneficial to the developmental outcomes of BIPOC adolescents.

Research has examined supportive youth-adult relationships across settings (e.g., mentoring, after-school programs, Deutsch & Jones, 2008; DuBois et al., 2011), but there is limited research in developmental science that focuses on the adult within the reciprocal relationship. The tacit assumption is that interactions between adults (who are often White) and BIPOC youth in these settings are inherently beneficial, or at least neutral, which reifies White supremacy culture. That is, mentoring interactions are not neutral, and adults possess their own biases and assumptions that can cause harm to BIPOC youth when racist ideas go unquestioned (Albright et al., 2017). Interactions between youth and adults are either reproducing or challenging inequality, and adult mentors should be trained to work with BIPOC adolescents in a manner that challenges inequality. Given the limitations of the Relational Systems Developmental Paradigm (Overton, 2015), we draw upon theories outside of developmental science to inform anti-racist training for volunteer mentors. Much anti-racism work has been

discussed and conducted for decades in disciplines outside of developmental science, and we draw upon the work by Black women scholars in education and in other areas of psychology. Interdisciplinary scholarship[2] pushes developmental scientists to think outside the box and be innovative in anti-racism research and praxis.

First, we draw on critical mentoring (Weiston-Serdan, 2017). Grounded in critical race theory (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017) and an intersectional feminist lens (Crenshaw, 1989), critical mentoring challenges mentors and program staff to consider the roles of race and context in the mentoring relationship and in youth's lives (Weiston-Serdan, 2017). Specifically, BIPOC youth are marginalized within multiple systems of oppression (e.g., racial, economic, gender, sexuality), and Weiston-Serdan challenges mentoring program staff and volunteers to examine how these systems of oppression influence mentees in their everyday lives. A first step in critical mentoring is the recognition that mentors need to develop an anti-racist and social justice lens in their work with youth. Specifically, mentors should be trained in guided self-reflection on their biases and privilege, on how youth's social identity is shaped by marginalization, and on how to have conversations with mentees that are reflective of these attitudes (Albright et al., 2017). Critical mentoring is also a strengths-based and youth-centered approach; program staff and mentors view youth as experts in their own lived reality and empower youth to be agents of social change (Weiston-Serdan, 2017).

Second, we draw upon culturally sustaining pedagogy (Paris, 2012), formerly known as culturally relevant pedagogy (Ladson-Billings, 1995), from the field of education. Culturally sustaining pedagogy challenges the historical deficit narrative in education about BIPOC students and their families and communities (Paris, 2012). Two relevant aspects of culturally sustaining pedagogy for anti-racist education and training for volunteer mentors are affirming BIPOC youth's cultural identity and helping BIPOC youth develop a critical consciousness about the world around them (Ladson-Billings, 1995). Educators can affirm youth's cultural identity by utilizing students' culture and strengths in the classroom and in the curriculum (Ladson-Billings, 1995). For example, Ladson-Billings (1995) noted in her ethnographic research of successful teachers of African American children that teachers utilized the local community and culture and students' interests as a basis for their curricula, such as hip hop to teach poetry, discussing and analyzing a vacant shopping mall in the local community, or capitalizing on a student's leadership skills in the classroom even though the student had a history of behavioral problems and suspensions. Utilizing students' interests and strengths helped them to become engaged with the classroom material and with their education

in general. However, Paris (2012) argued that it is insufficient for curricula to be relevant to youth's identity and culture; educators also need to *sustain* students' cultural and linguistic identities of their community.

Regarding critical consciousness, Ladson-Billings (1995) stated that African American students need to develop an ability to critique societal inequities that impact their everyday lives and that education curricula should facilitate these skills. Furthermore, even when utilizing BIPOC youth's culture, such as hip hop, in the education curriculum, it is important for BIPOC students to critique the multiple systems of oppression that take place within these cultures (Paris & Alim, 2017). For example, hip hop may be an excellent teaching tool in education because it comes from BIPOC communities, but questions should be asked about who is excluded and oppressed in hip hop (e.g., women and girls, queer youth; Paris & Alim, 2017). This analysis of social inequality in the classroom demands a critical consciousness in teachers to facilitate this learning (Ladson-Billings, 1995). The implications of culturally sustaining pedagogy for mentoring are that mentors affirm and support BIPOC adolescents' social and cultural identities and that mentors develop a critical consciousness to support youth's development of their own sociopolitical awareness and engagement.

Finally, we draw upon ethnic-racial identity theories to inform anti-racist education and training for volunteer mentors. Most of the research on ethnic-racial identity development has focused on BIPOC adolescents, and the little research that has been done on adulthood has focused on BIPOC college students; less is known about the continued development of ethnic/racial identity through adulthood and about White identity development (Rogers et al., 2020; Williams et al., 2020). Ethnic/racial identity refers to individuals' beliefs and attitudes about their ethnic/racial group memberships (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). Scholars argue that ethnic/racial identity continues to transform throughout adulthood because of role changes (e.g., marriage, becoming a parent), transitions (e.g., new job, geographic moves), and sociopolitical and historical moments (e.g., election of Trump, televised police murders of Black and Brown people, insurrection of U.S. capitol by White supremacists; Rogers et al., 2020). Recently, scholars have postulated that an important, but understudied, aspect of ethnic/racial identity is the attitudes and behaviors with regard to examining, challenging, and resisting societal, racial inequality (Mathews et al., 2019).

Given that over half of volunteer mentors are White (Garringer et al., 2017) and that Whiteness is centered in youth work (Baldridge, 2020; Weiston-Serdan, 2017), we also focus on Helms's (2020) White identity development model from the field of counseling psychology to inform anti-racist education and training for mentors. This model is relevant because of

its anti-racist focus in developing a positive White identity, and Dr. Beverly Daniel Tatum has used Helms's model extensively (for example, see Lawrence & Tatum, 1999; Tatum, 1992, 2017) in her undergraduate courses on the psychology of racism and in anti-racist training and professional development for educators. According to Helms (2020), developing a positive White identity requires (a) deciding to reject individual, institutional, and cultural racism; (b) observing how racism is maintained in one's various environments; (c) distinguishing the difference between the expression of racism and White culture; and (d) uncovering what is positive about being White. Rejecting racism means that White people acknowledge how they have been racist and/or how they have benefited from racism (Helms, 2020).

Helms's identity development model includes a two-phase process: internalizing racism and developing a nonracist White identity. Each phase consists of schemas, and the phases are fluid and changeable, not linear, discrete, or mutually exclusive. In the internalizing racism phase, White individuals might use different schemas and self-protective strategies to maintain the status quo and the benefits of White privilege. The schemas range from having a colorblind perspective, being conscious of their White identity and its societal benefits, to believing in the superiority of White people over BIPOC people. Self-protective strategies in the internalized racism phase include silence, avoidance of cross-racial interactions, fear that they will say something racist when interacting with BIPOC individuals, anger, and denial of responsibility for the conditions of BIPOC people in the United States. In the nonracist White identity phase, the schemas range from having a White liberal perspective and believing that BIPOCs need help in becoming equal to Whites, understanding the implications of race in the United States, actively exploring and learning about racism and the real White history of the United States, to feeling safe and secure in their Whiteness and committing to being a nonracist White person. Individuals who develop a nonracist White identity understand that this is a lifelong process of discovery and work toward eliminating societal oppression.

There are multiple implications of Helms's (2020) White identity model for anti-racist education and training for mentors who work with BIPOC adolescents. First, mentors should learn the history of racism in the United States and its destructive impact on BIPOC communities. Second, they need to learn about historic and current individuals (both White and BIPOC) who have engaged in anti-racist efforts so that mentors have role models of people with an anti-racist and positive identity. Third, they need to engage in guided self-reflection about their own contributions to racism, how they have benefited from racism, the psychological costs of racism to themselves, and their own positionality within systems of oppression and privilege. Fourth,

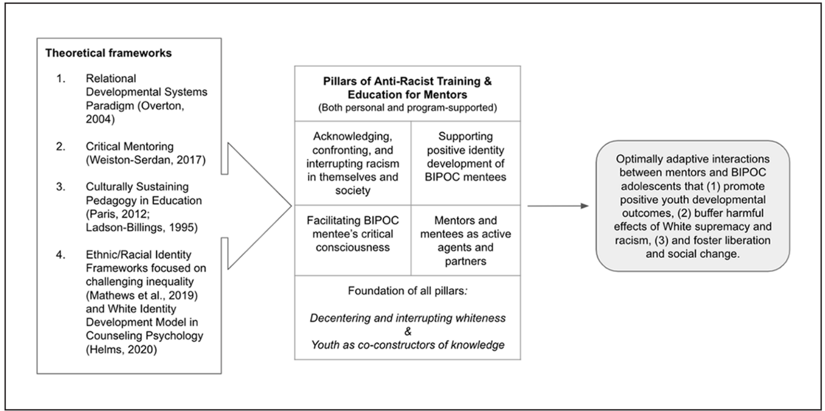

Figure 1. Model of anti-racist training and education for volunteer mentors.
Note. BIPOC = Black, Indigenous, and People of Color.

mentors should learn about identity frameworks for both White and BIPOC individuals so they can understand where they are in their own identity process and to understand healthy identity development in BIPOC adolescents.

Components of Anti-Racist Training and Education for Volunteer Mentors

Building upon, and guided by, critical mentoring (Weiston-Serdan, 2017), culturally sustaining pedagogy (Ladson-Billings, 1995; Paris & Alim, 2017), White identity development model (Helms, 2020), and the call by developmental scientists that examining, challenging, and resisting structural inequality is part of ethnic/racial identity development in BIPOC people (Mathews et al., 2019; Rogers et al., 2020), we provide a model for anti-racist education for volunteer mentors (see Figure 1). These theories ground developmental scientists by indicating how mentors can engage in training and education that emphasizes their own responsibility in anti-racism, how they can support their mentees through opportunities for identity and critical consciousness development, and be active agents and partners with youth. We propose four pillars for anti-racist education and training for volunteer mentors: (a) acknowledging, confronting, and interrupting racism; (b) facilitating youth critical consciousness, (c) supporting positive identity development in youth, and (d) mentors and mentees as active agents and partners. At the foundation of these pillars are decentering and interrupting Whiteness and youth as

constructors of knowledge. An important note is that anti-racist education and training can take place at the individual or organizational/program level. That is, depending on the resources available in mentoring programs, staff may offer anti-racist education and training to their volunteer mentors. If the agency lacks the resources to offer this type of education and training, then volunteer mentors may have to seek opportunities to engage in this work on their own.

Acknowledging, Confronting, and Interrupting Racism

The first pillar of acknowledging, confronting, and interrupting racism requires both reflexivity and learning about the history of racism in the United States. Mentors need to engage in guided reflexivity about their own assumptions and biases about BIPOC youth and communities as well as how they have engaged in racism and benefited from racism in their lives. Mentors also need to locate themselves in this work and examine how their own multiple privileged and/or marginalized identities influence their relationship with BIPOC mentees. This guided reflexivity applies to White and BIPOC mentors as both may perpetuate and benefit from racism. For example, Latinx mentors may identify as marginalized in U.S. society but some may need to reflect on their own privileges (e.g., those with light skin privilege) and how they may engage in anti-Blackness or anti-Indigenous racism in their own communities and lives. Furthermore, some BIPOC mentors might need to reflect on their own internalized racism. This may necessitate sometimes having separate spaces for BIPOC mentors to engage in this process without having to feel like they need to educate White mentors or that they are being further marginalized by their White peers.

Engaging in guided reflexivity will help mentors have more authentic interactions with BIPOC mentees and to better understand the experiences of BIPOC mentees and their families and communities. Moreover, reflexivity about how systems of privilege and oppression have influenced their personal experiences and learning about racism may very well be uncomfortable for mentors, and furthermore have the potential to cause feelings of shame or guilt (Helms, 2020; Tatum, 2017), which necessitates ongoing education and support. Integrating mindfulness and contemplative practices, such as yoga and meditation, into ongoing education and support can be effective tools for self-awareness and support mentor efforts to remain present and grounded in the face of conflict and engagement with new and uncomfortable ideas (Berila, 2016).

Mentors also need to be taught how to call out racism when they see it and how to have conversations with BIPOC adolescents about racism in their

local communities and in society at large. Although not on mentoring, a qualitative study of after-school program staff showed that many were unprepared to confront and discuss incidents of discrimination around race, ethnicity, immigration, religion, or language that occurred in these programs (Gutierrez et al., 2017). There were three types of staff responses to racism: (a) a "race-blind" approach, (b) limited or nonengagement, or (c) constructive engagement. Program staff with a race-blind perspective stated that there were no issues related to culture or race in their program, that race and culture were not important, and that this approach was a fair-minded way to treat program youth. The authors argued that leaving unchallenged the privileges of dominant groups could isolate and alienate youth from nondominant groups (Gutierrez et al., 2017).

Program staff who reported limited or nonengagement stated that the racist incidents were important and affected youth, but they did not feel comfortable or adequately prepared to deal with the events. As a result, some did not address the incidents at all. Others who attempted to address them did so in a unidirectional way in which they corrected the youth or explained what was wrong in the situation without having any dialogue about it—an approach that could put youth on the defensive or make them feel attacked (Gutierrez et al., 2017). Finally, some program staff reported constructive engagement in response to the discrimination events (Gutierrez et al., 2017). These leaders did not hesitate to challenge offensive comments and had reflective dialogue with youth about the incident. Specifically, they engaged in two-way conversations, created a safe space for these conversations, asked open-ended and guiding questions about their emotions, and listened to what youth had to say, consistent with the perspective that youth are co-constructors of knowledge. Training curricula for mentors could include teaching these strategies to effectively respond to racism, which will increase their confidence and self-efficacy, and how to engage in reflective dialogue with mentees, which will promote more effective mentoring relationships and learning in mentees.

Facilitating BIPOC Youth's Critical Consciousness

The second pillar for anti-racist education and training for mentors is critical consciousness, which refers to both the analysis of social conditions in one's environment and the actions one takes to change these conditions (Freire, 1970). Volunteer mentors should receive support and training on activities that support youth critical consciousness development. For example, mentors can learn how to have conversations about social issues that promote reflection, or learn ideas for taking social action with their mentee in their local

community (e.g., write a letter to the mentee's school principal about an issue that the mentee cares about). A recent literature review revealed the career-related, civic, academic, and social-emotional benefits of critical consciousness for adolescent development in BIPOC samples and that adolescents develop critical consciousness from their interactions with socializing agents in their lives, such as parents and peers (Heberle et al., 2020). Although there is limited evidence of mentors as socializing agents in the development of critical consciousness among BIPOC adolescents, a literature review showed that nonparental adults play a positive role in older adolescents' sociopolitical development (Sánchez et al., 2021), and a recent study of racially/ethnically diverse college students revealed the various ways (e.g., role modeling, dialogue, reflection) that natural mentors support them in their critical consciousness development (Monjaras-Gaytan et al., 2021).

Mentors are well positioned to guide and support BIPOC youth as they become aware of injustices taking place in their communities and in U.S. society and prepare to engage in social action to change these inequities. Oftentimes this may simply require engaging in reflective dialogue with mentees as they analyze social injustices and supporting them if they choose to take social action to address the societal challenges. Supporting BIPOC adolescents around their sociopolitical development requires that mentors also engage in their own critical consciousness process, which involves engaging in critical reflexivity and learning the true history of racism in the United States and current societal forms of inequality.

Promoting Positive Identity Development in BIPOC Youth

The third pillar emphasizes training on how to affirm and support BIPOC youth in developing a positive identity. A literature review and a meta-analysis showed the benefits of a positive ethnic/racial identity for BIPOC adolescents in academic, health, and psychological domains (Rivas-Drake, Seaton, et al., 2014; Rivas-Drake, Syed, et al., 2014). Given that anti-racism work is intersectional, it is important to also consider other forms of social identity (e.g., gender, sexuality), which are equally significant in the healthy development of BIPOC adolescents (Bruce et al., 2015; Rogers et al., 2015).

Research on African American and Latinx adolescents has shown that natural mentors play a positive role in their ethnic/racial identity (Hurd et al., 2012; Sánchez et al., 2020) and that participating in mentoring programs is associated with a more positive ethnic/racial identity (Gordon et al., 2009; Kaplan et al., 2009). Mentors' provision of specified support around BIPOC adolescents' ethnic/racial identity also improves their mentoring relationships and youth outcomes. For example, a study of 40

adolescent girls of color who were matched with volunteer mentors found that higher mentor support for girls' ethnic/racial identity 3 months into the relationship was associated with more ethnic identity exploration and youth-reported relational satisfaction at 12 months, controlling for these outcomes at 3 months (Sánchez et al., 2019). Furthermore, research on gay, bisexual, and questioning, racially/ethnically diverse male adolescents revealed that natural mentors validated their positive sexual identity (Torres et al., 2012). However, in the youth mentoring field, promoting a positive social identity is rarely a goal of mentoring programs as staff typically focus on traditional outcomes, such as increasing academic achievement and preventing problem behaviors, which are influenced by funder priorities. Focusing on positive identity development should be integral to youth mentoring programs, especially in light of the negative messages about and racism toward BIPOC communities.

The implication for anti-racism training and education is that mentors should learn about identity developmental processes of BIPOC adolescents and how to affirm and support a healthy identity. Researchers have provided suggestions on how mentors can support and affirm BIPOC adolescents' ethnic/racial identity (Sánchez & Loyd, 2020), which can be incorporated into trainings. Examples are showing interest in mentees' ethnic/racial identity, engaging in activities related to mentees' ethnic/racial identity, identifying positive role models of a similar ethnic/racial identity, and supporting mentees' sociopolitical development. However, as part of mentors' guided reflexivity and consistent with youth-centered approaches (Weiston-Serdan, 2017), mentors should take time to learn what social identities (e.g., gender, sexuality, race) are most central to how their BIPOC mentees define themselves and not assume that their mentee's race/ethnicity is the most salient.

Mentors and Mentees as Active Agents and Partners

A final pillar of anti-racist education and training is youth and adults as active agents and partners. Youth-adult partnerships are reciprocal relationships that share power, collaborate on tasks and activities, learn from each other, address societal inequalities, and emphasize youth voice (Liang et al., 2013; Zeldin et al., 2005), consistent with critical mentoring (Weiston-Serdan, 2017). These partnerships, particularly those engaged in social action projects, have been found to facilitate adolescents' sociopolitical development (Ginwright & Cammarota, 2007; O'Donoghue & Strobel, 2007). Furthermore, a study of adolescents in the United States, Malaysia, and Portugal revealed that youth-adult partnerships in after-school programs were positively related to youth empowerment, agency, self-esteem, and school grades (Zeldin et al., 2014).

Unfortunately, many adults do not have the skills to work with adolescents as true partners in community change efforts, may misunderstand what it means to partner with adolescents, and/or may give up all of their power to youth (Camino, 2005). To be authentic partners, adults must reject hierarchies of knowledge construction that position adults' knowledge as superior to that of adolescents (Lesko, 2012). Anti-racism training for mentors requires an epistemological shift toward adolescents as agentic producers of knowledge in mentoring relationships, who equally contribute and from whom mentors can equally learn (Lesko, 2012). Youth as co-constructors of knowledge is not only important in this pillar but foundational to all the pillars of anti-racist education and training. Training mentors on youth-adult partnerships requires that mentors learn how to let go and come to terms with their adultism attitudes (Kennedy, 2018) while also learning how to guide adolescents without being prescriptive, which can damage their mentoring relationships (Morrow & Styles, 1995).

More generally, youth and adults as active agents and partners suggests that although the primary focus of mentoring programs may vary substantially, a critical mentoring and anti-racist liberatory lens can and should guide all mentoring programs, even if the focus of mentoring activities is *not* on social change efforts and rather on traditional activities (e.g., after-school homework help). That is, a focus on youth and adults as partners suggests that adult-youth relationships should be guided by an ethic that interrupts hierarchy—that is, youth should have the opportunity in all mentoring relationships and programs to have central responsibility for growing and steering the direction of their mentoring relationship and work. Under this mentoring model, youth have the potential to emerge as strong leaders and active agents working toward well-being and justice, and can work with their adult partners to bring to life in their relationship an ethic of shared power, accountability, and a relationship of connection and care.

Conclusion

Given the White supremacist norms of youth mentoring programs and that research shows the negative biases, assumptions, and stereotypes of adults across settings and in some mentoring relationships, which have detrimental consequences for the development of BIPOC adolescents, it is essential that adult mentors engage in anti-racist education and training in order to effectively work with this population. Developmental scientists have acknowledged the role of social context and the interactions between youth and adults as important in youth's healthy development, but there is less attention on the perspectives of the adult volunteers who work with BIPOC adolescents,

particularly volunteer mentors. We crossed disciplinary boundaries to inform anti-racist education and training for mentors by examining critical mentoring (Weiston-Serdan, 2017), culturally sustaining pedagogy (Ladson-Billings, 1995; Paris & Alim, 2017), White identity development model (Helms, 2020), and discussions in ethnic/racial identity research that interrogating and resisting structural inequality is part of ethnic/racial identity development in BIPOC people (Mathews et al., 2019; Rogers et al., 2020). Based on these theories, we presented a framework for anti-racist education for volunteer mentors, which includes four pillars: (a) acknowledging, confronting, and interrupting racism; (b) facilitating youth critical consciousness; (c) supporting positive identity development in youth; and (d) mentors and mentees as active agents and partners. At the foundation of these pillars is decentering and interrupting Whiteness and youth as co-constructors of knowledge.

Considerations and Recommendations for Practice and Research

This conceptual paper is not without limitations. We selected conceptual and theoretical frameworks (i.e., critical mentoring, culturally sustaining pedagogy in education, ethnic/racial identity theories) that seemed most explicitly related to anti-racist education and training to mentors. However, there may be other theoretical frameworks across diverse disciplines that are also important to consider. For example, social capital theory (Stanton-Salazar, 2011) may offer ideas about how anti-racism training and education could include topics such as bridging social capital (Varga & Zaff, 2018) so that mentors offer opportunities that have been systematically denied to BIPOC adolescents. This review was not meant to be comprehensive, but the frameworks we discussed are a start. Future interdisciplinary scholarship should be conducted to inform research on anti-racism in developmental science.

There are many suggestions for developing effective anti-racist trainings and education, which are applicable to volunteer not only mentors but also adults who work with adolescents in a variety of settings, such as teachers and youth workers. This training and education should not only be provided when mentors enroll in a mentoring program, but should be ongoing throughout the life of a mentoring relationship. Anti-racism trainings and the interrogation of one's role in contributing to racism can be jarring and cause participants to feel shame, anger, guilt, and discomfort (Helms, 2020; Lawrence & Tatum, 1999), which are a necessary part of learning. Mentors should be prepared in advance that these feelings will emerge, and they will need space to confront these feelings and make sense of them as part of the

learning process in unpacking their own privilege and racism. Furthermore, when mentors apply what they learn in their interactions with BIPOC mentees, ongoing training and support allow mentors to discuss challenges and barriers they experience in their practice. Offering anti-racism support groups for mentors would also enable mentors to feel like they are not alone in their challenges and to share strategies and tips with one another in their anti-racism mentoring efforts.

Anti-racism training and education should also utilize the best practices for effective training in general (Kraiger et al., 1993) and anti-bias and diversity training specifically (Carter et al., 2020). Anti-racism training should include opportunities for discussion, reflection, role-plays, and activities to further explore racism, identity, and social action efforts. The training literature also reveals the importance of integrating anti-racism training and education with other organizational efforts (e.g., policies, mission statement, program activities, hiring practices) and that these trainings should be mandatory. Making it mandatory sends a message to volunteer mentors about the importance of anti-racism to the organization and will prevent self-selection bias in training attendance. Longer training or ongoing training and support that is integrated into the mentoring organization is important to help mentors learn and apply the training content to their interactions with youth (McQuillin et al., 2013). Furthermore, it is insufficient for mentors to only learn anti-racism content aimed to increase awareness. They need to learn specific skills and behaviors based on the content to help them engage in anti-racist interactions that promote the positive development of BIPOC adolescents. Mentors need to be reminded of the specific skills and behaviors in ongoing training and offered opportunities to practice and/or discuss challenges to help them overcome any obstacles in applying the skills learned.

It is necessary to acknowledge that many youth mentoring programs take place in nonprofit organizations with limited funds and resources. In fact, 26% of 1,451 mentoring programs in a national study revealed that mentor training was an area in which programs needed more support, particularly needing quality training materials (Garringer et al., 2017). Thus, if mentoring programs are unable to offer anti-racism education and training to their mentors, then we encourage programs to partner with other agencies to combine efforts and resources.

The point of anti-racism education and training is to help volunteer mentors to develop quality mentoring relationships with BIPOC adolescents that disrupt inequality, rather than reproduce it. Ultimately, the goals are to help mentors form relationships that promote the healthy development of BIPOC adolescents, buffer the harmful effects of White supremacy culture and racism, and foster liberation and social change. To fulfill these goals, an anti-racist

developmental science requires applied research to inform practice and influence social change as well as drawing from practice in the mentoring field to inform research. Research should be conducted on whether these trainings actually promote mentors' anti-racism attitudes (e.g., critical consciousness, awareness of institutional racism), change mentors' behaviors and interactions with BIPOC adolescents, and influence the development of BIPOC adolescents. Rigorous qualitative and quantitative research is needed to determine whether these trainings cause changes in mentors and the mechanisms by which the training helps mentors to be more effective in working with BIPOC adolescents. Examples of research questions are the following: Does anti-racism education and training change mentors' attitudes and help them to have interactions (e.g., youth centered, affirming) that are attuned to BIPOC adolescents? Do BIPOC adolescents experience mentors who "get" them and their context better? Do BIPOC adolescents whose mentors have participated in anti-racism training and ongoing support have higher well-being, critical consciousness or a more positive identity? and What are the essential components of anti-racism education and training to help mentors form anti-racist attitudes and behaviors?

Participatory action research methods would be beneficial in examining the role of anti-racism training and education on mentors and BIPOC youth. We are inspired by Michelle Fine's (2018) call to widen our methodological imagination through critical participatory research in which community-based, intergenerational research teams build critical consciousness, cultivate evidence of activism and resistance, and create counter-narratives from "a critical perspective of those who have paid the greatest price for 'normalized' injustice" (p. 9). Research on anti-racism education and training will have practical implications not only for mentors but also for adults working with BIPOC adolescents across various settings (e.g., schools, after-school programs).

In conclusion, anti-racism education and training for volunteer mentors has the potential to improve the effectiveness of youth mentoring programs and to contribute to the positive development of BIPOC adolescents. Although it is important to continue to conduct research on the perspectives and experiences of BIPOC adolescents in youth mentoring and developmental science, it is equally critical to investigate how to promote the anti-racist attitudes and behaviors of mentors in order to disrupt the societal structures and inequality that prevent BIPOC adolescents and communities from thriving.

Acknowledgments

We are grateful for the editorial assistance by Anne Dufault.

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

The author(s) declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Funding

The author(s) disclosed receipt of the following financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article: Writing of this manuscript was in part funded by a grant award (No. 190902) from the William T. Grant Foundation.

ORCID iDs

Bernadette Sánchez https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5867-5340

Amy J. Anderson https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1067-3204

Torie Weiston-Serdan https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8939-547X

Notes

1. We capitalize "White," "Black," and any other racial/ethnic categories when referring to people and groups of individuals.
2. The authors of this article are an interdisciplinary group of women scholars; we are trained and/or work in education, community psychology, human development, and women and gender studies and our collaborations have been strengthened by our interdisciplinary perspectives.

References

Abrams, L. S., & Moio, J. A. (2009). Critical race theory and the cultural competence dilemma in social work education. *Journal of Social Work in Education*, *45*(2), 245–261. https://doi.org/10.5175/JSWE.2009.200700109

Albright, J. N., Hurd, N. M., & Hussain, S. B. (2017). Applying a social justice lens to youth mentoring: A review of the literature and recommendations for practice. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, *59*, 363–381. https://doi.org/10.1002/ajcp.12143

Anderson, A. J., Sánchez, B., Meyer, G., & Sales, B. (2018). Supporting adults to support youth: An evaluation of two social justice trainings. *Journal of Community Psychology*, *46*(6), 1092–1106. https://doi.org/10.1002/jcop.22093

Baldridge, B. J. (2020). The youthwork paradox: A case for studying the complexity of community-based youth work in education research. *Educational Researcher*, *49*(8), 618–625. https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189X20937300

Bell, D. (1988). White superiority in America: Its legal legacy, its economic costs. *Villanova Law Review*, *33*(5), 767–779. https://digitalcommons.law.villanova.edu/vlr/vol33/iss5/2

Berger, P. L., & Luckmann, T. (1966). *The social construction of reality*. Anchor Books/Doubleday.

Berila, B. (2016). *Integrating mindfulness into anti-oppression pedagogy: Social justice in higher education*. Routledge.

Bezrukova, K., Jehn, K. A., & Spell, C. S. (2012). Reviewing diversity training: Where we have been and where we should go. *Academy of Management Learning & Education*, *11*(2), 207–227. https://doi.org/10.5465/amle.2008.0090

Bezrukova, K., Spell, C. S., Perry, J. L., & Jehn, K. A. (2016). A meta-analytical integration of over 40 years of research on diversity training evaluation. *Psychological Bulletin*, *142*(11), 1227–1274. https://doi.org/10.1037/bul0000067

Bronfenbrenner, U., & Ceci, S. J. (1994). Nature-nurture reconceptualized: A bio-ecological model. *Psychological Review*, *10*(4), 568–586. https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-295X.101.4.568

Bruce, D., Harper, G. W., & Bauermeister, J. A. (2015). Minority stress, positive identity development, and depressive symptoms: Implications for resilience in sexual minority male youth. *Psychology of Sexual Orientation and Gender Diversity*, *2*(3), 287–296. https://doi.org/10.1037/sgd0000128

Camino, L. (2005). Pitfalls and promising practices of youth-adult partnerships: An evaluator's reflections. *Journal of Community Psychology*, *33*(1), 75–85. https://doi.org/10.1002/jcop.20043

Carter, E. R., Onyeador, I. N., & Lewis, N. A., Jr. (2020). Developing & delivering effective anti-bias training: Challenges & recommendations. *Behavioral Science & Policy*, *6*(1), 57–70. https://doi.org/10.1353/bsp.2020.0005

Cormier, D. R. (2020). Assessing preservice teachers' cultural competence with the cultural proficiency continuum Q-sort. *Educational Researcher*, *50*(1), 17–29. https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189x20936670

Crenshaw, K. (1989). Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: A Black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory and antiracist politics. *University of Chicago Legal Forum*, *1989*, 139–167. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429500480-5

Delgado, R., & Stefancic, J. (2017). *Critical race theory: An introduction* (3rd Ed). New York University Press.

Deutsch, N. L., & Jones, J. N. (2008). "Show me an ounce of respect": Respect and authority in adult–youth relationships in after-school programs. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, *23*, 667–688. https://doi.org/10.1177/0743558408322250

DuBois, D. L., Holloway, B. E., Valentine, J. C., & Cooper, H. (2002). Effectiveness of mentoring programs for youth: A meta-analytic review. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, *30*(2), 157–197. https://doi.org/10.1023/a:1014628810714

DuBois, D. L., Portillo, N., Rhodes, J. E., Silverthorn, N., & Valentine, J. C. (2011). How effective are mentoring programs for youth? A systematic assessment of the evidence. *Psychological Science in the Public Interest*, *12*, 57–91. https://doi.org/10.1177/1529100611414806

Duron, J. F., Williams-Butler, A., Schmidt, A. T., & Colon, L. (2020). Mentors' experiences of mentoring justice-involved adolescents: A narrative of developing cultural consciousness through connection. *Journal of Community Psychology*, *48*(7), 2309–2325. https://doi.org/10.1002/jcop.22415

Fine, M. (2018). *Just research in contentious times: Widening the methodological imagination*. Teachers College Press.

Freire, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the oppressed* (M. B. Ramos, Trans.). Continuum.

Garringer, M., McQuillin, S., & McDaniel, H. (2017). *Examining youth mentoring services across America: Findings from the 2016 Mentoring Program Survey*. MENTOR: The National Mentoring Partnership.

Gay, G. (1993). Building cultural bridges: A bold proposal for teacher education. *Education and Urban Society*, *25*(3), 285–299. https://doi.org/10.1177/0013124593025003006

Ginwright, S., & Cammarota, J. (2007). Youth activism in the urban community: Learning critical civic praxis within community organizations. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, *20*(6), 693–710. https://doi.org/10.1080/09518390701630833

Golden, J. N. (2019, September 6). Englewood nonprofit that got $200,000 from NFL and Jay Z under fire for dreadlock-cutting, “all lives matter” tweet. *Block Club Chicago*. https://blockclubchicago.org/2019/09/06/crushers-club-englewood-jayz-nfl-sally-hazelgrove/

Gordon, D. M., Iwamoto, D., Ward, N., Potts, R., & Boyd, E. (2009). Mentoring urban Black middle school male students: Implications for academic achievement. *Journal of Negro Education*, *78*, 277–289.

Gorman, A. (2021). *The hill we climb: An inaugural poem for the country*. Viking Books.

Gutierrez, V., Larson, R. W., Rafaelli, M., Fernandez, M., & Guzman, S. (2017). How staff of youth programs respond to culture-related incidents: Non engagement versus going “full-right-in.” *Journal of Adolescent Research*, *32*(1), 64–93. https://doi.org/10.1177/0743558416664028

Harris, C. (1993). Whiteness as property. *Harvard Law Review*, *106*(8), 1707–1791. https://doi.org/10.2307/1341787

Heberle, A. E., Rapa, L. J., & Farago, F. (2020). Critical consciousness in children and adolescents: A systematic review, critical assessment, and recommendations for future research. *Psychological Bulletin*, *146*(6), 525–551. https://doi.org/10.1037/bul0000230

Helms, J. E. (2020). *A race is a nice thing to have: A guide to being a White person or understanding the White persons in your life* (3rd ed.). Cognella.

Herrera, C., DuBois, D. L., & Grossman, J. B. (2013). *The role of risk: Mentoring experiences and outcomes for youth with varying risk profiles*. Public/Private Ventures. http://www.mdrc.org/publication/role-risk

Herrera, C., Kauh, T. J., Cooney, S. B., Grossman, J. B., & McMaken, J. (2008). *High school students as mentors: Findings from the Big Brothers Big Sisters school-based mentoring impact study*. Public/Private Ventures.

Herrera, C., Sipe, C. L., & McClanahan, W. S. (2000). *Mentoring school-age children: Relationship development in community-based and school-based mentoring programs*. https://www.issuelab.org/resources/11985/11985.pdf

Hughes, C., Steinhorn, R., Davis, B., Beckrest, S., Boyd, E., & Cashen, K. (2012). University-based service learning: Relating mentoring experiences to issues of poverty. *Journal of College Student Development*, *53*, 767–782. https://doi.org/10.1353/csd.2012.0076

Hughes, C., Welsh, M., Mayer, A., Bolay, J., & Southard, K. (2009). An innovative university-based mentoring program: Affecting college students' attitudes and engagement. *Michigan Journal of Community Service Learning*, *16*(1), 69–78.

Hurd, N., Sánchez, B., Zimmerman, M. A., & Caldwell, C. H. (2012). Natural mentors, racial identity, and educational attainment among African American adolescents: Exploring pathways to success. *Child Development*, *83*(4), 1196–1212. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2012.01769.x

Kalinoski, Z. T., Steele-Johnson, D., Peyton, E. J., Leas, K. A., Steinke, J., & Bowling, N. A. (2013). A meta-analytic evaluation of diversity training outcomes. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, *34*, 1076–1104. https://doi.org/10.1002/job.1839

Kaplan, C. P., Turner, S. G., Piotrowski, C., & Silbert, E. (2009). Club Amigas: A promising response to the needs of adolescent Latinas. *Child and Family Social Work*, *2*, 213–221. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1365-2206.2009.00625.x

Keller, T. E., & Blakeslee, J. E. (2014). Social networks and mentoring. In D. L. DuBois & M. J. Karcher (Eds.), *Handbook of youth mentoring* (pp. 129–142). SAGE.

Kennedy, H. (2018). How adults change from facilitating youth participatory action research: Process and outcomes. *Children and Youth Services Review*, *94*, 298–305. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2018.10.010

Kraiger, K., Ford, J. K., & Salas, E. (1993). Application of cognitive, skill-based, and affective theories of learning outcomes to new methods of training evaluation. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *78*(2), 311–328. https://doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.78.2.311

Kulik, C. T., Pepper, M. B., Roberson, L., & Parker, S. K. (2007). The rich get richer: Predicting participation in voluntary diversity training. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, *28*(6), 753–769. https://doi.org/10.1002/job.444

Kuperminc, G. P., & Thomason, J. D. (2014). Group mentoring. In D. L. DuBois & M. J. Karcher (Eds.), *Handbook of youth mentoring* (pp. 273–290). SAGE.

Kupersmidt, J. B., & Rhodes, J. E. (2014). Mentor training. In D. L. DuBois & M. J. Karcher (Eds.), *Handbook of youth mentoring* (pp. 439–456). SAGE.

Kupersmidt, J. B., Stelter, R. L., Rhodes, J. E., & Stump, K. N. (2017). Enhancing mentor efficacy and preparedness through web-based pre-match training. *Journal of Nonprofit Education and Leadership*, *7*(3), 197–216. https://doi.org/10.18666/JNEL-2017-V7-I3-7945

Kupersmidt, J. B., Stump, K. N., Stelter, R. L., & Rhodes, J. E. (2017). Mentoring program practices as predictors of match longevity. *Journal of Community Psychology*, *45*, 630–645. https://doi.org/10.1002/jcop.21883

Ladson-Billings, G. (1995). Toward a theory of culturally relevant pedagogy. *American Educational Research Journal*, *32*(3), 465–491. https://doi.org/10.3102/00028312032003465

Lawrence, S. M., & Tatum, B. D. (1999). White racial identity and anti-racist education: A catalyst for change. In E. Lee, D. Menkart, & M. Okazawa-Rey (Eds.), *Beyond heroes and holidays: A practical guide to K-12 anti-racist, multi-cultural education and staff development* (pp. 45–51). Network of Educators on the Americas.

Lerner, R. M., Lerner, J. V., Almerigi, J. B., Theokas, C., Phelps, E., Gestsdottir, S., Naudeau, S., Jelicic, H., Alberts, A., Ma, L., Smith, L. M., Bobek, D. L., Richman-Raphael, D., Simpson, I., Christiansen, E. D. D., & von Eye, A. (2005). Positive youth development, participation in community youth development programs, and community contributions of fifth grade adolescents: Findings from the first wave of the 4-H study of positive youth development. *The Journal of Early Adolescence*, *25*(1), 17–71. https://doi.org/10.1177/0272431604272461

Lerner, R. M., Lerner, J. V., Bowers, E. P., & Geldhof, G. J. (2015). Positive youth development and relational-developmental-systems. In W. F. Overton & P. C. M. Molenaar (Eds.), *Handbook of child psychology and developmental science* (pp. 607–651). John Wiley.

Lesko, N. (2012). Introduction: Troubling teenagers. In N. Lesko (Ed.), *Act your age! The social construction of youth* (2nd ed., pp. 1–15). Routledge.

Liang, B., Spencer, R., West, J., & Rappaport, N. (2013). Expanding the reach of youth mentoring: Partnering with youth for personal growth and social change. *Journal of Adolescence*, *36*(2), 257–267. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.adolescence.2012.10.002

Livstrom, I. C. (2020). *Growing North Minneapolis: Fostering youth leadership and critical mentorship through intergenerational work and community-university partnerships* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. University of Minnesota.

Mathews, C. J., Medina, M. A., Bañales, J., Pinetta, B. J., Marchand, A. D., Agi, A. C., Miller, S. M., Hoffman, A. J., Diemer, M. A., & Rivas-Drake, D. (2019). Mapping the intersections of adolescents' ethnic-racial identity and critical consciousness. *Adolescent Research Review*, *5*, 363–379. https://doi.org/10.1007/s40894-019-00122-0

McQuillin, S. D., Terry, J. D., Strait, G. G., & Smith, B. H. (2013). Innovation in school-based mentoring: Matching the context, structure and goals of mentoring with evidence-based practices. *Advances in School Mental Health Promotion*, *6*(4), 280–294. https://doi.org/10.1080/1754730x.2013.832009

Monjaras-Gaytan, L. Y., Sánchez, B., Anderson, A. J., Garcia-Murillo, Y., McGarity-Palmer, R., De los Reyes, W., Catlett, B. S., & Liao, C. L. (2021). Act, talk, reflect, then act: The role of natural mentors in the critical consciousness of ethnically/racially diverse college students. *American Journal of Community Psychology*. Advance online publication. https://doi.org/10.1002/ajcp.12517

Morrow, K. V., & Styles, M. B. (1995). *Building relationships with youth in program settings: A study of Big Brothers/Big Sisters*. Public/Private Ventures.

O'Donoghue, J. L., & Strobel, K. R. (2007). Directivity and freedom: Adult support of activism among urban youth. *American Behavioral Scientist*, *51*(3), 465–485. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764207306071

Overton, W. F. (2015). Processes, relations and relational-developmental-systems. In W. F. Overton & P. C. M. Molenaar (Eds.), *Handbook of child psychology and developmental science* (pp. 9–62). Wiley.

Paris, D. (2012). Culturally sustaining pedagogy: A needed change in stance, terminology and practice. *Educational Researcher*, *41*(3), 93–97. https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189x12441244

Paris, D., & Alim, H. S. (2017). *Culturally sustaining pedagogies: Teaching and learning for justice in a changing world*. Teachers College Press.

Peaslee, L., & Teye, A. C. (2015). *Testing the impact of mentor training and peer support on the quality of mentor-mentee relationships and outcomes for at-risk youth*. https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/ojjdp/grants/248719.pdf

Priest, N., Slopen, N., Woolford, S., Philip, J. T., Singer, D., Kauffman, A. D., Mosely, K., Davis, M., Ransome, Y., & Williams, D. (2018). Stereotyping across intersections of race and age: Racial stereotyping among White adults working with children. *PLOS ONE*, *13*(9), Article e0205614. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0201696

Rhodes, J. E. (2005). A model of youth mentoring. In D. L. DuBois & M. J. Karcher (Eds.), *Handbook of youth mentoring* (pp. 30–43). SAGE.

Rivas-Drake, D., Seaton, E. K., Markstrom, C., Quintana, S., Syed, M., Lee, R. M., Schwartz, S. J., Umaña-Taylor, A. J., French, S., & Yip, T. (2014). Ethnic and racial identity in adolescence: Implications for psychosocial, academic, and health outcomes. *Child Development*, *85*(1), 40–57. https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.12200

Rivas-Drake, D., Syed, M., Umaña-Taylor, A., Markstrom, C., French, S., Schwartz, S. J., & Lee, R. (2014). Feeling good, happy, and proud: A meta-analysis of positive ethnic-racial affect and adjustment. *Child Development*, *85*(1), 77–102. https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.12175

Rogers, L. O., Kiang, L., Calzada, E. J., Umaña-Taylor, A. J., Byrd, C., Williams, C. D., Marks, A., & Whitesell, N. (2020). Persistent concerns: Questions for research on ethnic-racial identity development. *Research in Human Development*, *17*, 130–153. https://doi.org/10.1080/15427609.2020.1831881

Rogers, L. O., Scott, M. A., & Way, N. (2015). Racial and gender identity among Black adolescent males: An intersectionality perspective. *Child Development*, *86*(2), 407–424. http://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.12303

Sánchez, B., Anderson, A. J., Carter, J. S., Mroczkowski, A. L., Monjaras-Gaytan, L. Y., & DuBois, D. L. (2020). Helping me helps us: The role of natural mentors in the ethnic identity and academic outcomes of Latinx adolescents. *Developmental Psychology*, *56*(2), 208–220. https://doi.org/10.1037/dev0000878

Sánchez, B., Catlett, B. S., Monjaras-Gaytan, L., McGarity-Palmer, R., Anderson, A. J., Liao, C. L., & Keys, C. B. (2021). The role of mentoring and service learning in youth's critical consciousness and social change efforts. In O. Prieto-Flores & J. Feu (Eds.), *Mentoring children and young people for social inclusion: Global approaches to empowerment* (pp. 32–46). Routledge.

Sánchez, B., & Colón, Y. (2005). Race, ethnicity, and culture in mentoring. In D. L. DuBois & M. J. Karcher (Eds.), *Handbook of youth mentoring* (pp. 145–158). SAGE.

Sánchez, B., Hurd, N. M., Neblett, E. W., & Vaclavik, D. (2018). Mentoring for Black male youth: A systematic review of the research. *Adolescent Research Review*, *3*(3), 259–278. https://doi.org/10.1007/s40894-017-0074-z

Sánchez, B., & Loyd, A. B. (2020, June 4). How mentors and mentoring programs can support mentees' ethnic/racial identity. *The Chronicle of Evidence-Based Mentoring*. https://www.evidencebasedmentoring.org/how-mentors-and-mentoring-programs-can-support-mentees-ethnic-racial-identity/

Sánchez, B., Pryce, J., Silverthorn, N., Deane, K., & DuBois, D. L. (2019). Do mentor support for racial/ethnic identity and cultural mistrust matter for girls of color? A preliminary investigation. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *25*(4), 505–514. http://doi.org/10.1037/cdp0000213

Schwartz, S. E., Rhodes, J. E., Spencer, R., & Grossman, J. B. (2013). Youth initiated mentoring: Investigating a new approach to working with vulnerable adolescents. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, *52*(1–2), 155–169. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10464-013-9585-3

Spencer, R. (2007). "It's not what I expected": A qualitative study of youth mentoring relationship failures. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, *22*(4), 331–354. https://doi.org/10.1177/0743558407301915

Spencer, R., Basualdo-Delmonico, A., & Lewis, T. O. (2011). Working to make it work: The role of parents in the youth mentoring process. *Journal of Community Psychology*, *39*(1), 51–59. https://doi.org/10.1002/jcop.20416

Stanton-Salazar, R. D. (2011). A social capital framework for the study of institutional agents and their role in the empowerment of low-status students and youth. *Youth & Society*, *43*(3), 1066–1109. https://doi.org/10.1177/0044118X10382877

Suffrin, R. L., Todd, N. R., & Sánchez, B. (2016). An ecological perspective of mentor satisfaction with their youth mentoring relationships. *Journal of Community Psychology*, *44*(5), 553–568. https://doi.org/10.1002/jcop.21785

Tatum, B. D. (1992). Talking about race, learning about racism: The application of racial identity development theory in the classroom. *Harvard Educational Review*, *62*(1), 1–24.

Tatum, B. D. (2017). *Why are all the Black kids sitting together in the cafeteria? And other conversations about race*. Basic Books.

Taussig, H. N., Culhane, S. E., Raviv, T., Fitzpatrick, L. E. S., & Hodas, R. W. (2010). Mentoring children in foster care: Impact on graduate student mentors. *Education Horizons*, *89*(1), 17–32.

Thomas, W. I., & Thomas, D. S. (1928). *The child in America: Behavior problems and programs*. Alfred A. Knopf.

Torres, R. S., Harper, G. W., Sánchez, B., & Fernández, M. I. (2012). Examining natural mentoring relationships (NMRs) among self-identified gay, bisexual, and questioning (GBQ) male youth. *Children and Youth Services Review*, *34*(1), 8–14. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2010.12.018

Umaña-Taylor, A. J., Quintana, S. M., Lee, R. M., Cross, W. E., Rivas-Drake, D., Schwartz, S. J., Syed, M., Yip, T., & Seaton, E., & Ethnic and Racial Identity in the 21st Century Study Group. (2014). Ethnic and racial identity during adolescence

and into young adulthood: An integrated conceptualization. *Child Development*, *85*(1), 21–39. https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.12196

Utsey, S. O., Howard, A., & Williams, O., III. (2003). Therapeutic group mentoring with African American male adolescents. *Journal of Mental Health Counseling*, *25*(2), 126–139. https://doi.org/10.17744/mehc.25.2.q3wda06r0ul0x97c

Varga, S. M., & Zaff, J. F. (2018). Webs of support: An Integrative framework of relationships, social networks, and social support for positive youth development. *Adolescent Research Review*, *3*(1), 1–11. https://doi.org/10.1007/s40894-017-0076-x

Weiston-Serdan, T. (2017). *Critical mentoring: A practical guide*. Stylus Publishing.

Williams, C. D., Byrd, C. M., Quintana, S. M., Anicama, C., Kiang, L., Umaña-Taylor, A., Calzada, E. J., Gautier, M. P., Ejesi, K., Truitt, N. R., Martinez-Fuentes, S., White, L., Marks, A., Rogers, L. O., & Whitesell, N. (2020). A lifespan model of ethnic-racial identity. *Research in Human Development*, *17*, 99–129. https://doi.org/10.1080/15427609.2020.1831882

Zeldin, S., Krauss, S. E., Collura, J., Lucchesi, M., & Sulaiman, A. H. (2014). Conceptualizing and measuring youth-adult partnership in community programs: A cross national study. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, *54*(3–4), 337–347. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10464-014-9676-9

Zeldin, S., Larson, R., Camino, L., & O'Connor, C. (2005). Intergenerational relationships and partnerships in community programs: Purpose, practice, and directions for research. *Journal of Community Psychology*, *33*(1), 1–10. https://doi.org/10.1002/jcop.20042

Author Biographies

Bernadette Sánchez is a professor of educational psychology at the University of Illinois Chicago. Her research interests include youth mentoring, social justice, race/ethnicity, identity, and education.

Amy J. Anderson is a postdoctoral fellow in the School of Public Health and Center of Excellence in Maternal and Child Health at the University of Illinois Chicago. Her research interests include positive youth development, youth mentoring relationships, and youth participatory action research.

Torie Weiston-Serdan is a mentoring scholar and practitioner. She directs the community-engaged education and social change program at Claremont Graduate University and is co-founder of the Youth Mentoring Action Network.

Beth S. Catlett is an associate professor in the Department of Women's and Gender Studies and the director of the Faculty Scholarship Collaborative in the College of Liberal Arts and Social Sciences at DePaul University. Her areas of scholarly interest include youth development, community-based participatory action research, violence in intimate relationships, and the uses of contemplative practices to inspire social justice.