

Tacit Racism Toward Roma Students: The Case of a Turkish Public School

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to reveal hidden racist practices within a Turkish public school and explores their perpetuation through daily interactions between teachers and Roma students. As part of an applied research project dedicated to empowering Roma children in the educational setting, the study employs discourse analysis to expose tacit racist discourses circulating within the school. Using participant observation, casual conversations, in-depth interviews, and focus group discussions, the research reveals implicit discriminatory practices in classrooms. Teacher interviews expose a prevalent coping mechanism, i.e., denial, which reflects reluctance to acknowledge their role in perpetuating discrimination despite awareness of the structural inequalities faced by Roma students. While comprehending systemic challenges, the adherence of the teachers to the myth of meritocracy fosters cognitive dissonance, which results in a dismissive incomprehension of the realities of and occasional assignment of blame to Roma students. Cultural stereotypes and pseudogenetic explanations function as convenient means of rationalizing existing biases. Navigating cognitive dissonance, teachers frequently redirect their focus toward the behaviors of Roma people due to a sense of helplessness and the influence of the pervasive meritocratic narrative. This dynamic contributes to the perpetuation of institutional racism through the daily discourse of teachers, which inadvertently exacerbates this systemic issue.

Keywords: discourse analysis, inclusive education, institutional racism, Roma

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1. Introduction

Roma people in Turkey¹ have long been subjected to racial discrimination and segregation and regarded “as second-class citizens by the majority” (Marsh, 2008, p. 22). Despite a certain level of progress in recent years, this racism continues to persist in contemporary Turkish society and manifests itself in everyday discourse and institutional practice. Regardless of various and diverse components of Roma identity, such as class, gender, religion, and language, race remains the primary signifier of representation. However, in mainstream discourse, a tacit avoidance of using the term racism is evident while practicing it. Hence, the most common tactic among Roma people in Turkey is concealing the ethnic and racial components and signifiers of their identities, particularly in workplaces and schools (Uştuk, 2021, pp. 161–163). Racism plays a pivotal role in shaping Roma identity by fostering a pervasive environment of concealment and self-censorship, which influences individuals as they navigate various social spaces. Concurrently, the long-term socioeconomic disparity and perpetuation of cultural stereotypes intricately woven into historical roots and contemporary discriminatory practices reinforce a complex narrative that collectively shapes the identity of Roma people in Turkey. Nevertheless, this significant issue remains insufficiently addressed in a setting in which its impact is most profound: public schools.

The literature on Roma students in the Turkish education system is typically limited or superficial, which occasionally bears ethnocentric discourse and explanation. Notable studies, such as Akkan, Deniz, and Ertan (2017), elucidate the multidimensional exclusion of Roma, which is evident in stigmatized spaces across Turkey. The researchers highlight economic constraints, including the costs of school expenditures (e.g., uniform, stationery, and lunch), as factors that prevent Roma children from attending school. Similarly, Önen (2013) emphasizes the inequality in access to education and job opportunities for Roma communities, which indicates barriers that hinder them from fully benefiting from educational resources. Economic factors, exclusionary practices, and the lack of social support contribute to the disadvantaged status of Roma children in education (Kesik, Şahin & Zoraloğlu, 2018). Previous studies also reveal that Roma parents encounter discrimination and microassault behaviors in the schools of their children, which limits access to education for Roma children (Ateş & Ünal, 2022). However, studies that directly explore the daily narratives that perpetuate racist discourse and its impact on the early school withdrawal of Roma children are lacking.

Therefore, the current study examines the prevalence of concealed racist practices and their perpetuation through daily interaction between teachers and Roma students in a Turkish public school. As part of an applied research project dedicated to empowering Roma children in the educational setting, this article utilizes discourse analysis to unveil tacit racist discourse circulating within the school environment. In this manner, the study sheds light on the manifestation of racism in the everyday life, mundane actions of teachers and influences the educational prospects of Roma children.

2. Bringing the concept of race to the table

Numerous studies from the 1980s reveal that teachers are frequently hesitant to address controversial issues (Byford et al., 2009; Hand & Levinson, 2012; Kello, 2016; Kelly, 1986; Oulton et al., 2004; Stradling, 1984). Therefore, addressing racial discrimination could be even more challenging for teachers working in public schools that promote nationalist ideologies in the curricula. As this problem remains significant, the manner in which teachers address or ignore racial issues in schools can significantly affect the self-esteem and sense of identity of minority students (Journell, 2012, p. 383). Supporting students to understand and recognize their place and value in society can significantly impact their future abilities and aspirations (Markus & Nurius, 1986). However, the curricula in Turkish public schools barely move beyond ingrained nationalistic ideologies (Önal & Pala, 2022). In-depth interviews demonstrate that teachers operate within an environment in which ideological pressure is tacit but potentially strongly felt even if they do not fully internalize these ideologies.

In Turkish public schools, topics such as race, gender, and religion are considered nearly taboo and may “provoke strong emotional reactions” (Evans et al., 1999, p. 220) in daily scenarios. Conversely, discourses and practices that aim to foster national homogenization are widely circulated and naturalized. Even using the concept of race is contested (Baysu & Ağırdağ, 2019; Somer, 2002), and the majority of research on Turkish educational settings rely on the concepts of discrimination and segregation as a substitute for race without explicitly identifying the subjects or the oppressors. This substitution is a strategy for avoiding responsibility for perpetually reproducing and preserving the school environment as a racialized space. Gonsalves (2008, p. 5) calls this tendency “hysterical blindness,” which

¹ The Roma people in Turkey are typically classified into three distinct groups, namely, Roms, Doms, and Loms (Marsh, 2010). Additionally, they have been recognized by various names given factors, such as geographical location, occupation, and/or way of life (Arayıcı, 2009). Despite the historical classification as nomads, semi-nomads, and settlers, the majority are now settled in Turkey (Avara and Mascitelli, 2014). In this study, the participants self-identify as Roma (Rom) due to their migration from Greece during the population exchange in 1923.

“operates as a defense mechanism against critical awareness of how educational inequality against others is intrinsic to maintaining individual privilege for some.” Therefore, the tendency of teachers to deny and avoid the discussion of race could be viewed as a “mechanistic reflex that relies on available cultural scripts” (Wierzbicka, 1999). This predisposition can also be interpreted as a defense mechanism that “blocks any awareness of reality to evade the impact of traumatic recollections or current events” (Gonsalves, 2008, p. 10). However, “the denial of racism by school administrators” and teachers present a significant problem (Lund, 2006, p. 213) in creating an inclusive educational environment.

Against this background, the current study conducts a critical discourse analysis to reveal implicit racist discourse that promotes discriminatory practices in classrooms.

3. Methodology and analysis

This study used critical discourse analysis to analyze the narratives of teachers regarding Roma students as part of a broad ethnographic research that relies on participant observation, in-depth and focus group interviews, and casual conversations.

Researchers use discourse analysis to understand how individuals construct meaning in educational environments (Rogers et al., 2005, p. 336). Although communication conflicts are not purely discursive, they are intertwined with various “con-textual matters including cultural knowledge, attitudes and ideologies, norms and values, power relations between participants and their respective roles” (Van Dijk et al., 1997, p. 147). These contextual factors form the manner in which individuals communicate, interpret, and respond to one another, which highlights the importance of examining discourse as a means of understanding the operation of education as a social practice.

Critical discourse analysis is rooted in various ideas and methodologies for examining language practices. However, the central concept of critical discourse analysis is the concept of power, which articulates through and within discourse and results in domination and oppression (Rogers, 2011, pp. 2–3). Critical discourse analysis emerged from critical theory and is used to address issues in power, privilege, and hegemony (Rogers et al., 2005, p. 338). Discourse as language-in-use frames ideologies, which refer to unspoken beliefs or assumptions that guide the actions of people (Rymes, 2016). “Language connects with the social sin, struggles for power” (Fairclough, 1989, p. 15). Therefore, critical discourse analysis is an effective method for challenging normalization and taken-for-granted societal inequity (Souto-Manning, 2014, p. 162).

This methodological background presents a meaningful framework for investigating the intercultural interaction between teachers and Roma students and for demonstrating how teachers sustain and impose their worldview when challenged. In this case, teachers wield power, privilege, and resources, which they use to dominate the Roma and legitimize institutional discourse on education to maintain the myth of meritocracy.² This study aims to reveal the tacit meanings underlying widely circulating hidden scripts regarding the Roma. Toward this end, interviews were conducted with four preschool teachers and ten elementary school teachers. Two focus group interviews were conducted to compare and contrast their narratives. Afterward, they were interviewed again separately.

The selection of the specific school for the study is significant. Positioned in close proximity to a Roma ghetto neighborhood, parents have no choice but to enroll their children in this particular school. Despite being a governmental institution designed to cater to a diverse population, this school deviates from the norm by displaying a disproportionate concentration of Roma students, which is an uncommon scenario, compared with those of other schools in the region.

4. Findings: Various forms of denial

The denial of concealed racist practices in the school environment appears to function as a coping mechanism for teachers, which enables them to avoid responsibility of being a part of a school system that creates discrimination. When confronted with instances of racist discourse during the interviews, the teachers exhibited sensitivity and aloofness, which demonstrates reluctance to subject themselves to scrutiny and acknowledge their position and role in a racial hierarchy that ensures their tacit middle-class privileges. The most common manifestation of denial among the teachers were the recognition of diversity among Roma groups, discrimination within the school environment, and the severity of poverty and deprivation experienced by the Roma.

² Meritocracy, a concept related to the notion of individual merit that determines success, is typically encapsulated in “being made of the right stuff.” As outlined in *The Meritocracy Myth* (2004), this formula includes qualities, such as innate talent, hard work, the right attitude, and adherence to established rules. Nevertheless, acknowledging that the education system frequently mirrors, legitimizes, and perpetuates class inequality, instead of strictly adhering to meritocratic principles, is crucial (McNamee & Miller, 2004, p. 112). This perpetuation not only masks systemic inequality but also hinders effort to address broad structural issues within educational systems.

4.1. Denial of the multiplicity of otherness

After the in-depth interviews, the study found that the denial of the diverse behaviors of Roma children is the most common attitude among elementary school teachers. The act of denial appears to function as a tool for fixing the mainstream representation of Roma people by creating a binary distinction between Roma and non-Roma students. Along with discriminatory practices, racial categorization is perpetuated through everyday speech, which is underpinned by the mental strategies and representations of majority group members (T. van Dijk, 1993, p. 104). As Eliasoph (1999, p. 480) stated, “the very act of speaking carries different meanings in different contexts.” Racist discourse is a “deep system of defense” and inherently works to “secure us ‘over here’ and them ‘over there,’ to fix each in its appointed places” (Hall, 1992, p. 16). Everyday racism occurs in mundane practices that can be easily overlooked (Essed, 2008, p. 204); in fact, governments are prone to the willingness to overlook prevailing racism, because it is not always apparent in extreme incidents.

The Turkish mainstream discourse has also reflected this inclination. Until the Syrian refugee crisis, the term racism was generally absent from mainstream debates partially due to nationalist policies at the core of the nation-state formation, which holds the mainstream Turkish identity as a frame for all citizens of Turkey regardless of self-identification. In academic circles ethnic identities were similarly always on the agenda, but the concept of race was rarely scrutinized. This notion does not mean that racism is a new phenomenon that emerged from the Syrian migration; instead, it intends to point out that academic discourse overlooked such a concept.³ Therefore, imagining the difficulty in training teachers to create an anti-racist environment for minorities is easy. However, to address and reveal the tacit racism that lurks in classrooms and is enacted through the everyday acts and deeds of teachers, the study must, first and foremost, tackle and overcome the climate of denial.

4.2. Stereotyping regarding communication deficiencies

The teachers commonly shared the belief that communication deficiencies among Roma students are responsible for the inequality they face. However, this view fails to recognize that discrimination against the Roma is a systemic issue derived from specific social and institutional conditions (Collins, 1988, pp. 300–306). The notion of communication deficiencies as an inherent characteristic of Roma culture is a supremacist view that homogenizes and stereotypes the Roma without acknowledging the complexity and diversity of their experiences. This view is embedded in mainstream psyche and reproduced by the media (Osei-Kofi, 2005, pp. 370–371).⁴ As a result, many educators perceive the Roma as a culturally homogenous ethnic group, in which dance and music serve as the primary signifiers of their cultural representation. Consequently, strategies that are intended to increase the attendance rates of Roma pupils at schools involve engage them through music and dance activities regardless of particular tendencies toward other academic orientations.

We formed a Romani Folk Dance group in the past years. With 25 students’ attendance and the training provided by a private tutor, they started to dance on special occasions and celebrations. They even started to earn some money from it. As they grew up, they left the group. They cannot hold on to long-term goals.

Limiting the representation of Roma culture to music and dance not only restricts the breadth of their interests but also limits the approaches of the teachers to engage them in academic activities. This narrow perspective reinforces the stereotype that Roma students lack interest in academic fields and only excel in non-academic areas. As Hall (1992, p. 16) points out, racist beliefs are deeply entrenched and conceal a range of emotions, attitudes, and conceptions that resist “to be so neatly stabilized and fixed.”

It is necessary to ensure their participation through music and art. That is the only way.

This representation also depicts Roma as lazy and ignorant, which is prevalent in various narratives, as exemplified in the following interview script.

One day an inspector came to our classroom. I had a male student who always came in such a tired state. The inspector asked his and his father’s name. He couldn’t answer for quite some time. The boy was visibly embarrassed. After the inspector left, I asked him: Don’t you know your father’s name? He said they always called his father Maviş (a nickname) in the neighborhood, so he was hesitant to answer quickly.

³ This avoidance may have stemmed from the earliest struggles of anthropology as a newly established discipline in the Turkish academia, where it was recognized as the “science of race” (for a detailed discussion, see Demirer, 2011). However, neglecting its distinctive explanatory quality led to the utilization of the concept of ethnicity as a substitute for the concept of race. This change likely facilitated the disguise of everyday racism. However, viewing race merely as a component of ethnicity diminishes its historical specificity, which masks the independent influence of racism as a distinct explanatory factor (Chancer & Watkins, 2006: 55). In recent years, the concept of racism has slowly earned its place in everyday discourse through Twitter and other forms of new media, although it is occasionally misused.

⁴ For a critical reading on the representation of Roma people of Turkey in Turkish audio-visual media, see (Tunç Cox & Uştuk, 2019).

This narrative poses a hidden agenda, i.e., implying that the Roma people have been unable to cope with the modernization process of the Turkish Republic since its establishment. During the formation of Turkey as a democratic state, the Surname Law in 1934 enforced the adoption of family names for modernizing and secularizing the nation-state and became a fundamental pillar of the Republic (Zürcher, 2017, pp. 184; 189; 412). The underlying point of the teacher is that the Roma have been unable to adapt to the modernization process, in contrast to other cultural groups considered part of mainstream society. This imagery portrays Roma people as *primitive* and in need of intervention to assimilate into the so-called *advanced* norms that are deemed acceptable in the contemporary era.

4.3. Genetic essentialism

The selection of stories that depict Roma communities as primitive is frequently accompanied by the narratives that aim to explain the behavior of Roma people through genetic explanations. In certain cases, teachers even attempted to draw a comparison between Roma people and Black people in the United States, which implies that both groups share a genetic predisposition toward non-academic activities such as sports and music.

They have a “movement” gene in them. Like black children in America, those kids have boundless energy. They are naturally predisposed to sports and music. They just can’t stay still in the classroom. Gypsies (Çingene)⁵ always seem to win the competitions. They have too much energy mixed with hyperactivity. I think Gypsies are genetically predisposed to music, sports, and painting. We can use this predisposition to draw them to school.

I used to have them paint instead of teaching math. The Gypsy children seemed happier when I did that.

A widespread agreement that Roma children can only be successful in other intellectual subjects and that they lack the necessary inclination toward STEM exists among teachers.

I think the Roma are genetically inclined towards painting, music, and sports. But not much else.

Claiming that the Roma are genetically inclined toward dance and music not only perpetuates cultural stereotypes but also implies their lack of maturity in demonstrating success in STEM, which is typically regarded a key indicator of modernized societies. This notion is further supported by portraying them as “free-spirited people” who lack the patience and perseverance required to excel in the STEM fields. Evidently, teachers have not only relied on cultural stereotypes but have also resorted to pseudogenetic explanations to justify their views and interpretations of the behaviors of Roma students.

4.4. Deliberate blindness toward hardship and poverty

Apart from the reluctance to acknowledge the diverse interests of Roma children, a widespread belief also exists among the teachers that Roma people are exaggerating the hardships they are enduring. The counseling teacher even shares this viewpoint by arguing that Roma children are using their poor living conditions and hardships as an excuse to avoid complying with school regulations and obligations.

They always complain about the hardships they face. But, it is an exaggeration for sure. My student was late for class. I said I believe you had a wedding celebration last night. She said that they frequently have weddings and have fun until very late. They are full of life! The teachers even talked about how it would be nice to live in such a place. There is nothing to worry about!

A clear discrepancy exists between the initial sympathy that teachers expressed toward the struggles of Roma people and the narratives they revealed during the interviews. At the beginning of the interviews, nearly all teachers claimed they were aware of the hardship faced by Roma people. However, as the interviews continued, they revealed narratives that made the researcher believe that their sympathy toward Roma people was, in fact, a part of impression management.

Developing a deeper relationship with the teachers during the course of the interviews, the researcher gradually discovered hidden biases and inconsistencies in their narratives. Evidently, the teachers were fully aware of the structural barriers faced by the Roma community, especially in terms of livelihood, which significantly impacts their school attendance rates.

The Roma people are known to work in the entertainment industry or in marginal jobs that offer little to no job security and benefits. As a result, they frequently have irregular work schedules that makes providing consistent care for children difficult in contrast to middle-class parents, who typically enjoy structured and predictable work arrangements (Uştuk, 2024). They are also struggling with the demand of the labor market for de-ethnicization and middle-class work

⁵ The term Gypsy, which is known as “Çingene” in Turkish, is considered derogatory; as a result, many Roma find it offensive and prefer to be referred to as Roma. However, a significant resistance is evident among non-Roma people in Turkey to accept their preference. This topic remains a significant issue for Roma NGOs that are actively working to promote their identity politics.

ethics that deem them unfit for many job requirements (Uştuk, 2021, p. 153). Despite awareness of the challenges that emerge from the poor living conditions of Roma parents, teachers continue to hold them responsible for their absence from the educational prospects of their children. A few teachers even pointed out that changing their livelihood is a viable solution, as if it is a matter of choice.

When I talk to these parents, they agree with me. But, when it comes to execution, no promises come true. They do not have any economic problems. They have computers in their homes and the internet. They don't have any excuses! I called again and again, but they started not picking up my phone calls.

During the same interview, another teacher shared a story about how she had to go through trouble to enroll one of her students in the school. The parents of the students were separated, and the student was commuting between cities. The father, who lived in the Roma neighborhood, did not have an official living address, because he resided in a shed near a ghetto neighborhood that the government did not recognize. He was working as a scrap collector and struggling to look after the children. Despite these difficulties, the teacher continued to hold the belief that the effort of the father was insufficient for supporting the education of his child. She believed that the parents should prioritize education over other responsibilities.

Since they work at night, they sleep in and do not look after their children. We need to change their livelihoods. This way, they will sleep and get up like normal people. That way, they'll be able to send their children to school.

The teacher does not seem to see any problem in suggesting a change in their lifestyle and blames the victim for being unable to change the structural restrictions they face such as racial discrimination in labor markets and spatial segregation (Uştuk, 2024). A dismissive incomprehension of the class position of the Roma and structural restraints lead to blaming the Roma for the conditions they suffer.

Teachers were not only deliberately blind to the hardships faced by the Roma people but were also unwilling to acknowledge the extreme poverty they endured.

They like to live well, and their money is never short. It gets our attention. Sometimes we see that while the regular students buy a bagel (simit) and ayran (yoghurt-based drink), the Roma children buy many things at lunch. We don't believe they are as poor as they claim.

The study observes that the teachers even adopt a discourse that denies an apparent reality, because the Roma pupils are not exhibiting the deprivation that they are expected to demonstrate. The middle-class cultural values of the teachers regarding money and expenditure were not parallel to the portrayal of poverty in media. This judgment also reveals that they view themselves in a higher moral position to dictate the priorities of life and the appropriate way of using money. They do not imagine a household in which even children work; occasionally, an addicted parent could confiscate all money earned by the family members instead of buying food; and the children's lunch at school could be the only proper meal they could get that day.

The municipality stepped in last year. I disapproved. Because I don't think that Roma children cannot attend school for financial reasons, they already get a lot of help from the authorities. They don't need it. But of course, the conditions of living in accordance are horrible.

A number of teachers do not openly deny the poverty of Roma people; instead, they blame them for being prodigal. This comprehension reflects a common stereotype that portrays Roma people as free-spirited ones who live without any worries about the future or consideration for potential future hardships.

They get educational assistance, 200 to 300 Turkish liras.⁶ They do not use to send their children to school, so we threatened the parents about ending this assistance. They always talk about they couldn't send their children to school due to lack of money. I think this is just an excuse to get more of the State's money. They are exploiting the system. I don't get any money to send my children to school, but I do it regardless.

These narratives demonstrate that teachers are prone to use the repressive state apparatus to force the Roma to assimilate into a middle-class lifestyle in the case that the ideological apparatus fails. By provoking the fear of losing monetary help, teachers believe that they can force the Roma parents to comply with the rules of the school and change their lifestyle.

They can be frightened by fine. Since September last year, we have started persuasion efforts. I was angry with all of them! I said penalties would begin to pour in on all of you! Each day you do not send your children to school, it will cost you 225 Turkish liras. We submitted the penalty proposal in December. We followed this path because we have compulsory education, and it is the responsibility of parents! We send it through the official channels, first to the District directorate of national education, then the police, and then the court. But due to the pandemic, the file got stuck somewhere. I won't fail to keep my promise. After the pandemic, I will follow it and even go to press.

⁶ Notably, the interviews were held at a time when the threshold for food deprivation for a four-person family had been established at 2,590 Turkish liras. This information provides valuable insights into the experiences of the participants, who were likely facing significant economic challenges and threats to food security.

This strategy inherently acknowledges the financial distress of the Roma. However, teachers interpreted this fear as a result of greed instead than poverty and were willing to take forceful actions to use this fear to alter the attitudes of the Roma.

In summary, the teachers have been immersed in the mainstream stereotypical cultural scripts about the Roma, which has led to significant harm in their endeavor to increase attendance rates. Mainstream Turkish cinema and audio–visual media perpetuate stereotypes by portraying the Roma through binary and derogatory lenses (Uştuk & Tunç Cox, 2020). The media reinforces negative stereotypes by depicting the Roma as thieves, beggars, and troublemakers, which emphasizes the perception that they live in poverty and squalor and positions them as a burden to society and incapable of improving their living conditions (Tunç Cox & Uştuk, 2019). These stereotypes are leading to decreased expectations, implicit biases, and misunderstanding regarding the capability and potential of Roma students. Consequently, teachers unintentionally perpetuate discriminatory practices, which hinders the creation of an inclusive and supportive learning environment for Roma students.

5. Conclusion

This study highlights the prevalence of concealed racist practices in a Turkish public school and their perpetuation through the daily intercultural interactions between teachers and Roma students. Through participant observation, casual conversations, and in-depth and focus group interview with teachers, the study discovered a few tacit racist discourses that underlie discriminatory practices in classrooms. By critically engaging with these discourses, which circulate via micro-interactions of school employees, provides an opportunity for examining how nationalist ideologies solidify through everyday interactions.

During the interviews, the study found that denial evidently serves as a prevalent coping mechanism for teachers, which leads to a notable hesitancy to fully acknowledge their role in perpetuating discrimination within the school system despite their awareness of the structural inequality faced by Roma students. Although teachers possess an understanding of the systemic challenges encountered by these students, they tend to uphold the myth of meritocracy that underpins the educational system. This cognitive dissonance results in a dismissive incomprehension of the harsh realities faced by Roma students, which occasionally leads to the unfair attribution of blame to them. Cultural stereotypes and pseudo-genetic explanations conveniently serve to alleviate the cognitive dissonance experienced by teachers, which provides a simplistic framework for rationalizing their biases and attitudes toward Roma students.

Struggling with the complexities of structural inequalities, teachers frequently find themselves in a challenging position. Feeling powerless to directly address these systemic issues, they redirect their focus toward the behaviors of the Roma and partially assign blame to the victims. This response is not only rooted in their sense of helplessness but is also influenced by the pervasive meritocratic ideology, which emphasizes individual responsibility and fosters the false belief that the educational system inherently provides equal opportunities for everyone. Consequently, the tendency to hold Roma students responsible for their conditions emerges as a complex interplay between the feelings of powerlessness of teachers in addressing broad issues and the influence of the meritocratic narrative within the educational system. As a result, institutional racism is perpetuated through the mundane, everyday discourse of teachers who inadvertently contribute to this systemic issue due to the lack of means and resources to confront their biases.

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