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RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN
INTERNALIZED STEREOTYPES, BLACK
IDENTITY, RACE SALIENCE, AND SELF-
ESTEEM AMONG AFRICAN AMERICAN
COLLEGE STUDENTS

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RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INTERNALIZED STEREOTYPES,
BLACK IDENTITY, RACE SALIENCE, AND SELF-ESTEEM
AMONG AFRICAN AMERICAN COLLEGE STUDENTS

by

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A Dissertation
Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
Doctor of Philosophy Degree

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in the Graduate School
Southern Illinois University Carbondale
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DISSERTATION APPROVAL

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A Dissertation Submitted in Partial

Fulfillment of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in the field of Clinical Psychology

Approved by:

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June 4, 2012

AN ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION OF

OLIVIA D. HOSKINS, for the Doctor of Philosophy degree in CLINICAL PSYCHOLOGY presented on JUNE 4, 2012 at Southern Illinois University Carbondale.

TITLE: RELATINOSHIPS BETWEEN INTERNALIZED STEREOTYPES, BLACK IDENTITY, RACE SALIENCE, AND SELF-ESTEEM AMONG AFRICAN AMERICAN COLLEGE STUDENTS

MAJOR PROFESSOR: Dr. Stephen J. Dollinger

The purpose of this study was to examine within group thoughts and feelings among African American college students at historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) and historically White colleges and universities (HWCUs). Hypotheses were tested, 1) internalized stereotypes will be endorsed by more students at HWCUs than at HBCUs, 2) degree of Black Identity would be related to endorsement of internalized stereotypes, 3) students at HBCUs would endorse a higher perception of racial discrimination than those who attend HWCUs, and 4) an exploratory hypothesis examined if students who attend HBCUs have higher self-esteem than those who attend HWCUs. Online questionnaires containing demographic questions, the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (Sellers et al., 1998), the Nadanalization Scale (Taylor & Grundy, 1996), Vignettes of Race Perceptions (Outten et al., 2010), and the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1979) were given to 114 college students who self-identified as African American. Univariate analysis of variance, linear regressions, and an independent t-test were use to calculate the associations. Results were discussed in relation to theory and research that purports differences between African American students on school type. Findings indicated that counter to the first research hypothesis, stereotypes of genetic inheritance (SGI) were endorsed by more students at HBCUs than at HWCUs. As hypothesized, degree of Black Identity as defined by private regard was negatively related to stereotypes of mental ability

(SMA). Supplemental findings were also discussed regarding relationships between demographic predictor and outcome variables. This study demonstrates that empirically validated individualized theories concerning the indices of Black Identity and internalized stereotypes may provide a better understanding of their formation among African American college students.

DEDICATION

I continue to stand on Philippians 1:6. To my parents, Michael and Juanita Hoskins, this study belongs to you as much it does to me. Thank you for your unending love and support.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Although stereotype formation is a relatively new research area within the scope of psychology, extremely minimal research has explored the effects of internalized stereotypes (Stangor, 2009). It is commonly believed that stereotypes are a combination of naturally developed cognitions, as well as socially formed constructs (Fiske, 1998; Nelson, 2002; Stangor, 2009). Stereotypes are the way information is collected in an efficient manner (Levy, Stroessner, & Dweck, 1998; Macrae, Milne, & Bodenhausen, 1994; Weber & Crocker, 1893). The overwhelming body of stereotype research has explored the effects of stereotypes using a within group/out-group model (Allport, 1954; Tajfel, 1981). Much of the research on stereotypes studies the effects that stereotyping an out-group has on both the out-group being stereotyped, as well as the within group that is stereotyping (Berscheid & Reis, 1998; Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood, & Sherif, 1961; Sheepers, Spears, Doosje, & Manstead, 2006). It is important to study the conditions that are related to within group members' stereotypes of the group to which they belong.

Early theories of within group attitudes have evolved to accept the social categorization theory as a highly recognized model for the role of social context in self-identification (Turner & Oaks, 1989). Theories about attitudes, thoughts, and beliefs, among African Americans note however, that historical context is of utmost importance when researching attitudes African Americans hold about themselves (Kambon, 1999). In addition, social context has been found to be a significant aspect of the attitudes African Americans, particularly college students, hold about their ethnic group (Chavous, Harris, Rivas, Helaire, & Green, 2004).

Research exploring factors that contribute to internalized stereotypes among African American college students has been extremely limited (Outten, Giguère, Schmitt, & Lalonde, 2010; Shelton & Sellers, 2000). For example, specific within group stereotypes have been studied, such as skin color (Bond & Cash, 1992; Coard, Breland, & Raskin, 2001), and perceptions of attitudes held by outgroups (Bayton & Byoune, 1947; Schneider, 2004). Very little research however, appears to have been done on stereotypes and perceptions are related to seemingly related behaviors and beliefs such as race identity (Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, and Chavous, 1998) and self-esteem (Taylor & Grundy, 1996).

In addition, while there has been emerging research that suggests social context may influence how African Americans feel about themselves (Chavous et al., 2004), little research has explored what specific aspects of social context contribute to the thoughts, attitudes, and beliefs that are related to internalization of stereotypes. Of particular interest is the contributing role that school type and racial ideology may play in the formation of internalized attitudes and beliefs. Although researchers have compared African Americans attending historically Black colleges and universities to African Americans attending historically White colleges and universities, few, if any have measured this construct as it relates to internalized stereotypes and racial ideology.

Therefore, the present study will explore the relationships and outcomes predicted by internalized stereotypes among African American college students. In addition, as earlier theorists have suggested (Chavous et al., 2004), an examination of the possible differences in these relationships between African American college students who have attended historically Black colleges and universities versus those who have attended historically White colleges and universities will be examined. In this way, the study will examine the salience of social context

in the formation of internalized stereotypes and racial ideology. This study will also explore the implications internalized stereotypes and racial ideology may have on other factors such as age, gender, and school motivation. The present study will add to the current knowledge base about not only the beliefs African American college students hold about themselves, but will also begin to build a model for what factors relate to within group stereotypes and beliefs.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Overview of Literature

This literature review will address areas of research salient to the current study. The review begins broadly by providing construct definitions. It will also provide a review of historical and current theory. The review then narrows by outlining relevant research. Research examining within group bias is examined. The specific roles of ethnocentrism, social identity and behavior, as well as internalized stereotypes are explored within this section. In the final section, racial stereotypes among African Americans are reviewed. In this section, a detailed examination of racial categorization is explored. In addition, specific theories and research measuring internalized stereotypes among African Americans is also provided.

Stereotypes: Definition and Theory

Definition of Stereotypes

The scientific study of stereotypes is a fairly new area of research (Stangor, 2009). Rooted primarily within the field of social psychology, the definitions used to describe and identify stereotypes as well as prejudice have changed along with the scope of the field (Stangor, 2009). Trying to distinguish between the separate roles of prejudice, discrimination, and stereotypes in the formation of our attitudes can be a difficult task (Fiske, 1998). Whereas prejudice is widely thought to be a manifestation of affect, and discrimination the behavioral component of attitudes, stereotypes are often thought to house the thoughts and beliefs held about others. A universal definition of stereotypes can be stated as the attributes or characteristics that quickly come to mind in thinking about different groups (Stangor, 2009). It has long been theorized that people have a natural desire to distinguish themselves from less

familiar out-groups. The universal characteristics people use to describe groups are referred to as stereotypes. In this way, stereotypes are generally thought to be the way in which people describe groups, or individuals from groups different from their own (Stangor, 2009).

Stereotypes are a form of cognitions (Stangor, 2009). The way people think, their beliefs, their schemas, as well as the social context in which they live, dictate the stereotypes they form (Stangor, 2009). According to Fiske (1998), stereotyping contains some aspects that are found universally in all humans. She indicates that early American research in the 1970's and 1980's built upon the theories of Allport (1954) and Tajfel (1981), suggesting that stereotypes are normal occurrences and that the need to categorize groups occurs in all people (Fiske, 1998).

In an early experiment by Weber and Crocker (1983), researchers wanted to examine what cognitive processes were involved in stereotype formation and change. In this experiment, they tested three cognitive models of stereotype change. The bookkeeping model asserts that each occurrence of stereotype change serves to modify the overall group stereotype gradually. The conversion model views stereotype change as less of a gradual change process and more of a marked and instantaneous occurrence. The subtyping model views stereotypes as a part of a systematic chain of command. In this model, as inconsistent information about a group is given, the overall stereotype of the group does not change; rather, subtypes of a group are formed.

These researchers conducted three experiments designed to test which model most fully described the processes of stereotype change when subjects were presented with information that was both stereotype consistent and inconsistent about a particular group. For each experiment, the subjects (college students) were presented with a questionnaire packet that provided information about the characteristics of either a group of lawyers or librarians. Each subject read characteristics that were either stereotype consistent, inconsistent, or both for each group. Using

analysis of covariance in all three experiments, the researchers found, that overall, the cognitive processes in stereotype change were consistent with both the bookkeeping and subtyping models. That is, stereotype change occurred gradually, as more inconsistent stereotype information was provided. They also found that people tend to create subtypes of groups when inconsistent information was provided, rather than developing an entirely different group stereotype (Webber & Crocker, 1985).

In a separate study by Levy, Stroessner, and Dweck (1998), a series of experiments were conducted to examine the role of cognitive entity (fixedness) and incremental (flexibility) personality theories in the formation of social stereotype adherence. That is, they examined how adherence to the concreteness versus fluidity of group stereotypes influences one's belief about different groups. For example, participants were asked questions such as: "*The kind of person someone is, is something basic about them, and it can't be changed very much*". The researchers wanted to explore: (1) What stereotypes members of the sample group held about different ethnic groups, (2) To what extent they believed the stereotypes, and (3) Why they believed stereotypes about the ethnic groups existed. The participants were each given an implicit person theory measure which was used to rate the subjects as either entity theories or incremental theorists. The participants were also given either a stereotype measure or one of two versions of a questionnaire that measured their explanation for the existence of various stereotypes (Levy, Stroessner, & Dweck, 1998).

The researchers found that while participants in both groups generated similar knowledge of stereotypes about various ethnic groups, those in the entity theory group indicated they believed certain stereotypes at a significantly greater rate than those in the incremental theory group. The researchers also found that participants labeled as entity theorists also credited the

presence of stereotype characteristics to the internal, fixed traits of the group members at greater rates than incremental theorists. Incremental theorists on the other hand, attributed the presence of stereotypes as more a function of environmental factors and were therefore, more fluid in their stereotype categorization (Levy, Stroessner, & Dweck, 1998).

Researchers therefore believe stereotypes are formed similar to other cognitive developments (Nelson, 2002; Stangor, 2009) such as object permanence and conservation (for more information, see Piaget, 1954). This drive to categorize group differences begins during early childhood. Children have a natural tendency to want to categorize people and things (Bigler, 1995) and are taught to do so (e.g. popular children's programming such as Sesame Street). They often want to know how objects are both similar and different. The strict rigidity of group categorizing begins to taper off however, as children get older (Signorella, Bigler, & Liben, 1993; Stangor, 2009).

What researchers have found is that as children get older, their categorization and concept formation of stereotypes becomes more similar to that of adults. In measuring the development of the cognitive processes involved in forming stereotypes, Levy and Dweck (1999) conducted two experiments with older school-aged children. They sought to identify the stereotyping differences between children who held a fixed view of stereotype traits (entity) and those with a more fluid (incremental) view of stereotype traits.

In one study, children were asked to judge an entire (fictional) school based upon their reading of the negative behavioral characteristics of nine children who attended the school. Using sixth graders, the researchers measured the stereotype differences in those children identified as entity theorists and those identified as incremental theorists. After reading about the behaviors of the nine students from the fictional school, subjects were asked to make trait

judgments about all the students in the school. They were also asked to measure how similar they thought the students at the school were and how willing they would be to interact with students from the other school. Subjects were then told to form their own explanation of the group's behavior. Using analysis of variance, researchers discovered that entity theorists reported that personality traits were the primary cause of behaviors. These subjects concluded that when the other children behaved negatively, it was due to their own traits. This is in contrast to subjects labeled as incremental theorists. They asserted that the negative behavior of the nine children was due largely to situational and environmental factors. This is consistent with adult studies of the cognitive processes that lead to stereotype formation and change (Levy, Stroessner, & Dweck, 1998; Weber & Crocker, 1983).

Macrae, Milne, and Bodenhausen (1994) designed a study to test the theory that stereotypes are also driven by our desire to categorize and simplify information. To test this hypothesis, they explored if stereotypes were used simply because people were essentially lazy and wanted to use less cognitive effort in describing other groups, or, if in fact people truly did use stereotypes to conserve cognitive space for other meaningful tasks. To test this, they used a dual-task experimental paradigm. In their study, subjects were randomly assigned to either a control or experimental group. Both groups were asked to perform two-simultaneous tasks. For task one, subjects were asked to view a target name (e.g. John), along with a number of trait descriptions about the name on a computer screen (e.g. dangerous). At the same time, they also performed task two, which consisted of listening to an audio recording about a foreign country. In addition to viewing descriptions about the target name, subjects in the experimental group also viewed a stereotype label along with the target name (e.g. John, skinhead) (Macrae, Milne, & Bodenhausen, 1994).

The researchers hypothesized that in the presence of stereotype-confirming descriptors the experimental group would remember more descriptors, as well as retain more information about the foreign country because the stereotypes allowed for additional cognitive space to be used for the secondary task. When the two tasks were concluded, the researchers assessed how much information the subjects retained by asking them to write down all of the descriptors they'd viewed on the computer screen for each subject. They were also given a multiple-choice questionnaire that asked questions about the audio recording they'd heard. The researchers found that subjects who'd viewed a stereotype label with the target name and descriptors recalled twice as many personality descriptors. These subjects also answered more questions correctly on the multiple-choice questionnaire. This research verifies that in the face of demanding tasks, stereotypes serve to conserve cognitive space by storing simplified information into long-term memory (Macrae, Milne, & Bodenhausen, 1994). In doing this, humans are able to conserve cognitive space, while generalizing information, and in turn, more readily recognizing group differences (Stangor, 2009).

Along with cognitions, emotions also play a key role in the formation of stereotypes. Although often difficult to measure, Stangor (2009) argues that emotions may do more in explaining the formation of stereotypes than cognitions. Sears (1986) states, however, that because most stereotype research is done using college student samples (which he argues are inconsistent in their ability to provide accurate self-assessment), measurements of emotion (such as how students felt about themselves), personality dispositions, and group norms may be more difficult to assess than with older adult populations. For example, although affect has been found to be a better overall predictor of attitudes than stereotypes in and of themselves, one's affect can vary greatly. Affect can also influence how people categorize information. Stangor

(2009) adds however, that cognitions are easier to measure and therefore tends to be a more consistently evaluated variable in stereotype literature.

Although schemas appear to be driven by a natural inclination towards simplifying information, the type of stereotypes that are formed are developed through social structures (Crandall & Stangor, 2005). Social identity appears to be the underlying factor of what stereotypes are formed, as well as why discrimination occurs between social groups (Stangor, 2009). In a recent study, Le Pelley and colleagues hypothesized that attitude differences are learned through association in a process similar to that of classical conditioning (Le Pelley, Reimers, Calvini, Spears, Beesley, & Murphy, 2010). They proposed that stereotype formation occurs through the development of both a group mental representation and a mental representation of a personality trait. Therefore, when an association is made between the group and the personality trait, a stereotype is formed.

To test this hypothesis, researchers gave participants information about individuals who belonged to two groups. In Stage 1 of the experiment, participants read a description of the individuals in two groups. In half of the cases, the participants were told in the description that the individuals were readily recognizable by the color of their shirt. For the other half of the individuals, there was no distinguishing information provided to the participants. In short, for half of the group members, participants were able to make a distinguishing association about the individuals they read about and for the other half of the group members, they were not able to make a distinguishing association. In Stage 2 of the experiment, participants read descriptions of other individuals belonging to the same two groups they'd read about previously with one difference- these individuals were presented with either positive or negative trait behaviors. The experimenters correctly predicted that among groups that were described with a distinguishable

association (color of the shirt and personality) participants were able to make stronger stereotype trait associations than among group members with no distinguishing association (personality trait only) (Le Pelley et al., 2010).

Researchers also believe that stereotypes may be described as needed social components in the way humans identify and interact with each other (Fiske, 1998). To test this theory, Rothbart and John (1985) explored how observations and interactions of an out-group correlated with the ability to refute a known stereotype. They found that when observing an unfavorable group trait, fewer observations and interactions were needed in order for people to generalize it as a common trait among the out-group. In addition, it took a greater number of favorable group trait instances for the unfavorable trait to no longer be viewed as a common trait among members of the out-group. Ultimately, their research found that among social groups, it is easy for a person to establish and maintain negative traits about an entire out-group, and difficult for that negative trait to be disconfirmed (Rothbart & John, 1985). This may explain why many stereotypes describe negative traits.

The way people categorize themselves also plays an important role in the development and maintenance of stereotypes. For example, Stangor (2009) notes that at times, people categorize themselves as being a part of a social group, and other times, they may categorize themselves as individuals. The fluidity by which people categorize themselves within a social structure as an individual or as a part of a group plays a fundamental role in the maintenance of stereotypes (Stangor, 2009). As a result, stereotype formation has been studied at both the individual and group level (Stangor, 2009).

More recent research has shown that when measuring stereotypes at the individual level, people report less prejudice (tend to have a less negative evaluation of out-group members) than

in earlier studies (Stangor, 2009). There may be a number of reasons for this finding. Devine and Elliot (1995) argued that in the past, researchers have failed to clarify if they were measuring stereotype knowledge or stereotype belief. They also asserted that adjectives used in research to describe group level stereotypes were outdated. To address these shortcomings, their research asked participants to identify from a list of commonly known stereotype traits about Blacks in America. The researchers informed participants that they were only interested in their knowledge of (not agreement with) well-known stereotypes about Blacks. On a separate task, participants were asked to indicate what (if any) stereotypes about Blacks they believed to be true. Subjects were also asked to complete the Modern Racism Scale to assess their level of prejudice toward Blacks (Devine & Elliot, 1995).

The researchers found that while there was no difference between high and low prejudiced subjects in their knowledge of stereotypes about Blacks, high prejudiced individuals believed stereotypes about Blacks at a greater rate than low prejudiced subjects. They did acknowledge, however, that high prejudiced subjects in this study reported less prejudice than subjects in past studies (e.g. Katz & Braly, 1933). The researchers also argued that although even high prejudiced people may report less prejudice towards Blacks, past research may have actually been measuring stereotype belief, rather than stereotype knowledge. That is, that stereotype knowledge is still very prevalent, although stereotype belief may have declined over time (Devine & Elliot, 1995).

One explanation for a decrease in stereotype belief may be that meaningful interethnic interactions have increased in America, and people are coming to know other out-groups within meaningful environmental contexts. As a result, stereotypes about these out-groups have decreased (Allport, 1954). Another possibility is that people are more aware of the social

implications of verbalizing their stereotypes, and do not express their true feelings (Fiske, 1998). It is also possible that few studies have tried to measure implicit thoughts and attitudes (Collins, Crandall, & Biernat, 2006). There is also a commonly held belief about stereotypes that hypothesizes that the mere presence of stereotypes is actually a natural occurrence, and not necessarily a problem (Fiske, 1998; Stangor, 2009). According to this theory of stereotype formation, the inclination to think of one's group more favorably than an out-group does not necessarily mean one also thinks negatively about the out-group (Stangor, 2009).

While more recent theorists characterize stereotypes as simply group generalizations or schemas (e.g. Stangor, 2009), the problem with stereotypes is not the formation of stereotypes themselves; rather, it is the content and influence of these generalizations that lead to complications (Allport, 1954; Bargh, 1999; Banaji & Hardin, 1996). Although some stereotypes may appear to generalize positive characteristics about an individual or group (e.g., African Americans have the unique characteristic of being musical and athletic, and many Asian Americans are smart), having a positive stereotype presupposes a negative stereotype (Stangor, 2009). In addition, more important than what a so-called positive stereotype says is what it does not say (i.e. African Americans do not have the unique ability of being smart, many Asian Americans do not have characteristic musical or athletic abilities; Stangor, 2009).

Allport (1954) believed that stereotypes can not be defined without also citing their negativity, inaccuracy, and overgeneralization of groups or individuals. For many people, an assumption is made about a group based on a small number of individuals. These assumptions create a generalized belief system that is both inaccurate and unfair (Allport, 1954). In addition, because each stereotype holds at least a small kernel of truth, they are very difficult to both extinguish and measure (Stangor, 2009).

Summary. Stereotypes can be defined as generalizations that are made about groups of people (Stangor, 2009). Research supports the notion that stereotype formation is a natural cognitive process that helps people conserve cognitive space in order to use it on other mental tasks (Macrae, Milne, and Bodenhausen, 1994). Most agree that stereotype formation is a natural occurrence. The problem with stereotypes however, is not the formation of group generalizations. Rather, it is the content of the generalizations. Researchers have studied stereotypes at both the group and individual level (Stangor, 2009). It is now widely supported that stereotypes are rooted in our social structures and serve as a social gauge of how humans identify and interact with each other (Fisk, 1998). Most stereotypes tend to be negative (Allport, 1954), and are strongly related to prejudice and discrimination (Stangor, 2009). Although some stereotypes may describe favorable traits about a particular group, theorists argue there are no “good” stereotypes (Stangor, 2009). In the following section, I will discuss some of the foundational theories that have helped shape our current understanding of stereotypes.

Historical Theories of Stereotypes

Early theoretical models of analyzing stereotypes were developed primarily in the United States during the early 1950’s (Fiske, 1998). They were birthed out of newly emerging social structures and attitudes in the wake of increased racial and gender interactions (Fiske, 1998). These early models were based on individual, not group differences. Many studies were in response to peoples’ attitudes regarding a more heterogeneous culture. Virtually all the historical theories of stereotypes were based on racial attitudes. They primarily focused on Whites attitudes towards Blacks specifically, and Whites’ attitudes towards minorities in general (Fiske, 1998).

In 1933, Daniel Katz and Kenneth Braly conducted the first of three seminal longitudinal studies commonly known as the Princeton Trilogy (Devine & Elliot, 1995). Their research

(along with studies by Gilbert in 1951 and Karlins, Coffman, and Walters in 1969) attempted to measure stereotypes held by three generations of Princeton University students (Devine & Elliot, 1995). In Katz and Braly's study, researchers investigated attitudes about specific racial and ethnic groups held by college students. They hypothesized that people hold both public and private prejudice attitudes. In their study, they asked students to pick traits from a list of 84 words they thought was commonly used to describe different racial groups (i.e. Negro, Chinese, Englishmen, American, German, etc.). The subjects were then asked to identify five words they personally thought most accurately described traits of that particular racial group.

The researchers concluded that higher stereotype agreement was found in ratings about racial groups with which the subjects had more frequent contact. However, this did not explain why subjects held a higher level of agreement of stereotypes about Negroes, then about other common groups such as Americans and Englishmen. The researchers reasoned that while stereotype knowledge may be common among all groups, public and private cultural bias dictates what stereotypes subjects actually believe (Katz & Braly, 1933).

Another theory of stereotype development was uniquely formed without exploring attitudes of minority groups. In 1950, T.W. Adorno and colleagues developed the authoritarian personality theory (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, & Sanford, 1950). This theory, rooted in the psychodynamic approach, was developed in the wake of the events of the Holocaust. They sought to understand how economic, political, and societal norms formed patterns of personality. Adorno and colleagues believed that the authoritarian personality could be formed out of having blind submission to authority. They believed this personality type evolved out of a need in working-class parents to demand strict adherence to middle-class social norms from their unruly, sexually aggressive children, in order for them to develop into self-controlled, middle-class

adults. Adorno theorized that the unacceptable sexual impulses of the child became the repressed anxiety, sexuality, and aggression of the adult (Adorno, et al., 1950). The tension the new adult came to feel grew in the form of stereotypes. In that manner, out-group (i.e. Jews, women and Blacks) were viewed as threatening and inferior, whereas authority figures in the in-group were idealized.

Measuring the child rearing practices of mothers, Hart (1957) conducted research that tested the authoritarian personality theory. Hart hypothesized that types of child rearing practices could be predicted by identified personality characteristics. In the case of this study, the authoritarian personality was tested. Taking 126 mothers of children between the ages of 2½ and 5½ years old, the experiment consisted of structured interview questions, which asked about six different types of behavioral situations the mothers might face with their children (e.g. feeding, cleanliness/ toilet training, aggression, dependence, and independence). The mothers also responded to open ended, projective-type questions as well as a measure of authoritarian personality.

Hart's research found that there was a positive correlation between authoritarian personality level and the mother's non love-oriented parenting techniques in response to their child's behaviors. Mothers who had a low authoritarian personality level reported more love-oriented parenting techniques in response to their child's behavior. These results indicate that maternal discipline techniques are dependent upon the mother's personality factors. Hart further proposed that these results imply that a child being reared in an authoritarian household is more likely to become an authoritarian himself. He suspected this personality type might lead to avoidance tendencies, and ambivalence. Of particular importance is that Hart suggested the child

may also develop a hidden resentment towards authority which may be evident in the form of scapegoating and prejudice (Hart, 1957).

Adorno's theory was prominent for about 10 years (although the concept of right-wing authoritarianism was re-introduced by Altemeyer in the 1980's and 90's). Adorno's theory began to decline as adherence to Freudian theory fell due to methodological and conceptual problems (Fiske, 1998). Also, as times changed, psychologists began to explore other theories (Stangor, 2009).

As the social climate in the United States began to change, so did theories of stereotypes (Fiske, 1998). The subtle racism theory cites research that White's overt racist attitudes about Blacks declined significantly between the 1940's and 1980's (Schuman, Steeh, & Bobo, 1985). In analyzing historical data, researchers found that when asked directly, Whites attitudes about their willingness to integrate schools increased from 32% in 1942 to 90% in 1980. In addition, they found that the percent of person's rejecting laws against interracial marriage rose from 38% in 1963 to 66% in 1982. Further, researchers found that the percent of Whites willing to vote for a Black president rose from 37% in 1958 to 81% in 1983.

Using the subtle racism theory, Shuman and Bobo also led randomized national survey research exploring Whites' attitudes towards housing integration (1988). They wanted to know if there was a difference between White's opposition to the principles of integration and their support for the actual implementation of integration. Using chi square analysis, they concluded that White opposition to integration in neighborhoods had little to do with an overall "anti-Black" sentiment. Rather, an emerging trend in neighborhood discrimination was more strongly related to income-based discrimination as well as opposition to government- enforced housing

laws. This research further supports the decline of overt racism towards Blacks (Schuman & Bobo, 1988).

While overt racism may have declined, Schuman and colleagues reasoned that covert racism was still quite evident. Their research found that if given the opportunity, White participants would be less helpful to Black confederates. Also, in studies exploring attitudes and behaviors towards sanctioned punishment, Whites were more aggressive to Black confederates. Even in studying vocal tone, researchers revealed less positive attitudes towards Blacks than Whites (Schuman, Steeh, & Bobo, 1985). They concluded that while the prominence of the civil rights movement of the 1960's may have led to a decline in overt racism, attitudes towards Blacks remained negative (Fiske, 1998).

Other researchers have also examined the role of values in the development of aversive racism. The aversive racism theory suggests that while most White racists support egalitarian values, their own cognitive biases and American culture dictate that they should have apathy towards Blacks and other minorities (Gaertner and Dovidio, 1986). In this contemporary form of racism, it is hypothesized that aversive racists consider themselves non-prejudiced and support egalitarian values. Therefore, overt racism is even aversive to themselves; however, they still are likely to discriminate in rationalizable and subtle ways (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986).

In a study examining the aversive-racism hypothesis, Dovidio and Gaertner (2000) compared self-reported prejudice from 1988-1989 and 1998-1999. To do this, researchers explored discrimination patterns in hiring Black or White job applicants for a peer-counselor position. Participants from this study were from a Northeastern liberal arts college. The researchers gave study participants a 120-word description of either an applicant with strong qualifications, ambiguous qualifications, or weak qualifications (the strength of the applicant

qualifications was determined through pilot data). Race of the applicant was to be inferred based on the applicant's activities, which the participants read in the word description (i.e. membership in the Black Student Union or member of a fraternity which was overwhelmingly White on campus). On a series of scales, the participants rated if the applicants were qualified, if they would recommend the candidate for the position, and the image of the candidate they'd formed about the applicant.

A 3x2x2 analysis of variance was used to measure the main effect of qualifications by race and by time. Participants had clear, significant differences in their willingness to hire a candidate with high qualifications and to not hire a candidate with weak qualifications regardless of race. As expected however, when the qualifications of the candidate were ambiguous, participants were more willing to hire a White applicant than a Black candidate. This supports the aversive racism hypothesis that when making a clear, decision, White participants will not discriminate. However, when making an ambiguous decision, White participants are more likely to display discrimination (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000).

Overall, this body of research has found that aversive racists do not act in overtly discriminatory ways. Rather, they are primarily concerned with their own egalitarianism. However, when their behavior can be explained away or when what is right or wrong is unclear, aversive racists are more likely to behave in overtly discriminatory ways. Research in this areas has also found that otherwise well-intentioned individuals may show automatic, racially biased associations, that, if they were made consciously aware, would be aversive to them as well (Gaertner and Dovidio, 1986). The notion that people may not be fully aware of their own racial attitudes is continued in later theories.

The disassociation model proposed by Devine (1989) asserts the possibility that unconscious conflicts underlie stereotype development. The theory further states, however, that unconscious stereotypes are formed at a very early age, (that is, stereotypes are formed before people are aware of the importance of evaluating the accuracy of their beliefs) (Devine, 1989). According to this model, the stereotype becomes automatic after one has learned it and encountered it repeatedly in various contexts.

Unlike what is learned at the unconscious level, an individual's personal beliefs may be either in concert with, or in opposition to the learned stereotype (Devine, 1989). The personal belief is then learned after the development of the unconscious stereotype. Devine theorized that personal belief however, is not often practiced. Therefore its use is less automatic in response to cultural stereotypes. As a result, a disassociation is formed between personal and cultural beliefs. The disassociation then forms varying dynamics between low and high prejudiced people (Devine, 1989).

To test her theory, Devine (1989) conducted a series of studies analyzing the role of prejudice in the dissociation of automatic and controlled processes. In one of her studies she sought to identify if ambiguously hostile stereotype-relevant behaviors would activate an automatic stereotype for Black hostility. Using a subject pool of undergraduate students, participants who scored in the upper third (high prejudice) or lower third (low prejudice) distribution of scores on the Modern Racism Scale were included in the present study.

The subjects were then presented with a series of stereotype "primer" words (e.g. Blacks, lazy, athletic, etc.) as well as neutral words unrelated to the stereotype (e.g. said, number, important, etc.). Half of the subjects randomly saw 80% primer words and 20% neutral words while the other half saw 80% neutral words and 20% primer words. All subjects then read a

paragraph referred to as the “*Donald*” paragraph, which is a 12-sentence race-neutral paragraph. It depicts “*Donald*” in a series of empirically established ambiguously hostile behaviors. Devine’s hypothesis that exposure to primer words would automatically activate the racial stereotype in both high and low prejudiced subjects was supported (Devine, 1989).

According to the disassociation theory, low prejudiced people have initial, automatically generated, stereotype ideas (Devine, 1989). They are able, however, to control their response and in turn, fall in line with the unprejudiced standards they set for themselves. When their behavior does not follow the unprejudiced standards they set for themselves, low prejudiced people feel guilty and attempt to change their behavior in order to fit their egalitarian values and beliefs (Devine, 1989).

On the other extreme of this spectrum lie high-prejudiced individuals. For these individuals, their cultural stereotypes and personal beliefs are in less conflict with each other (Devine, 1989). Even among high-prejudiced individuals, however, their personal standards cause them to suppress many of their behaviors and beliefs so they do not express extremely prejudiced responses. When they encounter a discrepancy between their personal standards and their behavior, they externalize their conflict, often becoming angry at the out-group, as well as those who sympathize with the out-group (Fiske, 1998). This work is thought to explain stereotypes and prejudice as they apply to racism, sexism, and homophobia.

Summary. In summary, historical theories of stereotypes are framed at the individual level of analysis (Fiske, 1998). Many early theories proposed that stereotypes are a combination of the individual being in conflict with their conscious or unconscious beliefs, thoughts or feelings (Adorno, et al., 1950; Devine, 1989; Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000). Early theories also propose that the individual struggles with identifying the appropriate social response (Schuman

& Bobo, 1988; Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986). More recent theories examine the formation of stereotypes at the group level.

Current Theories of Stereotypes

A later class of stereotype theory argues that stereotypes must be examined at the contextual and social level, not at the individual level (Fiske, 1998). Much like the class of theories before, many of the group-level theories of stereotypes have their roots in the stereotype theories proposed by Gordon Allport (Fiske, 1998, Allport, 1954). Allport claimed that stereotypes could not be understood without understanding that social categorization is driven by social context. That is to say, social networks drive the need for people to categorize and stereotype others (Allport, 1954). Group-level theories of stereotypes did not become widely known in the United States until the 1970's when research on cognitive categorization, biases, and errors began to emerge (Fiske, 1998).

This new area of research highly emphasized the role of the social context and de-emphasized the role of the individual in the development of stereotypes. Allport (1954) initiated the now well-accepted belief that people are placed into both within-groups and out-groups. He asserted that people inevitably love one group, and therefore hate the other group. Allport also added that the type of contact that we have with the out-group is dependent upon the social context of the interaction. His theory maintained that if both groups have an equal social status, are working towards the same goal, and have a chance to learn the commonalities within each other, the increased interaction between one's within-group and a lesser known out-group would result in going beyond one's learned stereotypes about the out-group (Allport, 1954, Fiske, 1998).

Over 30 years later, Tajfel continued Allport's group-level research by developing the social identity theory (SIT; Tajfel, 1981). This theory claimed that prejudice stems from the need to have a positive image about the group to which one belongs. Experiments exploring the minimal group paradigm (that is, examining the least amount of identifiers needed to distinguish between groups) have shown that even when divided by trivial group differences, people begin to show strong within-group favoritism and strong out-group discrimination (Tajfel, 1981).

In a recent study, researchers explored the conditions that moderated social identity (Badea, Jetten, Czukor, & Askevis-Leherpeux, 2010). Experimenters varied the treatment conditions in this study by manipulating the levels of within group size. In each condition, subjects were told that the purpose of the experiment was to examine their perception styles. Subjects were also falsely told there are two types of perception styles- detailed perceivers and global perceivers. After having the subjects view a picture full of dots, the subject was told to guess how many dots were in the picture. The experimenter pretended to write down information and told each subject individually they were detailed perceivers. Subjects were then told that detailed perceivers constituted 2% (very small group), 25% (moderate group) or 75% (very large group) of the population. In order to facilitate social identity threat, half of the subjects read information that informed them that detailed perceivers made more mistakes on perception tasks, and that they needed more time to understand the "big picture". Participants were then asked questions about their group identification and solidarity (Badea, et al., 2010).

The results of this experiment provide support for the SIT in that subjects in this study tended to respond collectively rather than individually to social identity threat. Researchers found that among participants in the threat condition, subjects in the very small group (2%) reported a higher social identity than subjects told they were in the moderate (25%) or very large

(75%) social group. This is an interesting finding in that subjects at each group size level were presented with social identity threat. Badea and colleagues (2010) believe this provides support for the notion that even if groups at varying levels are faced with social identity threat, small groups respond differently to social identity threat than moderate or large groups (Badea et, al. 2010).

Building on Tajfel's theory (Tajfel, 1981), Turner and Oaks (1989) developed the self-categorization theory (SCT). They proposed that there are specific contexts by which people are more likely to categorize themselves in an within-group versus an out-group. This theory asserts that to the degree categories can be differentiated between (at least) two clusters of people, that category will be used to classify one's self. Such categories of groups include: race, gender, sexual orientation, age, nationality, occupation, and political opinions. These theorists also examined the social meaning of the differences between people and the content of the stereotype as well as implications of the accessibility of the particular categories by which people identify themselves (Turner & Oaks, 1989). Research in this area however, has been ambiguous.

Looking at the (SCT) in context of the prejudiced personality, Bergh, Akrami, and Ekehammar (2009) suggest that no relationship can be found between personality and prejudice as a function of social identity. In an attempt to draw conclusions from an otherwise inconclusive body of research, Bergh and colleagues (2009) designed a study to investigate the importance of identity when exploring the relationship between personality and prejudice. They used a sample of non-psychology college students of Swedish ethnicity and randomly divided them into two treatment conditions: personal identity and national identity. They also included a control group that did not receive any identity manipulation. In each treatment condition, participants responded to pre-test tasks that included half the items on the Agreeableness and Openness

scales taken from the Swedish version of the Revised NEO Personality Inventory. Participants also responded to the Social Dominance Orientation Scale, the Right-Wing Authoritarianism Scale, and a measure of ethnic prejudice. After completing the pre-test measures, participants also read text that were designed to make salient the importance of responding to the following items either as an individual (personal identity condition) or as a Swede (national identity condition). All participants then completed the posttest measures that included the second half of the measures used in the pre-test (Bergh et al., 2009).

What the researchers found was that overall, there was no support for the hypothesis that personality and prejudice varies as a function of social identity. They conclude then that even when group identity is salient (as in the national identity condition) personality and prejudice do not change, as the SCT would suggest (Bergh et al., 2009).

Another study however, explored the role of one's racial identity and within-group status (Outten et al., 2010). By using the SCT, Outten and colleagues examined the extent to which Black Canadians identified themselves through a racial context. They hypothesized that when presented with attributionally ambiguous situations, those situations in which the perpetrator was in an intergroup context (that is, White perpetrator-Black protagonist) would lead to a more distinct racial identity than when the perpetrator was in an intragroup context (that is, Black perpetrator- Black protagonist).

This study included both Black and White Canadian students who were recruited through a university sample. Outten and his colleagues (2010) designed the vignette scenarios that the participants read. All participants read scenarios in which the protagonist was treated more negatively than other people described in the situation. Participants were randomly assigned into either intergroup or intragroup vignette conditions. Participants also responded to questions on

an 11-point Likert-type scale that asked about their attributions in reference to racial discrimination for both situations. The Black Canadian participants then answered questions pertaining to racial identity on the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI) developed by Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, and Chavous, (1998).

The MIBI is a 56-item questionnaire that measures three different dimensions of racial identity. These dimensions (racial regard, racial ideology, and centrality) are thought to be stable across time. Of import for this study were the racial regard and racial ideologies constructs. According to Sellers et al. (1998), racial regard pertains to one's judgments of their racial group along a positive-negative spectrum. The MIBI measures racial regard using two components: private regard and public regard. Private regard refers to how Black's feel about being Black as well as their feelings towards other Blacks. Pubic regard is the extent by which Black individuals feel others perceive Blacks positively or negatively. The MIBI also measures four racial identities, which identify four distinct beliefs about the way Blacks should interact within society. The nationalist ideology stresses the distinctiveness of the experience of Blacks relative to other racial groups. The oppressed minority ideology stresses the commonalities among the experiences of all minority groups. The assimilationist ideology stresses commonalities between Blacks and the rest of society and the humanist ideology emphasizes the similarities among all people (Sellers et al., 1998; Outten et al., 2010).

Of import for this study, was in what way group context influenced the way participants identified the experience of Blacks as identified by the four ideologies and the public regard construct. Overall, the researchers hypotheses were supported. They found that when compared to White participants, Blacks were more likely to attribute negative behavior to racial discrimination in the intergroup scenario. In addition, Blacks in the intergroup condition were

more likely to make discrimination attributions than Black who were in the intragroup condition (Outten, et, al., 2010).

Their research supports the usefulness of the SCT in so much as it relates to the increased salience of racial identity among Black Canadians when responding to racially ambivalent intergroup situations. Additionally, they found that Blacks who endorsed a racial ideology that indicated high racial distinctiveness (that is, those who indicated a more oppressed minority ideology or nationalist ideology) were associated with more racial identity distinctiveness than those who indicated more assimilationist or humanist ideologies (Outten et al., 2010). The relationship between racial ideology and perceptions of racial discrimination is a new area of research and may be the only study of it's kind. This research will therefore serve as paramount for the current study.

Continuing to build upon the theories of Allport (1954) and Tajfel (1981) Taylor's theory explored what happens when people categorize others (Taylor, 1981). According to her theory, people first categorize others on the basis of physical and social group differences. They then minimize within-group differences and maximize out-group differences. The within-groups' exaggerated perception of out-group differences then leads to the out-groups' behavior being interpreted stereotypically. Taylor asserts that people learn to create more distinct differences among small groups of minorities. However, the more familiar within-group members become with an out-group, the more distinctions within-group members can make about the out-group. As a result, the within-group forms less generalizations about the out-group (Taylor, 1981).

One of the studies that supported Taylor's theory examined the relationship between group classification and prejudice (Taylor & Falcone, 1982). In this experiment, subjects were told to listen to six people (three male, three female) who were apart of a brainstorming session

to increase voter turnout. The subjects were asked to rate the speakers based on such questions as, “*How much influence did this person have on the group?*”, “*How effective would this person be at running a campaign for a local office?*” and “*How politically savvy is this person?*” A few days later, subjects responded to the Bem Sex-Role Inventory (Bem, 1974), which rated subjects as having a sex-role identification of primarily masculine, primarily feminine, or primarily androgynous role identification (Taylor, 1982).

An analysis of variance comparing the mean rating of the three male and female speakers indicated a clear prejudice towards the male speakers. Overall, subjects indicated the male speakers were more savvy, influential, more interesting, and more effective than the female speakers. Another noteworthy finding was that subjects made more within-sex errors (that is, incorrectly attributing a comment made by a male or female to a different, but same sexed person) than cross-sex errors (e.g. attributing a comment made by a female to a male). This research also found that sex-typed subjects (masculine or feminine) made more within-sex errors than androgynous subjects. This research supports Taylor’s theory that categorization is a necessary component for stereotyping. It also adds support that when differences between groups are heightened, between group errors will occur less than within group errors (Taylor, 1982).

Through establishing a firm theory about the efficiency of group categorization, Wilder (1981) helped develop an approach to stereotype theory that is still maintained today as the dominant theme in understanding stereotypes. This theory asserts that within group members tend to perceive more homogeneity within their group than may actually be present. In addition, people assume members of their group are fundamentally different from members of the out-group, of whom they assume to be homogeneous (Wilder, 1981). This shortcut approach is

commonly used today to explain and understand stereotypes, discrimination, and prejudice in the United States (Fiske, 1998).

In a study examining this model of group stereotype formation, Wilder and Shapiro (1991) randomly assigned a group of college students to four treatment conditions. The conditions were designed to control both the presence of out-group stereotypes as well as the presence of an audience. Wilder hypothesized that both the presence of an out-group stereotype as well as a within-group audience would influence how participants would rate an out-group member.

Participants were told to read stereotype behaviors traits of a target out-group. They were then asked to rate the behavior of one target group member. Using analysis of variance, the researchers found that behavior ratings were significantly more in agreement with the out-group stereotype when subjects were in the presence of their own within-group (that is, among other college students at the participants own university) than when not in the presence of their within-group. Furthermore, their findings found that participants rated the target member as being more like their out-group and rated themselves as being more like their fellow within-group members (Wilder & Shapiro, 1991). This study supports Wilder's theory that people not only think members of out-groups are fundamentally different than the group to which they belong, but they also assume homogeneity within out-group members.

Summary. Current theories on stereotypes have evolved to analyze stereotype formation on the group, not individual level (Fiske, 1998). It is now widely believed that stereotype formation utilizes a "within-group/out-group" cognitive organization method (Tajfel, 1981). In addition, researchers agree that stereotypes are formed out of a social context that has both a cultural meaning and function (Allport, 1954; Outten et al., 2010). None of these well-known

theories, however, directly explore the role of internalized stereotypes, particularly among minority group populations.

Within Group Bias and Stereotypes

The Role of Ethnocentrism

The significance of stereotypes can only be understood if they are discussed within a cultural context (Kambon, 1999). The study of stereotypes cannot exempt the role of culture in the nature and development of group-based assumptions (Schneider, 2004). Theorists are generally in agreement that people tend to hold more stereotypes about the groups and cultures to which they do not belong than to those with which they themselves identify. To this end, a discussion of the formation of within group stereotypes is particularly significant (Schneider, 2004).

According to D. J. Schneider (2004), culture not only mediates the substance of the stereotype, but it also mediates who is being stereotyped. In addition to understanding that stereotypes are culturally driven, it is important to recognize that some stereotypes elicit more emotional response than others- particularly when referring to the group in which one belongs. Theorists believe that the tendency to favor one's own group and in turn, belittle an out-group is common among all cultures across time. The tendency to prefer ones own group and belittle another group is referred to as ethnocentrism (Sumner, 1907).

An evolution-based model of ethnocentrism offered by Berscheid & Reis (1998) explains that early humans lived in constant fear of limited resources, sexual partners, and were at risk for physical danger. Living with families and in small communities was an efficient way to solve the problem of the need for safety as well as child rearing. This theory hypothesizes that once people

lived in small groups, they formed a stronger preference for those in the group that were like them than those outside the group. (Berscheid & Reis, 1998).

Sumner asserted that being attached to a group was a natural part of human survival. His theory adds that the process of dividing into different groups is a natural social occurrence (Sumner 1907). According to Sumner's theory, dividing into groups promote compliance to cultural norms among within-group members. Dividing into different groups then, can lead to increased hostility towards the out-group(s), while fostering closeness among the within-group (Sumner, 1907). His theory proposed that tension between groups not only increases negative feelings toward the out-group, but also increases closeness among members of the within-group (Sumner, 1907). Sumner's theory supports a natural or evolutionary purpose for stereotypes. He suggests that thinking highly of one's own group and in turn, lower about members of an out-group is a natural occurrence that originally served the purpose of helping groups survive (Sumner, 1907).

In a study examining the role of stereotypes and ethnocentrism, Ryan and colleagues (Ryan, Hunt, Weible, Peterson, & Casas, 2007) explored the relationship between adherence to either the multicultural ideology (the belief that differences among cultural groups should be acknowledged and respected) or the colorblind ideology (the belief that all people should be judged independently of race or ethnicity) and within-group or out-group stereotypes as they related to ethnocentrism among Black and White Americans (Ryan et al., 2007).

The researchers conducted two studies, one with community members and one using college student participants. Measures used in this study included a measure of multiculturalism and colorblindness developed by the researchers, as well as an adapted version of the Multicultural/Multiracial Experience Inventory. The researchers also utilized a range and

percentage estimation task; that is, participants were asked to specify the percentage of within-group members who possessed a pre-set list of eight stereotype-relevant attributes. Participants were also asked to complete a range estimation task in which they were asked to estimate where they believed the highest and lowest group members would fall on each of the eight attribute dimensions (Ryan et al., 2007).

Using analysis of variance, both studies yielded results, which indicated that Blacks strongly endorsed multiculturalism ideologies, while Whites strongly endorsed a colorblind ideology. The results also revealed that stronger endorsement of a multicultural versus a colorblind ideology was associated with stronger stereotypes among Blacks but was strongly associated with weaker stereotypes among White participants. In regard to ethnocentrism, both groups judged their within-group more favorably than the out-group. Findings also revealed that across ethnicity, participants who endorsed the multicultural ideology tended to exhibit less ethnocentrism. Interestingly, in both studies Black participants exhibited stronger ethnocentrism and stereotype endorsement. This supports theoretical models that assert that stereotype salience and ethnocentrism develop as a result of specific socialization experiences, which may in fact differ across social groups (Ryan, et al., 2007).

On the other side of the theoretical spectrum lies the conflict model of ethnocentrism. This theory claims that even without an inherent biological explanation for why people preferred their within-group over an out-group, it is likely that people would still prefer their own group because it is easier to interact with individuals who are like-minded than compete or have conflict with an out-group (Schneider, 2004). This theory is not so much concerned with a biologically driven explanation for ethnocentrism, as much as it proposes that ethnocentrism is

the most efficient response to the social, physical, and cultural environment in which human's live (Schneider, 2004).

According to the conflict model theory, although it may have been more efficient for multiple groups to build structures, hunt for food, raise children, or defend themselves against physical threats, it was also quite possible that members of an out-group would try to compete for scarce resources. When different groups interacted, they had to deal with different languages, customs, and appearances. Rather than risk the interaction with strange new groups, it was easier to resist interactions with the out-group in an effort to foster cohesion among one's own group (Schneider, 2004).

To study the effects of ethnocentrism, Muzifer Sherif conducted a series of studies during the late 1940's and early 1950's on school-aged boys attending summer camp. His seminal studies were conducted at Robbers Cave (Schneider, 2004). During the beginning of this experiment, a group of 11 year-old boys who'd known each other prior to attending the camp were divided into two arbitrary groups. Both groups of boys had close friends in the group to which they did not belong.

The researchers found that after forming the two groups, the participants quickly developed their own group identity, as they were encouraged to adhere to the norms of their newly formed group. In addition to forming a new group identity, another phenomenon began to occur. The opposing group members called each other names when competing, would hardly speak to the other group members, and physical and verbal conflict between the two groups escalated. Interestingly, the researchers found that conflict between the groups subsided when the groups were forced to work together in solving a problem (Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood, & Sherif, 1961). This research is among the first to show how conflict can arise within groups.

More poignant is how conflict was able to arise in groups that did not have any real (or biologically driven) differences or reasons to display hostility towards each other (Schneider, 2004).

Summary. The theories that explain the social phenomenon of ethnocentrism are widely varied (for examples see Ryan, et al., 2007; Schaller, Faulkner, Park, Neuberg, & Kenrick, 2004). Compounded with the influence of stereotype formation and social context, research supports that focusing on multiple components of ethnocentrism and stereotype formation may help clarify the salience of within group preference (Schaller et al., 2004). Theories that explore what is influenced by cognitive processing, what is biologically driven, as well as the influence of social context, aid in gaining a full understanding of the overall role and purpose of within group preference and stereotype formation (Schneider, 2004). Social context however, does not simply aid in directing group formation. It also serves as a guide for identity.

Social Identity and Behavior

The role of culture provides a frame of reference for within-group and out-group stereotypes within the proper context, while also fostering social identity. Social identity however, can also serve to encourage within-group bias (Schneider, 2004). The Social Identity Theory was first proposed by Henri Tajfel (1981). According to Tajfel (1981), people often identify themselves by the group(s) to which they belong. Tajfel proposed that people might also use the groups to which they belong to increase their perceived attractiveness. He argued that by placing ourselves into categories or groups, we increase the similarity of within groups and automatically show distinction between groups. The SIT argues that people tend to want their category (group) to be distinguished as being better than other groups. That is, people want to emphasize the positive aspects of their group. The SIT also hypothesizes that people want to feel

good about them and therefore, join or identify with groups that help them achieve that goal (Tajfel, 1981).

The SIT model does not focus on the ridicule of the out-group as much as it stresses the importance of trying to increase the attractiveness of the within group. In trying to increase the attractiveness of the within group however, the need to demote the out-group may occur in the process (Schneider, 2004). In an effort to increase the attractiveness of the within-group, people will often reinforce differences that distinguish them from other groups. Examples include, wearing certain clothes, engaging in different customs, or using a different language known only to members of the within-group. Slang, for instance, is a form of distinguishing and differentiating one group from another (Giles & Johnson, 1987).

In a study analyzed by Sheepers et al., (2006), researchers explored the various contributors to within-group bias behavior. After taking a bogus test, participants were placed in groups of either “analytic” thinkers or “synthetic” thinkers. Participants were asked to rate colored images that they were told were made either by members of their own group, or from the other group. Within-group bias was then measured at Time 1 by having the participants respond to three statements. Two statements favored the within-group, and one statement degraded the out-group. Participants were then asked to draw and design their own image. Half the participants were told this task was a competition between the two groups and that a monetary award would be given to the winning team. The other group was not provided any information. Within-group bias was again rated at Time 2 among the participants.

As predicted, researchers found similar within-group bias ratings between both groups at Time 1. According to their theory, researchers believed that in their search for identity and meaning, participants identified with people belonging to their same within-group. However, at

Time 2, group difference was only made salient among those participants who experienced what they believed to be a real competition conflict between the two groups. As a result, at Time 2, within-group bias was only significant among the participants who believed they engaged in a competition. This research supports the SIT, which asserts that when placed in a position where a group is seemingly competing for resources, group members will not only promote the attractiveness of their group, but will also derogate the out-group (Sheepers, et al., 2006).

Expression of within group social identity and behavior can be stronger or weaker, depending on the social context (Oaks, Haslam, & Turner, 1994). According to the self-categorization theory (SCT), identifying with a group depends on situational and contextual factors (Oaks et. al, 1994). The biases held about the within group changes depending on the prominence of the group members' understanding. There may be times when people are placed in social contexts in which one aspect of their identity is strongly emphasized or takes on more importance than other aspects of their identity (Schneider, 2004). When placed in a situation that emphasizes a specific component of one's identity, that aspect will momentarily take over the role of one's social identity (Hogg & Turner, 1987). For example, a person may be more likely to be aware of their ethnicity if they are in the minority, or of their nationality if they are in a different country (Schneider, 2004).

In addressing the SCT, researchers have explored the stable and fluid properties of racial identity in African Americans. Specifically, Shelton and Sellers (2000) have examined in what ways racial identity influences how African Americans interpret events within a social context. As discussed earlier, the Outten et al. (2010) study used Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI) to measure Black Identity. This inventory measures three dimensions of racial identity: racial ideology, regard, and centrality. Of import for this study is the dimension of racial

centrality. Racial centrality is the extent to which one defines him/herself in terms of race. For example, the degree to which being Black influences feelings about oneself. Their research also examined the fluid role of racial salience. Racial salience is thought to change depending on the situational context. That is, the context dictates the salience of race, which can change depending on how important or ambiguous race is in a given situation (Shelton & Sellers, 2000).

Using the MIBI as the primary measure of identity among the participants (all of whom were African American), Shelton and Sellers (2000) examined what (if any) aspects of Black Identity were stable or fluid when faced with an experimentally manipulated race-salient or race-ambiguous situation (vignette). In a sample of 55 Black college students, participants were asked to read a vignette that described a situation in which an African American college student was denied help from her college professor after the professor viewed her SAT scores. Half the participants read a vignette that indicated the professor was African American (race-ambiguous); the other half read a vignette that indicated the professor was White (race-salient). Participants were then asked to indicate on a Likert-type scale, the extent to which they believed the professor's response was because the professor was racist and/or sexist. Using 2 (race centrality: low vs. high) x 2 (situation: race-salient vs. race-ambiguous) analysis of variance, the researchers discovered that participants considered the professor's response to be attributed to race when the professor was White more than when the professor was Black. Among participants who read the vignette with the White professor, there was no difference in racial prejudice attribution response. Among participants who read the vignette with the Black professor however, high-centrality individuals made greater racial prejudice attributions than low-centrality individuals (Shelton & Sellers, 2000).

The research by Shelton and Sellers is among the first to examine both the fluid and stable properties of racial identity among African American college students. Their findings support that there are contexts in which race is more salient than others (Shelton & Sellers, 2000). In the next section, the cognitive processes involved in within-group bias are discussed.

Tajfel's theory strongly emphasizes the cognitive processes that lead someone to favor their own group, and thwart the out-group (Schneider, 2004). Tajfel believed that although there may be some fundamental and important aspects of developing strong group affiliations (e.g. one's nationality, ethnicity, university sports team, etc.), there might also be some basic cognitive processes at work which also requires strong social or motivational influences (Tajfel, 1981). Differentiating between the cognitive processes that lead to strong group affiliation and favoritism, and the social pressures that may drive someone to develop socially is not a simple task. Tajfel theorized that underneath the social effects of our cognitive processes, people have a desire to positively differentiate their within-group in order to increase self-esteem. To test this theory, he studied what is now referred to as the "minimal group" paradigm (Tajfel, 1981).

To test his theory, Tajfel conducted a study to test whether people favored one non-meaningful group over another. During his study, Tajfel separated people into two arbitrary groups. Subjects were then asked to assign points to people who were only identified by their group affiliation (i.e. they were only told if they were in the same group or a different group). The subjects themselves did not benefit from assigning points to any person, but they were aware that the individuals who received the points did benefit. In the study, subjects could choose from giving their own group member 7 points, while assigning the out-group member 1 point (Choice 1), or give their group member 19 points while assigning the out-group member 25 points (Choice 2; Tajfel, 1981).

Many subjects picked Choice 1, though not to a significant degree. Choice 1 provided the maximum differentiation between groups, even though it afforded fewer points to their group member. According to Tajfel, the selection of Choice 1 clearly shows an affiliation to one's own group, even if that group was arbitrarily selected. This research has been replicated in children (Nesdale & Flessler, 2001). Overall, It reveals that group favoritism does not depend on meaningful group affiliation- rather, the ability to clearly differentiate between the within group and the out-group (Schneider, 2004).

Summary. In summary, group identity and behavior are heavily shaped by culture and social context (Schneider, 2004). In addition, group salience has been found to influence the strength and fluidity of within-group bias (Shelton & Sellers, 2000). Seminal research by Tajfel (1981) has laid the groundwork for the social identity theory, which asserts that people have a desire to not only categorize themselves, but to also view their group more favorably than out-groups. Recent research supports this theory and adds that placement in bogus groups still leads to within-group bias (Sheepers, et al., 2006). Thus far, the discussion of stereotypes has focused on generalizations made about an out-group. The next section will highlight research that focuses on the internalization of stereotypes.

Internalized Stereotypes

Another area of study that has examined the social dynamics among groups is the study of internalized stereotypes. Self-stereotyping occurs when one sees him or her self as similar to the within-group. It can also occur when one endorses stereotypes held about the group. Research has found that in conditions in which the group is being threatened, self-stereotyping tends to be a stronger predictor of within-group bias (Verkuyten & Nekuee, 1999). Self-stereotyping tends to occur more in minority groups, particularly in people who strongly identify

with the identity of the group that is being threatened (Burriss & Jackson, 2000; Simon & Hamilton, 1994). A within-group may be particularly threatened for example, when the group is being viewed negatively by others (Schneider, 2004). Identifying with a group that is viewed negatively by others however would mean taking on a negative group identity. In cases where the values and beliefs of the within-group are different from other groups in the larger society, within-group members may form very strong bonds of acceptance, while being excluded from the larger society. Researchers have also found that within-group pressures to conform to stereotypes may be more important to group members than larger societal pressures (Schneider, 2004).

For example, Nosek, Banaji, & Greenwald (2002) studied mathematic aptitude in women. Using word pairs on the Implicit Association Test to measure implicit stereotypes, identity, and attitudes, researchers hypothesized that it is easier to pair concepts with attributes thought to be associated through experience than those that are either less associated or not associated at all. Therefore, the researchers believed that the easier it was to pair a concept with an attribute (ex. coffee + hot) the stronger the association. In their study, they wanted to explore the concept of math and self. Using correlations, researchers found that while both men and women had negative associations between their own mathematical ability and their “self”, women’s associations were significantly more negative than the associations made by men. In addition, in exploring the math/gender stereotype, the researchers found that female identification was associated with weak mathematical association and negativity towards math. This implicit stereotype held true for both men and women (Nosek, et al. 2002).

Other researchers have explored the self-stereotypes held by college members of sororities and fraternities. In one study, researchers asked members of a sorority to rate the

presence of 28-traits in their own sorority, sororities in general, and students at their university (Biernat, Vescio, & Green, 1996). Measures included the 28-trait ratings scale and commitment ratings scale designed by the researchers. The Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale was also used in order to develop self-positive and self-negative indexes. Using analysis of variance, the researchers found that on positive attributes, sorority members tended to rate their own sorority as possessing the most positive attributes, followed by sororities in general, and finally, their university student body overall (Biernat, Vescio, & Green, 1996).

The opposite effect was found on their ratings of negative traits. That is, they rated the student body as possessing the most negative traits, followed by sororities in general, and then their own sorority. Similar results were found in members of college fraternities. Overall these researchers concluded that members of sororities and fraternities dealt with the dilemma of internalized negative stereotypes by accepting the overall accuracy of the negative stereotypes of fraternal organizations, while also working to reject the negative stereotypes about their own specific groups (Biernat, Vescio, & Green, 1996).

Summary. There are several components that contribute to a complete view of within group biases. Research has found that one component, ethnocentrism, may influence social ideology (Ryan et al., 2007) as well as strengthen our relationships with like-minded individuals (Schneider, 2004). In addition, social identity has been found to strengthen within-group bias behavior (Sheepers et al., 2006). This appears to occur with respect to the specific social context (Oaks et al., 1994). Similar findings have been seen in within-group research, particularly among minority populations (Simon & Hamilton, 1994; Burris & Jackson, 2000; Nosek et al., 2002). In the final section of this review, an empirical analysis of the racial attitudes African Americans hold about their own racial group will be explored.

Internalized Beliefs Among African Americans

Race and Perception

In order to understand the origins of stereotypes about African Americans, it is important to first understand, at least in part, the historical context by which racial and ethnic groups have been formed and identified. Race identification was typically thought to be defined based on identifiable genetic differences among groups. However scientists now know that there is much genetic variability within racial groups (Schneider, 2004). It is now largely accepted that race is heavily based on physical and not genetic characteristics. However, the identification of an individual's physical appearance does not tell the whole story of racial group categorization (Schneider, 2004).

Among many racial groups, such as African American, there are wide variations of facial features, skin, hair, and eye color (Kambon, 1999). Further complicating the issue of racial categorization is that although persons with darker skin are typically identified as members of the "Negroid" race and persons with lighter skin are typically identified as members of the "Caucasian" race and physical characteristics do not always determine racial categorization (Schneider, 2004). There are some people (e.g. in India) who have darker skin than many people from African descent who are classified as "Caucasian". This suggests that something other than ethnic origin and physical appearance goes into the labeling and formation of racial groups (Schneider, 2004).

While race is typically identified by physical differences, ethnicity refers to differences in culture, a group's unique experiences (particularly as related to treatment by others), as well as racial identity. What is important to understand is that whatever the criterion for measuring race and ethnicity. Historically, the rules for distinguishing between groups have been used as a

means to separate groups. Many times, group separation has been used to oppress one group while elevating another (Schneider, 2004).

Even today, it is difficult to determine a clear convention for distinguishing race from ethnicity or one racial group from another. This is particularly true when considering cultural differences, intergroup marriage, as well as physical characteristics (Hirschfeld, 1996).

According to Schneider (2004), there have not been any empirically-based studies that have shown how people are placed in racial or ethnic groups (Schneider, 2004). While this construct may seem to be easily apparent, inconsistencies in the ways different groups are labeled and categorized suggests otherwise. Most social scientists agree that race and ethnicity are not biological distinctions. Rather, they are social constructs (Banks & Eberhardt, 1998).

Although ethnic and racial groups are social constructs, an important question that has been posed in the research of stereotypes within racial and ethnic groups is the degree to which one feels a sense of membership or affiliation to the ethnic group to which they identify (or to which they are identified by out-group members). That is, is group membership an “all-or-none” construct, or is it graded, meaning that one member can be “more” representative of an ethnic group than another member. For example, are there qualities that make someone more or less (stereotypically) “Black”? If so, are those qualities only physical (e.g. darker skin, tightly coiled hair, full lips, etc.) or are there social characteristics and traits that also lend themselves to being more “representative” of the Black race? (Schneider, 2004).

Theorists hypothesize that many times, prototypical traits and qualities about racial groups are parallel to the stereotypical beliefs that are held about the group (Schneider, 2004). Some early studies examined if White rater’s stereotypes of Black and White people seen in photographs (labeled either “Negro” or “White” changed as the “Negroidness” (Afrocentric

features) of their physical features changed. A seminal study by Secord (1959) used magazine photographs of plain-faced Negro's of varying Negroid or Caucasoid facial characteristics (as rated by a pilot group) in order to evoke a stereotyped trait-categorization response from White raters. The four trait-categories included: unfavorable stereotype (e.g. lazy), favorable stereotype (e.g. cheerful), favorable irrelevant (e.g. sportsman-like), and unfavorable irrelevant (e.g. stubborn). Raters could choose from 20 traits in all, which were rated on a seven-point scale.

Raters were placed in four experimental conditions. In the Negro series (photographs of Black people only) and the Negro-White series (photographs of both Black and White people), the photographs were not identified by race. In the other two conditions, the people in the photographs were labeled as being all Negro or as being either Negro or White. Participants then assigned their trait-rating after each photograph. The researchers discovered that the difference in physical appearance did not seem to have an effect on the rater's stereotypes. However, the racial label attached to the photograph did have an impact on the rater's stereotypes. This suggests that physical appearance was less important than the racial label on the photograph in assigning racial stereotypes (Secord, 1959).

Summary. Theorists believe that the formation of racial and ethnic groups provide a way of separating and categorizing groups on physical as well as social spectrums (Schnieder, 2004). Although ethnic groups may be distinguished by ethnic origin and shared group experience, many times outward appearance and social acceptability also play a significant role in the groups to which people belong. As a result, ethnic groups and are therefore thought to be social constructs (Banks & Eberhardt, 1998). Within these social constructs, many researchers have sought to identify what, if any, are the stereotype beliefs held by members of various groups. Researchers have found that physical features as well as racial labels lead to significantly

different trait-ratings across racial groups. Much research has examined the stereotypes White people hold about Black people. In the following section, seminal research examining internalized stereotypes among Black people will be explored.

Stereotypes Among African Americans

According to Kambon (1999), it is impossible to understand any cultural or group level psychological phenomenon among African American people without addressing the history of Africans in America. He adds that it is also necessary to have an understanding of history's effect on the current psychological state of African Americans. The Maafa (also referred to as the African Holocaust) is a Kiswahili term that refers specifically to the 400-year enslavement of Africans both in North and South America. Many scholars of Black Psychology consider it imperative to refer to this significant and brutal period in history when studying the present psychological state of Black people worldwide (Ani, 1994, 1997; Kambon, 1999; Richards, 1989). It was during the Maafa that Africans were forced from their families, native home, and made to live in a foreign land. It was also during this historical period that Africans in America were forced to practice a different religion, speak a different language, and take on a different name (Kambon, 1999).

Essentially, a comprehensive understanding of African Americans must acknowledge the impact of the systematic removal of their native culture and the forced practice of another culture. In addition to being made to take on a culture not their own, the extreme and pervasive trauma caused by the brutality of the slave trade, the psychological impact of slavery in the Americas, and the modern day history of seeking equality, justice, and acceptance in America, are all contributors to the current psychological state of African Americans (Kambon, 1999).

According to researchers, one of the many effects of the Maafa has been the way that physical appearance such as skin color affects Blacks' appraisal of each other. Kenneth and Mamie Clark made this discovery salient in their classic Doll Study research on racial development and preference among Black school-age children. In their seminal study, Clark and Clark (1947) investigated the development of racial attitudes among young Black children. Using the Doll Test technique, young children were shown four dolls. Two dolls were Black (brown) with black hair, and two dolls were White with yellow hair. Each doll wore a diaper and was placed in the same position before each child. Half the subjects saw the dolls in order of White, Black, White, Black. The other half of the subjects saw the dolls in the reverse order.

Children were asked to choose one doll in response to the following questions: 1. Give me the doll that you like to play with the best 2. Give me the doll that is a nice doll 3. Give me the doll that looks bad 4. Give me the doll that is a nice color 5. Give me the doll that looks like a White child 6. Give me the doll that looks like a colored child 7. Give me the doll that looks like a Black (Negro) child 8. Give me the doll that looks like you. The researchers used items one through four to determine the child's racial preferences. Requests five through seven were designed to reveal the child's knowledge of racial differences. The last item was designed to determine the child's own self-identification. The researchers found that over 90% of the children identified the correct doll when asked to point to the White doll and to point to the black doll (items five and six). This determined that the children had a well-established understanding of racial differences. The researchers then explored the children's racial preference. Sixty-seven percent of all children tested indicated they preferred to play with the white doll. Fifty-nine percent of the children indicated the white doll was the nice doll and likewise, 59% of the children stated that the Black doll looked bad. Only 38% of the children reported that the Black

doll had a nice color. Across all ages (three to seven years of age) children preferred the white doll and disliked the White doll (Clark & Clark, 1947). This and other Doll Test studies were later used during the landmark case, *Brown vs. The Board of Education of Topeka*, which overturned “separate but equal” segregation laws in public schools, in order to demonstrate the influence segregation has on the mental status of Black children. Research has also examined what differences, if any, might be found between Black people with lighter skin and Black people with darker skin.

Research has found that historically, Blacks with lighter skin have been afforded more advantages than Blacks with darker skin (Kambon, 1999; Klonoff & Landrine, 2000). For example, historically, Black people with lighter skin have been seen as more attractive and influential than people with darker skin. Using the Schedule of Racist Events scale, as well as self-ratings about skin color, Klonoff and Landrine (2000) discovered that Blacks who self-identified as “dark-skinned” reported significantly more incidents of racial discrimination. In addition, education level and income were also related to skin color (Klonoff & Landrine, 2000).

Research on the effect of skin-tone however is conflicting (Schneider, 2004). Whereas some studies have found support for Blacks preferring lighter skin tone or that skin color affects the assignment of stereotypical personality traits (Bond & Cash, 1992), other studies have not had the same findings (Coard, Breland, & Raskin, 2001). In fact, some studies have found the complete opposite effect. That is, while some studies have found some preference for lighter skin (among Black people), other studies have found that Black people rated lighter skin tone more unfavorably than darker skin (Lawson, 2003) which, according to Schneider, may indicate resentment among Black people regarding the preferential treatment of lighter-skinned Blacks (Schneider, 2004). It is plausible, however, to gather that there may be additional unknown

variables at work, which might lead one individual to assign positive traits towards some members of their own race group and assign negative traits to other members of the same group.

Researchers have identified other areas of internalized stereotypes among African Americans. Much like research on gender stereotypes, which has found that behavioral cues trigger so-called prototypical traits (i.e. stereotype confirming trait behavior), there are behavioral cues within different racial groups that trigger prototypical traits. For example, a Black stereotype is less likely to be applied to a Black male in a business suit in an office than to a Black male wearing large gold chains listening to rap music (Schneider, 2004).

Early research on African American stereotypes began with what is now referred to as the Princeton Trilogy. As mentioned earlier, beginning in 1933 with research by Katz & Braly and then later followed up by Gilbert in 1951 and Karlins, Coffman, and Walters in 1969, Black and White people were asked to indicate the traits most reflective of Negroes. This longitudinal study found that negative stereotype traits such as being superstitious and lazy significantly decreased over time, while more so-called positive stereotypes such as being gregarious and talkative were included by the time the final study was conducted in 1969 (Schneider, 2004).

Much research on the study of minority group stereotypes has used the formula of White subjects rating traits about other groups (Shelton, 2000). Schneider (2004) proposes that this formula implicitly assumes Blacks are the victims and can be condescending. He also suggests that the question of whether or not Blacks hold the same stereotype beliefs about Black people as White people do is of significant importance in exploring the beliefs Blacks hold about themselves. In exploring the internalization of stereotypes among minority groups, one of the primary questions has been, do minority groups share the same stereotypes about their group that were originally assigned to them by Whites (Schneider, 2004). Of particular importance for this

study is what stereotypes African Americans hold about themselves (seemingly positive or negative) that are not predominately held by White people.

Seminal research exploring the stereotypes Blacks hold about themselves began during the 1930's and 1940's. At this time, researchers Bayton and Byoune (1947) examined stereotypes Black people from the "deep south" held about other Black people. They replicated the procedures used by Katz and Braly (1933). In a sample of 102 Negro subjects from Southern University (a HBCU in Baton Rouge, LA), they found that many of the stereotypes Katz and Braly (1933) found to be held by Whites were the same stereotypes Blacks held about themselves. Traits shared by both groups included Blacks being described as musical, loud, and happy-go-lucky. In addition, there were also "positive" stereotypes Blacks held about themselves, that were not described by White subjects. These traits included describing Blacks as being ambitious and progressive (Bayton & Byoune, 1947). The findings of Bayton's research were also found in earlier research studies (Meenes, 1943).

Another study asked college students from an urban college to generate their own list of 10 traits about different cultural groups (Niemann, Jennings, Rozelle, Baxter, & Sullivan, 1994). Using cluster analysis, this study differed from other research in that it asked participants to generate their own list, rather than provide one for the participants. Researchers learned that when participants were asked to generate their own list, physical characteristics (e.g. blond, muscular, or long hair) accounted for 25% of their total responses. This differed from Kratz and Braly's (1933) study, which did not include any physical characteristics. This study was also unique in that it asked students to separate the traits by gender, providing separate traits for both the men and women within the specific groups. The students listed both positive and negative psychological and physical traits (Niemann, et al. 1994). Researchers discovered then, that the

free-response method of generating schematic traits was more revealing than asking participants to respond to a pre-existing list of traits.

The author's noted some difficulties in using this form of research. For example, Niemann and her colleagues (Niemann et al., 1994) had the arduous task of reducing 4,587 responses to 60 clusters in order to perform data analysis. Another possible limitation was that the subjects might not have been truthful in their list of traits. In an effort to present themselves favorably (even under conditions of anonymity), the researchers hypothesize that participants may have felt absolved of having to generate their own stereotype traits about different groups on pre-existing trait lists because the traits are already identified on the list (Niemann et al., 1994).

Other researchers have examined stereotype traits of African Americans on larger scales. In a public opinion survey conducted by Plous and Williams (1995), researchers found that many responders believed there were at least some differences between the physical features of Black and White people. What was of particular interest was that more Black responders indicated a physical difference between the two groups than White responders. The traits for Black women endorsed by 10% of both Black and White responders were that they had too many children, were argumentative, talkative, and aggressive. In this same study, White women were described as attractive, sensitive, emotional, and ambitious (Weitz & Gordon, 1993). In another nationally conducted study, Bobo and Klugel (1997) found that while less than 20% of responders identified "hard-working" as a common trait among African Americans, over 50% indicated that Blacks were prone to violence and 30% believed Blacks were unintelligent.

Summary. To summarize, historical context is an integral component to understanding stereotype formation as well as adherence among African Americans (Kambon, 1999). The

Maafa is thought to result in many negative stereotype beliefs among Black people *about* Black people. Seminal research has found that among Black children, negative appraisals about the self begin to develop at an early age (Clark & Clark, 1947). In addition, physical appearance such as skin tone (Klonoff & Landrine, 2000) as well as what behaviors are considered “prototypical” among Black people (Bayton & Byoune, 1947; Niemann et al., 1994) contribute to internalization of stereotype adherence among African Americans. Both early (Bayton & Byoune, 1947) as well as later studies (Plous & Williams, 1995) have discovered that Black and White subjects held similar stereotypes about Black people. History has also had significant influence on the accessibility and environmental context of college type for African Americans. In the following section, the role higher education has played in internalized perceptions and race ideology among African American college students is examined.

The Role of Historically Black Colleges and Universities

Of particular interest is research examining how academic setting may influence African American college students’ within group stereotypes and perceptions (Chavous et al., 2004). Historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) were established in an effort to educate freed Blacks during a time in history when students were not allowed to be educated interracially. They began as day schools or normal schools (e.g. State Normal School for Coloreds is now Florida A&M University) through federal and missionary funding (Guthrie, 1976). Initially, these schools did not offer collegiate education. Rather, they were a way to educate newly freed Black “refugees” after the Civil War. In 1854, Lincoln University in Pennsylvania became the first institutions to offer education to African Americans (Guthrie, 1976). Collegiate-level enrollment at Black institutions did not begin until the end of World War I (Guthrie, 1976). Over the course of about 80 years, private and later public HBCUs were

established (Evans, Evans, & Evans, 2002; LeMelle, 2002). 1928, the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools chose to increase the status of Black colleges by including them in status ratings (Guthrie, 1976). These institutions of higher learning were originally established in areas with a large population of Black people (in the Southeast, Southwest, and Northeast). Currently, there are 53 HBCUs in existence today (Evans et al., 2002). In addition, many HBUC's are now ethnically diverse (some no longer have predominately Black populations; Evans et al., 2002). Therefore, for the purpose of my study, the term historically White college or university (HWCU) will be used to described colleges and universities that historically only served White students. In that way, the historical context, not simply the ethnic population of the institutions, will be highlighted.

Limited research has examined why some African American students choose to attend HBCUs (Freeman & Thomas, 2002). In their study, Freeman and Thomas sought to compare the characteristics of African American students who attended HBCUs in the past to those who choose to attend HBCUs today. They found that in the past (1970's), African Americans who attended HWCUs received academic scholarships at a higher rate than those who attended HBCUs. In addition, over 90% of students who attended schools in the Southeast were themselves southerners. Therefore, in the past, financial considerations appeared to significantly influence college choice (Freeman & Thomas, 2002). Interestingly, while students attending HWCUs tended to have received better grades in high school, students attending HBCUs tend to go on to receive doctoral degrees at a higher rate than their counterparts at HWCUs (Freeman & Thomas, 2002).

The researchers found that today, there are many similarities in characteristics of students who attend HBCUs and HWCUs. For example, in a longitudinal study by Freeman (1999), she

found that student family income, family education, and student achievement were similar between both school-type groups. Freeman suggests, however, that the largest consideration in school choice among African American college student remains financial considerations. She reasons that because a large percentage of African Americans make the lowest salary incomes, financial assistance in attending college is of particular importance (Freeman, 1999). The researcher adds that among African American students who have felt isolated from their culture, more students desire to attend HBCUs as a way of learning more about their cultural heritage. She found that even among students who attend HWCUs, students who feel as though they did not grow up with a strong understanding of their culture also considered attending and HBCU and seek out these cultural experiences at the HWCU they attend. In contrast, students who feel as though they grew up with a strong cultural background are more likely to want to attend a HWCU as a means of sharing their cultural heritage. She also found that many students who attended a predominately Black high school desired a “real world” environment that was not all Black (Freeman, 1999).

Other research has explored both relations and predictors of academic success between African American college students at HBCUs and those attending HWCUs. Nasim and colleagues hypothesized that different environmental contexts may be related to distinct factors of academic achievement among African American college students (Nasim, Roberts, Harrell, & Young, 2005). Specifically, these researchers looked at relationships in non-cognitive predictors for academic achievement. The researchers also studied several dimensions of the MIBI (assimilationist, nationalism, humanism, and oppressed minority ideologies) as possible predictors of academic achievement among the college students (Nasim et al., 2005).

The researchers found that while there was some overlap in what factors were related to and predictive of academic success, there were also noted differences between students when analyzed separately based on school-type. Using independent samples *t*-test, the researchers found significant differences between GPA and race ideology. Specifically, students who attended a HWCU had higher GPAs than students who attended HBCUs. In addition, students at HWCUs endorsed higher ratings of the Oppressed Minority ideology (the belief that all minorities share a similar experience of oppression) than students at HBCUs. Students at HBCUs however, had a higher endorsement of establishing long-term goals, understanding racism, and availability of a support person. In terms of predictions of academic achievement, GPA was a common predictor across both academic settings. Among students attending HWCUs, adhering to a humanist ideology (places emphasis on the commonness of all humans, and decreases group distinctions) was predictive of lower GPA. Similarly, HWCU students who de-emphasize the importance of race also tend to have a lower GPA. In contrast, those HWCU students who acknowledge an understanding of race and racism tend to have stronger GPAs than those who do not (Nasim, et al., 2005). Taken as a whole, the results from this study conclude that different factors are both related to and predictive of academic performance when comparing students at HBCUs and HWCUs. There is also limited research on the role HBCUs may play in Black students' perceptions of learning (Rucker & Gendrin, 2003).

In one study, the influence of academic setting on identity among Black students attending historically Black colleges or universities was examined (Rucker & Gendrin, 2003). These researchers studied the impact of perceived immediacy (availability) of Black and White professors. The researchers also measured the student's perceived affective and cognitive learning. The centrality index, taken from the aforementioned MIBI was used to measure Black

Identity. This index was used because the researchers hypothesized that race would be a salient component of communication among students at HBCUs. That is, the more central race is to identity, the more likely one would be to choose an environment (i.e. HBCUs) that is more ethnically similar than for one with whom race is not a central component of their identity (Rucker & Gendrin, 2003). The researchers also measured students' racial ideologies (assimilationist, humanist, and nationalist; Rucker & Gendrin, 2003).

The study supported the research hypotheses. African American students had a stronger perceived identification with their African American professors than with their Euro-American professors. That is, the students perceived greater immediacy from their African American professors than their Euro-American professors. The results also indicated that students perceived stronger support of their racial ideology in classes taught by African American professors than in classes taught by their Euro-American professors. Specifically, African American students who indicated race was a central component of their identity reported a greater identification with their African American professors than their Euro-American professors. In addition, racial ideology was found to be predictive of learning (Rucker & Gendrin, 2003). This article is among the first to measure perceptions of race among African American students at HBCUs.

A more recent study examined the relationships among stereotype expectation, gender, academic performance, and academic self-concept between African American students at HWCUs and HBCUs. The researchers asked students about their perceptions and expectations of being stereotyped in their classroom setting. They also asked the students about their sense of belonging to their university. In addition, students were asked about their perceived ability within their major (Chavous et al., 2004).

In this study, researchers learned that HBCU students perceived less racially stereotyped treatment in their classes than did HWCU students. The study also found that students in both settings perceived racially biased evaluations or treatment in their major courses. The authors reasoned that the type of institution was related to racial stereotype expectations (Chavous et al., 2004). Although researchers have explored relationships here is still limited research examining differences in perception and belief among Black students attending HBCUs or HWCUs.

Summary. The establishment of HBCUs is rooted within the historical framework of separation and discrimination in America (Evans et al., 2002; Guthrie, 1976; LeMelle, 2002). Researches exploring relations and predictions of internalized perceptions have studied differences between college student samples (Chavous et al., 2004; Freeman & Thomas, 2002; Nasim et al., 2005; Niemann et al., 1994; Rucker & Gendrin, 2003). Of particular interest has been in research comparing students who have attended historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) to those who have attended historically White colleges and universities (HWCUs) (Freeman & Thomas, 2002; Nasim et al., 2005; Chavous et al., 2004). Research has revealed that academic setting can influence perceived racial stereotypes among African American college students (Chavous et al., 2004; Nasim et al., 2005).

Summary of Literature Review

Although a relatively new area of scientific research (Stangor, 2009), stereotype formation and adherence is part of a largely accepted model of social psychology. It asserts that people have a natural desire to distinguish themselves from unfamiliar, out-groups. It is believed that generalized characteristics are formed in order to help people quickly distinguish themselves from an out-group (Stangor, 2009).

Research has established that stereotypes are rooted in people's cognitions (Levy, Stroessner, & Dweck, 1998; Weber & Crocker, 1983) and that the development of stereotypes is similar to the development of other cognitive functions such as the tendency to categorize objects or distinguish differences (Bigler, 1995; Nelson, 2002; Stangor, 2009). Research also supports that stereotype formation continues throughout the lifespan as a needed social component of how people identify and interact with each other (Fiske, 1998). Broad constructs of social generalization however, can lead to conflict (Allport, 1954; Banaji & Hardin, 1996; Bargh, 1999). Most importantly, many stereotype assumptions are to be unfair and inaccurate. Stereotypes, however, are difficult to extinguish, as they tend to hold some measure of truth (Stangor, 2009).

The important development of the social identity theory (SIT) asserts that people strive to have a positive image about the group to which they belong (Tajfel, 1981). Research in this area has revealed that even when formed arbitrarily, people favor the group to which they belong (Badea et al., 2010). Later, the self-categorization theory (SCT) built upon Tajfel's theory. The SCT asserts that group identity can be moderated by social context (Turner & Oaks, 1989). Though challenged by some research (Bergh et al., 2009), others have found support for the influence social context has on group-level identity (Outten et al., 2010). Using the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (Sellers et al., 1998), as well as vignettes that highlight racial salience, Outten and colleagues (2010) made the important finding that perceived racial and social context influences group level attributions. That is to say that social context plays a significant role in Blacks perceptions and beliefs about being Black.

In regard to stereotype formation about African Americans, theorists assert that a full understanding of the inconsistent formation of racial groups, as well as the social context of

Black people in America is of significant importance (Schneider, 2004). Of particular interest has been research that measures group level differences among African Americans who attend predominately White or historically Black colleges or universities. Financial considerations have been found to be of particular importance when understanding why students choose to attend either an HBCU or HWCU (Freeman, 1999). Researchers have also found differences in both relations and predictors of academic achievement between African American students who attend HBCUs and those who attend HWCUs (Nasim et al., 2005). Chavous and colleagues (2004) learned that college setting appears to influence different perceptions of academic ability among African American students attending historically Black, or predominately White institutions. In addition, Rucker and Gendrin (2003) found that Black students perceptions of teacher availability differed based on the race of the teacher, as well as the student's own racial identity. The research suggests then, that social setting as well as attitude formation may predict African American college student's identity formation and social perception.

The Present Study

The current study examined the relationship between internalized stereotypes and perceptions of racial discrimination among African American college students attending HBCUs and HWCUs. Research has examined internalized stereotypes (Klonoff & Landrine, 2000; Coard, Breland, & Raskin, 2001) among African Americans. I explored if environment (HBCU and HWCU) and race ideology were related to internalized stereotypes and perceptions of racial discrimination held by African American college students.

Findings from the current study provided a new test of the hypotheses that type of school and racial ideology is related to within group stereotype formation, and perceptions of racial discrimination. First, other research has compared perceived stereotypes among African

Americans at historically Black institutions as well as predominately White institutions (Chavous et al., 2004; Rucker & Gendrin, 2003). As illustrated, student perceptions of racial salience differ between Black students at HBCUs and HWCUs. In addition, racial ideology has been found to play a key role in perceptions among students at HBCUs. Few studies, if any however, have examined these constructs in concert. Therefore, testing the relations between school, and racial ideology on stereotype formation, and racial salient perceptions was beneficial to the literature.

Second, Outten et al. (2010) used the MIBI to examine multiple perspectives of racial identity. However, perspectives of race identity may result from additional factors that relate to choice of educational environment (i.e. HBCU or HWCU; Chavous et al., 2004), and stereotype formation. Therefore, replicating his findings while examining additional factors benefited the literature base. Studying such relations among African Americans who've attended either a HBCU or HWCU was an important initial step to better understand the choices made by African American college students. Therefore, in studying group level perceptions and stereotype formation among African American college students, a comparison of students attending HBCU and those attending HWCUs was an important initial step to better understand the relations between social context and within group attitudes.

Hypotheses for the current study compare and predict significant differences of racial identity, perceptions of racial discrimination, and stereotype formation between African American students who attend HBCUs and those who attend HWUCs. Based on stereotype research, (Plous & Williams, 1995; Taylor & Grundy, 1996; Lawson, 2003) for the first hypothesis, I expected that the type of institution (HBCU vs. HWCU) would predict differences in endorsement of internalized stereotypes. Specifically, I expected that African American

students who attend HWCUs would endorse internalized stereotypes more than those students who attend HBCUs.

Although attendance at an HBCU or an HWCU is thought to result in a qualitatively different educational environment among African American college students, research has not examined the relationship between Black Identity and internalized stereotypes among African American college students across HBCUs and HWCUs. Therefore, for my second hypothesis, I predicted that the degree of Black Identity (private regard, nationalist ideology, humanist ideology) would be related to the endorsement of internalized stereotypes.

Race salience has been studied between African American and White American students (Outten, 2010), however, this measure of race salience has not been generalized by comparing African American students in different environments (i.e. school type). Given that literature indicates race may be more salient for those students who attend HBCUs, (Evens et al., 2002) for my third hypothesis, I expected that those students who attend HBCUs would endorse a higher perception of racial discrimination within a defined social context than those who attend HWCUs.

Finally, research indicates that general group differences may exist between students who attend HBCUs and those who attend HWCUs (Chavous et al., 2004). Moreover, researchers indicate that students may choose to attend an HBCU in order to be immersed in their cultural heritage (Nasim et al., 2005), have greater perceptions of academic achievement (Chavous et al., 2004), and may have stronger racial identity (Rucker and Gendrin, 2003). Therefore, as an exploratory hypothesis, it is thought that students who attend HBCUs may have a higher level of self-esteem than those who attend HWCUs.

CHAPTER 3

METHOD

Participants

This study was open to college and university students who identified as African American in the United States. Participants for this present study were recruited online in order to solicit responses from students who attended either historically Black or historically White colleges or universities.

Recruitment

Use of online surveys and questionnaires is an efficient and confidential way to recruit study participants. Online studies also allow for potential recruitment of participants from anywhere around the world. Following approval from my dissertation committee, material was submitted to the Southern Illinois University, Carbondale (SIUC) Institutional Review Board (IRB). Once approved, 6 recruiters (three from HBCUs and three from HWCUs) disseminated the hyperlink to the online questionnaire to African American college students via their personal profile page on a popular social networking website, or through email. Participants were also recruited using the SIUC undergraduate “Psyc102 Pool.” All participants were directed to the same website in order to complete the online questionnaire. As an incentive to participate, each participant was offered the opportunity to provide their email address at the end of the completed questionnaire, in order to be placed in a drawing for the chance to win one of two \$50 Visa check cards. In addition to being placed in the drawing to win a gift certificate, students recruited from the “Psyc102 Pool” also received in-class credit for participation in this study.

Exclusionary Criteria

All African American undergraduate college or university students who attended either an HBCU or HWCU during the time of data collection were allowed to participate in this study. Following data collection, not all data collected were used in the final analysis. At the start of the study, each participant completed a series of demographic questions. If a participant did not self-identify as African American, the participant's data was excluded from the present study. In addition, if the participant did not attend an HBCU or HWCU, their data was excluded. In actuality, 33 participants were excluded from the data set.

Materials

Demographic Questionnaire

A demographic questionnaire was created for the purpose of the present study. It instructed participants to provide the following information: race (African American: 1 = yes; 2 = no), type of college (1= historically Black college or university, HBCU; 2 = historically White college or university, HWCU) sex (1 males; 2 females), and age. In addition, participants were asked questions pertaining to the following topics: satisfaction with your overall college experience (1= very dissatisfied, 2 = dissatisfied, 3 = neutral or mixed feelings, 4 = satisfied, 5 = very satisfied), importance placed on getting an education when growing up (1 = not important, 2 = a little bit important, 3 = important but there were other things emphasized too, 4 = very important, 5 = the most important value in our home), mother's highest level of education (1 = don't know, 2 = some school but did not complete high school, 3 = high school graduate or GED, 4 = some college credits, 5 = associates degree, 6 = bachelor's degree, 7 = master's degree, 8 = doctorate (including MD, JD, PhD, etc.)), and father's highest level of education (same range as mother's) If other members of their family attended their same institution (1 =

yes. 2 = no). Other demographic items addressed: religiosity, percentage of African Americans at your current college/university (1 = <10%, 2 = 10-30%, 3 = 30- 50%, 4 = 50- 70%, 5 = 70-90%, 6 = >90%), total institution student population (1 = <3000, 2 = 3000-10,000, 3 = 10,000-20,000, 4 = <20,000), “legacy” student (1 = yes, 2 = no), geographic location of institution (1= West, 2 = Southwest, 3 = Midwest, 4 = Southeast, 5 = Northeast), attended school in-state or out-of-state (1 = in-state, 2 = out-of-state), focus of institution (1= very strong teaching focus 2 = strong teaching focus, 3 = balanced teaching and research focus, 4 = strong research focus, 5 = very strong research focus), school funding (1 = private, 2 = public), Information collected from this questionnaire will be used in a table to summarize the characteristics of the sample.

The Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI, Sellers et al., 1998)

The MIBI is a 56-item inventory that evaluates the presence or absence of several dimensions of Black Identity. Responses are recorded on a 7-point Likert format (1 = Strongly Agree, 4 = Neutral, 7 = Strongly Disagree) with positively and negatively worded items. The scale produces six dimensions of identity (centrality, private regard, public regard, assimilation, humanist, minority, and nationalist). For the purpose of this study, the private regard, nationalist, and humanist dimensions were used, resulting in a total of 25 items. A sample private regard item is: *I feel good about Black people*. A sample nationalist item is: *It is important for Black people to surround their children with Black art, music and literature*. A sample humanist item is: *Black values should not be inconsistent with human values*. In an undergraduate sample, the private regard mean score for students at an HBCU was ($M= 6.05$) and for students at an HWCU was ($M= 6.25$); the nationalist mean score for student at an HBCU was ($M= 4.67$) and for students at an HWCU was ($M = 4.27$); and the humanist mean score was ($M= 4.87$) for students at an HBCU and ($M = 5.15$) for students at an HWCU (Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, &

Smith, 1997). The internal consistency reliability coefficients range from .68 to .83 ($N= 474$) (Sellers et al., 1998). In this study, the internal consistency reliability coefficients ranged from .66 to .80. Due to the multidimensional conceptualization of racial identity, a composite score from the entire scale is inappropriate. Separate dimension scores were compared between different groups (i.e. HBCU and HWCU).

The Nadanalization Scale (NAD, Taylor & Grundy, 1996)

The NAD Scale is a self-report questionnaire. It includes 49 items with two scales (Racist and Social), which measures internalization of racial stereotypes among African Americans. The word Nadanalization refers to a skin cream historically used to lighten dark skin. Taylor and Grundy (1996) named this scale so as to highlight Blacks adoption of White stereotypes. Participants responded to each question on a 9 -point rating scale of positively and negatively worded items (0 = not at all agree; 8 = Entirely agree). In an undergraduate sample, the mean score on the Racist scale was, $M= 42.20$) and on the Social scale was, $M= 84.68$. The internal consistency reliability coefficients range from .85 to .90 ($N=640$). In a previous study, Hoskins and Chambers (2003) conducted a factor analysis on the NAD Scale and identified two factors, labeled Stereotypes of Genetic Inheritance (SGI) and Stereotypes of Mental Ability (SMA) ($N= 104$). An example of a SGIS item is: *African Americans are born with greater physical strength and endurance than Whites*. An example of an SMAS item is: *African Americans are just as smart as Whites*. Although the mean score and internal consistency and reliability coefficients were not provided in the Hoskins and Chambers (2003) study, in the present study, the internal consistency reliability coefficients range from .82 to .84 on the SGI index and .65 to .75 on the SMA index (see means scores in Table 2). These two factors include 17 items. Scores were calculated based on the total raw score of each factor such that low scores indicate low

internalized stereotype adherence and higher scores indicate high-internalized stereotype adherence.

Vignettes of Race Perceptions (Outten et al., 2010)

In their study of racial identity, racial context, and within-group status, Outten and colleagues developed a set of vignettes designed to highlight race within a social context. These vignettes were then used to assess participants' attributions about perceptions of racial discrimination. For the purpose of this study, each participant read two scenarios in which the protagonist is treated more negatively than others described in the situation. The first scenario related to a student and his/her boss; the second scenario described an incident of a student and his girlfriend in a restaurant (See Appendix D). After reading each scenario, participants responded to two questions related to the extent to which the participants attribute the antagonists' behavior to racial discrimination. Responses to questions were made on an 11-point scale (0 = not at all likely/ reasonable and 10 = very likely/reasonable). Perceptions of racial discrimination were generated based on comparing the total raw score between groups such that lower scores indicate low perceptions of discrimination and higher scores indicating high perceptions of racial discrimination. In an undergraduate sample, the total mean score among African American participants was ($M= 5.37$) and the internal consistency reliability coefficients ranged from .70 to .92 ($N=120$). (Outten et al., 2010). In the present study, the internal consistency reliability coefficient was .57. The use of these vignettes during this study revealed the measure to have weak internal reliability and therefore the interpretation of the results will receive less attention.

Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSE, Rosenberg, 1979)

The RSE is a 10-item scale that measures the construct of self-esteem. Responses were recorded on a 4-point response format (1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = agree, 4 = strongly agree) with positively and negatively worded items. A sample item is: *On the whole, I am satisfied with myself*. In previous studies, the scale has demonstrated an internal reliability coefficient of .92, In addition, test-retest reliability over a 2-week period has found correlations of .85 and .88, which indicate very strong stability (Rosenberg, 1979). In this study, the internal reliability coefficient was .85. Scores were calculated by totaling the individual items after reverse scoring the negatively worded items. Low scores are indicators of low self-esteem, and high scores are indicators of high self-esteem.

Procedures

Data Collection

The aforementioned materials were placed on an Internet webpage using the online software, surveygizmo.com. After formatting all items on the questionnaire form, a hyperlink was generated that directed participants to the online questionnaire. Prior to data collection, I familiarized myself with the use of surveygizmo.com, and asked fellow graduate students within the Department of Psychology to “practice” the questionnaire in order to identify possible problems in data collection.

Recruiters were individuals who self-identified as having a large social network of students currently enrolled in college through in various university organizations or general, undergraduate courses. The recruiters included student and professor volunteers at HBCUs and HWCUs who were asked directly by the researcher to disseminate the hyperlink for at least two weeks. Some recruiters voluntarily distributed the link for longer periods of time. Approximately

six recruiters either placed the questionnaire Internet hyperlink on their personal social networking page or sent the link to students via email. Those who used a social networking website agreed to change their “status message” to read: *Please follow the link and complete an important questionnaire on attitudes held by African American college students (as well as a chance to win \$50!)*. Those who disseminated the link through email agreed to send the message: *Please follow the link and complete an important questionnaire on attitudes held by African American college students (as well as a chance to win \$50!)*. Recruiters were not allowed to respond to the questionnaire. Placing the hyperlink on their homepage or sending emails was at no cost to the recruiters. The benefit to the recruiters of disseminating the hyperlink was to aid in gathering data for cutting-edge research on African American college students. All recruiters received the same step-by-step instructions for how to add the link to their page. They also received instructions on how to direct participants to the primary researcher if they had any questions. Recruiters may have also asked other students and professors to post the link on their respective social networking page. In addition to the use of recruiters, data was also collected using the SIUC “Psyc102 Pool.” In addition, pilot data was used to determine if mean differences existed between the data collected from subjects using social networking site, through email, and from participants recruited through the “Psy102 Pool.”

Using a computer with Internet access, each participant clicked on the hyperlink, which took him or her directly to the consent form. The consent form identified the purpose, procedure, benefits, and risk to this study. There are no known risks to the present study. Upon reading the consent form, the subjects selected either *I agree to participate* (or *I do not agree to participate*) on the electronic consent form. This served as their electronic signature and allowed them to begin responding to questionnaire items. The participants were not asked to include their name

on the questionnaire. Those wanting to be included in the raffle were asked to include their e-mail address at the end of the questionnaire. Each survey had an assigned subject number. I checked my webpage on surveygizmo.com in order to be notified participants had completed the questionnaire in order to keep track of the number of participants.

Each testing session lasted approximately 10-15 minutes. Upon conclusion of the testing session, the participants had the option of reading a debriefing statement that included my contact information if they have additional questions. At the end of all data collection, raffle prizewinners were notified via e-mail.

In summary, participants responded to an online questionnaire that included items that gathered demographic information, items from the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (Sellers et al., 1998) the indices developed from the Nadanalization Scale (Hoskins & Chambers, 2003; Taylor & Grundy), vignettes of perceptions of racial identity (Outten et al., 2010) and the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1979). Each recruiter placed the link on their social networking website, or emailed the link to undergraduate students in various university organizations or general, undergraduate courses. Students were also recruited through use of the SIU "Psyc102 Pool." Students recruited from the "Psyc102 Pool" were provided the same link to the online questionnaire and given course credit for their participation.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

Preliminary Analysis

All data analyses were performed using Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) programs. Before computing the main analyses, I examined all variables for accuracy of data entry, missing values, outliers, fit between distributions, assumptions of multivariate analyses, and multicollinearity. The item “year in school” was not a required item on the first 11 questionnaires distributed. In order to avoid additional missing data, the questionnaire was re-designed such that participants were alerted when they failed to respond to an item and were required to answer the item before being allowed to move on to the next question. Item responses were automatically uploaded into an SPSS data file with the corresponding subject number. I then scored responses based on each measure’s individual standardized scoring procedures. Once scored, all of the responses were saved in a password-protected computer file. I then double-checked all of the scoring for each participant.

A series of descriptive statistics were performed in order to describe and report the sample’s composition, including information about type of institution, age, and sex. These data are reported in Table 1 in the form of means and standard deviations. For the main analyses, I used independent samples *t*-tests, univariate analyses, multivariate analyses, and linear regressions to examine mean differences and predictions between school type, Black Identity, internalized stereotypes, perceptions of race salience, and self-esteem. Supplementary analyses addressed additional questions developed by the preliminary and main data analyses (e.g. exploring differences between college level and predictability of the outcome variables based on school satisfaction, family college attendance, and religiosity).

Table 1

Descriptive Statistics: Demographic Variables

		HBCU			HWCU		
		N	%		N	%	
Gender	Male	8	12.5		18	36	
	Female	56	87.5		32	64	
Age		M	SD	Range	M	SD	Range
		20.66	4.07	18-47	21.48	4.55	18-36
Year in School		N	%		N	%	
	Freshman	25	39.1		26	52	
	Sophomore	11	17.2		1	2	
	Junior	12	18.8		2	4	
	Senior	12	18.8		14	28	
U.S. Regional Location		N	%		N	%	
	West	1	1.5				
	Midwest	0			50	100	
	Northeast	1	1.5				
	Southeast	58	90				
	Southwest	3	4.7				
	Other (Hawaii)	1	1.5				

Note: *U.S. Regional Location: West:* 1 from CA; *Midwest:* 50 from IL; *Northeast:* 1 from PA; *Southeast:* 22 from AR, 26 from FL, 1 from VA; *Southwest:* 2 from TX, 1 from AZ.

I tested for the presence of outliers, both univariate and multivariate based on the procedure recommended by Green and Salkind (2003). Inspection of histograms and error bar charts did not indicate the presence of any univariate or multivariate outliers. Therefore, regarding missing data for “year in school” in 11 participants, no data transformations were deemed necessary. The evaluation of assumptions was conducted for normality, linearity, and homoscedasticity of residuals. The test of collinearity diagnostics for each regression analysis revealed no evidence of substantial multicollinearity indicating that the predictors were relatively independent.

Table 2 displays the means, standard deviations, and ranges on the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity indices (private regard, nationalist ideology, and humanist ideology),

score ratings for vignettes of perceptions of racial salience, and the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale for HBCU and HWCU students.

Table 2

Descriptive statistics: Dependent/outcome variables by school type

	HBCU			HWCU		
	M	SD	Range	M	SD	Range
Private regard	37.69	5.49	10-42	38.86	3.93	26-42
Nationalist ideology	36.02	7.77	18-50	35.94	7.65	18-53
Humanist ideology	51.83	6.27	38-63	49.48	7.73	25-63
Stereotypes of mental ability (SMA)	10.52	10.73	0-54	7.68	9.34	0-41
Stereotypes of genetic inheritance (SGI)	24.27	17.38	0-81	17.70	16.15	0-70
Vignette of race salient	8.14	5.47	0-20	7.35	5.01	0-18
Vignette of race not salient	6.34	6.30	0-20	7.14	5.25	0-20
Self-esteem	35.48	4.55	23-40	35.86	4.45	25-40

Note: HBCU, $N = 64$ for all measures. HWCU, $N = 50$ except on vignette of racial salience and self-esteem measures in which, $N = 49$.

Main Analyses

Hypothesis One

Univariate analysis of variance (ANOVA) tests were conducted to explore if African American college students who attend HWCUs endorse more internalized stereotypes than African American college students who attend HBCUs. The stereotype categories examined included the Stereotypes of Genetic Inheritance (SGI) and the Stereotypes of Mental Ability (SMA). Table 3 features mean differences between school type and internalized stereotypes. The first mean comparison of stereotype endorsement indicated that there was a significant difference in endorsement of SGI $F(1, 112) = 4.26, p = .041$, but the results were counter to the research hypothesis. Students who attended HBCUs ($M = 24.27, SD = 17.38$) endorsed more SGI than students who attended HWCUs ($M = 17.70, SD = 16.15$). The 95% confidence interval for the

difference in means was wide, ranging from 0 to 81. The ρ^2 index indicated that 37% of the variance of SGI was accounted for by whether a student attended an HBCU or an HWCU. The second mean comparison, which examined endorsement of SMA, was not significant $F(1,112) = 2.19$. Students who attended HBCUs ($M = 10.52, SD = 10.73$) did not demonstrate a difference in SMA endorsement than students who attended HWCUs ($M = 7.68, SD = 9.34$).

Table 3

Descriptive statistics: Dependent/outcome variables by year in school

	Lower Classmen			Upper Classmen		
	M	SD	Range	M	SD	Range
Private regard	37.75	5.73	10-42	38.67	3.58	29-42
Nationalist ideology	35.78	7.72	18-50	35.45	7.59	18-51
Humanist ideology	51.22	6.27	37-62	51.23	7.70	25-63
Stereotypes of mental ability (SMA)	11.33	10.19	0-54	7.23	10.13	0-42
Stereotypes of genetic inheritance (SGI)	25.62	16.57	0-81	17.28	17.26	0-70
Vignette of race salient						
Vignette of race not salient						
Self-esteem	35.83	4.38	23-40	35.36	4.79	24-40

Hypothesis Two

Two linear regression analyses were conducted to evaluate the prediction of indices of Black Identity (private regard, nationalist ideology, humanist ideology) from indices of internalized stereotypes (SGI and SMA). The first linear regression analysis explored linear relationships between private regard and SGI and SMA indices. The SGI scale did not predict private regard. However, the second regression equation predicting private regard by endorsement of SMA is: $Private\ Regard = -.156\ Stereotypes\ of\ Mental\ Ability + 38.436$.

The 95% confidence interval for the slope, $-.308$ to $-.004$, does not contain the value of zero, and therefore SMA is significantly related to positive regard. As hypothesized, the degree of positive regard is related to internalized stereotypes among African American college

students. A line graph for the two variables, as shown in Figure 1, indicates that endorsement of positive regard is negatively related to endorsement of SMA. Accuracy in predicting SMA was moderate. The correlation between private regard and SMA was $-.33$. Approximately 4% of the variance of private regard was accounted for by its linear relationship with the SMA index.

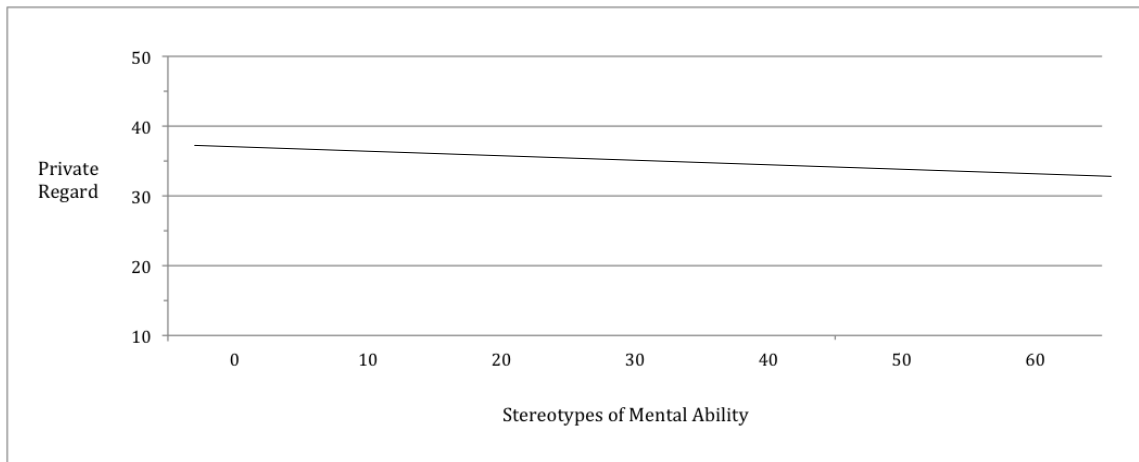


Figure 1. Linear regression between Private Regard and SMS

Note: Predictor variable: stereotypes of mental ability, Outcome variable: private regard

The next linear regression analysis evaluated the prediction of nationalist ideology from the SGI and SMA indices. The SMA index did not predict nationalist ideology. However, the regression equation predicting nationalist ideology by endorsement of SGI is: *Nationalist Ideology = .239 Stereotypes of Genetic Inheritance + 32.267*.

The 95% confidence interval for the slope, $.105$ to $.373$, does not contain the value of zero, and therefore SGI is significantly related to nationalist ideology. As hypothesized, the degree of nationalist ideology is related to internalized stereotypes among African American college students. A line graph for the two variables, as shown in Figure 2 indicates that endorsement of nationalist ideology is positively related to the endorsement of SGI. Accuracy in predicting SGI was moderate. The correlation between nationalist ideology and SGI was $.53$.

Approximately 15% of the variance of nationalist ideology was accounted for by its linear relationship with the SGI index. The final linear regression analysis evaluated the linearity between humanist ideology with the SGI and SMI indices. Neither index of internalized stereotypes predicted humanist ideology.

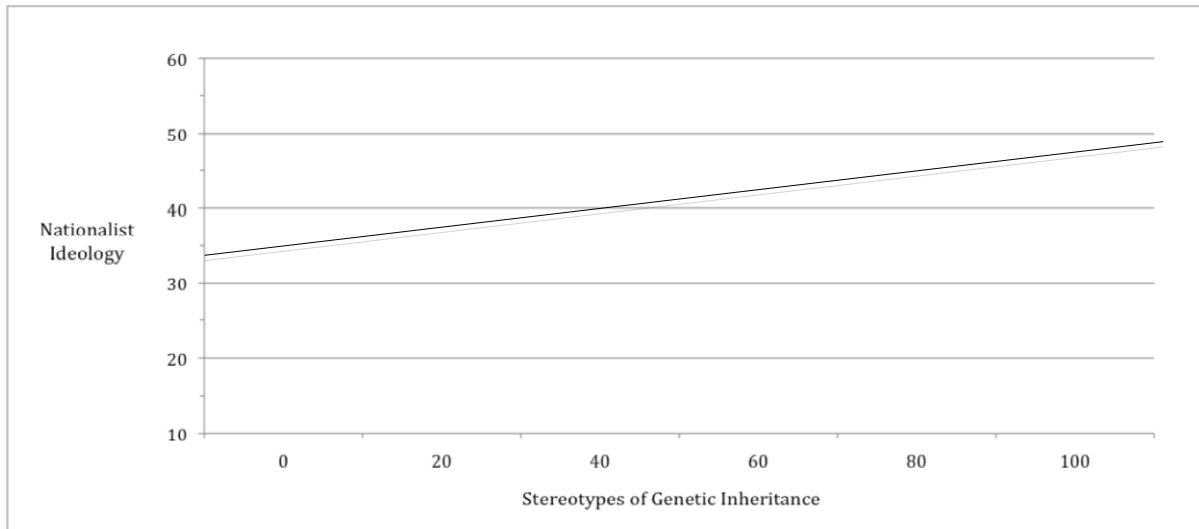


Figure 2. Linear regression between Nationalist Ideology and SGI

Hypothesis Three

A univariate analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted to evaluate the perceived salience of race between African American college students. The means and standard deviations for race salience by school type are presented in Table 1. The independent variable, school type, included two levels: HBCU and HWCU. The dependent variable was race salience. The ANOVA was not significant; indicating that perceptions of race salience within a defined social context was not different between African American college students at HBCUs and those at HWCUs.

Hypothesis Four

An exploratory independent t-test evaluated if self-esteem would be greater in students who attend HBCUs than those who attend HWCUs. The test was not significant, indicating no difference in self-esteem between students attending HBCUs and those attending HWCUs.

Supplemental Analyses

Supplemental analyses provided the opportunity to explore additional relationships of interests. Using information gathered from descriptive items, I explored several mean comparisons of independent/ predictor variables (gender, school location, year in school, school satisfaction, religiosity, and family college attendance) on the dependent/outcome variables (private regard, nationalist ideology, humanist ideology, stereotypes of genetic inheritance (SGI), stereotypes of mental ability (SMA), perceptions of racial salience, and self-esteem).

The original four hypotheses were re-calculated using gender (male and female) as the independent/predictor variable and Black Identity, internalized stereotypes, perceptions of racial salience, and self-esteem as the dependent/outcome variables. A univariate analysis of variance revealed no difference in endorsement of Black Identity, internalized stereotypes, perceptions of racial salience, or self-esteem between African American male and female college students.

Table 1 displays the region, state, and school type of each student. Given that 90% of the students from HBCU attend school in the Southeast, and 100% of the students from HWCU attend school in the Midwest, regional mean differences will not be evaluated.

Mean comparisons were also conducted with year in school as the independent/predictor variable and Black Identity, internalized stereotypes, perceptions of racial perception, and self-esteem as the dependent/outcome variables. In order to maintain adequate power, year in school

was combined into two groups: Lower Classmen (Freshman and Sophomores) and Upper Classmen (Juniors and Seniors). Table 4 displays descriptive statistics for private regard, nationalist ideology, and humanist ideology, SGI, SMA, score ratings for vignettes of perceptions of racial salience, and the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale for Lower Classmen and Upper Classmen students.

A one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted to evaluate the relationship between year in school (Lower Classmen and Upper Classmen) and internalized stereotypes (SGI and SMA). The ANOVA on SGI was significant $F(1, 101) = 6.00, p = .016$, indicating that students in the Lower Classmen group ($M = 25.62, SD = 16.57$) endorsed more SGI than students in the Upper Classmen group ($M = 17.28, SD = 17.26$). The strength of the relationship between year in school and stereotypes of genetic inheritance, as assessed by η^2 , was strong with year in school accounting for 56% of the variance of the dependent variable. Post hoc tests were not performed for SGI because there are fewer than three groups. The ANOVA on SMA was also significant, $F(1, 101) = 3.99, p = .04$, revealing that students in the Lower Classmen group ($M = 11.33, SD = 10.19$) endorsed more SMA than students in the Upper Classmen group ($M = 7.23, SD = 10.13$). The strength of the relationship between year in school and stereotypes of mental ability, as assessed by η^2 , was strong with year in school accounting for 38% of the variance of the dependent variable. Post hoc tests were not performed for SMS because there are fewer than three groups.

Mean comparisons were also conducted to evaluate group differences (Lower Classmen and Upper Classmen) in endorsement of indices of Black Identity (private regard, nationalist ideology, and humanist ideology). Univariate analyses revealed no mean differences between Upper Classmen and Lower Classmen students on indices of Black Identity. In addition, there

were no significant mean differences between Lower Classmen and Lower Classmen ratings on perceptions of racial salience or self-esteem.

Correlation coefficients were computed to determine if relationships existed among indicators of satisfaction (i.e. overall college satisfaction, satisfaction with ones social life, and importance of receiving a college education), indices of Black Identity (private regard, nationalist ideology, or humanist ideology), internalized stereotypes (SGI and SMA), family education (parents level of education and family attendance at same college or university), and religiosity. Using the Bonferroni approach to control for Type 1 error across the 24 correlations, a *p* valued of less than .002 ($.05/24 = .002$) was required for significance.

The results of the correlational analysis presented in Table 4 show that 9 out of the 24 correlations were statistically significant and were greater or equal to .29. Regarding Black Identity, the correlations of nationalist and humanist ideology tended to be lower and not significant. In general, the results suggest that students who have high private regard tend to also have higher college and social satisfaction. Regarding family education, the results indicate that correlations with father's education and family attendance at the same college as the student are low and not significant. Results do show, however, that as mother's education level increases, adherence to internalized stereotypes decreases. There were no significant correlations between religiosity on indices of Black Identity, internalized stereotypes, college satisfaction, or family education. Additional supplemental inquiry examined the relationships of school type with family attendance (legacy) at students' college or university, parents' education, and religious/spiritual identity.

Table 4

Zero-order (Pearson) correlations among indicators of satisfaction, indices of Black identity, internalized stereotypes, family education, and religiosity

Variable	Correlations											
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. College satisfaction	1.00	.311*	.053	.381*	-.014	.067	-.017	-.108	.226	.006	.050	.042
2. Satisfaction with social life		1.00	.074	.293*	.078	-.005	.131	.081	.150	.004	.028	-.064
3. Importance of college education			1.00	-.061	-.165	.1123	.121	.153	.222	-.111	-.018	.014
4. Private Regard				1.00	.140	.079	-.067	-.165	.090	.113	-.053	-.010
5. Nationalist Ideology					1.00	-.413*	.369*	.233	.053	-.011	.111	.036
6. Humanist Ideology						1.00	-.158	-.175	.106	.034	.152	-.026
7. SGI							1.00	.814*	-.039	-.335*	-.106	.116
8. SMA								1.00	-.001	-.406*	-.142	.101
9. Religious/spiritual identity									1.00	-.116	-.016	.131
10. Mother's Education										1.00	.362*	.166
11. Father's Education											1.00	.032
12. Family at same institution												1.00

*Correlation is significant at the 0.002 level (2-tailed).

A 2x2 chi-square test was conducted to assess whether there was a significant association between school type and whether family members attended the same college or university. The percentage of "YES" and "NO" responses did not differ by school type $\chi^2(1,114) = 0.51, p = .48$. Overall, 30% of HBCU students reported that their family member attended the same institution as compared to 36% of HWCU students.

A one-way ANOVA was conducted to evaluate mean differences between mother's education at HBCUs ($M = 4.63, SD = 1.86$) and at HWCUs ($M = 4.94, SD = 1.391$) and father's education at HBCUs ($M = 4.18, SD = 1.61$) and at HWCUs ($M = 4.46, SD = 1.49$). There were no significant differences between mother's education $F(1,112) = 1.00$, and father's education $F(1, 112) = .792$.

A one-way ANOVA was used to evaluate mean differences in endorsement of a religious/spiritual identity between HBCU and HWCU students. The ANOVA was significant,

$F(1, 112) = 5.78, p = .018$. Students at HBCUs ($M= 3.94, SD= 0.95$) endorsed higher ratings of religious/spiritual identity than students at HWCUs ($M=3.44, SD= 1.33$). The strength of the relationship between religious/spiritual identity and school type as assessed by η^2 , was weak, with school type accounting for 5% of the variance of the dependent variable.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to compare and predict group-level differences in endorsement of internalized stereotypes, Black Identity, perceptions of racial salience, and self-esteem among African American students who attend historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) and those who attend historically White colleges and universities (HWCUs). My first research question explored differences in stereotype endorsement between students who attended HBCUs and those who attended HWCUs. In my second research question, I examined relationships between indices of Black Identity and internalized stereotypes. For my third research question, I looked at endorsement of perceptions of race salience within defined social contexts. My last research question was an exploratory mean comparison of self-esteem between students who attended HBCUs and those who attended HWCUs.

Internalized stereotypes were measured using the stereotypes of genetic inheritance (SGI) and stereotypes of mental abilities (SMA) indices developed from the Nadonalization scale (Hoskins & Chambers, 2003; Taylor & Gundy, 1996). Black Identity was measured using three indices from the Multidimensional Black Identity (MIBI) scale: private regard, nationalist ideology, and humanist ideology (Sellers et al., 1998) Perceptions of racial salience were measured using two vignettes developed by Outten and colleagues (2010). Participants were asked to rate to what extent they felt the situations described in the vignettes were racially motivated. Finally, self-esteem was assessed using the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1979). This scale is well established and highly supported in its use with various populations, including African American participants.

Internalized Stereotypes and School Type

For the first research question, I predicted that African American students who attend HWCUs would endorse more stereotypes than those who attend HBCUs. Results from this study found that there were no differences in endorsement of SMA. However, differences in endorsement of SGI were counter to what was predicted in the hypothesis (see Table 2). That is, students from HBCUs endorsed SGI more than students from HWCUs. Although there has been no direct research comparing the endorsement of internalized stereotypes between African American students at HBCUs to African American students at HWCUs, this finding indicates that contrary to theories that assert HBCUs may provide a more culturally protective environment for African American students (Chavous et al., 2004; Evans et al., 2002; Taylor & Grundy, 1996), there may be attributes present at HWCUs that protect against the internalization of some stereotypes among African American college students. For example, internalization of stereotypes may contribute to school choice.

Black Identity and Internalized Stereotypes

Private regard

The second research question examined mean differences between indices of Black Identity (private regard, nationalist ideology, and humanist ideology) and indices of internalized stereotypes (SMA and SGI). It was first predicted that degree of positive regard would be related to internalized stereotypes. This finding was partially supported. This study found that private regard was negatively related to SMA, indicating that as degree of private regard increased, endorsement of SMA decreased. There was no significant relationship between private regard and SGI. Taken together, these findings are of interest because although they reveal that positive feelings about being Black is related to low endorsement of stereotypes about (the lack of)

mental ability among African Americans, positive feelings about being Black is not related to stereotypes that endorse genetic inferiority or superiority among African Americans. In short, African American college students with high private regard tend to refute stereotypes about mental ability more than stereotypes about genetic inheritance; conversely those who accept such stereotypes have lower private regard.

Nationalist ideology

This question was also tested by comparing endorsement of internalized stereotypes with endorsement of the nationalist ideology index of Black Identity. There was a significant relationship between SGI and nationalist identity among African American college students. Interestingly, this was a positive relationship. This finding indicates that as the degree to which one endorses a distinct and separate Black Identity increases, endorsement of stereotypes that emphasize unique genetic traits and abilities among African Americans increases as well.

Here again, stereotype traits within the SGI index appear to be more distinct than SMA. However, a greater degree of Black Identity as defined by possessing a nationalist ideology, is positively related to stereotype traits as opposed to the negative relationship that was found between Black Identity as defined by private regard and SGI. Given that both the nationalist ideology and SGI are concerned with emphasizing unique and distinct traits among African Americans, this finding intuitively makes sense. It is also worth noting that this finding suggests that one can possess a strong Black Identity while also internalizing stereotypes about Black people.

Humanist ideology

Finally within this question, I also compared degree of endorsement of the humanist ideology with endorsement of internalized stereotypes. There were no significant relationships between endorsement of the humanist ideology and endorsement of internalized stereotypes.

Perception of Race Salience

Research on perceptions of race salience within a defined social context have often times used vignettes as a way to describe a scenario in which the respondent may deem the actions of the characters to be more or less driven by racial attitudes. For the present study, vignettes created by Outten and colleagues (2010) were used to compare responses on this construct between African American students who attended HBCUs to those who attend HWCUs. Driven by previous research findings (Evens et al., 2002) it was hypothesized that race salience would be more prevalent among African Americans who attend HBCUs than those who attend HWCUs. This finding was not supported. There were no significant differences in perceptions of the importance of race between students across school type. It is worth noting that although previous research using these vignettes yielded strong psychometric properties with internal consistency reliability ranging from .70 to .92, in the present study, the internal consistency reliability was .57. Moreover, factor analysis of the items revealed that the removal of any of the items from the vignettes would not improve internal reliability. It appears that the reliability of this measure was too low to yield significant results in the present study.

Implications and Future Research

Internalized Stereotypes and School Type

Although past research has theorized that African American students may attend HBCUs in part because they have a strong desire to surround themselves with Black culture (Evans et al.,

2002), this current study indicates that students at HBCUs may also hold more internalized stereotypes about Black people than those students at HWCUs. This finding lends itself to several possibilities.

First, most theories on differences between African American college students at HBCUs and HWCs have been drawn from separate studies that examine African American college students at *either* an HBCU or HWCU (Chavous et al., 2004; Evans et al., 2002). That is to say, few studies have compared these two groups at the same time in the same study. This study is among the first of its kind to draw conclusions based on responses from both groups at the same time, using the same construct measurements. Second, past research has theorized that students who attend HBCUs choose to attend that type of school because of a strong affiliation with Black Identity and culture (Evens et al., 2002; Nasim et al., 2005). However, future research should explore if possessing a strong Black Identity, may in and of itself contribute to unknowingly adhering to and endorsing seemingly “positive” stereotypes about Black people. For example, items on the SGI scale include, “African Americans are born with more musical talent than Whites“ and “The inborn physical ability of African Americans makes it hard to beat them in athletics.” An African American student might endorse these seemingly positive genetic traits while still holding a strong private regard Black Identity. A third possibility is that students who attend HWCUs have greater overall sensitivity to stereotypes. It may be that attending an HWCU puts an African American student in a position to receive constant reminders of their “minority status.” Therefore, students at HWCUs may be more sensitive to, and address more questions about, what it means to be “Black.” These students might also feel the need to actively combat generalized images of African Americans on campus. This is opposed to an African

American student at an HBCU where not only the student population, but likely the faculty and administration, are primarily composed of African American individuals.

It is worth noting that participants in this study may not constitute the “typical” structure of African American students from an HBCU or an HWCU. Although SIU is located in rural southern Illinois, the vast majority of African American students at SIU are from inner city communities. In addition, many students that attend HBCUs are not from the state or region where their respective institution is located. Future research should gather information about the participant’s home state and their reason for attending their college or university. Information should also address the student’s perceptions of racial climate on their college campus. That is, researchers should study how students believe others on their campus view African Americans. Also, as the research on internalized stereotypes grows, studies might focus on exploring what stereotypes or attitudes African American students think are held by other students and faculty members on their campus. This would aid in understanding not only the internal beliefs held by African American students, but their perception of the stereotypes that are held by others on their campus.

Internalized Stereotypes and Black Identity

This study also found that degree of private regard was positively related to SGI but not SMA. There are several possibilities for this finding. First, as previously mentioned, it is important to note that research about internalized stereotypes among African Americans is a highly understudied area of research (Taylor & Grundy, 1996). The indices of internalized stereotypes used in this study were adapted from the only measure of its kind compiled in the Handbook of Tests and Measurement for Black Populations (Jones, 1996). As a result, it appears

that current research has not examined if African Americans internalize some within-group stereotypes more than others.

It is possible that overall, African Americans internalize SGI more than SMA. Future research should examine this theory across age groups and SES among African Americans. Another possibility is that internalized stereotypes concerning the mental ability of African Americans may be less salient among a sample of African American college students than among a sample of non-college educated African Americans. Testing the SMA index with a non-college sample would increase the generalizability of this construct. It would also be informative if researchers tested other indices of Black stereotypes as well.

In the present study, I found that African American college students, who identify with Black people as a separate and distinct group, are likely to endorse beliefs that Black people are genetically distinct from other groups. Here again, the findings in this study indicate that students can possess a strong Black Identity while also endorsing stereotypes about Black people. As such, the internalization of certain stereotypes may not, in and of itself, be related to lower Black Identity development.

A review of the literature suggests this study is the first of its kind in that it not only teases out specific indices of Black Identity but also specific indices of internalized stereotypes (Chavous et al., 2004; Outten et al., 2010; Sellers et al., 1998; Taylor and Grundy, 1996). The significant, positive relationship between nationalist ideology and SGI reveals that previous global theories pertaining to Black Identity and internalized stereotypes among African Americans need to be explored and modified to include the unique sub-categories of Black Identity and internalized stereotypes. Future studies should consider that endorsement of specific indices of Black Identity relate differently to specific indices of internalized stereotypes.

Although there were no significant relationships between humanist ideology and internalized stereotypes, this finding is still worthy of note. As mentioned above, research on the relationships between Black Identity and internalized stereotypes is very limited. In fact, an Ovid® database research article search using the keywords “Stereotypes”, “Black Identity”, and “College students” only yielded seven results, none of which examined Black Identity and internalized stereotypes.

This study has shown that the construct of Black Identity is multifaceted and indices of Black Identity relate differently to internalized stereotypes. In regards to the relationship between humanist ideology and SGI and SMA, the results indicate that although the relationship is not significant at $p < .05$, there is a negative correlational trend. Given that high endorsement on the humanist ideology index indicates a strong belief that the experience of African American people should not be distinct from the experience of all people (Sellers et al., 1998), it might be expected that the relationship between humanist ideology and the internalization of beliefs that posit distinct mental ability and genetic inheritance among African Americans would trend towards a negative relationship. There may be other dimensions of internalized stereotypes that are found to have stronger relationships with humanist ideology than SGI and SMA. Therefore, future research should continue to explore the salience of this relationship.

Race Salience

The use of vignettes to measure perceptions of race salience within a defined social context did not yield significant results throughout this study. Given that these vignettes produced significant findings in previous research (Outten et al., 2010), there are several possibilities for why the vignettes did not yield similar results in this current study. One

possibility points to the fact that the two vignettes used in this study have only four response items collectively.

A measure with such a low number of items tends to have less internal reliability than measures with a higher number of items (Green & Salkind, 2003). In addition, the vignettes used have only been used in one published study. It may be that additional research using these vignettes will provide a clearer picture as to the reliability of the measure. It is also worth noting that there may be distinct differences in the sample used in the Outten et al. (2010) study and in the present study. For example, students who volunteered for this study were aware that the study was designed to measure responses solely from individuals who identified as African American college students. Race may have been made salient through use of the SIUC “Psyc102 Pool,” which includes a description of the inclusionary/ exclusionary criteria. For the purpose of this study, inclusionary criteria were all African American undergraduate students and the exclusionary criteria were all students who do not identify as African American undergraduates. Race may have also become salient when participants responded to the first demographic question, which asks, “Do you identify as African American?” As a result, students from both HBCUs and HWCUs may have been equally primed to respond similarly to race salient items, and therefore did not demonstrate group-level differences on this measure. Outten and colleagues (2010) on the other hand, drew their participants from a sample of African American and White American college students in Canada. It may be that African American students in their study responded qualitatively different on this measure of race salience and therefore, this measure could not be generalized to the current sample.

In future research, it may be necessary to utilize measures that assess related constructs in order to explore possible relationships between race salience, internalized stereotypes, and Black

Identity. For example, the Race Based Rejection Sensitivity Questionnaire (Mendoza-Denton, Downey, Purdie, Davis, & Pietrzak, 2002) explores race from the perspective of anxiety and race rejection. That is, this questionnaire measures the extent to which someone anxiously expects rejection and their perceived rejection based on their race. This is a 12-item questionnaire with factor loadings that range from .52 to .78 and has been cited in several articles. Although this questionnaire is primarily associated with anxiety research, additional research on race salience should consider using this or a similar measure in that it has been found to be consistent across several studies.

Self-Esteem

Literature indicates that general group differences exist between African American students who attend HBCUs and HWCUs (Rucker and Gendrin, 2003). These differences include a stronger racial identity (Rucker and Gendrin, 2003) and greater perceptions of academic achievement among those attending HBCUs (Chavous et al., 2004). Therefore, an exploratory hypothesis tested whether students who attend HBCUs also have higher self-esteem than students who attend HWCUs using the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (1979). The mean comparisons between HBCU and HWCU students can be found on Table 2. In this study, both groups had nearly identical means, standard deviations, and ranges on the Self-Esteem Scale. In addition, the range of scores indicate that overall, all students in the present sample indicated a moderate to high level of self-esteem. This exploratory hypothesis indicates that unlike race identity and perceptions of academic achievement, self-esteem was not a distinguishing group difference between African American college students at HBCUs and HWCUs. This finding has additional support in light of the fact that there are no significant mean differences between

students at HBCUs and HWCUs on private regard, the Black Identity index that measures positive feelings about Black people.

Summary

Overall, the findings in this study have begun to lay the groundwork for research on the way African Americans identify themselves and the beliefs they hold about Black people. This study indicates that significant relationships exist between indices of Black Identity and internalized stereotypes. Clinical implications suggest that standard theories of identity and self-esteem among African American college students do not generalize the same way they do with other cultural groups. The relationship between distinct indices of Black Identity relate and stereotypes would adequately describe the relationship between Black Identity and internalized stereotypes among African Americans. Therefore, there is a need for updated, empirically supported theories and measures on internalized stereotypes among African Americans in order to draw meaningful conclusions within this body of research. Regarding school administrators, these findings suggest that attending an HBCU vs. an HWCU may in and of it's self be a predictor of Black identity as previously theorized by Chavous, and colleagues (2004). The overarching predictor of Black identity may in fact be general feelings of support and overall satisfaction with school.

Future research should further explain why relationships occur between some aspects of Black Identity and not others. Also, researchers should address the presence of additional indices of internalized stereotype beliefs. Supplemental results from this study found that a significant, negative relationship existed between mothers' education and internalized stereotype endorsement and religious/spiritual identity between students at HBCUs and HWCUs. The latter finding replicated the research of Miller, 2004 with African- American students, suggesting that

the results may have some generalizability. Supplemental results did not reveal however, differences in same college family attendance or parents' education level on school type. It may be that mothers' education and religious/spiritual identity are unique moderating variables that interact with Black Identity endorsement and school type, respectively. It may also be that as mother's education increases, the mother inadvertently counteracts stereotypes and therefore, reduces the internalization of stereotypes in her children. Future research should explore the presence of mediating and moderating variables that may exist between the endorsement of internalized stereotypes, components of Black Identity, as well as other variables between students at HBCUs and HWCUs.

Limitations

As is the case with most research studies, there are several strengths as well as some limitations. Regarding generalizability, one limitation was a low sample size of participants, with 64 participants from HBCUs and 50 participants from HWCUs. Also, of the 114 participants, only 26 were male (8 HBUC, 18 HWCU). In addition, although the sampling procedure allowed for the inclusion of African American college students from across the United States, all of the students in the HWCU were from Illinois. In addition, the majority of the students in the HBCU sample were from Florida and Arkansas. Based on this information, the sample population groups for this study would be best described as African American college students who attend an HWCU in Illinois and African American college students who attend HBCUs in Arkansas and Florida.

Though significant results were found throughout the first two hypotheses, the measure used to detect differences in perceptions of race salience within a defined social context did not yield any significant results. As mentioned above, although reported as having strong

psychometric properties in previous research (Outten et al., 2010), this measure did not yield high internal reliability in this study. Therefore, relationships between Black Identity and internalized stereotypes with race salience were not detected. In order to address this issue in future research, a more broad keyword search should be used to explore the presence of related measures of race salience such as the Race Based Rejection to Sensitivity Questionnaire (Mendoza-Denton et al., 2002).

Another limitation common in many research studies is that research data was collected through the use of self-report questionnaires. The use of self-report questionnaires forces the researcher to trust the honesty and accuracy of each participant. The researcher has extremely limited ability to discern the accuracy with which participants respond to items. In addition, participants may respond to items in ways they feel are most socially desirable instead of in a way that accurately reflects their thoughts, feelings, and beliefs (Fleming & Zizzo, 2011). This may especially be the case as participants are responding to items that pertain to identity, internalized stereotypes, and self-esteem.

Conclusions

The purpose of this study was to examine if relationships existed between Black Identity, internalized stereotypes, perceptions of race salience, and self-esteem among African American college students. In an effort to close a gap in literature, these relationships were compared between self-identified African American college students who attended historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) and those who attended historically white colleges and universities (HWCUs). To this end, significant relationships were found in terms of school type, Black Identity, and internalized stereotypes.

Regarding the first research question, and counter to what was predicated, this study found that African American students who attend HBCUs endorsed stereotypes of genetic inheritance (SGI) more than African American students at HWCUs. This study also found that across school type, there was a negative relationship between degree of Black Identity as defined by private regard, and endorsement of stereotypes of mental ability (SMA). In addition, significant relationship was found between endorsement of Black Identity as defined as nationalist ideology and SGI. This was however, a positive relationship, which demonstrated that as the degree of endorsement on the nationalist ideology index increased, so did endorsement of SGI. Significant relationships were not found between stereotype endorsement and Black Identity as defined by humanist ideology. In addition, there were no differences between school type and perceptions of race salience or self-esteem.

In terms of the research questions, this study was successful in answering the question of whether or not group stereotype differences exist among African American college students at HBCUs and HWCUs (Plous & Williams, 1995; Taylor & Grundy, 1996; Lawson, 2003). This study also found that, instead of a global relationship between Black Identity and internalized stereotypes, different indices of Black Identity have relationships with different indices of internalized stereotypes. Demonstration of these group differences provides insight into how environment is related to the way African Americans identify themselves as well as the beliefs they hold about Black people.

The unexpected direction of the first research question, and the lack of significance in the third and fourth research questions, supports the need for additional research in this area. Regarding the third research question, which examined the relationship between Black Identity as defined as humanist ideology and internalized stereotypes, although the findings did not reach

significance at $p < .05$, the relationship between humanist ideology and the SGI and SMA indices demonstrated a negatively related trend. That is, it appeared as though students who endorsed a high degree of humanist ideology tended to endorse lower levels of internalized stereotypes. Future research should explore additional factors that may affect the identity and beliefs among African American college students. Additional research should also pursue the development of construct measures that can be reliably generalized across Black populations.

Taken in context, the findings from this study begin to inform research beyond theory. Much of the research on internalized stereotypes among African Americans has been stagnant for over a decade (Taylor and Grundy, 1996). In addition, much of what is known about stereotype formation is rooted in theories that have not been normalized on Black populations (Alport, 1954; Tajfel, 1981). This study helps to reignite this research base and has been successful in demonstrating that environment and identity relate to the beliefs African Americans hold about themselves. These relationships are multifaceted. By challenging historical theories, researchers will continue to provide new insight into the beliefs held by African American populations.

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APPENDICIES

APPENDIX A

Demographic Questionnaire

1. Do you identify as African American? Yes No

2. Sex Male Female

3. Current Age _____

4. List the name of all colleges/universities attended: _____

5. How would you describe your college or university?

- 1. Historically Black College or University (HBCU)
- 2. Historically White College or University (HWCU)
- 3. I have attended **both** an HBCU and an HWCU
- 4. I attend a two-year institution (community college, junior college, technical or trade school, certification program, etc.)

6. Year in School

- 1 Freshman
- 2 Sophomore
- 3 Junior
- 4 Senior
- 5 Other

7. Please rate your overall satisfaction with your college experience

- 1 Very Dissatisfied
- 2 Dissatisfied
- 3 Neutral or Mixed Feelings
- 4 Satisfied
- 5 Very Satisfied

8. How satisfied were you with your social life?

- 1 Very Dissatisfied
- 2 Dissatisfied
- 3 Neutral or Mixed Feelings
- 4 Satisfied
- 5 Very Satisfied

9. Please indicate the importance of receiving a college education while you were growing up

- 1 Not Important
 - 2 A little bit important
 - 3 Important
 - 4 Very Important
 - 5 The most important value
- (but other things were emphasized)

10. To what extent is your religious/ spiritual viewpoint a part of your identity?

- | | | | | |
|------------|----------|----------|-----------|------------------------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Not at all | A little | Somewhat | Very much | It is central to my identity |

11. Mother's highest level of education

- | | | | |
|--|--------------------------|---|--------------------------|
| 1. Don't know | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4. Associates Degree | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. Some School
(but did not complete high school) | <input type="checkbox"/> | 5. Bachelors Degree | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. High School Graduate
or GED | <input type="checkbox"/> | 6. Masters Degree | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4. Some College Credits | <input type="checkbox"/> | 8. Doctorate (including
MD, JD, PhD., etc) | <input type="checkbox"/> |

12. Father's highest level of education

- | | | | |
|--|--------------------------|---|--------------------------|
| 1. Don't know | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4. Associates Degree | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. Some School
(but did not complete high school) | <input type="checkbox"/> | 5. Bachelors Degree | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. High School Graduate
or GED | <input type="checkbox"/> | 6. Masters Degree | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4. Some College Credits | <input type="checkbox"/> | 8. Doctorate (including
MD, JD, PhD., etc) | <input type="checkbox"/> |

13. Using your best estimate, what percentage of professors in your major are African American?

- | | | | | | |
|-----------|--------------------------|-----------|--------------------------|-----------|--------------------------|
| 1. <10% | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2. 10-30% | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3. 30-50% | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4. 50-70% | <input type="checkbox"/> | 5. 70-90% | <input type="checkbox"/> | 6. >90% | <input type="checkbox"/> |

14. Percentage of African Americans at your institution

- | | | | | | |
|-----------|--------------------------|-----------|--------------------------|-----------|--------------------------|
| 1. <10% | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2. 10-30% | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3. 30-50% | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4. 50-70% | <input type="checkbox"/> | 5. 70-90% | <input type="checkbox"/> | 6. >90% | <input type="checkbox"/> |

15. How important to you is it that you attend a college with a large number of African American students?

16. Total institution population

1. <3000 2. 3000-10,000

3. 10,000-20,000 4. <20,000

17. Did other members of your family attend your institution?

1. Yes 2. No

18. Name of college attended _____

19. Geographic location of your institution

1. West 2. Southwest

3. Midwest 4. Southeast 5. Northeast

20. Did you attend school in-state or out-of-state?

1. In-state 2. Out-of-state

21. Academic Focus of institution

1. Very strong teaching focus 2. Strong teaching focus

3. Balanced teaching and research focus 4. Strong research focus

5. Very strong research focus

22. School Funding

1. Private 2. Public

APPENDIX B

The Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI, Sellers et al., 1998)

Private Regard

1. I feel good about Black people.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Strongly Agree Neutral Strongly Disagree

2. I am happy that I am Black.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Strongly Agree Neutral Strongly Disagree

3. I feel that Blacks have made major accomplishments and advancements.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Strongly Agree Neutral Strongly Disagree

4. I often regret that I am Black. **(R)**

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Strongly Agree Neutral Strongly Disagree

5. I am proud to be Black.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Strongly Agree Neutral Strongly Disagree

6. I feel that the Black community has made valuable contributions to this society.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Strongly Agree Neutral Strongly Disagree

Nationalist Ideology

1. It is important for Black people to surround their children with Black art, music, and literature.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Strongly Agree Neutral Strongly Disagree

2. Black people should not marry interracially.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Strongly Agree Neutral Strongly Disagree

3. Blacks would be better off if they adopted Afrocentric values.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Strongly Agree Neutral Strongly Disagree

4. Black students are better off going to schools that are controlled and organized by Blacks

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Strongly Agree Neutral Strongly Disagree

5. Black people must organize themselves into a separate Black political force.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Strongly Agree Neutral Strongly Disagree

6. Whenever possible, Blacks should buy from other Black businesses.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Strongly Agree Neutral Strongly Disagree

7. A thorough knowledge of Black history is very important for Blacks today.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Strongly Agree Neutral Strongly Disagree

8. Blacks and Whites can never live in true harmony because of racial differences.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Strongly Agree Neutral Strongly Disagree

9. White people can never be trusted where Blacks are concerned.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Strongly Agree Neutral Strongly Disagree

Humanist Ideology

1. Black values should not be inconsistent with human values.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Strongly Agree Neutral Strongly Disagree

2. Blacks should have the choice to marry interracially.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Strongly Agree Neutral Strongly Disagree

3. Blacks and Whites have more commonalities than differences.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Strongly Agree Neutral Strongly Disagree

4. Black people should not consider race when buying art or selecting a book to read.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Strongly Agree Neutral Strongly Disagree

5. Blacks would be better off if they were more concerned with the problems facing all people than just focusing on Black issues.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Strongly Agree Neutral Strongly Disagree

6. Being an individual is more important than identifying oneself as Black.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Strongly Agree Neutral Strongly Disagree

7. We are all children of a higher being, therefore, we should love people of all races.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Strongly Agree Neutral Strongly Disagree

8. Blacks should judge Whites as individuals and not as members of the White race.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Strongly Agree Neutral Strongly Disagree

9. People regardless of their race have strengths and limitations.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Strongly Agree Neutral Strongly Disagree

APPENDIX C

The Nadanalization Scale (NAD, Taylor & Grundy, 1996)

Stereotypes of Genetic Inheritance Scale (SGIS)

1. African Americans are born with greater sexual desire than White people.

0 1 2 4 5 6 7 8 9
Not at all agree Entirely Agree

2. Racial differences explains why African Americans don't live as long as Whites.

0 1 2 4 5 6 7 8 9
Not at all agree Entirely Agree

3. African Americans are born with greater physical strength and endurance than Whites.

0 1 2 4 5 6 7 8 9
Not at all agree Entirely Agree

4. Genetic inferiority explains why more African Americans than Whites drop out of school.

0 1 2 4 5 6 7 8 9
Not at all agree Entirely Agree

5. African Americans are born with more musical talent than Whites.

0 1 2 4 5 6 7 8 9
Not at all agree Entirely Agree

6. The high percentage of African Americans in jail reflects inborn tendencies toward criminality.

0 1 2 4 5 6 7 8 9
Not at all agree Entirely Agree

7. The inborn physical ability of African Americans makes it hard to beat them in athletics.

0 1 2 4 5 6 7 8 9
Not at all agree Entirely Agree

8. The high incidence of crime among African Americans reflects a genetic abnormality.

0 1 2 4 5 6 7 8 9
Not at all agree Entirely Agree

9. The large number of African Americans addicted to hard drugs suggests a form of biological weakness.

0 1 2 4 5 6 7 8 9
Not at all agree Entirely Agree

Stereotypes of Mental Ability Scale (SMAS)

1. When it comes to figures and figuring, African Americans seldom are able to measure up to Whites.

0 1 2 4 5 6 7 8 9
Not at all agree Entirely Agree

2. Racial differences explain why Europeans are technologically more advanced than Africans.

0 1 2 4 5 6 7 8 9
Not at all agree Entirely Agree

3. The school dropout problem among African Americans is due to their not having the mental power of Whites.

0 1 2 4 5 6 7 8 9
Not at all agree Entirely Agree

4. The Black race is mentally unable to assume positions of high responsibility.

0 1 2 4 5 6 7 8 9
Not at all agree Entirely Agree

5. African Americans are just as smart as Whites. **(R)**

0 1 2 4 5 6 7 8 9
Not at all agree Entirely Agree

6. Whites are better at reasoning than African Americans.

0 1 2 4 5 6 7 8 9
Not at all agree Entirely Agree

7. The Black man's body is more skillful than his mind.

0 1 2 4 5 6 7 8 9
Not at all agree Entirely Agree

APPENDIX D

Vignettes of Race Perceptions (Outten et al., 2010)

Scenario 1: (Race Salient)

Workplace Scenario

A Black university student named Jamal has been working at his job for over 6 months. A new guy is hired and Jamal is asked to “show him the ropes.” Jamal notices that the new guy and his boss, John, who are both White, get along very well. John praises the new guy’s performance, and they are always chatting amongst themselves. After a couple of months Jamal starts to notice that the new guy gets all the good shifts.

1. To what extent do you think that the boss’s recent actions could be attributable to the Jamal’s performance at work?

0 1 2 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Not at all likely/reasonable Very
likely/reasonable

2. To what extent do you think that the new guy getting all the good shifts could be incidental?

0 1 2 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Not at all likely/reasonable Very
likely/reasonable

Scenario 2: (Race Not Salient)

Restaurant Scenario

A Black university student named Darnell and his girlfriend decided to celebrate their 1-year anniversary at an upscale restaurant. They are both promptly seated at their table. A few other customers are seated within the same 5-minute window that they were. Their server who is Black seems to be taking care of all the other customers except for them. Darnell and his girlfriend are the last table to have their order taken. When the server comes over to Darnell’s table he remarks, “Sorry that I have taken so long but I am really busy, and those customers over there are extremely important.”

1. To what extent do you think that the server could have been too busy to keep track of order in which the customers were coming in?

0 1 2 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Not at all likely/reasonable Very likely/reasonable

2. To what extent do you think that the server coming over to Darnell’s table last could have been incidental?

0 1 2 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Not at all likely/reasonable Very likely/reasonable

APPENDIX E

Rosenberg Self-Esteem (RSE, Rosenberg, 1979)

Please record the appropriate answer for each item, depending on whether you Strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with it.

- 1 = Strongly agree
- 2 = Agree
- 3 = Disagree
- 4 = Strongly disagree

- ___ 1. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.
- ___ 2. At times I think I am no good at all.
- ___ 3. I feel that I have a number of good qualities.
- ___ 4. I am able to do things as well as most other people.
- ___ 5. I feel I do not have much to be proud of.
- ___ 6. I certainly feel useless at times.
- ___ 7. I feel that I'm a person of worth.
- ___ 8. I wish I could have more respect for myself.
- ___ 9. All in all, I am inclined to think that I am a failure.
- ___ 10. I take a positive attitude toward myself.

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Publications

Walker, R.L., Ashby, J., Hoskins, O., & Greene, F. (2009). Peer-support suicide prevention in a non-metropolitan U.S. community. *Adolescence*, 44(174), 335-346.

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