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THE DECONSTRUCTION OF AMBITION:
CAMPUS CLIMATE, STEREOTYPE THREAT, AND THE MOTIVATIONAL
GOALS OF AFRICAN AMERICAN STUDENTS AT A SELECTIVE SMALL
LIBERAL ARTS COLLEGE

BY

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DISSERTATION

Submitted to the University of New Hampshire

In Partial Fulfillment of

the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Education

May, 2011

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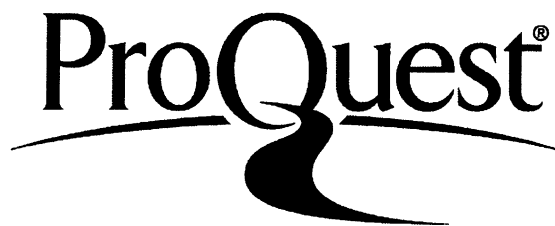
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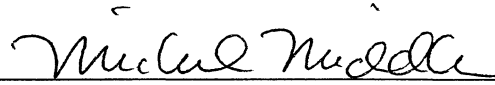
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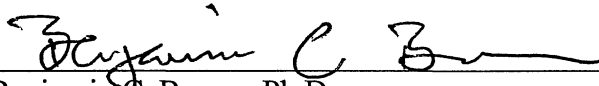
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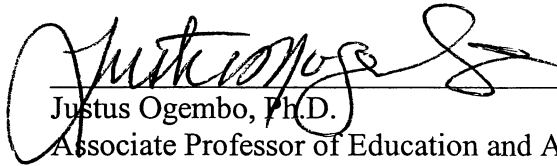
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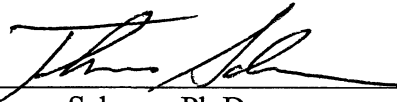
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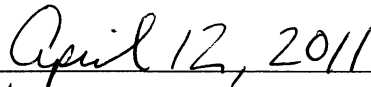
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DEDICATION

To Ayesha, Leyla and Marcus for their endless understanding and support; and for my entire extended family, who prize education above all else.

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In addition to my family, this study is dedicated to many others without whom I would never have completed this research.

First, I would like to acknowledge the wonderful support that I received from the members of my committee. Their thoughtfulness and assistance is a real testament to the generosity and kindness of the UNH faculty. In particular, I would like to offer my special gratitude to my Committee Chair, Mike Middleton, whose gentle guidance, encouragement, and constant support made this entire effort possible.

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I must also thank my spouse, Ayesha, who has been with me on this journey from the beginning, and without her support and encouragement I would never have gotten through. I'd like to thank my children, Leyla and Marcus, who have inspired me in so many ways. I must also give special acknowledgment to my wonderfully supportive sister, Kristen, who was absolutely invaluable to me throughout this process. Without her assistance the transcription of my interviews would have never been completed. Lastly, a special thanks to Mom and Dad for constantly reminding me that education is a life-long endeavor.

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ABSTRACT

THE DECONSTRUCTION OF AMBITION: CAMPUS CLIMATE, STEREOTYPE THREAT, AND THE MOTIVATIONAL GOALS OF AFRICAN AMERICAN STUDENTS AT A SELECTIVE SMALL LIBERAL ARTS COLLEGE

By

Roland Davis

University of New Hampshire, May, 2011

African American students face many challenges when they attend highly selective, predominantly White institutions. Lack of support for or belief in their academic success on the part of White faculty and peers may contribute to a climate in which it becomes increasingly difficult for African American students to be motivated and believe in their ability to excel academically. Studies suggest that an unsupportive racial climate on campus perpetuates “stereotype threat”—the conception that task performance can be affected by a fear of being evaluated on the basis of, or inadvertently perpetuating a stereotype about one’s racial group, and a decade of research has concluded that stereotype threat impedes academic performance among African American college students. Yet, the exact nature of *how* stereotype threat affects academic performance is less understood.

One purpose of this study is to investigate more deeply the motivational orientations of African American college students and to examine the impact of negative campus racial climate on the academic experiences of African American students. A further goal, however, is to explore the integration of motivation with the literature on stereotype threat and observe the complex interplay between campus climate, the application and

impact of racial stigma, and academic performance among African American college students at a highly selective, predominantly White, small liberal arts institution.

Conducted at a selective, predominantly White, liberal arts college in the northeastern U.S., this study uses both survey and interview data to assess campus racial climate as perceived by White students, and capture and discrepancies between reported beliefs and actions; and, ascertain the achievement goal orientation of African American students, as well as their individual perceptions of the existence or application of stereotypes and their sensitivity to personal rejection based on those stereotypes.

CHAPTER ONE

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Introduction

I really like lab so I know what I wanna do when we get there...I'm like, "We're gonna do this"...and I'd be tryin' to do something and they be like, "Uh, what are you doing?" Every time I'd try to touch something they act like I had like a disease or something. And so I just like, sat on a stool for like two or three weeks...I just sat there and just let them do everything. I was like, whatever, you know. Then [the professor]'d go, "Are you contributing to the group?"

The preceding quote from an African American female student at a highly selective, predominantly White, small liberal arts college located in the northeastern United States captures a glimpse of her academic experience as an African American female majoring in the natural sciences. Anecdotal evidence suggests that her early experiences in a chemistry class, where she describes a situation in which her lab partners seemingly did not trust her abilities and the instructor questioned her participation, typifies the experience of many African American students in similar educational settings.

Given the experience of this young woman and her peers, it is not at all surprising that an achievement gap—an overall academic performance disparity—exists between African American students and their White counterparts. Jencks and Phillips (1998) reveal that a number of studies have established that African American students perform at lower levels than their White peers with the same standardized test scores and high school grades. Oddly, one examination of selective colleges and universities uncovered

that the greatest African American/White grade disparity existed between students with high SAT scores (Jencks and Phillips, 1998). Another examination of the achievement gap (Massey et al., 2003) exposed a significant difference between African American and White students in their respective first semester college grade point averages, and that African American students were significantly more likely to drop a class during this period than White students, leading to higher rates of attrition and lower persistence/completion rates (Massey et al., 2003).

With African American student college graduation rates remaining stagnant—most recently reported by the Journal of Blacks in Higher Education as being at “a dismally low 43%” (winter, 2006-2007)—the question of why African American students are underperforming academically remains an open one. There have been a multitude of explanations that have sought to examine this issue ranging from a cultural ecology perspective, which asserts the notion that African American students (males in particular) do not identify with the educational process, to the argument that students are insufficiently prepared by their high school experience to engage in college level work (Massachusetts Board of Higher Education and Massachusetts Department of Education, February, 2008), to the idea that behavioral and phenomenological experiences play a significant role in African American students’ underperformance (Steele & Aronson, 1995; Steele 1997).

Taking into account all of these possible explanations, Massey et al. (2003) discovered that, even when controlling for such variables as academic preparation and engagement in learning, African American students were still significantly out-performed by their White counterparts. This finding leads one to conclude that a certain amount of

validity must be given to the behavioral and phenomenological experiences of African American students in predominantly White college settings. While a great deal of research has been conducted in this arena since Massey's finding, studies still have yet to make any definitive conclusions as to what the reasons are; likely, because there are a variety of factors at play in the day-to-day experiences of African American college students. Some of these factors contribute towards a generally lower rate of overall academic performance, while others may actually give rise to an increased level of persistence in predominantly White settings. This study will examine many of these factors as it attempts to offer some clarity on the lived experiences of African American college students attending a predominantly White institution.

Statement of the Problem

The issue of academic underperformance and reasons for the lack of persistence within education among African Americans has generally been referred to as the "achievement gap". In order to begin a discussion of a performance disparity between African American college students and their White peers in the academic realm, it is essential to first have an understanding of what is meant by an achievement gap. What is the exact nature of the inconsistency between African American and White students in academic performance?

Most exploration of this topic has tended to focus strictly on sociocultural factors to explain the achievement gap at all levels of education and for all African American students. For example, early thinking on this issue of an African American/White achievement gap looked at this issue through a cultural ecology perspective, and what was subsequently termed as an "oppositional culture" (Ogbu, 2003) among African

American students was identified as the root cause for academic underperformance. Citing the experiences of African American students who were engaged at a high level academically, these students were reportedly shunned by their African American peers for “acting white” (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986; Fordham, 1996; Ogbu, 2003).

Experiences like this were detailed by Ron Suskind in *A Hope in the Unseen*; a chronicling of the educational experiences of Cedric Jennings, a student from a predominantly African American, inner-city Washington D.C. school who successfully enrolled and completed a bachelor’s degree at Brown University. Early in this story, Suskind reports on the school’s attempts to acknowledge and praise the high academic achievers at a school assembly. Students who had received perfect grades for the marking period were being rewarded with a \$100 check that they were to receive at this assembly. The recipients of this award, however, are met by jeers, according to Suskind. “It was thunderous: ‘Nerd!’, ‘Geek!’, ‘Egghead!’, and the harshest, ‘Whitey!’” (p. 3). This account gives credence to the idea that some African American students may have a lesser appreciation for the value of education and offers a plausible explanation for lower high school completion rates. This explanation, however, may be more applicable to K-12 education alone and not the case at all for African American students who not only successfully complete secondary level education, but who end up attending selective colleges and universities.

More recent investigations around this issue question the level of preparedness of African American students enrolling in college in the first place, and the often associated disadvantages of a lower socioeconomic background (Thernstrom & Thernstrom, 2003). Recent studies on college-readiness suggest that students from such backgrounds and

coming from urban environments are generally less well prepared for the rigors of college than their wealthy, White peers (Adelman, 2006; Boston Higher Education Partnership Report, 2007; Kirst, 2004; New England Board of Higher Education, *Connections Magazine*, 2007). One report states that many graduates of Boston public high schools entered college with weak time management and study skills, that many needed developmental English and math courses, and cites students' own assertions that high school afforded few opportunities to develop self-advocacy and discipline (Boston Higher Education Partnership Report, 2007).

Clearly, there is an issue that must be addressed with regard to the gap that exists between high school curricular standards and what will be expected of students once they enroll in college, but even this does not fully address the achievement gap between African American and White students. Is there, in fact, an achievement disparity at the postsecondary level (particularly at more selective institutions) and, if so, how has it been measured?

Douglass Massey and his colleagues (2003) began an examination of this issue focusing exclusively on students enrolled in highly selective colleges and universities. As a fundamental basis for assessing whether or not a disparity even exists, Massey used three basic indicators of academic achievement to demonstrate that there is a difference in the levels of academic performance and success experienced by Whites as opposed to African Americans. Their study was based on the experiences and perceptions of students entering into one of 35 selective colleges and universities as first-year students in the fall of 1999. From the data, they were able to examine a variety of factors that looked to predict or explain academic outcomes during this first year. From their

findings, they concluded that the key indicators of success, or lack thereof, could be measured in terms of a student's first semester grade point average (GPA), whether or not they withdrew from a course during their first semester, or whether they failed a course (p. 186).

While a lower GPA in the first term or first year of college may not be a significant measure of long-term success or failure, the indicator of whether or not a student dropped a course in this time may have more serious long term implications for the student. Not only might this have an impact on the student's self-esteem, it could have ramifications in terms of a student's financial aid or the need to make up a class or the number of credits needed to graduate years later. Once again, Massey controls for certain variables that could shift the outcomes significantly and tries to measure the probability that Black students will drop a course during their initial year in college based on certain criteria. Among three different categories of students (Blacks, Asians, and Latinos) he discovered that the logistic coefficient regression for Blacks was .667, compared to .037 for Asians and .363 for Latinos, signifying that the likelihood that Black students would drop a course was higher than that of the other two groups. When considering what is arguably the most important indicator (or at least the indicator with the greatest implications), the likelihood that African American students would drop a course, Massey's findings were similar. "Although the odds are never very high for any group, the chances of failing a course in the fall term are substantially higher for blacks...than for whites" (p.191).

The work done by Massey and his colleagues is not the only research conducted in this area, although it is the most comprehensive. The work done by an organization

known as the *Consortium for High Achievement and Success* (CHAS)—a group of 36 private, selective colleges and universities throughout the United States whose purpose is to pool resources and data to better understand the experiences of students of color at their respective schools—has also developed some significant findings in this regard. It was determined fairly early on in the development of this organization that if greater support were to be developed and offered to students of color on college campuses, then first it was necessary to understand the nature of the problems faced by these student and how academic under-performance manifested itself (CHAS 2003). Various forms of data collection are still ongoing; however, one of the early projects completed by CHAS was an examination of data each school already had with respect to GPA (both high school and through a student’s time at the institution), retention, and graduation rates. Here, the findings of CHAS would support Massey’s assessment that a disparity does exist between African Americans and Whites.

Of the 26 colleges and universities that participated in this review of their own existing data, it was discovered that a significant disparity in performance did exist between African Americans students and their White counterparts. In fact, among students who enrolled at the institutions in the fall of 2000, the mean high school GPA of Black students was 3.15, while that of Whites was 3.47. This does not in and of itself represent anything significant, as there are a variety of factors that were not controlled for in the determination of high school GPA. For example, the type of school attended, the scale upon which grade point averages were based, and additional weight given to the more challenging courses offered in a school’s curriculum. In essence, nothing here is standardized. High school GPA is mentioned here only to indicate that as the colleges

and universities reporting these data have evaluated a student's preparedness to enter their institution, there appears to be some difference in their high school performance. However, the mean GPA for students by the end of their first year showed a more significant disparity in performance between African Americans and Whites. While White students mean GPA was 3.11, the mean GPA of African Americans students during the same period was 2.65. These data show with absolute clarity that a significant difference in performance does exist between African Americans and White students at these selective colleges and universities. If the only difference that is not or cannot be controlled for in these examinations is that of race, how then is race a factor? Is it because Black students feel somehow marginalized at these elite academic institutions? Are stereotypes about Black students' (particularly their intellectual abilities) being applied here, either directly or indirectly that may explain the differences? Or, is the cause something internal to the Black students' communities that they bring with them prior to matriculating at these institutions? In other words, might there be some cultural explanation for the existence of this phenomenon?

Theoretical Framework

African American students face many challenges when they attend highly selective colleges and universities with predominantly White populations. Often they must contend with overt acts of racism, blatant discrimination, and social marginalization (Feagin & Sikes, 1995; Feagin, Vera & Imani, 1996). While many African American students are prepared to encounter these within social settings on campus, few imagine having to face unsupportive racial climates within the academic realm. For example, the setting of low academic expectations on the part of faculty, or the beliefs of lower ability

or perceptions of unearned admission through affirmative action programs by White peers. Lack of support for or belief in their academic success may contribute to a climate in which it becomes increasingly difficult for African American students to believe in their ability to excel academically. In other words, it enhances the threat of the stereotype of underachievement.

Research conducted by Steele, Aronson and others strengthens the notion that unsupportive racial climate found on campuses fosters a greater awareness of “stereotype threat”—the conception that performance in a domain that is self important to an individual can be affected by a fear of being evaluated on the basis of, or inadvertently perpetuating, a stereotypical attribute about the individual’s group (Steele & Aronson, 1995; Steele 1997). Essentially, stereotype threat affects individual ability to perform on a stereotype-relevant task. For example, women who identify with the academic domain of mathematics, knowing the stereotype of women’s ability relative to men, perform worse on measures of ability in this domain. Studies have concluded that among African American college students the presence of stereotype threat impedes academic performance (Steele & Aronson, 1995; Steele 1997; Steele 1998; Steele 1999; Blascovich, Spencer, Quinn, Steele, 2001; Aronson, Fried, Good, 2002; Aronson & Inzlicht, 2004; Cohen & Steele, 2002), yet the exact nature of *how* stereotype threat affects academic performance is less understood.

Research to date has led to no definitive conclusions on the mediating effects of stereotype threat, leaving researchers wondering whether the primary mediator is behavioral or phenomenological. As suggested by Mayer and Hagnes (2003), “a more complex mediator model is needed to describe how stereotype threat works” (p. 210). A

construct developed by Smith (2004, 2006,2007), called the *Stereotyped Task Engagement Process* (STEP) model integrates stereotype threat with the literature on motivation to provide a possible explanation for precisely how stereotype threat works to interfere with the expected relation between motivation and academic achievement. Smith grounds her examination of stereotype threat in achievement goal theory, which essentially is concerned with an individual's "perception and pursuit of goals" (Kaplan, 1999, p.24), and contends that the individual is oriented towards demonstrating competence or disproving incompetence in a given task. The fundamental premise behind Smith's model is that individual achievement goal orientation is altered by the presence of stereotype threat, which creates a cyclical relationship *between* behavioral interactions and phenomenological experiences that creates a shift from a more positive motivational orientation towards a more negative one, consequently, adversely impacting academic performance.

Further complicating the examination of these issues is the fact that the dynamics commonly associated with the presence of stereotype threat do not affect African American students' academic performance in a universally negative way. In fact, in the face of completing a stereotype-relevant task, some African American students demonstrate a certain level of resilience against the negative effects typically associated with stereotype threat and come to view the task as a challenge to be embraced rather than one to be avoided (Inzlicht, Aronson, Good, McKay, 2005.)

Purpose of the Study

It is my contention that for African American students at highly selective, predominantly White colleges, the academic environment *itself* is a stereotype-relevant

task, and the threat students experience comes from the pervasive stereotype of African American intellectual inferiority. As a means of better understanding the interplay between environment, racial stigma, and academic performance, this inquiry will gauge the campus racial climate of a highly selective, predominantly White, small liberal arts college located in the northeastern U.S., assess the overall achievement motivation of the African American students enrolled there, and will seek to understand the lived experiences of a select group of African American students in an attempt to investigate the applicability of the STEP model.

Research Questions

The primary focus of this study is to better understand the interplay and impact of racial climate on the academic experiences of African American students enrolled in a small liberal arts college in the northeastern United States. As such, six primary questions were asked as a part of this inquiry: (1) What is the campus racial climate as perceived by the White students of the highly selective, predominantly White, small liberal arts college that served as the locus of the study? (2) Is there a discrepancy between the reported racial attitudes and beliefs of White students and the internal racial beliefs or stereotypes they hold? (3) In this environment, do African American students report the perception or actual experience of having stereotypes applied to them? (4) What is the achievement motivation of the African American students enrolled at this institution? (5) Does the relation of achievement goals to educational beliefs and behaviors match what is expected? (6) Does the presence of stereotype threat impact the expected relation of motivation to academic achievement?

At the time this study, the institution where the research was being conducted was itself in the midst of a self-examination to assess the climate of the school and what issues were present concerning the recruitment and retention of students from historically under-represented backgrounds. As a part of this study, I administered a survey (created by the University of Maryland College Park for its own internal assessment of racial climate) to all White students enrolled at the time. My hypothesis is that the reported beliefs of White students at this college will match the egalitarian principles the institution espouses; that students will report generally low levels of bias or outward racial prejudice. However, it is my further contention that the private beliefs held by White students, those expressed only in the presence of individuals from the same racial group, will demonstrate a higher level of bias or racial prejudice than the survey itself indicated.

In addition, the *Patterns of Adaptive Learning* instrument, or PALS (Midgley, 2002) was distributed to the African American students enrolled at the time of the study in an effort to get a snapshot of the motivational orientation of the African American students at the college. Combined with the PALS survey were two additional instruments, the *Stigma Consciousness Questionnaire*, or SCQ (Pinel 1999), and the *Race-Based Rejection Sensitivity Questionnaire* or RSQ-R (Mendoza-Denton et al., 2002), that served to measure the level of awareness African American students felt about stereotypes applied to their race in this predominantly White environment. The hypothesis with regard to this part of the study is that African American students will, for the most part, be disposed towards a more positive motivational orientation; however, for those that experience moderate to high levels of awareness of stigma or stereotypes

applied to their race by White students, this could have adverse effects on their overall level of academic performance.

Significance of the Study

The shifting demographics in the United States and the increased emphasis placed on diversity issues on college campuses signify the relevance and importance of furthering our understanding of the actual experiences of students of color on predominantly White college campuses. If colleges and universities are truly invested in a more egalitarian philosophy regarding the racial makeup of their campuses, then it is imperative that those who work in these institutions have an understanding of how students of color are motivated, the impact stereotypes associated with race can have, and how these factors play out in the individual's experience leading to differential levels of performance between racial groups.

Currently, very little research has been conducted in the area of achievement goal theory and African American students specifically; at least not research that did not compare African American learners to other categories of students (Graham, 1994). Despite working with a relatively small number of participants, this study will further contribute to our understanding of African American students in the area of motivation and could provide a starting point from which further research can be conducted. In addition, little is understood about how the overall racial climate of an institution impacts those in the racial or numerical minority, and what effect these conditions may have on academic performance. Lastly, this study attempts to broaden our understanding of stereotype threat. Given the amount of research that exists about this phenomenon there is little doubt left as to the validity of its existence. But still, little is known with regard

to how it operates, especially in the lived experience of those who feel its effects. This study looks to bring some clarity to these issues, as well as to give voice to those students trying to reach high levels of academic achievement while enduring these conditions.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Overview

The literature that is relevant to this study is reviewed in the following order: (1) the prevalence of color-blind racism as it exists on predominantly White college campuses and its effects on overall campus racial climate; (2) the pervasiveness of stereotype threat, specifically as it pertains to African American students in stereotype-relevant academic tasks; (3) motivation and achievement goal theory; and (4) behavioral and phenomenological experiences that mediate and/or mitigate stereotype threat. Preceding this will be a brief examination of the current understanding of the academic achievement gap as it pertains to African American students in comparison to their Caucasian peers.

The Achievement Gap and the Cultural Ecology Perspective

Approximately 31.3% of all African Americans in the 18-to 24-year-old age group pursue education at the college level, with approximately 10% of this number enrolled in private four-year colleges and universities¹, many of these using selective admissions practices. Yet despite the high academic qualifications all students must have to be admitted into these so-called “elite”, or highly selective colleges and universities, the growing body of literature that has examined the achievement gap among the college population (Feagin, Vera & Imani, 1996; Kirst & Venezia, 2004; Tusmith & Reddy,

¹ U.S. Department of Education, NCES, (1999–2000) National Postsecondary Student Aid Study (NPSAS: 2000).

2002; Smith, Altbach, Lomotey, 2002) indicates that African American and White students are not achieving at equal levels (Aronson, et al. 2002).

Findings by Massey and his colleagues (2003) revealed that “significant differences in academic performance were already evident” (p.186) at early stages in an African American student’s undergraduate career, and that with respect to grade point average (GPA) specifically, White students “earned a GPA of 3.31 in their first term while black students averaged a 2.95 GPA” (Massey, et al., 2003 p.186). Documents internal to the institution where this study is to be situated reveal a similar disparity, where the mean GPA of African American students was 2.78 compared to 3.17 among Whites. These initial difficulties may also be early indicators of lower retention and graduation rates among African American students. One study among highly selective colleges and small universities discovered that, whereas 6.6% of White students left after the first year, the percentage of African American students leaving after one year was significantly higher at 11.7% (CHAS, 2003). Furthermore, among students who entered in the cohort of 1995 the 4-year graduation rate for African Americans was 51.5%, which contrasts greatly with the 77.1% of White students in the same cohort (CHAS, 2003). Even though a number of different factors might prevent a student from graduating within four years (financial or personal circumstances, etc.), the mean rate of students graduating within six years still demonstrates a significant Black/White difference of 67.8% to 85.0% respectively. This information suggests that selective colleges “apparently have particular difficulty engaging their most promising black students” (Jencks and Phillips 1998, p. 39).

Many theorists have sought to explain difference in African American/White academic achievement. Anthropologist, John Ogbu, contends that the origins of this performance gap are fundamentally the result of inequities in the educational system of the United States (Ogbu 1994). Some researchers argue that the “life chances” for African Americans in comparison to Whites are more a function of socioeconomic class than race (Wilson 1980), a premise at odds with Ogbu’s formulation. Ogbu concedes that class stratification does exist, but that it cannot be applied to the explanation of educational disparities because the problem of “applying [class stratification] to the analysis of racial inequality lies in the temporality of class membership in contrast to the permanence of racial group membership”(Ogbu 1994, p.267). In other words, one can obtain some degree of economic success and alter ones socioeconomic status; one cannot, however, alter ones racial affiliation. For Ogbu, this is significant because the cultural differences between racial groups may serve to explain the disparity in overall academic performance more than class differences.

Ogbu also discusses the consequences of racial stratification on the teaching and learning of cognitive, motivational, and social competencies of minority groups. He suggests that in a stratified system social, occupational, and political roles within society are not open and available to all members of the society (Ogbu 1978). For African Americans—considered by Ogbu to be involuntary minorities because societal membership was forced through slavery and conquest (1998)—knowing that their options are limited, despite the benefits of education, they may develop a different perception or lens through which to view the world. Ogbu calls this perspective “cultural–ecology”—defined as the world in which minorities live and how they assess and operate within that

world (Ogbu 1981)—as a framework in which to examine the influences and impact of social, economic and political systems. How this affects school performance is that African American students may not value White middle-class competencies and may equate school success with an assimilation of these competencies. This may be a contentious issue for some African American students as they grapple with the notion of assimilation of White culture as a means for academic success and may perceive such assimilation as loss of their own racial identity.

Seizing on the work of Ogbu, Mickelson (1990) hypothesized that in addition to African American students' ways of viewing the world, another possible difference could be different attitudes (approaches) African Americans may have in comparison to Whites. Mickelson discusses the "attitude-achievement paradox...the paradox of consistently positive attitudes towards education, coupled with frequently poor academic achievement" (p.44) on the part of African Americans. She asks the question, how is it possible for African Americans to remain positive about education in general in the face of persistent academic underperformance; and posits that the flaw in most research on this area stems from a failure to acknowledge the duality of perspectives that African Americans have towards education. In that, African Americans' outlook on education stems from both an abstract and a concrete approach. "Abstract attitudes...embody the Protestant ethic's promise of schooling as a vehicle for success and upward mobility" (p. 46), while the concrete attitude is derived from the reality of a racially stratified society in which African American students know the prospects for advancement are limited based on what they have observed or experienced in the world.

While the cultural explanations offer insight into the experiences of African American students, I am not fully convinced of the merits of Ogbu's arguments or others (Fordham 1996) who subscribe to this notion of "acting white" (Fordham & Ogbu 1986; Ogbu 2003) as an obstacle to African American academic achievement, specifically at the college level. Returning again to the work of Massey, he and his colleagues found little evidence to support the idea that students who attended selective colleges and universities feared a potential loss of racial identity if they, in fact, performed well academically. "Whatever the merits of [Ogbu's] theory in explaining the poor performance of blacks...the psychological dynamics of [Ogbu's theory] are clearly not in play among minority students attending selective colleges and universities" (Massey 2003, p. 206). It is my belief that Mickelson's theory is quite plausible, yet not broadly applicable to the particular sub-group of African American students who enroll at selective institutions. Again, these students, for the most part, have moved beyond the limits of familial or societal expectations to attain goals others thought unreachable for themselves. The issue for these students is not one of cultural competence, fear of losing their racial identity, or coming to grips with the certainty of dual realities in a racist society; but rather, their ability to persevere in the racially stigmatizing environment found at most predominantly White colleges.

Stigma, Color-Blind Racism and Campus Climate

Drawing upon the work of sociologist Joe Feagin regarding the stigma of race (1991), a key inquiry of this study is, to what extent is race stigmatizing and how might racially stigmatized stereotypes affect educational outcomes? Sociologist Erving Goffman (1963) found the origins of the word stigma to be associated with the ancient

Greeks. He states that, as the word originated it was intended “to refer to bodily signs designed to expose something unusual or bad” (p.1) about the person who possessed a particular signifier, a difference of some sort from others in the same social setting. For the most part, Goffman felt our interactions within social settings to be routine, yet when someone of difference enters into that social setting, we immediately begin to assess that individual based upon those physical attributes we identify as being different than our own. The identification of these differences creates what Goffman refers to as a “social identity” for the other; a classification that is based not on what we know of them, but rather, what we see. And we make assumptions about that person based on what others or we ourselves have experienced with people of different attributes. “A stigma, then, is really a special kind of relationship between attribute and stereotype” (p. 4), which leads to the eventual devaluation of the attribute by the majority (those not possessing the attribute) towards the minority based on that stereotype. Goffman believed that the stigmatized person eventually came to believe the stereotypes that were attributed to their difference, and that internalization of the stereotype led to shameful feelings for those in possession of that attribute; a devaluation of oneself as not being normal.

Some research (Feagin, Vera, Imani 1996) would bear out that African American students at predominantly White institutions are stigmatized and “often do not receive full recognition and respect from many White students” (Feagin, e. a. 1996). But it is the increasing lack of respect that African American students begin to develop for themselves as a result that is truly troubling. As part of a study based on the experiences and perceptions of students entering into one of 35 selective (or elite) colleges and universities as first-year students in the fall of 1999, Massey et al. (2003) tried to discern

the racial attitudes of the participants in their study by asking which particular groups best exemplified certain stereotypical traits, such as laziness and unintelligence. While the White students gave predictable responses, such as categorizing African Americans and Latinos with the majority of negative stereotypes, what was equally disturbing, if not more so, were the results of African American perceptions of their own racial group. Without fail, African Americans also categorized other African Americans as being associated with these negative stereotypes. This would suggest that the negative perceptions held by Whites had been internalized by African Americans, furthering the theory that the stigma associated with race has an overwhelming influence on African American students, particularly with regard to the perception of their intellectual capabilities.

We know more now than we did during Goffman's time about the biological differences between racial groups, and that those differences from a genetic standpoint are infinitesimally small. Despite the limited knowledge of these biological differences at the time of Goffman's work, it is my belief that he would agree with the notion that race is a social construct; a conception one develops of the self "influenced by experience with others" (Willie 2003, p. 147). If the social identity of a particular (racial) group, constructed by the "normals" in society, is that of inferiority, or the majority group has ascribed stereotypes based on physical differences to the group that suggests inferiority, it seems likely that individuals from that racial group would begin to absorb some of these stereotypes and incorporate them into their self definition.

If all of what has been discussed thus far is accurate, and African American college students do perceive and internalize stereotypical notions of inferiority, what then

of this popular contemporary view that we now live in a color-blind society? Has present-day U.S. society truly embraced the concept of color-blindness, and if so, is that a good thing? Hypothetically, if the majority of Whites in the U.S. were asked the question, “does racism still exist in America?” the supposition that I hold is that the response would be an immediate and resounding no. When discussing issues pertaining to race with virtually any low to middleclass White person in the U.S., they appear ignorant to the whole idea that racism persists (Bonilla-Silva 2003). Is it that they don’t see it because they are not a person of color, and by virtue of the fact that they are not experiencing racism directly, have no sense that racist practices are perpetuated on a daily basis? Or, could it be something deeper? Might it be that so many White people have adopted this notion of color-blindness that the mere mention of race makes them uncomfortable; and the thought that they may themselves be in some way perpetuating racist practices is at such odds with their color-blind ideology that they place themselves in a deep, unconscious denial?

This form of denial might fall into the category of “aversive racism.” Aversive racism (Dovidio & Gaertner 1986) is a “subtle form of bias that is characteristic of many White Americans who possess strong egalitarian values and who believe that they are not prejudiced. But...also possess negative feelings and beliefs that they are unaware of, or that they try to dissociate from their images of themselves as non-prejudiced.”² Dovidio and Gaertner (1986) suggest that all White Americans hold some biases based on race, and that they stem from cognitive (e.g. in-group favoritism), motivational (e.g. personal or group interest), and sociocultural processes (e.g. historical racist traditions), which

² Online source:
<http://www4.colgate.edu/scene/july1997/affirmative.html>

leads to the “development of negative feelings towards Blacks” (p. 72). “Because of traditional cultural values, however, most Whites also have sincere convictions concerning fairness, justice, and racial equality. The existence of both—almost unavoidable racial biases and the desire to appear egalitarian—forms the basis of an ambivalence that aversive racist experience” (p. 72). As such, the very idea that someone who openly espouses racial tolerance and fairness to all could at the same time harbor racist feelings would be profoundly distasteful to that person. The contradiction of these two perspectives creates a cognitive dissonance of sorts, and thereby causes the person to suppress into the unconscious any racial biases they may hold.

To further suggest that these biases are operating on an unconscious level, Dovidio and his colleagues conducted research with subjects that scored both on the high end and low end of an instrument designed to measure prejudice (Hodson, Dovidio, Gaertner 2002). They assumed that those who scored on the high end would present fairly typical and expected views on race with a clear bias against African Americans, while those who scored on the low end would present less overt, more subtle forms of bias. The task in this experiment was for the subjects (all students at the university where the study was conducted) to evaluate “applicants” for admission to the university where the levels of achievement and standardized test scores among the applicants varied from weak to strong. What they found was that among those whose racial prejudice score was low, the discrimination was low against African American applicants where the decision was a fairly obvious one based on either weak or strong credentials. However, when the criteria were somewhat more ambiguous less obvious forms of discrimination became evident, as the subjects denied admission to more African American applicants than

White applicants. Again, when aversive racist can justify their actions through some means other than race (poor grades or test scores not equal to those of Whites), thereby allowing them to maintain their color-blind notion of self, they typically will.

In the context of college campuses, however, it has been argued that among White students, despite emersion in the socially progressive environments of the institutions they enroll in, many still harbor biases based on race (Bonilla-Silva, 2002). Regardless of their historical origins, today many selective institutions espouse egalitarian philosophies, which suggest that they are inclusive and equally encouraging of every student regardless of socioeconomic status, gender, and cultural or racial background. Recent work (Bonilla-Silva & Forman 2005), however, indicate that this egalitarian approach does not truly exist, and that Whites on campus often promote certain values verbally, yet, fail to live up to them in practice. This discrepancy in stated beliefs versus enactment of those beliefs on an institutional level makes sense when considering research that suggests that most Whites lack the ability to accept that racism and discrimination still exist and are experienced by most people of color (Kailin 2002).

In addition to the unconscious biases held by some Whites and their lack of awareness of the continuation of racial discrimination, it has been argued (Solorzano, Ceja & Yosso 2001) that many White college students may go beyond simple suppression of racially biased beliefs and denial of discrimination, and may actually participate in the *perpetuation* of discrimination by engaging in the practice of racial microaggressions—subtle verbal or non-verbal insults directed towards people of color by Whites that may be unthinking or unconscious—which can create unwelcoming environments for African American students in classroom and non-classroom settings alike (Whitmire, 2004). For

example, respondents in one study (Solorzano, Ceja & Yosso 2001) reported being made to feel invisible in their interactions with faculty and peers in the classroom setting. Such behavior on the part of Whites towards African Americans often leads to African American students feeling “alienated and miserable” (Feagin & Sikes 1995) and can be “associated with psychological distress that can lead to the maladjustment of students” (Cabrera, et al., 1999, p. 135).

A negative campus racial climate can have real consequences for African American students, the most obvious of which are the “resulting struggles and feelings of self-doubt and frustration” (Solorzano, Ceja & Yosso 2001, p. 69) they may experience in their academic lives, as well as the potential this creates for seclusion from the campus community on the whole. The existence of such an environment means that African American students must continually strive to maintain their motivation and academic performance “while negotiating the conflicts arising from disparaging perceptions of them and their group of origin” (Solorzano, Ceja & Yosso 2001). Research demonstrates that institutional and personal beliefs on the part of Whites do not match actions (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986; Cabrera, et al., 1999; Whitmire, 2004; Bonilla-Silva & Forman, 2005;) and the supposition, therefore, is that mismatch may somehow be linked to creating a climate that enhances the existence of racial stereotypes, which in turn, has adverse affects on the academic performance of African American college students.

Stereotype Threat

It is my belief that for African American students at predominantly White educational institutions the stigma of racial stereotypes, created by intentional or unconscious biases on the part of White students, produces a set of environmental factors

that directly affects their academic lives. Generally speaking, nothing within our day-to-day surroundings shape the experiences of an individual more so than the other individuals with whom they interact. As such, individuals develop a sense of the self based on social interactions often with those from different social groups (Willie, 2003). If individual construction of the self is, in part, influenced by exposure to and interaction with others, then the stereotypes that are ascribed to a particular minority group by the majority group may have one of two possible effects—individuals in the minority group may become fearful that majority group members view them through the lens of these applied stereotypes, or minority group members may become concerned with perpetuating stereotypes through poor performance on a stereotype-relevant task even if they do not subscribe to the stereotype themselves.

This is the premise behind stereotype threat, a hypothesis developed by social psychologists Steele & Aronson (1995; Steele, 1997) that attempts to offer one possible explanation for differences in performance between ethnic or racial minority students and White students on academic measures such as standardized tests or college grade point average (gpa); or for female students in the area of mathematics and the physical sciences. This model is not applicable to students who have failed to succeed due to flaws in an educational social structure that hinders their success. Stereotype threat is germane only to those students who have persevered through socioeconomic impediments and transcended societal expectations, and as such, have come to identify with the academic domain.

Steele's (1997) premise asserts that minority students who have attained some measure of academic achievement, or women who have been successful in higher level

mathematics, are under increased pressure or stress in these academic domains as a result of negative stereotypes being applied to the group to which these individuals belong. The threat comes not from an internal belief of the stereotype, but rather, from the self-relevance of it. Meaning that, an increased level of stress occurs from a fear of being judged or treated unfairly as a result of a particular stereotype, or a fear of perpetuating these stereotypes in a domain that is self-relevant to the individual. For example, a female undergraduate who is studying in a higher level mathematics course may feel that she is being evaluated differently than her male counterparts because the perception that exists in this particular academic domain is that female students are not as capable as male students in the area of mathematics, and consequently her performance suffers. If she is not fearful of being evaluated differently, she may be concerned with furthering the notion that women are not as capable as men in the area of mathematics and her performance is adversely affected as a result. An additional example for an African American student might be one in which the student, although quite capable academically, underachieves out of a fear that his/her performance will only offer some evidence to support Herrnstein and Murray's "Bell Curve" theory, which suggests the intellectual inferiority of African Americans.

It has been argued (Steele & Aronson 1995; Steele 1997) that stereotype threat has nothing to do with lack of ability or under-preparedness. While, according to Steele "we are all members of some group about which negative stereotypes exist" (Steele 1999, p. 46) and anyone can fall victim to stereotypes, racism, and discrimination, stereotype threat affects "the vanguard of these groups" (Steele 1997, p. 614); those students who are academically capable and reasonably well prepared, if not extensively so. In fact, it is

a student's preparedness, interest in, or love for learning that is one of the key principles of the theory. Steele states, "that in order to sustain school success one must be identified with school achievement in the sense of its being a part of one's self-definition, a personal identity to which one is self-evaluatively accountable" (1997, p. 613). In other words, one must place school achievement at such a level of importance as to incorporate that importance into their personality. Doing well in school then becomes a part of their identity and they feel good about themselves when they perform well and poorly about themselves when they do not. This good feeling about oneself then is translated into a desire to continue to perform well. The longer one does well in school, the longer one can feel good about oneself and maintain a positive self-image and self-efficacy. Steele goes on to say that "one must [also] perceive good prospects in the domain, that is, that one has the interests, skills, resources, and opportunities to prosper there, as well as that one *belongs* [italics added] there, in the sense of being accepted and valued in the domain" (1997, p. 613).

How then does stereotype threat begin to affect a student's performance? At what point does it enter into the situation and cause a student to underachieve in a domain in which they have always been successful? In a follow-up article further supporting his theory, Steele (1999) recounts a story told to him about the experiences of a student who had become a victim of stereotype threat. He writes:

The storyteller was worried about his friend, a normally energetic black student who had broken up with his longtime girlfriend and had since learned that she, a Hispanic, was now dating a white student. This hit him hard. Not long after hearing about his girlfriend, he sat through an hour's long discussion of *The Bell Curve* in his psychology class, during which the possible genetic inferiority of his race was openly considered. Then, he overheard students at lunch arguing that affirmative action allowed in too many underqualified Blacks. By his own account, this young man had

experienced very little of what he thought of as racial discrimination on campus. Still, these were features of his world. Could they have a bearing on his academic life. (Steele 1999, p. 46)

This same set of circumstances could happen to virtually any African American student on any campus in the country. For example, a recent graduate of the institution where this study was conducted stated that she most certainly has felt as though she has been viewed through the lens of a stereotype. She described an incident during her first year of college that had significant implications for her continued work in a particular academic discipline. This student had aspirations towards medical school and going on to be a pediatrician, yet, she was having profound difficulties in her introductory chemistry class. The difficulties she was experiencing in her chemistry class centered on a few things, principally, her poor math skills. Beyond that, however, she was the only African American student in the class of 120. She did not perform well on the first exam, and as a result of that, the professor suggested she re-think whether or not science was a field of study she ought to pursue. Placed within the context of a stereotype of African American intellectual inferiority (or in this case, the double whammy of women in math and science), this student's ability to persist in this class was adversely affected by her perception that she was being evaluated by her instructor through a negative stereotypical lens, or that she might, through her poor academic performance in the course, perpetuate one of the many stereotypes applied to her.

Given that the self-worth of most students at highly selective colleges and universities has been tied to their academic success for most of their lives, events such as this would undoubtedly have a profound impact on African American students who found themselves in such a position, perhaps causing them to be more hesitant to engage, or to

withdraw altogether. As Feagin (1991) stated in his examination of the continuing significance of race, an African American who encounters racial discrimination, be it the application of a stereotype or something more overt, “often withdraws [or] endures this treatment with resigned acceptance” (p. 104). In this instance, the withdrawal may be precipitated by a fear they will in some way fail, thus failing themselves; or in performing poorly, substantiate the stereotype that African Americans are being admitted into elite schools only to meet some affirmative action quota. To continue with Steele:

The situational contingency [this] establishes—the possibility of conforming to the stereotype or of being treated and judged in terms of it—becomes self-threatening...[and] through long exposure to negative stereotypes about their group, members of prejudiced-against groups often internalize the stereotypes, and the resulting sense of inadequacy becomes part of their personality (Steele 1997, p. 617).

This inadequacy then replaces the sense of importance one placed on the identification with the academic domain, and the sense of self-worth and self-esteem one took from that identification, and causes self-esteem to plummet. Steele cites a study by Hammond and Howard in which they argue, “that once rumors of inferiority about Black students abilities pervade the environment—through, for example, national debate over the genetic basis of racial differences in IQ—they can intimidate African American students; become internalized by them; and in turn, lead to a low sense of self-efficacy, demotivation, and underperformance in school” (as cited in Steele, 1997, p. 617).

This is an effect that Steele (1997) has labeled “disidentification”, which is a withdrawal from the academic realm, or whatever is perceived by the individual to be the threat. An individual may begin to devalue, or disidentify with that part of the self that has been threatened, as a measure of self-protection against further psychological or emotional

injury. In studies cited by Steele (Erikson, 1956; Clark, 1965; Allport, 1954 in Steele 1997 p. 617) it has long been understood that the internalization of negative thoughts about oneself based on racial or ethnic background, or gender, begin to contribute to a sense of self-loathing. The internalization of these negative thoughts of self creates, as Steele (1997) calls it, a “self-fulfilling prophecy.” For students who experience stereotype threat it is not at all implausible that they may begin to withdraw academically by simply not participating in class, not studying, performing poorly on exams, all of which would result in the higher likelihood of failure, as Massey (2003) and his colleagues discovered.

In attempting to prove this concept (Steele, Aronson 1995), Steele (1997) focused on two areas; intellectual performance within the academic domain and disidentification with the academic domain due to pressure and stress felt by the individual. In the first area of focus, Steele asserts that the primary implication for this area is that, for students who identify with the academic domain, stereotype threat may interfere with their academic performance. “The testable implication is that reducing this threat in the performance setting, by reducing its interference pressure, should improve the performance of otherwise stereotype-threatened students” (1997, p. 618).

To begin this research, Steele tested the effects of stereotype threat on women in math-performance settings. He reasoned that the performance of these women would depend on their belief that lower performance would be interpreted as a limitation on their ability, as the stereotype suggests. According to Steele, this meant that “the performance would have to be difficult enough so that faltering at it would imply having reached an ability limit but not so difficult as to be nondiagnostic of ability” (1997, p.

619). Of course, he reasoned that these women would also be self-identified with this particular academic domain so that failure to perform at an expected level would begin to threaten that part of themselves that was identified with math—“threatening something they care about, their belongingness and acceptance” (1997, p. 619) in the domain. To explore this, a group of female and male undergraduates were recruited, who were mostly sophomores, who had previously demonstrated mathematical ability and identified with it to the extent that they thought of themselves as capable math students. They were then administered an exam comprised of questions taken from an advanced math Graduate Record Examination (GRE) that were difficult enough to test the upper limits of their mathematical abilities. The results of this experiment demonstrated a lower level of performance on the part of the women selected. The second part of the experiment, in which groups of female and male students, who self-identified as having strong literature skills, were tested on ability to understand literature. In this instance there was virtually no difference in the performance of either group. The conclusion one can draw from this is that women do not perceive themselves as being stereotyped in the area of literature.

A second experiment was conducted to further test the theory, but in this instance, an easier math exam was administered. It was composed of questions from the regular quantitative section of the GRE, where most of those being tested perceived their ability level to be. In this instance the women fared much better, in that, their performance was equal to that of their male counterparts. The results of this second experiment lead the researchers to believe that there was significantly less performance anxiety or frustration on this test—given that it was within the ability range of the subjects—and therefore the

female subjects were not subject to stereotype threat by their own perceptions of their abilities relative to the men.

To further explore this issue a third experiment was conducted in which some of the subjects were “told that the test generally showed gender differences in ability, implying that the stereotype of women’s limitations in math was relevant to interpreting their own frustrations” (1997, p. 619), or some were informed that the outcome would demonstrate there were no differences in gender, and therefore gender would have no bearing on their performance, thus eliminating stereotype threat. It was reported that there were dramatic differences in the performances of women when the women were told that their performance was directly related to their gender or when the implication was there that performance might in some way be related to gender. As a result, a fourth experiment was conducted in which gender difference in performance was minimized, which demonstrated similar performances between female and male groups. From this, Steele concludes that it was not just gender differences alone that may have contributed to the weaker performance on the part of women. He writes, “Rather, this condition [poor performance by women] had its effect through situational pressure. It set up an interpretive frame such that any performance frustration signaled the possible gender-based ability limitations alleged in the stereotype. For these women, this signal challenged their belongingness in a domain they cared about and, as a possibly newly met limit to their ability, could not be disproven by their prior achievements, thus its interfering threat” (1997, p. 620).

Similar studies were conducted with African American students and White students where they were administered tests based on the most challenging verbal section

of the GRE. This study was conducted at Stanford University, and it was thought that, because these students had been admitted to one of the premier universities in the country, they have a high level of identification with overall intellectual ability—particularly in their ability to perform well on a standardized verbal exam. The test was presented to these students as either a measure of academic ability or as simply a laboratory problem solving exercise that had no bearing on intellectual ability. Analysis of covariance was used to remove the influence of participants' initial skills, measured by their verbal SAT scores, on their test performance. This done, the results showed strong evidence of stereotype threat: African American participants greatly underperformed in comparison to White participants in the diagnostic condition but equaled them in the non-diagnostic condition. A second experiment produced the same pattern of results with an even more slight manipulation of stereotype threat: whether or not participants recorded their race on a demographic questionnaire just before taking the test (described as non-diagnostic in all conditions). Salience of the racial stereotype alone was enough to depress the performance of identified African American students (Steele 1997, p. 620). All of this demonstrates that situations in which students perceive themselves to be in a position where their performance may be judged within the context of their race, gender, or both, or who fear this sort of judgment, experience pressure or stress which adversely affects academic performance.

In work done in connection with Steele, Cohen asserts that mistrust is the primary barrier or hindrance in the achievement, or potential for achievement, for both women in math and science and for African Americans in education overall. Cohen states that, in order to “excel at almost any endeavor, people need to trust that relevant authority figures

have their best interests at heart” (Cohen, Steele 2002, p. 304). The very premise of Cohen’s argument is that trust is the essential element for any student, regardless of racial/ethnic background, or gender, that allows them to succeed. As an example of this, Cohen cites work done by Steele and others, in an experiment that draws specific attention to the role of trust in stereotype threat. He writes:

They began by documenting a familiar pattern—Black college students performed worse than did their White peers on a difficult GRE test. The researchers wondered, however, if Black students would do better if they could trust that the test would not be used to substantiate racial stereotypes—if they were assured...that it was procedurally fair (Cohen, Steele 2002, p. 308).

He explains further, by stating that some of the African American students involved in the study were given assurances that the study was free from racial bias, and that many of the test designers were known to be African American. The assumption here was such that, students knowing that the test would be a fair measure of their abilities were not fearful that a poor performance would be the perpetuation or confirmation of racial stereotypes. Performance on this test was dramatically improved as a result, and the performance by African American students was nearly equal to that of White students (Cohen, Steele 2002). Cohen notes here that more commonly known or used strategies for enhancing the performance of minority students were ineffective. “It was not low self-confidence that hurt Black students; it was lack of trust” (Cohen, Steele 2002, p. 308).

In order to overcome or negate the effects of stereotype threat involves not just efforts put forth by the student, but an understanding, appreciation and acceptance on the part of the instructors of the unique challenges that many of their students may face.

Instructors must somehow convey to their students that they are trustworthy, while students of color must demonstrate a tremendous amount of faith in accepting that trustworthiness. Cohen believes that the first step in making progress such as this lies in the establishment of educational practices that are “wise” in nature. Citing Erving Goffman (Cohen, Steele 2002), who in turn borrowed the phrase from the gay subculture of the 1950’s, wise educational practices are those that assure students who fall into stereotype threatened groups that they will not be evaluated according to those stereotypes. Furthermore, that their abilities in an academic domain are assumed and that acceptance is a given, rather than having to first prove themselves and then be offered acceptance. In addition to this practice, the establishment of high standards, coupled with support, might further stem the tide of stereotype threat. If a student is continually supported in their efforts to achieve high standards, and the expectation is coming from the instructor as well as the student, then Cohen suggests that the likelihood of these students achieving at higher levels is dramatically increased.

To further explain the importance of trust, Cohen conducted a study called the “mentor’s dilemma” (Cohen, Steele 2002, p. 310), in which the issue was for the instructor to provide critical and constructive feedback to the students, but this feedback was to be conveyed across racial lines. “Because they know that their abilities are negatively stereotyped, minority students may mistrust the person providing the feedback. Following the receipt of critical feedback, they may consequently feel less motivated to undertake further efforts to improve their work” (Cohen, Steele 2002, p. 310). The key component for the success of these students would be, to introduce along

with the critical feedback, the expectation of high standards, along with the assurance from the instructor that the student could, in fact, achieve those standards.

In this study, African American students and White students were asked to write a recommendation for their favorite instructor. They were also informed that the best letter would be published in a journal. Students submitted these letters along with a photograph of themselves, which would lead the students to conclude that their race would be readily identifiable to the reader. Sometime after their original submission, students' letters of recommendation were returned with suggestions for revisions and a request that they resubmit. Students were led to believe that someone offered these comments from the journal's editorial staff. What was being tested were the effects of "unbuffered" criticism against "wise" criticism (Cohen, Steele 2002). When the students received their feedback, they were informed of the name of the individual offering the criticism; a recognizably Caucasian name, "Dr. Gardiner Lindsay." When offered unbuffered feedback by "Dr. Lindsay," African American students were more inclined to suspect bias, and were therefore less inclined, or less motivated than their White classmates to resubmit their letter of recommendation. Conversely, when African American students also received an indication of Dr. Lindsay's expectation of high standards, along with personal assurances of their capacity to achieve those standards, African American students were reported to have decreased levels of perceived bias, and "their motivation improved so dramatically that it surpassed, slightly, that of their White peers" (Cohen, Steele 2002, p. 311).

Motivation and Achievement Goal Theory

Typically, students who attend selective institution are highly motivated to excel academically, and the campus climate supports the pursuit of particular goals, such as obtaining knowledge for knowledge sake, a love of learning, or a desire to understand something—“where one’s goal is to master the task” (Graham & Weiner, 1996, p. 77). We usually relate achievement to motivation, and given that the question of motivation has always been central to the discussion of African American student academic performance, there is a need to explore further the link of motivation to achievement in these students. Yet, there appears to be strikingly little research in the area of motivation theory and African American students; at least research that has not taken a deficit approach or confounded issues of race with issues of social class (Graham, 1994; Freeman, Gutman, Midgley, 2002; Pintrich & Schunk, 2002). There has been even less research conducted on African American students alone (Graham, 1994). In a narrative overview of motivation theory as it pertains to African Americans, Graham, (1994) discovered that most of the studies that have been done focused on African American/White comparisons of one sort or another, with very little focus being given to the study of African American learners as a group. One of the more positive outcomes of this review is that there was little support for the widely held claim that African American students were simply unmotivated when it came to education. In fact, when it came to assessing beliefs of self-efficacy, African American students’ expectations were equal to or surpassed the expectations of Whites (Graham, 1994).

The theory of self-efficacy, defined by Bandura (1986), is the self-perception one holds about their own abilities to engage in certain tasks and/or to complete those tasks at

the expected or appropriate level of performance. “When confronted with a challenging task, a person would be enlisting an efficacy belief if she asked herself, ‘Am I able to do it?’ or ‘Do I have the requisite skills to master this task?’” (Bandura quoted in Graham & Weiner 1996 p. 74). Pajares (2003) agrees, and states that an individual’s behavior on or around a particular task can be predicted to some extent by the beliefs they hold about their own abilities relative to that task. The focus, or unit of analysis, in this social cognitive perspective of motivation theory is the individual. Bandura stated that our individual “[j]udgements of self-efficacy...determine how much effort people will expend on and how long they will persist in the face of obstacles,” (1982, p. 123).

Pajares suggests that “individuals are viewed as proactive and self-regulating rather than reactive and controlled by ...environmental forces” (2003 p. 139). Pajares goes on to say that performances that are considered by the individual to be successes are generally found to raise one’s level of self-efficacy, while performances that are thought of as failures are seen as diminishing self-efficacy. As far as the influences of social or environmental factors are concerned, Pajares (2003) states that the only effect peers may have on an individual is in social comparisons; how they perform on a given task relative to their peers. He suggests that these can be powerful influences on one’s efficacy beliefs, and believes that the social pressures and verbal messages may have a positive or negative impact on an individual; however, it is still the individual’s “self-beliefs [that are] beneficial or destructive” (Pajares 2003, p. 153).

Intrinsic motivation and self-determination theory speak to an individual’s ability to assert their own will (Deci & Ryan 1985) and, according to Deci, Koestner and Ryan, “the innate psychological need for competence” (2001, p. 3). Each of us has particular

needs in almost every domain, and while it is our will that helps us decide on how best to gratify those needs, self-determination is the operation of that will (Deci and Ryan 1985). As discussed by Pintrich and Schunk (2002), individuals also have a need for competence within their environment and in interactions with others, and the need for a sense of control or a certain level of autonomy. Without this self-determination, or application of one's will, intrinsic motivation becomes diminished and an individual may come to feel that their actions or behaviors are extrinsically controlled, meaning that the environment has a greater influence on whether particular needs are met.

Achievement goal theory has been a preeminent theory of motivation in the last two decades (Urduan, 1997) and may help to understand the motivation of African American students in particular. The basic principle behind goal theory is an examination of the intentions or goals of a student engaging in academic work. There are two orientations for undertaking academic work that a student may possess in goal theory: a mastery goal perspective, and a performance goal perspective; the former being more concerned with developing and improving knowledge, while the latter emphasizes demonstrating or proving competence in a particular task.

Aside from the distinctions made between the mastery and performance aspects of goal theory, the performance goal perspective can be further distilled into two types; performance approach and performance avoid. Performance approach goals (PAP-goal) speak to the need on the part of students to make evident their competence in a particular domain or setting. Performance avoid goals (PAV-goal) has students attempting to prevent themselves from looking inferior in comparison to their peers, or being judged in a negative light in a particular domain. Generally, a mastery perspective is thought of as

being the most positive goal orientation a student can possess, with the emphasis placed on “learning and improvement; while [performance] goals accentuate social comparison and evaluation” (Kaplan & Maehr 1999, p. 25). However, in their overview on recent research, Midgley, Kaplan and Middleton (2001) determined that some studies suggest that performance goals may not necessarily lead to negative academic outcomes, and that PAP-goal adoption may, in fact, lead some students to experience academic success. “Scattered across experimental, survey, observational, and interview studies, there is some evidence that PAP-goal adoption is associated with adaptive patterns of learning” (Midgley, Kaplan, Middleton 2001 p. 78). Given that the performance goal adoption is based on one’s desire to display competence, “it makes sense that students who want to demonstrate their ability will try hard and persist” (Midgley, Kaplan, Middleton 2001 p. 78). PAP-goals may be seen as more superficial than mastery goals, in that it speaks more to one’s ability to rise to the occasion in the demonstration of knowledge, and perform well on a given task, rather than the acquisition of knowledge that can and will be retained long after the task is completed. But again, Midgley, Kaplan and Middleton (2001) found evidence that suggests PAP-goals among students has been positively linked with higher levels of self-efficacy as well as general performance. The difficulty with PAP-goals is that this perspective may be more reliant on higher levels of self-efficacy to begin with, in that if a student already has a strong sense of competence in a given domain, they will perform well, but if they feel a diminished sense of competence in a domain, they may not perform up to the task (Midgley, Kaplan, Middleton 2001). This sense of diminished competence may lead one towards PAV-goal adoption in an attempt to evade perceptions of lesser academic ability, and self-handicapping strategies

“that undermine success in school such as delaying studying...are meant to provide reasons for failure other than low ability” (Kaplan & Maehr 1999, p. 25).

Because very little work has examined the motivation of African American students, it is unknown if the expected relationships between achievement goals and outcomes hold for these students. If African American students at highly selective colleges have been successful, it is likely they hold positive motivation goals. If those goals are not associated with the expected beneficial outcomes, it is important to examine the environmental factors that may intervene between motivation and achievement.

The Effects of Stereotype Threat on Motivation

While there has been substantial research conducted on stereotype threat, and the findings from these studies demonstrate how “stereotype threat effect can be generated in laboratory settings, it is unclear why or how the effect occurs” (Mayer & Hanges, 2003). To date, no substantial evidence has been found to clearly attribute stereotype threat effect to one mediator. The results of various studies have concluded that the responses to the presence of stereotype threat can cause a shift in phenomenological experience, such as increased anxiety or stress (Steele & Aronson, 1995), or changes in behavioral patterns that are essentially self-handicapping in nature.

For example, Inzlicht, McKay, and Aronson (2006) examined the phenomenological effects of stereotype threat through their research on the use of self-control in task completion. Citing Muraven & Baumeister (2000), they state that “self-control refers to the mental effort individuals use to regulate their own behavior” (p. 263). They go on to state that the use of self-control is difficult and, as such, it is a limited resource that can be consumed quickly in the completion of any given task—a process

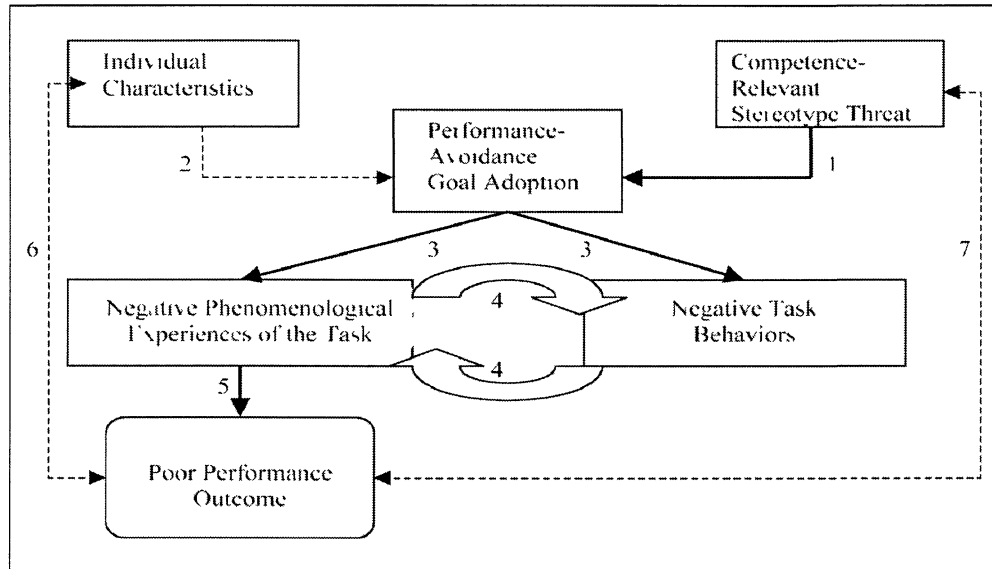
known as ego-depletion. Given the limited nature of self-control as a resource, they maintain that individuals subject to social stigmas can exhaust their self-control strength in the management of their stigmatized social identity, subsequently leaving them less competent than non-stigmatized individuals to assert self-control for other tasks. In response, an individual's anxiety level may increase in a stereotype-relevant task, giving rise to increased stress levels.

As for the effect on an individual's behavioral patterns, Massey (2003) and his colleagues in their examination of the academic achievement gap among college students, discovered clear evidence of this, such as low class attendance and high levels of engagement in areas outside the classroom. These are examples of Steele's (1997) notion of disidentification, whereby an individual initially begins to devalue a specific domain in response to negative outcomes, "for example, a student proclaims that 'math is for nerds,' in response to receiving a poor grade in math class" (Aronson, et al., 2002, p. 114). For an individual who identifies deeply with the academic domain, this kind of reaction to poor performance can, overtime, lead to a devaluing of the entire academic domain in an effort to preserve self-esteem. It is on the basis of studies such as these that Smith (2004) suggests that it "is possible that stereotype threat influences both behavioral actions and phenomenological experiences [simultaneously]...making it necessary to examine the relationship among the process variables" (p.193), and that, in fact, several reciprocal mediators could explain the stereotype threat-performance relationship (Smith 2004).

Smith (2004) has proposed the Stereotyped Task Engagement Model (STEP) process as a means for linking stereotype threat with motivation literature, specifically achievement goal theory, to better understand the stereotype threat-performance

relationship. In an evaluation of the stereotype threat literature, Smith has determined that “stereotype threat triggers a PAV-goal because PAV-goals are conceptually similar to the state in which individuals feel threatened to prove that a competence-stereotype is not valid” (Smith, 2004, p. 195). Smith argues that negative stereotype information in a domain or environment may lead to the adoption of PAV-goals for an individual who is engaged in a stereotype-relevant task. She also states that individual characteristics may also play a role in the adoption of PAV-goals, in that, individuals who are higher in achievement motivation are more likely to possess an individual characteristic to do well academically, and where achievement motivation is low, the expected performance outcome is negative. The adoption of a PAV-goal then initiates an overall shift in behavioral patterns that may include lower risk taking or decreased effort on the part of stereotype threatened individual, and/or may affect phenomenological experiences in these situations such as increasing anxiety or diminishing self-efficacy beliefs. The phenomenological experience affects behavioral patterns and behavioral patterns, in turn, affect phenomenological experiences, thus creating an experiential “feedback loop” (Smith, 2004) that dramatically impacts academic performance. It is Smith’s contention that the presence of stereotype threat brings about a PAV-goal, whereas the lack of stereotype threat engenders a PAP-goal. As evidence of this, Smith draws upon the stereotype threat literature where the effect of stereotype threat, and subsequent performance on a stereotype-relevant task, was dramatically influenced in a negative way when racial stereotypes were primed, and influenced in a positive way when the prospective application of a stereotype was negated.

Figure 2-0-1: Diagram of STEP Model (Smith, 2004, p. 194)



Note: Solid paths indicate direct effects; dashed paths indicate moderating or indirect effects.

Smith (2006) tested this hypothesis in an examination of gender stereotypes and the impact of low performance expectations by women on specific math related tasks. Like the pervasive stereotype of African American students' intellectual inferiority in comparison White students, so too, is the stereotype of women's mathematical abilities in comparison to men equally endemic. Two experiments were conducted. The first sought to confirm her predictions from the STEP model (Smith, 2004) that, women in a stereotype-relevant task who were reminded of the gender-stereotype would adopt performance-avoid goals compared in comparison to a group of women who had not been so primed. The second tested whether adoption of performance-goal differed between men and women. Her results indicated that women in a stereotype-relevant task situation were more likely to adopt performance-avoidance achievement goals in comparison to men. A second study by Smith (2007), in which women engaged in computer science tasks, yielded similar results. Here, women who had previously held more positively oriented achievement goals spontaneously adopted PAV-goals under

stereotype threat conditions, and that those who did expressed lower interest and persistence in the domain.

As has been previously suggested, it seems unlikely that one mediator is the sole contributor to stereotype threat effect, and more likely it is a complex process that demands an equally complex methodological approach to examine the merits of this hypothesis. The way in which motivation among African American students in highly selective, predominantly White environments is affected by campus racial climate and the presence of stereotype threat has not been explored. With these areas of focus in mind, this study will specifically ask: (1) What is the campus racial climate of a highly selective, predominantly White, small liberal arts college, and (2) is there a discrepancy between the reported egalitarian beliefs of White students and beliefs in racial stereotypes? Furthermore, (3) in this environment, do African American students report the perception or actual experience of having stereotypes applied to them? With respect to achievement goal theory, (4) what is the achievement motivation of the African American students enrolled in a highly selective, predominantly White, small liberal arts college, and does the relation of achievement goals to educational beliefs and behaviors match what is expected? Finally, (5) if stereotype threat is perceived by African American students does its presence impact the expected relation of motivation to academic achievement as the STEP model would predict?

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

Objectives

The intent of this study is two-fold. The primary aim was to assess the achievement motivation of African American students at a highly selective, predominantly White post-secondary institution and, within a specific theoretical framework, attempt to determine what factors might impede their motivation. The hypothesis I have generated at the outset of this study is that a negative campus racial climate was a direct contributing factor to the impediments of the academic success that African American students experienced. Therefore, as a precursor to the examination of African American students, an assessment of the White students' perceptions of the campus racial climate was conducted. The supposition being that, most White students will perceive the campus racial climate to be positive, but upon closer examination, what I expect to find is a gap between this perception and the stated beliefs of Whites, which creates the climate on campus that is experienced by African American students.

In this chapter, the process used for measuring the perceptions of campus racial climate among White students, as well as their stated beliefs, and the motivational orientation of African American students and the lived experiences of a select number of them, will all be described. Six fundamental questions were asked as a part of this inquiry: (1) What is the campus racial climate as perceived by the White students at the institution where the study is being conducted? (2) Is there a discrepancy between the reported racial attitudes and beliefs of White students and the internal racial beliefs or stereotypes they hold? (3) In this environment, do African American students report the

perception or actual experience of having stereotypes applied to them? (4) What is the motivation orientation of the African American students enrolled at this institution? (5) Does the relation of achievement goals to educational beliefs and behaviors match what is expected? (6) Does the presence of stereotype threat (brought about by a negative campus climate) impact the expected relation of motivation to academic achievement?

I predicted that the majority of White students in this study would espouse egalitarian beliefs; yet, when asked specific questions about experiences and/or beliefs pertaining to racial differences, responses from White students would be contradictory to these stated beliefs as represented by the survey. From this, I have hypothesized that this disparity between stated and actual beliefs creates a climate in which racial stereotypes were allowed to emerge. Consequently, I have theorized that this negative racial climate has a negative impact on African American students' achievement motivation and overall academic performance.

Research Design and Rationale

To test the hypothesis mentioned above, this study utilized quantitative data sources to “understand” the larger cultural landscape of the institution, and also used qualitative data to complicate and enrich my understanding of the quantitative data. Among the White student participants, the first essential step was to test the assumption of espoused egalitarian beliefs, utilizing a quantitative instrument, with as large a sample as possible in the environment where the study was being conducted. These participants were never informed that only White students were being asked to complete the instrument. The rationale behind this decision was a belief that I held that if White students at the College knew that they were the only group being asked to complete this

instrument, knowing too that I, as the researcher (who is a recognizable employee of the College), is an African American, this might reduce the response rate. Following this process, a number of these respondents were randomly selected to be interviewed. Again, the purpose of the interviews was to gain an understanding of the narrative behind the numbers. The expectation was that by interrogating individual White students' direct experiences with diversity, perhaps, potential disparities would be revealed between espoused and stated beliefs as the literature suggests might be the case (Bonilla-Silva, 2002).

Survey data collected from the African American students in this study was intended to offer a glimpse at these students motivational orientation as a whole, as well as a sense of whether they feel themselves to be stigmatized due to their race and their level of sensitivity to perceived rejection based on their race. The Patterns of Adaptive Learning scales (PALS) have been developed and refined over time by a group of researchers using goal orientation theory to examine the relation between the learning environment and students' motivation, affect, and behavior (Midgley, et al, 2000). The instrument created for this study selected only five scales in the PALS instrument, with questions pertaining to students perceptions of their own personal achievement goal orientations and achievement-related beliefs, attitudes, and strategies. Students were asked questions that tried to gauge whether they held beliefs that could be categorized as a mastery orientation, performance approach, performance avoid, what their efficacy beliefs were, and whether they employed handicapping strategies.

The theoretical framework of this study is stereotype threat, yet there has been no instrument specifically designed to assess an individual's perception of stereotype threat.

Therefore, it was my intent to devise an instrument that could at least assess an individual's belief that negative race-based perceptions were being applied towards them and the potential impact that may have. Some research has treated targets of stereotypes as though they have uniform responses to the application of stereotypes relevant to their group. The Stigma Consciousness Questionnaire or SCQ (Pinel 1999) detects differences in the level of consciousness one holds regarding the potential stigma attached to these stereotypes, or an individual's perception of stereotypes being applied to them directly. The Rejection Sensitivity Questionnaire—Race or RSQ, developed by Mendoza-Denton (2002) is intended to assess one's sensitivity to rejection based on membership in a devalued group, in this case, specifically race-based rejection. Permission was obtained by me from both Pinel and Mendoza-Denton to incorporate their respective instruments into the PALS instrument for the purposes of this study.

According to Pinel (1999), people of color who score high in stigma consciousness often believe that all of their interactions with individuals outside of their group are influenced by the existence of stereotypes and that efforts to elude their stereotyped status are unavoidable. Conversely, people who score low in stigma consciousness, while aware of the existence of stereotypes about their group, would claim that their stereotyped status plays no role in their daily interactions with individuals outside of their group. Research in this area has validated the stigma consciousness construct and demonstrated that a high level of stigma consciousness can be associated with underperformance within an academic domain. Studies have shown that targets of academic stigmas (e.g. African American student intellectual inferiority) perform

significantly worse in academic domains when they score high in stigma consciousness as opposed to those who score low (Brown & Pinel, 2003).

Rejection sensitivity has been defined as an affective processing dynamic “whereby people anxiously expect, readily perceive, and intensely react to rejection in situations in which rejection is possible” (Mendoza-Denton, et al, 2002, p. 897). According to Mendoza-Denton (2002), different situations give rise to different perceptions of rejection. Meaning, rejection expectations can be provoked based on one’s status as an individual and individual relationships, or one’s status as the member of a larger group and the devaluing experiences based on group characteristics. For individuals who experience rejection expectations based on group membership, consequences could be an impact on relationships with those non-group members who are seen as establishing larger group social norms. This leads to a lack of trust between groups or an individual and the larger group, which subsequently diminishes and individuals sense of belonging to the larger group. In an academic environment, high rejection expectations and reduced trust among African American students is thought to be an inhibiting factor in academic success (Mendoza-Denton; Downey; Purdie; Davis; Pietrzak, 2002).

In an effort to understand broadly what the experience has been of African American students at the College during the time of this study, the SCQ and the RSQ were utilized to test specifically for the presence of stereotype threat, and to determine the extent to which African American students at the College might be concerned with negative perceptions of their race, and whether these concerns have an impact on their overall academic performance.

The Instruments

The *Cultural Attitudes and Climate* instrument, created by the University of Maryland College Park for its own internal assessment of racial climate, served as the basis for the instrument administered to the White students at the College for this study. After obtaining permission from the University of Maryland to replicate their instrument, I altered the name of the institution represented in the survey from UMCP to the College so that it would seem more relevant to the participants in this study. Otherwise, the instrument was unaltered and asked questions that were very broad ranging, clearly trying to assess the perceived campus racial climate from the perspective of respondents. Students were asked to respond to questions concerning their individual experiences regarding diversity at the College, their experiences with faculty, and in classroom settings. They were asked about their comfort level in certain situations at the College, as well as their perceptions of how the College was doing in regards to diversity. Lastly, it asked them about their exposure to diversity, both in and outside of the classroom, classes taken with non-white faculty, and their awareness of negative racial climate in academic and social settings.

As previously stated, only the White students were administered this survey. The African American students at the College were asked to complete an entirely different instrument that was made up of three previously used and validated instruments: the *Patterns of Adaptive Learning*, or PALS, instrument (Midgley, et al, 2002) the *Stigma Consciousness Questionnaire*, or SCQ (Pinel 1999); and the *Race-Based Rejection Sensitivity Questionnaire* or RSQ-R (Mendoza-Denton et al., 2002).

African American students were asked to respond to 10 SCQ questions. Sample SCQ questions include “Stereotypes about my race do not affect me personally” and “My race and/or gender does not influence how people act with me.” Respondents were asked to indicate their level of agreement with each item on 7-point Likert scale ranging from “1” (strongly disagree) to “7” (strongly agree). The SCQ has been utilized in several studies where it has demonstrated consistent reliability, with Cronbach’s alphas between .72 and .92 (Pinel, 1999; Brown & Pinel, 2003; Mosley & Rosenberg, 2007).

The part of the instrument which utilized the race-based Rejection Sensitivity Questionnaire (RSQ-R) was a twelve question instrument and each question had a part (A) and part (B). Part (A) asks question designed to measure anxiety in a particular situation, while part (B) measure expectancy of rejection in this situation. Responses to each A/B question used a 6-point scale ranging from “very unlikely” to “very likely”. In previous research, the RSQ-R showed high internal reliability among African Americans (Mendoza-Denton et al., 2002). The combination of these two instruments served to measure the level of awareness African American students held about stereotypes and race in this predominantly White environment.

Combined with the SCQ and RSQ were five scales from the PALS survey. Using a Likert-type scale (from 1-5) with responses ranging from “not at all true” to “very true” the intent of the PALS survey is to assess individual goals, behaviors, and overall motivational orientation. Reliability and consistency of the PALS has been demonstrated in prior achievement goal research (Midgley, et al., 1998; Midgley, Kaplan, Middleton, 2001). The instrument’s reliability can be assessed by demonstrated consistency in

responses, and the instrument asks questions that are very similar in nature to establish internal consistency.

Locus of Study

The setting of this study is a small liberal arts college located in the New England area, with historically espoused egalitarian values. The institution was founded as a seminary over 150 years ago with the purpose of educating the children of the mill workers who lived in the town in which it is located. The founder held a fundamental belief that this institution should be open to all and, as such, has accepted both women and people of color since its inception. Presently, it has a population of approximately 1,700 students representing every state in the U.S. and over 50 countries. It is considered to be one of the 146 most selective institutions in the U.S. with less than one-third of the applicants offered admission to the College every year. Of those who enroll, forty-nine percent are men and fifty-one percent are women, with fifteen percent categorized as “multicultural.”

Consent

Consent was obtained prior to the administration of the electronic survey. Procedures that were established by UNH’s Institutional Research Board for the protection of human subjects (IRB) were closely followed. The web-based form on which the survey was created allowed space for a thorough explanation of the purpose and scope of the study. Participants were also assured confidentiality, in that, any responses given to the survey or the interviews, if they were selected, would be shared with the College. They were informed that any data collected would not be personally identifiable.

This introductory section of the form also contained my contact information, as well as contact information for the Chair of my dissertation committee, and the IRB office at UNH should subjects have any questions or concerns about their participation. At the bottom of this form, individuals were asked to click on the “Begin” button to indicate their acceptance of these conditions and their willingness to participate in this study. This information section of the survey can be found in the Appendix.

Collection of Data

An e-mail was sent to the 1,328 White students, who were identified by the College as being currently enrolled in courses taught on campus at the time, requesting their participation in this study, offering information regarding the raffle and instructions on how to access the web-based survey. All participants in this study were undergraduates as the College has no graduate student population. For both surveys an incentive was provided to boost the response rate. In the initial solicitation for participation, and the consent portion of the survey, both groups were informed that completion of the survey would make them automatically eligible for a raffle drawing. Three names were randomly selected from among participants in each group and prizes were given with a monetary value of \$50, \$25, and \$100.

The campus climate survey was administered to White students at the College during the first week of May. The College’s academic calendar has two consecutive twelve week semesters with a five week experiential “term” running from late April through May. During this period students are only required to take one course and generally have fewer obligations or stresses, and it was deemed that this would be an ideal time to administer the survey to maximize the response rate.

Students were sent an e-mail message informing them of this study and soliciting their participation. The e-mail directed them to a web site where they could access the instrument once they had read the consent form and clicked on a button granting me permission to use the information they provided. White students were also informed on the consent page that, in addition to the raffle they would be entered into by completing this survey, their name could also be drawn at random for the purposes of a follow up interview. Recipients of the e-mail solicitation were given ten days to go to the web site and complete the survey, with a second “reminder” e-mail sent five days after the first solicitation.

The participation of African American students was solicited in exactly the same manner and at the same time as that of the White students. I then sent an e-mail to all of the African American students at the College (with a significantly smaller n of 44) asking for their participation in this study. Students were informed of the basic purpose of the study, which was to “assess the beliefs, attitudes, and strategies you hold in your life as a student; to gauge your feelings on the prevalence of stereotypes; or to describe situations that students here may encounter, and judge your level of concern with these situations.” African American students were also asked to provide their student ID numbers for identification purposes (also promised that their responses would remain anonymous and their ID numbers used only for contact purposes), and they were given ten days to complete the survey. After a five day period, a “reminder” e-mail was sent encouraging their participation.

Quantitative Data Analysis

Survey data were analyzed using SPSS (version 17.0) running descriptive statistics on the results of both the Campus Climate survey that was administered to Whites students, as well as the multi-instrument survey administered to the African American students. Only a basic analysis was done for responses to the Campus Climate survey, where means and standard deviations were calculated. For the survey administered to the African American students, reliability coefficients were run for the PALS scales, while the measures for rejection-sensitivity and stigma consciousness were scored following procedure established by their creators and descriptive statistics were also calculated. Results can be found in Chapter Four and descriptive can be found in the Appendix.

Interviews

Randomly selected students from among the White respondents to the campus climate survey were interviewed subsequent to the collection of the quantitative data. The interview data collected from these students served to assess whether White student behaviors at the College regarding diversity would be in keeping with espoused beliefs as indicated by the survey. In collaboration with an Associate Professor of Sociology at the College and two students with whom this professor had worked, an interview schedule was developed for the White survey respondents who were interviewed.

The students selected for interviews were identified through their student ID numbers, which each respondent was asked to submit as a part of the survey. (Note: through my position at the College I was able to access the College's student information management system to identify respondents by the student ID numbers. As such,

respondents were informed on the consent page that their student ID numbers would be used solely for the purpose of identifying winners of the raffle and for selecting follow up interview subjects. The institution's own IRB and the Office of Institutional Research were aware of this process and were content with the knowledge that the process was following IRB guidelines for the University.) Once the ten day period for completion of the survey had passed, twelve students were randomly selected to be interviewed from among the respondents. All those who were contacted to be interviewed responded affirmatively, so a second selection process was not necessary. The resulting sample consisted of seven female students and five males, with two seniors, three juniors, three sophomores and four first-year students. Once the selection process was accomplished, an undergraduate student interviewer was given their names and asked to contact them via e-mail to arrange a mutually convenient time when the follow up interview could be conducted.

The student who was selected to conduct these interviews was recommended to me by a member of the faculty from the College's sociology department. The student interviewer was a senior, sociology major, who had just completed an undergraduate thesis with this faculty member in which significant qualitative data were collected. The student interviewer was given a gift card to a local restaurant as compensation for conducting the interviews. Furthermore, the student selected to conduct these interviews was White. Being concerned with the possibility that White students would not respond candidly to questions about race and diversity posed to them by an African American researcher (Bonilla-Silva 2003), and one who also was in a position of authority at the College, and based on the College faculty member's own research (Kane, 1993) that

found interview respondents were more likely to offer candid and honest responses to questions if both interviewer and interviewee were of the same gender, it seemed a reasonable to assume in this case, that the White students being interviewed on the subject of campus racial climate would be more inclined to answer honestly if they were able to identify with the interviewer. The student interviewer was given the interview schedule but was instructed to let the interview “take on a life of its own” in the hopes that more revealing statements would be made by the interview subject.

Regarding the African American students, after an analysis of the survey responses had been conducted, students were selected to be interviewed through a purposive sampling process based on their responses. Given the small n in this study, my intent was to have the interview respondents reflect the range of responses from the instrument. Based on the survey responses, some students appeared to indicate that their motivation might in some way be negatively affected by their perceptions of stigma and rejection sensitivity; or for some their motivation seemed surprisingly unaffected by the presence of race-based stigma. Among some respondents, those who scored high in measures of stigma consciousness and rejection sensitivity a number also scored low on measures of self-efficacy or for mastery; while other respondents scored high in mastery and self-efficacy, and low for stigma consciousness and rejection sensitivity. My aim was to use the qualitative data collected through these interviews to examine more deeply what the quantitative data were suggesting about these students. The expectation was that from the qualitative data would come illustrations that could serve to underline or challenge the results from the quantitative data and, possibly, expand my understanding of these students’ experiences in this environment.

Seven students in total were selected to be interviewed and were chosen without regard for gender or class year. Based on the results of the survey, two of these seven students were selected to be interviewed because they scored high on PALS measures of positive motivational orientation and seemed relative unaffected by the presence of stereotypes or race-based rejection, while the remaining five had mixed scores on motivation orientation and seemed to be adversely affected by racial stereotypes. Those students negatively affected scored below the mean in mastery and self-efficacy, with some scoring above the mean in performance approach. All five scored high in the use of handicapping strategies. The two who appeared unaffected by the application of negative stereotypes both scored high on mastery and low on handicapping.

The interview protocol that was used in interviewing the African American students was based on Seidman's (1998) *Three-Interview Series*, a phenomenological interview technique that seeks to discern the meaning of people's behavior by placing those behaviors within the context of "their lives and the lives of those around them" (Seidman, 1998, p. 11). The first of these 90-minute interviews focused on the participants' "life history;" the second interview sought to explore details of those experiences; and the third asked the participant to reflect on the meaning of those experiences. These were conducted as semi-structured interviews to allow both the interview subject and myself the flexibility to explore more deeply any topic that emerged during the interview. The direction of the interviews and the types of questions that were asked by the interviewer were largely determined by the participants' responses to the initial questions in the first interview.

The interview schedules for the White subjects and the African American Subjects can be found in the Appendix.

Use of Interview Data

The interviews for both the African American and the White student participants in this study were recorded with a digital audio recorder. The recordings were then transcribed into a Microsoft Word Document format by me, with the assistance of an unpaid third party (my sister). The transcripts were then imported into the qualitative data analysis program QSR Nvivo8 for content analysis. Once placed into NVivo, each interview was read separately. Then, each interview was re-read and examined with the quantitative data in mind. This process led to the categorization of particular “data chunks” from the interviews that seemed to correlate with results from the quantitative data. The categories were coded into segments such as “experience with racism” or “positive academic experience” for the African American subjects, and “fear of being labeled racist” or “experience with different racial groups” for White subjects. The purpose of which was to identify central phenomena that related to the quantitative data in an effort to assess causal conditions that might be influencing these phenomena. For example, among the White participants in the study who reported that the majority of their social interactions was with same-race peers; was there data that could be derived from the interviews that would offer an explanation as to why this might be. Or, among the African American participants who indicated that they employed handicapping behaviors in academic situations; if so, would the interview data reveal a particular reason as to what circumstances would bring such behaviors about, and were certain students more vulnerable to these circumstances than others.

This approach was by no means an attempt at developing a comprehensive qualitative study. Rather, the point was to further interrogate the quantitative data and complicate my understanding of it. This approach allows me to give voice to these data in an effort to further illustrate and highlight areas of interest or concern that might have been missed by an examination of the quantitative data alone.

Figure 3-0-1: Methodology Grid

Question	Hypothesis	Data Source	Sample	Data Analysis
What is the campus racial climate of a highly selective, predominantly White, small liberal arts college?	Most students, majority or minority, will report being supportive of diversity and generally espouse egalitarian views.	Campus climate survey developed by and for the current assessment project that is underway at the College.	A random sample of all students at the College will be surveyed, with an expectation of obtaining data from approximately 300 White respondents.	Descriptive statistics of racial attitudes and beliefs.
Is there a discrepancy between the reported racial attitudes and beliefs of White students and the racial stereotypes they hold?	White students will reveal a higher degree of racial bias or stereotypical perceptions of Blacks which contradict survey results.	Semi-structured interviews conducted by a White interviewer.	A convenience sample of 20 White students who completed the survey will be asked for detailed responses to certain survey answers.	Open and axial coding.
In this environment, do Black students report the perception or actual experience of having stereotypes applied to them?	The majority of Black students will report feeling that stereotypes regarding academic ability and achievement are applied to them.	Stigma consciousness survey, stereotype threat scales.	For the surveys, all Black students at the College U.S. citizenship or having spent the majority of their lives in the United States. For the focus groups a convenience sample of Black students at the College.	Mean responses reported from survey data.
What is the achievement motivation of the Black students enrolled in a highly selective, predominantly White, small	Research has yet to be conducted on this specific subset of the Black student population. My supposition is that many will report being more	Patterns of Adaptive Learning survey.	All Black students at the College with U.S. citizenship or having spent the majority of their lives in the United States.	Descriptive statistics of achievement goals.

liberal arts college?	learning goal oriented			
Does the relation of achievement goals to educational beliefs and behaviors match what is expected?	Black learners will espouse learning goals but their beliefs and behaviors will resemble patterns usually related to performance avoid goals. Self-efficacy will remain high.	PALS	All Black students at the College with U.S. citizenship or having spent the majority of their lives in the United States.	Correlation of motivational goals and academic belief and behavior scales
Does stereotype threat impact the expected relation of motivation to academic achievement?	The presence of stereotype threat results in Black students employing avoidance and handicapping strategies to avoid perpetuating the stereotype of Black intellectual inferiority.	Semi-structured and informal interviews, retrospective interviews, and non-participant observations.	A purposive sample of 4-5 Black students selected based on PALS survey data that indicate a learning goal orientation.	Open and axial coding, assessment of context and intervening conditions.

Data Collector's Bias

An aspect of this study that must be constantly kept in mind is the fact that I, as the researcher, was an employee of the College at the time the study was being conducted. My role was that of a highly visible administrator in the student affairs division. Subsequently, all of the participants in the study, both African American and White, knew of me by reputation if we had not met in person. Furthermore, all of the African American students that were interviewed as a part of the study were students with whom I had a personal relationship. I do not think that the existence of any personal relationship affected the reliability of the data collected; however, it is not outside the realm of possibility that student responses to the surveys and the interview questions could be influenced in some way by virtue of this circumstance.

Summary

This chapter has presented how some of the crucial elements of this study were collected, and how they will be interpreted and evaluated. Furthermore, information pertaining to the sample sizes for both African American and White students surveyed how the data were collected, and the instruments used. The results of the two surveys and the interviews conducted will be discussed in Chapter Four.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS

Overview

Chapter four contains the results of the data collected from the 285 White students who completed the Cultural Attitudes and Climate survey instrument, as well as results from the 32 African American students who completed the survey containing elements of the Patterns of Adaptive Learning (PALS) instrument, the Rejection Sensitivity Instrument, and the Stigma Consciousness Questionnaire. In addition, an analysis of the data collected through the interviews conducted with both the African American and White students will be discussed. Each of these data sources will be used in order to address the questions that this study is asking: (1) What is the campus racial climate as perceived by the White students of the highly selective, predominantly White, small liberal arts college that served as the locus of the study? (2) Is there a discrepancy between the reported racial attitudes and beliefs of White students and the internal racial beliefs or stereotypes they hold? (3) In this environment, do African American students report the perception or actual experience of having stereotypes applied to them? (4) What is the achievement motivation of the African American students enrolled at this institution? (5) Does the relation of achievement goals to educational beliefs and behaviors match what is expected? (6) Does the presence of stereotype threat impact the expected relation of motivation to academic achievement?

In analyzing the data it became evident that questions 1 and 2 were inextricably linked and therefore could be answered together, and again, serves as something of a baseline for this study, given that one of the claims I have made in this study is that

because of the campus racial climate the environment itself becomes a stereotype-relevant task for African American students, giving rise to the potential influence of stereotype threat. Research on concepts such as aversive racism and color-blindness, cited in chapter two, suggest that White students may be creating a hostile environment through the perpetuation of racial microaggressions—subtle verbal or non-verbal insults directed towards people of color (Whitmire, 2004). However, the racial biases they hold which give rise to these microaggressions are, for the most part, operating on an unconscious level. As such, when asked about their perceptions of the overall campus racial climate, White students would generally report the environment to be a supportive one, with the majority of students espousing adherence to the egalitarian underpinnings of the community.

White Students and the Creation of Campus Racial Climate

Questions One and Two

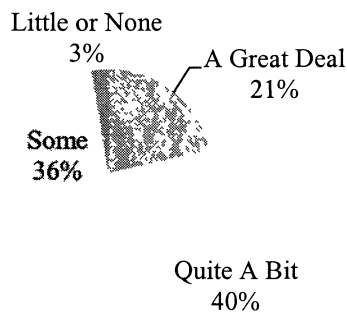
Question 1 asks, *What is the campus racial climate as perceived by the White students of the highly selective, predominantly White, small liberal arts college that served as the locus of the study?* And question 2 asks, *Is there a discrepancy between the reported racial attitudes and beliefs of White students and the internal racial beliefs or stereotypes they hold?* In order to ascertain this, the 1,328 currently enrolled White students at the College were administered a survey intending to assess their perceptions of the overall campus racial climate. The survey was an adapted version of the *Cultural Attitudes and Climate* instrument created by the University of Maryland College Park for its own internal assessment of racial climate. Of the 1,328 students contacted, 285 (approximately 21%) responded to the survey. While the instrument contained many

items pertaining to the question of campus racial climate, only a select number will be used as examples of White students' beliefs about the climate. Again, the purpose here is to gain a "snapshot" perspective on students' beliefs.

What the data appear to indicate is that the majority of respondents at the College perceive some tension between racial groups on campus, but generally report that it is a climate supportive of cross group interaction. For example, less than 3% of respondents reported a belief that there was little or no respect by students for students of other racial backgrounds. However, when asked about perceived racial conflict on campus, almost a quarter of respondents thought that there was "quite a bit".

Figure 4-0-1: Student Respect for Racial Difference

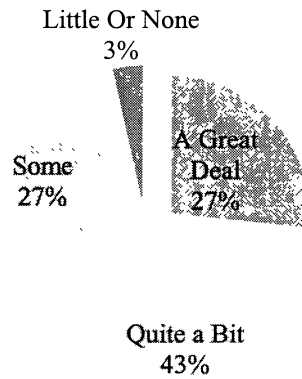
To what extent do you think that there is respect by students for other students of different racial and ethnic groups?



Perhaps this has come about because respondents reported their perception of interracial interaction on campus as minimal, with nearly 70% of respondents reporting that they felt there was "a great deal" or "quite a bit" of racial separation on campus.

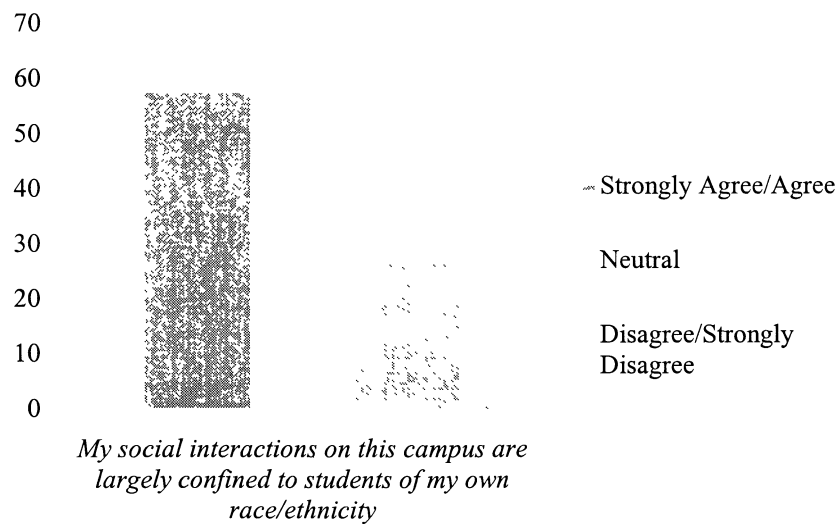
Figure 4-0-2: Student Perceptions of Racial Separation on Campus

To what extent do you think that there is racial/ethnic separation on campus?



With respect to Black/White interaction specifically, 57% reported that the majority of their social interactions on campus were confined to members of their own racial group.

Figure 4-0-3: Same Race Social Interactions



White student perception of this separation could be attributed to the fact that some found it intimidating to approach African American students in some social settings such as the dining hall. One interview respondent said,

The black kids would all sit together and so it was sort of hard to, it was intimidating to sit down at a table of people who seemed to not want to talk.

One made this observation.

I think people are intimidated both ways and it is a lot easier to ignore the problem than to approach them or to try to make friends with someone.

Another White student felt that lack of opportunity was the primary issue.

I've always kind of thought that the reason I don't have more African American friends for example is because I haven't been in the same situations as them, I don't know, like I sing in some groups here and African American students haven't come to do that.

When asked about opportunities to interact with students from other racial groups, one student reported,

Yeah, I think there has been opportunity, I don't know...I guess there hasn't been anything that inhibits it.

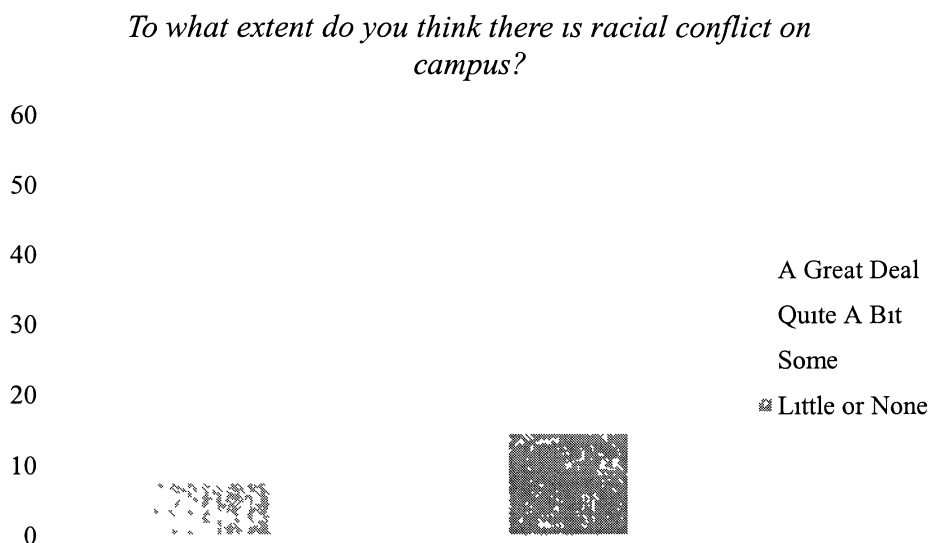
Despite this perception, when asked about the racial composition of his friendship groups, this same student stated that,

I don't even think of it, I don't even think of race. I don't think of my friends in those...maybe if I think about it...mostly white. I don't know maybe because I haven't been thinking about it.

Despite this seeming lack of cross-racial interaction, White students' perceptions of racial conflict on campus was higher than I expected. Over 52% of survey respondents indicated that they were conscious of "some" racial conflict on campus and nearly 25% reported that there was "quite a bit". Often, they attributed this conflict to their White

peers, who engaged in certain behaviors that contributed to the conflict. One student stated:

Figure 4-4: Perceptions of Racial Conflict on Campus



Oh, yeah. I think more often than not you run into people who haven't been taught not to say certain things or make certain jokes and that kind of thing, you run into that more than anything else, and more often than not people don't intend it as a racist attack, they just don't, they haven't been taught that they shouldn't say certain things, more than anything else.

One student acknowledged concerns about their own racist tendencies operating on a somewhat unconscious level.

Well I think probably individually, I mean there are racist here. And I'm sure that, well I know for instance that, and this is an experience that I had in ninth or tenth grade, and I remember specifically standing at a bus station, or not a bus station but a train station or something, and I saw somebody walk up—and I've talked to people who have had similar experiences to this—it was just a large black guy and for a second I had this—you know. And then I started to think what is wrong with me. And I thought, would I have done that if it was a large white guy? I mean probably if it was a guy, I don't know. But that kind of reaction, like, on some level I have to be racist if I'm having that kind of reaction. But on

the whole the education I had didn't expose me to any diversity, and I think a lot of people here, a lot of white students, have had similar experiences.

Only 15% of respondents stated a belief that there was "little or none" with respect to racial conflict. Interestingly, this survey was administered at a time when a number of overt racist acts had taken place on campus which may have heightened awareness of such issues on campus for White students. The lead article of the March 14, 2006 edition of the College's newspaper was an article titled, "Racist and Anti-Semitic Graffiti Found in [name of academic building]". The article went on to describe that racial slurs that had been written in public sections of the academic building with what appeared to be a dry-erase marker, and also reported similar acts of vandalism written on the doors of student rooms in one of the residence halls during the same weekend. Perhaps, though, the students who responded in this way did not feel in any way exposed to the racist acts. In other words, it did not affect them. One student said:

I was surprised that it was happening so frequently, and mostly because it is not something that you really think, not that you think that all [name of school] kids are great, but it is just not something you think of happening frequently, I guess, other people may think it may be prevalent but I just hadn't seen that much of it, but I didn't feel threatened by it, but that I wasn't targeted by anything that was written. So since I wasn't targeted by it, I also took the attitude of this is kind of a minority of whoever is saying this or doing is in a small minority which is the attitude I took, but it is easy to take that opinion when you are not the one being targeted.

This sentiment was shared by other interview respondents as well. In response to the question, "Do you think racism exist at the College?" one student says,

I'm sure there is [racism]... I'm not really affected by it so I can't think of it. I'm sure there are [racists] because people talk about it all the time. There are obviously things

going on, but maybe people being treated differently...I just don't see or pay attention to because it doesn't affect me.

Another student put it this way,

I think being a white student I have this privileged position of "I don't really know and I can't really know because it doesn't affect me.

While this may be the attitude among some White students, others are a bit more thoughtful. In speaking specifically about the graffiti incident in the academic building, one student said,

It affected me because these are places you go and presumably people you know who are doing it, so you feel involved even though I didn't feel personally threatened.

One student expressed a different feeling.

I also noticed myself feeling, and I don't really know what this is or really explored it or thought through it, but after all the writing on the walls and all these things that have been going on, I feel a collective sense of guilt because I am white and I really don't know how to respond to it in a way that is constructive. I don't want to be patronizing and I don't want to be like the annoying white kid who is championing some cause that I don't really know about. But I also don't want to not acknowledge it at all and so I don't know what to do about it. So I think this collective sense of guilt gives me some insight into [Black students], like, being intimidated. I don't know, like does that make any sense? I don't know, I don't know how to respond to this and I don't want to take the wrong step.

This sense of guilt or shame about racism is another theme that appears to be interwoven through the responses of the interview respondents. In fact, it may be a sense of guilt on the part of some white students that inhibits action on their part to engage in the issue of racism on campus. One student said:

I have had some discussion with other white students and got a sense of collective guilt. But you don't want to respond in a way that is like, you

don't want to be patronizing and you don't want to have a gung ho "take on a cause" attitude without really understanding it. And it is such a sensitive issue that I think there is this sort of not knowing how to react exactly and not wanting to say the wrong thing.

Reticence to engage in issues related to race or racism on campus appears to be motivated by a sense of fear or guilt. However, among White students I interviewed there also appears to be a certain level of apathy. This apathy seems to stem from the perception that day-to-day racism does not affect White students. That it is not about them and, therefore, not something that they need to be all that concerned with. One student expressed it this way.

I mean it is easy for me to walk down the hall and hear something like nigger and for me to walk in the other direction. That kind of stuff happens all of the time everywhere. Not that I hear nigger all the time everywhere, because I really don't, I don't think I ever really heard it in my experiences at [Name of College], and maybe that is the kids I hang out with, but in terms of just making people feel comfortable. That is how I would define it. In terms of my personal experiences, I don't, I mean I hear more Jewish jokes than any type more so than I hear Black racist jokes. Like, I've heard people, maybe that is being Jewish and maybe being more attune to it, so if somebody says nigger I might be more likely to walk by, but if somebody says, "oh, I just got Jewed," then that might make my head turn because it is something I can personally relate to more.

Not being directly affected by racism on campus leads White students to conclude that it is A) not particularly prevalent on campus; B) not something requiring their attentions; and C) they are doing their part if they don't do anything that perpetuates it, as this student thinks.

I don't know. I mean the whole thing, (sic) the whole racism with, I don't know, it seemed to divide people even more, it felt like, you were going, I don't know there was more of a division, I don't know. From my perspective, I'm from the majority white students, go about my day, don't think about racism, don't feel it, don't see anything, any discrimination and to have people say this is racist and in thinking about it, I really can't think about anything else you could do. I know I'm doing my part, like I

don't have a problem with it or anything else and I try to interact with people as I would with anyone.

This line of thinking suggests that students are seeking to down play any race-based significance in their day-to-day lives. This appears true in consideration of experiences in the classroom as well. For example, in the academic realm White students may adopt a perspective which suggests that all students admitted to the College are on equal footing academically. Furthermore, any academic underperformance is a result of something else, not racism.

If you got into [Name of College] then you should be able to handle the work at [Name of College], because we all didn't get in here on our good looks and charm, obviously people who are here are qualified to be here, then if you aren't performing well, then that is your own fault and I just don't think it is fair to blame it on race because if you are here then you are here just as much as anyone else is. I just think that is pretty lame.

This minimization allows people to accept more overt or powerful forms of racism and, in some cases, dismiss more subtle forms of racism as people of color simply being too sensitive. Whites who adopt this line of thinking may say things such as this student did.

Yea, also, keep in mind, even though there isn't that much diversity, we are still bringing together people from completely different worlds and though one thing that one person says may be completely offensive to another person though they don't know that, and I'm sure there are things that are intentionally done, but I wouldn't be surprised if the attacks or affronts are what people want them to be, like you know, "he just affronted me," and when you're so sensitive to it, things can get blown out of proportion. And that is the problem, I have no experience on which to base this, I mean according to everyone who has experienced racism, I'm living the good life which I very well might be but from the whole, I don't know, dealing with everyone whose, just being so tippy toe about it, it feels like if you say anything that could be construed, even if it is not meant to be racist, ten people will tackle you carry you off kicking and screaming.

Here, this respondent is saying that the College does enough to simply bring different people together. It seems that their further belief is that people of color are hypersensitive to issues of racism, and things which are intended to be innocent are seen as offensive.

African American Students, Stereotype Threat, and Motivation

Next, I wanted to see how the beliefs and attitudes of White students at the College impact the lives of African American students. Within the same time frame that the White student survey was administered, a similar e-mail was sent to the African American students on campus at the time containing a link to the web based instrument that would be used to help answer questions 3-6 of this study. Of the 44 African American students contacted nearly 74% completed the survey.

Question Three

Question 3 of this study asks, *In this environment (that is the predominantly White College), do African American students report the perception or actual experience of having stereotypes applied to them?* In an effort to understand broadly what the experience has been of African American students at the College during the time of this study, two previously developed instruments were used; the Stigma Consciousness Questionnaire or SCQ (Pinel,1999) and the race-based Rejection Sensitivity Questionnaire or RSQ (Mendoza-Denton, 2002). Since no assessment exists that will test specifically for the presence of stereotype threat, the SCQ and RSQ were utilized as an initial measure to determine the extent to which African American students at the College might be concerned with negative perceptions of their race, and whether these concerns have an impact on their overall academic performance. The other questions on the survey instrument were based on the Patterns of Adaptive Learning Scales or PALS (Midgley, et

al, 2002). The instrument created for this study selected only two of the five PALS scales, Personal Achievement Goal Orientations (Mastery, Performance-Approach, Performance-Avoid measures) and Academic-Related Perceptions, Beliefs, and Strategies (Efficacy, Handicapping measures), which asked respondents questions pertaining to students' perceptions of their own learning goals and achievement-related beliefs. Table 1 contains descriptive statistics for all measures in the instrument.

Table 4-1: Descriptive Statistics for Race and Motivation

<i>Name of Scale</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>Minimum</i>	<i>Maximum</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Std. Deviation</i>
Rejection Sensitivity Questionnaire	32	5.10	15.17	9.77	2.92
Stigma Consciousness Questionnaire	32	1.00	6.14	2.86	1.26
Mastery Goal	32	2.80	5.00	4.33	.651
Performance Approach Goal	32	1.40	4.60	3.11	.910
Self-Efficacy	32	2.40	5.00	4.14	.730
Self-Handicapping	32	1.00	3.67	1.90	.732

The SCQ is a 10-item scale which measures African American's level of agreement to items such as "When interacting with Whites, I always feel as though they interpret my behavior in terms of the fact that I am Black". Lower scores indicate a respondent is less vulnerable to perceptions that their group (in this case African Americans) is stigmatized, or that they are less likely to subscribe to notions that stereotypes applied to their group hold any validity.

Students responded to 12 questions from the RSQ-Race, modified to pertain specifically to the locus of this study, which would assess their level of sensitivity to rejection based on race. The RSQ-Race gauges the respondents concerns about and expectations of rejection based on race for each situation. Respondents first indicate their

concern (anxiety) that the negative outcome proposed in the scenario would occur because of their race (e.g. “How concerned or anxious would you be that...because of my race/ethnicity”), then indicated the likelihood that the other person involved in the scenario would engage in rejecting behavior (expectation) toward them as a result of their race (e.g., “I would expect that...because of my race/ethnicity”). To score responses within each scenario, I first multiplied the anxiety score by the expectation score, and then took the mean (average) across the 10 scenarios. The resulting score for each respondent should have been a number between 1 and 36.

For students who scored high on both measures, it can be assumed that they are more disposed towards concern about their race in interactions they have with others on campus that are not African American; subsequently, they may be more susceptible to the effects of stereotype threat.

The survey responses indicate that the majority of African American students at the College feel unaffected by their racial status or any stereotypes associated with it to the point where such feelings would impact their day-to-day experience. Of those African American students at the College who completed the survey instrument, the mean score for responses to the SCQ was 2.86 (SD 1.26) with a total range among respondents of 1.00 to 6.14. African American students who scored above the mean are considered to have higher levels of stigma consciousness than students who scored below the mean.

Mean score responses to the RSQ-Race was 9.77 (SD 2.92) and those that scored above the mean are considered to have high levels of sensitivity based on race. Among the 32 respondents, 59.4% scored below the mean on the SCQ suggesting that most African American students at the College are not focused on the stigmatized status of

their racial group. In addition, 59.4% of respondents also reported feeling lower levels of rejection sensitivity in their personal interactions with others in the College community. These findings are suggestive of the fact that while African American students at the College have encountered the existence of stereotypes on campus, microaggressions, or even direct acts of bias, they do not allow such incidents to impact them in a conscious way.

Achievement Motivation

Question Four

Question 4 asks, *what is the achievement motivation of the African American students enrolled in a highly selective, predominantly White, small liberal arts college?*

While some questions on the survey instrument sought to tease out the students' sense of stigmatizing stereotypes, students were asked questions that tried to gauge whether they held beliefs that could be categorized as a mastery orientation, performance approach, performance avoid, what their efficacy beliefs were, and whether they employed handicapping strategies. The different scales were then checked for reliability. One of the scales that measured performance-avoid goals proved to be inexplicably unreliable, with a Cronbach's Alpha of .482 while all other scales showed a reliability coefficient above .70. Therefore, the performance-avoid goals measures were excluded from the results because of this inconsistency.

Significant research has yet to be conducted on this specific subset of the African American student population, meaning those who have enrolled in a selective post-secondary institution. Therefore, there is no common understanding of how African American college students are postured in terms of achievement goal theory. Are they

more task goal (mastery) oriented or more ego goal (performance) oriented. Task goals adopted by students place a greater emphasis on learning and improvement, while ego goals focus more on comparison of the self to others in terms of performance (Kaplan & Maehr, 1999). Therefore, it is generally thought in achievement goal circles that task oriented students are more likely to have higher efficacy levels and will see challenges as obstacles to be overcome. In contrast, ego oriented students are more likely to adopt maladaptive behavior patterns to avoid the perception of incompetence and exhibit lower levels of efficacy. That said, it is important to note that some research has identified that an ego or performance orientation is not consistently related to negative behavior patterns and, in some cases, a performance based orientation has been associated with higher efficacy levels (Middleton & Midgley, 1997). This may prove to be the case among African American college students, as it has been documented that African American students as a whole generally have high efficacy levels even in the face of poor academic performance (Graham, 1994).

According to the survey results, with a minimum of 2.80 and a maximum of 5.00, nearly sixty percent of respondents scored above the mean in mastery (4.33, SD .651); while, responses to performance-approach questions ranged from 1.40 to 4.60 with slightly more than 47% of respondents scoring above the mean. This seems to suggest that the African American students at the College are more tasks oriented which in and of itself is not surprising. Students who seek to enroll at highly selective institutions are generally thought to be among the brightest and most academically motivated students in the country, a notion that I believe is not different for African American students.

Question Five

Question 5 seeks to understand whether *the relation of achievement goals to educational beliefs and behaviors match what is expected?*

Table 4-2: Correlations of PALS Scales

		Mastery	PAP	Efficacy	Handicapping
Mastery	Pearson Correlation	1	.225	.593**	-.592**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.215	.000	.000
	N	32	32	32	32
PAP	Pearson Correlation	.225	1	.193	.010
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.215		.289	.956
	N	32	32	32	32
Efficacy	Pearson Correlation	.593**	.193	1	-.294
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.289		.102
	N	32	32	32	32
Handicapping	Pearson Correlation	-.592**	.010	-.294	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.956	.102	
	N	32	32	32	32

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

When asked questions such as, “Even if the work in a given class is hard, I can learn it” intended to assess students’ perceptions of their confidence to do the work expected of them, the majority of students reported high levels of efficacy. On a 5-point Likert scale from “Not at all true” to “Very true” the mean response was 4.14 (SD 1.89), with 12.5% of students scoring at the highest level. When correlated with responses to the mastery questions, I found that students high in mastery also scored high in terms of efficacy beliefs, as the research suggested they would.

Over 60% of the survey respondents fell above the mean score for academic efficacy ($m=4.14$), and with 47% of the respondents scoring above the mean in performance approach, there appears to be evidence to support the assertions of Middleton and Midgley (1997) that an ego orientation is not always associated with negative behavioral patterns. Interestingly, among students who scored high in both mastery and performance-approach, there were various levels of handicapping behaviors. This refers to strategies that are used by students so that if subsequent academic performance is low, these circumstances (i.e. playing video games instead of studying) will be seen as the cause rather than lack of ability.

Expected results would have indicated that those who scored higher in mastery would have also exhibited lower levels of handicapping. Both task and ego oriented students demonstrate the use of handicapping strategies. However, those who are more performance-approach oriented showed a slightly higher range of handicapping behaviors, with a mean of 1.89 (SD 1.00) and scores ranging from 1.00 to 3.67, with nearly 47% of respondents evidencing handicapping behaviors.

Results of these correlations would suggest that the relation of achievement goals to educational beliefs and behaviors among African American students at the College matched what is expected. On the whole, students appear to be somewhat more task oriented, focused on the learning process; however, even when they are more ego oriented they still evidence strong efficacy beliefs. Looking at these results alongside results from the SCQ and RSQ-Race, African American students do not perceive overwhelmingly high levels of stigma applied to their racial group as a whole, and

surprisingly low levels of rejection expectancy in their individual interactions with majority group members or a devaluing of their racial group more broadly.

All of this suggests that, at least on the surface, the African American students enrolled at the College appear to be a resilient and academically focused group. However, there remains the issue of their relative academic underperformance as a group which is still not accounted for by these results. Is it true that the College community is an egalitarian environment truly supportive of all students, and African Americans there experience little to no evidence of the presence of stereotype threat. Or, is there some unspoken aspect to life at the College that remains unexplained. If these results are true, how then can the lower overall academic performance of African Americans be explained? In an effort to examine this apparent inconsistency more thoroughly, I sought to examine some of the lived experiences of the students and to explore what may be going on below the surface of the quantitative data.

Interviews

Question Six

Question 6 asks, *Does the presence of stereotype threat impact the expected relation of motivation to academic achievement?* In an effort to examine this question seven African American students out of the thirty-two total survey respondents were selected to be interviewed. They were selected based on their responses to the survey without regard for class year or gender. They are Jessie, Amy, Sean, Ken, Bradley, James, and Janet. All but Janet and Ken had attended highly selective independent boarding schools; and interestingly, Amy, Jessie, and Sean each attended the same school (Sean was three years behind the other two).

Of these seven, Janet and James had responses that indicated a more positive motivational orientation and were less likely to be affected by the application of stereotypes on African American students. The remaining five had responses indicating a less positive motivational orientation, a greater likelihood that they would be affected by the application of stereotypes, and tested high for negative behavioral patterns. All but one of the students was a senior at the time of the interviews, and they were interviewed at either the spring semester or the following fall semester the next academic year. In the course of the interviews, students were asked about their educational backgrounds, the importance of education in their family, how they came to be at the College, and what their experience has been like both socially and academically during the time that they have been there. Here is a brief description of each student.

- Jessie was a senior female English major from New York City, who was interviewed in the spring of her senior year.
- Amy was another senior female from Durham, NC, double majoring in English and African American Studies. She was interviewed in the spring of her senior year.
- Sean was a first-year student at the College during Amy and Jessie's senior year and was also interviewed that spring. A native of Chicago, he had not decided on a major at the time of the interview but was considering Religion.
- Ken was a senior the following year and was interviewed during the fall of that year. He was a Women and Gender Studies major from the Washington, D.C. area.
- Bradley was interviewed the fall of his senior year. He was a Politics major from Newark, NJ.
- James was an African American Studies and Women and Gender Studies double major from Chicago. He was interviewed the fall of his senior year.
- Janet came to the College from Brooklyn, NY and was interviewed in the fall of her senior year. She was a Rhetoric major.

Table 4-3: Mean Scores of Interview Participants

Mean Scores	<i>Mastery</i> 4.33	<i>PAP</i> 3.11	<i>Efficacy</i> 4.14	<i>Handicapping</i> 1.90	<i>RSQ-R</i> 9.77	<i>SCQ</i> 2.86
<i>Students</i>						
Jessie	3.00 ↓	3.80 ↑	4.40 ↑	3.67 ↑	10.40 ↑	2.86 =
Sean	4.20 ↓	3.80 ↑	4.00 ↓	3.00 ↑	11.00 ↑	3.50 ↑
Bradley	3.20 ↓	2.40 ↓	3.40 ↓	2.00 ↑	9.60 ↓	3.86 ↑
Ken	3.40 ↓	2.60 ↓	4.20 ↑	2.50 ↑	13.80 ↑	3.00 ↑
Amy	3.67 ↓	2.75 ↓	3.50 ↓	2.60 ↑	15.17 ↑	1.29 ↓
James	5.00 ↑	4.60 ↑	4.80 ↑	1.50 ↓	10.90 ↑	1.43 ↓
Janet	5.00 ↑	3.40 ↑	5.00 ↑	1.33 ↓	9.33 ↓	1.86 ↓

Each of these students had different reasons for choosing to enroll at the College.

Amy said, “*I got my financial aid package from [the College], so that’s why.*” informing me that she received sufficient financial aid to cover the total cost of her education at the College. Bradley, who had wanted to attend Princeton from the time he first entered high school had a different experience. He was to meet with the Admissions representative from the College who was interviewing applicants on campus and Bradley recalls:

I almost skipped my interview; because I was taking a nap I was so tired. And my admissions counselor calls me and says “you have your interview with [the College]! Get over here!” So I get dressed, I get over there and I interview with [name of representative], and I had an amazing interview. She convinced me that [the College] was the right place for me. So I applied in the fall. I applied to Johns Hopkins, William & Mary, Hamilton, Holy Cross NYU, Franklin & Marshall, Bucknell and Sarah Lawrence. And I actually got full rides to F & M and Sarah Lawrence, but there was just something about [the College]—something about that interview that made me want to come here. I didn’t even visit. I could have visited, admissions said they’d pay but I didn’t have to.

Jessie felt that she had come to the College for different reasons:

I think I got into [the College] because I was black. My grades weren’t that hot, my SAT’s were OK. I had an interview that went really well, I just didn’t think...the way I handled the college interview process was the way I handle most things, which is I procrastinate, put it off, and then do it in like a day. My college advisor, I had 10 schools I was supposed to

apply to, I didn't even know about [the College], but there was a teacher at my school who went there, and his wife went there, so every year he brings kids up there to show them the lay of the land. So, I came to visit, 'cause I wanted to get out of school, so me, Amy and these two other girls came up with [name of teacher], and it was ok. I had a decent time when I came, it was fine, came back, and everyone was doing applications, and in total I must have filled out only three applications. My mom does not know, she would be very pissed.

Janet had a very different experience in why she selected to attend the College. Location was of paramount importance to her. She wanted a location that was different than the area of New York City she had known her entire life.

I chose [New England State] so I wouldn't have distractions. I think it is easier to get help here from the teachers. I applied to 17 colleges. My number one choice was Williams, and I got waitlisted. After that I had to look at all these colleges. I went to all these schools. The last school I visited was [the College]. Everyone was just so friendly and warm. I thought, OK this is a little college and everyone is so nice and friendly. I could do this even though it's in [New England State].

Of all the students, Sean was closest to having made the decision as the interview occurred towards the end of his first year. In response to the question of how he chose the College he recalls of his decision that it was *"The same reason why I chose [name of boarding school]. When I came on my visit, everyone was friendlier than schools like Williams, Tufts and places like that. This was the place I felt like I fit in best."*

Stereotypes & Stigma

According to the quantitative data, African American students at the College, while aware of the existence of stereotypes about their group did not feel that they played a large role in their interactions with their White peers. Yet, the interviews revealed a startling number of instances where African American students reported the prevalence

of stereotypes on campus, or their direct experiences with subtle or overt acts of racial bias. For example, Bradley, who was a self-declared conservative Republican who wore plaid pants and florescent colored “Polo” shirts with the collar up. He would be the first to admit that he does not fit the stereotypical image of a young African American male; however, when I asked Bradley if he felt that White students subscribed to stereotypes about African American students, he said:

Of course. I mean when I first got here, people asked me why I dressed like this and why I wasn’t wearing Fubu and Timberlands. I got that all the time.

RD: And what did you say to them?

Bradley: This is who I am, this is what I wear, this is what I do.

Sean was aware of stereotypes of the athletic ability ascribed to African American students:

A few times, a few conversations when I have been labeled a black football player, when they would come to see a ballroom dance production and see me fox trot, and then they would be like, “oh maybe he is not just a football player” and stuff like that.

Amy reports the perception that stereotypes are applied to African American students in such a way as to question their very presence on campus.

So I remember applying to colleges, and people having this “oh your black, it’s not an issue, it doesn’t matter what kind of work you do.” As if my blackness somehow was a grand door opener. Suggesting I didn’t do as well academically or I didn’t have to do a well. I think there is a lot of that here too...The idea that black students are here because they are black and not because they are as competitive or smart or academically strong as white students.

The students offered examples not only of stereotypes that they perceive as being applied to African American students by their White peers, but overt acts of racism as well. I

specifically asked Bradley about the most outrageous thing he had ever heard was and he said, "*The N word. It wouldn't even be directed toward me, it would be kids watching TV and they would just say the word.*" James describes something similar:

I had this experience my sophomore winter...I was walking through my dorm, and there was a girl who had a poem posted outside her door. It was a poem that a friend had given to her, it was a limerick, and at the end it said she was the 'realest nigger for sure.' The person who wrote it was a white Jewish girl, and the person who posted it was a white Jewish girl, so I was crossing it out. I took a pen and was crossing it out on the door. The girl opened the door as I was crossing it out and she said 'well, I didn't mean it like that' and we kind of got into an argument. We don't talk now, but she didn't realize what she was doing and that it wasn't acceptable, but she wasn't receptive as to why it was offensive. Now she stares at her shoelaces every time she walks by. That kind of thing has happened more than once, and not just to me, so it's just a tense situation.

Janet, who reported similar incidents on campus, said that it has affected her level of trust.

Everybody is guilty until proven otherwise, everyone is a racist, a bigot, an anti-Semite, whatever. I need to get to know everyone before I feel comfortable with them and let my guard down. This is a recent thing. I came into this environment thinking everyone will be accepted. I just thought it would be like home and it wasn't like that. I had to get to know people and feel safe with people before I can start thinking academically because it's not like you can go home and have that safe zone where you can let your guard down. Even your roommate, you don't know them, you are sleeping in the same room with them. How can you sleep sound with that person, or where they are coming from, their history, that's a lot to deal with?

Perceived acts of bias and racism were not limited to students' social interactions.

All of the students reported incidents where they were made to feel that their racial status was relevant to their classroom experiences as well. This is true not only in experiences with their fellow students, but with White faculty too. James recounts one class where he felt his race played a direct role in the professor's perceptions of him as a student.

My experience in this political policy class with the woman from New Zealand teaching it, I was able to really think about it, and she honestly had an issue with me more than my work, cause I know my work was at an A level, but my grade was not. And that is something when you're a person of color, you're always thinking about, if someone doesn't hand you the change in your hand, I don't have that privilege. I think people have had experiences like that. And I think that there are some old, traditional and very racist teachers here.

Janet also recalls being made to feel uncomfortable in a class where the subject of race had been raised in reference to an event on campus.

I was in my macro-sociology class and we were talking about the rally that happened on campus. The prof wanted to know what they were protesting. One girl said we want [the College] to recruit inner-city kids. As if that would solve [the College]'s problem. The prof goes 'why should [the College] go into the ghettos to get kids?' I don't know how we go from inner city to ghetto!

As a result of numerous incidents of this sort, Janet felt her desire to participate in the class diminish.

I hated going to his class. I remember they were on Wednesdays and Fridays. I just hated going to class. I did the reading but I hated writing papers for him. Why do I have to give him my time and energy when he is giving me nothing? I don't care about this material and I am not learning anything. Because of how I felt in class. Because of the negative association. It was the worst thing I had to experience at [the College]. I was sitting in a class surrounded by people who I thought were the biggest Nazis ever. What is he doing here? How is he encouraging this?

Amy also had negative experiences in the classroom where her professor made comments that she found to indicate a level of ignorance that was surprising to her.

[Name of professor] is so good in making people feel like toe jam. It's offensive. I mean, are you really asking me this in front of class? Example. There was this girl who was Peruvian and this was a story time class, which is especially bad. We were reading a short story about Mexican Americans and they mentioned the Day of The Dead in the story and she asked the Peruvian girl about this holiday. I don't know much about it, I just know Mexican people celebrate it not Peruvians. Are you

kidding me [name of professor]? I don't think she even realizes that she is doing it or I don't think she means any harm at all.

Janet feels that occurrences of this sort are so commonplace that African American students cannot avoid the feeling that they are somehow going to be treated differently because of their race.

I think that...I think that at least most of the people that I know...of the black students that I know ...I think that maybe we go into situations not thinking that we are going to be treated differently at first, and then you get the reality call, and then it's like "oh, okay right. We are different and we are going to be treated differently."

When asked specifically about the stereotype of African American intellectual inferiority, Amy responded by saying, *"This is going to sound awful, but that's bullshit. I know I'm not stupid, particularly lazy or, it's just, that is so, this is awful. That is somebody else's problem. Their misconceptions, I can't internalize those and let them dictate how I live."* To do so would be psychologically burdensome. Amy went on to say that, *"if I was always constantly on my guard, [meaning] I can't do this, I can't say this, I have to be like this, because I'm black, and if I messed up everybody will think black people aren't smart or intellectual. That's too much."*

When I asked how the application of these stereotypes affects them in their day-to-day experiences, students reported that it sometimes cause them to alter their behavior in a way that distances themselves from other African American students. In a particular classroom situation, James recounts:

There are four black students including myself, three of which, repeatedly, don't show up for class, show up late, and talk in class. That really pisses me off. I'm keeping quiet, so why can't they shut up. Especially when they're sitting near me talking, and I don't want to be associated with this.

Mastery and Performance Goals

According to the survey results, with a minimum of 2.80 and a maximum of 5.00, nearly sixty percent of respondents scored above the mean in mastery (4.33, SD .651); while, responses to performance-approach questions ranged from 1.40 to 4.60 with slightly more than forty-seven percent of respondents scoring above the mean. The quantitative data seem to suggest that the African American students at the College are more task oriented, or at least are motivated to demonstrate competence. For Janet, who scored a 5.00 for mastery ($m=4.33$), when asked how she accounted for her academic success she said, "*Because I care.*" Other respondents to the survey appeared to be more ego oriented, expressing a desire to demonstrate competence. Amy, who scored 3.67 for mastery ($m=4.33$) and 2.75 for performance approach ($m=3.11$) characterized herself in this way:

I think like, I would never call myself a student. I would never call myself a stressful student, a studious student. This may be me rationalizing my laziness, but I really only do my best in classes or in work that really matters to me.

Jessie, who scored below the mean for mastery and above the mean for performance approach (3.80, m 3.11) demonstrates a strong ego orientation that is more consistent with a performance avoid achievement goal posture.

I'm really here because I feel like I have to graduate from college. It has nothing to do with the fun or joy of learning, it has nothing to do with acquiring new information, it's really just something that I have to do, so when I go to these classes, I just don't...I go enough so I won't fail, I'll do enough work so I don't fail.

While there were some dichotomous differences in students' scores and approaches to their work as evidenced above, most students seemed to fall into both categories of task

and ego oriented approaches to their work. For example, James scored 5.00 for mastery and 4.60 for performance approach, and when asked how he saw himself in his approach to learning, he said:

I consider myself first and foremost a student, and I actually take my academics seriously now [as opposed to while in high school], and I want to learn not for grades sake, but for the sake of learning.

Yet, at the same time James felt a strong desire to demonstrate competence, and, in discussing his academic success said:

Yeah, a lot of it was me having to prove it, not only to myself, but just to...I guess, the school too. 'Cause I kind of came in here thinking that, ok they did take a chance on me being here, and I really wanted to make sure that I was living up to what they were expecting me to live up to, and what I was expecting myself to live up to. So I came in here and, I remember having a conversation with my parents about this, I was like I am going to do well here. I had this state of mind that I was not going to slack off, and I was really going to try to step up and step outside myself, and step outside this static person I was in high school, and really keep trying to move forward. And so, I was like I'm not going to skip class, and I'm not going to drink on the weekdays. I had a lot of rules.

While I found evidence of high self-efficacy among the students in this study, which supports Graham's (1994) findings that African American students in generally hold high efficacy beliefs, for some students those beliefs in their own ability were limited to those academic areas where they felt they had the most aptitude. For example, in discussing her academic work within her major, Janet said, "*This is material I am really interested in, things I am really good at.*" She held a firm belief not only in her ability to do the work, but a sense of herself that she was accomplished at it.

Interestingly, among some of the students interviewed, efficacy belief appear to manifest in the sense that African American students feel that they had to justify their

presence at the College—that they had something to prove. Sean expressed his insights this way:

Sean: I think black students study much more, actually, I'm pretty sure that they do.

RD: Black students study more? Why do you think that is?

Sean: I think so, yeah, definitely. I guess because sometimes you feel like you have something to prove and that we aren't out here just because we are black and stuff like that so I think black students work much harder than white students.

Perhaps the reason some of the students felt that they had something to prove came from a knowledge that they were representing more than just themselves, as James describes:

I don't skip class, I don't show up to class late, because I feel like I'm representing more than just me, especially at a place like [the College], where people of color stand out. [Name of another Black student] cannot skip class and not be unnoticed. It's undeniable. And I don't think that certain students got the message that they're representing more than just themselves. It's really kind of disappointing sometimes when you see another black student obviously not doing the readings. I've had conversations with other black students who don't even buy the books. It's not even that they can't afford the books; they just decided not to buy the books for that class.

Perhaps, what James is picking up on here in terms of other African American students not realizing that they are representing more than just themselves, as he would have expected, is the manifestation of handicapping or other maladaptive behaviors on the part of African American students in response to racial stereotypes. Using the stereotype of African American intellectual inferiority as an example, Janet expressed a sentiment which implies that over time the weight of these stereotypes can alter behavioral patterns:

I think that some people maybe subscribe to that, and it becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy. I mean, if someone tells you over and over again that

you are not as smart or not as good as, then eventually you are just going to stop trying to prove yourself.

Handicapping

As expected, most students who scored high in mastery also exhibited lower levels of handicapping (Graph 4.9); however, students who are more performance-approach oriented demonstrated various levels of handicapping behaviors. With a mean of 1.89 (SD 1.00) and scores ranging from 1.00 to 3.67, nearly 47% of respondents evidenced handicapping behaviors. As an example, I asked Amy to walk me through a typical day for her.

Okay I get up probably 20 minutes before class, go to class-oceanography. Like sit there for an hour and a half and listen to [name of instructor] talk, take notes. Get really scared he is going to call on me and I won't know what I'm talking about. Finish class, go to lunch, like maybe have reading to finish.... Something like that. Go to the library, finish that reading, go to that class....maybe nap till about 4 o'clock, go to dinner. Probably a very long dinner, about a couple of hours, and then thesis, that's what I did. Depending on what class I had for the next day or how much work I had for the next day, I would read for that class or do a paper. I do a lot less studying when I am not taking a math or science class. In English, African American Studies you are writing papers and not studying for exams. I find it easier for me not taking exams. That's a really structured day. When I was writing theses I had to have a schedule. Other years I would hang out, chitchat, whatever.

In response to a comparable question, specifically in regards to study patterns and time management, Sean reported that:

Usually like late at night, like I would study from 11 and stuff like that and on into the morning. Then I'd wake up for class then do it all the next day. It was usually really late night studying and stuff like that.

RD: How did you get sleep?

Sean: I really didn't sleep that much.

Jessie reported using delaying tactics in approaching her work. On particular assignments she said, *“I handled the process the way I handle most things, which is I procrastinate, put it off, and then do it in like a day.”* When asked to expand on the concept of procrastination, Jessie said:

It’s weird, I wouldn’t call it procrastination, it’s just flat out not doing things. I just won’t do things, and I’ll tell myself I need to write this paper, just write the stupid paper, and I’ll be like, oh, I’ll do it tonight, or the next day, and there’s somewhat an urgency in my mind that I’m potentially putting myself in danger when I don’t do these things. But I really just push boundaries, I guess, like for [name of professor], what are the odds that he will fail me if I don’t do this paper – slim to none – So then, I tell myself that I should do it, but after awhile, I’ll just be like whatever, it’s too late now, so I just won’t do it.

The subtext of what Jessie appears to be talking about is a fear of failure. Or perhaps, to place this in the framework of stereotype threat, a concern that if she completes the assignment and does not do well on it that she might confirm the stereotype of intellectual inferiority.

I won’t hand in papers, so my teacher knows I’m not doing work, but I won’t allow people in my class to think that I’m stupid or unknowledgeable. It’s hypocritical because I clearly care what they all think about me, and I clearly care that they see me as having a certain intelligence, but maybe I just make myself feel better for thinking that way by not doing the work.

By her own account, Jessie does not think of herself as incapable of doing the work. She simply does not do it out of concern for being evaluated unfairly, perhaps, through the lens of this stereotype.

I know what I’m capable of, I’m fine measuring my intelligence for myself, and when I go to classes, I don’t like professors, I know professors are judging you, and they all assume they’re better than you ‘cause they have a PhD, and that frustrates me ‘cause you don’t know me, this is not a

measure of anything that I can do or want to do, and a lot of times I just don't want to give them that pleasure.

Amy expressed a similar sentiment in talking about a science class she took her senior year as a general education requirement. She did not like the class citing that, "*It was difficult because it was not how my mind works.*" She would fear being called on in her Oceanography class knowing that she was not fully prepared and reflects on one such instance:

One time there was this really embarrassing thing...about the ocean and how it absorbs light. And he asked what color did water absorbed more quickly. Obviously blue, right. I knew that because it was sky blue. I had a late night, wasn't excited about being in class. When he asked me, I said I don't know. He said, "Look at the map." Oh blue. And that was it. Bahh!

Like Jessie, Amy was also concerned with appearances. Did she look smart or did she look stupid. When asked why this was important to her, she said:

I don't want to feel uncomfortable when you are...there's a perception, this is going to sound lame. When people have perceptions of you or ideas about you that you don't necessarily give them. That there's something that is out of your control about what people think about you, and that is really scary for me.

Quite independently, Jessie also indicated a level of concern with a loss of control over how she is viewed by others.

RD: So what if people think you're stupid? What does that mean?

Jessie: It means that I failed.

RD: So to fail means what to you?

Jessie: That I've really lost control of the situation. That I feel like it's no longer in my hands what happens at the end.

RD: That's failing?

Jessie: I've always felt that I definitely have a big hand in everything that happens, and obviously the more risky I am about work and stuff like that, the more that's in danger. But I need to have some control of the situation,

or I'll just lose my mind. And the more I feel like I'm losing grip the more I shut down.

Amy believes that such perceptions affect her in a similar way:

It means I don't have as much wiggle room, or not suppose to have as much wiggle room as white students do. If I mess up then it's that much harder for me to get back on track. Even the same thing goes for being a woman. If I don't have good work habits or work ethics, then it sucks being me in the future.

Bradley, who also experienced academic difficulty, especially in courses outside of his major or ones that he was not particularly interested in, explained his performance in this way.

Because you are having a horrible time, you are doing something you don't want to. It is like being in a dead end job. You are not going to put in all your effort.

He went on to say that there was at least one such class each semester in which he received a C or lower. When asked if he was concerned about his academic performance he said that he was not:

RD: Why not?

Bradley: Cause I've learned it's more about who you know.

RD: Say more about that?

Bradley: Well, I'm not worried about getting a job – I know people. And so, they don't look at your GPA. I had job interview, they didn't ask me what my GPA was. As long as you go to a good school, can sell yourself, you're a nice person, you know people, you'll do fine.

RD: So how you did academically on paper is not so important?

Bradley: Yes, well I learned a lot. It may not be exemplified through my GPA but I learned a lot. I can talk in various fields.

Jessie felt similarly:

I just don't see why a piece of paper tells you so much about my life, and my future, like you read this paper, and automatically it means I'm worthy enough to be a CEO of this, or to defend in this court of law, it just

doesn't, it just seems like such a crazy concept to me. I just don't see why I would, I don't know.

While Bradley, Jessie, and Amy saw the use of handicapping strategies as, to use Amy's earlier phrase, "rationalizing my laziness", Ken saw things differently. He was not able to justify his low academic performance as inconsequential to his aspirations. Looking back on his college experience on the whole, he experienced things in terms of defeat.

Ken: I definitely got lazy, not lazy, I definitely got a little bit um...what is the word I'm looking for definitely, I started to feel a little bit, a little more unmotivated a little more, I don't know the word I'm looking for, but...you know, I start to feel defeated. I know I want to try and I know I want this to turn out good and, you know, I want to produce the best in this class or whatever it is that I'm doing, but for whatever reason things are just not working out.

This could be the onset of what Steele (1999) refers to as disidentification; the process whereby students withdraw from the academic domain in the presence of stereotype threat. Jessie offers another example of this. Here, she discusses the seeming loss of control in academic situations, particularly where she perceives herself to be taking risks, and the potential impact this has on her.

I've always felt that I definitely have a big hand in everything that happens, and obviously the more risky I am about work and stuff like that, the more that's in danger. But I need to have some control of the situation, or I'll just lose my mind. And the more I feel like I'm losing grip the more I shut down.

Relationships

Of the seven students who were interviewed for this study, two were more mastery oriented, with higher self-efficacy and less evidence of the use of handicapping strategies. While on the whole, these two students are not that different from all the African American students at the College, there is some aspect of their experience that is

different than the other interview subjects. James and Janet were the only respondents to speak of the importance of relationships and community with respect to their academic work. Both recalled the importance of connecting with faculty early on in their academic careers at the College.

Janet recalls two instructors that were highly influential in her academic transition to the College:

My freshman year I took African American Public Address, which is a Rhetoric class and was taught by Professor [name of instructor]. He was so animated and made everything so salient, I was like, wow I get that now. So I wanted to take everything he had to offer. I had Professor [name of 2nd instructor] in second semester: Politics of Pleasure and Desire. I don't know why, I must have had some interaction with her and we used to talk and I wanted to take her class. It was those profs that reached out and I wanted to take their classes.

James recalls similar interactions in the first semester of his first year at the College.

I will say the thing that was clear from the moment I got here at [the College] that academically this was going to be a place that was going to foster my intellectual development. That was what made me fall in love with this place, was that I had [name of instructor] as a first year seminar teacher, I had [name of instructor] that first year too, and they both just really took me under their wing, and just made sure that I was going to be on a certain track, and I appreciated that more than I could ever express.

There was overlap between one of the professors that James and Janet had this first year; an African American professor in the African American Studies department who had the reputation among students as being both nurturing and demanding. However, as Cohen and Steele (2002) suggest, the racial background of the instructor is not the essential element required to ensure academic success. In fact, both James and Janet speak well of several professors of various racial backgrounds who are well regarded by students generally. James believes that the support he received from these instructors created an environment in which he was allowed to grow and thrive academically.

Overall, I think it's been a nurturing experience, I have more confidence in my academic capacity than I ever had before. I feel like I really had the support of so many professors here, that whatever I wanted to, they made sure I could do it, like I wanted to do a joint year long thesis on Women in Gender studies and African American studies, I pitched my idea, and they would say that could work. Or [name of instructor] or [name of instructor] suggesting that I do an abroad program over the summer that led me to go to France this past summer, or people like [name of instructor] and [name of instructor] providing me with teacher assistant or research assistant jobs to help develop my skills as a researcher or a teacher, cause they realized what I wanted to do later, and so I just feel like there were so many people who were looking out for me that I've been able to do what I wanted to do in the departments.

Janet's sentiments were similar.

I came in here knowing what I wanted, and I found people who were going to facilitate and nurture, and help me with what I wanted to achieve, and help me realize certain goals, and make them more pronounced, so it was this synergy, and everything just came together and worked really well.

James went on to speak of why these relationships were important to him.

This whole analogy I've been trying to push lately, is that in high school there's the cool kids in the lunchroom that you want to sit with, and I think that for me and some other people who take their studies seriously here, there are professors who are like the cool kids, and you want to be accepted by them, you want them to give you the nod that you are doing good work, you are on the right track as far as your thinking is concerned, and there is just this desire cause you admire and respect them so much, and they're doing such great work and you want to be asked to sit at their table, you want them to say "Yes, you are part of our group now. You're cool academically."

Students like Janet and James aspire to be like their teachers and, therefore, work hard for acceptance into this group.

By contrast, Sean's comments are an appropriate summary of the level of interaction many of the other students in this study had with their instructors. They knew

of these same professors. In fact, the crossover of instructors and courses taken among African American students is quite high. However, the level of close, personal interactions with these same faculty was not as high as it appeared to be among James and Janet. Sean states:

I really didn't talk to my professors much. I went to talk to [name of instructor] a few times about why he was being so tough on me, or certain things like a movie I saw for class and stuff like that. I would say our relationship was pretty good. He would always say if I needed to talk that I could come and talk to him, so that was good.

In his following statements it was evident that Sean did not ever avail himself of the support the professor was offering.

Since the time that these interviews were conducted, each of these students has left the College. Both Janet and James successfully completed their degrees with honors level work. Sean, Bradley, and Ken completed their degree requirements only through the intervention of administrators at the College who negotiated work extensions with their faculty and pushed them to complete any and all required assignments. Amy and Jessie did not graduate from the College. Amy failed her Oceanography course, which was her last remaining graduation requirement, while Jessie simply did not complete the work for two of her final semester classes and subsequently failed them both.

The data collected through the process of interviewing these students offers some fascinating insights into the experiences of African American students at the College. The quantitative data suggest that these students, perhaps by virtue of their academic readiness and desire to attend a highly selective institution, are well insulated against the effects of stereotype threat. However, there are many examples offered through the qualitative data where these students not only acknowledge that race plays a significant

role in their life at the College, but that perceptions others have of African Americans leads to altered behavioral patterns. Some students use this as further motivation, compelling them to work harder, while others allow it to create a negative environment that ultimately causes them to retreat in unconscious ways from the academic realm. Chapter Five will explore these findings in more detail and will offer some suggestions for further areas of inquiry.

CHAPTER FIVE
DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

Introduction

The aim of this study has been to explore the lived experiences of African American college students at a predominantly White institution in an effort to understand the influence of campus racial climate on these students' academic experiences. The supposition is that the White students on campus create a negative racial climate through the perpetuation of microaggressions against African American students. This creates an atmosphere, both inside and outside of the classroom, which makes the environment itself a stereotype-relevant task for African American students. This results in a lower overall academic performance on the part of African American students at the College in comparison to their White peers, subsequently impeding their academic engagement and overall academic success, as indicated by the studies conducted by CHAS.

This study posed a series of questions in an effort to better understand the complexities of the campus racial climate and the potential impact this has on the achievement goal orientation of African American students at a predominantly White institution. First, I explored whether White students subscribed to the egalitarian underpinnings of the institution; then, whether they practiced these beliefs in their day-to-day actions. My hypothesis was that they did not, and that this contradiction between espoused philosophy and social behaviors gives rise to a climate in which African American students experience stereotype threat and all of the potential consequences. I discovered that there is some merit to this hypothesis; however, the reasons such a negative racial climate come into being are more complex than the literature suggests, at

least, in this particular environment, with evidence of specific reasons for why White students are not as actively engaged in cross-racial interactions.

Next, I hoped to assess the threat such a climate posed to the African American students at the institution by determining the extent to which they felt stigmatized by virtue of their race and whether they perceived any social rejection based on race. Essentially, I was expecting to verify that these students do experience stereotype threat in this environment. From there, the aim was to better understand the impact of stereotype threat on their academic performance as a means of explaining the achievement gap that exists between African American college students and their White peers at the College. What I uncovered was a rich and complicated set of experiences. While the survey responses indicated that the majority of African American students felt a low level of vulnerability to stereotype threat they still experienced a great deal of overt and subtle forms of racism. For some, even though they report campus climate having little impact on them day-to-day, the qualitative data suggests that there is an impact, which partly accounts for their academic underperformance. However, the data also indicate that students can be insulated from the negative impact of stereotype threat in ways that are supported by the literature.

White Students

What was found in this study was that the majority of White students surveyed subscribe to notions of social justice, were supportive of diversity, and believed in the egalitarian underpinnings upon which the College was founded. This outcome was expected as prior research indicated that among well-educated Whites racial tolerance is considerably higher (McClelland & Auster, 1990). At the same time, however, some

White students at the College are less likely to accept the prevalence of racism, as the literature suggests. Some may even be contributing to the problem by adopting the notion of color-blindness, while others may unconsciously be committing microaggressions against African American students (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986; Cabrera, et al., 1999; Solorzano, Ceja & Yosso 2001; Whitmire, 2004; Bonilla-Silva & Forman, 2005). Despite this expected finding, the experiences of White students in this study was a bit more layered than students simply saying one thing and doing another, unconsciously ignoring skin color, or making the occasional racially callous statement.

Guilt, Fear, and Apathy

Nearly 69% of the White students in the study reported that there was “a great deal” or “quite a bit” of racial separation on campus, and nearly 25% felt that there was “quite a bit” of racial conflict on campus. In my analysis of the interviews conducted with White respondents to the survey, three distinct reasons became apparent for why White students may feel this way: guilt, fear and apathy. For some, the idea of doing something that would address their own concerns about the campus racial climate was hampered by feelings of guilt brought about by their inactions. Again, one student said:

I feel a collective sense of guilt because I am white and I really don't know how to respond to it in a way that is constructive. I don't want to be patronizing and I don't want to be like the annoying white kid who is championing some cause that I don't really know about.

Based on statements like this, I would conclude that a segment of the White student population at the College has some strong feelings about racism on campus, or even a willingness and desire to have greater social interaction with African American students. However, there is an emergence of guilt that they experience when evidence

that racism exists on campus and they become social paralyzed because of it. There seems to be a sense that they do not want to act because they don't know what or how to say something that would be construed as supportive. Or, there is concern on the part of some White students that their lack of direct knowledge of the impact that racism has on people of color may demonstrate a certain level of ignorance on their part. To reiterate several of the respondents, coming face-to-face with racial discord is "intimidating."

For some, it is even intimidating to initiate cross-racial interactions. Again, this student referenced sitting in an area of the dining hall where students of color frequently congregate. *"It was intimidating to sit down at a table of people who seemed to not want to talk."* This fear gives rise to a level of reticence among some White students. A fear that if they were to act in a way that showed solidarity with African American students they may inadvertently say or do something that would be construed as racist at worst or condescending at best. In the mind of one student, *"It is a lot easier to ignore the problem"*. This student is no different than the majority of respondents to the survey, in which 57% reported that the majority of their social interactions on campus were confined to members of their own racial group. Some White students feel that lack of opportunity is the primary issue. For one respondent, offering an explanation for why he does not have any cross-racial friendships gives rise to a jumbled response.

"I don't even think of it, I don't even think of race. I don't think of my friends in those...maybe if I think about it...mostly white. I don't know maybe because I haven't been thinking about it."

This is an example of what Bonilla-Silva (2003) refer to as the use of "rhetorical incoherence" (p. 68) where Whites become less articulate when questioned on issues of race. Given the discomfort and difficulty some White students seem to have in addressing

issues of race it is not surprising that, as one respondent has already said, it is easier to ignore the situation rather than take action to address it.

Ignoring issues of race, whether it is the development of friendship groups or addressing acts of racism can, in some instances, lead to a sense of apathy among White students. Again, in response to the question “Do you think racism exist at the College?” a student said,

There are obviously things going on...I just don't see or pay attention to it because it doesn't affect me.

It is my belief that a large percentage of White students at the College are apathetic towards the issue of racism on campus or are indifferent when it comes to interactions between African Americans and Whites. With regard to friendships, many of these students would fall into Bonilla-Silva's (2003) “naturalization” framework of color-blindness. According to Bonilla-Silva, this allows whites to explain away racial phenomenon by suggesting they are natural occurrences, such as this student.

I've always kind of thought that the reason I don't have more African American friends for example is because I haven't been in the same situations as them.

The implication here is that African American students self-segregate, as one student suggested they do in the cafeteria (“The Black kids would all sit together...”). This line of thinking ignores the implication that if all of the African American students are “in the same situations” together that the same must be true of the White students. However, Whites do not see this as self-segregation for themselves. To Whites, this kind of situation is seen as normal, and thus, having nothing to do with race (Bonilla-Silva, 203).

Some students will seek to justify the lack of friendships outside of their race in ways similar to this student.

I'm a senior I have my friends, and at this point I don't care to make new friends, I mean I'm not opposed to making new friends but I'm not going to go out of my way to do it.

By suggesting that there is no point in seeking out new friendships at this juncture in their college career, this student's statement falls more clearly into the category of apathy.

While almost 45% of respondents reported that "often" or "sometimes" they have been exposed to racist situations created by students, the perception is that it does not affect them directly. As such, they are more likely to downplay the significance of a racialized event. This line of thinking falls into another one of Bonilla-Silva's frames of color-blindness, which is the minimization of racism. This suggests that racism is no longer a central factor affecting the lives of people of color. Beliefs such as this hold especially true for this student who perceives that issues of academic underperformance are the result of something else, not racism.

If you got into [the College] then you should be able to handle the work at [the College], because we all didn't get in here on our good looks and charm.

The implication here is that African American students who underperform academically are lazy or unmotivated, rather than any difficulties they might have being related to race.

Based on an analysis of the data collected, my conclusion is somewhat different than my original hypothesis. It is true that White students at the College contribute towards the creation of a negative racial climate; however, it is a relatively small number that are direct contributors through overt acts of racism and not the majority of White

students who are creating this atmosphere. The majority of White students are supportive of increased interracial encounters and are supportive of African American students when acts of racism arise. Yet, these students may also be perpetuating racial microaggressions such as the student who recounted the experience at the bus station where a “large Black guy” walked up to her. She had a reaction which may have been noticed by the individual. These sort of occurrences would qualify as microaggressions. While this student acknowledged her reaction, for many Whites such a response would probably be operating on an unconscious level, as suggested by the theory of aversive racism (Dovidio, Gaertner, 1986; Hodson, Dovidio, Gaertner, 2002). Again, for well-meaning, liberally-minded Whites, the idea that they could possess racist beliefs is in such contrast with their perceptions of self that racist acts often emerge unconsciously.

What I believe to be occurring is that a collective sense of guilt, or fear on the part of White students leads to inaction. These students are fearful that if they take any action they will be viewed as patronizing or not fully understanding a given situation which could lead to them being attacked or labeled as racist by African American students. Fear plays a part in maintaining a culture of silence on the part of White students that inadvertently contributes to a negative campus racial climate. For the remaining students who do not fall into the more reticent category, apathy is another contributor to the development of climate on campus. If these students are not engaged in a process of denying the effects of racism, then the lack of impact on their day-to-day lives also leads to inaction. For some, this inaction is fine. As long as students perceive themselves as consciously doing anything that overtly or directly perpetuates racism on campus, they feel that they are doing their part and that is enough. These perceptions are what then

allow for the perpetuation of a negative campus racial climate to occur. And, it is that climate that begins to affect the social and academic experiences of African American student at the College.

African American Students

Without question, African American students experience significant difficulty in their day-to-day lives at the College. Despite the fact that nearly 60% of African American students reported feeling little stigma on campus associated with their racial group and little rejection based on race in their interactions with Whites, the descriptions of subtle acts of racial bias and overt acts of racism offered by the African American students I interviewed suggest that the influence of Whites is profound. Racial discrimination exists on the campuses of predominantly White institutions, this institution is no exception, and such findings in this study are supported by a substantial body of research (McClelland, Auster, 1990; Feagin, 1991; Feagin, Sikes, 1995; Whitmire, 2004, Strayhorn, 2008). In fact, overt acts of racism seemed quite prevalent at the College as evidenced by Bradley's recollection of the use of "the N word" in his presence. He went on to say that students would use this word in the course of conversation, for example, while watching television, completely oblivious to the possibility that an African American would overhear them or that anyone may be offended by their language. While the word was not directed at him in the form of an attack, the cumulative effects of such occurrences cannot be discounted.

Incidents of this sort were not uncommon in the residential life of the College, as each student reported on some negative encounter they had related to race. This intimates that perhaps there may be more in operation than the guilt, fear, or apathy I found among

White students at the College. While the majority of White students may fall into one of these areas, their inaction may serve as tacit authorization for other White students to conduct themselves in more overtly racist ways. And, it is a combination of racism and African American students' perception that more well-meaning Whites do nothing to address it that makes the entire environment a stereotype-relevant task for African Americans and facilitates their susceptibility to stereotype threat.

Motivation and Disidentification

How this plays out in the academic realm was not exactly as I expected. While I was not at all surprised by the specific accounts of overt and subtle racism described by the students I interviewed, I was surprised that more of them did not feel vulnerable to racial stigma or race-based rejection. According to Pinel (1999) and Mendoza (2002), individuals who score high on measures of stigma consciousness and rejection sensitivity are more likely to be aware of racial biases, and subsequently, more likely to avoid situations in which they could possibly perpetuate a stereotype about their group. Given the relative degree of academic performance by African Americans in comparison to Whites at the College, I would have expected more than forty percent to have scored above the mean.

Nearly 60% of the African American students in this study fell into the mastery category which suggests that they came to the College intrinsically motivated with a desire for knowledge and a love of learning. While many students carried these beliefs, survey responses indicate that nearly 50% of students also appear to be motivated by a desire to demonstrate competence through a performance goal orientation. It would be interesting to see how the survey respondents were grouped based on class year, as I

suspect that maturity and experience may have an influence on ones achievement goal orientation. Future work in this area will have to give closer consideration to this possibility.

Regardless, both those who reported a more task oriented perspective and those who were more ego oriented still evidenced high levels of self-efficacy. Again, this suggests that a task oriented posture, such as performance-approach, is not consistently related to lower efficacy beliefs or negative behavioral patterns (Middleton & Midgley, 1997). In fact, based on the limited work that has been done on the motivational orientation of African American students (Graham, 1994) it was anticipated that the majority of African American students at the College would hold higher efficacy beliefs by virtue of the fact that they were admitted to and enrolled at a highly selective institution. As the data indicated, well over half of the survey respondents scored above the mean on the measure for self-efficacy.

These high self-efficacy beliefs are in stark contrast to the high levels of handicapping behaviors evidenced among survey respondents with half of respondents scoring above the mean. The ability to maintain higher efficacy beliefs in the face of academic underperformance gives credence to Mickelson's (1990) notion of an "attitude-achievement paradox" and there may be more of a relationship between this notion and the experiences of African American college students than I posited in Chapter Two. Regardless, it has been documented that in the face of stereotype threat, students put forth less effort and begin to employ a higher degree of handicapping behaviors, which could be argued as a devaluing of the task. This devaluation of the importance of the task is the first step in Steele's concept of disidentification. Amy offered some evidence of this:

I think like, I would never call myself a student. I would never call myself a stressful student, a studious student. This may be me rationalizing my laziness, but I really only do my best in classes or in work that really matters to me.

Here, she calls herself lazy and is openly acknowledging her diminished effort in areas that are less interesting to her, such as her Oceanography class. By saying that other work “really matters” to her more, she is devaluing the specific domain that is her Oceanography class because she has not been successful in it. A fear of the impact that continued poor performance would have on her sense of self is what is driving Amy, and when she is talking about “rationalizing her laziness” she is really talking about disidentification. According to Smith (2006), the STEP model predicts that in stereotype-relevant tasks, students will adopt a performance-avoid goal orientation and that “this goal adoption, in turn, directs how the individuals behave (e.g., whether and how they self-sabotage performance), feel (e.g., experiences feelings of competence; feelings of interest), and ultimately perform and persist at the task” (p. 288). If Amy came into the College with a mastery achievement goal orientation, the presence of stereotype threat in this domain could have caused a shift to a performance-avoid posture which would explain her statement and overall performance in this class and perhaps others.

Perhaps further research needs to be conducted to tease out precisely what handicapping behaviors are being used and who is engaging in these behaviors to better understand the complexities of this issue. My supposition is that the majority of all college age students engage in some handicapping behaviors at some point, and students may have been reporting on the survey the use of even a single episode of such behaviors during the entirety of their college career, not only a routine usage of such behavioral

patterns. Then again, perhaps the high levels of handicapping behaviors offer an explanation for the relative academic underperformance of African American students in comparison to their White peers. It is possible that such behaviors come about in response to the stigma of race, and the use of handicapping behaviors are being utilized as a self-protective measure to guard against ego-depletion.

In their research, Inzlicht, McKay, and Aronson (2006) found a significant correlation between high stigma sensitivity and ego depletion, meaning that students would be too distracted by thoughts related to their stigmatized status to have sufficient resources to dedicate to academic tasks. Both the literature and responses from the students interviewed for this study indicate that African American college students are keenly aware of the existence of negative stereotypes about their racial group. In a discussion of the application of such stereotypes Amy said that, *“if I was always constantly on my guard, [meaning] I can’t do this, I can’t say this, I have to be like this, because I’m black, and if I messed up everybody will think black people aren’t smart or intellectual. That’s too much.”* Perhaps, by this, Amy means that it is a burden having to constantly guard against the stigma of race or the perpetuation of negative stereotypes and that there simply are not enough cognitive resources remaining within them to allow full and undistracted focus on their academic work (Inzlicht, et al., 2006). I believe that this is what Amy means by “That’s too much”. Janet had previously alluded to this notion in referencing the academic performance of other African American students.

I think that some people maybe subscribe to that [stereotype] and it becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy. I mean, if someone tells you over and over again that you are not as smart or not as good as, then eventually you are just going to stop trying to prove yourself.

What may also be in operation for some African American students is a concern on their part about locus of control. According to Cadinu (2006) locus of control can be of significance in the presence of stereotype threat. He suggests that those with an internal locus of control are typically higher achieving students who would fight against the prospect of failure instead of simply accepted the premise of what would be expected of them by virtue of the stereotype applied to their group. This is in contrast to those who have an external locus of control and view everything as being beyond their influence. Locus of control may be a significant factor in assessing an individual's susceptibility to stereotype threat. One of Jessie's comments suggests the importance of this idea.

I've always felt that I definitely have a big hand in everything that happens, and obviously the more risky I am about work and stuff like that, the more that's in danger. But I need to have some control of the situation, or I'll just lose my mind. And the more I feel like I'm losing grip the more I shut down.

The "shut down" may be a succumbing to the psychological pressure of worrying about the perpetuation of stereotypes about ones racial group.

Of all the students I interviewed, only James and Janet scored below the mean in handicapping behaviors, which seems to indicate that for some students there may be some resistance to the mediating effects of stereotype threat. Citing the work of Muraven, Baumeister, and Tice, Inzlicht (et al., 2006) suggest that, "just like a muscle, self-control can show long-term improvements through repeated practice of self-regulation exercises" (p. 267). So perhaps Janet and James have the ability to block out concerns about racial stigma, dedicating their self-control strength towards the accomplishment of tasks rather than guarding against the application of stereotypes. Perhaps, there is something specific to James and Janet's transition to the College that

appears to have insulated them against the injurious effects of stereotype threat. As Smith (2007) said, “Although no research to date has clearly delineated a mediator of these effects, it is clear that not all stigmatized individuals experience the detrimental impact of performance stereotypes to the same extent.” This begs the question, what is it that has allowed Janet and James to maintain their high level of self-efficacy and a sense of control over their academic experience.

Cohen and Steele (2002) found that trusting relationships with faculty make a substantial difference in a student’s academic performance. They concluded that the setting of high expectations, honest critical feedback, and ample support from the instructor can boost a student’s perception of their ability to succeed in a given task. Janet’s comments bear that out.

I definitely, I feel more comfortable in a class where I know the prof thinks I am a good student. If the prof thinks you are not going to be a good student, then self professed prophecy, then maybe you won’t do well, you’ll just flunk out. But if the prof expects you to do well, than chances are you will.

Both Janet and James talked extensively about the rich relationships they had with faculty at the College; relationships that began almost immediately upon their matriculation and continued on throughout their time at the College. This is an example of what Cohen (2002) meant by “wise mentoring”. Both students report having felt accepted by faculty and that they both assumed, no matter what, that faculty believed in their ability to succeed just as Cohen’s study concluded. They never felt that they had to prove themselves, especially in working with the faculty with whom they had an established relationship. Again, James asserts his desire for acceptance from faculty drawing the comparison between faculty and the “cool kids” in high school.

[Y]ou want to be accepted by them, you want them to give you the nod that you are doing good work, you are on the right track as far as your thinking is concerned, and there is just this desire cause you admire and respect them so much...you want to them to say “Yes, you are part of our group now. You’re cool academically.”

This kind of thinking can only be developed through relationship. The development of a trusting mentorship, such as Cohen describes, which creates a belief in the mind of the student that they will be treated fairly by those in a position to evaluate them. This appears to have the effect of bolstering students’ self-efficacy, providing some measure of protection against racial stigma or the application of stereotypes within the classroom, even when the rest of the community supports a negative racial climate. It is my belief that this may be the most substantial difference between students who are successful academically and those who are not. Significant support from faculty in this way helps students to maintain a mastery goal orientation. Students who are not offered or do not seek out these relationships are far more susceptible to racial stigma in stereotype-relevant tasks. These students, as I suspect may be the case for some who participated in this study, will eventually shift into a performance-avoid orientation, underperform academically, disengage from the domain and complete their college degrees with low overall GPA’s, if they complete their degree at all.

Limitations of This Study

The most glaring limitation of this study is the omission of the PAV-goal data. It is still unclear to me why this measure had such a low reliability coefficient and the loss of this potential data has a significant impact on this study. Again, the entire premise behind Smith’s Stereotype Threat Engagement Process model is that the presence of

stereotype threat precipitates a shift from the more positively oriented mastery or performance-approach posture to the more negatively oriented performance-avoid posture. Without evidence of any student within this study exhibiting this particular achievement goal posture, the overall analysis is incomplete and some of my findings remain speculative.

Other limitations in this study relate to data collection. In my opinion, data collected from the White participants would be more compelling if it was placed in comparison with responses from students at the College from different racial backgrounds. At the time, my thinking was that my response rate among African American students would be low if I solicited them to complete two lengthy surveys. Given the small number of African American students enrolled at the College, it was imperative that I collect as much data from them for the “race and motivation” instrument and I did not want to risk reducing the number of respondents. In hindsight, I could have administered the “race and motivation” survey to the African American students before administering the “campus climate” survey instead of sending them concurrently. This way, I would have at least captured some African American students’ perceptions of the campus racial climate, as well as the beliefs of students from other racial backgrounds.

Lastly, specific demographic information could have been collected for both instruments. Having the ability to analyze the data by gender, class year, socioeconomic background, and so on, would have added to the depth of the study. This may have revealed some levels of nuance that are simply not apparent in the findings that I have presented here.

Implications for Future Research

While this study offered many insights into the perceptions and experiences of both African American and White students, its findings are narrowed by its limitations and demands that further research be conducted to more fully examine some of what has been found here. To begin with, my hypothesis that the White students who were interviewed would act out of step with their espoused egalitarian beliefs (Bonilla-Silva, 2003; Bonilla-Silva, Forman, 2005) was confirmed; however, the reasons for this proved to be more complicated than I had anticipated. While some White students actively participated in the creation of a negative racial climate through overt acts of racism or microaggressions committed against African American students as prior research has repeatedly found (Feagin, 1991; Feagin, Sikes, 1995; Feagin, Vera, Imani, 1996; Solorzano, Ceja & Yosso 2001; Whitmire, 2004), many reported that they did not do so themselves, nor did they directly witness the many overt occurrences of such acts. Perhaps this is minimization of racism (Bonilla-Silva, 2003) or perhaps they are unaware of things because racism does not affect them in day-to-day experiences. Regardless, what seemed evident to me was a longing on the part of some White students at the College for more cross-racial interaction. The problem is that the White students who desire this simply lack the ability or knowledge of how to engage with their African American peers. With this in mind, further exploration of the reasons behind the fear, guilt, and apathy expressed by White students and why they do not more actively engage across racial lines is required. In subsequent work, a larger sample of White students should be included, as well as a larger group of interview subjects. This will offer data

that can more readily be tested against existing research and give greater credibility to such findings.

In addition, much more research can and should be conducted to better understand the experiences of African American students. Again, it would be informative to see how the African American students at the College, as well as those from other racial groups, perceived the campus racial climate. A more focused instrument designed to collect such data could be used to yield greater overall results. Such data would also be highly useful and would augment any qualitative data offered by African American students about their day-to-day experiences with race on campus. These data could offer much greater insight into the question of why some African American students feel stigmatized in the first place.

Further research could also assess African American students' identification with the academic domain. As Steele has suggested, stereotype threat affects those who identify most closely with the domain in which the task is situated. Perhaps, an erroneous assumption on my part was that all African American students who participated in the study wanted to be enrolled at the College—that they actually identified with the academic domain. It is not implausible that some, particularly those that scored higher in handicapping and lower in self-efficacy, may not have wanted to be in college in the first place. All of the students interviewed for this study came from families that valued education, however, not all students who go to college wish to be there. Lack of identification with the domain could mean that their low self-efficacy has more to do with limited interest in academic pursuits than it has to do with the impact of stereotype threat.

Lastly, much more could be done to assess the applicability of the STEP model. Again, this study could not fully consider the relevance of this model due to the lack of reliability of the PALS scale for avoidance goals. In this study, it has been demonstrated that performance approach goals can be associated with high efficacy beliefs as the research suggests. Therefore, to truly understand if a shift of any kind has occurred in African American students' achievement goal orientation, it is imperative to have accurate data concerning particular patterns of adaptive learning. Only then can we obtain an accurate sense of the interplay between stereotypes, goals, and performance expectations (Smith, 2006).

Research suggests that if achievement goals are assigned before a stereotype-relevant task is undertaken, as it has been when racial stereotypes are primed (Steele, 1997), it can affect both task performance and motivation (Smith, 2006). Given my assertion that a negative campus racial climate creates a circumstance where any task is a stereotype-relevant task for African American students at predominantly White institutions, it would be important to ascertain what an individual's achievement goal orientation is prior to entering the environment to see whether the negative climate is a mitigating factor. As such, to add some additional depth to this understanding of the operational aspects of the STEP model, a longitudinal approach could be applied. The identification of appropriate subjects could begin as they are preparing to graduate from high school, and these students could then be assessed as they make the transition to college to see if there is any immediate changes in goal orientation. Then, students could be assessed again at other points during their time in college to observe any changes over time.

The opportunities for greater understanding of the impact of campus racial climate and stereotype threat on the motivational orientation and academic performance of African American students is hardly exhausted. The complexities that are in operation here and the interplay between them could offer a much richer understanding of what happens in the experiences of African American students in predominantly White institutions.

Implications for Practitioners

I believe that this study may also suggest that there are concrete steps that colleges and universities can take that would help to minimize the potential effects of stereotype threat and assist in creating a more positive campus racial climate. In terms of the latter, it seems evident that the many White students at this small institution do value diversity and do wish to have greater cross-racial interactions. The obstacles to this kind of engagement come from the sentiments expressed by White students who were interviewed for this study. Research shows that predominantly White institutions provide limited opportunities for cross-racial interaction, which in turn hinders students' learning across social and cultural lines (Hurtado, Dey, and Treviño, 1994). If such learning could take place through cross-racial interactions African American students may not perceive the same level of disinterest from their White peers, and it could also serve to reduce racial bias among White students.

Opportunities for engagement of this sort must be implemented by the institutions themselves, and could be done through the use of intergroup dialog programs which are designed to bridge social divides and increase awareness of "the other" for students from a variety of backgrounds. If institutions were to put into practice programs such as

Campus Conversations on Race (CCOR), which was developed at Emerson College in Boston (and has since relocated their operations to Wheelock College) and seeks to train faculty and staff of an institution in intergroup dialog techniques, who then train students to co-facilitate peer led discussion groups on race and difference in a variety of categories. Through this structured program over a series of regularly scheduled meetings, many of the bias incidents African American students reported as having experienced could be minimized. Furthermore, White students may be less apathetic or less reticent to develop cross-racial friendships.

Along these lines, opportunities such as the living-learning community Steele (1999) references could serve a multitude of purposes. A program that focuses on students' academic work "through weekly 'challenge' workshops" (p.12), and one that provides opportunity to discuss academic and social experiences within an institution could be beneficial across a variety of fronts. If these communities are interracial, as was the model Steele referenced, discussions among students could provide insights into "the others" academic experiences demonstrating both success and shortcomings across racial lines. If African American students discovered the extent to which their White counterparts struggled academically, perhaps they would feel less stigmatized by the stereotypes of intellectual inferiority. And, if White students directly saw the academic successes of some African American students, they would be disinclined to believe or apply the stereotype of intellectual inferiority in the first place.

Last, and perhaps most significant, colleges and universities need to find methods for increasing interactions between faculty and students early on in the student's transition to college. Orientation programs and assigned faculty advisors in and of

themselves would be insufficient. In fact, many institutions are creating various models of *pre*-orientation programs tailored specifically to students of color and students from lower socioeconomic groups to offer an advanced look at the institution and to introduce them to key faculty and administrators who they know will be there to assist them. First-year seminar programs where the instructor is also the student's advisor, allows students to come to know faculty in a safer environment where trust and mentorship can be developed. Wide scale implementation of such programs would have a tremendous impact on the feelings of belonging to an institution that African American students experience, as well a belief that they can and will be successful at the institution.

Conclusion

The findings of this study support a call for further research to be conducted in this area. So much is not known or fully understood about the academic experiences of African American students at predominantly White institutions. What is known is that African American students perceive day-to-day racism, some of it overt, much of it more subtle, but the negative impact such occurrences have is without question. African American students must either rise to meet the challenge of addressing the stigmas of race, putting themselves in situations where every action has potentially large consequences and inversely proportioned gains; or, they succumb to the applications of stereotypes, become psychologically overwhelmed and disconnected.

Colleges and universities across the country have been following and taking note of demographic trends and projections and taking noteworthy steps to address issues of access and affordability for students from underrepresented backgrounds. Yet, providing access to college is only the first step, and arguably the easiest. In fact, for many students

of color getting into college is not the problem, staying in is, and an increasing body of literature demonstrates that “the road through postsecondary education is rocky” (Adelman, 2007, p. 51) for most students of color. For the past decade, numerous studies have found that students of color, and African American students in particular, are more likely to need remedial course work in English and mathematics (Kirst 2004) and are also far more likely to drop a class or fail a class in the first year of college (Massey 2003), ultimately resulting in lower graduation rates. The *Journal of Blacks in Higher Education* website (<http://www.jbhe.com/vital/index.html>), which tracks various enrollment data, reports that the college graduation rate for African American women “matriculating in 2002 at private not-for-profit educational institutions” is a disappointing 48.5%, while for African American men the number is a dismal 38.1%. These lower college completion rates can and are having significant long-term effects. Not only is the academic self-confidence of those students who don’t graduate greatly diminished, but high attrition also sends negative messages about the value of higher education to entire communities. This is tragic in and of itself, but all the more so when you think of the loss of future leadership and the potential economic impact that low college graduation rates can have. To prevent greater losses from occurring in the future, colleges and universities themselves must change to meet the demands these changing demographics are having on their communities. As such, increasing our understating of how and why the impact of stereotype threat is so detrimental becomes an absolute imperative.

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APPENDICIES

APPENDIX A

INSTRUMENTS AND SCHEDULES

Cultural Attitudes and Climate Instrument

This study examines attitudes and beliefs about issues important to racial and ethnic diversity at The College. Your honest responses are very important in studying these issues on the campus. Read each item carefully and indicate your response. All responses are anonymous.

What is your student ID #? This will be used to identify you ONLY if your number is selected as a raffle winner, or to be contacted about further participation in this study.

How would you categorize your racial/ethnic background?

Please indicate to what degree you agree with the following statements.

My experiences since coming to The College have led me to become more understanding of racial/ethnic differences.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Not Applicable
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

At The College getting to know people with racial/ethnic backgrounds different from my own has been easy.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Not Applicable
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

My social interactions on this campus are largely confined to students of my race/ethnicity.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Not Applicable
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

At The College I feel there are expectations about my academic performance because of my race/ethnicity.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Not Applicable
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

I feel pressured to participate in ethnic activities at Bates.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Not Applicable
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

At The College I feel I need to minimize various characteristics of my racial/ethnic culture (e.g. language, dress) to be able to fit in.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Not Applicable
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

My experiences since coming to The College have strengthened my own sense of ethnic identity.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Not Applicable
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Think about the faculty whose courses you have taken at Bates. How many of them would you describe as:

Approachable outside of the classroom?

None	Few	Some	Most	All	Not Applicable
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Fair to all students regardless of their racial or ethnic backgrounds?

None	Few	Some	Most	All	Not Applicable
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Think about your experiences in the classroom. Please indicate to what degree you agree with the following statements.

In my experience, students of different racial/ethnic backgrounds participate equally in classroom discussion and learning.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Not Applicable
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I feel I am expected to represent my race or ethnic group in discussions in class.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Not Applicable
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Faculty use examples relevant to people of my race/ethnic group in their lectures.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Not Applicable
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

In my classes I feel that my professors ignore my comments or questions.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Not Applicable
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Please indicate how comfortable you feel in the following situations at Bates.

Going to see a faculty member of my own race/ethnicity.

Very Uncomfortable	Uncomfortable	Neutral	Comfortable	Very Comfortable	Not Applicable
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Speaking with others about my racial/ethnic background.

Very Uncomfortable	Uncomfortable	Neutral	Comfortable	Very Comfortable	Not Applicable
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Being in situations where I am the only person of my racial/ethnic group.

Very Uncomfortable	Uncomfortable	Neutral	Comfortable	Very Comfortable	Not Applicable
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Saying what I think about racial/ethnic issues.

Very Uncomfortable	Uncomfortable	Neutral	Comfortable	Very Comfortable	Not Applicable
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Uncomfortable Comfortable Applicable

Being with people whose racial/ethnic backgrounds are different from my own.

Very Uncomfortable Uncomfortable Neutral Comfortable Very Comfortable Not Applicable

Participating in class.

Very Uncomfortable Uncomfortable Neutral Comfortable Very Comfortable Not Applicable

Going to see a faculty member of a different race/ethnicity than my own.

Very Uncomfortable Uncomfortable Neutral Comfortable Very Comfortable Not Applicable

Being with people whose racial/ethnic backgrounds are the same as my own.

Very Uncomfortable Uncomfortable Neutral Comfortable Very Comfortable Not Applicable

How well is The College doing on Diversity?

The effort made by The College to improve relations and understanding between people of different racial/ethnic background is:

Too Little About Right Too Much Don't Know

Please indicate to what degree you agree with the following statements:

The College has done a good job providing programs and activities that promote multicultural understanding.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree Not Applicable

At The College students are resentful of others whose race/ethnicity is different from their own.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Not Applicable
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

The College should have a requirement for graduation that students take at least one course on the role of ethnicity and race in society.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Not Applicable
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

The College does not promote respect for diversity.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Not Applicable
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Diversity at The College was one of the reasons why I chose to come here.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Not Applicable
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Which racial/ethnic groups should The College make special efforts to recruit as students and as faculty? (please choose all that apply)

- Hispanic Americans
- Native Americans
- Asian Americans
- African Americans
- None -- no special efforts should be taken to recruit any particular racial/ethnic group members

General Experience at Bates

Please indicate to what degree you agree with the following statements:

The College provides an environment for the free and open expression of ideas opinions

and beliefs.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Not Applicable
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Overall my educational experience at The College has been a rewarding one.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Not Applicable
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

The atmosphere in my classes does not make me feel like I belong.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Not Applicable
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

I would recommend The College to siblings or friends as a good place to go to college.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Not Applicable
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

The overall quality of academic programs at The College is excellent.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Not Applicable
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

I feel as though I belong in the College campus community.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Not Applicable
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Your Experiences at Bates

Please use the scale below to indicate the extent to which you believe each of the following is present at Bates

Racial conflict on campus.

Little or None	Some	Quite a Bit	A Great Deal	Not Applicable
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Respect by faculty for students of different racial and ethnic groups.

Little or None Some Quite a Bit A Great Deal Not Applicable

Respect by students for other students of different racial and ethnic groups.

Little or None Some Quite a Bit A Great Deal Not Applicable

Racial/ethnic separation on campus.

Little or None Some Quite a Bit A Great Deal Not Applicable

College commitment to the success of students of different racial and ethnic groups.

Little or None Some Quite a Bit A Great Deal Not Applicable

Friendship between students of different racial and ethnic groups.

Little or None Some Quite a Bit A Great Deal Not Applicable

Interracial tensions in the residence halls.

Little or None Some Quite a Bit A Great Deal Not Applicable

Interracial tensions in the classroom.

Little or None Some Quite a Bit A Great Deal Not Applicable

How fairly do you believe you have been treated by the following:

Campus Security.

Very Unfairly Unfairly Neutral Fairly Very Fairly No

						Interaction
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Junior Advisors/Residential Coordinators

Very Unfairly	Unfairly	Neutral	Fairly	Very Fairly	No Interaction
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Faculty.

Very Unfairly	Unfairly	Neutral	Fairly	Very Fairly	No Interaction
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Teaching Assistants.

Very Unfairly	Unfairly	Neutral	Fairly	Very Fairly	No Interaction
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Students.

Very Unfairly	Unfairly	Neutral	Fairly	Very Fairly	No Interaction
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

In each of these settings to what extent have you been exposed to information about the history culture and/or social issues of racial and ethnic groups other than whites?

In course readings lectures and discussions.

Not at All	A Little	Some	Quite a Bit	A Great Deal	Not Applicable
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

In activities and programs in the residence halls.

Not at All	A Little	Some	Quite a Bit	A Great Deal	Not Applicable
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

In other college programs or activities.

Not at All	A Little	Some	Quite a Bit	A Great Deal	Not Applicable
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

In informal interactions and conversations with friends.

Not at All	A Little	Some	Quite a Bit	A Great Deal	Not Applicable
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

At The College how many for-credit courses have you taken from faculty members of the following racial/ethnic groups?

Hispanic Americans

Native Americans

Asian Americans

African Americans

Not sure of race/ethnicity of faculty member

How many courses have you taken at The College that have focused primarily on the culture history or social concerns of:

racial and ethnic groups (other than whites) in the U.S.? Number of Courses:

non-Western racial and ethnic groups outside the U.S.? Number of Courses:

How often do you have difficulty getting help or support from:

faculty

Never	Seldom	Sometimes	Often	Not Applicable
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

students

Never	Seldom	Sometimes	Often	Not Applicable
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

teaching assistants

Never Seldom Sometimes Often Not Applicable

How often have you been exposed to a racist atmosphere created by the faculty?

in the classroom

Never Seldom Sometimes Often Not Applicable

outside the classroom

Never Seldom Sometimes Often Not Applicable

How often have you been exposed to a racist atmosphere created by other students?

in the classroom

Never Seldom Sometimes Often Not Applicable

outside the classroom

Never Seldom Sometimes Often Not Applicable

Please indicate whether your experience at The College has changed your behavior in any of the following ways:

I now recognize culturally-biased behavior I had not previously identified.

Yes
 No

I now discuss topics related to cultural awareness with friends.

Yes
 No

I now stop myself from using language that may be offensive to

others.

Yes

No

I now handle negative language used by another in such a way as to try to educate the other person.

Yes

No

I now initiate contact with people who are not of my culture or ethnic background.

Yes

No

Bottom of Form

White Student Interview Schedule

Section A: Background Information

- 1) What class year are you?
- 2) What area of the country are you from (i.e. Midwest, New England)?
- 3) Can you very briefly describe where you grew up?
- 4) Rural/urban, inner city/suburb. Big town/small town.
- 5) What kind of people lived in your neighborhood?
- 6) Class background, racial and ethnic makeup.

Section B: Socialization in Schools

- 1) Can you briefly describe the kind of schools you attended while you were growing up (public/private, large/small, inner city/suburban/rural)?
- 2) Can you describe the kind of students in the schools you attended (probing for class and racial background)?
- 3) What was the racial breakdown of most of your classes in high school (probing for any Black students in classes)?
- 4) What were the racial backgrounds of the people you socialized with?
- 5) Did you have any close friends who were not White?
- 6) If so, what sort of activities did you do and how often?
- 7) If not, why not?

Section C: College Experiences—Social

- 1) Compared to what you just described, is the racial makeup of your friendships at The College any different than they were in high school?
- 2) Of the friends you have here, where did you meet them: Classes, dorm, or in any other place/way?
- 3) If friends are all White, ask if they have had the opportunity to make friends across racial lines.
- 4) Some people claim that Black students are hard to approach and that they don't mix with other races ("segregate themselves"). On the other hand, many Black students and other people of color claim that they do not feel welcomed by Whites at Bates. What do you think?

- 5) Possible follow-up—In general do you think that Blacks are hard to approach or that they are not welcomed by Whites?

Section D: College Experiences—Academic

- 1) Can you give me a sense of the racial breakdown of your classes here at Bates?
- 2) Have you ever been in a class that was all White?
- 3) Have you ever been in a class that was more racially mixed?
- 4) Some people suggest that Black college students do not perform as well academically as White college students because they experience the classroom environment as unfair. Others suggest it is because they are not as well prepared academically for a place like Bates. What do you think?
- 5) What were your perceptions of the Black students (if none, what other racial group that was mentioned) in your classes in terms of their participation and performance? Have you noticed examples of Black student underperformance?
- 6) Have you taken any classes where the professor is not White?
- 7) If so, which classes (academic discipline)?
- 8) If not, why not?
- 9) Have you found any significant differences between your experiences with White faculty and non-White faculty?
- 10) If so, what?
- 11) If not, have you heard friends express any differences in their experiences with White and non-White faculty?

Section E: The College and Diversity

- 1) What is racism in your view (seek definition)?
- 2) As you've just defined it, and in your opinion, does racism exist at Bates?
- 3) Many Blacks students say that they experience a lot of discrimination in their daily lives here. Other students say that this could not be the case at The College and that any discrimination Black students feel must be done to them by people outside of Bates. What do you think?
- 4) How do you think The College has done in response to the bias incidents that have taken place this year?
- 5) Have you participated in any of the events?
- 6) If so, which ones?
- 7) If not, why not?
- 8) What do you think to be the biggest source of the problem regarding racial issues here at Bates?

- 9) As a result of your experiences at Bates, last five items on the survey you completed asked you to respond yes or no to the following questions: *I now recognize culturally biased behavior that I had not previously identified. I now discuss topics related to cultural awareness with friends. I now stop myself from using language that may be offensive to others. I now handle negative language used by another in such a way as to try and educate the other person. I now initiate contact with people who are not of my culture or ethnic background.*

Some students who responded to these questions felt they were limiting because they assumed negative behaviors that needed to be changed. What are your thoughts on these questions?

Race and Motivation Instrument

What is your student ID #? This will be used to identify you ONLY if your number is selected as a raffle winner, or to be contacted about further participation in this study.

Instructions

The questions below will look to accomplish one of the following: to assess the beliefs, attitudes, and strategies you hold in your life as a student; to gauge your feelings on the prevalence of stereotypes; or to describe situations that students here may encounter and judge your level of concern with these situations. In answering these questions, please reflect on your own experiences as a student or imagine yourself in the situation described and select the number that best indicates how you feel.

It's important to me that other students think that I'm good at my course work.

Not At All True

Somewhat True

Very True

1

2

3

4

5

My being Black does not influence how Whites act with me.

Strongly
Disagree

Neither
Agree Nor
Disagree

Strongly
Agree

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

It's important to me that I don't look stupid in my courses.

Not At All True

Somewhat True

Very True

1

2

3

4

5

Some students look for reasons to keep them from studying (not feeling well, having to help their friends, personal issues, etc.). Then if they don't do well on their class work, they can say this is the reason. How true is this of you?

Not At All True

Somewhat True

Very True

1

2

3

4

5

One of my goals is to keep others from thinking I'm not smart in class.

Not At All True

Somewhat True

Very True

1

2

3

4

5

The next two questions relate to the following sentence.

IMAGINE THAT YOU ARE IN CLASS ONE DAY, AND THE WHITE PROFESSOR ASKS A PARTICULARLY DIFFICULT QUESTION. A FEW PEOPLE, INCLUDING YOU, RAISE THEIR HANDS TO ANSWER THE QUESTION.

How concerned/anxious would you be that the professor might not choose you because of your race/ethnicity?

Very Concerned Very Unconcerned

I would expect that the professor might not choose me because of my race/ethnicity.

Very Unlikely Very Likely

It's important to me that I learn a lot of new concepts in college.

Not At All True Somewhat True Very True

Even if the work in a given class is hard, I can learn it.

Not At All True Somewhat True Very True

I often think Whites unfairly are accused of being racially biased.

Strongly Disagree Neither Agree Nor Disagree Strongly Agree

One of my goals in college is to learn as much as I can.

Not At All True Somewhat True Very True

The next two questions relate to the following sentence.

IMAGINE THAT A PROFESSOR NEW TO THE COLLEGE IS SELECTING STUDENTS FOR A SUMMER RESEARCH PROJECT THAT YOU REALLY WANT. THE PROFESSOR HAS ONLY ONE SPACE LEFT AND YOU ARE ONE OF SEVERAL STUDENTS THAT ARE QUALIFIED FOR THIS OPPORTUNITY.

How concerned/anxious would you be that the professor might not choose you because of your race/ethnicity?

Very
Concerned

Very
Unconcerned

I would expect that he might not select me because of my race/ethnicity.

Very Unlikely

Very Likely

One of my goals is to show others that the course work is easy for me.

Not At All True

Somewhat True

Very True

It's important to me that I look smart compared to others in my class.

Not At All True

Somewhat True

Very True

It's important to me that my professors don't think that I know less than others in the class.

Not At All True

Somewhat True

Very True

Most Whites do NOT judge Blacks on the basis of race.

Strongly
Disagree

Neither
Agree Nor
Disagree

Strongly
Agree

Some students fool around the night before a test. Then if they don't do well, they can say that is the reason. How true is this of you?

Not At All True

Somewhat True

Very True

The next two questions relate to the following sentence.

IMAGINE YOU HAVE JUST FINISHED SHOPPING AT THE LOCAL MALL, AND YOU ARE LEAVING A CLOTHING STORE CARRYING SEVERAL BAGS. IT'S CLOSING TIME, AND SEVERAL PEOPLE ARE FILING OUT OF THE STORE AT ONCE. SUDDENLY, THE ALARM BEGINS TO SOUND, AND A SECURITY GUARD COMES OVER TO INVESTIGATE.

How concerned/anxious would you be that the guard might stop you because of your race/ethnicity?

Very Concerned Very Unconcerned
◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡

I would expect that the guard might stop me because of my race/ethnicity.

Very Unlikely Very Likely
◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡

It's important to me that I improve my skills while I'm here.

Not At All True Somewhat True Very True
◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡

Most Whites have a problem viewing Blacks as equals.

Strongly Disagree Neither Agree Nor Disagree Strongly Agree
◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡

Some students purposely get involved in lots of activities. Then if they don't do well on their class work, they can say it is because they were involved with other things. How true is this of you?

Not At All True Somewhat True Very True
◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡

The next two questions relate to the following sentence.

IMAGINE YOU ARE RIDING A COLLEGE SPONSORED BUS TO BOSTON ONE DAY. THE BUS IS FULL EXCEPT FOR TWO SEATS, ONE OF WHICH IS NEXT TO YOU. YOU NOTICE A WHITE FEMALE STUDENT GETTING ON THE BUS.

How concerned/anxious would you be that she might avoid sitting next to you because of your race/ethnicity?

Very Concerned Very Unconcerned
Ⓒ Ⓒ Ⓒ Ⓒ Ⓒ Ⓒ Ⓒ

I would expect that she might not sit next to me because of my race/ethnicity.

Very Unlikely Very Likely
Ⓒ Ⓒ Ⓒ Ⓒ Ⓒ Ⓒ Ⓒ

One of my goals is to look smart in comparison to the other students in my classes.

Not At All True Somewhat True Very True
Ⓒ Ⓒ Ⓒ Ⓒ Ⓒ

I can do almost all the work in any class if I don't give up.

Not At All True Somewhat True Very True
Ⓒ Ⓒ Ⓒ Ⓒ Ⓒ

Some students put off doing their class work until the last minute. Then if they don't do well on their work, they can say that is the reason. How true is this of you?

Not At All True Somewhat True Very True
Ⓒ Ⓒ Ⓒ Ⓒ Ⓒ

Stereotypes about Blacks have not affected me personally.

Strongly Disagree Neither Agree Nor Disagree Strongly Agree
Ⓒ Ⓒ Ⓒ Ⓒ Ⓒ Ⓒ Ⓒ

I'm certain I can master the skills taught in my classes this year.

Not At All True Somewhat True Very True
Ⓒ Ⓒ Ⓒ Ⓒ Ⓒ

One of my goals in class is to avoid looking like I have trouble doing the work.

Not At All True Somewhat True Very True
Ⓒ Ⓒ Ⓒ Ⓒ Ⓒ

I can do even the hardest work in any class if I try.

Not At All True

Somewhat True

Very True

When interacting with Whites, I feel like they interpret all my behaviors in terms of the fact that I am Black.

Strongly
Disagree

Neither
Agree Nor
Disagree

Strongly
Agree

The next two questions relate to the following sentence.

IMAGINE THAT YOU ARE IN THE CAMPUS BOOKSTORE TRYING TO PICK OUT A FEW ITEMS. WHILE YOU'RE LOOKING AT DIFFERENT ITEMS, YOU NOTICE THE STUDENT EMPLOYEE GLANCING YOUR WAY.

How concerned /anxious would you be that the employee might be looking at you because of your race/ethnicity?

Very
Concerned

Very
Unconcerned

I would expect that the employee might continue to look at me because of my race/ethnicity.

Very Unlikely

Very Likely

The next two questions relate to the following sentence.

IMAGINE YOU HAVE JUST COMPLETED A SUMMER INTERNSHIP INTERVIEW OVER THE TELEPHONE. YOU ARE IN GOOD SPIRITS BECAUSE THE INTERVIEWER SEEMED ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT YOUR APPLICATION. SEVERAL DAYS LATER YOU COMPLETE A SECOND INTERVIEW IN PERSON. YOUR INTERVIEWER INFORMS YOU THAT THEY WILL LET YOU KNOW ABOUT THEIR DECISION SOON.

How concerned/anxious would you be that you might not be hired because of your race/ethnicity?

Very
Concerned

Very
Unconcerned

⌋ ⌋ ⌋ ⌋ ⌋ ⌋ ⌋

I would expect that I might not be hired because of my race/ethnicity.

Very Unlikely Very Likely

⌋ ⌋ ⌋ ⌋ ⌋ ⌋ ⌋

One of my goals is to master a lot of new skills while I'm here.

Not At All True Somewhat True Very True

⌋ ⌋ ⌋ ⌋ ⌋ ⌋ ⌋

Most Whites have a lot more racially biased thoughts than they actually express.

Strongly Disagree Neither Agree Nor Disagree Strongly Agree

⌋ ⌋ ⌋ ⌋ ⌋ ⌋ ⌋

Some students purposely don't try hard in class. Then if they don't do well, they can say it is because they didn't try. How true is this of you?

Not At All True Somewhat True Very True

⌋ ⌋ ⌋ ⌋ ⌋ ⌋ ⌋

One of my goals is to show others that I'm good at my course work.

Not At All True Somewhat True Very True

⌋ ⌋ ⌋ ⌋ ⌋ ⌋ ⌋

It's important to me that I thoroughly understand my course work.

Not At All True Somewhat True Very True

⌋ ⌋ ⌋ ⌋ ⌋ ⌋ ⌋

The next two questions relate to the following sentence.

IT'S LATE AT NIGHT AND YOU ARE DRIVING BACK TO CAMPUS FROM AN EVENT AT ANOTHER COLLEGE. YOU TAKE A WRONG TURN AND FIND YOURSELF ON A ROAD YOU'RE NOT FAMILIAR WITH. LUCKILY, THERE IS A 24-HOUR 7-11 JUST AHEAD, SO YOU STOP THERE AND HEAD UP TO THE COUNTER TO ASK THE YOUNG MAN FOR DIRECTIONS.

How concerned/anxious would you be that he might not help you because of your race/ethnicity?

Very Concerned Very Unconcerned

I would expect that the man might not help me because of my race/ethnicity.

Very Unlikely Very Likely

I'm certain I can figure out how to do the most difficult class work.

Not At All True Somewhat True Very True

The next two questions relate to the following sentence.

IMAGINE THAT YOU ARE IN A LOCAL RESTAURANT, TRYING TO GET THE ATTENTION OF YOUR WAITRESS. A LOT OF OTHER PEOPLE ARE TRYING TO GET HER ATTENTION AS WELL.

How concerned/anxious would you be that she might not attend you right away because of your race/ethnicity?

Very Concerned Very Unconcerned

I would expect that she might not attend to me right away because of my race/ethnicity.

Very Unlikely Very Likely

I never worry that my behaviors will be viewed as stereotypically Black.

Strongly Disagree Neither Agree Nor Disagree Strongly Agree

The next two questions relate to the following sentence.

IMAGINE THAT IT'S THE SECOND DAY OF CLASS AT THE START OF A NEW SEMESTER. IN THE FIRST CLASS THE WHITE PROFESSOR ASSIGNED A

WRITING SAMPLE AND TODAY ANNOUNCES THAT SHE HAS FINISHED CORRECTING THE PAPERS. YOU WAIT FOR YOUR PAPER TO BE RETURNED.

How concerned/anxious would you be that you might receive a lower grade than others because of your race/ethnicity?

Very Concerned Very Unconcerned

I would expect to receive a lower grade than others because of my race/ethnicity.

Very Unlikely Very Likely

Some students let their friends keep them from paying attention in class or from doing their work outside of class. Then if they don't do well, they can say their friends kept them from working. How true is this of you?

Not At All True Somewhat True Very True

I almost never think about the fact that I am Black when I interact with Whites.

Strongly Disagree Neither Agree Nor Disagree Strongly Agree

The next two questions relate to the following sentence.

IMAGINE THAT YOU ARE STANDING IN LINE FOR THE CAMPUS ATM MACHINE, AND YOU NOTICE THE WOMAN AT THE MACHINE GLANCES BACK WHILE SHE'S GETTING HER MONEY.

How concerned/anxious would you be that she might be suspicious of you because of your race/ethnicity?

Very Concerned Very Unconcerned

I would expect that she might be suspicious of me because of my race/ethnicity.

Very Unlikely Very Likely



My being Black does not influence how people act with me.

Strongly
Disagree

Neither
Agree Nor
Disagree

Strongly
Agree



Please be sure you have selected a response for every question.

Race and Motivation Survey Questions

By Specific Instrument

The Patterns of Adaptive Learning Scales (PALS)

The Patterns of Adaptive Learning Scales have been developed and refined over time by a group of researchers using goal orientation theory to examine the relation between the learning environment and students' motivation, affect, and behavior. The PALS Student scales are utilized in this instrument to assess 1) personal achievement goal orientations and achievement-related beliefs, attitudes, and strategies.

Mastery Goal Orientation (Revised)

When oriented to mastery goals, students' purpose or goal in an achievement setting is to develop their competence. They seek to extend their mastery and understanding. Attention is focused on the task. A mastery goal orientation has been associated with adaptive patterns of learning.

Questions:

1. It's important to me that I learn a lot of new concepts in college.
13. One of my goals in college is to learn as much as I can.
27. One of my goals is to master a lot of new skills while I'm here.
18. It's important to me that I thoroughly understand my course work.
7. It's important to me that I improve my skills while I'm here.

Performance–Approach Goal Orientation (Revised)

When oriented to performance-approach goals, students' purpose or goal in an achievement setting is to demonstrate their competence. Attention is focused on the self. A performance-approach orientation has been associated with both adaptive and maladaptive patterns of learning.

Questions:

1. It's important to me that other students think that I'm good at my course work.
30. One of my goals is to show others that I'm good at my course work.
20. One of my goals is to show others that the course work is easy for me.
8. One of my goals is to look smart in comparison to the other students in my classes.
24. It's important to me that I look smart compared to others in my class.

Performance–Avoid Goal Orientation (Revised)

When oriented to performance-avoid goals, students' purpose or goal in an achievement setting is to avoid the demonstration of incompetence. Attention is focused on the self. A performance-avoid orientation has been associated with maladaptive patterns of learning.

Questions:

33. It's important to me that I don't look stupid in my courses.
14. One of my goals is to keep others from thinking I'm not smart in class.
25. It's important to me that my professors don't think that I know less than others in the class.
5. One of my goals in class is to avoid looking like I have trouble doing the work.

Stigma Consciousness Questions (SCQ)

Some research has treated targets of stereotypes as though they have uniform responses to the application of stereotypes to them. The SCQ, developed and validated by E. Pinel, detects differences in stigma consciousness, or an individual's perception of stereotypes being applied to them. SCQ scores predict perceptions of discrimination and the ability to generate convincing examples of such discrimination.

Questions:

3. Stereotypes about Blacks have not affected me personally.
32. I never worry that my behaviors will be viewed as stereotypically Black.
9. When interacting with Whites, I feel like they interpret all my behaviors in terms of the fact that I am Black.
19. Most Whites do not judge Blacks on the basis of race.
29. My being Black does not influence how Whites act with me.
21. I almost never think about the fact that I am Black when I interact with Whites.
35. My being Black does not influence how people act with me.
36. Most Whites have a lot more racially biased thoughts than they actually express.
4. I often think Whites unfairly are accused of being racially biased.
23. Most Whites have a problem viewing Blacks as equals.

Rejection Sensitivity-Race Questionnaire (RS-Race)

The RS-Race is intended to measure an individual's levels of rejection sensitivity among African Americans. Experiences of rejection based on membership in a devalued group can lead people to anxiously expect, readily perceive, and intensely react to status-based rejection. In one study, students scoring high in racial rejection sensitivity experienced greater discomfort during the college transition process, with less trust in the university and relative declines in grades. Conversely, positive race-related experiences increased feelings of belonging at the institution among students high in RS-race.

Questions:

2. Imagine that you are in class one day, and the professor asks a particularly difficult question. A few people, including yourself, raise their hands to answer the question.
 - a. How concerned/anxious would you be that the professor might not choose you because of your race/ethnicity?
 - b. I would expect that the professor might not choose me because of my race/ethnicity.

6. Imagine that you are in a pharmacy, trying to pick out a few items. While you're looking at the different brands, you notice one of the store clerks glancing your way.
 - a. How concerned /anxious would you be that the clerk might be looking at you because of your race/ethnicity?
 - b. I would expect that the clerk might continue to look at me because of my race/ethnicity.

11. Imagine you have just completed a job interview over the telephone. You are in good spirits because the interviewer seemed enthusiastic about your application. Several days later you complete a second interview in person. Your interviewer informs you that they will let you know about their decision soon.

- a. How concerned/anxious would you be that you might not be hired because of your race/ethnicity?
- b. I would expect that I might not be hired because of my race/ethnicity.

12. It's late at night and you are driving down a country road you're not familiar with. Luckily, there is a 24-hour 7-11 just ahead, so you stop there and head up to the counter to ask the young woman for directions.

- a. How concerned/anxious would you be that she might not help you because of your race/ethnicity?
- b. I would expect that the woman might not help me because of my race/ethnicity.

15. Imagine that a new school professor is selecting students for a summer research project that you really want. The professor has only one space left and you are one of several students that are qualified for this opportunity.

- a. How concerned/anxious would you be that the professor might not choose you because of your race/ethnicity?
- b. I would expect that he might not select me because of my race/ethnicity.

22. Imagine you have just finished shopping, and you are leaving the store carrying several bags. It's closing time, and several people are filing out of the store at once. Suddenly, the alarm begins to sound, and a security guard comes over to investigate.

- a. How concerned/anxious would you be that the guard might stop you because of your race/ethnicity?
- b. I would expect that the guard might stop me because of my race/ethnicity.

26. Imagine you are riding the bus one day. The bus is full except for two seats, one of which is next to you. As the bus comes to the next stop, you notice a woman getting on the bus.

- a. How concerned/anxious would you be that she might avoid sitting next to you because of your race/ethnicity?
- b. I would expect that she might not sit next to me because of my race/ethnicity.

Imagine that you are in a restaurant, trying to get the attention of your waitress. A lot of other people are trying to get her attention as well.

- a. How concerned/anxious would you be that she might not attend you right away because of your race/ethnicity?
- b. I would expect that she might not attend to me right away because of my race/ethnicity.

16. Imagine you're driving down the street, and there is a police barricade just ahead. The police officers are randomly pulling people over to check drivers' licenses and registrations.

a. How concerned/anxious would you be that an officer might pull you over because of your race/ethnicity?

b. I would expect that the officers might stop me because of my race/ethnicity.

28. Imagine that it's the second day of class at the start of a new semester. The professor assigned a writing sample yesterday and today the professor announces that she has finished correcting the papers. You wait for your paper to be returned.

a. How concerned/anxious would you be that you might receive a lower grade than others because of your race/ethnicity?

b. I would expect to receive a lower grade than others because of my race/ethnicity.

31. Imagine that you are standing in line for the ATM machine, and you notice the woman at the machine glances back while she's getting her money.

a. How concerned/anxious would you be that she might be suspicious of you because of your race/ethnicity?

b. I would expect that she might be suspicious of me because of my race/ethnicity.

34. Imagine you're parking your car on the street. You have to put money in the parking meter, but you don't have change. You decide to go into a store and ask for change for your bill.

a. How concerned/anxious would you be that the cashier might not give you change because of your race/ethnicity?

b. I would expect that the cashier might not give me change because of my race/ethnicity.

African American Student Interview Schedule

Interview 1—

Life History Questions

The purpose of these questions shall be to obtain general background information and some preliminary information on previous and present educational experiences and experiences related to race.

- 1) Where did you grow up?
- 2) What do your parents do for a living?
- 3) Did you go to a public or private high school?
- 4) What did academic success mean to you then?
- 5) What motivated you to be successful academically in high school?
- 6) What were your experiences like with regard to race in high school/in your hometown?
- 7) Have you ever had an experience where you felt treated unfairly because of your race in your high school/hometown?

Questions on College Experiences

- 1) How have your educational experiences been here?
- 2) Has your definition of academic success changed since coming to college?
- 3) What has motivated you in your academic work here at college?
- 4) Have you ever felt treated unfairly by a professor/administrator/student because of your race?
- 5) How do you think White students at the College view Black students or students of color more generally?
 - a. In social settings?
 - b. In classroom settings?

Interview 2—

Details of Experience Questions

These questions will focus on present experiences and seek to understand the day-to-day concentrating on concrete details.

- 1) Tell me how you have done here academically?
- 2) How do you go about studying? Walk me through a typical day.
- 3) When you don't do well on an exam/paper, what do you do?
- 4) What is the level of contact you have with your professors?
 - a. Discussing class related topics?
 - b. Outside of class related topics?
- 5) In your opinion, how do Black students study? Are there differences between the way Black students study in comparison to White students?
- 6) Do Black students study together or with White students, or both?
- 7) What have your experiences been studying with Black students?
- 8) What have your experiences been studying with White students?

Interview 3—

Reflecting on the Meaning of Experiences Questions

The purpose of these questions is to elicit from the participants reflective thoughts on experiences previously discussed—to try and understand the “meaning” of these experiences to them. Questions will be asked within the context of the two previous interviews.

- 1) Given what you’ve said before about your academic and racial experiences here, how do you understand the relationship between race and academic success? What sense does it make to you?
- 2) Given what you have reconstructed in the previous interviews, what do you see in the future for your academic experiences here or elsewhere?

APPENDIX B

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

PALS Scales

Mastery Goal Orientation (Revised)³

Questions:

1. It's important to me that I learn a lot of new concepts in college.
2. One of my goals in college is to learn as much as I can.
3. One of my goals is to master a lot of new skills while I'm here.
4. It's important to me that I thoroughly understand my course work.
5. It's important to me that I improve my skills while I'm here.

Descriptive Statistics

n=32

Items	Mean	Standard Deviation
1.	4.41	.911
2.	4.47	.761
3.	4.41	.875
4.	4.39	.803
5.	4.00	.871

Performance–Approach Goal Orientation (Revised)

Questions:

1. It's important to me that other students think that I'm good at my course work.
2. One of my goals is to show others that I'm good at my course work.
3. One of my goals is to show others that the course work is easy for me.
4. One of my goals is to look smart in comparison to the other students in my classes.
5. It's important to me that I look smart compared to others in my class.

Descriptive Statistics

n=32

Items	Mean	Standard Deviation
1.	3.72	1.14
2.	2.13	1.02
3.	3.16	1.11
4.	3.16	1.22
5.	3.39	1.12

Academic Efficacy

Questions:

1. I'm certain I can master the skills taught in class this year.

2. I'm certain I can figure out how to do the most difficult class work.
3. I can do almost all the work in class if I don't give up.
4. Even if the work is hard, I can learn it.
5. I can do even the hardest work in this class if I try.

Descriptive Statistics

n=32

Items	Mean	Standard Deviation
1.	4.25	.880
2.	4.38	.907
3.	4.03	.948
4.	4.03	1.18
5.	4.00	.856

Academic Self-Handicapping Strategies

Questions:

1. Some students fool around the night before a test. Then if they don't do well, they can say that is the reason. How true is this of you?
2. Some students purposely get involved in lots of activities. Then if they don't do well on their class work, they can say it is because they were involved with other things. How true is this of you?
3. Some students look for reasons to keep them from studying (not feeling well, having to help their parents, taking care of a brother or sister, etc.). Then if they don't do well on their class work, they can say this is the reason. How true is this of you?
4. Some students let their friends keep them from paying attention in class or from doing their homework. Then if they don't do well, they can say their friends kept them from working. How true is this of you?
5. Some students purposely don't try hard in class. Then if they don't do well, they can say it is because they didn't try. How true is this of you?
6. Some students put off doing their class work until the last minute. Then if they don't do well on their work, they can say that is the reason. How true is this of you?

Descriptive Statistics

n=32

Items	Mean	Standard Deviation
1.	2.03	.993
2.	1.97	1.18
3.	1.78	.948
4.	2.06	1.13
5.	1.94	1.09
6.	1.59	.837

Stigma Consciousness Questionnaire

Questions:

1. Stereotypes about Blacks have not affected me personally.
2. I never worry that my behaviors will be viewed as stereotypically Black.
3. When interacting with Whites, I feel like they interpret all my behaviors in terms of the fact that I am Black.
4. Most Whites do not judge Blacks on the basis of race.
5. My being Black does not influence how Whites act with me.
6. I almost never think about the fact that I am Black when I interact with Whites.
7. My being Black does not influence how people act with me.
8. Most Whites have a lot more racially biased thoughts than they actually express.
9. I often think Whites unfairly are accused of being racially biased.
10. Most Whites have a problem viewing Blacks as equals.

Descriptive Statistics

n=32

Items	Mean	Standard Deviation
1.	2.77	1.92
2.	3.31	1.58
3.	2.50	1.41
4.	4.78	1.41
5.	3.19	2.05
6.	4.53	1.62
7.	5.55	1.41
8.	3.19	1.84
9.	2.72	1.75
10.	2.34	1.58

Rejection Sensitivity-Race Questionnaire

Questions:

1. Imagine that you are in class one day, and the professor asks a particularly difficult question. A few people, including yourself, raise their hands to answer the question.
 - a. How concerned/anxious would you be that the professor might not choose you because of your race/ethnicity?
 - b. I would expect that the professor might not choose me because of my race/ethnicity.
2. Imagine that you are in a pharmacy, trying to pick out a few items. While you're looking at the different brands, you notice one of the store clerks glancing your way.
 - a. How concerned /anxious would you be that the clerk might be looking at you because of your race/ethnicity?

- b. I would expect that the clerk might continue to look at me because of my race/ethnicity.
3. Imagine you have just completed a job interview over the telephone. You are in good spirits because the interviewer seemed enthusiastic about your application. Several days later you complete a second interview in person. Your interviewer informs you that they will let you know about their decision soon.
 - a. How concerned/anxious would you be that you might not be hired because of your race/ethnicity?
 - b. I would expect that I might not be hired because of my race/ethnicity.
4. It's late at night and you are driving down a country road you're not familiar with. Luckily, there is a 24-hour 7-11 just ahead, so you stop there and head up to the counter to ask the young woman for directions.
 - a. How concerned/anxious would you be that she might not help you because of your race/ethnicity?
 - b. I would expect that the woman might not help me because of my race/ethnicity.
5. Imagine that a new school professor is selecting students for a summer research project that you really want. The professor has only one space left and you are one of several students that are qualified for this opportunity.
 - a. How concerned/anxious would you be that the professor might not choose you because of your race/ethnicity?
 - b. I would expect that he might not select me because of my race/ethnicity.
6. Imagine you have just finished shopping, and you are leaving the store carrying several bags. It's closing time, and several people are filing out of the store at once. Suddenly, the alarm begins to sound, and a security guard comes over to investigate.
 - a. How concerned/anxious would you be that the guard might stop you because of your race/ethnicity?
 - b. I would expect that the guard might stop me because of my race/ethnicity.
7. Imagine you are riding the bus one day. The bus is full except for two seats, one of which is next to you. As the bus comes to the next stop, you notice a woman getting on the bus.
 - a. How concerned/anxious would you be that she might avoid sitting next to you because of your race/ethnicity?
 - b. I would expect that she might not sit next to me because of my race/ethnicity.
8. Imagine that you are in a restaurant, trying to get the attention of your waitress. A lot of other people are trying to get her attention as well.
 - a. How concerned/anxious would you be that she might not attend you right away because of your race/ethnicity?

- b. I would expect that she might not attend to me right away because of my race/ethnicity.
- 9. Imagine you're driving down the street, and there is a police barricade just ahead. The police officers are randomly pulling people over to check drivers' licenses and registrations.
 - a. How concerned/anxious would you be that an officer might pull you over because of your race/ethnicity?
 - b. I would expect that the officers might stop me because of my race/ethnicity.
- 10. Imagine that it's the second day of class at the start of a new semester. The professor assigned a writing sample yesterday and today the professor announces that she has finished correcting the papers. You wait for your paper to be returned.
 - a. How concerned/anxious would you be that you might receive a lower grade than others because of your race/ethnicity?
 - b. I would expect to receive a lower grade than others because of my race/ethnicity.
- 11. Imagine that you are standing in line for the ATM machine, and you notice the woman at the machine glances back while she's getting her money.
 - a. How concerned/anxious would you be that she might be suspicious of you because of your race/ethnicity?
 - b. I would expect that she might be suspicious of me because of my race/ethnicity.
- 12. Imagine you're parking your car on the street. You have to put money in the parking meter, but you don't have change. You decide to go into a store and ask for change for your bill.
 - a. How concerned/anxious would you be that the cashier might not give you change because of your race/ethnicity?
 - b. I would expect that the cashier might not give me change because of my race/ethnicity.

Descriptive Statistics

n=32

Items	Mean	Standard Deviation
1.	8.48	4.09
2.	8.40	4.83
3.	8.13	5.10
4.	13.3	6.68
5.	10.6	6.59
6.	8.61	3.27
7.	9.48	5.88
8.	10.5	4.85
9.	7.88	4.80

10.

11.4

6.54

APPENDIX C
INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD APPROVAL
AND
INFORMED CONSENT

Introduction and Informed Consent
Cultural Attitudes and Climate Survey
Email Solicitation

Dear Students

My name is Roland Davis and I work in the Dean of Students Office here at the College. I am also a doctoral student at the University of New Hampshire working towards a Ph.D. in education and it is for this reason that I am contacting you. I am conducting research towards the completion of my doctoral dissertation and was hoping to employ the assistance of The College students in the collection of some data.

The following pages contain a questionnaire, the purpose of which is to try and assess the campus' racial climate as defined by the self reported beliefs and values held by students at the College regarding issues of diversity in general, and race more specifically. I expect this questionnaire to take no more than 15 minutes to complete, and your participation is totally voluntary. After your responses have been evaluated, you may be contacted as a part of a randomly selected group to be individually interviewed, the reason being to assess whether there are any discrepancies between students' reported beliefs and lived experiences around these issues.

There is no foreseeable risk to you in participating in this study by either completing the questionnaire or being a further participant. Similarly, there are no benefits to be gained by completing this questionnaire, other than the possibility of being randomly selected for a prize from among those who complete the survey. For simply agreeing to complete the questionnaire you will be entered into a raffle to win one of three prizes, the cash value of each being \$50. If asked to participate further, at the end of your participation you will receive movie passes with a total value of \$10.

Again, your consent to participate in this research is entirely voluntary, and your refusal to participate will involve no prejudice, penalty or loss of benefits to which you would otherwise be entitled. If you consent to participate in this study and are selected to be interviewed, you are free to stop your participation in the study at any time.

Confidentiality is of paramount concern in this project and will be maintained throughout the entire research process. For those who complete the survey, only your student ID #'s will be listed, so no names will be readily apparent. The reason I ask that you list your student ID # is so that you may be contacted in the event you are randomly selected to be interviewed. All questionnaire responses, audio recordings from interviews, or any other documentation will remain strictly confidential with access being granted only to the faculty at UNH who will be assisting me with this project. No one at The College will have access to your responses on the questionnaire or anything you say in an interview without your written consent. At some point it will be important for me to attribute to someone what information I gather, but please know that I will not use your name in the write up of the research. Rather, I will use descriptors that will not reveal the identity of any interview participant. Finally, know that I will maintain all recordings and transcriptions in an electronic format stored on my personal computer to which only I have access. At the conclusion of the study, all electronic material shall be deleted, but all printed text shall be maintained by me in a secure location in the event they are needed for future research.

You should understand, however, there are rare instances when a researcher is required to share personally-identifiable information (e.g., according to policy, contract, regulation). For example, in response to a complaint about the research, officials at the University of New Hampshire, designees of the sponsor(s), and/or regulatory and oversight government agencies may access research data. You also should understand that the researcher is required by law to report certain information to government and/or law enforcement officials (e.g., child abuse, threatened violence against self or others, communicable diseases).

If you have any questions pertaining to the research you can contact Roland Davis to discuss them at rdavis@bates.edu, or Dr. Michael Middleton, Department of Education at the University of New Hampshire at michael.middleton@unh.edu.

If you have questions about your rights as a research subject you can contact Julie Simpson in the UNH Office of Sponsored Research, 603-862-2003 or Julie.simpson@unh.edu to discuss them.

Informed Consent Page of Online Survey

Thank you for your willingness to take this questionnaire. The purpose of the questionnaire is to try and assess the prevailing cultural attitudes on campus, and the campus climate more generally, with respect to diversity. I expect this questionnaire to take no more than 15 minutes to complete, and your participation is completely voluntary.

After your responses have been evaluated, you may be contacted as a part of a randomly selected group to be individually interviewed for the purpose of gauging whether there are any discrepancies between students' self-reported beliefs and lived experiences around these issues.

Your consent to participate in this research is entirely voluntary, and your refusal to participate will involve no prejudice, penalty or loss of benefits to which you would otherwise be entitled. If you consent to participate in this study and are selected to be interviewed, you are free to stop your participation in the study at any time.

There is no foreseeable risk to you in participating in this study by either completing the questionnaire or being interviewed. Similarly, there are no benefits to be gained other than the possibility of being randomly selected for a prize from among those who complete the survey. For simply agreeing to complete the questionnaire you will be entered into a raffle to win one of three \$50 gift certificates to DaVinci's Restaurant.

Confidentiality is of paramount concern in this project. For those who complete the survey, only your student ID #'s will be listed so no names will be readily apparent. The reason you are asked to list your student ID # is so that you may be contacted in the event you are randomly selected as a prize recipient, or for the purposes of a follow up interview. All responses, either from the questionnaire or the interview, will remain strictly confidential with access being granted only to the faculty at UNH with whom I am working on this project. **NO ONE AT THE COLLEGE WILL HAVE ACCESS TO YOUR RESPONSES ON THE QUESTIONNAIRE OR ANYTHING YOU SAY IN AN INTERVIEW WITHOUT YOUR WRITTEN CONSENT.**

For those interviewed, it will be necessary to attribute to someone what information is gathered, but please know that **YOUR NAME WILL NOT BE USED** in the write up of the research. Rather, we will use general descriptors (i.e. a female student from the mid-west) that will not reveal the identity of any interview participant. Finally, know that all recordings and transcriptions of interviews will be maintained in an electronic format stored on a computer to which only I have access. At the conclusion of the study, all electronic material shall be deleted, but all printed text shall be maintained by me in a secure location in the event they are needed for future research.

You should understand, however, there are rare instances when a researcher is required to share personally-identifiable information (e.g., according to policy, contract, regulation). For example, in response to a complaint about the research, officials at the University of New Hampshire, designees of the sponsor(s), and/or regulatory and oversight government agencies may access research data.

If you have any questions pertaining to the research you can contact me (Roland Davis) to discuss them at rdavis@bates.edu, or Dr. Michael Middleton, Department of Education at the University of New Hampshire at michael.middleton@unh.edu. If you have questions about your rights as a research subject you can contact Julie Simpson in the

UNH Office of Sponsored Research, 603-862-2003 or Julie.simpson@unh.edu to discuss them.

In order to take this online questionnaire your browser must have javascript and cookies enabled.

If you agree to these terms, click the button below to begin. Thank you for your time and assistance.

Thank you!

I greatly appreciate you taking the time out of your short term schedules to assist me with this study. Within a short period of time, as soon as a reasonable number of students have responded to the questionnaire, I will inform raffle winners individually via e-mail.

If you have any questions about this study, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Roland Davis

Introduction and Informed Consent

Race and Motivation Survey

Email Solicitation

Dear Students,

As some of you may know, in addition to my role here at Bates, I am also working towards a Ph.D. at the University of New Hampshire. A requirement of most doctoral programs is the submission of a dissertation, original research that contributes to the field in a meaningful way, not unlike The College's thesis requirement. I'm at the point where I need to begin collecting data for my research and I am in need of your help.

My research centers around motivation and African American college students and the impact campus racial climate may have on Black students' academic performance. There is strikingly little research on Black students in the field of motivation, at least research that does not take a deficit approach or confound issues of class and race (Graham, 1994). As such, the information you can provide for me would be very helpful to the field.

My hope is that you will be willing to take an online questionnaire that would help me begin to flesh out the interplay between race, stereotypes, and academic achievement among African American students. Furthermore, I will look to interview a handful of students for the purposes of gathering specific information about your individual experiences in the academic realm. I will be in touch directly if I need to speak with you further about this. My study will then look to blend both the quantitative and qualitative data in an attempt to give a voice to the overall experiences of Black students in environments like Bates.

In this study, I am choosing to focus solely on the experiences of African Americans (students who have been coded by the College as being born in the U.S., or naturalized citizens). My choosing to do so is in no way an indication that researchers think issues of climate do not play a role in the academic lives of non-U.S. Blacks, or other people of color. I have elected to narrow my focus here for two reasons. One, because there is such little research on the experiences of African American students; and two, the experiences of those who did not go through the U.S. educational system may be fundamentally different from those who did, thus raising a whole host of other issues that may make this study unmanageable in the time I have to do it. Narrowing the focus presents another challenge—it also limits the pool of potential participants. Therefore, I would greatly appreciate your help by completing this questionnaire.

To offer you a bit of incentive, for those that complete the questionnaire you will be entered into a raffle to win one of three prizes—an *iPod nano*, an *iPod shuffle*, or a \$50 gift certificate to *DaVinci's Restaurant*.

Please go to the following website:

<http://abacus.bates.edu/~rdavis/raceandmotivation/>

This will bring you to the consent page. By clicking on the “Begin” button, you are granting me permission to use the data I collect. This is stated on the consent page, but it is worth mentioning here as well; **NO ONE AT THE COLLEGE WILL HAVE ACCESS TO YOUR RESPONSES ON THE QUESTIONNAIRE OR ANYTHING YOU SAY IN THE COURSE OF THIS PROJECT WITHOUT YOUR WRITTEN CONSENT.** If you decide you do not want to participate, you may withdraw from the study at any time, but it is my sincere hope that you will agree to let me use the information you provide.

If any of you have questions before, during, or after completing this questionnaire, please do not hesitate to ask. If you would like more specific information on this study, I would be more than happy to discuss it with you in detail. I thank you all in advance for your time and appreciate your help with my research.

Sincerely,
Roland Davis

Informed Consent Page of Online Survey

Thank you for agreeing to complete this questionnaire. The purpose of the questionnaire, and this study overall, is to assess the motivational goals of African Americans students in a small college environment, and to measure perceptions of stereotypes applied to Blacks as a group, and whether rejection based on race has an impact on individuals. I expect this questionnaire to take no more than 15 minutes to complete.

After your responses have been evaluated, you may be one of four individuals contacted for further involvement in this study. If you are willing, you will be asked to participate in 3 interviews of 60-90 minutes in length. In addition, you may be asked to keep a journal or enter into an ongoing dialogue in which you document instances of when you have felt supported or unsupported in academic settings and whether, in your estimation, this support/non-support has anything to do with race.

There is no foreseeable risk to you in participating in this study by either completing the questionnaire or being a further participant. However, for those who are solicited for further participation, issues of race in the academic environment will be discussed, which for some can be a highly charged topic.

The cost to you for participating in this study is nothing other than the time it takes to complete the questionnaire, and the time spent being interviewed if you agree to be a further participant in this study.

For simply agreeing to complete the questionnaire you will be entered into a raffle to win one of three prizes: an iPod nano, an iPod shuffle, or a \$50 gift certificate to DaVinci's Restaurant.

Your consent to participate in this research is entirely voluntary, and your refusal to participate will involve no prejudice, penalty or loss of benefits to which you would otherwise be entitled. If you consent to participate in this study, you are free to stop your participation in the study at any time.

Confidentiality is of paramount concern in this project and will be maintained throughout the entire research process. All data gathered will remain strictly confidential with access being granted only to the faculty at UNH who will be assisting me with this project. **NO ONE AT THE COLLEGE WILL HAVE ACCESS TO YOUR RESPONSES ON THE QUESTIONNAIRE OR ANYTHING YOU SAY IN THE COURSE OF THIS PROJECT WITHOUT YOUR WRITTEN CONSENT.**

You should understand, however, there are rare instances when a researcher is required to share personally-identifiable information (e.g., according to policy, contract, regulation). For example, in response to a complaint about the research, officials at the University of New Hampshire, designees of the sponsor(s), and/or regulatory and oversight government agencies may access research data.

If you have any questions pertaining to the research you can contact me (Roland Davis) to discuss them at rdavis@bates.edu, or Dr. Michael Middleton, Department of Education at the University of New Hampshire at michael.middleton@unh.edu. If you have questions about your rights as a research subject you can contact Julie Simpson in the UNH Office of Sponsored Research, 603-862-2003 or Julie.simpson@unh.edu to discuss them.

In order to take this online questionnaire your browser must have javascript and cookies enabled.

If you agree to these terms, click the button below to begin. Thank you for your time and assistance.

Thank you!

I greatly appreciate you taking the time out of your short term schedules to assist me with this study. Within a short period of time, as soon as a reasonable number of students have responded to the questionnaire, I will inform raffle winners individually via e-mail.

If you have any questions about this study, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Roland Davis

UNH IRB APPROVAL



UNIVERSITY of NEW HAMPSHIRE

March 27, 2006

Roland Davis
Education, Morrill Hall
8 Infiniti Way
Auburn, ME 04210

IRB #: 3652
Study: The Deconstruction of Ambition: Campus Climate, Stereotype Threat,
and the Motivational Goals of Black Students at a Selective Small
Liberal Arts College
Approval Date: 03/24/2006

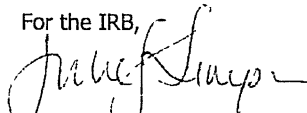
The Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects in Research (IRB) has reviewed and approved the protocol for your study as Expedited as described in Title 45, Code of Federal Regulations (CFR), Part 46, Subsection 110.

Approval is granted to conduct your study as described in your protocol for one year from the approval date above. At the end of the approval period, you will be asked to submit a report with regard to the involvement of human subjects in this study. If your study is still active, you may request an extension of IRB approval.

Researchers who conduct studies involving human subjects have responsibilities as outlined in the attached document, *Responsibilities of Directors of Research Studies Involving Human Subjects*. (This document is also available at <http://www.unh.edu/osr/compliance/irb.html>.) Please read this document carefully before commencing your work involving human subjects.

If you have questions or concerns about your study or this approval, please feel free to contact me at 603-862-2003 or Julie.simpson@unh.edu. Please refer to the IRB # above in all correspondence related to this study. The IRB wishes you success with your research.

For the IRB,



Julie F. Simpson
Manager

cc: File
Michael Middleton

**Research Conduct and Compliance Services, Office of Sponsored Research, Service
Building, 51 College Road, Durham, NH 03824-3585 * Fax: 603-862-3564**