

REPRESENTATIONS OF BLACK HISTORY AS INTENTIONAL WORLDS OF  
OPPRESSION AND LIBERATION

BY

C2010  
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Submitted to the graduate degree program in Psychology and the Graduate Faculty of  
the University of Kansas in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy.

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Date Approved: September 23, 2010

### Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my graduate mentor, Dr. Glenn Adams, for his support, advice, and guidance on planning and conducting this research. Special thanks to Drs. Christian Crandall, Randal Jelks, Ludwin Molina, and Jessica Vasquez for serving on my dissertation committee and offering their invaluable feedback. I would also like to thank the Culture and Psychology Research Group and research assistants for their assistance in completing this project and for providing helpful suggestions along the way. Last, but not least, I would like to thank my family and friends who always provided much needed encouragement throughout my graduate school journey.

## Abstract

The present research applies the cultural psychology concept of *intentional worlds* (Shweder, 1990) to collective representations of Black History and their relationship with perceptions of racism in contemporary US society. Across 3 studies, I utilize quantitative and qualitative research approaches to explore the dynamic resonance between cultural context and psychological experience. In study 1 ( $N=47$ ), I consider how representations implicit in mainstream American artifacts—specifically, Black History Month displays from predominately White American settings—reflect the preferences and understandings of White Americans (community-reflecting hypothesis). To test this hypothesis, White participants rated 12 Black History Month displays from high schools where White American students are in the majority (84-92%; Mainstream representations) and in the minority (2-28%; Minority representations). As anticipated, participants indicated that Mainstream displays were more preferable and recognizable than Minority displays. In studies 2 and 3, I consider whether apparently neutral mainstream representations lead people to understate the role of racism in US society (community-reproducing hypothesis). Study 2 ( $N=123$ ) examines the consequences of exposure to the “preferred” Mainstream displays from study 1. Consistent with the hypothesis, the Mainstream displays were not as effective at promoting racism perception as the Minority displays. In study 3 ( $N=37$ ), I randomly assign White American participants to one of three historical representation conditions: sanitized representations of Black achievements, critical representations of historical barriers, and a control condition.

Consistent with community-reproducing hypotheses, sanitized Black History representations were not as effective at the task of promoting racism perception as the critical Black History representations. Together, these studies suggest that depending on their source, representations of Black History constitute “intentional worlds” that can promote liberation or oppression.

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## Representations of Black History as Intentional Worlds of Oppression and Liberation

When Carter G. Woodson first proposed celebrating “Negro History Week” in 1926, he posited that commemorating and injecting the history of African Americans into mainstream consciousness would help to dismantle American racism by legitimizing contributions, instilling a sense of pride in Black youth, and simultaneously diminishing racist attitudes towards Black Americans (Dagbovie, 2004). In other words, Black History Month could not only serve as a tool for shaping pride in Black American communities, but also as a tool for shaping anti-racist consciousness in American society, more generally. Since Woodson first proposed it, Black History Month has become an increasingly mainstream event, especially after the United States Congress recognized February as Black History Month in 1986. However, as mainstream American society has increasingly appropriated Black History Month, the event has evolved to serve a variety of purposes (Pitre & Ray, 2002). Indeed, scholars debate whether current Black History Month commemorations serve Woodson’s liberatory goals or are instead primarily a means for corporations to market to the Black community (Pitre & Ray, 2002). Whatever the case, it is clear that Black History Month is not simply a tool for construction of Black American identities; in addition, these representations of the past have implications for identity concerns of White Americans, too.

Taking these observations as a point of departure, the present research applies the cultural psychology concept of *intentional worlds* to collective representations of Black History and examines their relationship with perceptions of racism in

contemporary US society. On one hand, I consider how representations implicit in mainstream American artifacts—specifically, Black History Month displays from predominately White American settings—reflect the preferences and understandings of White Americans. On the other hand, I consider how apparently neutral mainstream representations lead people to understate the role of racism in American society. *Intentional worlds* refers to this dynamic resonance between structures of mind embodied in the brain and inscribed in cultural worlds.

#### *Black History Month Narratives as Psychological Phenomena*

When sources present history as “just the facts” or “objective” accounts of the past, they obscure the reality that reconstructions of the past must necessarily omit some event details and persons (Loewen, 1995; Trouillot, 1995). Historical accounts of the past are not often firsthand experiences of seminal past events, if even distantly derived from them (see Adamczyk, 2002); instead, they are dynamically constructed collective memories. What happened in the past and its relevance to the present is inherently ambiguous; thus, history affords interpretation of those “facts.” Moreover, representations of the past serve a variety of psychological purposes (e.g., identity; motivation). Previous psychological research suggests that the presence and absence of particular history narratives are not the product of happenstance (e.g., Baumeister & Hastings, 1997; Kurtiş, Adams, & Yellowbird, 2009; Pennebaker & Banasik, 1997; Sahdra & Ross, 2007; Wohl & Branscombe, 2008); instead, the inclusion and exclusion of certain collective narratives may be a reflection of identity-relevant concerns regarding what is or is not collectively self-relevant.

Representations of history provide the scaffolding for conceptions of nationhood and other collective identities (Eyerman, 2004; Liu & Hilton, 2005; Reicher & Hopkins, 2001). Representations of history provide access to a collective story around which individuals can locate their personal and collective selves. That collective story can be “embodied, written down, painted, represented, communicated and received in distant places by isolated individuals, who can then, through them, be remembered and reunited with the collective” (Eyerman, 2004; p.161). For example, the trauma of slavery is a collective memory that has served as a basis for African American identity (Eyerman, 2004). Engagement with representations associated with collective memory of American slavery (not the actual experience of slavery) interacts with how Americans of African descent see themselves in relation to other groups (i.e., collectively identifying as African American).

However, representations of Black history are not solely relevant to constructions of Black identity. The collective narratives that might serve as bases for Black American identities and experience also engage White American identities. Work on *historical memory*—individual recollection of identity-relevant events among people who share a particular social identity—suggests that people utilize a variety of psychological means to engage (or disengage) with historical events that are threatening to positive experiences of group membership. Collectively or individually, people can forget, minimize, or avoid acknowledging negative historical events. For example, when prompted to strongly identify with their country, Canadian participants recalled fewer incidents of historical violence in which Canadians were

the perpetrators than did participants prompted to dis-identify (Sahdra & Ross, 2007). Research has also shown that the more Dutch participants identified with the group, the less willing they were to acknowledge Dutch colonization of Indonesia was negative (Doojse, Branscombe, Spears, & Manstead, 1998). Pennebaker and colleagues suggest people may also deal with threatening information by psychological distancing (e.g., 25 year lapses between traumatic events and monument building; Pennebaker & Banasik, 1997; Pennebaker & Gonzales, 2009). There is also work that suggests there may be motives to reconstruct the past in the most favorable light in order to avoid negative feelings and emotions. Specifically, historical events that are threatening to positive experience of group membership evoke negative collective emotions like guilt (e.g., Branscombe & Miron, 2004; Wohl, Branscombe, & Klar, 2008).

#### *A Cultural Psychological Perspective*

Several perspectives in social psychology suggest that knowledge of the past is an inherently ambiguous and subjective experience (e.g., Liu & Hilton, 2005; Blatz & Ross, 2009; Pennebaker & Gonzales, 2009). However, a cultural psychological perspective extends this idea and asserts that cultural repositories of memory—school classrooms, textbooks, museums, and national holidays, for example—necessarily mediate peoples understandings of their collective past (e.g., Kurtiş, Adams, & Yellowbird, 2009; Loewen, 1999; Rowe, Wertsch, & Kosyaeva, 2002; Wertsch, 2002; Vygotsky, 1978). Cultural sites of memory (such as constructions of Black History Month) are not neutral or objective accounts of past realities, but instead are

infused with particular beliefs and desires constituting *intentional worlds* (Shweder, 1990, p. 1).

A sociocultural environment is an intentional world. It is an intentional world because its existence is real, factual, and forceful, but only as long as there exists a community of persons whose beliefs, desires, emotions, purposes, and other mental representations are directed at it and are thereby influenced by it. Intentional worlds are human artificial worlds populated with products of our own design (Shweder, 1990, p. 2).

On one hand, intentional worlds reflect community beliefs and desires. On the other hand, intentional worlds are directive—that is, they reinforce desirable behaviors and push toward particular actions. In other words, people inhabit culturally configured worlds (including representations of history) that afford or promote particular understandings and behaviors because culturally relevant understandings and meanings constitute those cultural worlds. A part of a dialectical relationship, people continually reproduce these cultural worlds through everyday action in ways that further objectify their understandings (e.g., create or produce different representations in ways that are “good” or “right”).

According to this perspective, different interpretations of the past are not innocuous, but do some work to maintain the worlds in which they are located (Adams, Salter, Pickett, Kurtiş, & Phillips, 2010). While one representation of a past event may serve to undermine systemic oppression as per Woodson’s hopes, another representation of the event may serve different goals. For instance, when mainstream

American historical narratives mention experiences of the oppressed, they often primarily highlight heroes and cultural holidays (Banks, 1999; Pitre & Ray, 2002) and tend to silence or minimize discussion of oppression (e.g., Kurtiş, Adams, & Yellowbird, 2009; Loewen, 1995). That is,

It is fine to mention Dr. King, Andrew Young, and more recently Malcolm X, as long as there is only mention of concepts and ideals that meet the needs of the dominant culture. For example, it is okay to mention Dr. King's dream, but don't mention his opposition to Vietnam... (Pitre & Ray, 2002; p. 153).

Exclusively incorporating celebratory aspects of heroism or cultural diversity into historical narratives may not have the full liberatory potential to meet Woodson's goal of alleviating the detrimental effects of racism. This might be especially true when compared to a more critical approach that acknowledges historical oppression. Hero and individual achievement oriented representations resonate with dominant group ideologies (e.g., colorblindness, meritocracy, protestant work ethic) to a greater extent than representations that do not minimize the role of systemic racism might play in present-day inequalities (e.g., Jost, Banaji, & Nosek, 2004; Levin, Sidanius, Rabinowitz, & Federico 1998). The extent to which mainstream historical narratives promote denial of racism in contemporary society by omitting narratives of oppression and other objectionable events (e.g., genocide, slavery; Kurtiş, Adams, & Yellowbird, 2009; Loewen, 1995), they constitute intentional worlds of racism and oppression that further perpetuate white domination.

In addition to constituting intentional worlds, representations of history illustrate the idea of mind-in-context (Adams, Salter, Pickett, Kurtiş, & Phillips, 2010; Moscovici, 1984). Specifically, representations of history are illustrative of how collective memories of the past not only reside in the structures of mind embodied in the brain, but is also inscribed in cultural worlds or embedded in “cultural stuff” (Adams, et al., 2010; see also Morling & Lamoreaux, 2008). Rather than direct transmission of historical narratives from one individual to another, the transfer of collective autobiographies occurs “in the world” via tools that carry their intentions and purpose within their design.

Cultural psychologists have both discussed and empirically demonstrated that one can study the psyche or mind “outside of the head” and in the context (e.g., Adams, 2005; Markus, Uchida, Omoregie, Townsend, & Kitayama, 2006; Miyamoto, Nisbett, & Masuda, 2006; Snibbe & Markus, 2005; Morling & Lamoreaux, 2009). This approach has primarily consisted of describing or comparing cultural products in various cultural contexts (e.g., cross-national; urban versus rural; individualist versus collectivist). Morling and Lamoreaux (2008) conducted a meta-analysis of 51 studies measuring individualism and collectivism using cultural products (e.g., letters to the editor, magazine ads, press coverage, etc.) and found that cultural products in countries commonly perceived as individualist (U.S., United Kingdom, and Germany) were more individualistic than cultural products in countries typically categorized as collectivist contexts (South Korea, China, Japan, Mexico, India, and Thailand). Applying this perspective to the topic of current research, Black History

Month products (e.g., bulletin boards, displays, posters) are sites or tools of memory and identity measurable “outside the head.” Built into the structures of everyday worlds, Black History Month products reflect structures of mind embedded in the context.

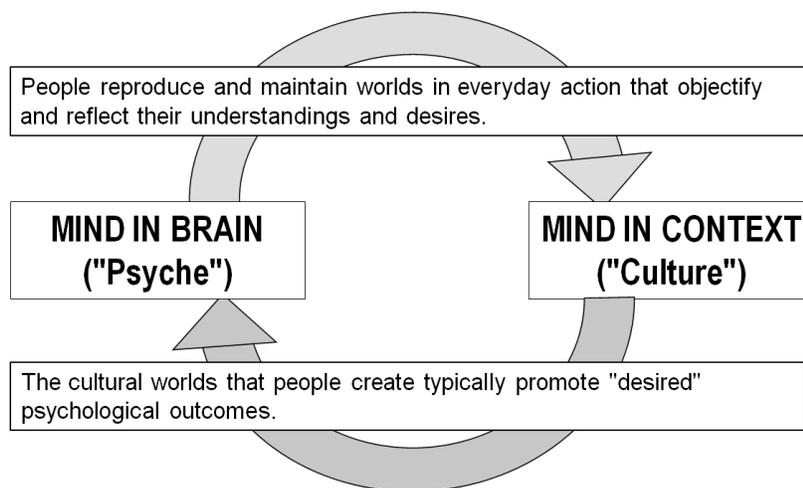
### Overview of the Present Research

The present work utilizes the cultural psychological concept of *mutual constitution* to explore the bidirectional relationship between cultural context (i.e., collective memory) and psychological experience (i.e., identity-relevant phenomena; see Figure 1). Specifically, I examine sociocultural variation in representations of Black history and the consequences of this variation for perceptions of racial inequality in America. In one direction, I consider how representations implicit in a set of mainstream American artifacts—Black History month displays from predominately White American settings—reflect the preferences and understandings of White Americans. In the other direction, I consider how mainstream representations lead people to understate the role of racism in American society.

*Community-reflecting hypothesis.* Study 1 focuses on the top arrow of the Figure 1. An *intentional worlds* framework suggest that divergent representations reflect community consistent preferences, beliefs, and desires. The presence or absence of various representations are not natural products of just the way things are, but reflect purposeful identity-consistent deposits of *what is good* and *what is right* into the sociocultural context. To the extent that White American settings reflect preferences and previous understandings of “good” and “right” representations of Black history

among White Americans, then White Americans should rate these mainstream representations as more “desirable” (i.e., attractive) and indicate that they reflect their “previous understandings” (i.e., familiar and accurate). Study 1 initially tests this component of an intentional worlds framework. More specifically, I test the hypotheses that, although unaware of the source of representations, (1) White American undergraduates will prefer Black History Month from majority-White schools, and (2) this preference will vary as a function of collective identification.

Figure 1. Mutual constitution of psyche and culture



*This figure illustrates the mutual constitution of mind-in-brain architecture with structures of mind-in-context. These ecological structures of mind-in-context function as “intentional worlds” (Shweder, 1990): deposits of behavioral sediment that not only reflect beliefs and desires implicit in previous understandings (top arrow), but also direct subsequent behavior and action toward particular ends (bottom arrow).*

*Community-reproducing hypothesis.* Studies 2 and 3 examine consequences of different Black History Month representations for identity-relevant action.

Representations reproduce community preferences by affording behaviors and actions consistent with positive and desirable constructions of the community (see bottom arrow of Figure 1). Cultural representations are, in part, responsible for maintaining the sociocultural context where they are desirable. Representations are not only shaped by community-consistent ideas, but do some influencing and shaping of their own. To the extent that mainstream representations reproduce positive and desirable constructions of whiteness, then White Americans exposed to mainstream representations should deny constructions of the past or present that might negatively implicate the community (or identity category). That is, displays or narratives consistent with mainstream constructions of Black History should produce more denial of racism in the US when compared to minority representations of Black history.

Study 2 examines the consequences of existing Black History Month representations from actual cultural products: the Black History Month displays that I examined in Study 1. I use a between subjects design to manipulate exposure to displays, and then I consider the consequences of exposure for perceptions of racism in US society (i.e., a precondition for collective action on behalf of social justice, one of the Woodson's primary motivations for proposing Negro History Week). Resonating with the idea that preferred representations systematically promote "preferred" identity-relevant outcomes, I hypothesize that exposure to the "preferred" displays from majority-White schools will not be as effective at the task of promoting perception of racism (or, alternatively stated, will promote greater denial of racism )

as Black History Month displays from majority-Minority schools—thereby helping to preserve the status quo of racial inequality from which White Americans benefit.

Finally, in Study 3, I experimentally manipulate historical representations of Black History based upon field observations and results from studies 1 and 2. While participants in Study 2 engage with existing cultural products, participants in Study 3 engage with experimenter-constructed historical facts that were inspired by the existing cultural products. These facts represent representations of history that ignore the historical contributions of Black Americans, emphasize celebratory accomplishments without considering barriers, or present critical narratives that acknowledge historical barriers. This extension of study 2 allows me to test specific hypotheses regarding the "active ingredients" of Black History Month representations that promote different action tendencies.

*Identity-relevance hypothesis.* Representations are identity relevant, activating, and engaging. People consume, filter, and view the world (including representations) through different identity lenses. To the extent that representations of Black history might negatively implicate White and American identities, this theoretical perspective suggests that representations from mainstream settings would evoke negative associations with whiteness to a lesser degree than representations resonating with minority settings. Study 1 examines this idea; however, identity relevance not only addresses how identity shapes perceptions of representations, but addresses how representations also shape and influence identity categories. Studies 2

and 3 revisit the identity relevance hypothesis with an examination of the impact of exposure to mainstream and minority representations on identity-relevant phenomena.

### Study 1

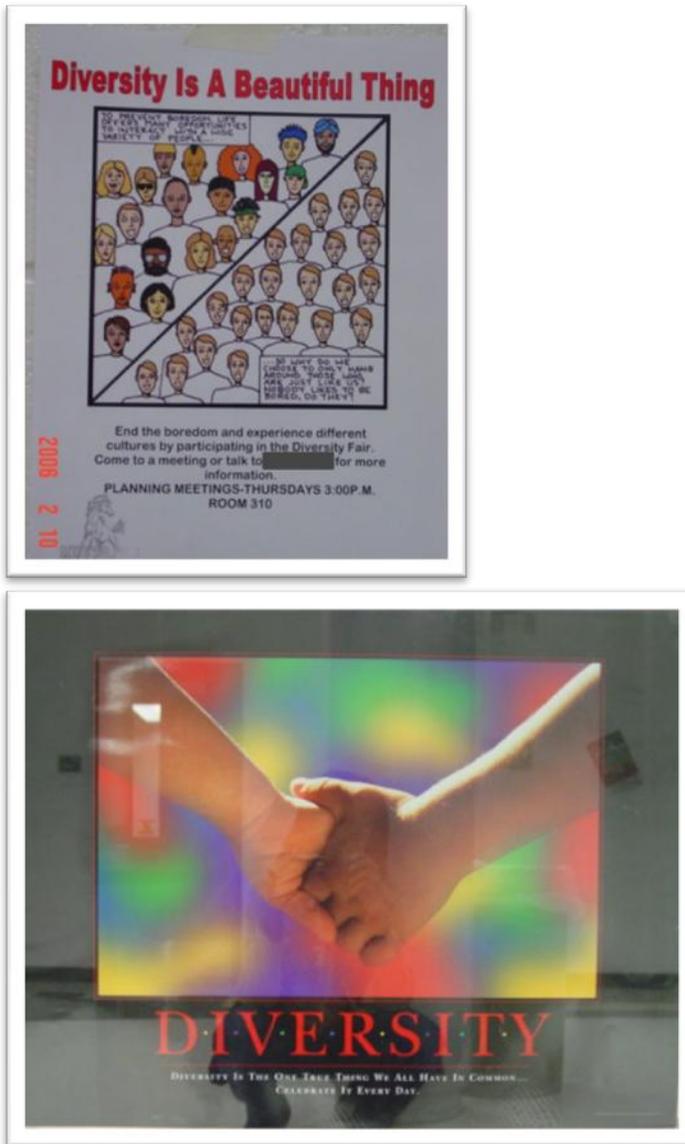
The first step in Study 1 was to conduct field research to observe the ways in which local high schools materialized Black history during the month of February. I contacted 16 schools a large U.S. Midwestern metropolitan area, 12 of which allowed me to visit their campus and had some form of material display to commemorate Black History month (Appendix A). I documented “official,” centralized displays located in the libraries, cafeterias, classrooms, and hallways, and also made notes in light of any posters, pictures, signs, or miscellaneous items related to commemoration of Black History Month.

There were some reoccurring themes I observed while visiting the schools. For example, I observed that designers commonly utilized pan-African color motifs (i.e., red, gold, black, and green) to construct displays. However, displays were certainly not limited to these colors; the rainbow motif was common, too. Responsibility for creating each display varied greatly from school to school. School librarians were some of the most common designers, but creators also included “the only Black staff” members, students, teachers, and diversity/guidance counselors. Displays generally focused on Black History icons from the past (e.g., Martin Luther King, Jr.), but some also included contemporary icons (e.g., Oprah and Bill Cosby). In addition to these observations, three major themes emerged as I toured the school and interviewed relevant staff (e.g., librarians, teachers, diversity coordinators).

First, I observed that some schools used commercially available, "pre-packaged" Black History Month kits (e.g., see Display 3 in table 1). These kits typically highlighted African American political and historical icons, sports figures, and entertainment personalities. The kits often contained pictures and short blurbs about each figure's contributions, but sometimes only had the person's name under their picture. With the exception of one display that included a timeline, the kits exclusively showcased people rather than places or events.

Second, I observed that some schools linked Black History Month to larger issues of cultural diversity rather than "Black history" specifically. This included both the displays themselves and posters around the school (e.g., "Diversity is the one true thing we all have in common" see Figure 2). At one school with a majority White student population, the librarian explained that the diversity theme purposefully connected students to the display: "We tried to pull books to reflect hopefully every student in the building. We had books in there as far as different races go, different religions...we have multiracial, gay and straight, any kind of student." Statements like these and the relative prevalence of the "diversity theme" in majority-White schools suggests that, in schools that do not have a large black student population, the purpose or reason for commemorating Black History Month may not be self-evident to designers and students, and designers may emphasize broader themes of diversity in an attempt to make the occasion relevant to all students.

Figure 2. Examples of diversity representations in majority-White school settings



Third, displays varied in their emphasis on struggle or historical racism (see Figure 3). In general, references to historical racism were typically limited to people involved in the Civil Rights Movement (i.e., Martin Luther King, Jr.; Rosa Parks).

Figure 3. Examples of historical racism representations in majority-Minority school settings



However, majority Black schools were more likely than majority White schools to have additional posters around the school with explicit references to the American institution of slavery, discrimination, and the events surrounding the Civil Rights Movement (e.g., freedom rides).

There were many commonalities across the schools, but on site observations revealed that these themes seemed to vary by the racial composition of the school. Although I did not collect systematic data on frequency of these representations, my impression was that schools with majority White populations were more likely than schools with majority Black populations to (a) use the "pre-packaged" Black History Month kits, (b) focus on issues of cultural diversity; and (c) de-emphasize struggle or historical racism. An intentional worlds explanation of this sociocultural variation suggests that these differences in representations of Black History are not neutral or merely coincidental, but reflect the beliefs, desires, and preferences of the community in which the displays originate. Study 1 compares the extent to which representations of Black History from schools with majority white student populations resonate better with the understandings and desires of White American undergraduates than do representations of Black History from schools with majority-minority populations.

## Method

### *Participants*

A total of 52 undergraduates from a Midwestern university in the U.S. participated in Study 1. Fifty-one of the participants identified as American, and they ranged in age from 18 to 30 years of age ( $M = 19.22$ ,  $SD = 1.98$ ). Of the participants indicating their race or ethnicity, fewer than 10% indicated a non-White race or ethnicity (Asian/Asian American = 2; African American/Black = 2; Hispanic/Latino = 1). I conducted analyses using only data from the 47 participants (27 men and 18 women) who indicated White and American identities.

### *Procedure*

After agreeing to participate in the study, participants viewed a PowerPoint presentation of seven Mainstream displays (sampled from high schools with majority White Student populations) and five Minority displays (sampled from high schools where American ethnic minorities were in the majority). I assigned participants at random to view these displays in one of two alternating order conditions (either a Mainstream or Minority display presented first). Participants completed ratings of affective responses, familiarity, and liking for each display as they viewed it. After completing the rating task, participants completed measures of identification and demographic questions (see Appendix B for full measure).

### *Materials*

*Stimuli.* I used 12 “Black History Month” displays from schools in a large U.S. Midwestern metropolitan area. Seven of the twelve displays came from high schools where White students were in the majority ( $M = 86\%$ ; range = 84-92%) and the remaining 5 of the displays came from high schools where White students were in the minority ( $M = 16\%$ ; range = 2-28%). I refer to these as “Mainstream” or “Minority” displays, respectively. Please see Appendix A for a description and picture of each display.

*Affective responses.* I measured affective responses to each display by adapting items from the Positive and Negative Affect Scale (PANAS; Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988). Participants rated six positive emotions (e.g., *proud*; Cronbach’s  $\alpha = .97$ ) and six negative emotions (e.g., *guilty*; Cronbach’s  $\alpha = .96$ ) on a scale from 1

(*not at all*) to 5 (*extremely*) in response to the following prompt: “Indicate to what extent you feel this way, right now, that is, at the present moment.” Participants completed this task after viewing each display.

*Display ratings.* Participants responded to six evaluative questions using a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very much*). A principal components analysis using varimax rotation yielded two reliable factors. A first, “liking” factor consisted of 4 items—for example, *How much do you like this display* and *To what extent would you like to see this display in your former high school*—that accounted for 73.15% of the variance (Cronbach’s  $\alpha$ s = .89, .90, and .93 for Mainstream, Minority, and overall, respectively). A second, “recognition” factor consisted of 2 items (e.g., *How familiar are you with the contents of this display?*) that accounted for 12.39% of the variance (Cronbach’s  $\alpha$ s = .80, .77, and .88 for Mainstream, Minority, and overall, respectively).

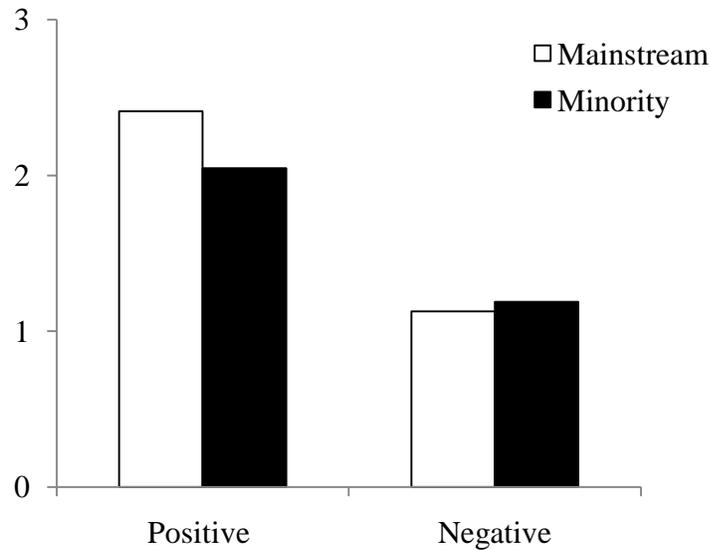
*Identification.* To examine the identity relevance hypothesis, I adapted one subscale of the Collective Self Esteem measure (CSE; Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992) for national and racial/ethnic identity. The *identity* subscale measures respective individual differences in importance of that social identity category (e.g., *the national [racial/ethnic] group I belong to is an important reflection of who I am*; Cronbach’s  $\alpha$ s = .84 and .71 for national and racial/ethnic, respectively). Participants responded to these questions with a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very much*).

## Results and Discussion

To investigate whether representations of Black History Month from different community settings reflect community consistent preferences, beliefs, and desires, I conducted within-subjects analyses of variance (ANOVAs) on White Americans ratings of positive and negative emotions, liking, and recognition in response to viewing Mainstream and Minority displays. In order to explore the identity-relevant hypothesis, I tested whether relationships between identity and evaluative sentiments varied as a function of display source.

*Affective responses.* I conducted two-way repeated measures ANOVAs to evaluate the effect of display type (Mainstream or Minority) and valence (positive and negative) on affective responses. There was a main effect of display source  $F(1,47) = 24.93, p < .001, \eta^2 = .35$ , such that the mean for affective responses were higher while viewing Mainstream displays ( $M = 1.77, SE = .05$ ) than while viewing Minority displays ( $M = 1.62, SE = .05$ ). Results also revealed a main effect of valence,  $F(1,46) = 38.57, p < .001, \eta^2 = .46$ . Positive emotions ( $M = 2.23, SE = .10$ ) were generally higher than negative ( $M = 1.16, SE = .04$ ). The Display x Valence interaction was also significant,  $F(1,46) = 49.31, p < .001, \eta^2 = .52$ , see Figure 4. The community-reflecting hypothesis suggests that White American participants should report more positive emotion when viewing Mainstream displays and more negative emotions while viewing Minority displays. Although White Americans reported more positive emotions while viewing Mainstream displays ( $M = 2.41, SE = .10$ ) than while viewing Minority displays ( $M = 2.05, SE = .10$ ),  $t(43) = 5.035, p < .001$ , they did not report significantly more negative emotions while viewing Minority display

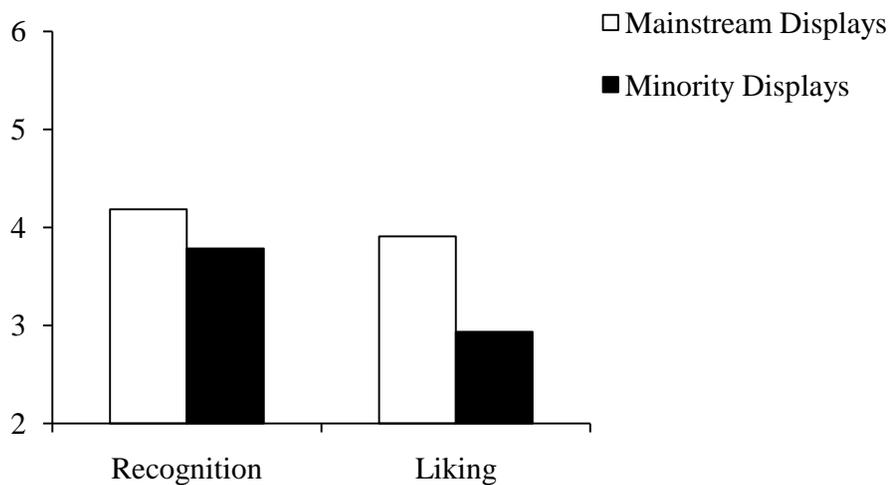
Figure 4. Mean affective responses for display type by valence



( $M = 1.19$ ,  $SE = .05$ ), than while viewing Mainstream displays ( $M = 1.13$ ,  $SE = .03$ ),  $t(43) = -1.72$ ,  $p = .092$ . These data suggest that representations of Black History in majority-White schools lead White American undergraduates to feel better than do representations of Black History from majority-Minority schools.

*Display Ratings.* I conducted a 2 (Display: Mainstream, Minority) X 2 (Evaluation Type: Liking, Recognition) repeated measures ANOVA to investigate the effect of display source on evaluations of liking and recognition. As anticipated, there was a main effect of display source  $F(1,46) = 76.71$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .63$ , such that ratings of both liking and recognition were higher for Mainstream displays ( $M = 3.92$ ,  $SE = .11$ ) than for Minority displays ( $M = 3.30$ ,  $SE = .11$ ), see Figure 5. There was also a main effect of evaluation type,  $F(1,46) = 38.57$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .46$ . Recognition ratings ( $M = 3.92$ ,  $SE = .12$ ) were generally higher than ratings of liking

Figure 5. Mean evaluation ratings for display type by evaluation type



( $M = 3.36, SE = .11$ ). The Display x Evaluation Type interaction was also significant,  $F(1,46) = 49.31, p < .001, \eta^2 = .52$ . Perhaps reflecting the greater sensitivity of preference judgments (relative to recognition judgments) as an indicator of exposure or familiarity (e.g., Zajonc, 1980), the difference between ratings of Mainstream and Minority displays was greater on the liking dimension,  $t(46) = -10.25, p < .001$ , than on the dimension of recognition,  $t(64) = -4.98, p < .001$ . Despite considerable overlap in content of displays across schools, differences in familiarity were sufficient to register in White American participant responses.

*Identification.* What accounts for the pattern of differences in liking and recognition judgments as a function of the source of displays in majority-White or majority-Minority schools? Although there might be many factors that differ systematically across these sets of Black History Month displays, an intentional worlds analysis suggests that the differences arise, in part, because Majority

representations resonate better than Minority representations do with White American beliefs and desires. In other words, Black History Month displays are not neutral but carry the identity-relevant charge of the community in which they originate.

To investigate this identity-relevance hypothesis, I included measures of social identification and tested for differences in their relationship to judgments of liking and recognition as a function of display source. The identity relevance hypothesis suggests that the relationship of white identification to judgments of displays will be less negative for mainstream representations of Black History than minority representations of Black History, perhaps especially for the more sensitive dimension of liking than the less sensitive dimension of recognition. Because this is a directional hypothesis, I evaluated it by conducting one-tailed tests of within-subject differences in correlation coefficients.

Table 1 summarizes results of this analysis. Results for the present indicator

Table 1. Differences in correlations for identification and evaluation by display source

			<i>r</i>	Difference in Correlations
<b>Racial Identity</b>				
Liking	Mainstream		.089	$t(44) = -1.92, p = .03$
	Minority		-.134	
Recognition	Mainstream		.083	$t(44) = -1.61, p = .06$
	Minority		-.068	
<b>Nation Identity</b>				
Liking	Mainstream		.127	$t(44) = -1.46, p = .08$
	Minority		-.045	
Recognition	Mainstream		.155	$t(44) = -1.43, p = .08$
	Minority		.021	

of White racial identification provides support for the hypothesis, such that the relationship between identification and judgments of liking and recognition were more negative for minority displays than for mainstream displays,  $t(44)=-1.92, p=.03$  and  $t(44)= -1.61, p=.06$ , respectively. Results for the indicator of national identity showed a similar pattern, although it did not reach conventional levels of statistical significance,  $t(44)= -1.46, p=.08$  and  $t(44)= -1.43, p=.08$ , respectively.

### *Summary*

Study 1 provides evidence of the hypothesized preferences among predominately White American college students for culturally consistent constructions of Black history month. When exposed to the photographs of Black History Month displays, White American undergraduates blind to display sources reported more positive emotions, expressed greater familiarity with, and expressed greater liking for displays from majority-White schools than displays from majority-Minority schools. These results suggest that the representations characteristic of the majority-White schools were not neutral, but instead *real-ized* White American beliefs and desires for how Black history should be represented. Something about Black History Month representations from majority White schools led participants to recognize them and prefer them to more than Black History Month representations from majority-minority schools.

Although the “existing-groups” design of the study does not permit a definitive statement about the exact feature of Black History Month representations at different schools that leads to differential judgments of recognition and preference, an

*intentional worlds* analysis suggests that White Americans like representations from majority White schools, and dislike representations from majority-Minority schools, because these representations are identity-relevant. Evidence for the identity relevance of these judgments comes from hypothesized differences in correlation between identification scores and ratings of displays from different schools. White American identification related more negatively to ratings of liking and recognition for minority displays than for mainstream displays.

### Study 2

Study 1 provides some initial evidence for the community-reflecting hypothesis and one direction of a mutual constituting relationship between structures of mind embodied in the brain and inscribed in cultural worlds. Resonating with the community-reflection hypothesis, results suggest that people produce cultural worlds that objectify their understandings, resulting in everyday worlds that are not just natural, but instead are filled with cultural products (in this case, Black History Month displays) that carry their producers' beliefs and desires. The other direction of the mutual constitution relationship suggests that these cultural products are not neutral, but direct subsequent activity toward particular “desirable” ends. This suggests a community-reproduction hypothesis. In the present case, mainstream representations of Black History may not only reflect White American preferences and desires, but also may systematically induce people to deny the extent of present inequities from which White Americans derive benefits. Study 2 investigates this possibility.

## Method

### *Participants*

A total of 136 undergraduates (74 women and 62 men) from a university in the Midwestern U.S. participated in Study 2. For purposes of the analyses that follow, I retained data for the 123 participants who identified as American, and these participants ranged in age from 18 to 27 years of age ( $M = 19.15$ ,  $SD = 1.59$ ). Of the participants who indicated their race or ethnicity, 73.5% indicated White or European descent ( $n = 100$ ). Approximately 21% indicated belonging to another race or ethnicity (Asian/Asian American = 10; African/African American = 7; Hispanic/Latino = 4; American Indian = 1). Approximately 5.9% either did not answer or expressed a preference for a non-racialized category (e.g., *person*).

### *Procedure*

After obtaining informed consent, I randomly assigned participants to one of two Black history treatment conditions (Mainstream or Minority) or a third, control condition. In the Minority History condition, participants viewed photographs of six<sup>1</sup> displays from majority-Minority schools. In the Mainstream History condition, participants viewed photographs of six of the seven displays (selected at random) from majority-White schools that I used in Study 1. In the Control condition, participants completed the primary dependent measures before viewing photographs of Black history displays. To encourage engagement with displays, participants rated

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<sup>1</sup> Five of these displays are materials that I used in Study 1. Study 2 includes a sixth display taken at a predominately Black school the same year. A teacher contacted a colleague who sent me pictures of the display and the Black History Month program. It is an addition to study 2 because I received the photos after I completed study 1.

each display on dimensions of liking and recognition (similar to Study 1). After viewing displays, participants completed a questionnaire (see Appendix C).

### *Materials*

*Perceptions of Systemic Racism.* Four items assessed perceptions of systemic racism in American society ( $\alpha = .73$ ; adapted from Adams, Thomas Tormala, & O'Brien, 2006). Participants used a 7 point Likert scale (1 = *not at all due to racism*; 7 = *certainly due to racism*) to indicate the extent to which 4 instances, events, or state of affairs in America were due to racism (e.g., *the disproportionate number of African Americans and Latinos in the criminal justice system* or *Ballot initiatives that eliminate educational and medical services to undocumented immigrants*)

*Support for Anti-Racism Policies.* Two items assessed endorsement of policies aimed to address racial inequalities in U.S. Participants indicated on a 7 point Likert scale (1=*Strongly disagree*; 7=*Strongly agree*) the extent to which they agreed with racism-relevant policies (e.g., *The government should create an educational, skills development, and business innovation fund for Americans of African descent as compensation for the institution of slavery*).

## Results and Discussion

To investigate the effects of historical representation on outcomes of interest, I conducted one-way analyses of variance (ANOVAs). To provide focused tests of the hypothesized effect of the historical representation manipulation, I used orthogonal planned contrasts with codes of (-1, -1, 2,) and (-1, 1, 0) for control, mainstream, and minority representation conditions, respectively. Because these hypotheses are

directional, I evaluated them with one-tailed tests of significance. The first contrast tested the hypothesis that the minority representations would produce greater perceptions of racism in ambiguous events and endorsement of anti-racism policy than the control and mainstream conditions. The second contrast tested whether perceptions of racism and policy support differed among participants in the mainstream history and control conditions.

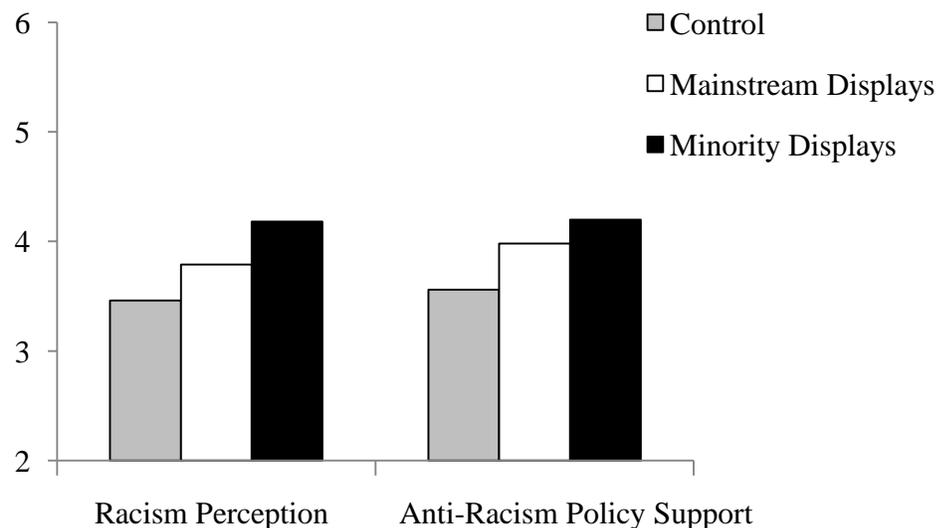
Because Study 2 makes use of naturally occurring representations, some overlap in content or presentation is likely present among Mainstream and Minority displays. In particular, identity-relevant factors that promote racism perception in Minority displays may also be present in Mainstream displays (although to a lesser degree), especially relative to the Control condition). Accordingly, I also included an additional, third contrast to test for a linear trend such that the minority representations would produce greater perceptions of racism and endorsement of anti-racism policy than the mainstream conditions, which in turn would produce greater perceptions of racism and support for policy than the control condition. Although contrast analyses provide the primary tests of hypotheses, I follow convention and report results of omnibus ANOVA tests.

#### *Effects of the Display Manipulation*

*Perceptions of Systemic Racism.* Results of the omnibus ANOVA revealed a significant effect of historical representation on perception of racism,  $F(2,120)= 4.47$ ,  $p=.013$ ,  $\eta^2=.069$ , see Figure 6. The first contrast revealed the hypothesized effect of historical representation,  $t(120)= 2.275$ ,  $p= .025$ . Participants exposed to Minority

representations of Black History perceived greater racism in U.S. society ( $M= 4.13$ ,  $SE= .19$ ) than did participants exposed to Mainstream Black history representations ( $M= 3.84$ ,  $SE= .17$ ) and participants in the control condition ( $M= 3.38$ ,  $SE= .18$ ). The second contrast indicated that the difference between the latter two conditions was marginally significant,  $t(120)= 1.900$ ,  $p= .060$ . These results provide some evidence for the hypothesis that representations of Black History Month from majority-Minority schools (i.e., Minority displays) were more effective at promoting perception of racism than were Black History Month representations from majority-White schools (i.e., Mainstream displays) or the control, although there was some evidence that Black History Month representations from majority-White schools were also somewhat effective at promoting perception of racism relative to the control.

Figure 6. Condition effects on perceptions of racism and support for anti-racism policies



This pattern of means—greatest in the minority condition, followed by the mainstream condition, and least in the control— suggests a linear trend in

effectiveness of Black History Month representations in promoting perception of racism. The contrast to test for this linear trend was significant,  $t(120)= 2.920, p=.004$

*Support for Anti-racism Policies.* Means for the measure of anti-racist policy revealed the hypothesized pattern observed for the measure of racism perception. However, unlike the measure of racism perception, the omnibus ANOVA revealed no effect of historical representation for anti-racism policy support,  $F(2,120)= 1.85, p=.16, \eta^2=.030$ . Likewise, neither of the planned orthogonal contrasts reached conventional levels of statistical significance,  $ts(120) < 1.55, ps > .12$ . The contrast testing the presence of a linear trend did reveal a significant effect of the history manipulation,  $t(120)=1.72, p=.044$ . This test provides some indication that Minority displays were more effective at promoting support for anti-racist policy (relative to the control condition) than were Mainstream displays, although Mainstream displays were also somewhat effective at promoting support for anti-racist policy. However, one should interpret this test with caution give the failure of the omnibus ANOVA and planned contrasts to reach conventional levels of statistical significance.

#### *Open-Ended Responses*

Analyses so far provide some evidence for the community reproducing hypothesis. Representations of Black History Month from majority-Minority schools (i.e., Minority displays) were effective at promoting perception of racism and support for anti-racism policies that could benefit Black American communities.

Representations of Black History Month from majority-White schools were somewhat less effective than Minority displays (relative to the Control) at promoting

these outcomes. However, evidence that I have discussed so far does not provide much understanding of the "active ingredients" of displays that produce liking and recognition (in Study 1) or promote perception of racism and anti-racist policy (Study 2). In order to gain a better understanding of what participants perceive when viewing the displays and what features of displays might underlie community reproduction effects, I asked participants to indicate their favorite display and describe what they liked about that particular display. Because participants did not view the same set of stimuli, analyses are primarily for exploration purposes.

To analyze these responses, I developed a coding scheme (see Table 2) based

Table 2. Descriptions of essay coding categories and inter-rater reliability statistics

Category	Theme	Item scale	Kappa
1. Mentions educational value or informativeness of display	Critical	0=no; 1=yes	.526, $p < .001$
2. Mentions specific historical events or time periods	Critical	0=no; 1=yes	.291, $p = .037$
3. Mentions specific and individual historical or contemporary people	Critical	0=no; 1=yes	.928, $p < .001$
4. Mentions an instance of historical racism, discrimination, civil rights	Critical	0=no; 1=yes	.000, $p = .500^*$
5. Mentions themes of struggle, hardship, challenge or historical barriers African Americans face	Critical	0=no; 1=yes	.023, $p = .877^*$
6. Mentions aesthetic values or dimensions	Sanitized	0=no; 1=yes	.615, $p < .001$
7. Mentions diversity	Sanitized	0=no; 1=yes	.459, $p = .001$
8. Mentions inclusion/or exclusion	Sanitized	0=no; 1=yes	.692, $p < .001$
9. Mentions seemingly neutral, organizational, and structural aspects of the display	Sanitized	0=no; 1=yes	.259, $p = .082$

\* Of the 44 overlapping essays, the coders agreed that 42 of the essays did not mention historical racism or historical barriers. The Kappas reflect a divergence on 2 essays. For racism, coder A indicated that 2 essays reflected this category while coder B did not. For barriers, coder A indicated that 1 essay contained this theme and coder B indicated that a different essay reflected this category.

on *a priori* research questions and themes derived from observations in the field. Two independent raters coded for the presence of critical history and sanitized history themes. Each rater coded two thirds of the essays. Rater A coded essays 1-45, Rater B coded essays 90-135, and both raters coded essays 45-90. I established inter-rater reliability with the jointly coded essays. Table 2 describes the coding categories and reports the Kappa statistics for each.

*Critical History Themes.* Critical representations of Black history include a consciousness of historical barriers and reflect an emphasis on Black History content (e.g., specific events and individuals). For example the following response of a participant from the Minority display condition invokes specific Black history content, mentions racial equality as an attractive goal, and deems other displays as less relevant because they lacked valuable in-depth information.

I very much enjoyed the Rosa Parks display because it was one of the most important movements in Black History. Rosa Parks set up for everything that Martin Luther King Jr. did and hopefully what Obama will do for us as well in working towards racial equality. I like the display because not only does it have attractive colors and photos to engage you it also has information. Some of the other displays had pictures of important African American leaders and others in entertainment, but did not seem to have in depth information on them. I was particularly drawn to the word “memorable” on the top of one of the pictures. This is because I believe that Rosa Parks was an important part of American History and should not be forgotten.

Likewise, the response of a participant in the Mainstream display condition acknowledges historical barriers faced by the Tuskegee Airmen and African Americans.

This display had the most appealing qualities to me, because the background was black showing how strong and powerful that color is and it stood out to me because none of the other displays had that color in them. Also the other colors along with the quotes in front of them just emphasizing the richness of the African American heritage. Last but not least there's a picture of the Tuskegee air men and they not only represent black history but American history themselves, they defied the odds to do what they did to not only be recognized by African-Americans but America also. "Remembering the Past...Shaping the future," this quote next to the picture is important because we acknowledge what past struggles that have been made for African-Americans to give us the strength to continue to do better as a people.

*Sanitized History Themes.* Sanitized representations of Black history deemphasize Black History content in favor of broader inclusion and relatively superficial aesthetic interests. Some participants primarily focused on the aesthetics of the displays. For example, a participant in the Minority display condition wrote,

I liked display B the most. Right away it caught my attention because of its use of bright colors. It was very colorful which attracted me to the pictures not only did it attract me to the pictures but it made me curious to learn more about the display.

Similarly, a participant in the Mainstream display condition wrote,

What stood out to me was the inclusion of more contemporary figures, like Bill Cosby, among the usual individuals such as Rosa Parks and Jackie Robinson. The illustrated portraits are a bit more warm and inviting than photographs would be. The layout is easy to look at and doesn't try to force anything onto the viewer. Using "African-American Achievers" as the title seems much more sincere than mentioning Black History Month, or even presenting it as "Great African-Americans"-those can be interpreted as mandatory, and therefore the message becomes just another state requirement for teachers. This display is simple and interesting enough to draw in a viewer for a few interesting facts about these people rather than presenting their entire biographies.

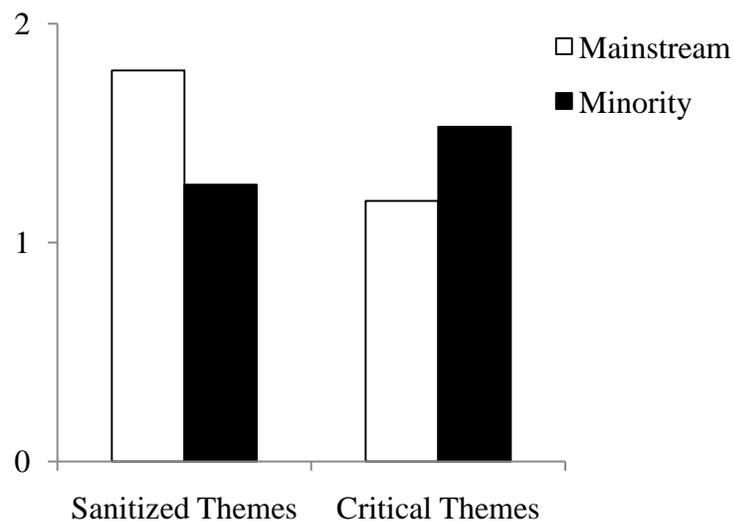
Other participants mentioned a preference for broader diversity themes rather than an exclusive focus on Black history

Display E focuses on diversity throughout the US. I liked this because it includes everyone. All the other displays focus on black history. This may be very important but I believe that diversity involves everyone. The display included these posters on diversity and plenty of literature on it.

*Quantitative Analyses.* I summed across instances of the coding categories *struggle and historical barriers*, *historical racism*, *specific historical events*, *specific historical people*, and *educational value* to provide a critical representation score for each participant. I summed across instances of *cultural diversity*, *inclusion/exclusion*,

*aesthetic appeal*, and *neutral design* themes to provide a measure of sanitized representation score for each participant. I then conducted a 2 X 2 mixed model ANOVA with coding category (sanitized and critical) as the within-participant factor and historical representation condition (Mainstream and Minority) as the between-participants factor. The main effects of condition and coding category were non-significant,  $F_s(1,74) < 1.0$ ,  $p_s > .30$ . However, the Condition x Coding category interaction was significant,  $F(1,74) = 6.48$ ,  $p = .013$ ,  $\eta^2 = .08$ , see Figure 7. Participants exposed to Mainstream representations of Black History used more sanitized history themes ( $M = 1.79$ ,  $SE = .14$ ) when describing their favorite display than did participants exposed to Minority representations ( $M = 1.27$ ,  $SE = .16$ ),  $t(74) = 2.47$ ,  $p = .02$ . In contrast, participants exposed to Minority representations of Black History did not use significantly more critical history themes ( $M = 1.53$ ,  $SE = .19$ ) when describing their favorite display than participants exposed to Mainstream representations ( $M = 1.19$ ,  $SE = .17$ ),  $t(74) = -1.34$ ,  $p = .18$ .

Figure 7. Mean frequency of essay coding responses for display type by category



These differences in frequency of themes across open-ended responses provide some evidence that participants saw differences in two sets of displays. Although not definitive, these differences might account for the differential effects of the treatment conditions in Study 2 and provide some insight into potential “active ingredients” built into the displays. That is, White American students may dislike displays from majority-Minority schools more than displays from majority-White schools (as in Study 1) in part because the former include more critical representations that focus on historical barriers and racism. Likewise, the relative emphasis on past racism in displays from majority-Minority schools may alert people to the ongoing legacy of racism in the present and the need for energetic measures to overcome that legacy.

### *Summary*

Consistent with the community reproduction hypothesis, results of Study 2 provide some evidence that representations of Black History Month from majority-Minority schools were effective at promoting perception of racism—and, to a lesser extent, support for anti-racist policy—relative to other conditions.

However, results suggest that Mainstream displays were also somewhat effective at producing perceptions of racism relative to the control condition (just not as effective as Minority representations). This suggests that the mainstream representations of Black History Month from majority-White schools may have included a mix of content, some of which promoted perception of racism and support for anti-racist policy and other of which promoted denial of racism and opposition to

anti-racist policy. Indeed, analysis of open-ended responses suggests that critical history themes were present in Mainstream displays, although not to the same extent as in Minority displays. An *intentional worlds* hypothesis suggests that it is not just the natural presence of any Black History content that promotes these outcomes; rather, the presence of critical themes is the active ingredient in promoting racism perception and policy support. A test of this hypothesis may require a more precise manipulation of representation content than is possible with naturally occurring representations. Study 3 provides this more precise test.

### Study 3

Reflecting one side of the mutually constituting relationship between culture and psyche, Study 1 provides evidence for how a particular set of cultural products—high school displays for commemoration of Black History Month—reflect culturally consistent beliefs shaped by culturally relevant desires. One way these beliefs and desires can be deposited into the context occurs via preference and selection. Representing some ideas (or historical persons, places, and events) but not others because they are “good” or “right” shapes the environment and the environment will embody these influences. Reflecting the other side of this mutual constitution relationship, Study 2 showed how these particular cultural products shape psychological experience by promoting particular beliefs that serve to maintain that specific cultural context.

The different effects that Mainstream and Minority displays have on liking, recognition, perceptions of racism, and policy support suggests that there are different

messages built into the displays shaping these outcomes. However, theoretically consistent consequences as the result of exposure to the displays do not fully illuminate what those messages might be. Qualitative analyses in Studies 1 and 2 provide some valuable insight into the possible “active ingredients” of psychological reproduction and maintenance of these cultural contexts. Field observations and participant open ended responses suggest that commemorations of Black History Month from Minority and Mainstream settings differ on the presence or relative absence of critical representations of American history narratives.

Although studies 1 and 2 together provide an ecologically valid and probable case that the presence or absence of critical narratives are not “just natural” and have important consequences, these field methods alone do not allow disentanglement when there is content overlap or when multiple messages are present within the same set of representations. For example, consider the psychological consequences of the celebratory, achievement-oriented representation of Black history shown in Figure 8, created and distributed by Target department stores for Black History Month. Presumably, the purpose of this representation is to promote a sense of pride and collective self-efficacy. It shows Black American achievements and contributions to history. However, the tagline—“They didn’t wait for opportunity. They invented it” also has an underlying message that heroes do not complain about structural barriers or need to rely on collective solutions; they overcome by force of individual will. Anti-racism educators and researchers suggest that such celebratory narratives of heritage and heroism maintain the status quo by validating the existing racial

hierarchies and inequalities (Pitre & Ray, 2002; Schick & St. Denis, 2005); specifically, these narratives promote the use of individual strategies for personal advancement within the system, perhaps at the expense of collective action to change the system. These types of messages represent sanitized versions of Black History.

Figure 8. Representation for Black History Month by Target, Inc.



While the poster highlights achievements of African American heroes and heroines, it makes no mention of the historical barriers they had to overcome. Constructions such as this undermine support for structural solutions without explicitly promoting denial of racism. The experimental manipulation of sanitized and critical Black History messages in Study 3 allows for a more precise test of the active ingredient associated with psychological consequences of different representations of Black History, while eliminating sources of uncontrolled variation associated with the use of existing cultural artifacts in earlier studies.

## Method

### *Participants*

A total of 37 white American undergraduates (20 women and 17 men) from a Midwestern university in the U.S. participated in Study 3. Participants ranged in age from 18 to 25 years of age ( $M = 19.54$ ,  $SD = 1.52$ ).

### *Procedure*

After obtaining informed consent, I randomly assigned participants to one of three conditions reflecting different constructions of American history. Next, each participant completed a questionnaire containing demographic information, perceptions of racism (adapted from Adams, Thomas Tormala, & O'Brien, 2006), and endorsement of racism-relevant policies (see Appendix D).

### *Materials*

*Historical Fact Manipulation.* In the *control* condition, I modeled a “standard” American history approach and presented participants 12 facts in which Black Americans and other minority groups were absent from the representation (e.g. *Benjamin Franklin, one of the most distinguished scientific and literary Americans of his era, was the first American diplomat*). In the *historical achievements* condition, 5 of the 12 facts were replaced with sanitized, celebratory achievements of Black Americans, modeling a Mainstream Black history approach (e.g., *As a mission specialist aboard the Shuttle Endeavour, Mae Jemison was the first African American woman to enter outer space*). In the third, *historical barriers* condition, 5 of the 12 facts were replaced with critical historical racial barriers in American history and modeled a Minority Black history approach (e.g., *Dred Scott, a slave, sued for his*

*freedom in 1847. The Supreme Court ruled that he was property and could not sue in federal court*). To encourage engagement with the facts, participants rated each fact on dimensions of importance and familiarity. After reading the facts, participants completed a questionnaire.

*Perceptions of Racism.* Five items assessed perceptions of systemic racism in American society ( $\alpha = .77$ ). Participants used a 7 point Likert scale (1 = *not at all due to racism*; 7 = *certainly due to racism*) to indicate the extent to which 5 instances, events, or state of affairs in America were due to racism (e.g., *High rates of poverty among African Americans, Latinos, and American Indians*).

I added five additional ambiguously-racist items to assess perceptions of racism in individualistic or isolated scenarios (e.g., *On the first day of classes, a Latina student is mistaken for janitorial staff by her college professor*). Again, participants used a 7 point Likert scale (1 = *not at all due to racism*; 7 = *certainly due to racism*) to indicate the extent to which 5 hypothetical incidents were due to racism ( $\alpha = .69$ ). An initial exploratory principal components analysis using varimax rotation revealed three factors that suggested an individualistic factor, a systemic factor, and an overlapping factor, see Table 3. I used subsequent confirmatory factor analyses to test a two factor structure reflecting an *a priori* distinction between individualistic and systemic racism, see Table 4. Based on the results of the confirmatory factor analysis, I analyze these items as distinct factors in subsequent analyses.

Table 3. Solution 1: Exploratory factor loadings for perception of racism factors

	Component		
	1	2	3
sys1		.784	
sys2		.837	
sys3		.791	
sys4	.809		
sys5	.760		
indiv1			.709
indiv2			.751
indiv3	.785		
indiv4	.580		
indiv5			.762

Sys=systemic racism item; indiv=individualistic racism item

Table 4. Solution 2: Confirmatory factor loadings for perception of racism factors

	Component	
	1	2
sys1	.699	
sys2	.722	
sys3	.912	
sys4	.657	
sys5	.580	.433
indiv1		.755
indiv2		.729
indiv3	.559	.479
indiv4	.420	
indiv5		.710

Sys=systemic racism item; indiv=individualistic racism item

*Support for Anti-Racism Policies.* Four items assessed endorsement of policies aimed to address racial inequalities in U.S. Participants indicated on a 7 point Likert scale (1=*Strongly disagree*; 7=*Strongly agree*) the extent to which they agreed with anti-racism policies (e.g., *The government should create an educational, skills development, and business innovation fund for Americans of African descent as compensation for the institution of slavery*).

### Results and Discussion

To investigate the effects of historical representation on outcomes of interest, I conducted ANOVAs on the dependent variables of interest. Similar to study 2, the primary analytic strategy was orthogonal planned contrasts with codes of (-1, -1, 2,) and (-1, 1, 0) for control, historical achievement, and historical barrier representation conditions, respectively. The first contrast tested the hypothesis that the minority representations would produce greater perceptions of racism and endorsement of anti-racism policy than the control and mainstream conditions. The second contrast tested the hypothesis that perceptions of racism and policy support do not differ for participants in the latter two conditions. Because these hypotheses are directional, I evaluated them with one-tailed tests of significance. Although the primary test of hypotheses came from these orthogonal planned contrasts, I again follow convention and report results of the omnibus ANOVA tests.

*Perceptions of Racism.* To assess results for perception of racism, I performed a mixed-model ANOVA with historical representation as a between-participants factor and racism type (systemic and individualistic) as the within-participants factor.

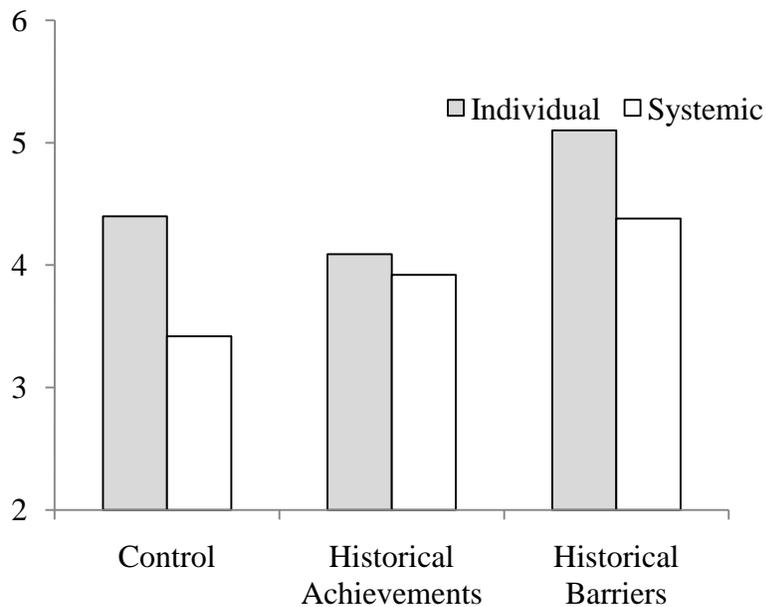
Results revealed the hypothesized main effect of condition,  $F(2, 34) = 2.57, p = .046, \eta^2 = .13$ . To provide a more precise account of this main effect, I conducted planned contrasts for total perception of racism scores (i.e., regardless of the distinction between systemic and individualistic). Results of the first contrast indicated that participants in the historical barriers condition ( $M = 4.74, SE = .29$ ) perceived more racism in ambiguously racist scenarios than participants in the historical achievements condition ( $M = 4.01, SE = .27$ ), or the control condition ( $M = 3.91, SE = .29$ ),  $t(34) = 2.26, p = .03$ . Results of the second contrast suggested that participants in the latter two conditions did not differ in perception of racism,  $t(34) = .251, p = .80$ . In addition, there was a main effect of racism type  $F(1, 34) = 12.84, p < .001, \eta^2 = .27$  such that participants perceived more racism in the individualistic scenarios ( $M = 4.52, SE = .19$ ) than the systemic scenarios ( $M = 3.91, SE = .18$ ).

The relevant Representation x Racism type interaction testing differences in perception of racism type across historical representation was marginally significant,  $F(2, 34) = 1.94, p = .08, \eta^2 = .10$ . To interpret this marginally significant interaction, I conducted one-way ANOVAs and planned contrasts to assess the effects of the historical representation manipulation within each racism type. For perceptions of racism in isolated incidents or individualistic forms, results of the one-tailed, planned orthogonal contrast tests revealed an effect of historical representation on perceptions of racism such that participants in the historical barriers condition perceived more racism in ambiguously racist events ( $M = 5.10, SE = .34$ ) than did participants in the other two conditions,  $t(34) = 2.16, p = .019$ . The second planned contrast was non-

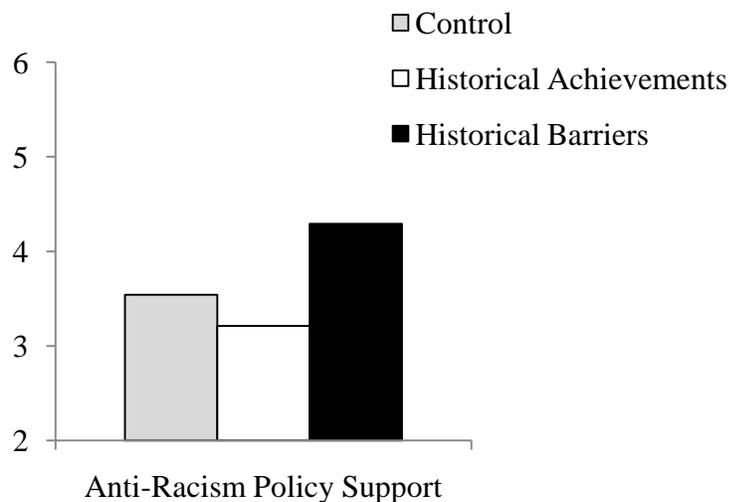
signification and suggests that the historical achievements condition ( $M=4.09$ ,  $SE=.33$ ) does not differ from the control ( $M=4.40$ ,  $SE=.28$ ),  $t(34) = -.683$ ,  $p=.25$  (see Figure 9).

For perceptions of systemic racism, results of the planned orthogonal contrast tests revealed an effect of historical representation on perceptions of racism such that participants in the historical barriers condition perceived more racism in ambiguously racist events ( $M=4.38$ ,  $SE=0.25$ ) than did participants in the other two conditions,  $t(34) = 1.82$ ,  $p = .04$ . The second planned contrast was non-significant, suggesting that the historical achievements condition ( $M=3.92$ ,  $SE=.41$ ) did not differ from the control ( $M=3.42$ ,  $SE=.25$ ),  $t(34) = 1.13$ ,  $p=.14$ .

Figure 9. Mean perceptions of racism for historical representation type by racism type



*Support for Anti-racism Policies.* The omnibus ANOVA revealed an effect of historical representation for anti-racism policy support,  $F(2,34)= 3.66, p=.04, \eta^2=.18$  (see Figure 10). Results of the planned orthogonal contrast tests provide support for Figure 10. Condition effect of historical representation on anti-racism policy support



the hypothesis that participants in the historical barriers condition endorsed anti-racism policies ( $M=4.29, SD=0.84$ ) more than did participants in the other two conditions,  $t(34) = 2.56, p = .02$ . Again, the second planned contrast was non-significant, suggesting that the historical achievements condition ( $M=3.21, SD=1.19$ ) did not increase support for anti-racism policy relative to the control ( $M=3.54, SD=0.97$ ),  $t(34) = -.811, p=.30$ . In fact, the pattern of means was in the opposite direction, such that exposure to the historical achievements condition tended to inhibit support for anti-racism policy.

### *Summary*

Similar to Study 2, participants in the historical barriers condition (Minority representation) perceived more racism in ambiguous events and endorsed anti-racism policy to a greater extent than did participants in the historical achievements (Mainstream representation) and control conditions. However, perhaps reflecting more precise control over the content of the representation, these effects were much stronger in Study 3 than Study 2,

Consistent with the community reproduction hypothesis, Black History representations reproduced community preferences by affording behaviors and actions consistent with the constructions present in the community. To the extent to which there was a pattern of racism perception and policy support in Study 3, it occurred in the critical, historical barriers condition. To the extent to which there was a pattern of denial in Study 3, it occurred in the sanitized, historical achievements condition. This pattern was most apparent for racism perception in individual manifestations and anti-racism policy support. Study 3 suggests that Mainstream representations of Black History do not only reflect White American preferences and desires (Study 1), but also systematically induce people to deny the extent of present inequities from which White Americans incur benefits.

*Demand Characteristics.* One question that may arise in the context of this investigation is ‘did participants in Study 3 conform to expectations of the researcher?’ Psychologists generally invoke the "demand" explanation to describe cases in which participants have guessed the hypotheses of the researcher and acquiesce to those expectations. Although this may seem a potential account for why

participants in the historical barriers condition reported more racism (or barriers) in the present, the demand explanation is limited. Previous research suggests that perceiving racism or acknowledging collective wrong-doing is threatening for White Americans (Adams, Thomas Tormala, & O'Brien, 2006; Branscombe, Schmitt, & Schiffhauer, 2007; O'Brien, Blodorn, Alsbrooks, Dube, Adams, & Nelson, 2009; Roccas, Klar, & Liviatan, 2006). In this case, if participants guessed the hypotheses, it seems unlikely participants would readily comply with information that is threatening (i.e., there is racism in America). I suggest that this might be one instance of demand where *reactance* (Brehm, 1966) is at least as likely as compliance.

### General Discussion

The present work utilized quantitative and qualitative analyses and mixed methods to examine and explain sociocultural variation in representations of Black history and the consequences for perceptions of racial inequality in America within an *intentional worlds* framework. In support of the community reflecting hypothesis, field research in public schools suggested that sanitized representations of Black History Month—characterized by a focus on issues of cultural diversity, de-emphasis of struggle or historical racism and a tendency to use “pre-packaged” Black History Month kits—were more common in majority-White schools than majority-minority schools. Although I did not collect systematic data on frequency of different themes across settings, qualitative analyses in Study 2 provide additional support for these in-field observations. Coders’ ratings suggest higher frequency of sanitized themes and lower frequency of critical themes in participants' open-ended comments about

Mainstream displays from majority-White schools than in Minority displays from majority-minority schools. Whatever the critical difference in content, White American participants in Study 1 rated representations of Black History month from majority-White schools to be more familiar and more liked than representations from majority-Majority schools. In general, results suggest the extent to which Black History Month displays from predominately White American settings are not identity-neutral, but instead reflect and objectify the preferences and understandings of White Americans.

In Studies 2 and 3, I considered the community-reproducing hypothesis and investigated how the same Mainstream representations of Black History for which White Americans in Study 1 expressed a preference led subsequent participants to understate the role of racism in American society. Study 2 utilized existing cultural products—Black History Month displays from local schools—and demonstrated the consequences of exposure to the “preferred” mainstream displays for perceptions of racism in US society. Specifically, the displays consistent with Mainstream constructions of Black History were less effective than Minority constructions at promoting perception of racism in the US society and support for anti-racism policy to correct this racism. In Study 3, I experimentally manipulated historical representations to test specific hypotheses regarding the "active ingredient" of Black History Month displays. Representations consistent with Mainstream constructions of Black History (sanitized representations of historical achievements) produced more

denial of racism in the US and less support for anti-racism policy than did to Minority representations (critical representations of historical barriers).

Together these studies suggest that White Americans preference for Black History Month displays from majority White American schools is not accidental. Instead, White American undergraduates may prefer these displays precisely because these displays afford denial of racism, opposition to anti-racism policy, and preservation of the system of racial domination from which they benefit.

More broadly, these studies also provide evidence of the bidirectional relationship between cultural context (i.e., collective memory and representations of the past) and psychological experience (i.e., perceptions of racism and other identity-relevant phenomena). Existing cultural representations, beliefs, and conceptions of the way the world works are not just natural or accidental; instead, they persist across generations of activity because they serve a purpose. Namely, an *intentional worlds* framework suggests they function to reflect and reproduce community-sustaining action.

#### *Limitations and Future Directions*

*Identity relevance.* The secondary identity relevance hypothesis—the idea that representations are identity relevant, activating, and engaging—received some support, but additional studies are needed to fully examine this idea in the context of the mutual constitution process. Although Study 1 investigated how collective identity concerns shape collective memory processes—in the form of preference for some Black History Month representations over others—the present research does not

consider the reverse direction: effects of collective memory processes on collective identity concerns. Salter and Adams (2009) found that narratives completely silencing historical racism and narratives obscuring historical racism by utilizing passive voice produced more positive experiences of American identity than representations that confronted historical racism by describing events in active voice. Future applications of this idea should include an examination of the impact of exposure to Mainstream and Minority representations on White and American identities.

*Focus on White Americans.* Perhaps the biggest limitation of the study is the absence of Black American participants. While the focus on White Americans is theoretically rich and speaks to my interest in the possibility that dominant groups use representations of history as a tool to maintain the present racial hierarchies, an important task for future research is to consider the identity-relevant preferences for mainstream and minority representations of the past for people from historically oppressed groups. Given that many Black Americans (and members from other oppressed groups) likely engage with mainstream cultural contexts daily (via media, social institutions, etc) and negotiate mainstream identities, engagement with both their American-ness and their Black-ness may present somewhat of a paradox (i.e., “double consciousness”; Du Bois, 1903/1989, p. 5). A key question for future research is whether variables like identity salience or ideology endorsement (e.g., colorblindness) will influence preferences for Mainstream or Minority representations among Black Americans.

*Conclusion: Representations of History as Intentional Worlds*

*Where is the intention?* Most discussions of memory and identity conceptualize these phenomena at the level of individual self. That is, psychologists often discuss how different autobiographical memories have implications for experience of personal identity (James, 1890/1950; Singer & Salovey, 1993), or consider how individuals reconstruct autobiographical memories in ways that serve present identity concerns (Bartlett, 1932; see Wilson & Ross, 2003 for a review). Theoretical frameworks in cultural psychology suggest that one can also examine phenomena like memory and identity as represented externally and “inscribed” in everyday cultural worlds (Adams et al., 2010; Morling & Lamoreaux, 2008; Vygotsky, 1978). Indeed, this paper, along with previous research programs, demonstrates that these concepts extend beyond the individual (e.g., Kurtiş et al., 2010; Liu & Hilton, 2005; Wertsch, 2002). However, this paper also proposes that we do not limit psychological phenomena like intention, motivation, and self-regulation to solely individual-level phenomena either. On an individual level, one might stop and ask, ‘does the teacher who hangs the Target poster (see Figure 8) in their classroom ‘intend’ her students to endorse system justifying ideologies of protestant work ethic or individualism?’ However, on a collective level, this research poses an equally interesting and provocative question: ‘does this collective representation fulfill this purpose?’ This paper locates the “intention” to “regulate” affect and “motivate” collective behavior in cultural products (e.g., Black History Month narratives). While the intention or motivation can evade the individual awareness of

the consumer or reproducer, the context nevertheless perpetuates and re-deposits “intention” into the world.

*Intentional Worlds as Liberation.* Although I have generally focused this discussion on how representations of Black history can serve the interests of maintaining and reproducing current racial inequalities, social justice advocates propose that recovering historical memory (p. 31, Martín-Baró, 1994; see also Adams, O'Brien, & Nelson, 2006) or giving voice to previously silenced traumatic historical events (e.g., Salter & Adams, 2009) are essential for liberation and community healing. Applied to the current case, representations of Black History can serve as a lens through which people interpret contemporary events as racism-relevant and provide a cue to mobilize collective resources like social policy support. More broadly, constructions of Black History that recognize (rather than repress) collective memories of historical injustice may alert people to the occurrences of present injustice, provide alternative (perhaps less victim-blaming) explanations for present inequalities, and provide important bases for collective action and experience of collective efficacy (i.e., motivate the desire for and belief in social change). This view suggests that engaging with representations of the past can also serve as *intentional worlds* of liberation. To the extent that history textbooks, museums, and community narratives of the past shape our present views, this work suggests representations of Black history may have the capacity to accomplish Woodson's goals of reducing American racism. Though, an important caveat to remember from

this research is not all representations of Black history will contribute equally to this goal.

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## Appendix A

## Description of Display and Display Image

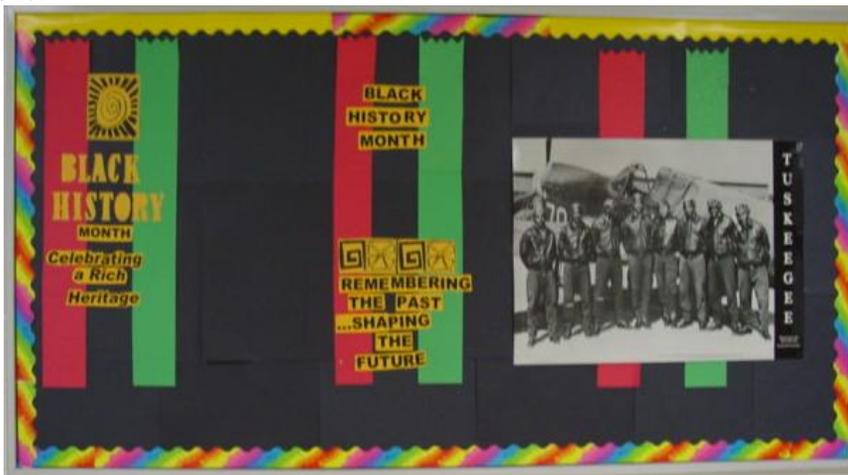
1.) A Glass display case in the library. The defining features include books and posters. The posters read, "Celebrate Diversity and our Common Heritage," "Books come in all colors" and "Diversity"

92 % White



2.) Bulletin board has a black background with red, green, and yellow accent colors. The display also has rainbow border and the slogans include: "Black History Month: Celebrating a Rich Heritage" and "Remembering the past...shaping the future." A defining feature is a poster of the Tuskegee Airmen.

91% White



3.) Bulletin board has a white background with a Kente cloth border. The title is “African American Achievers” and includes time lines and pictures of Bill Cosby, Maya Angelou, Mae Jemison, Jesse Owens, Langston Hughes, Rosa Parks, Jesse Jackson, and Mary McCloud Bethune. The bulletin board is comprised of pre-packaged display materials.

90% White



4.) The display features the title: “Celebrate Black History Month” and has pictures of historical figures including Satchel Paige, Frederick Douglass, Ralph Ellison, Charles Drew, Rosa Parks, Matthew Henson, Toni Morrison, WEB Dubois, Jackie Robinson, Shirley Chisholm, Langston Hughes, Sojourner Truth, Benjamin Banneker, Jesse Owens. This display is comprised of pre-packaged display materials.

85% White



5.) A library book display consisting of books on top of the table and posters of WEB Dubois, Katherine Dunham, Paul Robeson, Ida B Wells, Madam CJ Walker, Langston Hughes, Mary McCloud Bethune lining the front. The pictures of historical figures were from pre-packaged display materials.

84% White



6.) Library display has a white background with a red, white, and blue flag boarder. The title of the display is: "The price of freedom is visible here" and there are books featuring Martin Luther King, Jr., Abraham Lincoln, Women pilots.

84% White



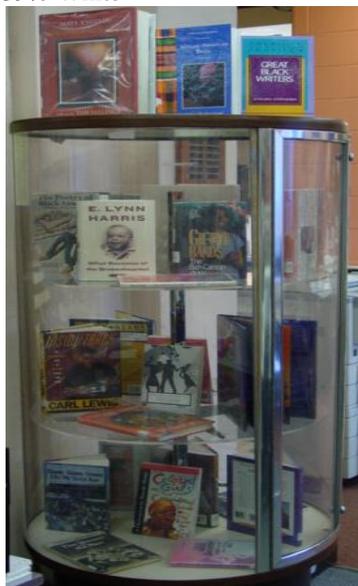
7.) A classroom display featuring posters of historical figures. The top center poster reads “I have a Dream” and pictures of Martin Luther King, Jr., Jesse Owens, Harriet Tubman, George Washington Carver, Frederick Douglass, Ralph Bunche, Benjamin Banneker, Ella Fitzgerald, W.E.B. DuBois, Shirley Chisholm, Satchel Paige, Jackie Robinson are below. The historical figures are from pre-packaged display materials.

75% White



8.) Library glass display that features books by various contemporary Black writers and figures. Includes Maya Angelou, Ben Carson, Nikki Giovanni, Virginia Hamilton, E. Lynn Harris, Jackie Joyner-Kersey, Carl Lewis, Ntozake Shange, and George C. Wolfe.

39% White



9.) Glass display case in cafeteria. The background features red, black, and green. The defining features include the Negro National Anthem lyrics and pictures of Martin Luther King, Jr., Matthew Henson, Carter G. Woodson, Katherine Dunham, and other historical figures. This display also features famous quotes from African Americans.

27% White



10.) Bulletin board has a white background with red, black, and green accents. The display features the title: "African American history" and a defining feature includes a poster with black inventors (Madam CJ Walker, Lewis Lattimer, Jack Johnson, George Washington Carver, Lonnie Johnson, and Jan Matzeliger) and says "They did not wait for opportunity. They invented it." Surrounding photos feature historical figures including W.E.B. Dubois, Phyllis Wheatley, Thurgood Marshall, Granville T. Woods, and Rosa Parks. This display also has pictures depicting life on plantation, voting, and integration.

27% White



11.) This bulletin board features the January 2006 issue dedicated to Rosa Parks in *Ebony* magazine entitled “Remembering Rosa Parks” to create a display. The defining features of this display include pictures and articles from the magazine mounted on red, black, and green construction paper.

10% White



12.) Bulletin board has a black background featuring a rainbow border and hearts. The defining feature is a poster from the Black Inventions Museum in the center entitled “Black Inventors and their Inventions.” There are also posters featuring historical figures including Jesse Owens, Martin Luther King, Jr., Bill Cosby, Marian Anderson, Mary McCloud Bethune, and Florence Joyner. These posters were drawn from pre-packaged materials.

1% White



13.) Glass display case features a red brick background and the title "Black History Month." The display contains several books (e.g., The Autobiography of Malcolm X, Invisible Man, Narrative of the Life of an American Slave, The New Negro, Jazz

29% White



## Appendix B

Positive and Negative Affect Scale (Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988):

Instructions: This scale consists of a number of words that describe different feelings and emotions. Read each item and then mark the appropriate answer in the space next to the word. Indicate to what extent you feel this way, right now, that is, at the present moment.

- |               |                 |               |
|---------------|-----------------|---------------|
| 1. Interested | 5. Guilty       | 9. Irritable  |
| 2. Distressed | 6. Hostile      | 10. Inspired  |
| 3. Excited    | 7. Enthusiastic | 11. Nervous   |
| 4. Upset      | 8. Proud        | 12. Attentive |

### Display Ratings

1. How much do you like this display?
2. Overall, how attractive is this display?
3. How familiar are you with the content of this display?
4. To what extent does the overall display present the material accurately?
5. How motivating or energizing is this display?
6. To what extent would you like to see this display in your former high school?

### Identification

1. We are all members of different social groups or social categories. Please place a check next to the item that most closely describes your national identity. American or Other (Please describe)

2. Please complete the sentence: In terms of racial/ethnic group, I prefer to identify with the label [fill in blank]

Collective Self Esteem adapted for race/ethnicity and nationality

1. Overall, my race/ethnicity [national identity] has very little to do with how I feel about myself. *Reverse scored*
2. The racial/ethnic group [nation] I belong to is an important reflection of who I am.
3. My race/ethnicity [national identity] is unimportant to my sense of what kind of person I am. *Reverse scored*
4. In general, belonging to my race/ethnicity [nation] is an important part of my self-image.

Demographic Information

1. What is your age?
2. What is your gender?

## Appendix C

Positive and Negative Affect Scale (Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988):

Instructions: This scale consists of a number of words that describe different feelings and emotions. Read each item and then mark the appropriate answer in the space next to the word. Indicate to what extent you feel this way, right now, that is, at the present moment.

- |               |                 |               |
|---------------|-----------------|---------------|
| 1. Interested | 5. Guilty       | 9. Irritable  |
| 2. Distressed | 6. Hostile      | 10. Inspired  |
| 3. Excited    | 7. Enthusiastic | 11. Nervous   |
| 4. Upset      | 8. Proud        | 12. Attentive |

### Display Ratings

1. How much do you like this display?
2. Overall, how attractive is this display?
3. How familiar are you with the content of this display?
4. To what extent does the overall display present the material accurately?
5. How motivating or energizing is this display?
6. To what extent would you like to see this display in your former high school?

### Perception of Systemic Racism

1. The disproportionate number of African Americans and Latinos in the criminal justice system.

2. Ballot initiatives that eliminate educational and medical services to undocumented immigrants.
3. High rates of poverty among African Americans, Latinos, and American Indians.
4. The relatively small number of Latinos and African Americans in professional sports coaching positions (NBA, NFL, MLB) relative to the number of Latino and African American athletes.

#### Policy Support

1. The government should create an educational, skills development, and business innovation fund for Americans of African descent as compensation for the institution of slavery.
2. The government should offer businesses and industry special tax relief and incentives for starting businesses in largely minority areas with low income and high unemployment

#### Identification

1. We are all members of different social groups or social categories. Please place a check next to the item that most closely describes your national identity. American or Other (Please describe)
2. Please complete the sentence: In terms of racial/ethnic group, I prefer to identify with the label [fill in blank]

#### Demographic Information

1. What is your age?
2. What is your gender?

## Appendix D

## Historical Fact Manipulation

## Control/Standard History Condition

1. Walt Whitman was an American poet, essayist, journalist, and humanist. He is famously known for abandoning the traditional metrical structures of European poetry for an expansionist freestyle verse.
2. *The 17<sup>th</sup> president of the United States, Andrew Johnson, was sworn in on April 15, 1865, upon the death of President Lincoln. He was the first Vice President to succeed to the Presidency upon the assassination of a President.*
3. *Roe v. Wade was a U.S. Supreme Court case that resulted in a landmark judicial opinion about privacy and abortion in the United States. The court ruled in 1973 that most laws against abortion violated a constitutional right to privacy under the Due Process Clause of the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment.*
4. Benjamin Franklin, one of the most distinguished scientific and literary Americans of his era, was the first American diplomat.
5. Frances Perkins was appointed the Secretary of Labor by President Franklin D. Roosevelt. She was the first woman cabinet member; thus, the first woman to enter the presidential line of succession.
6. *The stock market crash of 1929 in the U.S. triggered a decade of high unemployment and poverty known as the Great Depression. The worst hit sectors were blue collar employees from heavy industry, agriculture, mining, and logging; least affected were white collar workers.*

7. Jonas Edward Salk developed the first successful polio vaccine in 1947. At the time he was the Director of Virus Research at the University of Pittsburgh.
8. *An American, Neil Armstrong, was the first human to walk on the moon when the Apollo 11 mission landed in 1969.*
9. Ford's affordable Model T irrevocably altered the American automobile industry. Ford transformed the industry by devising an assembly line for automobile manufacturing
10. *Although the Pledge of Allegiance was first published and recited in some schools in 1892, it was not officially or nationally recognized by Congress until 1942.*
11. Manifest Destiny was a phrase used by leaders and politicians in the 1840s to explain continental expansion by the United States. They believed America had a divine right to become a transcontinental nation.
12. McCarthyism describes a period of intense anti-Communist suspicion in the United States that lasted roughly from the late 1940s to the late 1950s. This period is also known as the red scare.

\*Items from the Sanitized and Critical History Conditions replaced the 5 italicized control items

#### Sanitized/Historical Achievements Condition

1. Ralph Bunche was the first African American to receive the Nobel Prize for Peace. He was honored for his mediation in Palestine in the late 1940s that led to an armistice agreement between the Israelis and Palestinians in the region.

2. As a mission specialist aboard the Shuttle *Endeavour*, Mae Jemison was the first African American woman to enter space.
3. Charles Drew was an African American doctor who invented the process of extracting plasma from whole blood for the purpose of storage and transfusion.
4. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 was landmark legislation in the United States that outlawed discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin.
5. The Harlem Renaissance was a time of outstanding creative activity. It was a flowering of African American art, literature, music, and culture in the United States led primarily by the African American community based in Harlem, New York City.

#### Critical/Historical Barriers Condition

1. Dred Scott, a slave, sued for his freedom in 1847. The Supreme Court ruled that he was property, not a citizen of the United States and therefore could not sue in federal court.
2. Medgar Evers, a civil rights leader, was assassinated in 1963 by a member of the Ku Klux Klan for his writings and speeches.
3. In 1931, nine Black youths were falsely accused of raping two White women. Although wrongly convicted, 19 years passed until all of the “Scottsboro Boys” were either freed by parole, appeal, or escape.

4. The F.B.I. employed illegal techniques (e.g., hidden microphones in motels) in an attempt to discredit African American political leaders such as Martin Luther King, Jr. during the civil rights movement.
5. Anti-miscegenation laws were ruled unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court in 1967. Despite this ruling, such laws remained on the books in several states until 2000 when Alabama became the last state to remove its law against mixed-race marriage

#### Perception of Racism

1. The portrayal of Arabs and Middle Easterners in U.S. entertainment media as terrorists, sheikhs, or suicide bombers. (Systemic)
  2. Ballot initiatives that eliminate educational and medical services to undocumented immigrants. (Systemic)
  3. High rates of poverty among African Americans, Latinos, and American Indians. (Systemic)
  4. The use of American Indians as mascots by high school, college, and professional sports teams. (Systemic)
  5. The U.S. Government's slow response in aiding New Orleans residents during the Hurricane Katrina disaster. (Systemic)
1. An African American woman is told by one of her colleagues that the students will like her because she doesn't look like a professor. (Individualistic)
  2. An African American man was pulled over for speeding by a White highway patrol officer. Unknown to the man, his registration had expired earlier that

month. Rather than give him a ticket and let him continue, the officer impounded the vehicle at the man's expense. (Individualistic)

3. An American Indian student went to a job interview at a corporation. The firm told him he could have the job if he agreed to cut his hair. (Individualistic)
4. A Chinese American student overhears two White students discussing how Asian Americans “all look the same.” (Individualistic)
5. On the first day of classes, a Latina student is mistaken for janitorial staff by her college professor. (Individualistic)

#### Anti-Racism Policy Support

1. Universities should make every effort to attract qualified minority students.
2. Using membership in certain groups as a tie-breaker is advisable when the applicants are equally qualified.
3. The government should create an educational, skills development, and business innovation fund for Americans of African descent as compensation for the institution of slavery.
4. Giving special training to minority groups so they can compete equally, is a step toward equality.

#### Identification

1. We are all members of different social groups or social categories. Please place a check next to the item that most closely describes your national identity. American or Other (Please describe)

2. Please complete the sentence: In terms of racial/ethnic group, I prefer to identify with the label [fill in blank]

#### Demographic Information

1. What is your age?
2. What is your gender?