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LOYOLA UNIVERSITY CHICAGO

TOWARD THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE STEREOTYPICAL ROLES OF
BLACK YOUNG MEN SCALE

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

PROGRAM IN COUNSELING PSYCHOLOGY

BY

AMBER HEWITT

CHICAGO, IL

MAY 2013

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For my mother, Beverly Ann Harris Hewitt

When I discover who I am, I'll be free.
—Ralph Ellison

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ABSTRACT

There is a significant amount of literature on identity development in general, but there is a dearth of research focusing on identity development in relation to how other processes and constructs influence the identity development of African American young men. One such construct is the presence of stereotypical roles. The primary purpose of this study was to create a reliable and valid measure of the stereotypical roles of African American young men. This study explored the relationship between the endorsement of stereotypical roles, stigma consciousness, and masculinity of African American young men. African American young men ($n = 164$) between the ages of 15 and 18 participated. Participants completed four measures including a measure of Black male stereotypical roles, stigma consciousness, male role norms, and internalized racism. An exploratory factor analysis was conducted on the *Stereotypical Roles of Black Young Men Scale (SRBYM)*. The study used a correlational design to establish construct validity for the *SRBYM*. Results of the factor analysis reveal that the *SRBYM* is best interpreted as a single factor, or a unitary dimension of black male stereotypical roles. Results of the correlational analysis suggest that stereotypical roles are positively correlated with internalized racism. There was no relationship found between stereotypical roles and male roles norms and stigma consciousness. Implications for intervention, prevention, and research are discussed.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The study of African American men has been one of the least addressed topics in counseling psychology literature. The identity of African American men has been described with much contention throughout sociohistorical writings and psychological discourse. Identity is described as a critical task of adolescence (Erikson, 1968), and the field must recognize the unique challenges faced by African American young men who are developing their sense of identity in a racially oppressive society. Erikson (1968) stated that an “oppressed and exploited minority” (p. 303) may internalize the negative views of the dominant society, thereby leading to the development of a negative sense of self and self-hatred (Phinney, 1989). Research has shown that Black men have internalized or “bought into” the stereotypical beliefs and attitudes about their group (Johnson, Trawalter, & Dovidio, 2000). Internalized racism has been shown to lead to a host of negative outcomes such as hypertension, sleep disturbance, obesity and substance abuse in Black men (Johnson & Greene, 1991). In the presence of these challenges, young Black men are thriving and exhibit a sense of resiliency. These young men have a history of enduring and functioning in the face of racism and oppression.

As we position the identity development of African American young men within its appropriate context, we can see that it is a dynamic not static process, it must be placed within its appropriate context. This study makes the argument that there are

unique contextual factors influencing the identity development of African American boys. The contextual factors that I propose to be juxtaposed with identity development are the historical legacy of slavery, racism, and stereotypical roles. The current chapter will first discuss identity development theory and build a case for examining this process contextually. The second half of this chapter will introduce the contextual factors which are the historical legacy of slavery, racism, stereotypical roles. The constructs of stigma consciousness and masculinity will also be introduced since this study will explore the relationship between stereotypical roles and stigma consciousness and masculinity. Finally, the chapter will conclude by presenting the research questions and research hypotheses for this study.

Identity Development

The social identity theory, developed by Henri Tajfel and John Turner in 1979, maintains that social categories are evaluated through social comparisons with other categories. Favorable comparisons between the in-group and the out-group provide in-group members with high subjective status or prestige and thus social identity (Tajfel, 1982). Rubin and Hewstone (1998) elaborate by stating that it is assumed that by establishing positive distinctiveness for the in-group as a whole, in-group members are establishing a positive social identity for themselves and hence positive self-esteem. However, in the case of African American young men, there are external factors that threaten a positive association with their group, social, and racial identity, which could affect their self-esteem. Hence, future research should explore the contextual factors

which influence the gendered-racial identity development of African American young men.

Cross and Cross (2007) have developed a comprehensive model of development that consists of six sectors which explore the contextual factors of an individual at birth through the entire lifespan giving consideration to “alternate identities” based on varying levels of racial salience. The model incorporates racial, ethnic, and cultural identity (REC). The authors argue that there is little need to isolate each aspect of identity on its respective domain, because individuals (especially those from marginalized groups) have more than one frame of reference in which they view the world. The REC model incorporates elements from Phinney’s (1989, 1993) Ethnic Identity Model, Erikson’s (1968) theory of identity exploration in adolescence, and Marcia’s (1966) four identity statuses.

Contextualizing Identity Development

The social ecological theory, initially proposed by Bronfenbrenner (1979) further illuminates the interaction between multiple contexts and its influence on human development. The model is based on the premise that the individual and his or her environment exert mutual influence upon each other. Of particular importance here is the influence of the exosystem and macrosystem. The exosystem defines the larger social system that indirectly affects the child (i.e. parent’s workplace, community-based resources). The macrosystem is the outermost layer in the child’s environment that represents cultural beliefs, societal messages, and political trends. Both of these layers contains components that can facilitate or impede healthy development and functioning.

For example, a stable work schedule and plethora of community resources in a child's environment could serve as a positive force for the child and a source of empowerment. However, societal messages and cultural beliefs that invalidate aspects of one's identity could cause harm to the child and disrupt the interaction between other systems. The construct of stereotypical roles is a contextual factor influencing the gendered-racial identity development of African American young men. We do not know enough about the nature of this interaction or how the presence of stereotypical roles shapes the attitudes and beliefs about one's own race and gender. Gendered-racial identity status and stereotypical roles are related yet distinct constructs. Gendered-racial identity status is comprised of the attitudes and beliefs about one's race and gender; whereas, stereotypical roles are contextual variables which influences the process of gendered-racial identity development.

One can juxtapose Bronfenbrenner's ecological framework with Cooley's (1902) conceptualization of the *looking glass self*. Social psychologist Charles Cooley (1902) conceptualized this term that refers to the ways an individual interacts with others in society and how from this interaction, the individual assimilates and internalizes culture and develops and identity and sense of self. The duality that is described here is a common theme for the African American male experience. In order to cope with the psychological effects of slavery, African American men have had to be both attached and detached to mainstream culture. Here lies the dilemma that Du Bois (1903) calls double consciousness. In his conceptualization of double consciousness, Du Bois captures how feelings of alienation and disenfranchisement blended one identity that appeared

unattainable (Lyubansky & Eidelson, 2005). This notion of double consciousness has particular importance for Black American men. White and Cones (1999) argue that Black men underwent a dilemma coined the inclusion/exclusion dilemma between the end of the Civil War up until the beginning of the Civil Rights movements. As part of this dilemma, the Black men feel a double consciousness where he is simultaneously a part of America, yet apart from it as well. In other words, Black men can visualize his authentic self from his own lens as an African American, but his authentic self is invisible when viewed through a Euro-American lens. This study will give voice to the experiences of African American young men. The next section of the paper will discuss each variable independently.

Historical Legacy of Slavery

The historical legacy of slavery has impacted African American attitudes toward work, the attainment of property, feelings of personal inferiority, community division the breakdown of the Black family, and color discrimination (Akbar, 1996). The residual effects of slavery have disenfranchised African American men. What is missing in the literature is empirical research exploring the historical legacy of slavery in relationship to the identity development of African American young men. Most of the literature examining the gendered racial experiences of Black males has been theoretical in nature while ignoring the influence of slavery and colonialism, the adaptation to Eurocentric paradigms of masculinity, and the effect of racism (Pierre, Mahalik, & Woodland, 2001). The topic has been theorized extensively in psychological research as well as other disciplines however, future research could examine the historical legacy of slavery by

examining the relationship between historical stereotypical images that were birthed in slavery and identity development.

Legacy of Slavery

African American men experienced a psychological transition when they arrived on America's shores, shifting from an Afrocentric worldview to a Euro-centric worldview (Whites & Cones, 1999). The meaning of manhood as it was in Africa was no longer applicable to their new home in America. It can be argued that African male slaves were no longer allowed to be men but "sub-human." This slavery experience may still have an impact on African American men. This psychological trauma and its subsequent transition have not been empirically explored in depth in the psychological literature. Some of the outcomes from the displacement of Africans throughout the Diaspora include the loss of language, family, spiritual practices, and customs.

There are two psychological theories concerning the psychological effects of slavery on Black men. The traditional view maintains that the Black male slave was a passive participant during slavery and allowed himself to be psychologically controlled by the slave owner; whereas, the revisionist view describes the self-determining nature of Black men who have exhibited both active and passive styles of resistance (Whites & Cones, 1999).

The era of slavery has been given the name of Maafa, a Kiswahili word meaning "great disaster" (Ani, 1994). It is important to examine the images of Black men during slavery to fully understand how Black men are depicted in the status quo. During slavery, there was an emphasis on the psychical attributes of the Black male, and conversely a

devaluation of one's mind and humanity (Hunter & Davis, 1994). Even though slavery ended over 100 years ago, the scars of this brutal experience still influences the lives of African Americans, both socially and psychologically (Akbar, 1996). There are several critical incidents that occurred during slavery that continue to shape the structure of the Black community. During this period, we witnessed the breakdown of the Black family. The "divide and conquer" method kept slaves from forming alliances even within their own biological families. Also, during this time one can observe both the covert and overt forms of White supremacy.

The history of White supremacy in this country has included concentrated efforts to control the Black body and specifically the Black male body (Hawkins, 1998). When Africans came to America they lost their language, culture, and name – their entire African identity was lost. It can be argued that politics and institutionalized racism are constant reminders to the Black person in America that their identity is endangered. Allen (2001) claims that "the African-Americans' sense of self within a larger society were formulated during the horrendous period of human bondage-that peculiar institution called slavery-during which even the basic humanity of the African was denied" (p.172). The genocide and bondage perpetrated on kidnapped Africans and generations of slaves, followed by more than a century of racial oppression after the Civil War, have effectively kept African Americans disproportionately near the bottom of the social pyramid (Cohen & Northridge, 2000). African American men are still under siege; in schools they have the highest rates of detentions, suspensions, expulsions and special education placements (Harvey & Hill, 2004).

Racism

In the previous section, the institutional system of slavery was described, now the paper will turn its attention to the structure of racism. Despite the growing amount of research on racism, the influence of racism on identity development has been overlooked. Racism has had a profound effect on the lives of African Americans. Clark, Anderson, Clark, and Williams (1999) operationalized the term racism as “beliefs, attitudes, institutional arrangements, and acts that tend to denigrate individuals or groups because of phenotypic characteristics or ethnic group affiliation” (p. 805). The authors conceptualize racism as a biopsychosocial framework which considers the contextual factors, sociodemographic factors, as well as the psychological and behavioral factors of racism. Most of the research on racism and African American men focuses on race-related stress (Piterse & Carter, 2007; Ustey, 1997; Ustey & Ponterorro, 1996). Most of these studies focus primarily on African American men, not adolescents.

Racism and other forms of group oppression are sources of substantial, unrelenting stress (Cohen & Northridge, 2000). Constantine and Sue (2006) also state that perceived racism has been positively associated with negative emotional reactions and psychological distress. There have been several studies examining the impact of racism on ethnic minority adolescents. Youth from ethnic minority backgrounds have been found to report distress associated with perceived racial prejudice, and in the case of African American youth institutionalized discrimination in stores and by the police were higher for African American youth (Fisher, Wallace, & Fenton, 2000). Racial discrimination has been associated with lower levels of psychological functioning for

African American adolescents (Sellers, Copeland-Lander, Martin, & Lewis, 2006). One of the few longitudinal studies examining racial discrimination among African American adolescents found a relationship between perceived racial discrimination and later conduct problems and depressive symptomatology (Brody, Chen, Murray, Ge, Simons, Gobbons, Gerrard, & Cutrona, 2006).

Despite the growing amount of research on the psychological correlates of racism, the examination of racism as a contextual factor influencing the identity development of African American young men has been overlooked. Of most relevance to this study is the construct of internalized racism. Speight (2007) states, that the field has trivialized the meaning of internalized racism. “Internalized racism is all about the cultural imperialism, the domination, the structure, the normalcy of the ‘way things are’ in our society” (Speight, 2007, p.129). This definition of internalized racism emphasizes the importance of context on social structures and social identities. The gendered-racial identities of African American young men are being shaped within the context of racism and stereotypical roles. Racism and stereotypical roles share a common thread which is oppression. Stereotypical roles were birthed from the oppressive system of slavery and the images related to these roles are perpetuated in the status quo. It is important to distinguish between the constructs of internalized racism and stereotypical roles since internalized racism has been operationalized primarily in the literature as the endorsement of stereotypes about one’s racial or ethnic group. Victims of racism can support a variety of beliefs and attitudes that support oppression beyond stereotyping

(Potapchuk, Leiderman, Bivens, & Major, 2005). Therefore, the endorsement of stereotypical roles is one of many by-products of systemic oppression.

Stereotypes

Racism and stereotypes born of racism have put African Americans at a unique standpoint in regards to identity and well-being, as African American identity in this country has been shaped by societal and environmental phenomena including the presence of racial and ethnic stereotypes. Racial and ethnic stereotypes have been widely studied in the literature. Stereotypes applied to Blacks have had lasting effects from their birth in slavery to the status quo. Stereotypical images can come about in varying degrees and at different times, and can also be internalized and experienced depending on the circumstance (West, 1995). Stereotypes serve important functions such as our necessity to reduce the amount of information that humans have to code and categorize. Specifically, myths and stereotypes can serve the following four purposes: (a) to determine similarities between different objects, (b) to group objects into types, (c) to give names to different types of objects, and (d) make generalizations (Turner, 1977). Stereotyping also has negative effects as they pertain to the Black men in America. Stereotyping can be considered exaggerations of the facts or truth.

Black Male Stereotypical Roles and Images

There is no consensus in the literature regarding “what Black men” are and the reality of Black men has not been positively represented (Turner, 1977). There are two major historical images of Black men, Brute Savage and Sambo that have had an impact on how society view Black men and how Black men view themselves. These two images

represent the endpoints on a continuum of stereotypic images (Hawkins, 1998). Images are conveyed in contemporary society, most often in electronic media and television (Parham, 1999). Random viewing of television shows reveal that African American people are usually portrayed in one of three ways: (1) athlete, (2) entertainer, or (3) criminal (Mosley, 1972). White and Cones (1999) assert that Black men are typecast as super athletes, entertainer's clowns, and occasionally superachievers.

As stated previously, the two dominant images and ideological weapons constructed by the system of white supremacy are the brute savage image and the Sambo image (Hawkins, 1998). The Brute (Savage) Image can be described as demonized, untamed, bestial, superior physical abilities, highly sexed and violent primates. The 1915 film, *Birth of a Nation*, cemented the image of the Black male brute in popular society (White & Cones, 1999). This classic American movie, directed by D.W. Griffith, depicted Black men as hypermasculine, lawless drunkards who lusted after White women. One must reexamine the imagery of slavery to truly understand the depiction of Black men as beasts. There was an emphasis on the physical attributes of the Black male, and conversely a devaluation of the mind and humanity (Hunter & Davis, 1994).

The Sambo/Coon image can be described as domesticated savage, subservient, knows his/her place, happy and contented slave, natural entertainers, and childish. The Sambo image emerged later in history after the image of the Brute Savage (Turner, 1977). This image was very prevalent during the height of slavery when the institution of slavery was the economic and cultural center of American society (Hunter & Davis, 1992).

The more contemporary images of Black men follow under the category of images of the Black criminal, Black athlete, and the Black entertainer. The depiction of the Black male as a criminal holds similarities to the historical image of the Brute Savage.

The stereotypical image of the criminal also seems to be an umbrella to other images such as the thug, hustler, and gangster. Oliver (2006) discusses how “the streets” function as an alternative avenue for socialization for marginalized Black male youth. He proposes three masculine roles that are valued by Black men who are socialized in “the streets”: the tough guy/gangsta, the player of women, and the hustler/ baller. Oliver (2006) states, that these masculine roles are not mutually exclusive but that an individual can incorporate elements of all three roles into their construction of Black male identity. In order to successfully survive in “the streets” the young Black man has to portray the persona of toughness. This method of survival is not without its consequences. In order to maintain this image of toughness, the emotional and cognitive development of young Black males are sacrificed (Pickett, 2009). Due to limited resources for young Black men who are socialized in “the streets”, the sexual conquest of women is seen as a rite of passage to manhood. The sexual conquest and exploitation of Black women is also a theme found in popular culture (i.e., hip hop). Another masculine role with the underlying theme of aggression is the hustler/baller role. Oliver (2006) describes the hustler/ baller role as a “role orientation in which manhood is defined in terms of using one’s wits to aggressively pursue access to legitimate economic opportunities and the illicit resources of the ghetto to improve one’s economic and material condition” (p.930).

Masculinity

Research must continue to explore the intersection of identity factors (e.g. race, gender). The stereotypical roles examined in this study capture both gender and race; therefore, the construct of masculinity needs to be explored. The construct of masculinity is divided into male role norms and masculinity ideology (Pleck, Sorenstein, & Ku, 1993). Pleck (1981) in his seminal text, *The Myth of Masculinity*, challenged the male role norms model as incapable of fully describing the totality of men's experiences. Wade (1998) developed the theory of Male Reference Group Identity Dependence to address the questions of why men vary in their masculinity ideology and in their conformity to standards of masculinity. Male role norms refers to a culture's norms about how men should act; whereas, masculinity ideology refers to the individual's internalization of such norms (Doss & Hopkins, 1998).

In America, Black heterosexual masculinity has been strategically defined and Black men have had their identities prearranged for them (Hawkins, 1998). For too long, Black masculinity has been understood from a Eurocentric (hegemonic) standard. Hegemonic masculinity is defined as "the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees the dominant position of men and the subordination of women" (Connell, 1995, p.77). The characteristics associated with White masculinity include assertiveness, toughness, dominance, decisiveness, independence, ambitiousness, self-reliance, forcefulness, reliability, analytic ability, and competitiveness (White & Cones, 1999). Heavy reliance on the Euro-American masculine ideal places little or no value on such

qualities as empathy, compassion, harmony within relationships, and the ability to identify and label emotions (White & Cones, 1999). White masculinity is in direct contrast to the Afrocentric view of masculinity which places an emphasis on human relationships and the “synthesis of opposites as a way of resolving conflict (White & Cones, p. 118). Dyson (2007) refers to the concept of manhood as the ability to impose harm or violence as inauthentic and the ability to define strength and accept vulnerability as inauthentic. He goes on to state that American notions of masculinity do not acknowledge the qualities of cooperation, negotiation, and compromise.

Given the unique demands on the identity development of African American young men, the field should further explore the cultural distinctions, or emic components, of masculinity. Masculinity is a culturally-bound construct. Using Du Bois’ theory of double consciousness as a framework, African American men are both detached from and attached to mainstream culture. This study will help us better understand how African American young men conceptualize traditional notions of masculinity.

Stigma Consciousness

Until this point, stereotypes have been discussed in terms of their presence and visibility within society. This section will now turn to the perceived relevance of stereotypes on the lives of those who are stigmatized in society. Stigma consciousness introduced by Pinel (1999) refers to the extent to which members of stigmatized groups expect to be stereotyped. Stigma consciousness is assumed to vary across situations and across individuals. The construct is not to be confused with similar constructs such as stereotype threat which refers to the fear in confirming a stereotype about one’s group

(Steele, 1997). Stigma consciousness reflects the degree to which an individual is aware of their stigmatized status. In a six-part study, Pinel (1999) validates the stigma-consciousness questionnaire on six different populations. The author found that stigma consciousness was higher in stigmatized groups than in non-stigmatized individuals. An interesting finding in the study points to the positive and negative effects associated with high levels of stigma consciousness. On one hand, individuals with high levels of stigma consciousness were more likely to perceive discrimination directed toward their group. Conversely, Pinel (1999) suggests individuals with high levels of stigma consciousness correspond with high levels of group consciousness by which individuals are more willing to fight against discrimination. We know that African American young men are a stigmatized group in this society; however we do not know if these young men are conscious of their stigmatized status.

Purpose of the Study

During adolescence, when the identity formation process is taking place, one of the goals is to define a healthy identity which has the potential to transform societal messages of inferiority based on color, race and culture (Lee, 1996). There is a significant amount of literature on identity development in general, but there is a dearth of research focusing on identity development in relation to how other processes and constructs influence the identity development of African American young men. One such construct is the presence of stereotypical roles. The primary purpose of this study is to create a reliable and valid measure of the stereotypical roles of African American young men. A secondary purpose of this study is to provide construct and discriminant validity

evidence for the measure. The purpose of the validity analysis is to provide evidence for which constructs are theoretically related and theoretically not related to stereotypical roles. This study will explore the relationship between the endorsement of stereotypical roles, internalized racism, male role norms, and stigma consciousness.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

Based on the purpose of this research, the following research questions and hypotheses will be examined in this study:

1. Is the *Stereotypical Roles of Black Young Men* scale a reliable and valid measure? It is hypothesized that the SRBYM will yield a multi-factor structure.
2. What is the relationship between Black male stereotypical roles and internalized racism? It is hypothesized that scores on the SRBYM will have a small, positive correlation with scores on the internalized racism scale.
3. What is the relationship between stereotypical roles and male role norms? It is hypothesized that scores on the SRBYM will have a small, positive correlation with scores on the five subscales of the male role norms inventory.
4. What is the relationship between stereotypical roles and stigma consciousness? It is hypothesized that scores on the SRBYM will have a small, negative correlation with scores on the stigma consciousness scale.
5. What are the attitudinal responses (e.g. cognitive, affective) of African American young men when surveyed about their endorsement of stereotypical roles?

Study Significance and Contribution to the Field

This study will contribute to the field, because it will explore the unique challenges on the identity development of African American young men. This study will produce a measure to assess the endorsement of stereotypical roles of African American young men. There has been extensive research on the identity development; however, we do not know enough about contextual influences that may shape the critical task of identity development for African American male adolescents. This study will illuminate critical issues facing this population. Given that the literature has highlighted not only the risk factors of African American young men but also the resiliency of this population, study findings will help elucidate ways that interventionists and prevention researchers can better serve the needs of African American male youth.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

There has been a call in the field to examine the intersection of identity variables in addition to examining the contextual factors that influence the identity development process. In regard to African American young men, more research is needed “that addresses the intersections of multiple aspects of socially constructed identity, including race, ethnicity, gender, class, SES, and context” (Watkins, Walker, & Griffith, p.324). This chapter will critically review the literature on the contextual factors of the historical legacy of slavery, racism, and stereotypical roles as they relate to the identity development process of African American young men. This chapter will also examine the literature on stigma consciousness and masculinity as the constructs which are hypothesized to be related to stereotypical roles of African American young men. Each section will provide a definition of the construct, a theoretical overview of the construct, empirical research that has been conducted on each construct, and implications for future research. Reviewing every empirical study related to these factors is beyond the scope of this review. Included studies reflect the most relevant to the purpose of this current study. The review concludes with a summary and critique of existing literature and how this current study will contribute to the discourse on the identity development of African American young men.

Historical Legacy of Slavery

Definition of the Construct

In the Kiswahili language, the term Maafa is used for the era of slavery in the United States (Ani, 1994). Maafa is translated in English as the “great disaster”. It is important to consider the oppressive context in which African slaves developed their sense of identity in the United States. It is equally important to consider the way of life and worldview of African men during the pre-slavery era. The literature and research on African Americans tends to be skewed toward a deficit model. The story of Black people in America begins well before the era of slavery. African men left advanced civilizations and well-defined cultures before coming to America. This current review begins with this point in our history, because the era of slavery is the point in time in which the images and roles of African American men were birthed. Slavery should be considered as more than just a moment in history or an institution that devalued humanity but as a “collective memory” that served as the foundation for the identity development of African Americans (Eyerman, 2001).

Theoretical Overview of the Construct

Most of the literature on the historical legacy of slavery as it pertains to the African American male experience has been theoretical in nature. There are little to no empirical studies examining the historical legacy of slavery and its implications for identity development. The existing theories on the legacy of slavery shed light on the complexities of this multidimensional experience and the difficulties in empirically examining the effects of the historical legacy of slavery on African Americans (Cross,

1998). There are two contrasting psychological theories concerning African male slavery – the traditionalist view and the revisionist view (Whites & Cones, 1999). On one hand, there is the passive man who is described as allowing himself to be completely controlled by his master. On the other hand, there is the African man who is described as self-determining and who resisted slavery in both active and passive forms. These differing viewpoints speak to the two endpoints on the continuum of stereotypical roles of Black men which will be discussed later in this chapter.

Inherent to the American slavery experience is the horrific nature and marked illustration of dehumanization. Given the nature of this experience, one must recognize the impact of slavery on the psyche of the American male slave and the psychological transition that occurred. The psychological transition occurred when African men were stripped of all aspects of their identity and were forced to assimilate into a Eurocentric way of life. There are opposing views in the literature on the trauma related to American slavery. Slavery has been described as a cultural process with transgenerational implications (Eyerman, 2001). According to this view, trauma is described as a collective memory that does not necessarily have to be experienced by the individual in order for damage to occur. Cross (1998), in the book the *International Handbook of Multigenerational Legacies of Trauma* refutes what he calls the trauma-transcendence-legacy model. Cross gives two primary reasons why the group trauma model does not apply to the American slavery system. First, he describes the American slavery as a multidimensional experience that lasted for hundreds of years. Therefore, we cannot conceptualize slavery from a linear standpoint. In other words, there is no single event

that can be correlated to a single or large number of psychological effects and outcomes. This way of thinking is stated to be too simplistic and trivializes the true impact of slavery. Second, trauma is usually described as a single event or series of events that were painful and damaging. Cross (1998) asserts that during slavery, Africans exhibited both victimization and coping strategies to deal with such oppression. One of the most important points in Cross's chapter as it relates to this current study is that slavery should not be viewed as the source of the problems found within the Black community. He states that the true legacy of slavery should be considered as White racism instead of Black deficits. The aim here is not to dismiss the psychological and cultural effects of slavery on African Americans, but to contextualize the experience of slavery. The machine that operated the American slavery system was White supremacy and White racism. Subsequently, African men began to view themselves not as their true selves but from the vantage point of Europeans.

In the same vein as Cross's (1998) emphasis on White racism, Wade Noble's (1991) stated that slavery facilitated the maintenance of an African worldview and not its destruction. In order, to examine the legacy of slavery one must also examine the legacy of hope, longsuffering, and resilience of Black people. Noble's assertion highlights the resilience of African people which should also be emphasized in the psychological research.

The literature points to several ways that slavery has influenced African American men. Most of the research focuses on the relationship between slavery and the construction of African American manhood. There has been a sizeable amount of

literature written about the emasculation of Black men during this period. Lawson (1999) reviewed the literature on the dynamics of Black manhood and discussed specifically the impact of slavery on the construction of Black manhood. He compares the traditional view held by Akbar (1984) and the view of Black feminist bell hooks (1981). On one hand, there is support in the literature for the psychological emasculation of Black men during slavery (Akbar, 1984). On the other hand, there is the argument that slavery has had little impact on Black masculinity (hooks, 1981). This current study takes the position that slavery not only had an impact on Black masculinity but it also attacked the humanity of Black people.

Akbar (1996) highlights several detrimental effects of slavery which include attitudes toward work, the attainment of property, leadership, feelings of personal inferiority, community division, impact on the family, color discrimination, and stereotypical roles and images. Of particular importance to African American men are the effects of slavery on the awareness and endorsement of stereotypical roles and images.

Critique of the Research

The research is scarce on the attitudes of African American young men toward stereotypical roles of their group. In addition, most of the research has examined African American men and not African American male youth. More research is needed that gives voice to their experiences of young people. Schiele (2008) looks at the concept of violence as it relates to African American young men and he posits that cultural misalignment with its roots in slavery is at the source of this problem. At the onset of slavery, African men were forced to operate within a Eurocentric paradigm. At its

essence, this paradigm did not affirm and uphold and African identity. This researcher argues that cultural alignment also occurs when African American young men not only view themselves through the lens of dominant culture but also when they endorse the stereotypical roles and images portrayed in dominant society.

As evidenced here, most of the literature concerning the historical legacy of slavery is theoretical and not empirical in nature. This can either be viewed as a limitation or it can point to the nature of the construct. Again, Cross (1998) emphasized that slavery is a multidimensional construct and can be operationalized from a linear standpoint. One way to examine the psychological effects of slavery is to examine what has been called *psychological slavery*. Akbar (1984) writes extensively about this topic in his book *Breaking the Chains of Psychological Slavery*. Psychological slavery can be considered as a form of internalized racism which is suggested to have profound effects on the psyche of African Americans (Speight, 2007).

The field still needs to further consider the impact of slavery by viewing it as the context in which African American young men are developing their sense of identity. One way to examine the effects of slavery without trivializing the experience is to assess the endorsement of the stereotypical roles and images that were present during the era of slavery and still operate in the status quo. The voice of African American young men needs to be heard. History tells us that as a group African American young men have been self-determining and resilient. Their story should be told from their own perspective. This current study aims to capture the “voices” of African American young men.

Racism

Definition of the Construct

Racism has been defined in a variety of ways in the literature. For the purpose of this review, racism will be defined as “beliefs, attitudes, institutional arrangements, and acts that tend to denigrate individuals or groups because of phenotypic characteristics or ethnic group affiliation” (Clark et al., 1999, p. 805). One caveat of this definition is that it captures racism only on the level of the individual. Jones (2000) proposes that there are three levels of racism that should be considered – personally mediated racism, institutional racism, and internalized racism. Jones’ (2000) conceptualization of personally mediated racism most closely aligns with the Clark et al. (1999) definition of racism.

Theoretical Overview of the Construct

In order to understand racism in America, one must look at how our society is structured. One theory that sheds light on this type of structure of society is the Social Dominance Theory. The Social Dominance Theory (SDT) begins with the observation that human societies are group-based hierarchies and are inherently oppressive (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Given the hierarchal structure of American culture and the presence of racism, the effects of these entities are found in the individuals oppressed by them as well as psychological institutions. Racism has been theorized to be similar to the effects of trauma (Crosman, 2007) and as a result of such trauma has injurious effects (Carter, 2007). Carter’s (2007) race-based traumatic stress injury model claims that the experience of racist events triggers stress which can be better understood as a

psychological injury. He states that there is a need for more research looking at the specific effects of racism and that a broad definition of racism does not capture the true essence of this form of oppression.

Up until now, racism has been framed in the context of violence and hierarchy. Clark et al. (1999) situates the construct of racism within context of biopsychosocial framework. This model assumes that the once racism is perceived from the environment and by the individual, that psychological and physiological distress ensue. The strength of this model is that it conceptualizes racism in a contextual framework. However, the question arises does an individual have to perceive racism in order for a psychological and/or physiological threat to occur. We do not know enough about the impact of internalized racism on African Americans, particularly African American young men. Racism has been empirically researched from various angles. The next section will explore research on perceived racism, race-related stress, racial discrimination, before turning its attention to internalized racism.

Critique of the Research

Perceived racism. There have been several studies examining the effect of perceived racism on African Americans. Most of these studies have used adult men as the sample. A meta-analytic review examining the effect of perceived racism on the mental health of African American adults showed a small positive correlation ($r = 0.2$) between perceived racism and psychological distress. The meta-analysis did not look at the effects of gender on the relationship between perceived racism and mental health. The study is one of the first meta-analyses to examine perceived racism and mental health

of African American adults. There are virtually no reviews on the impact of perceived racism on African American youth, particularly African American young men. We know from the research that African American youth are impacted by the perception of racism, but we do not know to what degree and which factors contribute to that relationship.

Similar studies have looked at the effects of perceived racism on the racial socialization patterns on Black youth (Stevenson, McNeil, Taylor, & Davis, 2005), the relationship between perceived racism and blood pressure in Black adolescents (Clark, 2006).

However, these studies did not account for possible gender differences in their examination of perceived racism. The research does show possible gender effects in the relationship between perceived racism and career self-efficacy in African American adolescents (Rollins & Valdez, 2006). The researchers' overall findings were that Black adolescents who perceived a greater degree of perceived racism also reported higher self-efficacy for career decision making. Interestingly, the researchers also found that Black girls reported higher self-efficacy than Black boys. The researchers attribute these gender differences to Stevenson's (1994) research that suggested that girls might possess more positive racial socialization attitudes than their male counterparts. These research findings implicate the need for more research focusing Black male youth and gendered racism.

Racial discrimination and psychological outcomes. One of the most cited studies looking at the impact of racial discrimination on psychological outcomes reported that racial discrimination accounts for 15% of the variance in total psychiatric symptoms among Black adults (Landrine & Klonoff, 1999). There have been several studies

conducted on the relationship between racial discrimination and psychological outcomes in youth. In a multi-ethnic sample of adolescents, it was found that all youth reported distress as a result of perceived discrimination (Fisher, Wallace, & Fenton 2000). Lower levels of self-esteem were found to be related to higher levels of psychological distress. Racial discrimination has also been found to be associated with lower levels of psychological functioning in African American adolescents (Seller, Copeland-Linder, Martin, & Lewis, 2006). A finding of particular relevance to this current study is that Black adolescents who held more negative attitudes about their group were at more risk for experiencing racial discrimination. Sellers et al. (2006) did not report or explore gender differences in the examination of racial discrimination and psychological functioning. These findings suggest that adolescents are aware of racism and discrimination and that these experiences of racism and discrimination have differing effects on African American youth. What these findings do not highlight are the possible gendered and gendered racial differences on discrimination distress during adolescence.

A longitudinal study examining perceived discrimination on the adjustment of African American youth sheds lights on possible gender differences on the effects of perceived discrimination (Brody et al., 2006). The results from latent curve modeling supported the researchers' gendered hypothesis in that the relationship between perceived discrimination and conduct problems was stronger for boys but there were no gender differences in the relationship between perceived discrimination and depression. These findings suggest the need for more research on the contextual factors on the adjustment of African American youth (Brody et al., 2006).

Race-related stress. The previous section on the psychological effects of perceived discrimination point to some of the deleterious effects of racism and discrimination. There is a growing body of research looking at race-related stress associated with racial discrimination and experiences of racism. Given the hierarchal structure of American culture and the presence of racism, the effects of these entities are found in the individuals oppressed by them as well as psychological institutions. Racism and other forms of oppression are sources of substantial, unrelenting stress (Cohen & Northridge, 2000). Harrell (2000) suggests that there are at least six types of race-related stress which include: racism-related life events, vicarious racism experiences, daily racism microstressors, chronic-contextual stress, collective experiences, and transgenerational transmission of racism. Of interest to this current study is the notion of chronic-contextual stress. Harrell (2000) defines this type of race-related stress as one that reflects the impact of social structure, political dynamics, and institutional racism on social-role demands and the larger environment within which one must adapt and cope” (p. 46).

Most of the research on race-related stress has been conducted on the Black adult population. In a multi-ethnic adult sample, African Americans reported significantly higher race-related stress than their counterparts (Utsey, Chae, Brown, & Kelly, 2002). Race-related stress has also been found to be more of a risk factor than other forms of stress (Utsey, Giesbrecht, Hook, & Stanard, 2008). These two studies used the *Index of Race-Related Stress-Brief Version* (IRRS-B; Utsey, 1999) to measure race-related stress. Seaton (2003) examined the factor structure of the *IRRS* (Utsey & Ponterotto, 1996) on a

sample of African American adolescents. The results showed validity evidence for use of the scale with adolescents and that some modification to the scale items was necessary. Reynolds, Sneva, and Beehler (2010) examined the influence on racism-related stress on the academic motivation of Black and Latino undergraduate students. Institutional racism-related stress was negatively correlated with extrinsic academic motivation and positively correlated with intrinsic academic motivation. Racial differences in this study were examined but no gendered-racial differences were tested or explored. It was found Latino/a students showed lower academic motivation scores than African American students.

Internalized racism. At the beginning of this discussion on racism, the importance of internalized racism was explored. The construct of internalized racism is important to this current study, because this study aims to create an instrument to measure the endorsement of Black male stereotypical roles. It is important to think about internalized racism in tandem with identity development. When you look at most of the ethnic, racial, and sexual identity development models they tend to shift from a negative frame of reference to a more positive sense of self and identity. Particularly, the Black racial identity development model (Cross, 1991) begins with the pre-encounter stage where the individual is stated to absorb the societal messages (which are often negative) about their group. The absorption or internalization of negative societal messages is similar in theory to the construct of internalized racism. Cokley (2002) found that pre-encounter racial identity attitudes as measured by the *Cross Racial Identity Scale* (Vandiver et al, 2000) were positively related to internalized racism (beliefs in the mental

and genetic deficiencies and the sexual prowess of Blacks). These results provide support for the Black racial identity model and the theory's assumptions.

There has also been a sizable amount of research examining internalized racism and academic achievement (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986). Developmental psychologist, Beverly Daniel Tatum, writes about this theory of the "burden of acting White" in her seminal book *Why are all the Black Kids Sitting Together in the Cafeteria*. Tatum (2003) suggests that during the encounter stage of Black racial identity development, Black adolescents begin to shun anything that is associated with Whiteness, one such thing being academic achievement. The encounter stage is stated to be brought on by experiencing an event or series of events that reflects a child's Blackness in a way that is less than favorable. A qualitative study of African American male college students did not find any evidence of internalized racism in regard to academic achievement (Harper, 2006). The participants reported that instead of being taunted by same age peers concerning their academic success that they were encouraged by their same race peers and applauded because of their leadership. These findings suggest that Black students not only value education but often receive support of their academic achievements by their same race peers. The Harper (2006) study included high-achieving Black male undergraduate students at predominately White institutions of higher learning. The findings might have been different if participants were selected from predominately Black institutions. Also, the participants ranged in age from 18 to 22. It can be argued that the attitudes toward academic achievement could be different for younger adolescents who are not as further along in their identity development.

Up until now, internalized racism has been looked at through the lens of the internalization of negative stereotypes about Blacks and attitudes toward academic achievement. Recently, internalized racial oppression has been conceptualized more broadly in the literature. The development of the *Internalized Racial Oppression Scale for Black Individuals* (IROS; Bailey, Chung, Williams, Sing, & Terrell, 2011) was created to assess internalized racism on five dimensions. An exploratory factor analysis of the scale suggested a five-factor solution for the scale: Belief in the Biased Representation of History, Devaluation of African Worldview and Motifs, Alteration of Physical Appearance, Internalization of Negative Stereotypes, and Hair Change. This scale was developed and validated on a Black college population. One theme in the development and validation of scales similar to the IROS are that they are validated on a college or adult population. The *IROS* and scales that are similar to it do not assess the gendered or gendered racial aspects of stereotypes and internalized racism. This current study seeks to measure the endorsement of gendered racial stereotypes on an adolescent population given that adolescence is a developmental stage where identity exploration is a critical task.

Stereotypes

Definition of the Construct

Stereotypes have been defined as an “exaggerated belief associated with a category” (Allport, 1954, p.191) and as a static belief that is not representative of the actual truth (Katz & Braly, 1935.). Stereotypes serve important functions, such as our necessity to reduce the amount of information that humans have to code and categorize.

Specifically, myths and stereotypes can serve the following four purposes: (a) to determine similarities between different objects, (b) to group objects into types, (c) to give names to different types of objects, and (d) make generalizations (Turner, 1977).

Theoretical Overview of the Construct

Stereotyping has had negative effects as they pertain to Black men in America. As noted in the above definitions, stereotypes “pigeon hole” the identity of an individual within the paradigm of the attitudes, beliefs, and perceptions of dominant society. This current study emphasizes the importance of contextualizing the identity of African American young men. One such context which will be examined in this section is stereotypical roles, historical and contemporary, of African American young men.

Turner (1977) posits that most stereotypes of African American men are myths which serve a purpose in our society. Turner (1977) goes on to argue that the “images of Black reality” were created in literature and research based on “culturally agreed-upon myths” (p.126). This phenomenon underscores an interesting dynamic in regard to African American male identity and visibility. If the reality of Black men is being created by those in power, then strife seems inevitable as Black men attempt to define themselves for themselves. This strife is conceptualized in W.E.B. Du Bois’ theory of double consciousness and African American male psychologist Dr. A.J. Franklin’s invisibility syndrome. Du Bois writes:

It is a peculiar sensation, this double consciousness, this sense of always looking at one’s self through the eyes of others... One ever feels his twoness, - an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body... The history of the American Negro is the history of strife, - this longing... to merge his double self into a better and truer self. In this merging he wishes

neither of the older selves to be lost. He would not Africanize America, for America has too much to teach the world and Africa. He would not bleach his Negro soul in a flood of white Americanism, for he knows that Negro blood has a message for the world.

-W.E.B. Du Bois
(1903/1993, p. 2)

The power struggle that is apparent in the above quote and the theme of vision and visibility underscore the struggle of the American Negro at the turn of the century and the African American young man in today's society. There is power in manifesting your own destiny and having control over your own vision. Unlike the point or place at which the African American stands to view himself and his condition, Frankenberg (1993) asserts that Whiteness is a standpoint from which White people look at themselves, others, and society. Du Bois conveys another component to the theme of vision and visibility by introducing the concept of the veil. He states that the Negro is sort of a seventh son, born with a veil, and gifted with second-sight in this American world. However, it hides the outside world from truly viewing the individual (the Black person in America) it shields.

The same type of occurrence is found in Claude Steele's work of stereotype threat. In the same vein as double consciousness, individuals performing in a situation sense that the group in which they belong is viewed in a negative manner. Steele argues that if you do not believe in something, you may psychologically misidentify with that concept and that cues in the environment can produce threatening feelings. Ferguson (1990) asserts that there are specific messages through which parents, teachers, peers, and society at large communicate low expectations and disrespect. The fear that one's

behavior will confirm an existing stereotype of a group with which one identifies may lead to an impairment of performance.

Franklin and Boyd-Franklin (2000) discuss the concept of the “invisibility syndrome” experienced by African American men. The invisibility syndrome is a conceptual model to understand the intrapsychic processes and outcomes in managing the personal stress arising from racial slights and the subjective experience of invisibility among African Americans (Franklin et al., 2000). Another feature of this phenomenon is the extent to which those attributes that define African American identity are viewed as contradictory to what is widely upheld as “American” (Franklin et al., 2000). This contradictory dynamic can explain what Du Bois was referring to when he stated that the Negro is born with a veil. It can be argued that the African American wears this veil to protect his endangered identity from those who feel that their position in society is threatened. The process of achieving visibility within a racist society, while maintaining integrity and dignity, is a stressful psychological process (Franklin et al., 2000). Harris (2008) discusses the concept of the veil in her discussion of the intersection of race, gender, and ideologies in relation to Patricia Hill Collins’ (2005) *Black Sexual Politics; African Americans, Gender, and the New Racism*. Harris (2008) argues that the Black body has been sexualized and politicized for the gain of the dominant society which perpetuates White supremacy. One way in which the Black body has been politicized is via stereotypical images.

Black male stereotypical roles and images. The stereotypical roles of Black men can be found between two endpoints of a continuum of stereotypical roles and

images – the Sambo/Coon and the Brute/Savage (Hawkins, 1998). The Sambo/Coon is depicted as the domesticated savage who knows his role in society and appears content and happy entertaining and serving others. The Sambo/Coon has also been called the “Good Nigger”. The Brute/Savage is depicted as the uncivilized, violent, primal, and physically superior Black man. Contemporary images of Black men have categorized them as the Black criminal, Black athlete, and the Black entertainer (Mosley, 1972).

Critique of the Research

The stereotypical roles and images have been theorized extensively in the literature. The above section discussed the historical and contemporary theories of Black male stereotypes in relation to identity and invisibility. The research is scarce in regard to *if* and *how* these stereotypical roles and images are endorsed by African American young men. There has been a sizable amount of outcome and prevention research which assume that young Black men have been susceptible to these images (Watts & Abdul-Adil, 1997). There is a need for more research that assesses the endorsements of these images by African American young men.

The research shows that the negative images of young Black men are evident in several forms of media. A content analysis of popular video games revealed that there is overt racial discrimination in video games (Burgess, M., Dill, Stermer, Burgess, S., & Brown, 2011). Specifically, the analysis demonstrated that minority males were either portrayed as athletes or as aggressive and dangerous. An analysis of ten reality television shows between 2005 and 2008 revealed that all ten shows included one character that was stereotypical in nature such as the sambo, coon, and thug (Tyree, 2011). A content

analysis of advertisements of two popular Black magazines showed that White supremacist ideologies are pervasive in the advertisements (Hazzell & Clarke, 2008).

The outcomes of endorsing these stereotypes have not been researched in sufficient depth in the literature. It can be hypothesized that the effects are great and widespread. A study examining African American teen boys (ages 14 to 18) perceptions of peer female preferences of attractiveness demonstrated that participants viewed athletes as most attractive to girls, thugs second, and scholars as least attractive to girls. These findings suggest that the historical legacy of slavery which birthed most of the stereotypes of African American men is prevalent in contemporary, mainstream society. The question that arises is what effect do these images have on the identity development, notions of masculinity, and stigma consciousness of African American young men?

Most of the research on stereotypes and African Americans has been based on Claude Steele's theory of stereotype threat. Steele's (1997) posits that there is a "threat in the air" which negatively impacts the academic achievement of African American students as measured by standardized test scores. If this threat can be sensed by African American students in the domain of academics, then where else can this sense be felt? We do not know the answer to these questions based on empirical research. One of the few scales which examine the gendered racial identities of African Americans is the *Stereotypical Roles for Black Women Scale* (SRBWS; Thomas, Witherspoon, & Speight, 2004). The purpose of the scale construction study was to create a reliable and valid measure of the stereotypical roles of Black women which are Mammy, Jezebel, and Sapphire. The literature points to a consensus in regard to the stereotypical roles of Black

women. The researchers found support for the structure of their scale based on confirmatory factor analysis and demonstrated that the Mammy and Sapphire images were significant predictors of self-esteem. Of particular importance to this study is the finding that the stereotypical roles contributed unique, significance variance beyond racial identity attitudes scores. This finding implicates the need for further exploration of the gendered racial identity development of African American young men. Unlike the Thomas et al. (2004) study, this current study takes an exploratory route to the investigation and construction of a scale that measures the endorsement of the stereotypical roles of African American young men. It is important to remain cognizant that the images of Black men are rooted within the white supremacy which perpetuates White hegemony (Hawkins, 1998). Hegemony is important to consider when considering the context in which identity and manhood is shaped for African American young men. The next section will explore in detail the constructs of Black manhood and Black masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity will also be juxtaposed with Afrocentric notions of manhood and masculinity.

Masculinity

Definition of the Construct

In the psychological literature, masculinity is divided into two main constructs – male role norms and masculinity ideology (Pleck, Sorenstein, & Ku, 1993). Masculinity ideology refers to the extent an individual internalizing cultural norms and attitudes toward male gender roles (Levant & Richmond, 2007). The role of context in this definition cannot be ignored in that the dominant cultural attitudes and beliefs toward

male gender role are what are internalized. This type of masculinity has been called hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1995). It is important to consider the context in which African American young men are developing their sense of racial and male identity. If masculinity ideology refers to the endorsement of cultural attitudes about how boys and men should act, then one must also consider how the impact of male stereotypical roles which may also impact the code of behavior among African American boys and men.

Theoretical Overview of the Construct

Pleck's (1981) theory of male role norms which is based on the Gender Role Identity Paradigm is only one lens that we can use to conceptualize masculinity. Wade (1998) developed the theory of Male Reference Group Identity Dependence to address the questions of why men vary in their masculinity ideology and in their conformity to standards of masculinity. Male Reference Group Identity Dependence Theory makes the argument that men vary in their dependency on a reference group in the formation of their gender self-concept. Other scholars have written about how the intragroup difference in how men vary in their adherence to traditional masculinity ideology extends to differences in race and culture as well. Whites and Cones (1999) discuss the differences in hegemonic masculinity and African-centered masculinity. The Afrocentric view of masculinity emphasizes the importance of spirituality and the interconnectedness of human beings (Whites & Cones, 1999). This is in stark contrast to the dominant ideology which emphasizes individualism, competition, and male dominance.

Critique of the Research

Levant and Richmond (2007) conducted a review of research on masculinity ideologies using the Male Role Norms Inventory (MRNI). In regard to African American men, they found that African Americans endorsed traditional masculinity to a greater extent than Latino Americans and European Americans. The authors report that these differences might be attributed to greater role strain experienced by African American men. Due to the suspected greater amount of role strain experienced by Black man, this population has adopted several coping strategies. Majors and Bilson (1992) write about the adaptive strategy of the “cool pose”. Cool pose refers to the exaggerated forms of masculinity that Black men adopt as a way of resisting dominant society and oppression. Another finding of the Levant and Richmond (2007) review was that most of the research using the MRNI has been with college student populations. This implies the need for future research exploring the masculinity ideologies of African American using a community sample and young men. The authors call for more studies like this current study which examine the “cultural contextual variables” that may account for some of the variance in traditional masculinity ideologies (Levant & Richmond, 2007, p. 142).

In addition to the review by Levant and Richmond (2007), there are empirical studies which shed light on how African American men differ in their attitudes toward masculinity. A study examining the relationship between traditional masculinity ideologies and interpersonal competencies between Black and White men found few differences between the two groups. However, African American men differed in how much they endorsed the importance of status in their definition of masculinity. These

findings suggest that African American men may adopt defense mechanisms to affirm their identity in an oppressive society that in some ways mirrors the attitudes and behaviors of hegemonic notions of masculinity. A study exploring the relationship between ethnic belonging and traditional masculinity ideology among African American, Latino Americans, and European American men found a positive relationship between ethnic identity development and masculinity identity development (Abreu, Goodyear, Campos, & Newcomb, 2000). This finding further implicates the need for more research looking at the intersection of identity factors and their influence on masculinity. In contrast to the Levant and Richmond (2007) study, European American men outscored African American on three measures of traditional masculinity in the study examining ethnic belonging and traditional masculinity. This evidence implies the need for more culturally sensitive measures when for African American boys and men. It also raises the question, if African American boys and men should be compared to other ethnic groups in their endorsement of traditional masculinities. The comparison studies discussed here provide inconsistent data on the topic.

There have been several studies examining how African American men describe their manhood qualitatively. Hunter and Davis (1994) developed a conceptualization of African American manhood from interview data which including the elements of sensitivity, spirituality, family connectedness, and respect for womanhood. The researchers found significant differences between men over the age of 30 and those under 25. Older men provided more detailed and rich conceptualizations of their manhood. These findings implicate the need for more research on how African American young

men conceptualize manhood and the need for prevention and intervention programs that facilitate positive manhood development. Harris, Torres, and Allender (1994) found that younger African American men held similar views on masculinity to White men, but as they got older African American views on masculinity differed than those held by White men.

Similar to Whites and Cones' (1999) description of Afrocentric masculinity and Hunter and Davis' (1994) conceptualization of Black manhood, other studies have shown that the definition of Black manhood includes connectedness to others and is described as a relational process. Hammond and Mattis (2005) conducted a content analysis on the responses of 152 African American men to an open-ended question about the meaning of manhood. The authors found 15 distinct categories of meaning. The category that was most prominent was *Responsibility-accountability* with 48.7% of the men endorsing this meaning. The category of *emotional connectedness* was the least endorsed with 6.6% of the men endorsing this meaning. The authors described this category as the ability to freely express feelings and connect with others. This finding has unique meaning to the theory of cool pose and how it is an over exaggeration of masculinity where toughness is valued and expressing one's feelings and emotions are not.

There have been a few studies that looking at the relationships between masculinity ideology and behavioral outcomes. Wade (2008) examined the relationship between African American men's health-related attitudes and traditional masculinity ideology and male reference group identity. He found that nontraditional masculinity was significantly, positively correlated with personal wellness. It was also found that no

reference group and reference group dependent identity statuses were negatively correlated with personal wellness. These findings are in contrary to Afrocentric meanings of manhood and masculinity where interconnectedness is emphasized. A regression analysis showed that the no reference group status and nontraditional masculinity were significant predictors of personal wellness after controlling for demographic variables. In a young adult sample of African American men between the ages of 18-25 similar findings were revealed. Rejection of traditional masculinity ideology was related to the quality of relationship with their partners and a lower number of sexual partners (Corneille, Fife, Belgrave, & Sims, 2012).

All together, these findings point to the influence of cultural oppression and the rejection of culturally-bound definitions of manhood as it relates to African American young men. It can be argued that the negative outcomes such as violent crimes committed by male youth or a lack of personal and holistic wellness is a function of the “internalization of alien concepts of manhood that reflect the impositions of European American culture and the nefarious legacy of slavery” (Schiele, 1998, p. 165). In other words, African American young men who are disconnected from their true identity and meaning of manhood may suffer negative psychological and behavioral outcomes. With this hypothesis comes the question, does this hypothesis hold for African American young men in general? At the beginning of the chapter, the concept of intersectionality was discussed. More research is needed on the intersection of not only race and gender but identity variables such as social class and sexual orientation as they relate to conceptualization of manhood and related outcomes.

A meta-study examining the mental health needs and experiences of African American men revealed that contextual factors such as social class and education level might influence how strongly Black men adhere to traditional (hegemonic) notions of masculinity (Watkins et al., 2009). The authors call for more research examining the intersection of race and gender and their influence on masculinity. In addition to more empirical studies, there is also a need for more prevention studies with the aim of resilience and positive identity development of African American young men.

Stigma Consciousness

Definition of the Construct

Stigma consciousness introduced by Pinel (1999) refers to the extent to which members of stigmatized groups expect to be stereotyped. Stigma consciousness is a construct that measures how much individuals have internalized notions of being stigmatized by others.

Theoretical Overview of the Construct

The term “stigma consciousness” was first coined by Pinel (1999) in her construction and validation study of the Stigma Consciousness Scale. There are several related constructs and avenues of research related to stigma consciousness such as stereotype threat. Stigma consciousness aims to explain the actual experiences of stigmatization from targeted individuals. In other words, how much do stigmatized and marginalized individuals vary in their degree in their consciousness of being stigmatized? The psychological effects of social stigma have been extensively researched in the literature, particularly in the field of social psychology. Major and O’Brien (2005)

conducted a review on the psychological effects of identity which pointed to the importance of considering context in relation to how much individuals are impacted by stigma. This current study aims to assess the endorsement of Black male stereotypical roles from the voice of Black young men. We know that African American young men have a targeted status in our society and are a marginalized population. But we do not know enough about how they perceive their stereotyped status. There are virtually no studies examining stigma consciousness with African American young men. The next section will review and critique the limited research that has been conducted on stigma consciousness.

Critique of the Research

In a six-part study, Pinel (1999) validates the stigma-consciousness questionnaire on six different populations. Pinel (1999) validated her scale on women, gays and lesbians, and a multiethnic college student sample representing both genders. The author found that stigma consciousness was higher in stigmatized groups than in non-stigmatized individuals. Her findings points to the positive and negative effects associated with high levels of stigma consciousness. Individuals with high levels of stigma consciousness were more likely to perceive discrimination directed toward their group, and the same individuals were more willing to fight against discrimination.

The research on stigma consciousness as operationalized by Pinel (1999) is limited. Stigma consciousness has been examined in relation with interpersonal consequences (Pinel, 2002), lesbian well-being (Lewis, Derlega, Clarke, & Kunag, 2006), depression in gay men and lesbians (Lewis, Derlega, Griffin, & Krowinski, 2003), and

self-esteem and academic achievement in a diverse college student population (Pinel, Warner, Chua, 2005). There are virtually no studies examining the construct with African American young men. We do not know the extent to which stigma consciousness is expressed by targeted individuals such as African American young men.

Summary

This literature review has highlighted research related to the historical legacy of slavery, racism, stereotypes, masculinity, and stigma consciousness. The predominant theories related to these constructs and relevant empirical research was presented and critiqued. After reviewing the literature, there are several themes apparent in areas of the research presented. There is a call for more research that highlights the intersection of identity variables such as race and gender. There is also need to hear the voices of African American young men who are at a pivotal moment in their identity development where they attempt to reconcile what it means to be Black, a man, and a Black man. It is also important to examine the trauma by the hands of slavery and racism on this population.

In regard to racism, most of the research has highlighted the relationship between racism and academic achievement. The majority of studies examining racism have been with adult populations. Future research should assess how youth and young adults conceptualize and to what meaning racism has in their lives. There may be additional effects or effects that are felt more or less by this population. Also, the research has primarily assessed racism as a single factor ignoring how other identity factors such as gender interact with racism. This current study aims to measure the endorsement of

African American stereotypical roles. There has been a call to pay special attention to the construct of internalized racism. This current study will examine the relationship between the endorsement of African American stereotypical roles and internalized racism. The field knows a great amount about the interpersonal dynamics of racism, but we do not know enough about the psychological effects on the targets of racism (Speight, 2007). This study takes a more nuanced and contextual approach to the study of racism through the examination of stereotypical roles.

There have been very few studies to examine stereotypical roles of African Americans. One such study conducted by Thomas, Witherspoon, and Speight (2004) found relationships between the endorsement of stereotypical roles and psychological outcome such as self-esteem and in a follow-up study psychological distress (Witherspoon, Thomas, & Speight, 2006). There are currently no studies examining the endorsement of both gendered and racial stereotypes in African American young men. This study will significantly contribute to the field by producing a reliable and valid measure of the stereotypical roles of African American young men. This scale could be used by clinicians and as a pre-test and post-test measure for prevention programs. Future research could use the scale to examine the relationship between the endorsement of stereotypical roles and psychological outcomes.

From the research, we know that African American young men have been targeted and marginalized in our society. But we do not know enough about how they perceive their stereotyped status or how much they “buy-into” their targeted status. This

study's examination of stigma consciousness in relation to stereotypical roles will be one of the first of its kind in the field.

Lastly, what appears to overlay all of the variables to be tested is the construct of masculinity. This review has compared and contrasted Afrocentric masculinity and hegemonic masculinity. Theories such as cool pose (Majors & Bilson, 1992), the invisibility syndrome (Franklin & Boyd-Franklin, 2000), and double consciousness (Du Bois, 1903) have provided definition and meaning to how Black manhood has been shaped by oppression. This study will empirically evaluate male role norms and masculinity ideology of African American young men.

Thus, this current study situates the identity development of African American young men within its appropriate context. This study aims to develop a reliable and valid measure of stereotypical roles of African American young men. The relationship between stereotypical roles and internalized racism, masculinity, and stigma conscious will be explored.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

Participants

An a priori power analysis was conducted for the Pearson correlation analyses. It was determined that 139 participants were needed to detect a minimum effect size of 0.3 detectable at 80% power at $\alpha = .05$. For exploratory factor analysis it is suggested that there be a minimum of five subjects per variable to be analyzed (Tinsley & Tinsley, 1987). The Stereotypical Roles of Black Young Men Scale (SRBYM) consists of 39 items which suggests that 195 participants are needed to meet the minimum rule of thumb. There were 165 participants recruited from high schools, both public and private, and Upward Bound programs in a large, Midwestern city. One participant did not meet the age criteria (15 to 18 years of age) and was not included in the data analysis. Thus, the total sample size was 164. All participants self-identified as African American. The participants ranged in age from 15 to 18 ($M = 16.0$, $SD = 1.1$). Concerning neighborhood demographics, 86.6% of the participants reported living in a predominately Black neighborhood, 5.5% in a predominately White neighborhood, 4.3% in a racially mixed neighborhood, and 3.7% did not report. Seventy-two percent (72.6%) of the participants described their school demographic as mostly Black, 4.3% mostly White, 19.5% racially mixed, and 3.7% did not report. Eighty percent (80.5%) of the participants reported their sexual orientation as straight, 1.2% as homosexual, 5.5% other, and 12.2% did not report.

Twenty-one percent (21.3%) participants reported family income between \$10,000-\$20,000, 18.9% between \$20,000-\$30,000, 12.8% between \$30,000-\$40,000, 9.1% between \$40,000-\$50,000, 15.8% above \$50,000, and 20.1% did not report. More than half of the participants (55%) reported their religion as Christian. Four percent (3.7%) of participants reported GPAs between 1.5-1.99, 14.0% between 2.00-2.49, 26.8% between 2.5-2.99, 28.0% between 3.0-3.49, 14.0% between 3.5- 3.99, 2.4% above 4.0, and 11% did not report.

Instruments

Stereotypical Roles of Black Young Men Scale

Black male stereotypical roles were measured by the *Stereotypical Roles of Black Young Men Scale* (see Appendix B). The *SRBYM* was developed according to the recommendations of Worthington and Whitaker (2004). First, the primary researcher reviewed social science literature addressing African American male stereotypical roles, images, and scripts. Prominent themes in the literature will be considered for item generation along with themes from the focus groups.

Five focus groups were conducted with African American males between the ages of 13 and 18. The purpose of the focus groups was to gain qualitative data on the dimensions of Black male stereotypic images. Analysis for this data involved three rounds of analysis. First, the primary researcher independently analyzed participants' responses to the focus group questions question following procedures outlined Strauss and Corbin (1990). Second, after the primary researcher determines the number of thematic categories, a team of three researchers consisting of two master's students and

one first year doctoral student in the Counseling Psychology department independently analyzed participants' responses to the focus group questions question to determine interrater agreement ($r = .84$). The focus group data revealed six themes related to stereotypical roles and images: Irresponsible Father, Unintelligent/Not Expected to Succeed, Entertainer, Criminal, and Hustler/ Baller, Initial items were written to capture each of these stereotypical roles.

Six individuals considered having expert knowledge in race, racial issues, and/or measurement individually reviewed items to ensure the following: (a) accurate representation of construct, (b) clearly written and unambiguous, (c) high degree of producing maximum variance, and (d) small chance for systemic response error (Crocker & Algina, 1986). Based on their recommendations, some items were modified or deleted.

The final version of the 34-item scale, a 7-point scale was used to avoid neutral responses, ranging from 1= *Strongly Disagree* to 6 = *Strongly Agree*. Participants will be asked to rate how much they agree with each statement with higher scores indicating a stronger endorsement of Black male stereotypical roles and lower scores with less endorsement. Half of the items will be reverse worded to minimize potential response bias. Internal consistency, reported as Cronbach's alpha, of the final version of the scale was 0.94.

Internalized Racism

Internalized Racism was measured by the *Internalized Racism Subscale of the Nadanolitization Inventory (NAD)*; Taylor & Grundy, 1996; see Appendix C). The racism subscale is a 24-item survey on a 0 to 8 scale with internal reliabilities exceeding 0.80

(Taylor & Grundy, 1996). The NAD uses a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). Sample items include “Blacks are born with greater sexual lust than Whites” and “Blacks are not as smart as Whites”. The measure is designed to examine the extent to which African Americans internalize racist stereotypes about African Americans. An exploratory factor analysis of this dimension by Cokley (2002) revealed three factors: Mental/Genetic Deficiencies, Sexual Prowess, and Natural Ability. Higher scores indicate higher levels of internalized racism (see Appendix C). Internal consistency of the three subscales has been reported as .82, .67, and .77, respectively (Cokley, 2002). For the purpose of this study, only the 24-item Racist dimension was used. Reliability as reported by Cronbach’s alpha for this study was 0.92.

Male Role Norms

The *Male Role Norms Inventory-Adolescent* (Levant, Graef, Smalley, Williams, & McMillan, 2008; see Appendix D) consists of 43 items designed to measure boys’ masculinity attitudes. Using a 7-point Likert scale, participants indicate their level of agreement with statements concerning male roles/behaviors (*Strongly Disagree* to *Strongly Agree*). Higher scores indicate greater endorsement of traditional masculine norms. The MRNI-A has five scales that assess these theoretically derived traditional norms: Avoidance of Femininity (e.g., “A boy should prefer football to sewing.”); Self-Reliance (e.g., “A boy should never doubt his own judgment.”); Aggression (e.g., “When the going gets tough, boys should get tough.”); Achievement/Status (“A boy should do whatever it takes to be admired and respected.”); and Restrictive Emotionality (“A boy

should never reveal his worries to others.”). The overall internal consistency was .93 in a predominately Caucasian male sample. The internal consistencies for the subscales ranged from .39 to .78 (Levant et al., 2008). Reliability estimates for this study were .63, .34, .52, .47, and .45 for the subscales, respectively.

Stigma Consciousness Questionnaire (SCQ) for Race/Ethnicity

The *Stigma Consciousness Questionnaire (SCQ) for Race/Ethnicity* (Pinel, 1999; see Appendix E) is a 10-item scale measuring individual differences in stigma consciousness. Sample items include “Stereotypes about Blacks do not affect me personally” and “My being Black does not influence how people act with me.” Respondents indicate their level of agreement to each item on a scale ranging from “1” (strongly disagree) to “7” (strongly agree). Internal consistencies for the scale in a sample of multiethnic college students were 0.87 (Pinel, Warner, Chua, 2005). Reliability as reported by Cronbach’s alpha for this study was 0.63.

Demographic Questionnaire

Each participant was asked to complete a questionnaire that asks for their age, grade level, school, neighborhood demographics, school demographics; social class, GPA, sexual orientation, and religion (see Appendix F). The questionnaire also included a comments section where participants were able to provide feedback and share their reactions to participating in the study. A content analysis of the responses in the comments section of the demographic questionnaire was conducted in order to examine participants’ attitudinal responses to completing the survey.

Procedures

Participants were administered the surveys in groups at a location agreed upon by their respective school or community organization. Letters of cooperation from the recruitment sites were included in the Institutional Review Board (IRB) application. Both parental consent and youth assent were obtained for participants under eighteen years of age. Participants were compensated for their participation in the study in the form of five dollars cash or gift card.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS

The primary purpose of the study was to develop and validate a scale to measure the endorsement of stereotypical roles related to African American young men. The initial factor structure of the preliminary 39-item *Stereotypical Roles of Black Young Men Scale (SRBYM)* was examined. It was hypothesized that the SRBYM would have more than one latent variable. The SRBYM was hypothesized to have a multi-factor structure based on current literature related to the stereotypical roles and images of Black men and preliminary results from focus group data.

Preliminary Analyses

The data was cleaned before any statistical analyses were performed by examining the correct input of all variables. Listwise deletion was the method used to handle missing data. Some items were recorded in SPSS to account for reverse-scored items. Before main analyses were conducted, the mean scores, standard deviations, ranges, and reliability coefficients for the SRBYM, Internalized Racism Subscale of the Natanolitization Study (NAD), Male Role Norms Inventory-Adolescent (MRNI-A), and Stigma Consciousness Questionnaire (SCQ) were calculated (see Table 1). Internal consistency for the measures used in this study were calculated and reported as Cronbach's alpha.

Table 1. Mean Scores and Reliability Coefficients for Measures

Scale	Mean	Standard Deviation	Score ranges	Reliability Coefficients
Stereotypical Roles	2.98	.72	1.5-4.8	.94
Internalized Racism	1.2	.66	.42-3.2	.92
Avoidance of Femininity	3.9	.82	2.9-5.1	.63
Self-Reliance	4.60	1.04	2.6-5.7	.48
Aggression	4.55	1.28	3.5-5.7	.52
Achievement/Status	4.20	.81	2.7-5.2	.47
Restrictive Emotionality	3.92	.49	3.1-4.6	.45
Stigma Consciousness	4.19	.13	4.0-4.4	.63

Main Analyses

Exploratory Factor Analysis

The significance of the Bartlett's test of sphericity ($p = .00$), and the size of the Kaiser-Meyer Olkin measure of sampling adequacy ($KMO = .86$) revealed that the *SRBM* was a good candidate for factor analysis. Latent factors of the *SRBYM* were identified following the recommendations of Kahn (2006) and Frabrigar (1999).

The *SRBYM* variables did not meet the assumptions of normality (e.g., skew > 2 ; kurtosis > 7); therefore, maximum likelihood analysis was not used for the exploratory factor analysis. The variables were not transformed, because the transformation of variables can reduce statistical power. The degree of skewness and kurtosis exceeded what is considered acceptable to meet assumptions of normality. These finding suggests that there was not much variance in scores on the *SRBYM*. In other words, this sample of

African American young men endorsed stereotypical roles in a similar fashion to each other. The mean score for the SRBYM was 2.98 ($SD = .72$). These findings suggest that the scores obtained in this sample may not be representative of those found in the population due to range restriction in scores on the SRBYM.

Principal axis factor analysis [PAF] with direct oblumin rotation was the factor extraction method used. Several criteria were examined to determine the number of factors to retain (i.e., the percentage of variance among variables explained by each factor, scree plot, Kaiser criterion (1958), parallel analysis). See Tables 2, 3, 4, and 5 for factor loadings for the rotated factor solutions. In parallel analysis (O'Connor, 2005), actual eigenvalues greater than the average eigenvalues are suggested for factor retention (see Table 6). After inspecting the percentage of variance accounted by each factor, scree plot (see Figure 1), eigenvalues, and the results from the parallel analysis, the solutions of one, two, three, and four factors were studied. Initial eigenvalues and percentage of variance of the first four factors were: Factor 1 (eigenvalue = 11.63, 28.10% of variance); Factor 2 (eigenvalue = 2.66, 33.27% of variance); Factor 3 (eigenvalue = 2.20, 37.52% of variance), and Factor 4 (eigenvalue = 1.76, 40.83% of variance).

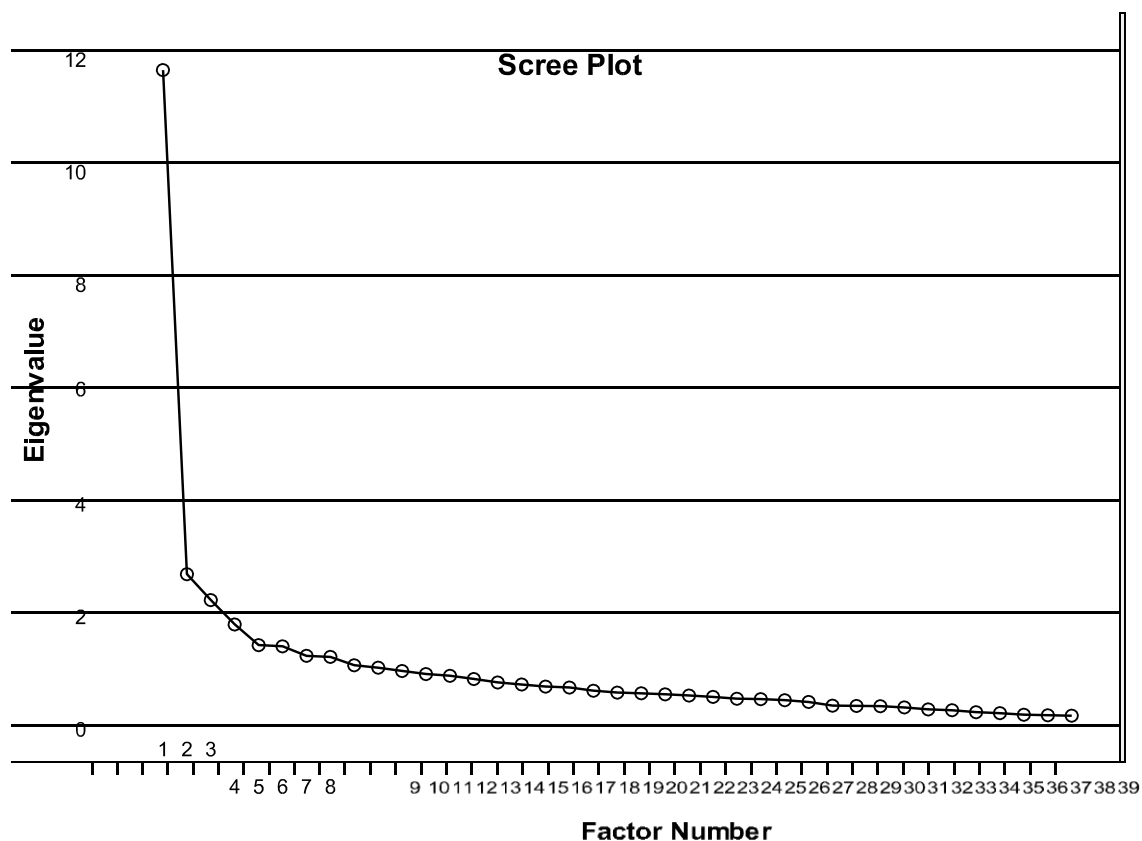


Figure 1. Scree plot of exploratory factor analysis of the Stereotypical Roles of Young Black Men Scale

Items were inspected for sufficient loading values ($> .40$) and cross loading values (items could only load at $> .30$ on one factor [Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007]). Internal consistency reliability of the each factor was calculated and indicated by Cronbach's alpha. The one-factor solution had an alpha coefficient of 0.94. Cross loadings were found on the three-factor and four-factor solutions. The three-factor solution produced the simplest structure, but was not theoretically interpretable. The four-factor solution which was supported by the scree plot and parallel analysis was also not theoretically interpretable in relation to the content of the items that loaded on each factor. In other

words, after the content of the items were examined for the two-factor, three-factor, and four-factor solutions it was determined that the most interpretable factor structure was the one-factor solution. The hypothesized factors represented a range of stereotypical roles of Black men such as the Brute/Savage, Hustler, Irresponsible Father, Entertainer, Unsuccessful/Unexpected to Succeed, and Criminal. The items that loaded on the two-factor, three-factor, and four-factor solutions represented all of the six hypothesized factors. Thirty-four items loaded ($> .40$) on the one-factor solution. Further analysis consisted of examining the intercorrelations of the scores on the hypothesized factors. The items that were expected to load on a particular factor were aggregated, and the correlations among the hypothesized factors were then analyzed. The analysis of the correlation of scores on the hypothesized factors yield support for the one-factor solution of the SRBYM (see Table 7). The intercorrelation of the scores ranged from .58 (moderate) to .78 (strong).

Table 2. Factor Loadings and Communalities Based on Exploratory Factor Analysis for 1-Factor Solution

Item	F1	h^2
1. Black men are not expected to succeed.	.31	.10
2. Black men eventually end up in jail.	.43	.19
3. Black men are only good at playing sports.	.48	.23
4. Black men will not make it into college.	.60	.37
5. Black men do not take care of their children.	.58	.33
6. Black men have children by several different women.	.51	.26
7. Black men are drug dealers.	.53	.28
8. Black men make money by doing illegal things.	.59	.35
9. Black men are violent.	.61	.37
10. Black men commit most of the crimes in society.	.43	.18
11. Black men can only become successful through entertainment (like rapping, singing, acting).	.52	.28
12. Black men succeed more at sports than through academics/school.	.53	.28
13. Black men don't know how to act in public.	.68	.47

Table 2 (continued)

14. Black men are uncivilized.	.67	.44
15. Black men are feared by others.	.24	.60
16. Black men cannot keep a job.	.72	.51
17. Black men are disrespectful toward women.	.65	.42
18. Black men are not smart.	.48	.23
19. Black men behave like animals.	.62	.39
20. Black men don't know how to control their sexual desires.	.52	.27
21. Black men are lazy.	.54	.30
22. Black men cannot handle being in power.	.50	.25
23. Black men are not good workers.	.28	.08
24. Black men are always making a fool of themselves.	.61	.38
25. Black men like to show off how much money they have.	.62	.38
26. Most Black men are in gangs.	.55	.31
27. Black men steal from others in order to survive.	.57	.32
28. Most Black men drop out of high school.	.66	.44
29. Black men have to have the flashiest accessories such as expensive cars, jewelry, and clothes.	.48	.23
30. Black men are threats to society.	.56	.31
31. Most Black men will not achieve success in life.	.42	.17
32. Most Black men like to make fast money.	.40	.16
33. Black men don't want to do better for themselves.	.57	.32
34. Black men are supposed to be strong and tough.	.22	.05
35. Black men are not good fathers.	.52	.27
36. Black men are not fit to be real men.	.40	.16
37. Most Black men are gang bangers.	.55	.30
38. Black men are wild and reckless.	.72	.52
39. Black men are not real men unless they have spent time in jail.	.22	.05
% of variance	--	

Table 3. Factor Loadings and Communalities Based on Exploratory Factor Analysis for 2-Factor Solution

Item	F1	F2	H^2
1. Black men are not expected to succeed.	.47	-.18	.19
2. Black men eventually end up in jail.	.53	-.02	.25
3. Black men are only good at playing sports.	.43	.10	.24
4. Black men will not make it into college.	.53	.16	.37
5. Black men do not take care of their children.	.60	.03	.37
6. Black men have children by several different women.	.44	.14	.26
7. Black men are drug dealers.	.70	-.17	.44
8. Black men make money by doing illegal things.	.67	-.05	.43
9. Black men are violent.	.58	.09	.39
10. Black men commit most of the crimes in society.	.55	-.12	.27

Table 3 (continued)

11. Black men can only become successful through entertainment (like rapping, singing, acting).	.45	.16	.28
12. Black men succeed more at sports than through academics/school.	.63	-.08	.37
13. Black men don't know how to act in public.	.45	.38	.47
14. Black men are uncivilized.	.48	.32	.44
15. Black men are feared by others.	.29	-.03	.08
16. Black men cannot keep a job.	.65	.16	.53
17. Black men are disrespectful toward women.	.49	-.08	.42
18. Black men are not smart.	.23	.40	.28
19. Black men behave like animals.	.35	.44	.42
20. Black men don't know how to control their sexual desires.	.28	.38	.31
21. Black men are lazy.	.15	.60	.45
22. Black men cannot handle being in power.	.14	.54	.37
23. Black men are not good workers.	-.11	.55	.28
24. Black men are always making a fool of themselves.	.27	.54	.47
25. Black men like to show off how much money they have.	.51	.21	.38
26. Most Black men are in gangs.	.36	.15	.31
27. Black men steal from others in order to survive.	.49	.29	.33
28. Most Black men drop out of high school.	.30	.19	.44
29. Black men have to have the flashiest accessories such as expensive cars, jewelry, and clothes.	.50	.20	.23
30. Black men are threats to society.	.49	.15	.32
31. Most Black men will not achieve success in life.	.30	.20	.17
32. Most Black men like to make fast money.	.50	-.09	.22
33. Black men don't want to do better for themselves.	.35	.34	.33
34. Black men are supposed to be strong and tough.	.39	-.21	.13
35. Black men are not good fathers.	.21	.48	.34
36. Black men are not fit to be real men.	-.02	.62	.38
37. Most Black men are gang bangers.	.50	.13	.31
38. Black men are wild and reckless.	.54	.31	.51
39. Black men are not real men unless they have spent time in jail.	-.14	.52	.24
% of variance	28.2	5.08	--

Table 4. Factor Loadings and Communalities Based on Exploratory Factor Analysis for 3-Factor Solution

Item	F1	F2	F3	h ²
1. Black men are not expected to succeed.	-.08	-.07	.64	.36
2. Black men eventually end up in jail.	.06	.01	.56	.35
3. Black men are only good at playing sports.	.09	.17	.42	.29
4. Black men will not make it into college.	.12	.24	.49	.43
5. Black men do not take care of their children.	.12	.09	.50	.42

Table 4 (continued)

6. Black men have children by several different women.	.50	.08	.09	.30
7. Black men are drug dealers.	.57	-.20	.25	.45
8. Black men make money by doing illegal things.	.47	-.05	.31	.42
9. Black men are violent.	.41	.09	.27	.39
10. Black men commit most of the crimes in society.	.47	-.15	.18	.28
11. Black men can only become successful through entertainment (like rapping, singing, acting).	.20	.20	.31	.29
12. Black men succeed more at sports than through academics/school.	.29	-.04	.45	.39
13. Black men don't know how to act in public.	.08	.46	.43	.55
14. Black men are uncivilized.	.07	.41	.48	.54
15. Black men are feared by others.	-.04	.04	.37	.13
16. Black men cannot keep a job.	.39	.18	.36	.53
17. Black men are disrespectful toward women.	.39	.26	.18	.42
18. Black men are not smart.	-.04	.47	.29	.34
19. Black men behave like animals.	.07	.50	.32	.47
20. Black men don't know how to control their sexual desires.	.09	.42	.23	.33
21. Black men are lazy.	.10	.60	.06	.45
22. Black men cannot handle being in power.	.02	.57	.14	.39
23. Black men are not good workers.	.00	.53	-.13	.27
24. Black men are always making a fool of themselves.	.38	.48	-.071	.49
25. Black men like to show off how much money they have.	.61	.12	-.01	.44
26. Most Black men are in gangs.	.70	.02	-.11	.45
27. Black men steal from others in order to survive.	.47	.22	-.00	.36
28. Most Black men drop out of high school.	.58	.13	.09	.48
29. Black men have to have the flashiest accessories such as expensive cars, jewelry, and clothes.	.60	.09	-.16	.34
30. Black men are threats to society.	.60	.07	-.02	.39
31. Most Black men will not achieve success in life.	.28	.17	.08	.18
32. Most Black men like to make fast money.	.54	-.16	.06	.27
33. Black men don't want to do better for themselves.	.27	.34	.14	.33
34. Black men are supposed to be strong and tough.	.15	-.17	.30	.14
35. Black men are not good fathers.	.08	.50	.15	.35
36. Black men are not fit to be real men.	.01	.61	-.04	.37
37. Most Black men are gang bangers.	.74	-.01	-.14	.37
38. Black men are wild and reckless.	.60	.24	.04	.56
39. Black men are not real men unless they have spent time in jail.	.10	.46	-.26	.26
% of variance	28.30	5.14	4.10	--
Cumulative %	28.30	33.44	37.52	--

Table 5. Factor Loadings and Communalities Based on Exploratory Factor Analysis for 4-Factor Solution

Item	F1	F2	F3	F4	h^2
1. Black men are not expected to succeed.	-.08	-.05	.28	.53	.34
2. Black men eventually end up in jail.	.05	-.02	.51	.21	.38
3. Black men are only good at playing sports.	.04	.10	.72	-.13	.55
4. Black men will not make it into college.	.01	.19	.61	.03	.55
5. Black men do not take care of their children.	.20	.10	.29	.35	.42
6. Black men have children by several different women.	.50	.06	.13	-.10	.32
7. Black men are drug dealers.	.57	-.23	.32	.01	.49
8. Black men make money by doing illegal things.	.47	-.06	.243	.15	.43
9. Black men are violent.	.40	.08	.22	.13	.39
10. Black men commit most of the crimes in society.	.46	-.15	.12	.12	.28
11. Black men can only become successful through entertainment (like rapping, singing, acting).	.19	.16	.42	-.01	.35
12. Black men succeed more at sports than through academics/school.	.28	-.03	.28	.30	.39
13. Black men don't know how to act in public.	.09	.45	.33	.22	.54
14. Black men are uncivilized.	.08	.41	.29	.31	.53
15. Black men are feared by others.	-.04	.09	-.03	.53	.27
16. Black men cannot keep a job.	.40	.1	.19	.27	.53
17. Black men are disrespectful toward women.	.40	.28	-.03	.26	.46
18. Black men are not smart.	-.04	.45	.29	.08	.34
19. Black men behave like animals.	.08	.49	.26	.14	.47
20. Black men don't know how to control their sexual desires.	.09	.49	-.11	.41	.47
21. Black men are lazy.	.11	.65	-.15	.23	.54
22. Black men cannot handle being in power.	.02	.55	.18	-.01	.39
23. Black men are not good workers.	.01	.52	-.04	-.12	.27
24. Black men are always making a fool of themselves.	.39	.50	-.16	.07	.52
25. Black men like to show off how much money they have.	.61	.15	-.14	.15	.48
26. Most Black men are in gangs.	.69	.03	-.08	-.04	.45
27. Black men steal from others in order to survive.	.47	.24	-.09	.10	.38
28. Most Black men drop out of high school.	.58	.14	.02	.10	.48
29. Black men have to have the flashiest accessories such as expensive cars, jewelry, and clothes.	.58	.10	-.13	-.05	.34
30. Black men are threats to society.	.59	.06	.06	-.06	.39
31. Most Black men will not achieve success in life.	.28	.18	-.01	.11	.18
32. Most Black men like to make fast money.	.53	-.15	.03	.05	.27
33. Black men don't want to do better for themselves.	.27	.34	.08	.10	.33
34. Black men are supposed to be strong and tough.	.16	-.14	.01	.38	.20
35. Black men are not good fathers.	.10	.49	.12	.07	.35
36. Black men are not fit to be real men.	.01	.58	.18	-.23	.43

Table 5 (continued)

37. Most Black men are gang bangers.	.73	-.03	.06	-.22	.51
38. Black men are wild and reckless.	.59	.22	.16	-.01	.58
39. Black men are not real men unless they have spent time in jail.	.10	.43	.02	-.36	.31
% of variance	28.4	5.23	4.17	2.07	--
Cumulative %	28.3	33.60	37.7	40.83	--

Table 6. Actual and Random Eigenvalues from Parallel Analysis of SRBYM

Actual eigenvalues	Average eigenvalues	95 th percentile eigenvalues
11.625	2.089	2.22659
2.657	1.9476	2.04639
2.197	1.8446	1.92557
1.763	1.759	1.83472
1.395	1.6826	1.74903
1.374	1.6120	1.67482
1.205	1.5459	1.60184
1.185	1.4847	1.53696
1.038	1.4277	1.47926
.993	1.3724	1.42081
.935	1.3197	1.37031
.880	1.2701	1.3162
.850	1.2213	1.26464
.793	1.1751	1.21782
.731	1.1286	1.17077
.694	1.0851	1.12526
.658	1.0434	1.07996
.640	1.0022	1.04151
.583	0.9635	1.00074
.551	0.9246	0.96081
.538	0.8864	0.92148

Note. SRBYM = Stereotypical Roles of Black Young Men Scale

Construct Validity Analysis

In order to provide validity evidence for the SRBM, bivariate correlations were calculated between the scores on the SRBYM, NAD, MRNI-A, and SCQ. Cokley (2002) found that the internalized racism subscale (NAD) consisted of three factors: Mental/Genetic Deficiencies, Sexual Prowess, and Natural Ability; however a 3-factor structure was not found in this study. The total score for the internalized racism subscale was used for this study. Pearson correlation coefficients suggest a significant, positive relationship ($p = .00$, $r = .60$) between stereotypical roles (SBYM) and the total score on the Internalized Racism subscale. The MRNI-A contains five subscales: Avoidance of Femininity, Self-Reliance, Aggression, Achievement/Status, and Restrictive Emotionality. Pearson correlation coefficients indicate non-significant, negative relationships between stereotypical roles (SRBYM), avoidance of femininity ($p > .05$, $r = -.00$), self-reliance ($p > .05$, $r = -.06$), and aggression ($p > .05$, $r = -.02$). Pearson correlation coefficients indicate a non-significant, positive relationship between stereotypical roles and achievement status ($p > .05$, $r = .02$) as well as between stereotypical roles and restrictive emotionality ($p > .05$, $r = .02$). The internal consistency of the MRNI-A subscales were poor ($r = .63$, $.48$, $.52$, $.47$, and $.45$ respectively). Since low reliability estimates can attenuate the scores on these subscales, the disattenuated correlation coefficients for the scores on the validity scales are also reported. Finally, Pearson correlation coefficient suggests a non-significant, positive relationship between stereotypical roles and stigma consciousness ($p > .05$, $r = .06$).

Table 7. Correlations between SRBYM and Major Study Variables

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
1. SRBYM							
2. NAD	.602*						
3. AF	-.001	.293*					
4. SR	-.057	-.005	.370				
5. AG	-.016	.009	.416	.672			
6. AS	.023	.177*	.404	.519	.470		
7. RE	.018	.156	.592	.182	.218	.04	
8. SC	.056	.058	.109	.365*	.260*	.239*	-.097

Note. SRBYM = Stereotypical Roles of Black Men, NAD = Internalized Racism Subscale of the Nadonolization Survey. AF = Avoidance of Femininity, SR = Self Reliance, AG = Aggression, AS = Achievement Status, RE = Restrictive Emotionality, SC = Stigma Consciousness. AF, SR, AG, AS, RE are subscales of the Male Role Norms Inventory-Adolescent.

* $p < .05$

Content Analysis

A content analysis of the young men's responses to the comments section of the demographic questionnaire was performed using an open coding method (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The purpose of the content analysis was to qualitatively examine the participants' attitudinal responses to stereotypical roles. The process of open coding involved identifying, naming, and categorizing the data. The data was reduced and refined into themes and subthemes. When no new themes emerged from the day coding was ceased.

Thirty-three (20.1 %) participants provided comments and were included in the

content analysis. Results of the content analysis revealed four themes: Positive Affect, Negative Affect, Rejection of Stereotypes, and Questioning. Table 8 lists these categories, their meanings, and the frequencies with which the young men in this sample endorsed each thematic category.

Positive affect. Positive Affect emerged as the most frequently endorsed category with 14 of the 33 (42.4%) of the participants suggesting that participation in the survey allowed them a rare opportunity to share experiences and feelings related to their gendered racial identities, and these statements were framed in a positive way. For example, one young man wrote, “This survey is a great way for people like me to open up about certain things that we feel and think about, but not say under normal conditions and circumstances.”

Rejection of stereotypes. Ten of the 33 (30.3%) participants who provided comments endorsed the theme Rejection of Stereotypes. This thematic category captures the rejection of the reality of stereotypes, rejection related to the stereotypical roles of Black young men, and the rejection of the survey as a whole. For example, one young man wrote, “Most questions were general which caused me to be neutral in my responses. Similarly, most questions were extreme, saying a specific trait of a group that I am not aware of them having, also caused me to be neutral.”

Negative affect. Five of the 33 participants who responded (15.2%) endorsed the theme of Negative Affect. Participants who endorsed this theme expressed strong negative feelings and reactions to taking the survey in addition to increasing their awareness of the sociopolitical connotation of what it means to be a young Black man.

For example, one young man wrote, “Most of these questions insulted us black men in ways that my feelings were hurt.”

Questioning. Four of the 33 (12%) participants who responded endorsed the category of Questioning. These findings suggest that these participants began to question their identity and the sociopolitical context that their identity is being shaped in after completing the survey. For example, one young man wrote, “What I have a comment on is what is this test mostly about and why do it matter. Also taking this test it tells me how good/bad the country is.” Another young man wrote, “The only problem I have with society is that I’m black and I’m a man.”

Table 8. Frequency of Endorsement of Categories for Comments on SRBYM Scale

Category	Definitions	%	<i>n</i>
Positive Affect	Opportunity to express feelings; positive experience with taking survey	42.4	14
Rejection of Stereotypes	Rejection of the reality of stereotypes, rejection of the stereotypical roles, rejection of the survey as a whole	30.3	10
Negative Affect	Negative reaction to the reality of oppression, negative reaction to the status quo	15.2	5
Questioning	Questioning of identity, questioning of the status quo	12.0	4

Note. Thirty-three of the 164 participants completed the comments section of the SBRYM. The percentages reported in the table represent the proportion of the 33 participants.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to develop a reliable and valid scale, the SRBYM, to measure the endorsement of stereotypical roles through exploratory factor analysis. The results from the main analysis, EFA, did not support the first hypothesis that the SRBYM would yield a multi-factor structure. A multi-factor solution was supported by the scree plot and parallel analysis; however, when further examining the items that loaded on each factor the one-factor solution made the most sense theoretically. The final version of the SRBYM yielded a 34-item scale with a high reliability estimate. One explanation for the one-factor solution could be that the historical and contemporary stereotypical roles of Black men have blended together into one large factor. This finding is consistent with a study that examined the stereotypical roles of Black women using a sample of Black female adolescents. Townsend, Thomas, Neilands, and Jackson (2010) found through exploratory factor analysis that the items for the historical roles of Sapphire and Jezebel loaded in a way that suggested that those items represented a unique factor, Modern Jezebel. The Modern Jezebel Scale items were found to capture two distinct stereotypical roles. There are two important things to note from this current study's findings and the Townsend et al. (2010) findings. First, the historical and contemporary roles of Black men and women seem to have blended into one stereotypical role from the viewpoint of adolescents. What makes this current study's

finding unique is that there was a strong intercorrelation between the item scores of the hypothesized factors. The intercorrelation between the items scores of the hypothesized factors could be interpreted by stating that if one stereotypical role of Black men is endorsed, then the subsequent stereotypical roles will be endorsed as well. For example if an African American young man endorses the stereotypical role of criminal, then there is a greater chance that he will endorse others (e.g., entertainer, irresponsible father, and hustler). Secondly, African American men have unique challenges compared to African American women that influence identity development.

The discrepancies between the various methods to determine the numbers of factors and the final factor solution highlights a more pervasive issue in counseling psychology research. Helms (2007) argues that the field should adopt better practices that are more suited to the measurement of racial and ethnic identity constructs. Of particular interest to this study, Helms (2007) stated that when interdependence of items are found in a scale, then that may be reason to utilize other statistical measures such as profile analysis where individual participants are clustered instead of items. The SRBYM needs to be further refined through replication studies, confirmatory factor analysis, or profile analyses of African American young men. The findings from the factor analysis suggest that the single factor differentiates the items such that items correlate highly with one another but differ in their item means. The nuances of the differences between the stereotypical roles of Black young men seem to be less important.

The second hypothesis that scores on the SRBYM would have a positive, significant correlation to scores on the Internalized Racism subscale of the NAD was

supported. The more African American young men endorse stereotypical roles related to their group, the more they internalize dominant society's stereotypes about Blacks in general. Bailey et al. (2011) reported a similar finding demonstrating that internalized racial oppression significantly correlated with items on the Pre-Encounter subscale of the Racial Identity Attitude Scale (RIAS-B; Helms & Parham, 1996). The Pre-Encounter subscale of the RIAS-B measures anti-Black attitudes and negative stereotypes about Blacks. Bailey et al. (2011) conceptualized internalized racial oppression as more complex than internalized racism in that it captures the multidimensional nature of racial oppression. The relatively high correlation between internalized racism and stereotypical roles highlights a larger methodological issue. Internalized racism has primarily been operationalized as the endorsement of stereotypes about a particular racial/ethnic group. The Internalized Racial Oppression Scale for Black Individuals (IROS; Bailey et al., 2011) is one of very few scales that have recently conceptualized internalized oppression beyond the internalization of negative stereotypes. The results from this study suggest that the field has examined internalized racism through a narrow lens. Perhaps our previous understanding of internalized racism is only capturing gendered-racial stereotypes.

The third hypothesis stated that scores on the SRBYM would have a positive, significant correlation to scores on the MRNI-A; however this finding was not supported. The correlation between scores on the SRBYM and the five subscales of the MRNI-A (i.e., Avoidance of Femininity, Self-Reliance, Aggression, Achievement/Status, and Restrictive Emotionality) were not significant and extremely small even after correcting

for attenuation. These findings suggest that the endorsement of stereotypical roles is not correlated with the endorsement of traditional masculine roles. These results also suggest that stereotypical roles are capturing gendered race and not masculinity. Black stereotypical roles capture more than hegemonic masculinity attributes such as aggression, self-reliance, restricting emotion, achieving status, and the avoidance of traditional feminine characteristics. An interesting finding was the slight positive correlation, despite its non-significance, between stereotypical roles and achievement/status and restrictive emotionality. The more stereotypical roles are endorsed, the higher status African American young men endorse, and the more they may restrict their emotions. This is the first study that assessed the relationship between stereotypical roles and masculinity. Levant and Richmond (2007) reported that African American men endorse traditional masculinity ideology to a greater degree than White and Latino men in the United States. What should be re-emphasized and included in the discourse is why these differences exist.

Majors and Bilson's (1992) conceptualization of the *Cool Pose* helps explain this phenomenon. Due to centuries of oppression, some African American men have adopted the expressive style of cool pose as a way to resist dominant society and oppression. The conclusion should not be made that since African American young men endorse traditional masculinity ideology that they are "buying into" these ideals. The endorsement of traditional masculine ideology may be a reactive process birthed from oppression. These findings highlight the need to contextualize the gendered, racial, and gendered-racial identities of African American young men. It should also be highlighted that the

MRNI-A was validated on a predominately White (89%) population and that only two of the subscales (i.e., Avoidance of Femininity and Restrictive Emotionality) demonstrated good reliability estimates. Scales that are intended to measure masculinity ideology on a diverse sample of young men should be validated on a diverse sample. The MRNI-A needs further refinement and evidence of construct validity among African American young men. Masculinity ideology is defined as “an individual’s internalization of cultural belief systems and attitudes toward masculinity and men’s roles” (Levant & Richmond, 2007). The notion of internalization is misleading here, because it assumes that the individual takes on viewpoints of dominant society as their own, where in fact it might be that the individual is simply adopting an expressive style that is self-preserving to his identity as a young Black man.

The lack of a relationship found between stereotypical roles and male role norms highlights the need to evaluate Black masculinity from an Afrocentric lens. Revisiting Du Bois (1903) theory of double consciousness, Black men feel simultaneously a part of America yet detached from it. How can researchers fully capture the “authentic self” of African American young men through a Eurocentric lens? Hegemonic masculinity is in stark contrast to Afrocentric masculinity.

The fourth hypothesis predicted in this study stated that the greater the endorsement of stereotypical roles, the greater the individual would expect to be stereotyped (e.g., stigma consciousness). No significant relationship was found between these two constructs. This is the first study assessing the relationship between stigma consciousness and stereotypical roles. Pinel (1999) suggests that the level of stigma

consciousness endorsed by an individual can influence how that individual makes sense of their targeted status. The lack of a significant relationship between stereotypical roles and stigma consciousness suggests that African American young men can endorse stereotypes of their group without being aware of aware of their stigmatized status. This finding implicates the need for consciousness raising interventions and prevention programs for African American youth. It also implicates the need for more research examining how socialization practices (i.e., racial, gender, gendered-racial) informs the gender-racial identity development of African American young men.

The results from the content analysis shed light on the affective components of the awareness of a targeted or stereotyped status. The theme most frequently endorsed by the young men was the appreciation for an outlet to share their views on what it is like being an African American young man in today's society. Other young men expressed confusion, sadness, and anger regarding the reality of stereotypes. These findings implicate the need for future studies exploring the relationship between stereotypical roles and psychological well-being in addition to prevention program that deconstruct predominant Black male stereotypes.

Implications

This study has implications for theory, research, and practice. Theoretically, the construct of masculinity as it relates to African American male adolescents has not been fully defined. Most of the studies exploring Black masculinity have utilized an adult sample. Research is just now beginning to trend in this area with the development of the *Meanings of Adolescent Masculinity Scale* (Oransky & Fisher, 2009). Masculinity should

be viewed as a multidimensional construct and a dynamic process that varies by culture. The notion of masculinity, particularly Black masculinity, as a multidimensional construct is not new. Hammond and Mattis (2005) found 15 distinct meanings of manhood after conducting a content analysis on Black men's responses to a question asking participants to define manhood. The Gender Role Strain Paradigm (Pleck 1981, 1995) states that men adopt gender roles based on their position in society and the culture(s) that they represent. If this is true, then why are most masculinity studies aggregating participants based on one identity construct, gender. It is not enough to look at the racial/ethnic differences in the conceptualization of masculinity but also other identity variables such as social class, ability status, sexual orientation, and geographical area. The interaction between multiple contexts and its influence on development is explained by Bronfenbrenner's (1979) social ecological theory. Spencer's (1995) Phenomological Variant of Ecosystem Theory (PVEST) positions Bronfenbrenner's theory alongside a phenomenological perspective. Spencer's (1995) theory highlights the importance of understanding how individuals perceive the factors that influence their identity development. Utilizing the PVEST model could facilitate the development of intervention and prevention programs that promote resilience and healthy identity development for African American young men. The SRBYM could be used as a pre-test and post-test measure for prevention programs that target the deconstruction of stereotypical roles.

This study implicates the need for prevention and intervention programs that address liberation psychology and the promotion of critical consciousness. Liberation

psychology refers to the “transformation of psychological processes associated with oppression” (Pieterse, Howitt, & Naidoo, 2011, p.98). The authors further urge clinicians to be aware of the psychological effects of oppression on African Americans and to incorporate African American values such as interconnectedness and spirituality in treatment. It is also important for clinicians to be aware of the unique struggles that confront African American young men on a daily basis and how these injustices may contribute to a client’s presentation. As was shown in the content analysis of the young men’s responses, there are emotional consequences to being stereotyped in our society. What’s most important to clinicians is that the emotional impact may not be expressed directly in a clinical setting. The hypermasculinity and adaptive expressive style that might be represented should be interpreted within the appropriate cultural context. Cassidy and Stevenson (2005) explain this phenomenon by using Paul Laurence Dunbar’s poem, “We Wear the Mask”. One stanza from the poem states, “We wear the mask that grins and lies, it hides our cheeks and shades our eyes, – this debt we pay to human guile; with torn and bleeding hearts we smile, and mouth with myriad subtleties” (Dunbar, 1893). The mask here serves as a metaphor for the guise that African slaves displayed to appear happy and content during slavery. In contemporary times, this metaphor can be used to explain the hypermasculinity that some African American young men display in order to assert their presence in an oppressive society. It is imperative that clinicians are aware of the interaction between context and identity development.

Limitations

There are several limitations to this study. A convenience sample of African American young men was used. Most of the participants reported to be from predominantly African American schools and neighborhoods. Also, the majority of the sample was urban and from low socioeconomic status. Because of these sample characteristics, the entire range of scores on the variables analyzed was not represented. The restricted range of scores on the SRBYM likely led to an attenuated relationship with other variables. These findings should be generalized to other African American young men with caution. Also related to the sample characteristics, was the low sample size of this study. The low sample size could have reduced the ability to observe an effect if an effect truly exists in the population. Increasing the sample size could have increased statistical power which could have increased the probability of detecting a true relationship if a true relationship really existed.

There were also threats to construct validity such as mono operation bias or the use of one measure for a construct and self-report. Experimenter expectancies or the way the researcher conducted the study should also not be ruled out. Another threat to construct validity was the measures used in this study. The researcher is most interested in the inferences that can be drawn from the data to the construct level. The measures used in this study might not fully represent the constructs they are intended to measure. In regard to internal validity, causal inferences cannot be drawn from the data due to the research design.

Participants in this study all self-identified as African American. However, individual differences and within group variance should not be overlooked. The overgeneralization of racial and ethnic categories has been given the term of “ethnic gloss” (Trimble, 2005). African American young men constitute much heterogeneity in regards to their values, attitudes, and beliefs. Therefore, one should not assume that all African American young men endorse stereotypical roles in a similar fashion to those in this study.

Future Research

Future studies should confirm the factor structure of the SRBYM through confirmatory factor analysis. The SBRYM needs further refinement and evidence for convergent and divergent validity. This study provided only one example of convergent validity for the scale. This study is exploratory in that we are closer to understanding the contextual influences on the identity development of African American young men. However, more research is needed to uncover how this process takes shape in the day to day lives of African American young men. Racial socialization could be one factor that should be studied in conjunction with the endorsement of stereotypical roles. What role would positive racial socialization have on the level of endorsement of stereotypical roles? Racial socialization has been shown to act as a buffer against racial discrimination (Neblett, Phillip, Cogburn, & Sellers, 2006), a protective factor against oppression (Stevenson, 1994), and as a mediator for perceived racism and racial identity (Stevenson & Arrington, 2009). Also, several studies have indicated the effect of age on the endorsement of traditional masculinity ideology. We do not know what factors explain

this shift in ideology. Given the within group variance among African American young men, future research should explore the relationship between variables that could help explain why some African American young men more strongly endorse stereotypical roles (e.g., racial salience, racial identity, racial socialization).

Only one aspect of masculinity, traditional masculinity ideology, was measured in this study. Future studies should utilize masculinity scales that have been proven to be reliable with African American young men. Also, not enough is known about the endorsement of African-centered masculinity. The Multicultural Masculinity Ideology Scale (*MMI*, Doss & Hopkins, 1998) revealed emic components of masculinity unique to African American adolescents. More studies of that nature are needed to further explore the emic components of masculinity related to African American young men and their influence on psychological and subjective well-being.

APPENDIX A
FOCUS GROUP SCRIPT

Introduction-

Thank you for coming to participate in this focus group. As the letter and flyer explained, this is a study that explores racial stereotypes, specifically those associated with African American males.

We will be meeting for about 90 minutes today. We have a series of questions that we would like to ask you. There are no right or wrong answers. We just want to know the thoughts that you have about each of the questions or topics. We hope to allow each of you the chance to answer the questions. But as this is voluntary, do not feel as if you have to answer each question. If you are not comfortable with a question, please let us know. Also, if you do not understand a question, let us know that as well.

There may be times when you have an answer for a question, but the person in front of you says what you wanted to say. It is fine if you repeat what was said before you if that is how you wanted to answer the question. We hope that as you listen to each other, that new ideas and responses will come to you. If that happens, feel free to answer each question more than one time. Also, feel free to respond to one another in the group. Although we would like for one person at a time to speak, you may address each other, ask questions of one another, or respond to comments. We would like this to be a group discussion guided by our questions.

Why don't we start with introductions. (Facilitators introduce selves)
(Participants will be given or can select fake names with nametags. Have them introduce themselves according to their fake names). Feel free to share something about yourself with the group if you wish.

Do you have any questions for us before we begin?

General Experience and Identity

Can you describe your experience being African American or Black?

Can you describe your experience being an African American or Black *male*?

Racial Socialization

Do you talk to your parents about what it is like being an African American or Black male?

Do you talk with your friends? Do you talk with your teachers?

Prompt-

How were those conversations?

Stereotypes

What are stereotypes?

What are the stereotypes about African Americans?

What are the stereotypes of African American or Black *males*?

Prompt-

How do you think society views Black males?

What messages do the media (e.g. television, movies, and radio) portray about Black males?

Are these stereotypes true?

Are there images of Black males that are not seen in the media? Do you feel visible as a Black male in this society?

Prompt-

Do you feel seen?

Do you feel understood?

Do you feel that you can be your true self?

Standard facilitation prompts: Thank you for sharing.

Does anyone want to respond to what he said?

Does anyone else want to respond? What were you thinking as he was sharing?

_____ do you want to answer this question?

Standard elaboration prompts:

What I heard you say is _____. (Simply summarize or paraphrase.) Do you want to add anything else?

Before we move on, does anyone else want to share anything else?

APPENDIX B

STEREOTYPICAL ROLES OF BLACK YOUNG MEN SCALE

Directions: This is a scale to determine attitudes and beliefs. There are no right or wrong answers. Please use the following scale to complete the questions.

1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=disagree somewhat, 4=neither agree or disagree, 5=agree somewhat
6=agree, 7=strongly disagree

1. Black men are not expected to succeed.
2. Black men eventually end up in jail.
3. Black men are only good at playing sports.
4. Black men will not make it into college.
5. Black men do not take care of their children.
6. Black men have children by several different women.
7. Black men are drug dealers.
8. Black men make money by doing illegal things.
9. Black men are violent.
10. Black men commit most of the crimes in society.
11. Black men can only become successful through entertainment (like rapping, singing, acting).
12. Black men succeed more at sports than through academics/school.
13. Black men don't know how to act in public.
14. Black men are uncivilized.
15. Black men are feared by others.
16. Black men cannot keep a job.
17. Black men are disrespectful toward women.
18. Black men are not smart.
19. Black men behave like animals.
20. Black men don't know how to control their sexual desires.
21. Black men are lazy.
22. Black men cannot handle being in power.
23. Black men are not good workers.
24. Black men are always making a fool of themselves.
25. Black men like to show off how much money they have.
26. Most Black men are in gangs.
27. Black men steal from others in order to survive.
28. Most Black men drop out of high school.
29. Black men have to have the flashiest accessories such as expensive cars, jewelry, and clothes.
30. Black men are threats to society.
31. Most Black men will not achieve success in life.
32. Most Black men like to make fast money.
33. Black men don't want to do better for themselves.
34. Black men are supposed to be strong and tough.
35. Black men are not good fathers.
36. Black men are not fit to be real men.
37. Most Black men are gang bangers.
38. Black men are wild and reckless.
39. Black men are not real men unless they have spent time in jail.

APPENDIX C

INTERNALIZED RACISM SUBSCALE OF THE NADANOLITIZATION SURVEY

Instructions: Carefully read each statement below. Indicate the degree to which you agree with each statement by using the following scale which is marked from 0 to 8. **The more you agree with the statement, the higher the number. Circle the number best representing your level of agreement.**

Not in the least agree	Slightly Agree	Moderately Agree	Very much agree	Entirely Agree
0	1 2	3 4 5	6 7	8

1. Blacks are born with greater sexual desires than white people.
2. Racial differences explain why blacks don't live as long as whites.
3. Heredity differences justify why blacks and white live separately.
4. Black men have greater sexual desire than white men.
5. Blacks are born with greater physical strength and endurance than whites.
6. Race differences explain why Europeans are more advanced technologically than Africans.
7. When it comes to figures and figuring, blacks are seldom able to measure up to whites.
8. Whites are intellectually superior to blacks.
9. Genetic inferiority explains why more blacks than whites drop out of school.
10. School dropout among blacks is due to their not having the mental power of whites.
11. Blacks are born with more musical talent than whites.
12. The black race is mentally unable to contribute more to America's progress.
13. Blacks are mentally unable to assume positions of high responsibility.
14. Blacks are just as smart as whites.
15. The high percentage of blacks in jail reflects inborn tendencies toward criminality.
16. Whites are better at reasoning than Blacks.
17. Black people are born with greater rhythm than white people.
18. The inborn physical ability of black males makes it hard to beat them in athletics.
19. Race is an important factor in explaining why whites have succeeded more than blacks.
20. The high incidence of crime among blacks reflects a genetic abnormality.
21. Black men are better at sex than white men.
22. The black man's body is more skillful than his mind.
23. The large number of blacks addicted to hard drugs suggests a form of biological weakness.
24. Black women are more sexually open and willing than white women.

APPENDIX D

MALE ROLE NORMS INVENTORY-ADOLESCENT

	Strongly Disagree 1	Disagree 2	Slightly Disagree 3	No Opinion 4	Slightly Agree 5	Agree 6	Strongly Agree 7
1.If necessary a boy should sacrifice friendships in order to get ahead.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. A boy should do whatever it takes to be admired and respected.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. A boy should be allowed to quit a game if he is losing.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. A boy should prefer football to sewing.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. A boy should never count on someone else to get the job done.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. Boys should be allowed to kiss their fathers.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. A boy must be able to make his own way in the world.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. Nobody likes a boy who cries in public.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. It is important for a boy to take risks, even if he might get hurt.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10. Boys should always make the final decision.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11. It is O.K. for a boy to ask for help fixing a flat tire on his bike.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12. A boy should never reveal his worries to others.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13. A boy should be encouraged to find a way of showing his athletic ability.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14. A boy should try to win at any sport he participates in.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

15. Boys should always be down to earth.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16. One should not be able to tell how a boy is feeling by looking at his face.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17. A boy who has difficulty making decisions will not be respected.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18. Boys should not be allowed to wear bracelets.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19. A boy should not make a big deal over it if another boy sits in his seat.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
20. In a group, it is up to the boys to get things organized and moving ahead.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
21. It is too girlish for a boy to wear eye makeup.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
22. Sports like hockey and wrestling should be only played by boys.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
23. When physically provoked, boys should not resort to violence.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
24. A boy should be able to openly show affection to another boy.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
25. When the going gets tough, boys should get tough.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
26. Chores like dusting and doing laundry are for girls.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
27. It is not particularly important for a boy to control his emotions.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
28. Boys should not be too quick to tell others that they care about them.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

29. Boys should prefer to play with trucks rather than dolls.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
30. It's OK for a boy to buy the latest video games even if he has to ask for an advance on	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
31. A boy should never doubt his own judgment.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
32. A boy should avoid holding his mother's purse at all times.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
33. Boys should learn how to hide their fear.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
34. Being down in the dumps is not a good reason for a boy to show sadness.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
35. Boys should not throw baseballs like girls.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
36. If a boy is in pain, it's better for him to let people know than to keep it to himself.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
37. Boys should not be afraid to go inside of a "haunted house".	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
38. A boy should really think hard about things and always have good reasons for	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
39. A boy who has no taste for adventure is not very appealing.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
40. It is not important for boys to try hard to be the best.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
41. A boy should protect his sisters even if it is dangerous.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
42. A boy should have common sense.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

43. Boys should be detached in emotionally charged situations.

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APPENDIX E

STIGMA CONSCIOUSNESS QUESTIONNAIRE FOR RACE/ETHNICITY

Please rate the following statements:

1. _____ Stereotypes about blacks have no affect me personally.
2. _____ I never worry that my behavior will be viewed as stereotypically black.
3. _____ When interacting with whites, I feel like they interpret al my behaviors in terms of the fact that I am black.
4. _____ Most whites do not judge blacks on the basis of their race.
5. _____ Me being black does not influence how whites act with me.
6. _____ I almost never think about the fact that I am black when I interact with whites.
7. _____ My being black does not influence how people act with me.
8. _____ Most whites have a lot more racist thoughts than they actually express.
9. _____ I often think that whites are unfairly accused of being racist.
10. _____ Most whites have a problem viewing blacks as equals.

APPENDIX F
DEMOGRAPHICS QUESTIONNAIRE

Age: _____

Grade Level: _____

School: _____

Neighborhood: _____

My school is: __mostly Black ____mostly White __racially mixed

My neighborhood is: __mostly Black ____mostly White __racially mixed

Total number of people in your household: _____

Sexual Orientation: _____Straight _____Gay_____Bisexual
_____Other

Social Class: _____Lower _____Lower-Middle _____Middle
_____Upper Middle _____Upper

Family Income: _____\$10, 000–20, 0000 ____\$20,000– 30,000 ____\$30,000-
40,000_____ \$40,000-50,000 _____More than \$50,000

Grade Point Average: _____

Religion: _____

Comments:

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