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Unpacking the Psychosocial Effects of Institutional Racism

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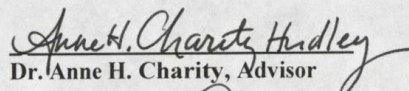
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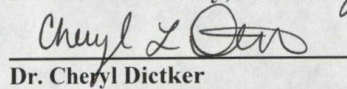
An Interdisciplinary Studies thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement
for the degree of Bachelor of Arts in Psychology and Africana Studies from
The College of William and Mary

by

Ebony A. Lambert

Accepted for _____ Highest Honors _____
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Unpacking the Psychosocial Effects of Institutional Racism

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Abstract

My project investigated the effects of institutional racism on Black students at the College of William and Mary. I interviewed twenty Black William and Mary students and analyzed existing data from the Stand Up and Be Counted survey created by Dr. Anne Charity Hudley and Dr. Cheryl Dickter between June 2015 and April 2016. The pur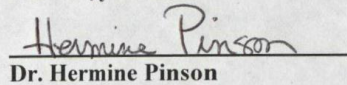pose of this study centered on evaluating the extent to which exposure to institutional racism at the college affects the psychological, social, and academic realities of Black students who walk the college's campus today. I also explored the relationship between institutional racism, stereotype threat, and impostor syndrome within the lives and everyday realities of Black William and Mary students, and crafted poetry selections based on the experiences of various students in order to provide a more personal, in-depth look at Black American student experiences at William and Mary. My research moved away from previous theoretical perspectives that frame racism as a crime without actors, and instead sought to highlight the methods by which institutional racism manifests and is maintained. In conducting this research, I sought to examine the scope of certain institutionally racist policies and procedures, such as the use of culturally biased curricula and passive responses to individual acts of racism, and to situate them within historical, social, and cultural contexts centered on the preservation of White privilege (Constantine, 2006; D'Andrea and Daniels, 2007). This research has serious implications for issues of race in education as it explores the role race plays in education.

Acknowledgements

Once, in high school, a woman very close to me (one of my play-aunts) told me to write a novel. Sitting cross-legged on her tan living room carpet across from where her niece and she sat on the cream-colored couch with her son's best friend, I'd said something strange—something silly and spur of the moment that was oddly fitting of the situation. And my aunt just laughed and looked at me and said, "you should write a book." And that statement sat with me. That statement, combined with years of hearing my father say that I should be able to write a dozen novels because I'd read so many books and my mother urging me to share my truth with the world spurred me to think that I have the right to write.

This is not the novel either my aunt or my father asked for. Nor is it the book of poetry my parents have been encouraging me to produce since I participated in an oratory contest in the fourth grade. This is, instead, a deeper and—I hope—more meaningful sort of work, as it seeks to combine the power of the written word with the knowledge and experiences of countless others. It is a work of determination and late nights and passion and struggle and pain. It is a labor of love and continuity.

So while this work, this writing, has not been fashioned together to form a novel or a book of poetry, it will still tell a story—well many stories, really, though the bulk of them will not be mine or of my creation. This writing pulls not only from various sources of literature, but also from my own previous research, from the thoughts, lives, and perspectives of the many participants and professors who helped this work to come to fruition. And while it may not be the next bestseller, I hope, nevertheless, that it is still a page-turner—that it keeps you on your toes, keeps you thinking, on the edge of your seat. This work is not, I say again, the novel, the poetry my family thought would come, but even still, I pray I do not disappoint.

With that said, I would like to extend my deepest gratitude to everyone has helped to make this thesis as well as my education a reality: to everyone in my village who has clothed me, housed me, cared for me, and helped me see the world for what it is truly is: a playground.

It is my greatest wish that I will be able to pay all of your blessings, love, and care forward.

Introduction and Overview

I conducted a case study during the 2015-2016 school year that explored the extent to which exposure to institutional racism at the College of William and Mary affects the social, psychological, and academic realities of the African American students. My project consisted of interviewing and surveying twenty African American William and Mary students in order to investigate the psychosocial effects of institutionally racist policies and procedures at the college. My study also explored the relationship between institutional racism, stereotype threat, and impostor syndrome, as many studies have found links between racism and negative self-perceptions (Constantine, 2006; D'Andrea & Daniels, 2007). For the purposes of my research, institutional racism was operationally defined as "any institutional policy, practice, and structure … that unfairly subordinates People of Color while allowing White persons to profit from such actions" (Sue, 2006, p. 24).

My research is academically relevant because it sought to move away from Bonilla-Silva's (2003) perspective that argues that we live in a colorblind society where racism occurs without racists. This study instead moved toward a framework that situated institutional racism at William and Mary college within the social, cultural, and historical contexts in which the college is vested that center on the preservation of White privilege. My study connected issues and experiences of institutional racism with people, places, and events both in the present and in the past that have and continue to contribute to the marginalization of students of color on William and Mary's campus. The goals of this project were to raise awareness of the issues caused by institutional racism on our own campus, and inspire thought as to how these issues can begin to be resolved.

To collect quantitative data, I analyzed existing data from the Stand Up and Be Counted Survey constructed by Professor Charity Hudley and Professor Dickter (Arts & Sciences Charles Center, n.d.). This psychometric measure is a collection of surveys that seeks to quantitatively examine personal, social, racial, and academic perceptions students hold regarding their experiences at the college, and also gleans information about their personalities and academic histories. I also conducted in-depth interviews with each of the participants to acquire qualitative assessments of how African American students feel that being Black at the College of William and Mary has influenced their treatment and experiences in higher education, as well as their social network and perceptions of themselves. Results of the study are reported in this paper through traditional APA reporting methods along with several poetry selections. A poet as well as a social science researcher, I thought it prudent that poetry be used as a compact vehicle by which information—feelings, perceptions, lessons, and even research results—can be transferred from one person to the next. My research project sought to answer the following questions:

- Does the race of African American students affect the way they are treated by educators and peers in academic settings? If so, does this treatment affect their perceptions of their race and/or academic performance, as well as their actual performance?

- To what extent does exposure to institutional racism contribute to the development or maintenance of feelings pertaining to stereotype threat and impostor syndrome?

- In what ways does the college's historical relationship with African Americans continue to influence the college's current relationship with its African American students?

- How does affiliation with the college and/or being at the college influence the socialization and social networks of African American students?

The relevance of this research project stemmed from the fact that it furthered an examination on factors that affect the academic performance and prosperity of African American students. More specifically, however, it evaluated the extent to which the College of William and Mary's historical relationship with African Americans now permeates and informs the college's current relationship with African American students. This research is also relevant given that it has been found that "negative psychological responses to racism [both perceived and institutional] carry many features associated with trauma" among Black Americans (Pieterse et al., 2011). These responses include "somatization, which is psychological distress expressed as physical pain; interpersonal sensitivity; and anxiety" (APA, 2011).

Influences and Previous Research

"Black students are subjected to school failure because of their race, social class, and culture, and it is hard for them to have positive perceptions of their abilities given that "Black students, regardless of social class and education, do not share with Whites equal opportunities for jobs, housing, and political and economic power" (Irvine, 1990, p.xxii). Since self-esteem and ethnic identity have both "emerged as influences upon young people's perception of their ability to achieve academically and professionally," it is prudent that we as a society work together to better the education that African-American students receive and help them to stand on an equal playing field in academia (Smith, Walker, Fields, Brookins, and Seay, 1999, p. 876).

Before we move on, it is crucial to note and problematize this idea of an equal academic playing field, as mentioned in the previous paragraph. Analyzing issues of structural inequality in education through the lenses of race and gender has become immensely important to me as a Black American female academic who consistently has to work for my viewpoints, perspectives, and qualifications to be considered valid (Muhs, 2012).

Thus, in order to fully explain my project and the change I hope to affect at the collegiate level, I must first describe my reasons for pursuing this research—many of which stemmed from my experiences in and study of African-American education at the K-12 level.

As a graduate of a high school that was 72 percent African American (Virginia Department of Education, 2012), I have seen firsthand the difficulties that the opportunity gap poses for students of color, and plan to work wholeheartedly to remedy them. "African American students, particularly the majority, who come from working-class and underclass backgrounds, have been failing in schools nationwide. Or rather, schools nationwide have been failing African American students" (Rickford and Rickford, 2000, p. 163). It is hard for children to prosper within a system that does not validate their language variety and often uses it as a means to hold them back, but the arduous task of striving for success is made even harder when they lack the confidence and ability to believe in themselves (Perry, Steele, & Hillard, 2003; Thompson, 2004). Research by Rust (2008) suggests that African American students do in fact have deficit perceptions of their academic abilities, or low levels of academic self-esteem, which refers to "individuals' knowledge and perceptions about themselves in academic achievement situations" (Wigfield and Karpathian, 1991). These deficit perceptions were measured by administering such questionnaires as the Orthogonal Cultural Identification Scale (OCIS), the African American Acculturation Scale-Revised (AAAS-R), the Multi-group Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM), and the Self-Perception Profile for Adolescents (SPPA) to youth between the ages of 13-19. Academic performance was then measured by evaluating the average grades of the participants in English, Social Studies, Science, and Math from the previous school year (Rust, 2008).

How can African-American students succeed if they are constantly being degraded whether directly or indirectly by educators and administrators that have no respect for their differences: if they are assumed inferior, if their vernacular and culture are shunned, if educators hold them in low esteem and have lower standards and expectations for them? The disconnect between the language variation and classroom structure the students are taught in school and the atmosphere/ vernacular that "marks Black identity" and serves as "a symbol of a culture and a lifestyle" that Black American children are used to has a negative impact on the way children of color view themselves and perceive their academic ability (Rickford and Rickford, 2000, p. 10). For these students, the plight to succeed academically resembles that of a fish trying to swim upstream: it is a trying ordeal, one that is distressing and riddled with difficulties. The treatment they receive from educators and administrators is unutterably damaging, as this treatment leads them to develop derogatory views of their ability to succeed—misshapen mental images that depict limitations on their growth, academic abilities, and futures that feed off of low self-efficacy, self-regard, and self-esteem. Thus much of my research over the years has been aimed at reducing and even eliminating these negative effects, through emphasizing the necessity of incorporating esteem-based pedagogies into multicultural classrooms to foster more a safer school environment that promotes individuality and cultural connection. Other aspects of my research have to explain how social perceptions and beauty norms affect the psychological and academic realities of Black American students in order to gain a better understanding of how Black American students are being affected on a psychological and academic level by social realities and expectations.

The goal of this study is to understand and analyze the problems generated by our current, standardized education, and then to remedy and personalize education for minority

students so that we as a society can better reach these students and ensure their academic success. By studying and examining the psychological and social affects social perceptions, stereotypes, and institutional racism have on Black American students, I am able to paint a more elaborate picture of how these factors inform and influence the lives and success of Black students, and maximize the validity/generalizability of my research. Here it is important to note that I am focusing specifically on psychological and social affects as opposed to academic affects due to the fact that academic performance does not always correlate with student perceptions of their identity and capabilities, and typically correlate more with pre-collegiate influences and the effectiveness social support systems (Rust, 2008). Additionally, I have found that focusing on student academic performance and achievement can remove the social and cultural space students may need to explore their identities, experiences, and perceptions through experiences conducting other research projects, as many students may feel that the research only caters to specific populations of either high-achieving or low-achieving students (Smith, personal communication, 2015). This line of reasoning falls in line with W.E.B. DuBois' sentiments regarding achievement among a select few Black American students in his Talented Tenth Memorial Address:

"When I came out of college into the world of work, I realized that it was quite possible that my plan of training a talented tenth might put in control and power, a group of selfish, self-indulgent, well-to-do men, whose basic interest in solving the Negro problem was personal; personal freedom and unhampered enjoyment and use of the world, without any real care, or certainly no arousing care, as to what became of the mass of American Negroes, or of the mass of any people. My Talented Tenth, I could see, might result in a sort of interracial free-for-all,

with the devil taking the hindmost and the foremost taking anything they could lay hands on"
(DuBois, 1903).

Thus, my research sought to focus on issues outside of academic achievement that affect Black
American students' propensity for success.

Finally, I sought to extend the reach of my project by developing a list of tips for
implementation of culturally-connected, student-centered pedagogies that aim to personalize and
refashion the education minority students receive and increase their academic success.

Through my research, I have always sought to reverse the negative effects of the current
education system—which typically assumes the perspective that Black students are both
academically and culturally inferior to students of other races (Perry, Hillard, Steel, 2003)—and
provide a better, more holistic education for minority students and eventually work to resolve
structural education inequalities. These are lofty goals, I know, but I believe wholeheartedly in
the power of dedication: mine may be a labor of love, but my mother taught me very early on
that true success can only come from passion and continuity.

I became interested in the potential ways that school affiliation and attendance could
affect the psychological, social, and academic realities of Black American students when I
arrived at the college because I was curious as to why I had succeeded—while others had not. I
had been able to overcome these issues early on, because I was blessed with parents, family
friends, and educators who pushed relentlessly for my success. Far too many of my peers,
however, have not had this opportunity. While acting as the Mistress of Ceremony for a STEM
forum my high school had with several African American science professionals, I overheard an
African-American student utter "I might not have a 4.0 GPA, but I got a 4.0 in the streets." He
went on to discuss how he believed none of his teachers believed in his abilities. After hearing

this comment, I began to seriously question the dynamics of self-thought and its role in academia. I began to wonder how students of color could even manage to think positively about themselves in an academic light if they had to deal with teachers and administrators that did not value their vernacular and thus shunned their culture.

This experience led me to join the Sharpe Community Scholars Program, to enroll in Professor Charity Hudley's African American English course, and to begin a research project studying the correlation between self-esteem and academic achievement. I chose to center my research on these two topics for several reasons. First, I wanted to be able to study how students' views of self-worth can affect or be affected by their academic standing and vice versa. Second, as "low self-esteem is related to several physical and mental health disorders such as eating disorders, depression, and anxiety," (Young and Hoffmann, 2004, p. S5-87) it is prudent that students, parents, and educators find a way to battle this issue that works in conjunction with our educational system. And third, as a person who has suffered from low self-esteem, I was extremely interested in understanding its causes and effects, and in learning how to reverse its effects or stop it from affecting others. The issues I had with myself have always, in many ways, played a tremendous role in shaping my perspectives and research interests—if only because they lead me to become curious in whether, how, and why other people experienced self-doubt in the same way that I did. This far into my research journey, I have learned that not only do other people experience many of the issues and challenges that I face as a young Black woman, but that many other people—both people that I know and people that I've never thought of— experience the very same obstacles that I face in many different ways for many different reasons.

Consider this poem, then, that I penned based on sentiments stated by one of research participants that spoke to my experiences. Through his example, I hope you, the reader, are able

to see just how I hope to use my research and my writing as platforms to offer voice and the

opportunity to advocate for change to my peers—people who have historically faced struggles

that are so very similar to mine, but may not necessarily know what options they have to pursue

change.

I still pray

for the

little brown girl

I once was,

because she still

lives within me.

I see her some

mornings,

staring out

of chocolate eyes

in the mirror.

silently pleading

with me

to remember to be

the hero she has

always needed.

Finally, I am conducting this research to contribute to campus-wide efforts to make

improve the racial climate at the College of William and Mary, and also to continue the work of

eradicating structural inequalities as seen in student-led demands for justice at various

institutions of higher education across the nation. During the fall 2014 semester, President Taylor

Reveley of the College of William and Mary called for the creation of the Task Force on Race

and Race Relations in response to escalating racial tensions among the institution's

undergraduate student population. I began working with the Task Force after Dr. Chon Glover

reached out to me and asked me to serve as an undergraduate student representative. I am note-

taker for the Campus Climate Subcommittee, but in my general role on the task force I serve as

an undergraduate representative and provide insights and perspectives from students of color that

I gain via my role in several student cultural organizations, as well as through personal meetings

that students request.

This work also ties into the work I am conducting with my Honors Thesis, as I am exploring

the psychosocial effects institutional racism has on African-American students at the College of

William and Mary. At the center of both of these projects lies William and Mary's complex

racial history and relationship with African Americas, as well as its campus culture. William and

Mary, as an institution that has literally been around since the inception of this country and its

value system, has ties not only to the founding fathers and their vision for this country, but also

to slavery, the Civil War, the Jim Crow era, and—Jim Crow's child—institutional racism (The

Lemon Project, n.d.). Given this contextual grounding, both projects seek to draw upon the

school's history, as well as the socio-cultural context in which the college is vested, in order to

evaluate the extent to which the institution's policies, practices, and racial makeup continues to effect the psychological, social, and academic realities of Black students who walk the college's campus today. In my roles as both a Task Force member and the principal investigator on my Honors Thesis, I explore student experiences with the College's racial climate, and seek to understand, report, and provide suggestions to improve the many ways in which affiliation with the College affects the students' academic, extracurricular, and personal lives.

Literature Review

In framing this research and its importance, I must begin by providing the historical context, from which the present day societal issues I am examining stem, along with my own theoretical perspectives. Jones (1972) mentions in the preface of his text that "in matters of race relations particularly, it is not possible (nor in my opinion desirable) to divorce one's values from one's writing or research" (p. vii). Literature on social categorization and person perception—the processes by which we as human beings classify and discern the people with which we interact—supports the sentiments that underlie the writings of Jones (1972) in its recognition of the roles individual beliefs, perceptions, and experiences play in our conceptions and understanding of issues of race (Hugenberg & Sacco, 2008;). Thus, central to the purpose, motivation, and theoretical framework behind my research are my own perceptions, feelings, and experiences regarding race and race relations, and their relationship and connection to social conceptions of race more generally.

Furthermore, as I began to move forward with my discussion and exploration of the concept of institutional racism, I thought it prudent to first define and describe the concept of racism itself, so that I may later aptly frame and explore the causes, effects, and manifestations

of racism at the institutional level. Myers (2005) includes a discussion of racism that takes the

historical, hierarchical, and sociological aspects of racism into account:

> "…racism is a systematic means of restricting—if not denying—access to resources and
>
> opportunities to a group of people based on race and/or ethnicity. In a hierarchical
>
> system, one group is elevated above all others. This dominant group enjoys
>
> disproportionate resources and privileges. Although changes occur over time, institutions
>
> in that system are geared toward meeting and protecting the needs of the dominant group
>
> at the expense of the other groups (Omi and Winant, 1994)" (Myers, 2005, p. 18).

This definition also leaves ample room to consider the following perspectives regarding human

perception of race and skin tone from a social cognition and affordances perspective. Race, as

one of the "big three" categories in person perception (the other two being sex and age), tends to

be one of the most salient factors in human perception of other conspecifics across a variety of

social settings (Macrae & Quadflieg, 2010). As person perception is mostly schematic and deals

heavily with the categorical representations individuals use to simplify the complex information

they perceive of conspecifics in initial interactions, race remains an important factor in social

cognition due to the ease with which it allows perceivers to form impressions of others, based on

the stereotypic and categorical information racial group membership provides, especially at zero

acquaintance.

Skin tone and physical features are also important factors in social cognition and social

interaction, as they tend to serve as visual cues for race or ethnicity, and have come to carry their

own stereotypes and stigmas that can affect an individual's social, political, and economic

realities. Complexion has come to mean many things to many different people. For example,

some cultures—specifically African Americans in the United States as well as several Asian and

African cultures—experience colorism or skin color stratification, which refers to "discriminatory treatment of individuals falling within the same 'racial' group on the basis of skin color" (Herring, Keith, & Horton, 2004, p. 3). Similarly, facial features can be used to privilege and stratify women in minority groups alongside skin tone, as more Eurocentric features such as long straight hair and thinner noses and lips are typically more associated with beauty in American society (Keenan, 1996; Robinson-Moore, 2008; Walker, 2015).

Though skin tone can represent different things in different cultures, American society tends to favor lighter skin as well as more Eurocentric features (Bryant, 2012; Harrison, 2005; McAdoo, 1997) and thus echoes this sentiment from Hunter (2005) "if you're white you're alright, if you're brown stick around, if you're yellow you're mellow, if you're black get back!"(p. 1). Hunter (2005) also maintains that a long-standing racism or bias by Whites that favors Eurocentric features lies at the heart of race-related issues in the United States and further portrays the importance of appearance within the North American context. She contends that:

> Skin color and features associated with whites, such as light skin, straight noses, and long, straight hair, take on the meanings that they represent: civility, rationality, and beauty. Similarly, skin colors and features associated with Africans and Indians, such as dark skin, broad noses, and kinky hair, represent savagery, irrationality, and ugliness. The values associated with physical features set the stage for skin color stratification (Hunter, 2005, p. 3)

On a large scale, skin tone and physical features have been found to play major roles in the social, economic, political, and historical realities of individuals in the United States (Bryant, 2012; Harrison, 2005; Hunter, 2005; McAdoo, 1997). More specifically, previous research has linked darker skin tones and more Afro-centric features as the least desirable complexions based

on American beauty norms, with lower academic achievement, reduced employment incomes, negative social interactions, prejudice and discrimination in job selection as well as reduced employment outcomes, and negative stereotypes (Ben-Zeev, Dennehy, Goodrich, Kolarik, & Geisler, 2014; Berry & Duke, 2012; Bryant, 2012; Harrison, 2005; Robinson-Moore, 2008; McAdoo, 1997). For example, a study by Harrison (2005) using 240 undergraduate students between the ages of 17-26 presented participants with stimuli including the gender, resume, and pictures of job applicants. 87.5% of the participants identified as White, while 72% of them identified as female (Harrison, 2005). The stimuli were matched on every aspect but the skin tone of the applicants. Participants were then asked to identify which applicants they would be more likely to hire or recommend for a job. Results from the ANOVAs conducted showed much higher mean values for lighter-skinned Blacks applicants, signifying that participants were more likely to recommend or hire potential applicants with lighter skin tones. Harrison (2005) thus concluded that discrepancies in hiring tendencies can very well be shaped by perceptions of skin tone and race.

   Additionally, a study by Pendry & Macrae (1994) evaluating the relationship between cognitive and motivational factors in person perception found that people are less likely to perceive or behave towards others stereotypically when they have a desire for accuracy and sufficient cognitive resources to move beyond the tendency to simplify. This study utilized two study design whereby participants completed resource-depletion tasks while either working independently, dependently with confederates, or while they were being kept cognitively busy by remembering an 8-digit number. Though not directly related to skin tone and physical features, this study is important to note here as it demonstrates the ways in which stereotypes are maintained as well as the roles they play in social interactions. Thus, through this study it

becomes easier to understand how easily stereotypes and stigmas related to Black Americans are activated and retained in a society that institutionally and structurally privileges Whiteness when dominant group members are not actively working to counteract them.

Given this information, I argue here that skin tone, physical features, and the stigmas related to them play major roles in human interaction and social situations based on their continued importance in everyday life. More work needs to be done, however, to address and determine the role complexion and physical features plays in informing and shaping person perception generally and outside of the African American community, as well as in terms of evaluating cues from biological motion.

Furthermore, though part of this study is designated to determine what information movement provides about race, another aspect of this investigation centers specifically on perceptions of skin tone. Thus, of major importance to this research is a study conducted that evaluates memory for skin tone in human interaction. Ben-Zeev, Dennehy, Goodrich, Kolarik, & Geisler (2014) explored what the authors have deemed "skin tone memory bias," a predisposition that operates on the idea that "social categorization affects skin tone perception in the direction of racial a stereotype" (p. 1). This impartiality posits that, when presented in a counter-stereotypical way, information may be altered in memory and perceived in a fashion that allows one to reconcile the stimulus with preconceived stereotypes. The Ben-Zeev et al (2014) study involved a double experiment model where participants were primed with either stereotypic or counter-stereotypic information (the word 'ignorant' or the word 'educated' respectively), and then presented with the image of a Black man's face. The participants were then shown the same image of the Black man's face in six different skin tone variations and asked to determine which one they had previously seen. The study revealed that participants primed with counter-

stereotypic information (the word 'educated') tended to remember the complexion of the Black

man in the image as being significantly lighter than it actually was, and thus their findings

suggest that "Black individuals who defy social stereotypes might not challenge social norms

sufficiently but rather may be remembered as lighter, perpetuating status quo beliefs" (Ben-Zeev

et al, 2014, p. 1).

Given these findings, it is has become clear that a person's perception of race and skin tone

deeply influence and inform the way they think about and perceive members of different ethnic

groups and races. The task at hand now, however, is to take this knowledge of how perceptions

of people from different racial and ethnic backgrounds form, and use it as lens to examine how

these perceptions continue to shape and maintain oppressive forces within different realms of

society today.

Though many of the racial issues bred in this country have roots in problems that began even

before the inception of the country, I will focus much of my discussion on institutional racism

within educational institutions within the 20th century. In 1954, Brown vs. the Board of

Education in Topeka, Kansas handed down a most influential ruling (Brown v. Board of

Education, 1954). In a country that experienced Jim Crow or racial segregation, this case held

that segregation of children in schools on the basis of race, and segregated educational facilities,

were unequal and thus unconstitutional. With this ruling, a nation that had been—literally and

figuratively—divided on the basis of racial and ethnic differences was expected to become one.

Though a landmark case in the United States that has done much to advance the country and the

state of the Black community, the promise/legacy of Brown was never fully lived up to, as

minority students—particularly those of Latino and African descent—were and still are expected

to excel in a "post-racial" society that is set up in every way to stop them from succeeding. Now,

as the nation moves into its 61st year since the Brown v. Board ruling, we as a society are

struggling to deal with an issue that persisted in the aftermath of the landmark case: institutional

racism.

While conceptualizing the term, Jones (1972) mentions the breadth and reach of institutional

racism, as we see in the following statement:

> "Institutional racism has two meanings, then: First, it is the institutional extension of
>
> individual racist beliefs; this consists primarily of using and manipulating duly
>
> constituted institutions so as to maintain a racist advantage over others. Second, it is the
>
> byproduct of certain institutional practices which operate to restrict on a racial basis the
>
> choices, rights, mobility, and access of groups of individuals. These unequal
>
> consequences need not be intended, but they are not the less real for being simply de
>
> *facto*" (Jones, 1972, p. 6).

The theoretical framework for my project stems from this and similar appraisals of institutional

racism as a construct.

In expanding upon my definition and theoretical framework for institutional racism,

however, it is imperative to note that a multitude of factors have contributed to its development

and maintenance—one of the main factors being the development and persistence of a structural

form of racism. Structural racism and discrimination, which stem from the United States' long

and legal history of subjugating people of color in order to maximize economic, social, and

cultural capital of White Americans, are prominent in many realms of society, and continue to

wreak havoc on Blacks and other minority communities long after the eradication of the

institution of slavery in the United States, the end of the Jim Crow Era, and the Brown v. Board

ruling (Gomez, 2005; Vinson, 2016). Aptly defined by Lawrence and Keleher (2003), the term

structural racism refers to "the normalization and legitimization of an array of dynamics –

historical, cultural, institutional and interpersonal – that routinely advantage whites while

producing cumulative and chronic adverse outcomes for people of color," and acts through

institutional and individual racism on a day-to-day basis.

Differences in vernacular, culture, socio-economic status, and physiological features remain

among the top markers that White supremacist discourses use to categorize and marginalize

people of color. Furthermore, as Wald and Losen (2003) discuss, "the end of court-ordered and

voluntary school desegregation plans in many jurisdictions has contributed to the steady

resegregation of black and Latino students in public schools for over 15 (now 27) years (p. 9)."

This resegregation allows for resources to once again be concentrated more generally in areas

where White and upper-class students may benefit, leaving lower class and minority students—

for the most part—already at a disadvantage before they ever start school. Additionally, Black

students are also faced with issues regarding unjust disciplinary practices, both in and out of

schools. According to the U.S. Department of Education Office for Civil Rights (or OCR), there

are disproportionately high suspension/expulsion rates for students of color, as "Black students

are suspended and expelled at a rate three times greater than white students" (Civil Rights Data

Collection, 2014, p.1). On average, Blacks are three times more likely (16%) to be suspended

than their White counterparts (5%). In a similar vein—and to provide a sense of how early this

disparity occurs—the OCR also released information about the incidence of suspensions for

preschool students. According to their data, "Black children represent 18% of preschool

enrollment, but 48% of preschool children receiving more than one out-of school suspension; in

comparison, white students represent 43% of preschool enrollment but 26% of preschool

children receiving more than one out of school suspension" (Civil Rights Data Collection, 2014,

p.1). These are all examples of institutional racism, and the ways in which the education system

is failing Black students.

Further examples of institutional racism and its reach on the college level include "culturally

biased curricula, lack of people of color in positions of power, lack of institutional support, and

passive responses to individual racist acts" (Constantine, 2006). It can also be seen at the

university level when buildings are named disproportionately after White Americans and/or

people who have advocated for or created means by which people of color could be further

marginalized, in the number of minority faculty that are tenured, in the admissions process (the

weighing of standardized test scores), and also in disparities in graduation rates and academic

prosperity across races or ethnicities (an "achievement/opportunity" gap). Recent examples of

institutional racism that have gotten news coverage include the Stokes (2011) spoken word video

regarding the struggles and frustrations of African American males at UCLA, as well as in the

call to action demanding change put out by the Black Student Alliance at the University of

Virginia (Seal, 2015).

I say all of this to lead the reader towards an understanding of the ways in which education

and institutional racism overlap in the lives of Black and brown students, as well as the need for

more research that evaluates the manifestation, reach, and effects of institutional racism at

educational institutions where African American students are most likely to experience

institutional racism (i.e. predominantly White institutions). Thus I chose to conduct this study on

the campus of William and Mary quite purposefully. Unlike Steele (2010) who has conducted

most of his research at such institutions as the University of Michigan and Stanford, I plan to

center my research on institutional racism within the context of an institution that has a very

visceral racial history. Here it is important to note that the University of Michigan and Stanford

have African American student populations that number roughly 4.1%. (1,801 out of 43,651) and

7.8% (545 out of 6,994) respectively (University of Michigan, 2015; Stanford University, 2015),

and that these institutions are removed from the South's long and extremely pervasive history

with overt racism and problems surrounding race-relations, such as slavery and Jim Crow

segregation (PBS, 2002). William and Mary, as an institution that has literally been around since

before the inception of this country and its value system, has ties not only to the founding fathers

and their vision for this country, but also to slavery, the Civil War, the Jim Crow era, and—Jim

Crow's child—institutional racism (The Lemon Project, n.d.). Wilder (2013) discusses William

and Mary's historical relationship with African Americans and the fact that the college was

maintained for a number of years but a formidable number of slaves, and provides examples of

professors who advocated for segregation (p. 135-136). Additionally, the following quote by

Wilder (2013) frames a central point regarding the ways in which American universities such as

the College of William and Mary benefitted from the institution of slavery and the subjugation of

African-descended peoples, and sought to maintain them in order to maintain White supremacy:

> "In short, American colleges were not innocent or passive beneficiaries of conquest and
>
> colonial slavery. The European invasion of the Americas and the modern slave trade
>
> pulled peoples throughout the Atlantic world into each other's lives, and colleges were
>
> among the colonial institutions that braided their histories and rendered their fates
>
> dependent and antagonistic. The academy never stood apart from American slavery—in
>
> fat, it stood beside the church and state as the third pillar of a civilization built on
>
> bondage" (p. 11).

Given this contextual grounding, this research draws upon the school's history, as well as the

socio-cultural context in which the college is vested, in order to evaluate the extent to which

exposure to institutional racism at the college—which was created by many channels and events in the college's past—continues to effect the psychological, social, and academic realities of Black students who walk the college's campus today.

Furthermore, in speaking of the potential ways in which exposure to institutional racism may affect the realities of Black American students, it is prudent to consider potential psychological responses to being high-achieving Black students at a predominantly White institution. Perry et al (2003) provided the following insights regarding perceptions of Black American student achievement:

"The prevailing assumption among many educators is that the task of achievement for African-Americans as a group is the same as it is for any other group. African-American children have to be able to do what all other children have to be capable of doing in order to achieve in American schools. These individuals proceed on the assumption that beyond individual differences—which they usually willingly concede particularize the task of learning—if you know what works for the White child, then you know what will work for the Black child. Indeed, there are generalizable competencies required of and embedded in the learning tasks students are asked to perform in school. But since learning is fundamentally contextual, I would argue that there are extra social, emotional, cognitive, and political competencies required of African-American youth, precisely because they are African-American, if they are to be able to commit themselves over time to perform at high levels in school" (Perry et al., 2003, p. 4)

Hale (2001) and Thompson (2004) support the perspective that African American students face a different set of obstacles than most other students in educational settings, and thus both speak to improving the performance of African American students through the use of targeted strategies and tactics. Hale (2001) states that the goal should be "to create a learning

environment that complements the culture of the African American community and stimulates higher-order thinking and creativity among African American children" (Hale, 2001, p. 122). Additionally, Thompson (2004) lists several effective instructional methods and strategies for educators. First, she establishes that it is prudent for teachers to let students know that they care—to employ a transparent approach to teaching that will allow the students to get to know them as real human beings. By this model, teachers should maintain high expectations for the students, continuously remind them of the big picture (why they're doing what they're doing) and get acquainted with their students on a personal level (Thompson, 2004, p. 65). Of the eighteen strategies for students of color listed by Thompson, a few more jumped out at me. Giving information learned in the classroom real world relevance, encouraging the students to integrate information they've learned, using storytelling to rouse their curiosity, showcasing their talents and aptitudes, evaluating their abilities and knowledge in advance, and assigning consistent, constructive homework all seem like excellent ways to engage the students, and to make school more culturally relevant and interesting (Thompson, 2004, p. 66-69). Thompson bases these suggestions on her research exploring the experiences and personal examples of 175 educators.

My theoretical model, however, seeks to move beyond simple evaluation of academic obstacles that Black American students here at the college may face or even finding ways to combat these issues. My research also seeks to examine any psychological or social issues that may underlie the reality of being an African-American student, and also provide recommendations that can be used both at the College of William and Mary and at other institutions of higher education to provide academic and personal supports to minority students. Though these issues are related, they are not always addressed or acknowledged as being related

and intertwined. Thus, within my broader framework, one aspect of this research studies the subject of stereotype threat within the African American student community here at the college in order to move towards an understanding of the current relationship the school has with its African American students. Steele (2010) posits that stereotype threat is a construct or contingency that affects African Americans in certain situations due to our country's history with racism, and the power dynamics between White and Black Americans. My research seeks to study this construct specifically on the campus of the college of William and Mary, however, due to the school's status as a predominantly White institution, as well as it past relationships with African Americans and its location in the South.

Steele (2010) frames stereotype threat most saliently in the following passage:

"We came to think of this pressure [stereotype threat] as a 'predicament'" of identity. An American White woman in an advanced college math class knows at some level that she could be seen as limited because she is a woman; a Black student knows the same thing in almost any challenging academic setting; and a white elite sprinter knows it, too, as he reaches the last 10 meters of a 100-meter race. These people know their group identity. They know how their society views it. They know, at some level, that they are in a predicament: their performance could confirm a bad view of their group and of themselves, as members of their group...This term [stereotype threat] captured the idea of a situational predicament as a contingency of their group identity, a real threat of judgment or treatment in the person's environment that went beyond any limitations within" (p.59-60).

It is important to note here that the assertion of Steele (2010) that individuals from minority groups know how their social group identities are viewed and perceived by society is supported

by evidence from other studies that have evaluated the causes and effects of stereotype threat (Najdowski, Bottoms, and Goff, 2015; Steele, 2010).

My own personal experiences with stereotype threat remain poignant and indicative of just how difficult it can be to be a Black American student at a predominantly White institution. Being a Black student—especially a Black woman—on a predominantly White campus is unendingly daunting. For me, there has been an almost constant feeling of being under what African American author Toni Morrison calls the "white gaze," (Cornell University, 2013). Specifically, this means that for me there has been an almost constant feeling of being watched by "a" White oppressor in integrated spaces on campus—of being scrutinized them. From the time I stepped foot onto this campus in August of 2012, I felt as if I was constantly being measured against stereotypes of Blackness and Black womanhood by White collegiate officials, faculty, and students—as if my experiences and perspectives were always being picked apart and combed through by White faculty and students so that those same faculty and students could neatly label me and sort me in a category.

For me, it all came to a head my junior year. As a psychology major, being the only or one of very few Black people in my classes made me feel as though everything I said was representative of the Black experience. I came to realize later that many of the issues and experiences I faced as a Black student studying psychology stemmed from the fact that I was studying the world through a traditional psychological lens—one that failed to recognize and account for the fact that minorities, specifically Black Americans, have marked differently realities than other Americans. Thus I was much more interested in studying Black psychology which Guthrie (1998) describes as "psychological terminologies…used not only as a protest against the previous inequities but also as a matter of necessity to describe unique conditions

frequently found in the Black experience not accounted for by traditional psychology" (p. 149-150).

Additionally, being one of about 6 Black students in an introductory geology class of about 110 people that was group-oriented affected me in much the same way. Most vividly, I remember never wanting to be in a group for fear of confirming stereotypes about Black people, particularly Black women, not being able to "do" science—I was constantly afraid of being seen or perceive as an ignorant, indifferent Black girl. These experiences, combined with the general pressures I felt not to dress, act, speak and even move in carry myself in certain ways, alerted me to the fact that being on a predominantly White campus as a Black female student could mentally, physically, and emotionally take tolls on both my academic and social realities (Anglin & Wade, 2007; Harper, 2009; Syzmanski & Stewart, 2010).

Because it stems from a fear or internal pressure to avoid confirming negative stereotypes about one's social group, I argue that stereotype threat in Black American students may arise from experiences with institutional or individual racism in educational settings. Black American students have historically been seen and portrayed as being intellectually inferior by dominant media representations and discourses regarding race and educational attainment (Perry et al., 2003) when compared to White and Asian students, and this perception has led to differences in treatment of and admissions for Black American students in schools and colleges across the country (Hale, 2001; Perry et al, 2003; Thompson, 2004). Thus, when exploring institutional racism here at the college, I think it prudent that I explore the concept of stereotype threat as a possible side effect of navigating the school's environment as a Black American student.

Similarly, my study looks to incorporate the school's history into an investigation of the prevalence of impostor syndrome among African American communities on this campus. Impostor syndrome, as posited by Clance and Imes (1978) refers to

"an internal experience of intellectual phonies, which appears to be particularly prevalent and intense among a select sample of high achieving women. Certain early family dynamics and later introjection of societal sex-role stereotyping appear to contribute significantly to the development of the impostor phenomenon" (p. 1).

This phenomenon includes such symptoms as anxiety, frustration, and stress or depression over not being able to reach self-designed and determined accomplishments and goals. I seek to study exposure to institutional racism as a factor and foundation through which impostor syndrome is developed and maintained in Black American students.

Clance and Imes (1978) argue that imposter syndrome arises predominantly in women, and typically in response to one of two family dynamics. The first dynamic involves a more intelligent and/or successful member of the family overshadowing the academic and intellectual pursuits of the young woman in the household so much so that her pursuits are never recognized, and she develops feelings of inadequacy. It is posited that the woman then constantly feels as if she has to prove herself and her capabilities. The other dynamic—the dynamic that resonates more with me and my own experiences—posits that women in reinforcing families where they are constantly told they can do anything they put their mind to begin to doubt both their family's perception of their abilities as well as their own whenever they have trouble reaching a goal or accomplishing something they feel they should have been to do. Additionally, Trotman (2009) cites the experience of having strong female role models and being expected to live up to those examples (read: consistently give of themselves while largely ignoring their own needs) as being

central to the process by which Black women link their worth and self-esteem to their academic

lives and careers. It is important to note here that similar instances of self-doubt and low self-

esteem related to impostor syndrome have recently begun being explored among African

American college students (Peteet, Brown, Lige, & Lanaway, 2015).

       While these perspective regarding the development and persistence of impostor syndrome

in women seem to be supported, however, my research seeks to provide further empirical and

theoretical evidence of the presence or development of impostor syndrome in African-

Americans, both male or female, at the collegiate level. Additionally, after much study of the

dilapidating effects of institutional racism and stereotype threat, I argue here that Blacks in

academia—particularly in higher education—likely experience impostor syndrome fairly

frequently, and probably do so in tandem with stereotype threat, as they are constantly working

not to confirm stereotypical perceptions of their social group and thus may constantly feel that

they are having to prove themselves, even after they've reached high levels of success. This idea

stems from the internal struggle that arises within Black Americans, through stereotype threat, to

disprove stereotypes about their intellectual and academic ability, and prejudicial discourses that

paint them as intellectually inferior to Whites (Perry, Steele, & Hillard, 2003; Steele, 2010).

Additionally, this quote from the Perry, Steele, and Hillard (2003) text further exemplifies the

problem of discourses surrounding Black student inferiority:

       "Most seriously African-American children go to K-12 schools in the post-Civil Rights

       era with little acknowledgements by teachers, administrators, and parents that they are

       being battered at every turn by the ideology of African American inferiority. And if the

       presence of this ideology is acknowledged, usually little or nothing is done to better

students from impact of this ideology and to develop in students the capacity to resist

these assessments" (Perry, Steele, & Hillard, 2003, p. 97).

Finally, examples from the racist parties (Zagursky, 2015), discord over police brutality

cases (Zagursky, 2014), and failure of the administration to act autonomously on behalf of the

Black student body on this campus combine to display the ways in which this college's racial

climate, and even simply being affiliated with this college as a Black American student, may

cause issues or discord in the lives and realities of our students. Further examples of institutional

racism and inequitable racial climates collected by the Department of Education's Office of Civil

Rights and put forth in their 2014 data collection show that from pre-school on up, Blacks are

treated, socialized, and sanctioned differently and typically more harshly than White students

(Civil Rights Data Collection, 2014). This disparity in the treatment of African American

students at the elementary and secondary educations levels speak to a need to unpack these

issues at the post-secondary education level in order to ensure that we are not continuing to

contribute to a broken education system that marginalizes Black students (Brown at 60, 2014).

By studying the depth and everyday effects of institutional racism here at the college, I

have been able to glean a clearer picture of how exposure to institutionally racist policies and

procedures at the College of William and Mary influences the lives and realities of the college'

African American student population, and to maximize the validity/generalizability of my

research to some degree as well. Furthermore, by evaluating the policies and practices used by

faculty and administrators that are already in place, I have been able to extend the reach of my

project by developing a list of tips for implementation of culturally-connected, student-centered

pedagogies that aim to improve and refashion the experiences of Black students at the college,

and also increase their academic success. Additionally, employing a mixed-methods approach

allowed me to ensure that my findings are holistic and encompass a variety of perspectives and sources of information. Finally, my project utilized creative expressions as a platform for social justice, and thus incorporated the Black literary tradition of using writing as a mechanism of social commentary and criticism as an added tool to advocate for change.

Hypothesis Statement

As stated above, I conducted an interdisciplinary study consisting of interviews and data analysis of self-report questionnaires in order to explore the extent to which exposure to institutional racism affects Black American students psychosocial wellbeing. I first hypothesized that the appearance of Black American students (race/skin complexion, style of dress, etc.) would affect the way they were treated by educators both in and outside the classroom (i.e. in office hours, academic advising, at extracurricular events, etc.). Specifically, I predicted that the participants would report feeling that their race negatively shaped the way their professors perceived them and their academic abilities.

Additionally, I predicted that a majority of participants would report experiencing or witnessing institutional racism at William and Mary, and also that a majority of the participants would report experiencing stereotype threat and feelings of intellectual fraudulence similar to those characteristic of impostor syndrome during their time at William and Mary. I also hypothesized that the participants who reported experiencing stereotype threat and impostor syndrome would cite exposure to institutional racism both from personal experiences and things they witnessed as the main factor that contributed to the development or maintenance of those feelings and race-based concerns. Furthermore, I theorized that participants would report being negatively affected socially and emotionally by knowledge of William and Mary's historical

relationship with African Americans (from slavery, the Civil War, and Jim Crow segregation

through the present).

Finally, I hypothesized that the participants who reported experiences of stereotype threat

or impostor syndrome would be more likely to socialize with peers at William and Mary who

were of their own race, in an attempt to cope with the stress and uncomfortable nature of feeling

commodified and/or unwelcome at the college. I also predicted that participants would socialize

more with peers of the same race at William and Mary in order to avoid the potential stress of

interacting with peers who would not share or understand their experience (i.e. their peers

outside of the college or peers of different races.

Methods and Procedure

Participants

Approval to conduct this research was received from the College of William and Mary's

Institutional Review Board in March of 2015. Data for this project came from a pool of

approximately 20 African American students over the age of 18 on the College of William &

Mary's campus between Summer of 2015 and Spring 2016. Participants were recruited online,

through emails, flyers, and professor recommendations using convenience or volunteer sampling.

Recruitment occurred throughout the research process, with most students being recruited via

professor recommendation and email volunteer sampling during July 2015 and again in March of

2016. I purposefully chose to use volunteer sampling for this study due to the significance of the

research. As this project required honesty and a willingness to discuss and carefully consider

issues of race through historical, socio-cultural, and ecological lenses, I wanted students who felt

comfortable taking on the weight of this research. I wanted students who were prepared to do the

collective work of change, and to ensure that the knowledge produced through this research is

transformational for both myself and my participants—to ensure that it is "deep learning where new knowledge becomes personally meaningful and connected to community" (Cress, Collier, and Reitenauer, 2013). Participants provided a pseudonym for confidentiality, and had to be age 18 or older to participate.

The study was explained to the participants and consent forms were issued based on their further interest. I collected primarily from structured interviews and existing survey data from the Stand Up and Be Counted survey, but all measures were optional and participants had the opportunity to decline answering any question or participating at any time. The process and measures that I utilized to conduct this research were designed to reveal whether the participants felt that experiences with institutional racism at the College of William and Mary have affected their treatment, experiences, perceptions, and social network. My study also sought to understand the relationship between institutional racism and the development of negative personal perceptions related to impostor syndrome and stereotype threat.

Materials

Zoom H1 Handy and H2n Portable Digital Recorders were used to record the interview sessions (**see Appendix C**). Both recorders were available in the Earl Gregg Swem library, and were checked out and returned according to the library's check-out policy. Additionally, SPSS statistical software was used to compile and analyze data from the Stand Up and Be Counted Survey created by Professors Anne Charity Hudley and Cheryl Dickter. The survey includes the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1965), the R-S Race Questionnaire (Mendoza-Denton, Downey, Purdie, Davis, and Pietzrak, 2002), the General Self-Efficacy Scale (Schwarzer and Jerusalem, 1995), the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (Phinney, 1992), the Stereotype

Threat Questionnaire (Marx & Goff, 2005), and the Everyday discrimination Scale (Williams, Jackson, & Anderson, 1997).

Identity Measures.

Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale. This section of the questionnaire from Rosenberg (1965) evaluated student self-reported levels of self-esteem and valuations of their worth (e.g. I take a positive attitude toward myself"). This measure was scored such that 1= "strongly agree," 2= "agree," 3= "disagree," and 4= "strongly disagree." There were 10 items on this scale (α= .88).

General Self-Efficacy Scale. This section of the questionnaire from Schwarzer & Jerusalem (1995) evaluated student's perceptions of their capabilities and ability to manage various situations and aspects of their lives (e.g. "Thanks to my resourcefulness, I know how to handle unforeseen situations"). This scale was scored such that 1= "not at all true," 2= "hardly true," 3= moderately true," and 4= "exactly true." There were 10 items on this scale (α= .83).

Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure. This section of the questionnaire from Phinney (1992) evaluated student comfort levels with their ethnic group and ethnic identity (e.g. "I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group"). This measure was scored such that 1= "strongly diasagree," 2= "disagree," 3= "agree," and 4= "strongly agree." There were 15 items on this scale (α= .93).

Bias Measures.

R-S Race Questionnaire. This section of the questionnaire from Mendoza-Denton, Downey, Purdie, Davis, & Pietzrak (2002) evaluated student perceptions of racial concern (race concern), as well as the likelihood that people would exhibit discriminatory behaviors towards them based on their racial identity (race likelihood).

Race Concern. This term refers to the extent to which students were concerned or anxious about being rejected on the basis of their racial identity or appearance. A sample item from this section is as follows: "Imagine you're driving down the street, and there is a police barricade just ahead. The police officers are randomly pulling people over to check drivers' licenses and registrations." This measure was scored on a scale from 1 to 6, such that 1= "very unconcerned" and 6= "very concerned." The scale consisted of 12 items (α= .89).

Race Likelihood. This term refers to the extent to which students thought rejection would be likely based on their racial identity or appearance. A sample item for this section is as follows: "Imagine that you are in a restaurant, trying to get the attention of your waitress. A lot of other people are trying to get her attention as well." This measure was scored on a scale from 1 to 6, such that 1= "very unlikely" and 6= "very likely." There were 12 items on this scale (α= .87).

Stereotype Threat Questionnaire. This section of the questionnaire from Marx & Goff (2005) asked participants to express the extent to which they agreed with, disagreed with, or remained neutral about 7 statements addressing experiences of stereotype threat (e.g. I worry that if I perform poorly on a test, the instructor will attribute my poor performance to my race). The scale was scored on a 7-point Likert scale such that 1= "Strongly Disagree and 7= "Strongly Agree." There were 7 items on this scale (α= .86).

Everyday Discrimination Scale. This section of the questionnaire from Williams, Jackson, & Anderson (1997) asked participants to indicate how often they experienced various acts of discrimination (e.g. "you are treated with less respect than other people are)." The scale was scored such that 1= "almost everyday," 2= "at least once a week," 3= "a few times a month," 4= "a few times a month," 5= "less than once a year," and 6= "never." There were 9 items on this scale (α= .89).

Additionally, computers with internet connection were used to gain access to William & Mary Qualtrics software, and to research and find information on this topic. Finally, all study correspondences, as well as links to the Stand Up and Be Counted Survey, were sent through William & Mary school-related email accounts

Procedure

Data Collection. This project involved conducting and digitally recording structured interviews with each of the participants in order to acquire qualitative assessments aimed at learning about Black student experiences with and perceptions of institutional racism at the College of William and Mary. These interviews took place in rooms 236 and 334 of Blow Hall, and included questions about whether the participants had witnessed or experienced institutional racism as well as many of their other social and personal experiences at the College of William and Mary. Interviews ranged from 15 to 65 minutes.

 Similarly, I analyzed existing survey data from the Stand Up and Be Counted survey procured from Professors Anne Charity Hudley and Cheryl Dickter to determine how and to what extent students felt their race shaped their interactions with educators at William and Mary, as well as the ways in which exposure to institutional racism had affected them both socially and psychologically. The data collection period for the survey ranged from the Fall 2014—Spring 2016 semesters.

Data Analysis. I analyzed data for this project in several ways. The self-report measure, the Stand Up and Be Counted Survey, was scored according to the scales that accompany it and then statistically analyzed for patterns and correlations.

Additionally, I transcribed each of the interviews verbatim and evaluated them by topic using descriptive coding. Each topic or subject in the interview questions was given its own

code. After all interview transcriptions were completed, each code was then placed under a larger, general theme in order to simplify the evaluation process. For example, some participants mentioned that they felt as though the curriculum they were exposed to centered on Eurocentric perspectives and ignored multi-cultural experiences and realities. These sentiments were coded as "Major/Cure Inclusivity" which were then placed under the larger theme of "Institutional Influences." Participant responses, through the lens of these themes, were then used to evaluate the hypotheses of this project.

Results

Survey Results

Using existing data from the Stand Up and Be Counted survey, I evaluated participants' self-reported perceptions both through identity measures that assessed self-esteem and self-efficacy, as well as bias measure that assessed student experiences of everyday discrimination and stereotype threat at William and Mary. Of the 107 survey responses that were originally collected, 55 responses were removed from the data as 18 were duplicates, 34 were incomplete, 2 were outliers on multiple measures, and 1 was a test response. Thus I analyzed data based on the remaining 52 survey responses.

Out of the 52 survey participants, 41 identified as belonging to racial minority groups, while 11 identified as belonging to a racial majority group (White). Additionally, 30 identified themselves as male, 10 as male, and the remaining 12 did not indicate a gender identity. Participants ranged in age from 17-24 years of age, though 57% of participants (30 students) were either 18 or 19 years old. Of the 52 participants, 2 were identified as transfer students and another 2 identified as graduate students. There were 50 undergraduate participants. Finally, about 55% of participants (29 participants) had mothers who had completed 4 years of college or

higher, while 44% of participants (23 participants) had fathers who had completed 4 years of college or higher.

Additionally, 39% of participants (20 participants) were involved in one or two civic or community organizations on campus as undergraduates, while an additional 41% of participants (21 participants) were involved in three or four organizations. Seventy-five percent (45 participants) of students recalled experiencing or witnessing mild to intense discrimination against their racial group. Finally, 78.8% (41 participants) of students recalled experiencing personal discrimination.

ANOVA Results. A one-way ANOVA showed that differences in experiences of stereotype threat between majority race students (n=11, M= 1.42, SD= .62) and minority race students (n= 37, M= 2.76, SD= 1.68) were statistically significant, $F (1, 46) = 6.52$, p= .05. Similarly, a one-way ANOVA showed that differences in experiences of everyday discrimination between majority race students (n=11, M= 4.98, SD= .75) and minority race students (n= 40, M= 4.31, SD= .99) were statistically significant, $F (1, 49) = 4.20$, p= .05. A third one-way ANOVA showed that differences in student perceptions of race concern between majority race students (n=10, M= 1.57, SD= .86) and minority race students (n= 28, M= 2.60, SD= 1.08) were statistically significant, $F (1, 36) = 7.53$, p= .05. Finally, a one-way ANOVA showed that differences in student perceptions of potential racial discrimination between majority race students (n=8, M= 1.42, SD= .59) and minority race students (n= 28, M= 2.45, SD= .87) were statistically significant, $F (1, 34) = 9.92$, p= .05.

Student responses to two measures I further explored—stereotype threat and everyday discrimination—correlated with race, such that the student responses differed with their self-reported racial identity.

Bias Measure Results. Student responses to both bias measures I explored (stereotype threat and everyday discrimination) correlated with race, such that the student responses were differed with their self-reported racial identity.

Stereotype Threat. This section of the questionnaire asked participants to express the extent to which they agreed with, disagreed with, or remained neutral about 7 statements addressing experiences of stereotype threat (e.g. I worry that if I perform poorly on a test, the instructor will attribute my poor performance to my race). The scale was scored on a 7-point Likert scale such that 1= "Strongly Disagree and 7= "Strongly Agree." For minority race students (n=37), stereotype threat positively correlated with self-esteem, $r(37) = 0.350$, $p< .05$. As higher scores on the self-esteem measure indicated lower levels of self-esteem, this finding indicates that student self-esteem decreases as student experiences of stereotype threat increase.

Everyday Discrimination. This section of the questionnaire asked participants to indicate how often they experienced various acts of discrimination (e.g. "you are treated with less respect than other people are." The scale was scored such that 1= "almost every day," 2= "at least once a week," 3= "a few times a month," 4= "a few times a month," 5= "less than once a year," and 6= "never." For majority race students (n= 11), everyday discrimination negatively correlated with stereotype threat, $r(11) = -.744$, $p<.05$. As higher scores on the everyday discrimination measure indicate less discrimination, this finding indicates that stereotype threat decreases, so do majority student reports of everyday discrimination. Overall, these findings indicate that race was a factor that influenced student self-reported perceptions both of their own identities and experiences of bias.

Interview Results

Additionally, in order to explore African American William and Mary student experiences with institutional racism, stereotype threat, and impostor syndrome, I conducted structured, one-on-one interviews with closed and open-ended questions. The information presented in the interviews were used to piece together a puzzle that could answer the questions this study sought to answer, which are as follows:

- Does the race of African American students affect the way they are treated by educators that they interact with (e.g. educators with which the students have classes, conduct research, or receive academic advising) and peers in academic settings? If so, does this treatment affect their perceptions of their race and/or academic performance, as well as their actual performance?

- To what extent does exposure to institutionally racist policies, procedures, or structures (e.g. admissions criteria, sanctioning practices and disparities, Eurocentric curricula, etc.) at the College of William and Mary contribute to the development or maintenance of feelings pertaining to stereotype threat and impostor syndrome?

- In what ways does the college's historical relationship, or past interactions, with African Americans continue to influence the college's current relationship with its African American students?

- How does affiliation with the college and/or being at the college influence the socialization and social networks of African American students?

Thus, I pulled directly from the interviews and coded for pertinent information in order to find the parts that addressed the research questions guiding this study. First I coded for "Racial Perceptions." This theme included such topics as age of racial cognizance for each participant as

well as pre-collegiate and outside influences on participant perceptions of race. I then looked at

"Institutional Influences" and this heading included such topics as the degree to which William

and Mary courses and professors address issues of diversity and inclusion as well as student

experiences of institutional racism. Finally, I examined "Psychosocial Effects," which included

items dealing with participant experiences with (or witnessed accounts of) stereotype threat and

impostor syndrome.

    Racial Perceptions. *Racial Cognizance.* This theme included such topics as the age each

participant became cognizant of their race as well as outside and pre-collegiate influences on

student racial perceptions. About 11 of the participants reported becoming cognizant of race

between ages 5-8, and could recall instances or even specific reasons for why race became

pertinent to them at such a young age. One such example of one an indicator of race came from

River Song, who mentioned that she became cognizant of race around age 6. River recalled a

story where she was called the N-word by another young girl about her age who had never met a

Black person in person. The remainder of the participants recalled becoming cognizant of race

between ages 11-14. It is important to note here that many of the participants' experiences with

emerging racial cognizance were less complex, however, and were shaped more generally by

their experiences, values, and how they were raised (Crawley, personal communication, 2015).

      Discussions of racial cognizance extended to include student perceptions of the race more

generally, and characteristics of Whiteness and Blackness. For example, Ashley Smith recalled

becoming cognizant of race in preschool because she was one of very few Black children in her

class, though she did not recall any definitive moment that shaped his perceptions of race. When

discussing factors that contributed to the development of her racial perceptions, Ashley cited the

fact that she has often been asked if she was an athlete because she is a relatively tall Black

woman as well as the fact that she has often noticed that Black people are typically either villains or comedic relief in movies as just a few of the factors shaped her ideas about race. Additionally, Ashley and several other participants explored the concepts of Whiteness and Blackness after articulating how their racial cognizance and perceptions been formed. Consider the following sentiment from Ashley:

> "if you're talking about a global perspective, Blackness is simply a group of people originating from, you know, the African continent, maybe. And the same thing for Whiteness, they're European/Middle Eastern, depending on what you want to consider White and Black. From an American perspective, umm it definitely has a classist component to it. So it's not just your appearance, it's how you're allowed to be treated in our society institutionally, socially, economically, even in the media. The list goes on and on, it affects everything" (Smith, personal communication, 2015).

This sentiment, along with Alice Grey's assertion that Blackness is something that is ascribed to phenotypically Black individuals while Whiteness is more of an identity or privilege that Euro-Americans have to self-identify with was common among about 8 of the participants. These examples reflect many of the socio-cultural and political ideas many African American students enter the college already considering and confronting on a daily basis—ideas that can easily become more frequent and intense as these students find themselves on a predominantly White campus.

Pre-collegiate/Outside Influences. In addition to the life experiences and social interactions many participants cited as factors that contributed to the development and maintenance of their racial cognizance and perceptions, parental perceptions and viewpoints played an immense role in shaping student perceptions of race in today's society. Several of the

participants reported having parents and fictive kin whose viewpoints on and experiences with race laid the foundation for their own perspectives on race. For example, Paul Matthews mentioned that his perceptions of race had been shaped by his juxtaposed experience of going to predominantly White schools while living in predominantly Black neighborhoods and attending a predominantly Black church that worked to instill a strong sense of racial pride and appreciation within him. Similarly, Monica Smith asserted that her parents' adamant pro-Black attitudes and distrust of Whiteness strongly influenced her beliefs about the concepts of and relationships between Blackness and Whiteness.

These parental influences and perceptions were reported to mold the perspectives of about 40% of the participants, and depicted the ways in which societal perceptions of race are not only influential in a student's life and reality outside of the family they originate in, but can also be important to a student's familial and ethnic identity as well as passed on from generation to generation.

Additionally, however, the racial make-up of most of the schools the participants attended also impacted and shaped their perceptions as well. Alice Grey cited racial tensions at her high school as factors that contributed to her perceptions of Blackness as a denigrated identity that is ascribed to African-descended peoples and Whiteness as a monolithic identity that Euro-Americans are able to hide behind. Moreover, Marcellus Smith recalled that the racial make-up of his middle school alone led him to become cognizant of race around age 11, as his middle school was a predominantly White institution attended mainly by upper class students whose social and ecological realities differed greatly from his own. Thus according to student reports, these pre-collegiate familial and communal influences on Black American students' race perceptions and ideology have implications for the ways in these students interact with people

both of the same race and of different races, and also shape the way Black American students

view themselves and the world around them.

Institutional Influences. *Major/Course Inclusivity.* This theme explored the extent to

which Black American students at William and Mary feel that their courses, majors, and faculty

body are diverse and/or inclusive. Ten reported participants reported never having professors of

color or African American professors. Similarly, participants who reported never being taught by

professors of color also tended to report that they had never taken courses that explored topics

outside of the dominant (White/Eurocentric) cultural framework or worldview, as 7 participants

reported never being taught by professors of color OR taking courses that explored or used other

cultural frameworks. For some students, the disconnect between the way the institution markets

diversity and the way the institution educates students about issues of diversity is jarring.

For example, Toussaint X mentioned that she has had the opportunity to take courses

with several professors of color in her primary major, but that even with these opportunities she

remains aware of the fact that, institutionally, there is a failure to explicitly deal with race.

The junior asserted that "we don't call it what it is"— 'it' being prejudice, discrimination, and

systemic marginalization of people of color and individuals from underrepresented backgrounds.

For Toussaint, the lack of space and opportunities to have open and honest conversations about

systems of oppression and marginalization in our society indicate an inability to adequately

support students from underrepresented backgrounds.

This sentiment was echoed by Frank Crawley, who maintained that the Eurocentric

viewpoint of most of the courses offered at William and Mary was symptomatic of larger

problems with diversity and inclusion in the American education system. Frank ended his point

here by stating that though he is aware of cultural and racial issues on campus, he feels that he

has had more opportunities to fully explore race and what it means to be Black on this campus than he has had anywhere else. River Song, while echoing the sentiments of both Toussaint and Frank, went onto say that the isolation she feels as a result of the separation of African American history as additive or optional here at William and Mary has led her to join more predominantly Black groups on campus. In doing so, River reported that she strives to feel a sense of camaraderie that she feels she would not otherwise be able to access on campus as a Black American student.

Student Experiences of Institutional Racism. This theme explored Black American student experiences and perceptions of institutional racism at William and Mary. Nine of participants reported not either never taking a class that taught by an educator of color or not having any professors of color within their major. Eleven of the participants, however, asserted that the inability to take classes taught by, be mentored by, conduct research with, seek advice from, or even see professors that looked like them disheartened them, and contributed to the feeling that they either shouldn't be here or are not fully supported in their chosen fields. It is important to note here that 6 of the students who reported never having faculty of color or curriculum that explored issues outside of the dominant (White or Eurocentric) culture within their major were STEM students. Participant Paul Matthews asserted that this lack of diversity within the faculty body is detrimental to students of color, as students "see themselves in their professors" (Matthews, personal communication, 2015), and thus need to be able to see and relate to people who are in positions and doing work that they hope to one day occupy and do.

While a lack of diversity within the faculty body was cited as the main Black American student experience of institutional racism at William and Mary, several students also cited the weighing of standardized test scores in admissions, passive responses to individual acts of racism

from both professors and administrators, and lack of financial support for multicultural student

organizations from student-led, alumni-based, and administrative funding sources as others

instances of institutional racism at William and Mary.

  Negative Affectivity. *Stereotype Threat.* This theme explored Black American student

experiences and perceptions of both stereotype threat and impostor syndrome at William and

Mary. Participants responded to questions regarding whether they had experienced stereotype

threat and/or impostor syndrome during their time here at the college as well as reasons why they

believed they did or did not experience negative affect in those two specific contexts. Thirteen

participants asserted that they had experienced stereotype threat at William and Mary, and went

on to discuss specific experiences as well as factors that they believe contribute to those

experiences.

  Participant Janet Williams asserted that she had experienced stereotype threat, and cited

microaggressions from other students as one of the main factors that contributed to her concern

about reinforcing stereotypes of the Black community. Janet maintained that it was "just the little

things…questions about hair and…just questions, just unfamiliarity" that she felt was being

expressed towards her by White students combine to make her wary of misrepresenting Black

people or Blackness. Additionally, Monica Smith stated that she has experienced stereotype

threat at William and Mary, and provided the example of being one of two Black students in her

freshman seminar on race and socioeconomics. Monica stated that her and the other Black

student were always called on to speak, and that they felt commodified by both their professor

and their peers because they were being singled out so often. Monica always asserted that the

White students in the course would discount their perspectives due to the fact that they were

Black, and essentially argue that she and the other Black student were making the points they

were making simply "because [they] we Black." Other students also cited lack of student and faculty diversity, solo status or being one of very few Black students in their classes, and unsupportive educators or organizational funding sources as factors that contributed to their experiences of stereotype threat.

In contrast, however 4 students maintained that they did not experience stereotype threat during their time at the college. These students stressed the importance of their support systems (of peers, families, and educators) as well as high confidence levels and their own continued academic prosperity as factors that may help to prevent experiences of stereotype threat.

Impostor Syndrome. Eight students felt that they had experienced impostor syndrome during their time at William and Mary, and most cited a lack of faculty diversity, both William and Mary's current and historical racial makeup, and their experiences of stereotype threat factors that contribute to their experiences of impostor syndrome

Participant River Song, for example, shared that frequently experienced negative thoughts and feelings similar to those characteristic of impostor syndrome. She went on to explain that she mainly experiences those negative thoughts and feelings when she does not perform as well as she'd like to on some assignment, and that her failure to do so results in the perception that she only got into William and Mary because of Affirmative Action. Similarly, Janet Williams asserted that feelings of intellectual fraudulence can particularly easy to fall into when she feels unsupported in and/or unable to master material in specific courses, but went on to say that she just has to remind herself that "I am here because of the work I do, not because I'm a token."

Toussaint Xavier, however, echoed many of the sentiments provided by the remaining 9 participants who asserted that they had not experienced impostor syndrome in citing her

confidence and positive outlook as factors that prevented her from experiencing feelings of intellectual fraudulence. For Toussaint, "knowing that I was good, was getting better because I winning helped to boost my confidence." Several other students who did not report experiencing impostor syndrome also asserted that they knew from their pre-collegiate experiences that they were capable of succeeding here, and that knowledge and confidence aided their adjustment William and Mary's academic rigor and culture. The difference between the groups seemed to lie in their pre-collegiate experiences, such that students who reported not experiencing impostor syndrome at William and Mary recalled having more parental and academic supports during their K-12 experiences, while students who did report experiencing impostor syndrome tended not to report or discuss the effectiveness of their K-12 support systems.

Discussion

Overall, the hypotheses of this study received mixed support—some were supported while others were not. First, this study partially supported the hypothesis that participants would report their appearance (race/skin complexion, hair style or texture, style of dress, etc.) as being a factor that affected the way they were treated by educators both in and outside the classroom (i.e. in office hours, academic advising, at extracurricular events, etc.). Specifically, I predicted that the participants would report feeling that their race negatively shaped the way their professors perceived them and their academic abilities, and 9 participants (53%) maintained that they had altered their hair or style of dress on various occasions in order to avoid negatively representing themselves or their race. Here students spoke about such as experiences as not getting specific hairstyles or hair weaves and/or refraining from wearing sweatpants or athletic gear to class in order to avoid being perceived as either ghetto or lazy. Analysis of the survey data also supported this hypothesis, as there was a statistically significant difference between minority

race and majority race participants self-report measures such that minority race students reported experiencing more stereotype threat, race concern, and every day discrimination.

Ten participants (59%), however, reported feeling that their race and appearance affected the way they were treated by their peers much more often. The idea that minority students are stereotyped and singled out on the basis of race has been explored before (Park, Martinez, Cobb, Park, and Wong, 2015), and is important to note here as it indicates a need for campus-wide cultural competency training and education for educators as well as students given the fact that students are more likely to spend greater amounts of with their peers then with their professors.

Additionally, the hypothesis regarding the role exposure to institutional racism (e.g. lack of people of color in positions of power, Eurocentric curricula, etc.) played in the development or maintenance of Black American student experiences of stereotype threat and impostor syndrome also received support. It was hypothesized that institutionally racist policies and outcomes would contribute greatly to the Black American students of stereotype threat and impostor syndrome based on research by Perry, Steele, & Hillard (2003) that explored educator and institutional notions of Black inferiority and the ways in which racism is brought into the classroom as factors that contribute Black American student experiences of stereotype threat. By and large, participants asserted that their experiences of stereotype threat and impostor syndrome seemed to stem from the lack of diversity on campus, particularly in the faculty body and in curriculum. Several participants also cited a general sense of unfamiliarity with their culture as a factor that contributes to their experiences of stereotype threat and impostor syndrome—to these participants, their professors and fellow peers seem poorly educated on their sociocultural history and realities, and this disconnect lead them to question whether they were actually wanted or welcome at William and Mary.

Under this line of questioning, 8 participants (47%) reported not either never taking a class that taught by an educator of color or not having any professors of color within their major. Thirteen of participants (76%), however, asserted that the inability to take classes taught by, be mentored by, conduct research with, seek advice from, or even see professors that looked like them disheartened them, and contributed to the feeling that they either shouldn't be here or are not fully supported in their chosen fields. It is important to note here that many of the students who reported never having faculty of color or curriculum that explored issues outside of the dominant (White or Eurocentric) culture were STEM students. This fact is important to keep in mind as it speaks more largely to a lack of faculty of color in the sciences, and the nation-wide failure of our education system to successfully support minority students and faculty in STEM fields. While a lack of professors of color was cited as the main Black American student experience of institutional racism at William and Mary, several students also cited the weighing of standardized test scores, passive responses to individual acts of racism, and lack of organizational support for multicultural student organizations as others instances of institutional racism at William and Mary. All of these experiences have been empirically deemed acts of institutional racism (Constantine, 2006; Sue, 2006).

The hypothesis regarding the notion that participants would report being negatively affected socially and emotionally by knowledge of William and Mary's historical relationship with African Americans (from slavery, the Civil War, and Jim Crow segregation through the present) received partial support from 7 of the participants (41%). These students cited such as examples as struggling to reconcile the fact that the college began admitting Black American students only about 50 years ago or feeling both hypervisible and invisible because they are

Black American students who are presumably descendant of enslaved persons who could have built and maintained the college, but for whom there are no real memorials or acknowledgement.

Many students also mentioned that the racial makeup of the custodial staff, which is predominantly Black, reminds them of William and Mary's slave-owning past. These students maintained that the overrepresentation of Black Americans within the Facilities Management department and underrepresentation in the student, faculty, and administrative bodies proliferate the notion that Black Americans should only occupy labor-based positions in society, and can be very disheartening to them both emotionally, academically, and socially. Here the students discussed the fact that, in many ways, William and Mary still looks and feels like a plantation.

Eleven of the participants (65%), however, felt that their main problem with the college's racial history came not from knowledge of it, but from the campuses inability or unwillingness to discuss or acknowledge its racial history. Specifically, these students seemed to struggle with the college's inability to name and address its history of and continued issues with anti-Black racism. For these students, the selectivity of the narratives of figures from William and Mary's past that are promoted and shared speaks to a larger erasure of the free and enslaved Black Americans who built, tended, maintained, and advanced the college. As stated by participant Toussaint Xavier, for many Black American students here at William and Mary it feels as if "you're only gonna get one part of the story. Our history is selective… or our history is optional. And other people's history is requisite (Xavier, personal communication, 2016)."

Finally, the hypothesis regarding the role affiliation with or enrollment at William and Mary played in shaping participant socialization patterns received partial support as well. It was hypothesized that participants who reported experiences of stereotype threat or impostor syndrome would be more likely to socialize with peers at William and Mary who were of their

own race, in an attempt to cope with the stress and negative affectivity associated with feeling

commodified and/or unwelcome at the college. I also predicted that students would associate

more with peers of them same race at William and Mary in to avoid the potential stress of

interacting with peers who would not share or understand their experience (i.e. their peers

outside of the college or peers from different ethnic backgrounds.

All 17 of the participants reported that they socialize more with their peers William and

Mary in general, while 7 of the participants (41%) reported socializing more with peers of the

same race. Instead of citing an emphasis on shared experiences and understanding as factors,

however, 13 of the participants (76%) cited proximity, shared goals, and pre-collegiate

influences as the main factors that influence their socialization patterns. More specifically, 11

participants (64%) reported pre-collegiate socialization patterns as the main factor that shapes

their current socialization patterns, such that many students who attended predominantly White

schools in K-12 either continued to socialize more with White students or to seek out students of

color to socialize with in order to have more diverse friend groups. Similar alterations in

socialization patterns based on pre-collegiate socialization patterns were cited from students who

came from predominantly Black and more diverse schools in K-12 as well.

There were several study limitations that are worth mentioning here. First and foremost,

the study could have been more interactive and ethnographic. This study was a case study

structured to provide specific insights into the experiences of Black students at William and

Mary, however, and thus it is imperative to note that these findings are powerful as they speak

give voice and salience to the viewpoints of African American constituents of the college. Those

student perspectives could have been made more central, however, through the use of

community-based participatory action research methods where the students involved in the study

could have been involved in every step of the project, from its conception to its implementation and completion. Second, the study was not a controlled experiment and relied heavily on self-reported accounts of participant experiences with the factors it explored. Thus the study cannot definitively point to any causal relationships between its factors and further is research is needed before any of the findings can be generalized or applied to the majority of the Black student population as whole. Furthermore, interviewer bias and/or the quality of the interview questions could have influenced the student responses and perceptions of their experiences.

There are several avenues that this project could take in regards to future research. First and foremost, this research could further be explored by collecting a larger, more diverse data sample. Given that William & Mary attracts students of a specific achievement and performance level, the sample for this study was not completely representative of all African American students. Thus, further research could be conducted with African American students of varying backgrounds across different schools (preferably with middle to high school students) in order to determine the extent to which institutional racism affects Black American students psychosocially on a more generalizable scale. Additionally, another possible avenue for future research on this topic involves evaluating student experiences of institutional racism, stereotype threat, and impostor syndrome affect Black American students at predominantly Black schools and universities or even schools with no racial/ethnic majority. Given that there is a growing body of literature that discusses the long-lasting effects of desegregation on the American education system, more research needs to be conducted to explore the ways in which racism is brought into schools and classrooms, as well as the ways in which exposure to institutional racism affects the physical, mental, and emotional health of Black American students (Horsford, 2011; Patcher, Bernstein, Szalacha, and Coll, 2010).

Similarly, exploring institutional racism, perceived racism, racial tensions, and student activism aimed at eradicating these issues on predominantly White college campuses fosters a better understanding of the ways in which exposure to institutional racism shapes and influences the social realities, extracurricular involvement, and psychosocial and physiological health of Black American students in higher education. This particular line of research has implications for methods by which higher education institutions can support student activists even as they engage in various protests against school policies such as hunger strikes and sit-ins (Dixon, 2010). Finally, health, education, and school psychologists should explore intervention and prevention strategies as well as educator education models that could be used to reduce institutional racism and racial tensions in educational settings multicultural classrooms, such as bystander intervention education programs, behavioral coordination, social and emotional learning curriculum models and the inclusion of diverse books (Evans, 1992; Wells-Wilbon, Jones, and Rich, 2016; Ziersch et al., 2011).

I plan to study many of the afore-mentioned future directions for this research in my academic future as a scholar-activist, as I will begin graduate studies in Health Psychology at Virginia Commonwealth University during the Fall 2016 semester. Through this program, I plan to study the development of stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination in our society and the ways in which these aspects influence health behaviors and outcomes. My specific research interests, however, lie specifically in evaluating what assumptions and stereotypes our schools already operate on, and how those assumptions lead to prejudices against Black and other minority students (Priest, Perry, Ferdinand, Paradies, and Kelaher, 2014). Furthermore, I plan to study how those assumptions have bio-psycho-social impacts in the lives of student from marginalized backgrounds as well as how, sociologically, these stereotypes and prejudices affect

the trajectories of student lives and careers (Astell-Burt, Maynard, Lenguerrand, and Harding, 2012).

Additionally, I plan to explore what supports educational institutions have in place for students from marginalized backgrounds, including but not limited to counseling programs and strategies for minority students and familial/communal support systems. I am specifically interested in working with elementary and middle school-aged students, as I believe students in these age groups are particularly susceptible to health concerns that may be influenced by issues of race and culture, but may not have the vocabulary or knowledge to speak out about their experiences (Astell-Burt, Maynard, Lenguerrand, and Harding, 2012; Seaton and Douglass, 2014).

Finally, in order to present and share my research and findings, I have identified several conferences and journals to which I would like to contribute. Conferences that I look to present at include those of the Association of Black Psychologists, the American Educational Research Association, the Society for Personality and Social Psychology, and the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues. Similarly, some journals I will seek to present in include the American Education Research Journal, the Journal of Current Issues in Education, the Journal of Black Psychology, and the Journal of Learning, Culture, and Social Interaction. As my research continues to progress and evolve, I will consider other conferences and journals as well.

Conclusions

Though I do not (yet) have a Ph.D. or M.S., I am a social and health science research who is intensely dedicated to improving the American education system, and ensuring that all students are equally prepared for college and career. I am working diligently with Professors Anne Charity Hudley, Cheryl Dickter, and Hermine Pinson at the College of William and Mary

to ensure that I can incorporate the insights and expertise of professionals in the education field. I am, in short, what one would call an interested party. One that, as a tutor, an aunt, and a student pursuing a career in Health Psychology, has a stake in the educational system, and has done her homework. I do not in any way consider myself an expert on the psychosocial effects of institutional racism, but I must say that I have done an extensive amount of research on the topic, and that many of the sentiments I came across in my research are noteworthy for teachers in multicultural classrooms. Below are some of the strategies aimed at improving the experiences of African American students.

Strategies and Recommendations. *Educator Education and Curricular Inclusivity.* This is perhaps, in my mind, the most important recommendation. I say this because many issues that my participants reported centered around having experiences where their professors either said culturally insensitive or derogatory things to them, or failed to intervene/contributed to incidences where other students expressed culturally insensitive and derogatory sentiments towards Black Americans. Through my experiences conducting interviews for this and previous research projects as well as in my capacity as a student activist and Task Force member, many students, faculty, and administrators feel that there is a large majority of faculty, administrators, and students on this campus who are ill-equipped to or uncomfortable outwardly addressing issues of race and prejudice.

Thus I believe these two facets of institutional change—educator education and curricular inclusivity—are intimately linked, as professors and students alike will become more comfortable discussing and addressing issues regarding diversity, inclusion, race, and campus racial climate if they have collegiate cultural space to do so. Here I advocate for William and Mary's Counseling Center, Center for Student Diversity, Office of First Year Experience,

Residence Life and School of Education to begin comprehensive training programs for both educators and students, such that both groups are able to participate in training to be more comfortable exploring, discussing, and dealing with people from different racial and other minority backgrounds. I emphasize these particular programs as they are strategically placed to engage in intervention and prevention programs with students, given their organizational missions centered on student health and wellness, diversity and inclusion, adaptation to college life, and self-determination—all of which are of immense importance to fostering socially just mental health practices and programs (Smith, Chambers, & Bratini, 2009). These organizations cannot not do this work alone or without proper funding and resources, however, so I would first advocate that William and Mary hire more people to staff these centers—particularly the Counseling Center and Center for Student Diversity—and provide them with the training, materials, and budget necessary to consistently conduct these training sessions with educators and students.

After those measures are in place, I would argue that the institution should then work towards again revamping the curriculum, such that every student has to take a course that acclimates them to William and Mary's racial history along with another course that speaks to issues that underrepresented groups face in society more largely. This particular recommendation stems from ongoing conversations with Task Force members, the Task Force on Race and Race Relations Campus Climate Subcommittee report, and professors regarding the need for academic space for students to be able to unpack and explore matters of prejudice and marginalization (Glover, 2016). Additionally, Black American students themselves are have demanded that there be space within the curriculum for them to explore matters of race and marginalization, both in forums with the Task Force on Race and Race Relations and at the State of the Black Union

discussion event that I organized April 2016 (Glover, 2016; Leeward, personal communication

2016). Finally, here I would argue that William and Mary should also enact policies that require

courses across departments and fields to explore intersectionality and the realities of people from

underrepresented groups no matter the subject of the course. Race, gender, age, sexuality, body

configuration, and many more factors affect a multitude issues that span various majors and

programs, such as the way legal system operates, the way the body reacts to certain chemicals,

and the way authors describe various scenes and characters.

In Educating Language-Minority Children (1990), Barbara Bowman lists six strategies

for teachers to help ensure the prosperity of multi-cultural classrooms. Given that "students who

attend classes that are geared only to the majority culture…are likely to feel isolated and

inferior," it is prudent to implement multicultural teaching strategies that are aimed at ensuring

all students have equal opportunities to grow and know that they are accepted as they are.

Furthermore, the notion that learning initiated by people "who are affectionate, interested, and

responsive had greater 'sticking power' than learning mediated by an adult who is perceived as

impersonal and distant" serves to inspire educators to be more outgoing and engaged within their

classrooms as they work to move from passive habits to more student-friendly, culturally diverse

interactions and methods of teaching (Bowman, 1990, p. 120).

Additionally, ensuring that educators across all fields and disciplines are teaching courses

that explore cultural competencies outside of the dominant culture is imperative. Black American

students—as well as students from other underrepresented backgrounds—need to see curriculum

and course material that explores their histories and realities as central to the learning process as

opposed to extracurricular (Thompson, 2004). These students need to be able to see themselves

and issues that face their communities discussed in classrooms so that they may feel that their

lives and cultures are valuable and central not only in academia, but also in society more generally. Thus here I advocate for William and Mary's Board of Visitors to vote on curriculum reform that centralizes and normalizes the experiences of underrepresented students, and for educators then at the institution to heed the call and reframe the ways and methods by which they instruct their courses.

It is important to note here that this particular recommendation is aimed at ensuring that all parties at the institution are culturally competent and able to promote and foster a more inclusive community, as well as work to mitigate the psychosocial effects of institutional racism. Ziersch et al. (2011) notes that training in bystander intervention as an intervention and prevention strategy to combat the psychosocial effects—as well as the occurrence—of prejudice and discrimination, as it may provide students and educators alike with language, tools, and coping strategies to have difficult yet honest and productive conversations about race and racism.

Student-faculty-administrator Collaboration. Here I advocate for student-led advocacy initiatives and groups (such as a Black Caucus) that can connect with faculty/administrator-based groups (such as the Diversity Committee or the Task Force on Race and Relations), so that there can be a continuous work towards change and inclusion on campus. This is an important strategy as students need to know that there are administrators and faculty who value them, are on their side and are working for change (Bowman, 1990; Thompson, 2004). Collaboration between educators and students on issues of diversity and inclusion are also important, however, because students—particularly African American students, given our country's history with anti-Black racism—need to learn strategies and coping mechanisms to address various issues of stereotyping, prejudice, discrimination, and racism in all of its forms in order to deal with the many obstacles and race-related issues they may face as Black Americans. (Jenkins, 2013; Perry

et al., 2003). Finally, based on my own personal experience and that of many of my interviewees, student activism can be very beneficial to students when it is balance with self-care. Student activism can serve as a means by which students may continue to learn and process social and emotional skills and coping mechanisms, while also striving to improve conditions for themselves and the students that will follow them—to make themselves and other students free.

   Empower Underrepresented Students. Finally, I think it is important to note that the end goal in utilizing these strategies should be for the faculty, staff, and curriculum to empower students from underrepresented backgrounds. Research has shown that aiding students in the construction of "a moral and social identity where strength of character and personal control are emphasized" could help to decrease some of the negative effects of prejudice and racism such as stereotype threat and imposter syndrome (Ziersch et al., 2011).

   Ziersch et al. (2011) also discussed the importance of encouraging students not to allow racism to negatively impact them whenever possible by practicing acts "of defiance and expression of agency in the face of deep-rooted racism" (p.). this strategy does not simply refer to engaging in protests or becoming student activists, but rather entreats students to practice self-affirmation (through art, music, dance, poetry, academia, etc.) and to seek out community and positive representations of people who look like them in order to combat anti-Black racism in its various form and effects.

   That being said, I hope the work I have done through this research frames me as someone who understands what it is like to struggle with institutional racism, stereotype threat, and impostor syndrome, but also as someone who hopes to be able to practice servant leadership and allow both the students I have worked with and the students I will work with in my future career as a healthy psychologist to see me as "credible and trustworthy" (Cress, Collier, and Reitenauer,

2013, 9. 125). In short, by conducting this research and evaluating literature and data on my topic, I sought to engage in practices, activities, and discussions that would allow me to develop more open and honest relationships with myself, my peers, my professors, and the administration of the college more broadly. This work has served as an act of liberation for me, and I hope that it serves as the foundation of someone else's liberation in the future.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Interview Summaries

Honors Interview Summaries

Frank Crawley

This interview was conducted with a second-year African American male. Frank stated that race has shaped his perception of the world by making him more aware of his skin color as well as that of others. He also stated that race has come to dictate his perceptions of what

behaviors are and are not acceptable, particularly for him as a Black male in American society. He went on to say that he could not remember any specific events or incidents that caused him to be cognizant of race, but that he became cognizant of race at a very young age. Frank ended by saying that being Black is something that he is always cognizant of, and that Blackness tends to cause Black people to be more sensitive to issues of prejudice and injustice.

When asked how he conceptualized Blackness and Whiteness, Frank asserted that he tends to equate race with ethnicity. He then went on to say that Blackness is multi-faceted and that he perceives race as something that is experienced differently by many people. Thus he tends to equate race with ethnicity and heritage. Frank stated that his perceptions of race were shaped by his experiences, values, and how he was raised. Frank also mentioned that taking courses about the Black experience as well as Black history has influenced his racial perceptions in many positive ways.

Frank shared that he has spent a lot of time with a professor in the history department who was able to share with him a good deal of information regarding the College's historical relationship with African Americans. Because of this, Frank felt that he knew more than the average William & Mary student would know about the College's racial history. When asked whether any of his professors have ever discussed the College's historical relationships with African-Americans, Frank stated that he could not recall any of his professors outside of the Africana Studies department doing so. Additionally, Frank asserted that knowing that African Americans were not able to attend William and Mary in the past lent a certain seriousness to his perception of his education, and fostered a sense of gratitude and determination him.

When asked whether or not he had witnessed or experience institutional racism at the College, Frank asserted that his experience here may have been a slightly unique one in the sense

that he has been able to make a multitude of connections with an immense amount of faculty, staff, and students here on campus regardless of issues surrounding race. He went on to say that he has noticed that there is a lack of people of color in higher level positions as well as a lack of minority faculty, though he has been able to form meaningful connections with a good number of the minority faculty members that are here. Frank also stated that he feels that many of the courses here do focus on a more Eurocentric viewpoint, but that the cultural bias in the College of William and Mary's curriculum occurs at other colleges and universities, as it is symptomatic of a larger problem in the American education system. Frank ended his point here by stating that though he is aware of cultural and racial issues on campus, he feels that he has had more opportunities to fully explore race and what it means to Black on this campus than he has had anywhere else.

Frank shared that he has experienced stereotype threat during his time at the College. He stated that he works to portray positive examples of Blackness, and to avoid any actions that would lead to negative perceptions or confirming stereotypes about him or other Black people. Frank did not feel, however, that his experiences of stereotype threat were influenced by any specific policies and procedures of the College, but rather characteristic of most minority students who attend predominantly White institutions. Frank also stated that he did not think that his experiences of stereotype threat were influenced by the school's racial history. He mentioned that he felt that if he had not gone to a school with a slave history he would still experience stereotype threat, as he believes that he occupies a space in society as a Black male that constantly requires him to defy negative stereotypes of his social group.

Similarly, Frank shared that he has experienced impostor syndrome during his time at the College. He mentioned that he sometimes finds himself worrying about being adequate or

capable enough to attend this college, though he felt that this was a feeling that most underrepresented students have on campus.

Moreover, when asked to describe his academic career, Frank mentioned that he had attended all predominantly White private schools before enrolling at the college, and that he felt that these institutions had prepared him socially and academically for higher education. Frank then went on to say that he had had fairly close relationships with most of educators from both k-12 and college, though he has begun to gravitate towards mentors and professors of color due to the fact that he did not see many teachers who looked like in his k-12 experience.

Finally, Frank asserted that he socializes with both friends of the same race and of different races just as frequently. He also mentioned that he tends to socialize more with his peers here at the College due to proximity and the fact that several of his friends from high school now attend the College as well.

Gary Johnson

This interview was conducted with a third-year African American male. Gary asserted that race shaped his perception of the world in the sense that "if I'm going to the store I might get weird looks because of my race." He went on to say that his race made him more alert and aware of his surroundings. Furthermore, Gary stated that he became cognizant of race during his freshman year of high school, around age 14, due to the fact that he went to a predominantly White high school, and was one of very few African-American students. He also recalled a moment in high school where he and several other Black male students at the school tried to organize a basketball team, but the principal would not allow it and gave the explanation that "I can't get us a basketball team because I always have to tell you guys to pull up your pants."

When asked how he defined Blackness and Whiteness, Gary asserted that there should not be a perceivable difference between the two, or at least that there would not be one if we lived in a perfect world. Gary's rationale for the afore-mentioned statement was borne of his perception of race as a socially-constructed concept that only serves as a source of division in our society. Gary went onto to say that when race is thought about today, people tend to think of social differences that have been created and maintained by institutional and structural forms of racism. Gary also mentioned that he has gotten more in-touch with his race during his time at the College due to the lack of African-Americans on campus, as well as the campuses current racial climate.

In terms of his knowledge about the College's racial history, Gary stated that he was aware that the institution was built and maintained for a number of years by slave labor, but that he was not otherwise aware of any specifics. Gary also mentioned that knowledge of the College's racial history never really affected his experiences on campus. He went on to share that none of his professors have ever discussed the College's racial history.

When asked whether he had ever experienced institutional racism at the College, Gary asserted that he felt he had, through such avenues as being required to take the SAT to be admitted, through the topics and prerequisites for certain introductory level courses, and also through the lack of pre-med and pre-health faculty advisors of color. Gary went onto say that these experiences have definitely affected his academic performance in the sense that they have led him to feel discouraged and as if his performance here is not enough or not comparable to that of his peers. Gary also shared that he has never had any African-American professors, and that none of the courses he has taken within his major have had any sort of focus or discussion about cultures or cultural values outside of dominant (Eurocentric) culture.

Gary also spoke about his experiences of stereotype threat, and mentioned that he feels it most commonly in class as pressure to perform well so that his performance will not reflect poorly on his African American peers. Gary mentioned that the College's historical relationship with African-Americans sometimes contributes to his experiences of stereotype threat, due to the fact that it sometimes acts as an added pressure to perform well in order to combat the notion that he is unworthy of being on this campus given his ancestry. Similarly, Gary mentioned that he has definitely experienced impostor syndrome during his time here at the College, and that these experiences stem from being one of very few African-American students in his courses, as well as biased curricula that tend not to include or evaluate perceptive and realities of underrepresented groups. Gary also argued that many of the STEM courses on campuses are designed to be taught to a majority-White audience, and thus many students of color may miss important information and material due to cultural differences

When asked to describe his educational career, Gary stated that all of the schools he has attended have been public city schools, though his elementary and high schools were both magnet schools. Gary also went on to say that his high school was about 60% White, while the remaining 40% were students of color, and that he felt his high school prepared him for William & Mary.

Additionally, Gary went on to say that he socializes with friends of the same race and of different races every day, and that he tends to socialize more with friends at the College as opposed to friends off campus. Gary felt that his socialization patterns were shaped mostly by proximity, and that he tends to spend more time with the people who live closest to him. Finally, Gary asserted that exposure to institutionally racist policies and procedures at the College have

shaped his interactions with his White peers and professors, due to the fact that he is always wary of confirming negative stereotypes about Black males.

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<u>River Song</u>

This interview was done with a fourth-year African-American female. This participant felt that her perceptions of race and knowledge of race relations in general in her life has affected the way she views social situations. River also stated that she began cognizant of race around age 6, when she was given a set of dolls that were predominantly White and a White child her age in her neighborhood called her the N-word. When asked how she perceives Blackness and Whiteness, River stated that she of them in very general terms—as neutral even, as the constructs did not take on any specific social meaning for her. Furthermore, when asked if attending or being affiliated with the College has affected her perceptions of race, River mentioned that she felt her perceptions of race had become a little more extreme or more polarized, because "race relations on campus aren't as great as they seem on the surface…especially given our racial and socio-political climate" (Song, R., personal communication, 2015).

River was then asked about her knowledge of the College's historical relationship with African Americans. River asserted that she felt that she did not know as much as she should, but that she knew enough to know that it was a wholly positive one. She then went to state that none of her professors had ever discussed the College's history with African Americans or African American students. Finally, River mentioned that knowledge of the College's history had never affected her social interactions or academic experiences on campus.

Regarding institutional racism, River asserted that the complete separation of African American history from American history here at the College. She went to say that, although she

is aware that this separation is a part of a larger problem in the American school system as a whole, the separation of African American history at the College of William and Mary has sometimes led her to feel as if she is not a part of the history of her country. She also stated that she joined more predominantly Black groups do the lack of African-American faces/presence on campus, in order to feel a sense of camaraderie that the branching out to the campus at large would not afford her.

River also mentioned that within the 6 semesters she'd completed at the College, she'd only had one African-American professor. Furthermore, when asked if there were courses within her major that focused on cultural competency outside of the dominant culture, River stated there were only two classes within her major that boasted culturally diverse/inclusive curricula, and that she had thus far only had the opportunity to take one of those courses.

When asked if she felt she had experienced stereotype threat in any capacity during her time at the college, River stated that she had in fact experienced stereotype threat, though most commonly in classes, and mainly when people of other races asked her about her experiences as a Black woman. River also stated, however, that neither institutionally racist policies/procedures on behalf of the college nor knowledge of the college's racial history contributed to her experiences of stereotype threat.

Furthermore, when asked if she had ever experienced impostor syndrome during her time at the College, River quickly admitted to frequently experiencing negative thoughts and feelings similar to those characteristic of impostor syndrome. She went to explain that mainly she experiences those thoughts and feelings when she does not perform as well as she'd like to on some assessment, and that her failure to do results in the perception that she only got into the College because of Affirmative Action, or to fulfill a quota of some sort. Finally, River

mentioned that she felt her experiences with impostor syndrome stemmed from exposure to institutional racism at her previous educational institutions (like her high school), and not from her experiences here at the College even though they have continued during her time here. River went to a predominantly Black elementary school, but recalls moving from a northern state to a southern state and having to deal with many more microaggressions and individual/institutional acts of racism. Furthermore, River mentioned that she attended private school for kindergarten and relatively diverse public schools up through high school, where she recalls being one of 3 Black people in her class. She specifically recalled moving from PA to VA, and being told that she was too dark in complexion. She also mentioned that someone tried to put a hat on her head to shade her from the sun and from getting darker—not out malice, but out of genuine concern for her and how she would be perceived if she were to get darker.

River stated that she felt that she was prepared for William & Mary academically, and that the social climate is better to her at the College because she is able to pick the people she spends time with. She also stated that she feels more close to the friends she has here at the College, and thus she tends to socialize more with the friends that she has made throughout her college career. River also mentioned that socializes with friends of the same race and of different races every day. Finally, River asserted that she is not sure if attending the College or being affiliated with the College has shaped her socialization patters, but she does recognize that they have been the topic of much conversation between her and her friends.

<u>Monica Smith</u>

This interview was conducted with a third-year African American female, and psychology major. Monica stated that that race has shaped her perception of the world through

assumptions she drew that Black and Brown people were considered inferior socially, politically, and culturally from media representations and experiences that she had. She also stated that her father had been skeptical and wary of Whiteness in her youth, and that shaped the way she perceived Euro-American people and traditions, as those biases extended to her. Monica mentioned that she became cognizant of race when she was enrolled in kindergarten, as she noticed student self-segregation occur at her elementary school, and as some of the White students wouldn't play with her or students who looked like her, or would speak about how she was different.

When asked how she conceptualized Blackness and Whiteness, Monica stated that she perceives Blackness to carry connotations of perseverance and strength, given her knowledge of her heritage as a Black American woman, and of the United States' racial history. On the other hand, however, Monica stated that she perceives Whiteness and Euro-Americans to denote or signify or have more closed off views and perspectives, given that the privilege Euro-Americans enjoy by being a member of the dominant group allows them to focus more on their perspectives, culture, and tradition, and to 'other' and commodify the worldviews, perspectives, and cultures of members from marginalized and underrepresented groups. Additionally, Monica asserted that her perceptions about race were shaped very heavily by her parents perspectives, and that her time here at the college has also worked to shape her conceptions of race, as being on a predominantly White campus has shown her firsthand how White Americans tend to focus on their ow perspectives, and fail to understand the struggles or experiences of students from underrepresented groups.

Monica mentioned that she knew very little about the college's racial history and historical relationship with African Americans, outside of the fact the college was built by

enslaved peoples that the college owned. She also mentioned that she recalled being told that the

White students were allowed to bring enslaved people (slaves) owned by their families with them

to school. When asked if any of her professors had ever discussed the college's racial history

with her, Monica quickly and resolutely said no. Monica also stated that knowledge of the

college's racial history hasn't really affected her to her knowledge.

When asked whether or not she had witnessed or experienced institutional racism,

Monica asserted that she had and went on to discuss how she had frequent conversations with her

peers about the fact that there are no people of color within the psychology department and thus

no one for her to relate to within her major. She also stated that the lack of response to racial

offenses and incidences, and gave the example of the noose drawing that she thought the college

worked to downplay. She also felt that African Americans and people of color are sparsely and

poorly represented in administrative positions such as in the Admissions Offices and Dean of

Students Office, but that even those position are more diverse than our faculty body, and that, to

her, these are all ways in the college is and maintaining institutional racism. Monica went on to

assert that she felt that she would perform better academically or feel more comfortable

interacting with people on campus if these (perceived) institutionally racist barriers did not exist.

Monica stated that she currently feels uncomfortable around White students because our

curriculum does not challenge White students to consider perspectives outside of their own, and

because she is afraid that will not understand, or even try to understand, her culture and

perspectives. Monica stated that she often feels that she should have gone to a different school,

because it is so hard to navigate our racial climate.

When asked about the racial makeup of the professors she has had, Monica stated that she

has had one African American professor in her three years here at the college. She also stated

that there are two classes within her major of psychology that touch emphasize perspectives of members of underrepresented groups, but that both of those courses are taught by White professors.

Monica asserted that she has experiences stereotype threat during her time at the college, and gave the example of being one of two Black people in her freshman seminar on race and socioeconomics. Monica stated that in that course she and the other Black female student that was in the course with her were always called on to speak to the Black American experience, and that that was disconcerting because she felt commodified. She also stated that White students in the course would discount their perspectives, due to the fact that they were Black, and thus were perceived to be saying what they were saying "because they were Black" (Smith, personal communication, 2015). Monica stated that this experience was a seminal experience of stereotype threat for her, as she remembers working very diligently to refrain from getting angry or saying controversial things in the class so that she would not negatively represent her race/social group. Additionally, Monica asserted that she felt her experience in her freshman seminar was an example of institutional racism, as the course was taught by a professor who she believed to be uncomfortable with and insensitive to the topic of race and thus unapproachable, and that she feels that the college fails to provide clear lines of support for underrepresented students to navigate such situations. Monica also felt that her freshman seminar experience spoke to the need for more diverse faculty. Monica mentioned, however, that she felt she didn't know enough about the college's racial history for it to affect her classroom experiences.

In similar fashion, Monica stated that she began to experience impostor syndrome during her freshman year of college. She mentioned that she had professors who she reached out to who she felt were unreceptive to aiding her in the transition into college, and thus stated that feelings

of inferiority and un-belongingness continue to plague her. Monica went on to say that she does not think those feelings will leave her until she graduates from this college. Furthermore, Monica stated that the small percentage of minority students at this institution, as well as experiences of being the only Black student in her courses, has contributed greatly to her feelings and experiences of impostor syndrome.

When asked to describe her K-12 academic career, Monica stated that she attended all public county schools. She mentioned that her elementary school was about 50% Black and 50% White, while her elementary school was predominantly Black and her high school was fairly diverse during 9th and 10th grade years until the county re-zoned, and the school became predominantly Black. Monica asserted that she did not feel her high school prepared her academically for college, and that she did feel socially ready for college as her high school had more students of color than the college does. Additionally, Monica shared that felt that very different from her peers in high school due to her socioeconomic status, and that she felt that her peers had more time to study and engage with their material while she spent the bulk of her time working to contribute financially to her household. Similarly, Monica shared that she feels different from her peers here at the college due to her socioeconomic status, and the necessity of working.

Alice Grey

This interview was conducted with a fourth-year African American female, and chemistry and Africana Studies double major. Alice recalled becoming cognizant of race around 1st grade (age 6 or 7) due to the fact that she attended a predominantly Black preschool and kindergarten. When asked, Alice stated that conceptualized Blackness and Whiteness in terms of

treatment. Specifically, Alice mentioned that Blackness to her "is shaped more by how you're perceived and treated by others," whereas she perceives Whiteness to be more influenced by how White Americans treat and interact with others. Alice stated here that for her, Blackness is something that is ascribed to phenotypically Black individuals, whereas Whiteness is more of an identity, or a privilege that Euro-Americans have to self-identify. Alice stated that conversations she's had on campus with peers about privilege helped to shape her perceptions of race, and went on to say that attending the college helped her to realize many of the racial tensions and issues she experienced in her high school were symptomatic of a larger national racial issues.

When asked about her knowledge of the college's racial history and historical relationship with African Americans, Alice shared that she had heard things from other students and some professors regarding the college's history with slaves, She also stated that two professors in the Africana Studies program had led brief class discussions about the college's slave-holding past, but there was never a unit of study dedicated to the topic. Alice went on to say that knowledge of the college's historical relationship with African American has influenced her perceptions of and experiences at the college in many ways. For example, Alice shared that the college's obsession with/pride in the Wren Building is not something she feels she can subscribe to, given the fact that the building was built and maintained for a long period of time by slave labor, and she feels that the college has not adequately acknowledged or commemorated the lives and efforts of those enslaved persons who built this college. Furthermore, Alice stated that the school's seeming erasure of its history with slave labor is painful for her as a Black American student, as she feels it tells a selective story about who was here in the school's past, and who deserves to be here. She also stated that while she expected to have to deal with some racial issues when she decided to enroll at the college, she did not know much about the college's racial past, did not anticipate

having to deal with issues such as the erasure and commodification as "other" of her history and her heritage, and thus does not know how or have the tools to navigate these experiences.

Alice asserted that she had in fact witnessed and experienced instances of institutional racism during her time here at the college, and first gave the example of the lack of people of color in positions of power. Alice stated that when she sees people of color on campus who are not students, they are most frequently housekeeping, facilities management, and/or food services staff, and that she perceives our faculty body to be largely lacking in the realm of diversity. She went onto to discuss the ramifications of this lack of faculty diversity on students from underrepresented backgrounds such as herself: "you're at college to aspire to be something, but when you can't see anyone who looks like you doing what you're trying to do...that in itself is unfair." Additionally, Alice shared that these institutionally racist instances/occurrences have been very discouraging in her academic career her at the college, especially during times when she feels she is performing more poorly, due to the fact that these experiences with institutional racism combine with stress about her academic performance and tend to lead her to believe that she is performing poorly for a reason--that reason being that people who look like her have not historically succeeded her the way she is trying to. She also stated that worries that she is too sensitive to racial issues, and that she assumes wrong or offense in situations where there is none, or none is intended.

When asked to recount the number of African American professors she has had within her major, Alice mentioned that she had had several within her Africana Studies major, but only one in chemistry. Additionally, Alice stated that she has had several courses within her Africana Studies major that focus on issues and cultures outside of the Eurocentric tradition (in which she

was taught by professors of Euro-American, Asian/Pacific Islander, and African American backgrounds, but none in chemistry or any of her other science courses.

Alice shared that feels she has experienced stereotype threat here at the college, most prominently within her chemistry courses. She intimated that the first day attending the lab portions of all her chemistry classes have been stressful, as she feels that fining a partner is difficult since there is a perception that no students will want to work with her, a Black American female student. In similar fashion, Alice mentioned that finding study groups is hard as a Black female student, and that she feels she always needs to be prepared when going to study groups, so that her actions or perceived lack of knowledge does not reflect poorly on her race and social group. Additionally, Alice asserted that she is not sure if institutional racism or institutionally racist policies or procedures here at the college have contributed to her experiences of stereotype threat, though she does think that her knowledge of the college's historical and racial relationship with African Americans has, as she feels it takes away from her ability to take pride in a school that has historically mistreated people of her racial background and now work to ignore or erase that history.

Similarly, Alice mentioned that she has experienced impostor syndrome due to her own perceptions of her abilities and performance, and comments that professors and other students have made. She went on to say that it took her a while to realize that everyone here at the college is not supportive or working to contribute to her success, and that she has had to learn to unpack and subsequently separate herself and perceptions of her abilities from outside parties (i.e. professors, other students, etc.). Alice stated that she feels institutional racism has played a role in her experiences of impostor syndrome, due to the fact that she feels there is no support for students of color in health-related majors.

When asked to describe her academic career, Alice stated that she attended a private preschool and kindergarten program that was predominantly Black, and then after attended all public school. For first and second grade, Alice stated that she attended a predominantly Black public, but moved to another county shortly thereafter and attended schools that were predominantly White throughout the rest of her elementary and secondary school careers.

Alice stated that though she was academically prepared for college, she was not prepared for the culture shock, even after attending predominantly White schools. Alice asserted that she feels that she was prepared to do the work, but not for the persistent and continuous experiences and feelings of stereotype threat and impostor syndrome that she experiences in her predominantly White chemistry courses. When asked how similar to or different from her peers she felt in high school, Alice feels that she studied more and worked than her peers, but that she felt that they were very similar. Additionally, Alice feels that she is very similar to her peers here at the college, and that she has been very purposeful in choosing to surround herself with people who have goals and are aspiring to affect change in the world around them.

Finally, Alice shared that she socializes with Black students and students from other minority backgrounds on a daily basis, while she almost never socializes with White students. Alice stated that she feels she gravitates more towards Black and underrepresented students more due to the fact that it is important to her to have conversations about social, racial, cultural, and political issues, and that she feels that many of the White students has come across have been uncomfortable addressing these issues with her on a daily basis, or have been unable to accept and respect the fact that her realities are very different than theirs may be. She also mentioned that she socializes more with her friends and peers here at the college due to proximity. Finally, Alice mentioned that she feels her affiliation with the college has led people (peers, friends, and

family members not associated with the college) to perceive her as an "oreo" or as an "uppity"

Black female

Paul Matthews

This interview was conducted with a first-year African American male, and biology

major. Paul asserted that race shaped his perception of the world by making him question

whether his race influences the way in which people interact with or treat him.. Additionally,

Paul recalls becoming cognizant of race around age 7. When asked how he conceptualized

Blackness and Whiteness, Paul stated that he conceptualizes them in terms of experiences and

treatment, as he stated that he believes Black and White children/people must be raised

differently due to the fact that they will experience different things and be treated different ways

based on their appearance. He also mentioned here that he perceives race to be a social construct

in which identities, norms, and experiences are ascribed to Black Americans and White

Americans. Finally, Paul shared that he believes that there are cultural entities, such as language

varieties and shared lived experiences, that unite or bring underrepresented groups together. Paul

asserted that his perceptions of race where shaped by his juxtaposed experience of going to

predominantly White schools while living in a predominantly Black neighborhood and attending

a predominantly Black church. He also mentioned that reading the Autobiography of Malcolm X

shaped his perspectives on race a great deal.

When asked if his affiliation with the college has contributed to the development and

maintenance of his perceptions on race, Paul stated that attending the college has helped to

solidify and expand his racial perspectives and consciousness, as he has met people here who

aided him in unpacking and carefully considering the country's racial history and its relationship

to him in the present day. During this conversation, Paul shared that he did not know much about the college's specific racial history and historical relationship with Black Americans, but that he did not that the college owned slaves and used slave labor, that the first Black American student to enroll at the college was a graduate student who enrolled in 1951, and that the first Black American undergraduate students did not arrive enroll at the school until 1971. Paul went on to state that he did not feel well informed about the college's historical relationship with African Americans but that he feels he is more informed than most students, as he had just recently learned that Millington Hall was named after a psychologist and slave owner who experimented and tortured some of the enslaved persons that he owned. Paul shared that for him the college's historical treatment of African Americans was conflicting/confounding, as the institution was founded by a minister but still dehumanized and mistreated the enslaved African Americans who built and maintained the school for so long.

Paul shared that several of his professors had discussed the college's treatment of African American students, hiring processes for various departments, and treatment of minority faculty on our campus in one-on-one sessions as well as in some of his humanities courses. Paul went on to share that he does not think that the college's historical relationship with and treatment of African Americans affects him on a day-to-day basis, and that he is affected much more so by national issues and tensions that shake the college's campus, as well as actions and decisions made by our administrative body.

When asked if he had witnessed or experienced institutional racism, Paul asserted that he feels that he has due to discrepancies he has seen in the resources given to programs, departments, student organizations, and residence halls that are designated for or deal with issues regarding people of color. Paul went on to say that the lack of diversity in our faculty body is

indicative of institutional racism to him, as several departments have no faculty of color. Paul

mentioned that this lack of faculty diversity is detrimental to students of color, as students "see

themselves in their professors" (Matthews, personal communication, 2015), and thus need to be

able to see and relate to people who are in positions and doing work that they hope to one day

occupy and do. Furthermore, Paul asserted that there is very little recognition and reception of

student cultural organizations. He feels that these organizations are less tapped into resources.

Paul stated that the lack of support he perceives and thus institutional racism that he has

witnessed has made him more skeptical and uncomfortable being in integrated spaces, because

he feels that the institution does not value or care about his presence and experiences as a Black

American male. Paul also mentioned that since the campus is so small, it is difficult to navigate

integrated spaces on campus due to the fact that many of the people who have been racially

offensive or unsupportive towards him are student leaders, professors, classmates and

administrators that he sees on a daily basis. Paul then shared that there is one African American

professor in the biology department, and that he has had a class with that professor, but that there

is no section in his biology courses or even coursework that focuses on issues that face and/or

perspectives of people from marginalized or underrepresented groups.

Paul went on to assert that he has experienced stereotype threat during his time here at the

college, though mainly it has been outside of the classroom. Paul stated that he experiences

stereotype threat most prominently while walking across campus, as he worries that he will be

perceived as a stereotypical Black American male (read: loud and aggressive) as opposed to who

he actually is as an individual, and that he struggles with modifying his behavior to be perceived

as less of a threat and being unapologetically himself. During this discussion, Paul also stated he

perceives institutional racism to be a product of the stereotypes that are and have been used to

oppress and dehumanize marginalized groups. Paul asserted that he does not think his knowledge of the college's historical relationship with and treatment of African Americans has influenced his experiences of stereotype threat, due to the fact that he feels that the school (and its history) is a microcosm of that of larger society, and thus affect him no differently than his knowledge of the country's/society's historical treatment of African Americans.

Similarly, Paul shared that he does not think he has experienced impostor syndrome much during his time here at the college due to the fact that he feels he has not performed well enough in biology per se to feel that his success can be attributed to luck. He went on to say that he has not really struggled with the notion that he should not be here due to his race because of his upbringing and familial support system.

When asked to describe his educational career, Paul mentioned that for kindergarten and pre-k he had attended relatively diverse public schools, while he completed 1st-4th grades at a predominantly White private Christian school where he recalled always being the only African American male. Additionally, Paul recalled completing grades 5-12 grades at a different predominantly White private school that prepared him well for life at the college, where he was always 1 of about 4-6 African American males in classes of about 120 students. As mentioned previously, Paul stated that he felt his high school prepared him academically and socially for college, but that there are many students here at the college of higher socioeconomic status, and that that has been a culture shock of sorts. Furthermore, Paul asserted that he felt he had been very similar to his peers in high school socially and academically. While Paul feels very similar to his peers here at the college academically as well, Paul feels that he is less similar to his peers here in biology due to the fact that he makes concerted efforts take courses and pursue

experiences that deal with issues of race and culture, while many of his peers do not seek that kind of sociocultural education.

Paul shared that he socializes with people with friends of the same race on a daily basis, and also socializes with people of different races slightly less frequently. Paul stated that he socializes more with people of the same race, as he feels that he is better able to relate to them and be himself in their presence. Furthermore, he stated that he socializes more with his friends here at the college than his friends back home due to proximity, and the fact that he knew many people coming in since his older brother came in. Finally, Paul asserted that he sometimes perceives professor to be unduly bias or lenient towards White students in his courses, and that those perceptions affect the way he socializes with his peers in a classroom setting. Paul ended by saying that for him, it is immensely important to note that institutional racism can be intentional and unintentional, and that he feels like students of colored are often disadvantaged simply because they do not have the opportunity to be connected to or directed towards resources they may need as regularly or intently as White students may be.

Ashley Smith

This interview was conducted with a four-year African American female student, and psychology major. Ashley stated that race shapes her perception of the world on a daily basis, in that it seems that "every decision that I make I'm subconsciously aware of the role race might play. Even just crossing the street, like a busy street, I'm like will these people stop for me?" Ashley also stated that she feels that she has always been aware of race, as she was a very dark-skinned baby and felt that her complexion influenced the way people perceived and interacted

with her even as an infant. She was also one of very few Black children in her class when she finally started school, and stated that this experience shaped her awareness of race.

When asked about how she conceptualizes Blackness and Whiteness, Ashley mentioned her perspectives often tend to change based on context.

She asserted that "if you're talking about a global perspective, Blackness is simply a group of people originating from, you know, the African continent, maybe. And the same thing for Whiteness, they're European/Middle Eastern, depending on what you want to consider White and Black. From an American perspective, umm it definitely has a classist component to it. So it's not just you're appearance, it's how you're allowed to be treated in our society institutionally, socially, economically, even in the media. The list goes on and on, it affects everything." Ashley went on to say that she's developed these perspectives on from how she's observed people, and herself, being treated institutionally, socially, in the media, etc." (Smith, personal communication, 2015)

She gave the examples of Black characters either being villains or comedic relief in movies, people of color being asked to verify large checks in banks, and consistently being asked if she was an athlete because she is a relatively tall Black woman to illustrate some of the racially-based experiences she has had or witnessed in her daily life. Ashley also shared that attending the college has shaped her conceptions of race and privilege, as she has encountered several situations where educators she has known an worked with who are not affiliated with the college have been shocked and surprised to find out she was admitted to the college, and thus have shown her that some educators and people in general do not expect a certain level of success from her and other people who look like her. Ashley felt that these educators and people instead have lower level expectations for her and her peers, and feel that they think she is better off

striving for less. These sentiments Ashley gleaned from her educators have been shown to be

problematic across the country (cite) and also have been used in arguments by educators at more

elite institutions who have deficit notions of underrepresented students to work to convince

admissions faculty that these students may be less capable of doing the work or may struggle at

the institution, and thus are better off going to a lower-tiered institution (cite).

With regard to knowledge about the college's racial history, Ashley stated that she was

aware that in the past some of the college's White students had left the college to fight in for the

Confederacy in the Civil War, that White students had been allowed to own enslaved Africans

while at the college, and that some of the original college had been built by enslaved Africans.

Ashley also shared that she was aware that African Americans were prohibited from enrolling at

the college until the mid to late 1900s. Ashley asserted that none of her professors had ever

broached the subject of the college's racial history or historical relationship with African

Americans, and that her knowledge of the college's racial history has influenced her socialization

patterns, in that she has gone to several of the Lemon Project's events and has had conversations

about the college's historical and present day relationships with and treatment of African

Americans.

When asked whether she has witnessed or experienced institutional racism during her

time at the college, Ashley stated that she feels she has consistently experienced and witnessed

institutional racism, and that it has affected her prosperity and experiences here. Specifically,

Ashley mentioned that she felt her experiences of institutional racism through lack of diverse

faculty and lack of people of color in positions or power, as well as a lack of support for students

of color caused her GPA to suffer her freshman year here at the college, as she recalls feeling

isolated on campus for being a Black American student. She also discussed the toll being Black

on a predominantly White campus given all of the racially-charged police brutality incidents that have been occurring across the nation has taken on her, and stated that "I remember the non-indictment [for the police officer in the Michael Brown case] happened on the same day that I had a paper due the next morning, and I was like, 'I need an extension!' This is TIRING."

She went on to say "in international relations and international studies, those types of classes, people always talk about 'oh you know in the Middle East, people are constantly watching their people die in the streets, [but] it's the same thing! But they don't get it. It's literally the same level, like I can wake up tomorrow or my dad can be in their grave.

And I feel like the level of sympathy or empathy or compassion is not there [for us]."

This sentiment is important to note in this line of research, given that it raises concerns about the additive cognitive load Black American students labor under due to race and race-related stress.

Ashley shared that within her major of psychology, there are no professors who look like her, but within her government major there is one African American professor. Furthermore, Ashely stated that she knows of one course in her government major that evaluated experiences and perspectives outside of the European tradition, as well as one within her psychology major as well.

When asked whether she had experienced stereotype threat at the college, Ashley asserted that she has on several occasions. Specifically, Ashley recalled instances where racial profiling from various White staff members as well as mandatory class participation grades (while being one of about two Black American students in all of her classes) have contributed to her experiences of stereotype threat and fear of confirming various biases about her social group. Ashley went on to say that her experiences of stereotype threat tend to be triggered by biases that she perceives and picks up on within the attitudes and interacts she has with various people on

campus. She also shared that she felt exposure to institutional racism here at the college has

contributed to her feelings and experiences of stereotype threat, and cited microaggressions from

students and professors and lack of institutional response to social media and on-campus racial

offenses as two of the main factors that affect her experiences of stereotype threat.

Similarly, Ashley shared that has experienced impostor syndrome during her time here at

the college, especially during her freshman year when she frequently considered transferring.

She stated that the lack of faculty and student diversity contributed to her experiences of

impostor syndrome, as being one of few Black Americans on a predominantly White campus

made her feel as if she did not really deserve to be here, and that she was only admitted in an

attempt to increase the number of students who look like her on campus.

When asked to describe her educational career, Ashley shared that she had attended a

mildly diverse (50% White, 25% Black, 25% other) private Christian school for grades K-3 and

then attended a similar private school up through grade 7. She then attended a public county

middle school and high school that were of similar make up to her other schools: about 50%

White, 25% Black, and 25% Latino and Asian. Ashley stated that she did not feel her high school

prepared her to attend the college in terms of climate, due to the fact that her high school was

more diverse than the college.

Ashley shared that she felt that had been more active and nerdier than her peers in high

school. On the other hand, Ashley mentioned that she feels less nerdy and more socially capable

than her peers here at the college.

Finally, Ashley stated that she socializes with people of the same race every day, but socializes

with people of different races less frequently, even though she has made concerted efforts to do

so. Here Ashley shared that a lack of comfort and understanding influence her socializations

patterns, as she feels that many of the people of different races that she has tried to socialize with

tend to seem uncomfortable with and unwilling to sympathize with the fact that she has very

different experiences than they do as a Black American woman. She also stated that she feels

institutional racism influences her socialization patterns, in that she is more likely to socialize

with people outside of her race when she sees that they are involved with movements, programs,

and events aimed at dismantling many of the institutional policies and practices that contribute

negatively to our racial climate (i.e. SEED dialogues, task force events, etc.).

Toussaint Xavier

This interview was conducted with a third-year African American female, and

government and American Studies double major. Toussaint recalled becoming cognizant of race

around 6th grade (age 11 or 12) due to the fact that she went from attending a predominantly

Black elementary school to a more diverse middle school. When asked, Toussaint asserted that to

her Blackness is like creation, in that she conceptualizes it based on the things (identities,

cultures, technologies) that come out it. Toussaint then went on to state that for her Whiteness is

a concept that is separate from individual "White" people and identities. Toussaint stated that

conversations she's had on campus with peers about privilege as well as her experiences with

race in K-12 have helped to shape her perceptions of race, and went on to say that attending the

college helped her to realize many of the racial tensions and issues she experienced in her high

school were symptomatic of a larger national racial issues.

When asked about her knowledge of the college's racial history and historical relationship

with African Americans, Toussaint felt that she knew a fair amount given the fact that she is an

American Studies major. Toussaint went onto cite the "problematic memorialization"—or lack

of memorialization—for the enslaved and free Black Americans who built and maintained the

school as part of the reason why students may feel uneducated on the topic.

Toussaint asserted that she had in fact witnessed and experienced instances of

institutional racism during her time here at the college, and first gave the example of Eurocentric

curriculum. Toussaint stated that a major issue for her as a Black American student at the college

is the constant feeling that her history and culture are "other," stating that as a Black American

student "you're gonna get one part of the story. Our history is selective, or our history is

optional. And other people's history is requisite." Toussaint went onto to discuss the perceived

lack of allocation of funds for diversity initiatives and multicultural student organizations

comparative to funds allocated for more "mainstream" campus organizations and initiatives as an

example of institutional racism. She also asserted here that much of her campus work and

activism is based on her working to seek equity and recognition for the Black Americans who

built and maintained the campus, and also for those who walk its grounds today. Toussaint

explained drive to work for activism and equity for Black bodies by stating "I can't pretend that

everything is alright—literally every 28 hours a Black man is killed in American and that is gonna fuck you up" and inspire you to work for change.

When asked to recount the number of African American professors she has had within her major, Toussaint mentioned that she had had 3 within her American Studies major, but none in government. She recalled several courses in American Studies that focuse on issues and cultures outside of the Eurocentric tradition (in which she was taught by professors of African American backgrounds), but only one in her government major.

Toussaint shared that feels she has experienced stereotype threat here at the college, most prominently within her government courses, where she is typically the only or one of few Black American students. Additionally, Toussaint asserted that she believes the lack of a concentrated effort to include discussions of race in classrooms and curriculum is institutionally racist, and that it has contributed to her experiences of stereotype threat as the lack of curricular and classroom space to work through issues of race and race relations has influenced who feels comfortable and safe approaching and opening to on campus.

Similarly, Toussaint mentioned that she experienced impostor syndrome at William and Mary, but only in her statistics class due to the fact that it was predominantly White male students in the class. She went on to say that she feels she hasn't experienced impostor syndrome much because she knew that "I was [getting] better because I kept winning helped to boost my confidence." Here Toussaint cited her success in K-12 as well as familial support contributed to

her confidence level and positive perception of her abilities. She also stated that her fashion and style of dress—which to her is more Eurocentric and thus makes her more respectable in predominantly White spaces—add to her confidence and perception that she belongs at the college.

When asked to describe her academic career, Toussaint stated that she attended a private Christian school that was predominantly Black until 5th grade, and then attended all public schools that were fairly diverse and did not have a majority of students of any one race. Additionally, when asked if she felt prepared for college, Toussaint felt that she had been prepared for college academically for the most part, though not for math as it had never been strong suit. She also shared that she felt she had been somewhat unprepared for college socially, given that she felt she had to learn to make herself "palatable to White audiences" once she enrolled at William and Mary. Furthermore, Toussaint shared that felt very different from her Black American peers in high school in terms of socioeconomic status, but other than that felt relatively similar to her peers before college. In terms of her peers at William and Mary, however, Toussaint felt that she was different from other students at the college due to the fact that she studies less and very social-justice minded.

Finally, Toussaint shared that she socializes with Black American students every day, and also with White students and other students of color just as frequently. She also mentioned that she socializes more with her friends and peers here at the college due to proximity and shared

interests. Toussaint concluded by sharing the fact that her Queerness and Blackness color

everything that she does, such that she feels her affiliation with the college has influenced the

number of people she feels she can form meaningful bonds with at William and Mary based on

the school's lack of open and honest discussion about matters of diversity and inclusion.

Skylar Duckworth

This interview was conducted with a third-year African American female. Skylar is a

government and Africana Studies double major. She recalled becoming cognizant of race

between ages 4 and 5, due to the fact that she attended a pre-K program for low-income students

that was predominantly Black and also because she felt unsupported by her teachers. When

asked what role race has played in shaping her perceptions of the world, Skylar asserted that her

"race makes me at times like second guess myself, at times question my abilities, but also at

times it like motivates me to do better and it motivates me to be better. So I think overall it could

just be classified as like…it makes me think twice about every move I make because being an

African American in America means one wrong move could dictate your entire like…could be

the mark of your entire race." Skylar also shared that navigating her race on campus has been

difficult:

> "It's a battle. On this campus in particular like…you don't know if you wanna be
>
> associated with just Black people, you don't know if you wanna be the oreo and have all

White friends, you don't know if you wanna be in a Black sorority or a White sorority.

And I feel like here more than ever…you have to pick your mask. Like you have to pick

the Skylar you wanna show today. It's so difficult to change yourself…"

When asked to describe her perceptions of Blackness and Whiteness, Skylar asserted that

Whiteness signified oppression and privilege to her, while Blackness signified struggle and

"fight, because you're already starting at a disadvantage." She went onto to say that she does not

have negative perceptions of all White people as individuals, but that the concept of Whiteness

signifies a blindness to issues faced by people of color. Skylar stated that her parents, specifically

her mom, influenced these perceptions as they were very intentional in making her aware of

stereotypes and negative societal perceptions of Blackness. She also asserted that attending the

college has maintained these perceptions, as she wasn't aware of the concept of White privilege

until she was enrolled.

When asked about her knowledge of the college's racial history and historical relationship

with African Americans, she asserted that she was aware of the William and Mary's slave past as

well as its history of segregation. Skylar asserted that she's had one African American Africana

Studies professor discuss the college's racial history, and that she was grateful for the knowledge

and transparency. When asked if knowledge of William and Mary's racial history influences any

aspect of her college life, Skylar mentioned that she feels uncomfortable answering questions or

participating in classes where she may be the only or one of few Black American students, due to

the fact that she fears confirming notions of Black inferiority that may in turn negatively impact

other Black American students or people.

Skylar asserted that she experiences instances of institutional racism during her time at

the college "all the time," and cited posts from Yik Yak, racist-themed parties, and unsatisfactory

institutional responses to individual acts of racism. She also went onto to discuss lack of

diversity at all levels as an

Skylar went onto share that her experiences of institutional racism have inspired her to work for

change. She asserted that: "I came in and I felt these things, I came in and experienced this

prejudice and this racism and this hate. And in a sense I started to hate William and Mary

like…why am I here? And it makes me fight to make it better, it makes fight to go against people

who are like let's improve diversity without knowing anything diverse, without knowing CSD

[Center for Student Diversity], without talking to Dr. Hurte, without going to multicultural

organizations."

When asked to recount the number of African American professors she has had within

her major, she asserted that she's had one African American professor in Africana Studies while

all of them except one have been African American within her Africana Studies major. Skylar

went on to assert that she's taken two classes in her government major that focused on

multicultural competency, and that both of these courses were taught by the one African

American professor she'd had within the major.

Skylar shared that she has experienced stereotype threat, and cited the example of being

stereotyped as an athlete when wearing sweatpants and the subsequent discomfort those

experiences produce. She stated that she couldn't think of factors that specifically contribute to

individual instance or feelings of stereotype threat, but went onto say that the lack of institutional

discussion about issues facing students of color as well her knowledge of the college's historical

relationships with African Americans sometimes leads her to feel concern about confirming

negative stereotypes of Black Americans students.

Similarly, Skylar mentioned that she experienced impostor syndrome mostly during her

freshman and sophomore years, and spoke about how she had briefly questioned her capabilities

and abilities to succeed at the college. She shared that she experienced impostor syndrome the

most when she was not performing as well as she wanted to academically, and cited the

academic rigor of the school and culture of stress as factors that contributed to her experiences of

impostor syndrome.

When asked to describe her academic career, Skylar stated that she attended

predominantly Black public schools throughout her K-12 career. She went on to say that she did

not feel prepared for college academically or in terms of racial climate based on her K-12. She

recalled feeling very similar to her peers in K-12 academically and racially but not socially, due

to the fact that she did not feel as if she fit in either with Black students or White students. Skylar

cited this discomfort as a factor that eased her transition to William and Mary, however, in that

she felt more comfortable navigating both groups. Skylar shared that she feels at home here even

though she has concerns regarding the way race is dealt with at William and Mary, stating that "I

feel like here is where I'm supposed to be, even though I have the issues that I have."

Finally, Skylar shared that she socializes with both Black students on a daily basis. She

also shared that she socializes more with friends at William and Mary than friends from her

hometown, due to proximity and shared interests. She asserted that being affiliated with the

College of William and Mary has impacted her social relationships off campus both positively

and negatively as some of her peers from home express pride at her accomplishments, while

others believe that she thinks she is better than them because she attends the college.

<u>Shaunda Madison</u>

This interview was conducted with a fourth-year African American female. Shaunda is a

government and film studies double major. Shaunda recalled becoming cognizant of race around

age 3, after having a White ballet teacher say that she was unable to learn a particular move

because she was Black.

When about her perceptions of Whiteness and Blackness, Shaunda asserted that she

perceives Whiteness to be what is typically considered mainstream. Additionally, she stated that

she perceives Blackness to be "othered" and commodified. Specifically, Shaunda stated that "so

I think that to me means like family and community, whereas Whiteness is kinda like

socialization…or it's perceived to be the norm." She went on to say that her family and

upbringing influenced these perceptions, given that her family is relatively close open about

matters of race. She also lived in predominantly White neighborhoods and shared that her experiences in these areas have greatly shaped her racial perceptions as well. Here Shaunda also stated that being attending William and Mary has also worked to maintain these perceptions, as she has learned here that many people are not well-educated on issues facing people of color, but that the Black student community has been a great resource for her.

When asked about her knowledge of the college's racial history and historical relationship with African Americans, Shaunda asserted that she feels pretty well-educated, although she knows there is much more that she could learn. She also stated that she feels there is more that the college can do to ensure that all students, though particularly students of color, are aware of all of William and Mary's history, and its role in our society more largely. Shaunda shared that she's had one professor within the Africana Studies department discuss details of the college's racial history, but none within her majors. Additionally, Shaunda feels that her knowledge of William and Mary's racial history has inspired her to learn more, and thus has influenced her class choices. She also mentioned that this knowledge has influenced who she feels comfortable talking to about national issues of race.

Shaunda asserted that she had in fact witnessed and experienced instances of institutional racism during her time here at the college. She cited the lack of diversity across various levels of the faculty body as well as the administration as the main example of institutional racism at William and Mary. She went on to discuss passive administrative responses to individual acts of racism as something that she herself and other Black students grapple with, due to the fact that these passive responses lead them to feel that their issues don't matter to the university. For Shaunda, "it's frustrating to know that like…that's supposed to be promoting the intellectual elite and yet when it comes to other races the only [people] they seem to be promoting are White

people." Additionally, Shaunda cited Eurocentric curriculum as another institutionally racist

policy that she struggles with as a Black American student. Shaunda stated "the fact that you

have to go and look specifically for lasses that have to do with your own culture is just

frustrating." She concluded this section by saying "I feel like our school does that, its like trying

to make the majority feel comfortable but it's like hey, what about the minority?"

When asked to recount the number of African American professors she has had within

her majors, Shaunda asserted that she has not been taught by any African American professors

within either of her majors. She went on to share that there are courses within her film studies

major that focus on cultural compentencies outside of Eurocentric cultures, although she felt that

discussions of Black films were missing from those courses. She also stated that the professors of

those courses were all White.

Furthermore, Shaunda briefly discussed experiencing stereotype threat at William and

Mary. She first gave an example of walking late at night with her roommate while talking and

laughing, and then them feeling as if they had to silence themselves when a police car drove by

in order to avoid being perceived stereotypically as loud, angry Black women. She also discussed

her many of her Black male friends do similar things in order to seem more respectable and safe.

Shaunda went on to state that the lack of faculty diversity has influenced her experiences of

stereotype threat, due to the fact that she feels her professors are often uncomfortable with Black

American students and their culture, and thus sometimes it is hard to feel as if she belongs. She

stated that this tension is not always a bad thing, however, due to the fact that the struggle to

conform can sometimes be a good thing as it teaches students how to code-switch and adapt in

various situations. Here Shaunda also stated that knowledge of the college's racial history has

influenced the way she perceives the school's responses to racial issues, in that she now does not

feel that there are always people at William and Mary who will be supportive and empathetic of issues Black American students face, and who will be willing to take action on behalf of those students.

Similarly, Shaunda mentioned that she has experienced impostor syndrome at William and Mary, though she believes that feelings of chronic self-doubt are characteristic of most William and Mary students. Shaunda also shared that she feels her feelings of inadequacy have been influenced by her race, due to the fact that she used to compare herself to other students who were both of different races than her and who were aware of the stereotypes surrounding Blackness. She went on to say, however, that her experiences of impostor syndrome have been a motivating factor for success as they have pushed her to realize that though she is not going to be good at everything, she is both capable and successful enough to reach the goals she has set for herself.

When asked to describe her academic career, Shaunda stated that she attended all public schools that were fairly diverse, though she tended to be the only or one of few Black students in her classes due to the fact she took all advanced courses. she also recalled starting an honor society specifically for minority students in her high school in order to combat the feeling that she was always one of few students of color, and also to do the work of carving out social and cultural space within her school that framed success for students of color as the norm and not the exception.

Shaunda stated that though she was academically prepared for college, she did struggle to get use to the workload. Socially, however, Shaunda felt that she was semi-prepared for the racial breakdown of students, but not prepared to talk about race or navigate the racial climate on campus. She cited examples where she watched certain films and read books in some of her

courses that dealt with race and struggled to deal with her at anger at the way Black Americans were portrayed and treated, and lack of empathy on parts of her peers. Shaunda stated that in high school she felt different from many of her peers because sought out opportunities to bond and build connections with other Black American students, while that was not the case with her White peers and other students of color. She went on to say that she feels very similar to people from her freshman hall who were pretty diverse yet very likeminded, though she does sometimes feel different from some of the other Black American students based on her musical and social interests.

Finally, Shaunda shared that she socializes both with Black students and students from other racial backgrounds on a daily basis. She also stated that she socializes more with friends at William and Mary than friends from her hometown due to proximity and shared interests except on summer and winter breaks. Shaunda concluded her interview by asserting school policies influence her socialization patterns by failing to create spaces in which race can openly and honestly explored and discussed.

Appendix B: Interview Questions

1. What race/ethnicity do you identify with most? What role, if any, has race played in shaping your perception of the world? Around what age did you become cognizant of race? What experiences, if any, played into your ideas about race?

2. What does Blackness mean to you? Conversely, what does Whiteness mean to you? How have your perceptions of Black and Whiteness developed across your lifetime? What factors influenced them? How has attending and/or being affiliated with the College of William and Mary contributed to the development or maintenance of your racial perceptions, if at all?

3. How much do you know about the college's historical relationship with African Americans? Have any of your professors ever discussed details of the college's history with African Americans and African American students? Has knowledge of the college's racial history ever influenced your academic performance or social interactions?

4. For the purposes of this research, **institutional racism** is operationally defined as "any institutional policy, practice, and structure … that unfairly subordinates People of Color while allowing White persons to profit from such actions" (Sue, 2006, p. 24). It can manifest in the form of culturally biased curricula, lack of people of color in positions of power, lack of institutional support, and passive responses to individual racist acts (Constantine, 2006). Given this definition, have you ever witnessed, or experienced any instances of institutional racism? If so, how and in what setting? How have these experiences influenced your perceptions, feelings, social relationships, or academic performance, if at all?

5. What is your major? How many faculty members have you had that were of the same ethnicity of you? Were any courses offered within your major that focused on cultural competency outside of the dominant culture? If so, how many can you recall? What was the ethnicity of the professors who taught these courses?

6. **Stereotype threat** "refers to the risk of confirming negative stereotypes about an individual's racial, ethnic, gender, or cultural group" (http://edglossary.org/stereotype-threat/). Given this definition, have you ever experienced stereotype threat? If so, what factors contributed to those experiences? How have institutional practices and policies contributed to these experiences, if at all? Has knowledge of the college's history contributed to these experiences in any way?

7. **Impostor syndrome** refers to "a collection of feelings of inadequacy that persist even in face of information that indicates that the opposite is true. It is experienced internally as chronic self-doubt, and feelings of intellectual fraudulence. It is basically feeling that you are not really a successful, competent, and smart student, and that you are only imposing as such" (https://counseling.caltech.edu/general/InfoandResources/Impostor). This phenomenon includes such symptoms as feeling like a fake, attributing success to luck, and discounting success. Based on this definition, have you ever experienced negative thoughts or feelings similar to those characteristic of impostor syndrome? If so, how long did they last, and how often did they surface? What factors contributed to those experiences? How have institutional practices and policies contributed to these experiences, if at all?

8. Describe your educational career. Specifically, what type of school did you attend (public/private, city/county, and how diverse you felt it was) before your enrollment at

William and & Mary? Can you describe the schools you attended and experiences during

your K-12 education? Do you feel you were prepared for college or, more specifically,

for William & Mary, socially, academically, and in terms of racial climate?

9. How were you similar to or different from your peers, both of the same race and of

different races, in terms of study habits, academic interests, and academic performance?

Your peers here at the college?

10. How often do you socialize with friends of the same race here at the college? Of different

races? Do you socialize more with friends here or friends outside of the college? What

factors influence how your socialization patterns? How have school policies and

procedures influenced the way you socialize with others, both on and off campus, if at

all?

11. Are there any other sentiments you would like to offer that we did not discuss? Do you

have any questions or concerns about this study?

<ins>Appendix C: Zoom H1 Handy and H2n Portable Digital Recorders</ins>

H2n and H1 Handy Portable Digital Recorders

Appendix D: WMSURE IRB Protocol (Stand and Be Counted Survey Information)

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Protocol and Compliance Management

Expand All | Collapse All

View Details for PHSC-2014-08-27-9731-cldickter

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Click a section header to expand or collapse that section.

▼**Basic Info**

Protocol ID: PHSC-2014-08-27-9731-cldickter

Protocol Title: Examination of the effectiveness of the William and Mary Scholars Undergraduate Research Experience (WMSURE)

Overall Status: active

Protocol Timeline: Year 1 of 1

Existing Protocol Info: Created as "Clone" of PHSC-2013-08-27-8896-cldickter

Committee(s): PHSC

Campus: Main

CC Email Addresses:

▶**Comments**

Comment by rwmcco (Raymond McCoy) 2014-09-02 10:49:32

Thank you for completing the training.. It is good for 3 years ! Good luck with your study...
Ray

Comment by rwmcco (Raymond McCoy) 2014-08-07 13:07:32

Hello,

The protocol looks fine. However, the committee recently started requiring research ethics training for all researchers. Online training can be completed through the links from the MYWM page.. see Research Compliance,, then Guidance and Procedures,, there is a link to online training... we prefer the CITI online training certificate, but NIH or NSF ethics training certificates would be fine... Please have the grad students complete this as well. Please attach the completion certificates to the protocol. I'm sorry to require this because it does take a few hours to complete. But we must adhere to the Federal Assurance guidelines... The online training is good for 3 years.

Thanks,
Ray
Chair, PHSC

▶**Actions**

No Actions Available

▶**Status Info**

Submitted: 2014-08-27 17:51:52 by cldickter
Overall Status: active since 2014-09-02 10:49:42
PHSC Status: expedited since 2014-09-02 10:49:42

> **expedited Criteria:** Category 7

▶**Date Info**

Submitted: 2014-08-27 17:51:52 by cldickter
Protocol Current Year Duration 2014-09-02 through 2015-09-02
Project Entire Duration 2014-09-02 through 2015-09-02

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▶**Emails**

From compli@wm.edu (WM Compliance) 2014-08-05 12:21:37 [Your response needed for protocol PHSC-2014-08-05-9731-cldickter set to contingent](#)

From compli@wm.edu (WM Compliance) 2014-08-05 12:27:32 [Original submission for protocol PHSC-2014-08-05-9731-cldickter](#)

From compli@wm.edu (WM Compliance) 2014-08-07 13:07:41 [Status of protocol PHSC-2014-08-05-9731-cldickter set to revise](#)

From compli@wm.edu (WM Compliance) [Your response needed for protocol PHSC-2014-08-27-9731-cldickter set to contingent](#)

2014-08-27 17:51:52
From compli@wm.edu (WM Compliance) [Revised submission for protocol PHSC-2014-08-27-9731-cldickter](#)
2014-08-27 18:23:50
From compli@wm.edu (WM Compliance) [Status of protocol PHSC-2014-08-27-9731-cldickter set to active](#)
2014-09-02 10:49:42

▶**Admin-Additional Information**

Please provide any information not requested in previous sections which you think would be needed or useful as the committee reviews this protocol.

If Funded, Agency Name(s) and internal W&M grant number:

Additional information: Please see attachments for all questions that will be administered through online surveys or in interviews for this study.

File Attachments - If you have entered text in any of the above fields, save this page before removing file attachments. To do so, click the "Save this page and return to this page" link at the bottom then remove unneeded files.

Upload additional files - browse for a file then choose any save option below to upload it.
[Validated Questionnaires.docx](#)
[StudentPre-GradSchoolQuestionnaire.08.08.2012.docx](#)
[Student Basic Questionnaire.docx](#)
[Faculty Research Questionnaire.docx](#)
[Alumni Basic Questionnaire.docx](#)

[CITI Certificate_Dickter.docx](#)

[Franz.CITI.EthicsTraining.pdf](#)
[Anne_CITI.pdf](#)

▼**PHSC-Protocol Description**

CONTINUING PROTOCOL-If this is an annual renewal of a previously approved protocol, please indicate here that either (1) the new protocol is identical to the previously approved protocol (other than dates), or (2) briefly summarize any
This is an annual renewal of a previously approved protocol. It is identical to the previously approved protocol.

differences between the previously approved and present protocol.

Participants - Describe how/where subjects will be recruited, how many will participate in research, and their general characteristics such as age and gender. When appropriate, describe unique characteristics required for subjects' participation in study.

Participants in this study will be students who attend or have attended The College of William and Mary who were designated as William and Mary Scholars, Gateway Scholars, or who have attended WMSURE events. In addition, other students will also participate as control groups. Students will be surveyed and interviewed about their experiences and beliefs of what factors makes them and other students likely to do research at William and Mary. Students will be interviewed about what factors attributed to their retention or non-retention as researchers. Participants will be selected through personal contacts and through email. We anticipate recruiting about 100 current students and 100 alumni this year.

The student participants will come from different socioeconomic backgrounds; have varying exposure prior to research college, varying grade point averages, and standardized test scores.

In addition, faculty at the College of William and Mary will also be asked to complete an online survey. We expect that respondents will represent the diversity of the college.

Methods - Describe methods used to collect and analyze your data.*

We will survey and interview students and alumni of The College of William and Mary with the purpose of analyzing what factors make students pursue research opportunities. In addition, we will collect data from the different groups above to determine potential differences between groups in academic performance, research experience and interest, mentors, etc. Thus, we will collect data from students asking for GPA, number of credits taken, number and quality of research experiences, interest in research in their discipline, plans for future graduate study or career, and the presence and quality of mentors. In addition, data on a range of additional, standardized items related to perceptions of discrimination (Romero & Roberts, 1998; Williams et al., 1997), self-efficacy (Bandura, 1989), ethnic identity (Phinney, 1992), self-esteem (Rosenberg, 1965), and privilege (Kerr et al., 2011) will be assessed. These measures will be used to assess potential pre-existing differences in these variables between groups. Race, ethnicity, parental

education, and gender will be examined for their potential moderating role. Graduation rates as well as graduate admission rates and graduate completion rates will be assessed, and individuals will be tracked after they leave W&M using social media as well as the Alumni Association and development offices' alumni tracking systems. All quantitative measures will be administered online using Survey Monkey.

In addition to the quantitative measures that will be used, multiple qualitative measures will be used to examine scholars' experiences with the program and to monitor potential development and growth. Interviews with students will be conducted in both one-on-one settings and in appropriate focus groups. Interviews with students will be analyzed using qualitative data analysis software.
Thus, we will conduct surveys, individual interviews, and focus groups.
In addition to collecting data from students and alumni, we will also collect information from faculty that will ask specific questions about their research experiences with students, their perception of the needs of WMSURE students, and their suggestions for improving research outcomes for students.

Information that we gather will be used to:

1. Synthesize a comprehensive model that will aid W&M faculty to engage a broader diversity of students and retain more under-represented students in their research groups.
2. Propose revisions to the current programming at W&M that will be submitted to relevant departmental, programmatic, and College committees for review and implementation.
3. Propose revisions to current campus models to build greater collaborations between faculty, undergraduate, and graduate students.

Individuals who participate in the online survey or who do interviews will be given the option to enter into a raffle for a $25 gift card.

All questions to be used in the interviews and surveys are provided in separate word document attachments.

Brief Rationale - Within context of literature, explain why this work is important.

This project will study the factors that attribute to successful research experience of W&M Scholars and WMSURE students. We will interview students and alumni from The College of William and Mary. This research will be used to propose revisions to the current undergraduate research models to engage a broader diversity of students and retain more under-represented groups in particular. The inspiration for this research project is the Meyerhoff Scholars Program at University of Maryland Baltimore County (UMBC). Dr. Freeman Hrabowski, president of UMBC, was integral in the creation of the Meyerhoff program to increase the amount of African Americans graduating with science degrees and earning MD's and Ph.D's at UMBC, a predominately white institution. UMBC's website states, "As of February 2010: Alumni from the program have earned 65 Ph.D.s, 22 M.D./Ph.D.s and 65 M.D.s" (UMBC, 2010). It is our goal, through this research, to create a multicultural learning environment at The College of William and Mary in the sciences where "all students—regardless of their gender and social class and their ethnic, racial, or cultural characteristics—should have an equal opportunity to learn in school" (Banks, 1997). The Meyerhoff model will be tailored to the College of William and Mary because it may have different needs than UMBC.

In addition, in 2010, Professors Margaret Saha, Anne Charity Hudley, Dan Cristol, and John Swaddle submitted a five year grant proposal to the National Science Foundation entitled Diversifying interdisciplinary introductory biological and environmental science education at W&M: insights from the social and STEM sciences. Although that proposal was highly ranked, it was not funded. This research will also provide the preliminary data needed for a resubmission of that proposal.

Privacy and Confidentiality - Include any statements necessary about protecting the privacy or confidentiality of collected data. 'Anonymous' is used when subjects' identities are not known. 'Confidential' is used if even indirectly - i.e. coding system - it is possible to connect a subject's

All information collected for this study will remain confidential. Completed surveys will remain on a password protected computer. In addition survey responses will not have personal names or affiliations on them and participants will be referred to by pseudonyms in order to protect their confidentiality. Focus groups will be audio taped with permission, and

responses/data to his/her true identity. If confidentiality is used, proper security must be assured by keeping code key under 'lock and key' conditions with only the investigator having access to that key. the audiotapes and all other information will be kept confidential and secure. Participation is voluntary and questions may be omitted. Pseudonyms will be substituted in any publications or presentations for identifying information as to not compromise the identity of the participants.

Results - Explain how subjects will be apprised of outcome. The results from this research will be synthesized into a comprehensive model that will be tailored to fit the needs of the Commonwealth of Virginia CCRI initiative, The W&M Scholars program, and WMSURE students at The College of William and Mary. This information may potentially increase the number of diverse students who do research at William and Mary. All students will be given a summary of the general results of the findings. The results will increase the understanding of what curricular factors, pedagogies, and other structures within higher education foster African American academic success in the sciences. The results may also be used for articles, books, and/or presentations.

Informed Consent for Participation in the Research Study

Whom to Contact about this Study: Principal Investigators:
Dr. Anne Charity-Hudley ahchar@wm.edu
(757) 221-2335

Dr. Cheryl Dickter
cldickter@wm.edu
757-221-3722

Consent Form - Include the text of the form to be used in obtaining informed consent. In certain circumstances, where the signed informed consent form could link subjects to the data, the investigator may request waiving the requirement to obtain signed informed consent. If requesting such a waiver, please include justification. The investigator must still obtain informed consent, even if only verbally, after explaining to the subject the purpose of the research, procedures to be used, and subject's rights.

I. PURPOSE OF THIS RESEARCH STUDY:
This study is being conducted in order to examine various factors that contribute to academic and career success for students and alumni of The College of William and Mary.

II. WHAT WILL BE DONE:
You will be asked to provide some information about your academic and research experiences at W&M. You will be asked to provide answers to open-ended questions about your overall academic achievement. You will also be asked to factors that either helped you get interested in research, participate in research,

or inhibited you from pursing research. You will also complete a number of standardized questionnaires asking about various attitudes and behaviors. Your participation in this study should take about 30 minutes.

III. POSSIBLE BENEFITS:

The results from this research will be synthesized into a comprehensive model that will be tailored to fit the needs of underrepresented students at The College of William and Mary. This information may also potentially increase the amount of students who do research at The College of William and Mary and also promote true integration of ideas into the College's plans for undergraduate research. The results will increase the understanding of what curricular factors, pedagogies, and other structures within higher education foster comprehensive academic participation among underrepresented groups. The results may also be used for articles, books, and/or presentations. Pseudonyms will be substituted in any publications or presentations for identifying information as to not compromise the identity of the participants. Your answers will be used to:

• Aid faculty at W&M and to engage a broader diversity of students.

• Propose revisions to the current undergraduate teaching and research model.

IV. POSSIBLE RISKS:

The results of this survey will be kept confidential and secure. Participation is voluntary and questions may be omitted. You have the right to opt out of participation at any time. There is no anticipated potential physical, psychological, social, economic, monetary, or legal risk associated with any of the questionnaires. All participation is voluntary; there is no penalty for withdrawal at any time.

V. CONFIDENTIALITY OF RECORDS:

All information collected for this study will remain confidential. Completed surveys will remain on a password protected computer. In addition, survey responses will not have personal names or affiliations on them and participants will be referred to by pseudonyms in order to protect their confidentiality. Focus groups will be audio or video taped with

permission, and the audiotapes and all other information will be kept confidential and secure. Participation is voluntary and questions may be omitted. Pseudonyms will be substituted in any publications or presentations for identifying information as to not compromise the identity of the participants.

By signing this form and consenting to participate in this research study, you are indicating your agreement that all information collected from this survey may be used by current and future researchers in such a fashion that your personal identity will be protected. Such use will include sharing anonymous information with other researchers and teachers for checking the accuracy of study findings and for future approved research that has the potential for improving human knowledge.

VI. PAYMENT FOR PARTICIPATION
Individuals who participate in the online survey or who do interviews will be given the option to enter into a raffle for a $25 gift card.

VII. VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION WITH RIGHT OF REFUSAL: Your participation in this research study is completely voluntary. You are free to choose not to answer particular questions in the survey. You are free to withdraw your consent for participation in this study at any time.

VIII. Review of Study:
This study is entitled " Examination of the effectiveness of the William and Mary Scholars Undergraduate Research Experience (WMSURE)" and is conducted by Drs. Jan Rozzelle, Anne H. Charity Hudley, Cheryl Dickter. The purpose of the study has been explained to me. I understand that I will be asked to answer several questions about my experiences at the College of William and Mary.

My participation in this study should take a total of about 30 minutes. I understand that my responses will be confidential
and that my name will not be associated with any results of this study. I know that I may refuse to answer any question asked and that I may discontinue participation at any time.

Potential risks resulting from my participation in this

project have been described to me. I am aware that I may report dissatisfactions with any aspect of this experiment to the Chair of the Protection of Human Subjects Committee, Dr. Ray McCoy, 1-855-800-7187, consent@wm.edu. I am aware that I must be at least 18 years of age to participate. My digital signature below signifies my voluntary participation in this project and that I have printed out a copy of this consent form for my records.

For more information about the project, please contact Dr. Anne H. Charity Hudley at acharityhudley@wm.edu or Dr. Cheryl Dickter at cldickter@wm.edu.

I have read and understand the above information and voluntarily agree to participate in the research project aforementioned. I have received given a copy of this consent form.

IX. SIGNATURE FOR CONSENT

The above-named investigator has answered my questions and
I agree to be a research participant in this study.

Participant's Name: Date:

Participant's Signature:

▶PHSC-Personnel Qualification

List personnel who will be performing the proposed procedures/research and indicate the training and number of years of experience of each person performing the procedures proposed. Personnel who will be collecting or potentially coming in contact with human tissues or fluids (e.g. blood or saliva collection), must be trained and ALSO obtain approval from the Institutional Biohazard Committee (IBC) by completing and submitting the IBC HUMAN TISSUE/FLUID REGISTRATION FORM. This form must be updated and resubmitted if any personnel changes occur.*

Anne H. Charity Hudley has extensive graduate and professional training and eleven years of experience researching in schools on federally and state funded projects.

Cheryl L. Dickter has had experience in the administration of quantitative surveys for the past six years.

Hannah Franz will serve as a graduate research assistant and

has had extensive ethical and
methodological training.

Undergraduate students:
Marvin Shelton, Ebi Doubeni,
Adom Whitaker, Eboni
Brown, Rachel Boag, and
Jasmine Koech

▶ PHSC-General Registration Information

Your William and Mary role:* Faculty

Advisor's Name:

▶ PHSC-General Protocol Information

Will the participants be from a William and Mary course? No

If No, they will be from: Current students, recent alumni, current faculty

Will the participants be under 18 years old? No

Can proper informed consent be obtained in advance of research? Yes

If No, explain in "Participants," located in the Protocol Description section, how consent will later be obtained, or what precautions will be taken in lieu of proper consent.

Does this study involve any procedures likely to produce psychological or physical stress (e.g., failure, anxiety, pain, invasion of privacy, etc.)? No

If Yes, identify in "Brief Rationale," located in the Protocol Description section, the extra precautions that will be taken to protect the subjects' well being.

Is deception (active misleading) involved in the study? No

If Yes, describe the debriefing procedure:

Will subjects be informed that they may terminate participation at any time without penalty? Yes

If No, explain in "Participants," located in the Protocol Description section, why this will not be done.

Even allowing for unusual circumstances, might any participants be disturbed by their participation? No

If Yes, explain in "Brief Rationale," located in the Protocol Description section, what will be done to reduce or eliminate the lasting effects of any negative reactions.

Must this form be reviewed by other institutions? No

If Yes, please list each institution below, and indicate approval status. When this is approved by the other institution(s), please append a copy of the IRB approval(s) to this protocol for record retention/documentation purposes.