REALLY? YOU DON'T LOOK LIKE AN AMERICAN INDIAN: SOCIAL REPRESENTATIONS AND SOCIAL GROUP IDENTITIES

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Abstract

Social representations refer to ideas and meanings that help individuals orient themselves and communicate with others in particular social contexts (Moscovici, 1988). Social representations provide the structure and language for understanding such questions as "Who am I?" and "Who are we?" Social group identities carry with them a set of meanings and ideas that inform the interpersonal context for both in-group and out-group members. The purpose of this dissertation is to examine the psychological costs and benefits of social representations of minority groups, in this case American Indians, when the widely shared representations are limited in scope. The present research answers the following questions: 1) What are the prevalent social representations of American Indians and how frequently do they appear in mainstream American contexts? 2) What are the consequences of explicitly priming these social representations for American Indians' self-esteem, collective self-efficacy, and achievement-related possible selves? 3) Does ethnic identification mediate this relationship? and 4) What are the consequences of explicitly priming representations of minority groups for European Americans' self-esteem? In Study 1, one year of articles from two major newspapers and a decade of Hollywood movies were coded for representations of American Indians. This content analysis revealed that representations of American Indians were relatively scarce and fairly limited in scope, so that all representations could be categorized into three major categories: the romanticized Indian, the broken Indian, and the Progressive Indian). In Studies 2 and 3, American Indian high school students were primed with a prevalent social representation of their group (i.e., Pocahontas, Chief Wahoo, or Negative

Stereotypes), and then completed state self-esteem or collective self-efficacy measures. In both studies, American Indian students primed with social representations reported depressed self-esteem and collective self-efficacy when compared to American Indian students in the control (no social representation) condition. In study 4, American Indian undergraduates, who were attending a predominantly American Indian university that has as its mascot an image of an American Indian chief, were shown and asked four questions about a particular social representation of American Indians (either Chief Wahoo, Chief Illiniwek, the Haskell Indian, or an American Indian College Fund advertisement). Then they completed a possible selves questionnaire. American Indian undergraduates exposed to these representations reported fewer achievement-related possible selves than did American Indians in a no-representation control condition. Study 4 therefore replicated and increased the generalizability of the findings in Studies 2 and 3. Finally, in Study 5, European Americans were explicitly primed with social representations of American Indians (i.e., Pocahontas, Chief Wahoo, or Negative Stereotypes). European Americans exposed to these social representations conditions reported more self-esteem than did European Americans in a no-representation control condition. In other words, European Americans enjoyed a self-esteem boost when primed with representations of American Indians. Thus, social representations are implicated in the psychological functioning of both American Indians and European Americans. Implications and potential mediators of these effects are discussed.

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INTRODUCTION

> Now those movie Indians wearing all those feathers can't come out as human beings. They're not expected to come out as human beings because I think the American people do not regard them as wholly human. We must remember that many, many American children believe that feathers grow out of Indian heads. (Stephan Feraca, Motion Picture Director, 1964, as cited in W. Churchill, 1992)

If American children believed that feathers grew out of Indian heads, as Feraca claimed nearly 40 years ago, perhaps it was because of the relative invisibility of American Indians in mainstream European American culture. In 1964, American Indians constituted 0.3% of the total population[1] (U.S. Census Bureau, 2002) and mainstream American media included only very limited representations of American Indians--the majority of whom featured feathers prominently placed atop their heads (Bordewich, 1996; Churchill, 1992; Rollins & O'Connor, 1998). American Indians are still relatively invisible, in that they constitute only 1.6% of the total population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000). Half of this number lives in one of five states--California, Oklahoma, Arizona, New Mexico, or Washington--and over a third lives on reservations (Family Education Network, 2002). When most Americans think about American Indians, their thoughts are likely to be influenced by media depictions, rather than by direct interactions or personal experiences with "real" American Indians. Lipmann (1922) coined the word "stereotype" to describe the caricatures we attribute to groups with whom we have limited contact, and for most Americans, this term captures their knowledge of American Indians.

While American Indians are quite invisible in mainstream American society, they loom large in mainstream America's collective imagination (Pewewardy, 1995).

[1] This estimate includes both Eskimos and Native Hawaiians (U.S. Census Bureau, 2002)

These representations of American Indians seem to flourish quite apart from the group they reference. In contemporary media, for example, the most salient representations of American Indians are sports team mascots (e.g., major league baseball's "Cleveland Indians" and "Atlanta Braves;" the National Football League's "Washington Redskins;" college sports teams, including the University of Illinois "Fighting Illini" and San Diego State University's "Aztecs") and in Hollywood movies (e.g., Pocahontas, Dances with Wolves, The Last of the Mohicans, Indian in the Cupboard).

Disney's (1995) rendition of Pocahontas, for example, was the most watched family film of the year. The movie grossed $342 million worldwide, including $142 million in the U.S. alone. The movie won an Academy Award and a Golden Globe for the song "Colors of the Wind." Pocahontas was widely touted as positively representing American Indians, despite its many references to American Indians as "heathens," "savages," "devils," "primitive," and "uncivilized." For example, the lyrics from the song "Savages—Savages" reflect the British opinion of the indigenous people they encountered:

> What can you expect from filthy little heathens?
> Their whole disgusting race is like a curse
> Their skin's a hellish red
> They're only good when dead
> They're vermin, as I said,
> And worse.
> They're savages! Savages! Barely even human.
> Savages! Savages! Drive them from our shore!

Psychologists and educators have long recognized the powerful influence of movies, television, and literature on the shaping of minds, young and old (Cortez, 1992; Smith, 1992). For many Americans (and American Indians, too), Pocahontas

and other major motion pictures have been their primary sources of information about American Indians (Pewewardy, 1995). Although these representations of American Indians are not uniformly negative, they are few and number and limited in scope, and therefore suggest that there are only a few ways to be an American Indian. Contrasting the media representations of American Indians and African Americans speaks to this point. African Americans have been presented or represented as doctors (e.g., Bill Cosby as Dr. Huxtable), reporters (e.g., Al Roker, Bryant Gumble), lawyers (e.g., Johnny Cochrane), criminals (e.g., O. J. Simpson), politicians (e.g., Colin Powell), scholars (e.g., Cornel West), athletes (e.g., Michael Jordan, Serena Williams), and musicians (e.g., Whitney Houston). As for American Indians--most Americans will have a difficult time recalling an American Indian in any of these roles.

What are the effects of limited and narrow representations of American Indians on American Indians' psychological functioning? The under-representation of American Indians in mainstream American contexts provides a unique opportunity to examine how representations constrain and afford one's ways of being a self and what being a self will entail (i.e., one's identities). Until relatively recently, such questions, as well as the experience of being the target of prejudice, have garnered little attention from social scientists. The current social psychological literature (e.g., Branscombe, Harvey, & Schmitt, 1999; Crocker & Major, 1989; Crosby, Cordova, & Jaskar, 1993; Schmitt & Branscombe, 2002; Steele, 1997; Steele & Aronson, 1995) reveals that contexts that activate stereotypic representations of ethnic groups are likely to threaten the identities of those groups' members, thereby leading to a variety of detrimental effects (e.g., lowered self-esteem, disidentification, and academic underperformance).

The present dissertation extends the current social psychological literatures on stereotype threat and social identity by examining the effects of social representations on a group for which these representations are not only overwhelmingly negative or simplistic, but also are few in number. Specifically, these studies first chart the prevalent social representations of American Indians in mainstream American media, and then examine how invoking these representations influences the selves and identities of American Indians and European Americans.

This dissertation asks five specific questions about the role of social representations in the experiences of being a target of prejudice. First, what are the prevalent social representations of American Indians, and how frequently do they appear in mainstream American contexts? Second, what are the consequences of explicitly priming these prevalent social representations for the self-esteem, collective self-efficacy, and future achievement of American Indians? Third, does ethnic identification mediate this relationship? Fourth, what are the consequences of explicitly priming representations of minority others for European Americans' self-esteem? And fifth, what is the process by which social representations become threatening for American Indians?

These are the central questions of this dissertation, and the answers to these questions have both practical and theoretical implications. The practical focus is on the importance of understanding how the social representational environments of schools and workplaces can influence the selves and identities of individuals belonging to ethnic minority groups. This understanding may then be implemented to ensure that these representations are not limiting, devaluing, or alienating, but instead facilitate

individual potential and performance (Steele, 1997; Markus, Steele, & Steele, 2002). The theoretical focus is on further illuminating how prejudice inheres not just in individual negative attitudes about particular social groups, but also in the distribution of public images and meanings regarding these groups. This focus on the social representations of American Indians and their psychological effects will also further highlight the social nature of identity. Identity requires engagement with and recognition by others, and thus identity is necessarily influenced by the social representations that are prevalent in a given sociocultural context.

Social Representations

> The reality of a society depends in part on what is in its representations of itself. (Kolakowski, 1978, p. 94)

One way to examine the relationship between collective reality and individual reality is to apply Moscovici's (1988) theory of social representations. Social representations refer to the ideas and meanings that are essential for societal functioning; they are taken for granted understandings of the world that are widely shared and that play an essential role in individuals' approaches to the world, including ways of thinking, feeling, and behaving. Moscovici (1973/ 1988) describes social representations as

> A system of values, ideas, and practices with a twofold function: first to establish an order which will enable individuals to orientate themselves in their material and social world and to master it; and secondly to enable communication to take place among members of a community by providing them with a code for social exchange and a code for naming and classifying unambiguously the various aspects of their world and their individual and group history. (p. xiii).

Social representations lend organization and structure to the social world. First, they allow people to make sense of the world by providing meaning and definition to the object being represented and, second, they transform abstract concepts into more concrete forms (Moscovici, 1984) For example, when viewers watch Pocahontas or Dances with Wolves, the social representations contained therein provide a code for defining and identifying American Indians. To the extent that individuals have no direct contact with American Indians, then the images in these movies give meaning to an otherwise unknown or perhaps conceptually strange group of people. Hence, one of the primary functions of social representations is to classify various aspects of the world, thereby rendering the abstract as concrete and the strange as familiar (Moscovici, 1973).

Moreover, as the movie example illustrates, these ideas and meanings can be embodied in institutions, social structures, and everyday artifacts (e.g., churches, social movements, the law, pedagogy, teams, families, commercials, movies, posters) and can take on a life of their own, separate from the groups they represent. For example, in both movies the characters wear buckskin and feathers, inhabit the natural environment, and curiously observe the new settlers in the area. On one hand, if someone knows nothing about American Indians, then these movies provide an image of this group. However, these concrete images do not accurately depict the current group of American Indians in this country. Individuals for whom the only social representations of American Indians are provided motion picture industry may therefore have only a limited repertoire of ideas and practices with which to engage or be actual American Indians. Thus, the motion picture industry's depiction of American

Indians is a powerful representation that tacitly affords and constrains ways of being an American Indian.

An important feature of social representations that underscores their social nature is that they are seen and understood through the eyes of the groups to which people belong and as a result, people in groups come to calibrate or attune their thoughts through discourse, not through individual contemplation (Wagner, 1987). Individuals negotiate the ideas and meanings that are attached to the set of social representations that are available at the present moment. Thus, social representations are not merely reflections of reality, but rather are essential for societal functioning, in that they create reality by affording certain perceptions and constraining others (Oyserman & Markus, 1993).

A second and related feature is that social representations exist in a state of flux. In the course of everyday activities, individuals move from one context to another, and in the course of conversations, they move from mind to mind negotiating one set of representations or another. As the contexts or minds change, new images and ideas are launched (Sperber, 1985) such that social representations are continually negotiated and re-negotiated or, as Moscovici (1984) would say, "represented" and "re-presented." However, the reverse of this second feature can also be true. If representations are neither negotiated nor re-negotiated in social interactions, then they are likely to remain static. This feature helps to explain why it is difficult to eradicate some pervasive societal images and practices and replace them with alternative ones. In the case of ethnic minority groups such as American Indians, for example, being invisible in a particular domain of life and not having the power to advocate or

promote their own group traits or characteristics can create situations where outdated or incorrect information pools. This feature also explains how a group or individual's relative invisibility in a domain can be enhanced. In a domain where a group has no social representation (e.g., American Indian chemists), then the members or participants in that domain are not likely to think about the group's absence—the absent group just does not appear on their radar screen.

Social representations are essential tools in the process of becoming a person; they constitute the building blocks from which the self is constructed (Oyserman & Markus, 1993). Social representations provide the structure and the language to the "who am I" and the "who are we" (i.e., who is my group) questions that all human beings must negotiate, and these questions inform and are informed by specific issues related to individual and group identities. For example, social representations give information about who and what matters in society, which individuals and which groups have status and/or power in society, and what others think or do not think about the groups with which individuals are associated. These representations provide the framework for interpreting social interactions and in so doing structure the nature of what is 'good,' what is 'right,' and what is 'moral.'

In a similar approach to that of social representations theory, Hardin and Higgins (1996) argue that the establishment and maintenance of individual experience requires shared reality. Social representations are one important mechanism for sharing ideas. Experience depends on these ideas and is fashioned through them. The fact that individual thought is a product of social activity, and that this social activity depends on a set of mutually held social representations, has many important

implications for understanding the psychology of those who must contend with narrow and limited social representations of their group.

Social Representations and Social Group Identities

While social representation theory helps to explicate how sociocultural contexts shape the way people think about themselves, their gender, ethnicity, and socioeconomic class, social identity theory implicitly examines the ways in which people come to think about themselves through membership in particular social groups. According to social identity theory (Tajfel, 1978;Tajfel & Turner, 1986), individuals place themselves or are placed in groups based on social categories such as race, gender, age, employment, religion, and sexuality. All of these categories are associated with a set of (not necessarily consensual or shared) social representations. As people learn to describe themselves through the social representations of the groups to which they belong (Hogg & Abram, 1988), so too do they contend with the meanings and ideas that are attached to those representations. When a social group is made salient in a given context, the social identity and the meanings and ideas on which that identity is contingent will also be made salient (Turner, Oakes, Haslam, & McGarty, 1994).

According to social identity theory, social group identities constitute an essential component of one's self-concept, individuals are motivated to have a positive self-concept, and as a result, individuals are motivated to positively evaluate their in-groups and derogate out-groups (Tajfel, 1978). In fact, the mere categorization of individuals into groups (e.g., dividing participants into groups on the basis of a coin toss) is enough to produce this in-group bias (Billig & Tajfel, 1973; Tajfel, Flament, Billig, & Bundy, 1971). Even in such "minimal groups," individuals want their in-

group identities to be positively distinct from out-group identities, and will therefore perceive themselves as more similar to the more positively-viewed, more heterogeneous in-group, and less similar to the more negatively-viewed, more homogeneous out-group (Pickett & Brewer, 2001; Turner et al. 1994).

Stereotypes may be understood as a special case of social representations--they are the social representations that groups have about each other. Stereotypes maximize both perceived in-group positivity and the in-group/out-group distinction. In the course of everyday interpersonal and intergroup interactions, these stereotypes may be activated and enacted, or challenged and changed. Either way, stereotypes both enable and constrain the actions of the individuals to whom they pertain. In other words, social interactions are driven by the content of the stereotypes or the social representations individuals hold, so that social representations shape both individual and social realities.

Despite variability in the stereotypes about different groups, social identity theorists rarely examine the content of these social representations. Instead, social identity theorists assume that the content of social representations is immaterial to the process of intergroup conflict (Turner, 1999). In the studies reported here, I will show how the content of the social representations of majority and minority groups afford different self-images and social identities. Moreover, I will demonstrate that majority groups have more power to shape the representations of both their own groups and of minority groups.

Social Identities Create Reality: Empirical Support

Social identities are structured by the contents of the social representations associated with them. Social groups experience the world differently because there are different sets of representations with which they must contend. Given that shared realities are contingent upon the shared ideas and meanings that constitute individual experiences (Hardin & Higgins, 1996), social realities are contingent upon members of society sharing the same representations about the experiences of in-group and out-group members.

> When individuals with divergent social representations interact, both sides may assume common goals or orientations that are, in fact, not held by the other, leading to misinterpretation or misunderstanding of the other.
> (Oyserman & Markus, 1993, p. 124)

The literature on perceptions of prejudice highlights that individuals who are targets of prejudice (e.g., minority group members, women) and individuals who are not targets of prejudice (e.g., majority group members, men) have quite different experiences of "objectively" similar situations. For example, given the ongoing struggle with racial inequality in America, individuals who are members of ethnic minority groups (e.g., American Indians, African Americans, Hispanics) may perceive the world to be less fair, and thus be more likely to perceive racism or discrimination, than those associated with majority groups (e.g., European Americans, males) (Major, Gramzow, McCoy, Levin, Schmader, & Sidanius, 2002; Operario & Fiske, 2001).

Lay theories about the experiences of targets of prejudice range from the belief that minority group members do not have it so bad, they are just overly sensitive about race issues, to the belief that minority group members actually live in social worlds

that are unfair. The experience of both targets and non-targets can best be understood by merging the two ways of thinking. First, ethnic minorities do have differential base rates of prejudice and discrimination, and because they are more likely to be victims of prejudice, they experience heightened cognitive accessibility to potentially prejudicial situations (Inman & Baron, 1996) and perceive a greater number of differences between in-groups and out-groups (Feldman, Barrett & Swim, 1998).

The likelihood that ethnic minorities will be treated unfairly is a social representation that has deep historical roots in American society. The social representation of non-targets, in this case European Americans, as being perpetrators of prejudice has psychological consequences for majority group members. These social representations may have psychological consequences that would not apply to majority members, who are less likely to be targets of prejudice than minorities, and who are motivated by self-presentational concerns not to be perceived as prejudiced (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998; Plant & Devine, 1998). Inman and Baron (1996) found that people who are not routinely targets of prejudice ("non-targets") are more likely than targets to be labeled as racist, even when the target and non-target perform identical actions (Inman & Baron, 1996). While the research on perceptions of prejudice explicitly examines the events preceding such perceptions for both targets and non-targets, it also implicitly examines the set of social representations that are available in the context.

The sets of available social representations can also change from context to context depending on the “others” who are present in the situation. In prior research, African American participants received negative feedback from an evaluator who was

present and who could see them or by an evaluator who was not present and could not see them (Crocker, Voelkl, Testa, & Major, 1991, Study 2). Black participants attributed the negative feedback to prejudice when they believed that the evaluator could see them, but did not do so if they believed that the evaluator could not see them. Attributing the negative feedback to a cause outside of the self served a self-protective function that helped maintain self-esteem. This self-protective strategy was effective because it could be legitimized by widely shared social representations about African Americans being mistreated by majority group members.

Because many of these studies use a social identity framework to highlight the divergences between targets' and non-targets' individual realities, they assume that the contents of social representations about targets and non-targets are irrelevant; that ways of acting, feeling, and thinking are both predictable and unmediated by the content of the social representations being brought to mind. These groups do not share the same social reality because they are contending with ongoing and different social representations of both their own groups and out-groups. In the case of ethnic minorities, many of these social representations about the in-group are negative. The complexity of contending with the social representations of one's group, particularly when these representations are negative or limiting, is underestimated in these theories. Being a self and negotiating one's identities requires a consideration of all the social representations that are available in the immediate social context.

While social identity theories and perceptions of prejudice research support the notion that social groups matter and that social realities are contingent on the prevailing sets of social representations shared by members of society, Steele (1997)

more directly links social identities to social representations. Highlighting the multiplicity of social representations that are both in people's heads and in the social world, Steele and colleagues (Aronson, Lustina, Good, Keough, Steele, & Brown, 1999; Aronson, Quinn, & Spenser, 1998; Spenser, Steele, & Quinn, 1999; Steele & Aronson, 1995; Steele, 1997) argued that stereotypes are reflected and inscribed in how society functions, are enacted in behaviors, and are powerful and influential in the performance of minorities. This argument is termed stereotype threat theory, where stereotype threat is defined as the distress individuals feel when they are faced with the possibility of confirming a negative stereotype. Experimental methods have shown that the evocation of a negative stereotype can trigger negative reactions. For example, facing the prospect of devaluation, individuals from negatively stereotyped groups may doubt that they will be judged fairly in the stereotype-relevant domain. Their self-protective response to stereotype threat may involve disidentifying with the domain, which involves denying the domain's importance and dismissing it as a basis of identity or self-evaluation (Major & Schmader, 1998). Alternatively, those individuals who continue to identify with the stereotyped domain may experience such pressure or anxiety when performing in that domain that their performance suffers--ironically leading to confirmation of the very stereotype they were attempting to disconfirm (Steele, 1997). It is this second reaction to stereotype threat that has received the most attention.

For example, Steele and Aronson (1995) examined the effects of the stereotype that Blacks are less intelligent than Whites on Black and White subjects' verbal test performance. Steele and Aronson showed that simply making race salient by asking

participants to indicate their racial identity on their test form, was enough to cause poor test performance among Black college students. They concluded that when the Black students were asked to mark their race, they worried that their performance was being evaluated on the basis of race and racial stereotypes, even when the test itself was characterized as one that did not measure ability. Similar results were found in another study in which the specter of innate intelligence differences was raised. Compared to White students, Black students under-performed when the test was framed as a standardized test of academic ability, but no differences were found when the test was framed as non-diagnostic of innate intelligence.

Empirical evidence now indicates that stereotype threat can be found in a variety of domains (i.e., women in math, Asian American women in math, athletic performance) in which a negative stereotype about one's group is relevant. Activating the math-inferiority stereotype about women, Spencer et al. (1999) manipulated the level of stereotype threat that their female participants experienced while taking a difficult math test. Half of the participants were told that the math test had revealed "no gender differences" in the past, thereby removing stereotype threat, whereas participants in the control condition were provided with no information about the relative past performance of men and women. Not surprisingly, women in the stereotype threat condition under-performed on the math test, but women in the "no gender differences" performed equally as well as men.

Three studies further define the relatively widespread parameters of stereotype threat. First, Shih, Pittinsky, and Ambady (1999) demonstrated that activating stereotypes had both beneficial and detrimental effects. Asian American women

performed better on a mathematics test when their Asian identity was implicitly cued (i.e., Asians are good at math), but worse when their gender identity was cued (i.e., women aren't good at math). This study suggests not only that individuals may be "threatened" or "affirmed" by stereotypes, but also that any given individual may be subject to the stereotypes of all the groups to which they belong. Shih et al. further argued that enhanced performance may be due to increased confidence and expectations for success (Cheryan & Bodenhausen, 2001)

Second, Davies, Spencer, Quinn, and Gerhardstein (2002) found that female-stereotypic television commercials had detrimental effects on women's academic performance and achievement-related choices. Moreover, this finding was mediated by the self-relevance of the female-stereotypic commercial. Women highly identified with both math and the female stereotype portrayed under-performed on the math test (Study 1), avoided math items in favor of non-threatening verbal items (Study 2), and noted less interest in quantitative fields (Study 3) when the female-stereotype was activated. The link made between level of identification and what the participants are identifying with suggests that the social representations that are activated by identification with one's situation salient social groups may mediate social identity threat.

Finally, Stone, Lynch, Sjomeling, and Darley (1999) extended stereotype threat to the athletic domain. African American and European American participants, highly identified with the sport of golf, were asked to play a short game of golf under the guise that the task was measuring either 'sports intelligence' or 'natural athletic ability.' Compared to the control condition, African American participants performed

worse when the golf task was framed as diagnostic of "sports intelligence" and European American participants performed worse when the task was framed as diagnostic of "natural athletic ability." These findings expand stereotype threat to domains outside of intellectual and academic performance. Moreover, they partially refute and extend the original framework presented by Steele and Aronson (1995), which suggested that for stereotype threat to occur, a negative stereotype must exist in the domain and the participants must be identified with the domain.

As research continues to extend the list of groups for and domains in which stereotype threat may occur (e.g., Whites vs. Asians in math; Latinos vs. Whites in intellectual ability, males vs. females in sensitivity; Aronson, Lustina, Good, Keough, Steele, & Brown, 1999; Aronson & Salinas, 1997; Leyens, Desert, Croizet, & Darcis, 2000), so to has the generalizability of the theory been expanded. Steele (2002) describes each of the stereotype threat parameters as "contingencies" that have broader ramifications for ones' social identity--what he terms social identity threat. He argues that these identities are not simply 'inside' the person but are elicited by the social contexts we inhabit. Stereotype threat theory makes clear that changes in the social context have remarkable influences on behavior and cognition and it inadvertently highlights the power of social representations to influence psychological functioning.

You can't be a self by yourself

Being a self not only involves identifying oneself with groups, but also being identified with groups by others. These are not solely individual projects, but rather are tied to the social representations of how to be a self that are available in a given context. From Nike's "Just do it" to the U.S. Army's "Be all you can be," Americans

are inundated with the idea that one can "choose" identities that are reflective of one's true self. William James (1950 [1890]) expresses well the assumption that anyone with enough motivation and willingness to work can fashion a desirable identity:

> Not that I would not, if I could, be both handsome and fat and well dressed, and a great athlete, and make a million a year, be a wit, a bon-vivant, and a lady-killer, as well as a philosopher; a philanthropist, statesman, warrior, and African explorer, as well as a 'tone-poet' and saint…Such different characters may conceivably at the outset of life be alike possible to a man. But to make any one of them actual, the rest must more or less be suppressed. So the seeker of his truest, strongest, deepest self must review the list carefully and pick out the one on which to stake his salvation. (pp. 309-310)

For James, "being" a person and developing identities is about individual choice and agency. First one spells out possible identities—doctor, fireman, Indian chief—and then one chooses one of these identities on which to stake one's salvation. Of course, this script takes for granted that individuals are aware of and have access to the many choices of who and what to become, and, moreover, that when they choose from the repertoire of "things to be," other people will accept their choice without resistance. While this representation of the identity process is a common one in mainstream self-theorizing, the question motivating the current research examines the consequences of when the choices on which to stake one's salvation are relatively limited, yet not completely negative. Consider the following cartoon (See Figure 1):

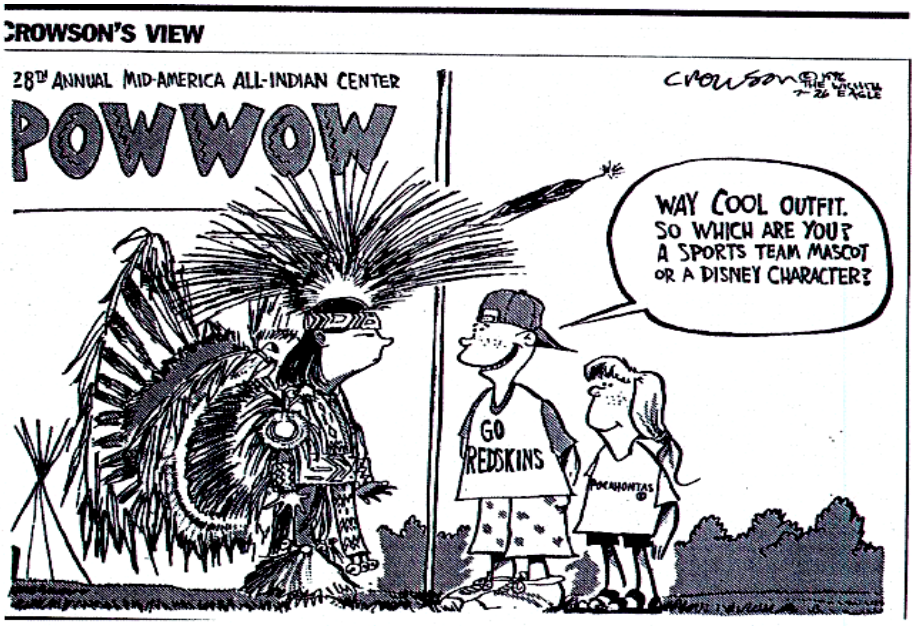

Figure 1. Indian Country Today cartoon

In this cartoon, a young American Indian male is coming from a powwow, a traditional American Indian ceremony. When he encounters the two young European American individuals, they exclaim, "Way cool outfit. So which are you? A sports team mascot or a Disney character?" For the European American children, these two representations exhaust the possibilities of what an American Indian could be. To create an identity according to the process spelled out by William James, there needs to be a wide variety of plausible representations from which to choose. This cartoon illustrates that American Indians are not afforded this array of identity options.

When individuals belong to groups whose social representations about how to be a self diverge from those of the mainstream, the self-definition task is two-fold (Oyserman & Markus, 1993). First they must define who they are and who they are

not, and second, they must do it in spite of the commonly held expectations about what they will be. If the representations of one's group are limited or narrow, it is likely that for these people the range of possibilities will be narrower than for those who have a large set of representations about their group (Markus & Nurius, 1986). Further, if people choose to be something that others "like them" do not typically become, they are likely to find that the prevalent representations of people like them do not include these possibilities, thus making identity construction a more challenging task. For example, when a woman imagines herself as a competent and highly skilled social worker or teacher, she can draw on a large repertoire of compatible representations; yet when she imagines herself as a mathematician or as the President of the United States, the repertoire of representations for scaffolding her dreams in her own mind and in the mind of others is impoverished.

Given the social representations of American Indians held by the two individuals in the cartoon (as noted on their shirts), it is not surprising that they would wonder if the male dressed in American Indian regalia was a sports team mascot or a Disney character. They were using the salient and available set of representations. And while all people live within a network of other people's views of them and no one is completely "free" from these constraints, the issue here is that for some individuals and for some groups, the networks may be larger and thus less constraining. For those individuals for whom there are few representations of their group in mainstream contexts it is necessary to negotiate these contexts by contending with—resisting, altering, and attuning—these limited and narrow representations. As I will

demonstrate, each of these contentions has real consequences for individual and group psychologies.

Downward Social Constitution

> For many non-Indians, an Indian must resemble a historical image, one frozen in the past and in historical archives--the noble, proud warrior dancing about and worshipping nature's mysteries. For still others an Indian is only an Indian if he or she is a full blood. Thus an Indian in the twentieth century is surely distinctive: a victim of colonization, battered about by the state and federal government agencies, and subjugated to wardship status by a system that still does not fully understand how the Indian has managed to survive. (Trimble, 1987, p. 214)

Social representations help individuals make sense of their social worlds and provide tools that enhance communication. In the case of ethnic minorities, social representations can become negative and limiting if they present an image or an idea about the minority group that serves to constrain the individual's ability to develop an effective identity. Thomas (1992) used the term downward social constitution to refer to the experience of being in a setting where, based on their social identities, individuals are exposed to representations that limit and devalue them.

The purpose of this dissertation project is to examine how the narrow and limited representations of American Indians in mainstream American culture may impinge upon the psychological well-being of American Indian individuals. First, it is hypothesized that few representations of American Indians will be found, and that, the ones found will be limited in scope (i.e., they can fit into a small number of categories). Second, it is anticipated that priming a pervasive social representation of American Indians will have a negative effect on the self-esteem, collective self-efficacy, and achievement-related possible selves of American Indians, and that this

effect will not be mediated by level of ethnic identification. Finally, contrary to the expected negative influence of priming American Indians with representations of their group, it is hypothesized that the same primes will have a positive effect on self-esteem for European Americans. The change of direction is anticipated for three reasons: 1) because the social representations have no direct consequence for European Americans, 2) because American Indians have lower status in society European Americans can engage in a process of downward social comparison, and 3) because these representations may activate positive memories or associations with childhood antics regarding American Indians (e.g., playing cowboys and Indians, watching movies such as Pocahontas or Dances with Wolves).

STUDY 1: CHARTING THE SOCIAL REPRESENTATIONS OF AMERICAN INDIANS

Being a self is a collective process that includes self-identification and identification by others. American Indians can choose to define being American Indian in ways that depart from the widely shared social representations, but they will still be mutually dependent on others to accept and to engage this non-prevalent identity. In order to understand more about the content and consequences of the social representations of American Indians, it was first necessary to identify and describe the prevalent social representations of American Indians.

Documenting the content of social representations has proven useful in other research that focuses on how sociocultural contexts shape psychological functioning. For example, Rothbaum and Tsang (1998) were interested in understanding differences in parent-child relations in China and the United States. A content analysis of Chinese and American popular songs revealed that Chinese songs were more likely to contain themes of interdependence (i.e., lyrics that mention children appreciating, loving, and wanting to please their parents) whereas American popular songs were more likely to mention themes of independence (i.e., children being angry, dissatisfied, or indifferent to their parents). Snibbe and Markus (2002) were interested in social class differences in understandings of self and agency. They analyzed rock and country music songs, and found that country music is more common than rock music in working class contexts, while rock is more popular than country music in middle class contexts. Moreover, the two types of songs differed in the characters they portrayed, with country music including characters that managed and controlled moral

selves, while rock music included characteristics that expressed and expanded unique selves. Kim and Markus (1999) were interested in charting the sources of preferences for difference and for sameness in East Asian and American cultural contexts. Analyzing Korean and American magazine advertisements, they found that themes of uniqueness were common in American advertisements, whereas themes of conformity were common in Korean advertisements.

Similarly, the purpose of this study was to chart the social representations of American Indians in mainstream American contexts using print advertisements and major motion pictures. Based on a variety of ethnographic and literary accounts (Bordewich, 1996; Churchill, 1992; Rollins & O'Connor, 1998; Strong, 1998; Trimble, 1987), it was hypothesized that the social representations of American Indians would be few in number and relatively narrow in scope. To assess these hypotheses, the contents of two major newspapers and ten major Hollywood movies were analyzed. The primary focus of the content analysis was to examine representations that described either individual or groups of American Indians. Thus, any mention of American Indian activities, social problems, achievements, and so on, were coded and analyzed, but mentions of American Indian artifacts or legal facts that could not be linked to a particular tribe or individual (e.g., an American Indian drum was sold at the auction yesterday) were not analyzed in this study.

Methods

To chart the social representations of American Indians in the media, a content analysis of all articles printed in either The New York Times or The Los Angeles Times for one year (using 1997 as our target year), and all major motion pictures

(movies released between 1990-2000 and distributed to theaters nationwide). We chose these newspapers because they are high in circulation, being third and fourth in average daily circulation (1,086,293 and 1,078,186 respectively, Newspaper Association of America, 2000) and because they represent the largest cities on the two coasts, which permitted us to examine regional variability in the information presented about American Indians. Of the approximately 80,700 articles in the two newspapers in 1997, there were 190 articles (57 New York Times, 133 Los Angeles Times) that mentioned Native Americans, American Indians, or Indians, according to a Lexus-Nexus keyword search.

Of the 5868 major motion pictures made between 1990-2000, ten included an American Indian character that had at least a small spoken part that was a part of the storyline, according to the Internet Movie Database (http://us.imdb.com/). In this database, movie plots were searched for mention of characters described as American Indian, Native American, and Indian. Documentaries were not included in the analyses because they reach a smaller audience.

In order to develop a coding scheme that captured the most common representations of American Indians, an initial coding system was developed using articles and movies from previous years. Two coders blind to the hypotheses being tested, listed all specific representations of American Indians found in three months of articles from 1996, and in five major motion pictures made prior to 1990. After listing all of the representations, the two coders then sorted the representations into one of three broad theory-driven categories: romanticized Indian (e.g., spiritual, in-tune with nature, chiefs, warriors, tradition, ceremony), broken Indian (e.g., social and health

problems, government dependency, government betrayal), and progressive Indian (e.g., business advances, achievement and successes, attainment of sovereignty). These categories captured 96.8% of the representations found by the two coders (See descriptions and examples of codes in Table 1).

Next, two new coders (one European American and one American Indian), blind to the study hypotheses, independently coded the content of each of the newspaper articles and movies in this study. Coders marked a "1" if some element fitting that category was present and a "0" if no element was present. An article or newspaper could contain more than one of the broad categories. Across the three categories, the percent of agreement between coders for movies was 100% and for newspaper articles was 83.3%, 95.0%, and 82.2% for each category, respectively. Disagreements were discussed until agreement between the two coders was attained.

Table 1

Coding Scheme

Romanticized Indian	
In-tune with Nature	"Native Americans stepped up efforts in the religious defense of the natural world"
Spirituality	"Old rituals contain lessons about harmony with nature, and with life"
Indian Warrior	"There are fierce life-size [cigar store] Indians"
Broken Indian	
Social Problems	"…the poverty of the Pine Ridge Reservation"
Health Problems	"Cancer and heart-disease rates are rising faster among American Indians than the general population"
Government Dependency	"…federal programs…cost an estimated 73 million"
Progressive Indian	
Business Success	"Mashantucket Pequots are running the biggest casino in the country"
Sovereignty Rights	"Backlash grows as Indians take stand on sovereignty"
Social Gains	"Total enrollment in tribal colleges nationally has shot up to more than 24,000 in 1996 from about 10,000 in 1989"

Note: Codes are not mutually exclusive.

Results

As hypothesized, the social representations of American Indians in mainstream American media were few in number and limited in scope. The content analyses revealed that the majority of representations of American Indians could be categorized into one of the 3 major categories: American Indians as romanticized historical figures, as broken down by social and historical influences, and as progressive with respect to future success (i.e., business, achievement, sovereignty).

Newspapers: Of the 80,700 articles in the two newspapers, during a year period, there were 190 articles that mentioned American Indians. As anticipated, articles mentioning American Indians constituted only .02% of all articles considered for this study. The majority of articles mentioned representations of American Indians as romanticized Indians (78.4%), broken Indians (66.8%), and progressive Indians (33.2%). Both the romanticized Indian and the broken Indian were mentioned significantly more often than the progressive Indian, $t\ (189) = 9.30$, $p < .001$ and $t\ (189) = 7.61$, $p < .001$. The romanticized Indian representation was also mentioned significantly more often than the broken Indian representation, $t\ (189) = 2.40$, $p < .02$. Finally, there were no mentions of individual American Indians as business people, teachers, mechanics, sales people, entertainers, sports figures, health care workers or any other professional or social roles in these articles (this category was dropped from the coding scheme because there were no mentions of these individual roles).

Hollywood Movies: Of the 5868 popular movies made between 1990-2000, 10 movies fit the criteria of the study (i.e., Hollywood movie, widely distributed, and American Indian character with at least minimal speaking lines). As with the

newspapers, the representations of American Indians were quite limited (.002%). The movies also provided support for the prevalence of the three main representations. The romanticized Indian representation was found in 100% of the movies, the broken Indian in 80% of the movies, and the progressive Indian in 30% of the movies. Once again, both the romanticized Indian and the broken Indian were portrayed significantly more often than the progressive Indian, $t\,(9) = 4.58$, $p < .001$, and $t\,(9) = 2.24$, $p < .05$. However, unlike the newspaper articles, the romanticized Indian representation was not portrayed more often in the movies than the broken Indian representation, $t\,(9) = 1.50$, ns, and two movies provided representations of American Indians as professionals (i.e., a police officer and an aquarium animal keeper).

Discussion

Media representations of American Indians were few in number and fairly limited in scope. The social representations of American Indians in the two mainstream newspapers and on the Hollywood movie screen were easily and reliably condensed into three categories. These categories included representations of American Indians as either romanticized historical figures (e.g., warrior, princess, environmentalist, spiritual), as broken down by social problems (i.e., the broken Indian), and as progressive people engaged in American-style success. The romantic and broken Indian images were found more often than the progressive Indian representation.

According to the 2000 U.S. Census, nearly two out of every one hundred Americans is American Indian. Despite this, social representations of American Indians in mainstream American media were decidedly scarce, two out of every 1000

social representations included American Indians. One potential explanation for this finding may be that a variety of social structures limit the visibility of American Indians in mainstream American contexts. For example, American Indians constitute only 1% of college enrollment at four-year universities, compared to 51.3% European American, 20.6% Asian American, 15.7% Latino, and 6.2% African American (Education Watch, 1998). In addition, nearly half of all American Indians live on Indian reservations (Bureau of the Census, 2000) and many reservations are in fairly remote parts of the country. Finally, approximately one-quarter of the American Indian population lives in poverty, more than twice the national average (Census, 2000), which contributes to decreased opportunity and, consequently, decreased visibility.

Another potential explanation may be the "who" that is writing the articles and producing the movies. The great majority of journalists and movie producers are non-Indians (with the movie Smoke Signals being the notable exception). Hence, many of the social representations of American Indians are others' representations of American Indians, and for the most part, these representations continue to bear little resemblance to the experiences of contemporary American Indians.

Many representations of American Indians, particularly the progressive and the romanticized representations, are not obviously negative. In fact, many people would judge these representations positively. The hypothesis being assessed here is that these stereotypic representations are likely to have a negative impact on identity because they constrain the range and choices of possible selves available to American Indians. The prevalent images constitute both "what an American Indian is" and "what an

American Indian is not." An American Indian who does not fit the prevalent representation may then have a difficult time being seen or being identified as American Indian.

STUDY 2: THE EFFECTS OF SOCIAL REPRESENTATIONS ON AMERICAN INDIANS' SELF-ESTEEM

In Study 1, representations of American Indians as romanticized historical figures, as broken down by social problems, and as engaging in American-style success accounted for most of the depictions of American Indians in newspaper articles and Hollywood films. Apart from the narrow scope of these representations, there were also a very limited number of representations. The purpose of Study 2 was to address whether these social representations influence self-esteem for American Indians.

The first task in developing this study was to identify some dominant social representations of American Indians that reflect the three categories found in Study 1. With respect to the romanticized Indian, two images were selected: Disney's Pocahontas and the Cleveland Indian's mascot Chief Wahoo. Both images were selected because of their prominence in American popular culture during the 1990's (Pocahontas was widely viewed in the U.S. and the Cleveland Indians were one of the top teams in Major League Baseball). Moreover, these representations were appropriate for the high school-aged participants to be studied because they were familiar to and popular among this age group.

Finding pictorial representations of the broken Indian and the progressive Indian proved more difficult. In fact, no appropriate, "widely shared" image was found. However, with respect to the broken Indian, the social representation that "fit" the purposes of the study was negative stereotypes. Hence, from a return trip to the newspaper articles and the Hollywood movies emerged a list of the most common

stereotypes (e.g., high drop-out, suicides, and alcoholics) about American Indians. At the time when this study was administered, no representation of the progressive Indian had been found. Since then an advertisement from the American Indian College Fund was found and used in Study 4. In the meantime, that category of representations was dropped from the study.

In this study, the selected media representations of American Indians were used to explicitly prime American Indian high school students, and then self-esteem was measured. We hypothesized that each of the primed social representations would lower self-esteem for American Indians relative to a no-prime control condition. Moreover, we expected that the negative stereotypes, given that they are explicitly negative, would dampen self-esteem more than would the Pocahontas or Chief Wahoo stimuli.

Methods

Participants

Seventy-one American Indian high school and junior high school students (41 girls, 30 boys) from an Indian reservation in Arizona participated in the study. All participants resided on the reservation. The average age was 16.4 years (SD = 1.55) and the average years of school was 8.8 (between 8th and 9th grade) years (SD = 1.27).

Materials

State Self-Esteem Scale was assessed with a 20-item scale (SSES, Heatherton & Polivy, 1991) measuring three components of state self-esteem: appearance (e.g., I am dissatisfied with my weight; I feel unattractive), sociability (e.g., I feel self-conscious; I feel good about myself), and performance (I feel confident about my

abilities; I feel concerned about the impression I am making). Participants were asked, on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = not at all true of me, 5 = extremely true of me), to indicate how true each question was for them "RIGHT NOW." The SSES has been widely used (alpha = .92, Heatherton & Polivy, 1991), but not with American Indian participants. The reliability coefficient for this sample, Cronbach alpha = .82, was sufficient.

Procedure

After receiving permission from the tribal council, I sent letters to parents and students inviting the students to participate in the study. All students who returned both the parent and student consent forms and who were present at school during data collection participated in the study. Prior to data collection, the packets were blinded and randomly ordered to eliminate experimenter bias, and the room was arranged to prevent students from seeing the materials or responses of other participants. Participants were called out of class (in groups of four to five), were given the questionnaire packet, and were instructed to pay careful attention to the directions. On the first page, participants read one of the following sets of directions:

1) Chief Wahoo condition: Most people know very little about American Indians beyond the mascot images portrayed in newspapers and on television. Chief Wahoo, the Redskins, the Braves, and the tomahawk chop are examples of how American Indians are portrayed around the country. The purpose of this study is to portray American Indians as they really are today.

2) Pocahontas condition: Most people know very little about American Indians beyond the romantic images portrayed in newspapers and on television. Movies such as Pocahontas (by Walt Disney), Dances with Wolves, and the Indian in the Cupboard are examples of how American Indians are portrayed around the country. The purpose of this study is to portray American Indians as they really are today.

3) Broken Indian condition: Most people know very little about American Indians beyond the negative images portrayed in newspapers and on television. High dropout rates, alcoholism, suicide, depression, and teen-pregnancies are examples of how American Indians are portrayed around the country. The purpose of this study is to portray American Indians as they really are today.

4) Control Condition: No-prime.

In setting up the social context it was clear that reading the directions was an essential part of the study. Thus, participants were asked to initial the front page if they read the directions carefully and still wished to participate. On the next page, decorating the top left corner was a picture of Pocahontas, a picture of Chief Wahoo, or a short list of negative statistics about American Indians (high rates of depression, alcoholism, and dropping out of high school), or the beginning of the questionnaires (no-prime condition). The picture or statistics corresponded with the directions the students read. Consequently, none of the participants asked about the pictures. All participants then completed the state self-esteem measure and a few demographic questions (age, gender, and year in school). Upon completing the study, participants were debriefed and paid $5 for their participation.

Results

As predicted, the social representation primes influenced the self-esteem of American Indian high school students. A one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) confirmed this hypothesis, $F(3,66) = 6.67$, $p < .001$. See Figure 2 for means and standard errors.

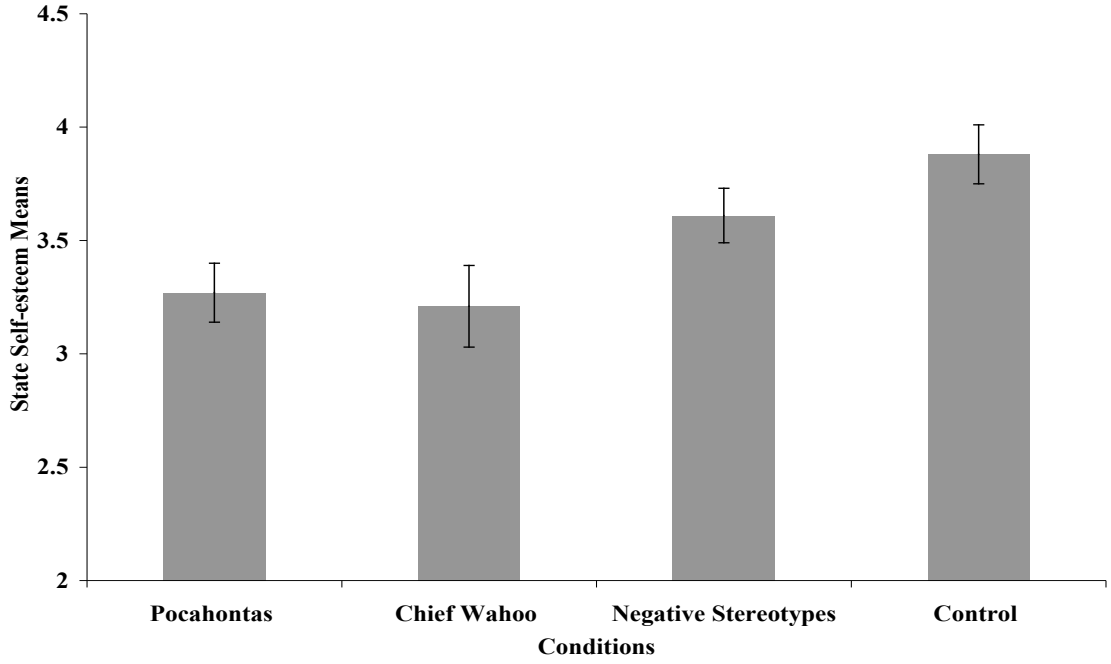

Figure 2. Means and standard errors for self-esteem scores of American Indians by condition

Planned comparisons revealed that means for all priming conditions were lower than the no-prime control condition mean. Specifically, participants in the negative stereotypes condition, $\underline{t}$ (67) = 1.96, $\underline{p} < .05$, Pocahontas condition, $\underline{t}$ (67) = 3.79, $\underline{p} < .001$, and Chief Wahoo condition, $\underline{t}$ (67) = 3.88, $\underline{p} < .001$, reported lower self-esteem than the control condition. Moreover, contrary to the stated hypothesis, the Chief Wahoo prime depressed self-esteem significantly more than the negative stereotypes, $\underline{t}$ (67) = 2.00, $\underline{p} < .05$, and the Pocahontas prime similarly dampened self-esteem more than the negative stereotypes, although this finding was only marginally

significant, t (67) = 1.87, $p < .06$. In sum, when the prevalent social representations of American Indians were made salient, self-esteem was dampened.

In a second set of analyses, the sub-scales of the state self-esteem scale were examined. A multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) by condition was conducted for appearance, sociability, and performance. The multivariate test for condition was significant, F (9,210) = 1.98, $p < .04$. The main effects for condition were also significant for appearance, F (3,70) = 3.28, $p < .03$, and sociability, F (3,70) = 3.11, $p < .03$, and trend level significant for performance, F (3,70) = 2.63, $p < .06$. See Table 2 for means and standard deviations. Planned contrasts revealed that appearance in the Pocahontas ($p < .01$), Chief Wahoo ($p < .03$), and negative stereotypes ($p < .04$) conditions was significantly lower when compared to the control condition. Second, with respect to both performance and sociability, Pocahontas ($p < .02$ and $p < .05$) and Chief Wahoo ($p < .04$ and $p < .05$) were significantly lower than the no-prime control condition, but no differences were found between the negative stereotypes and the control condition. Notably, however, both Pocahontas and Chief Wahoo conditions ($p < .02$ and $p < .02$) yielded lower levels of sociability than did the negative stereotypes condition.

Table 2

Means and standard deviations for state self-esteem subscales by condition

	Appearance		Performance		Sociability	
Condition	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Pocahontas	3.19	.65	3.34	.56	3.17	.65
Chief Wahoo	3.37	.92	3.41	.62	3.16	.72
Negative Stereotypes	3.41	.72	3.62	.51	3.68	.56
Control	3.91	.47	3.79	.44	3.61	.77

Discussion

The three social representations (Pocahontas, Chief Wahoo, and Negative Stereotypes) activated in this study significantly depressed American Indian adolescents' self-esteem, as compared to a no-prime control condition. Notably, the images of Chief Wahoo and Pocahontas lowered self-esteem more than did the list of negative stereotype-relevant statistics (e.g., the prevalence of suicide, alcoholism, and high school drop out rates among American Indians). A closer look at the state self-esteem subscales revealed that feelings about one's appearance were significantly dampened in all three social representations conditions, but feelings about one's sociability and performance were only significantly dampened in the Pocahontas and Chief Wahoo conditions.

Although these findings cannot answer the question of how the activation of social representations lowers American Indian adolescents' self-esteem, there are at least two related possibilities. The first possibility is that priming the prevalent social representations of American Indians creates a stereotype threat situation. In this situation, the representation raises the specter of stereotyping and stigmatization, which includes the risk that the individual may be judged negatively or devalued in some way. The representation may also serve as a reminder that American Indians have been judged negatively and unfairly in the past. Having to contend with these threats to the self may therefore lead to lowered self-esteem (Crocker & Major, 1989; Crocker, Steele & Major, 1998).

Another possibility is that activating these stereotypic social representations restricts the range of possible selves that can be easily brought to mind, or competes with selves held prior to the priming. Research has shown that a wide or diverse range of possible selves is related to high self-esteem and, conversely, that a limited range of possible selves is related to lower self-esteem (Markus & Nurius, 1986). In a study with Latinos, Aguilera (2002) induced stereotype threat by suggesting to participants that they would be the only person of their ethnicity participating in an upcoming group problem-solving situation. He found that the threat increased the range and likelihood of negative possible selves, and decreased the range of positive possible selves.

The images used in Study 1 are available in a variety of public contexts, including schools and work places that are decorated with decals, logos, sports team attire (e.g., Disney, National Football League and Major League Baseball

paraphernalia), and food products (e.g., Land o' Lakes butter). Fully understanding the range of psychological influences these representations can have on self and identity for American Indians may be one essential ingredient for enhancing the social representational environments of work and school domains.

STUDY 3: THE EFFECTS OF SOCIAL REPRESENTATIONS ON AMERICAN INDIANS' COLLECTIVE SELF-EFFICACY

The purpose of Study 3 was to replicate the findings in Study 2 and to expand the range of possible dependent measures that are affected by social representations. In this study, then, collective self-efficacy was included as an additional dependent measure. Social representations are not just limited to thoughts and feelings about the self; they are also likely to impact thoughts and feelings about the groups associated with the self. This may be particularly true for American Indians, who tend to be relatively other-focused and to have interdependent representations of self (Fryberg & Markus, 2002a; 2002b). We hypothesized that the social representations of American Indians used in Study 2 (Pocahontas, Chief Wahoo, negative stereotypes) would also lower collective-efficacy in Study 3, and that this lowering would be particularly pronounced in the negative stereotypes condition.

Second, we examined whether ethnic identification mediates the effect of social representations on self and identity. It is assumed that stereotype threat only occurs when the individual is identified with the stereotyped domain (e.g., in the classic stereotype threat study, African Americans under-perform on standardized tests only if they are highly identified with being a student; Steele, 1997). Yet in the self-schema literature (Markus, Crane, Bernstein, & Siladi, 1982; Markus, Hamill, & Sentis, 1987; Montepare & Clements, 2001), the opposite seems to be true: being schematic for an identity (e.g., being overweight, being old, being a woman) has been shown to provide a buffer against negative feedback. More recently, the content of one's racial self-schema has been found to moderate stereotype threat, such that

minority students with a positive dual identity (i.e., being positively identified with both mainstream America culture and one's in-group culture) seemed to buffer the stereotype threat effect, whereas minority students with an in-group only identity did not (Oyserman, Kemmelmeier, Fryberg, Brosh, & Hart-Johnson, 2002). In this study, it was anticipated that ethnic identity would not mediate the findings because the presence of the American Indian social representation is not necessarily personally relevant to the student. Rather, they represent other people's perception of American Indians. Given this, we speculated that the link between self and social representation is unclear, meaning that there is a great deal of ambiguity about the nature and valence of these representations. However, given that the attitude questions were specifically about the social representations, we expected that participants' attitudes toward representations (e.g., whether or not they agree with using American Indians as mascots) would impact the relationship between the Chief Wahoo representation and collective self-efficacy.

Methods

Participants

One hundred and forty-six American Indian high school students (86 women, 60 men) from Arizona participated in the study. All participants lived and attended high school on the reservation. The average age was 15.8 years (SD = 1.68) and the average years of school was 8.7 (between 8th and 9th grade) years (SD = 1.37).

Materials

Community-Efficacy: Four questions were designed to fit the needs of this study. Given that the American Indian students lived on the reservation, the notion of

collective-efficacy is likely to be more community based (Trimble, 1987). Therefore, questions were created to assess feelings about membership in the group and about the group's capacity to overcome difficulties (See Appendix A). All questions were rated on a 5-point Likert scale with "1" being strongly disagree and "5" being strongly agree. The internal reliability of the scale was high, α =.92.

Racial Identity Measure: Oyserman's (1996) Racial Identity Scale was used to measure identification with being American Indian. This measure includes three subscales: Embedded achievement (e.g., If I am successful it will help the American Indian community; It is important for my family and the American Indian community that I succeed in school.); Connectedness (I feel that I am part of the American Indian community; I have a lot of pride in what members of the American Indian community have done and achieved.); and Awareness of racism (Some people will treat me differently because I am American Indian. Things in the American Indian community are not as good as they could be because of lack). All questions were answered on a 7-point Likert scale (0 = does not describe me at all; 6 = describes me a lot). The reliabilities were sufficient, alphas equal .75 for connectedness, .62 for awareness of racism, and .63 for embedded achievement.

Attitudes about American Indian Mascots: Four questions were designed to assess participants' attitudes about American Indian mascots (See Appendix B). The first two questions asked whether sports mascots have any influence on how Americans think about American Indians or how "you" feel about being American Indian. Participants responded to these questions on a three-point scale (1 = Yes, a negative influence; 2 = No influence; 3 =Yes, a positive influence). The remaining

two questions asked if participants agree with non-American Indians having American Indian mascots and if they agree with American Indians having American Indian mascots. Participants responded to these questions on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree; 7 = strongly agree).

Procedure

The procedure from Study 1 was replicated with a different set of measures. Everything from acquiring permission from the tribal council, parents, and students, to making sure participants read the directions were similarly carried out.

Results

Similar to Study 1, social representations of American Indians had a significant impact on the collective self-efficacy of American Indian high school students. A 4 (condition: Pocahontas, Chief Wahoo, negative stereotypes, and control) X 2 (gender: women, men) ANOVA, confirmed the hypothesis, F (3,135) = 3.45, $p < .02$. See Figure 3 for means and standard errors for each condition. Pairwise comparisons revealed that participants in the negative stereotypes ($p < .01$) and Chief Wahoo ($p < .02$) conditions had lower collective self-efficacy than did participants in the no-representation control condition. Collective self-efficacy was also lower in the Pocahontas condition than in the control condition, but the difference was only at trend level ($p < .10$).

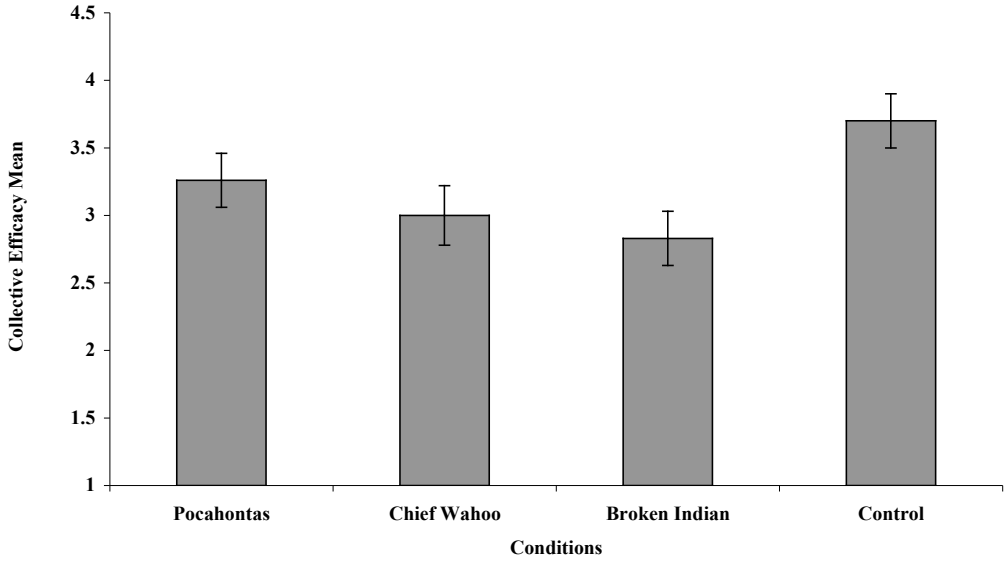

Figure 3. Means and standard errors for collective self-efficacy scores of American Indians by condition

In a second set of analyses, using a high-low median split, a 4 (condition: Pocahontas, Chief Wahoo, negative stereotypes, and control) X 2 (ethnic identification: high, low) ANOVA for collective self-efficacy revealed no significant main effect for ethnic identification, F (3,135) = .46, ns. However, in the Chief Wahoo condition, participants' attitudes towards using American Indians as mascots did impact the relationship between condition and collective self-efficacy. A 2 (condition: Chief Wahoo, control) X 2 (Attitude: agree, disagree) ANOVA for collective self-efficacy showed a significant condition effect, F (1,56) 5.18, $p < .03$, and a significant condition by attitude interaction, F (1,56) 5.41, $p < .02$. See means and standard errors in Figure 4. Planned comparisons revealed that participants who agreed with using American Indians as mascots had lower collective self-efficacy than did all

participants in the control groups, F (1,45) = 11.58, p < .01, and the participants in the Chief Wahoo condition who disagreed with the use of American Indians as mascots, F (1,29) = 4.23, p < .05.

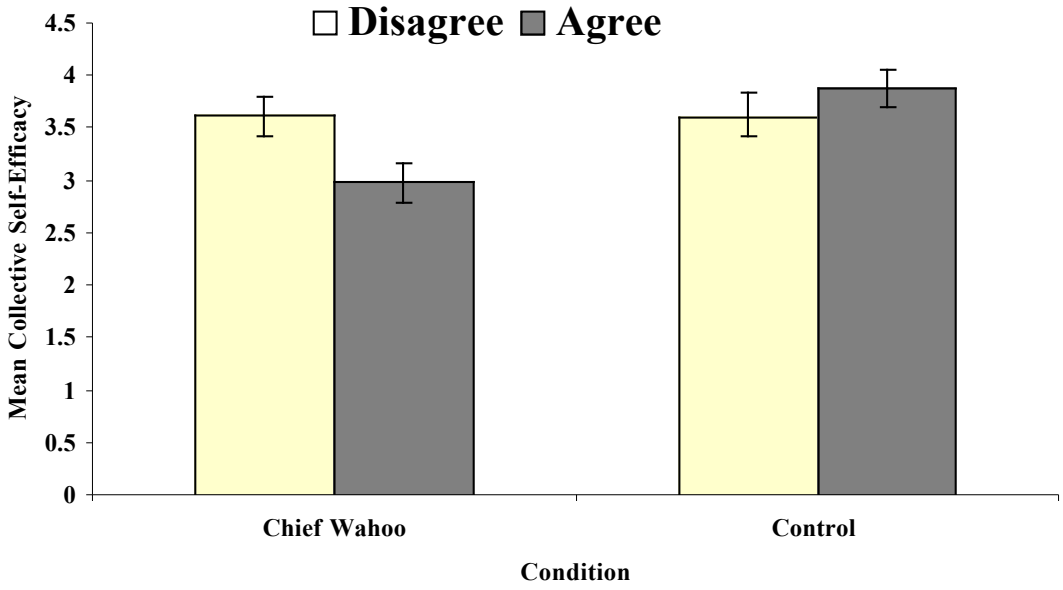

Figure 4. Collective self-efficacy means and standard errors for attitudes about using American Indians as mascots by condition

Discussion

Study 3 replicated the pattern of results found in Study 2, but with a different dependent measure. The Chief Wahoo and negative stereotypes of American Indians primes significantly dampened collective-efficacy, while the effect of the Pocahontas prime was at trend-level significance. The difference between the negative stereotypes and the two romantic representations of American Indians (Pocahontas and Chief Wahoo) were not significant. Similarly, controlling for participants' ethnic

identification did not influence the results. However, as expected, whether participants agreed or disagreed with using American Indians as mascots was a significant mediator of the relationship between some primes and the collective self-efficacy scores. Participants in the Chief Wahoo condition who disagreed with using American Indians as mascots did not differ from any of the control condition participants. However, participants in the Chief Wahoo condition who agreed with using American Indians as mascots had significantly lower collective self-efficacy scores than did both control groups (agree or disagree) and the Chief Wahoo-Disagree group.

Studies 2 and 3 provide evidence that the social representations of American Indians are both powerful and, at least in these contexts, negative. However, the results regarding attitudes about the use of American Indian mascots indicate that while the prevalent representations influence American Indian identity, that specific attitudes may exacerbate or ameliorate this influence. Moreover, this finding is contrary to what one might expect given that agreeing with the use of the social representation dampened collective self-efficacy. These results further highlight the power that social representations have in terms of both affording and constraining psychological functioning, as well as in impacting how individuals can participate in their social worlds.

STUDY 4: THE EFFECTS OF SOCIAL REPRESENTATIONS ON AMERICAN INDIANS' ACHIEVEMENT RELATED POSSIBLE SELVES

In Studies 2 and 3, social representations negatively influenced self-esteem and collective self-efficacy for American Indian high school students. The purpose of study 4 was to expand the generalizability of these results to a different age group, a larger number of social representations, and a different dependent measure. First, to increase the generalizability of findings to other American Indian age groups, American Indian undergraduates attending a predominantly American Indian university and deriving from a variety of American Indian contexts were asked to participate. This particular university is significant because it has an American Indian mascot that represents a predominantly American Indian student body.

To increase the number of primed social representations, two new American Indian mascots were included, in addition to Chief Wahoo—namely Chief Illiniwek of the University of Illinois and the Haskell Indian from Haskell Indian Nations University. The use of three different mascots (Chief Wahoo, Haskell Indian, Chief Iliniwek) addresses the limitation of using a caricature (i.e., Chief Wahoo) noted in Studies 2 and 3. If Chief Wahoo's caricature is influencing participants, then one might expect that the other two mascots will not hamper the self or identities of American Indians students. However, if the other mascots do, in fact, influence psychological functioning, as did Chief Wahoo in previous studies, then one might consider the possibility that American Indian mascots have negative consequences for American Indians.

This leads to a second, potentially related issue. Perhaps the negative effects of American Indian social representations in Studies 1 and 2 are capturing not just the issue of Indians being used as mascots, but rather reflect the fact that others (i.e., NON American Indians) are using them as mascots. If the Haskell Indian elicits a less negative response than the other two Indian representations, then it one might conclude that it is not just the visual image of American Indians that induces negative responses, but the use of this image by non-American Indians. The third and final issue to be addressed in Study 3 is the domains (university vs. sports) in which these different social representations are prevalent. The two mascots that represent university environments (Chief Illiniwek and the Haskell Indian) afforded a closer look at the social representational environment of American Indians in universities. Study 3 also included a representation of a progressive Indian. In Study 1 the problem of finding a progressive Indian image seemed insurmountable. Since that time, however, the American Indian College Fund released an advertisement that depicts a young woman with long dark hair standing in front of shelves of microscopes. The caption reads, "Have you ever seen a real Indian?" This advertisement associates American Indians with such positive attributes as being contemporary, young, attractive, smart, and engaging in academic activities like scientific research.

Finally, Study 3 sought to replicate the pattern of findings from Studies 1 and 2 with a third dependent measure: possible selves. Possible selves have been defined as the ideal selves that people would like to become. They are also the selves that people might become or are afraid of becoming (Cross & Markus, 1994; Markus & Nurius, 1986; Oyserman & Markus, 1990; Oyserman & Saltz, 1993). An individual's

repertoire of possible selves can be viewed as the cognitive manifestation of enduring goals, aspirations, motives, fears and threats. In keeping with prior research examining the content of high school and college students' possible selves (Markus & Oyserman, 1990; Oyserman & Saltz, 1993), we hypothesized that compared to a no-prime control condition, being exposed to one of the three mascot primes (Chief Wahoo, Chief Illiniwek, and the Haskell Indian) would decrease the number of achievement-related possible selves listed by American Indian students, while the progressive American Indian representation embodied in the American Indian College Fund advertisement would increase the number of achievement-related possible selves. Furthermore, it was anticipated that attitudes about using American Indians as mascots would again mediate these relationships, except in the case of the Haskell Indian, which is an American Indian image representing American Indians.

Method

Participants

One hundred and seventy-two American Indian undergraduates (92 females, 80 males) from a predominantly American Indian university in the Midwestern United States participated in the study. The average age was 23.1 years (SD = 5.23); age did not differ by condition. 51.7% of the participants reported having been reared on Indian reservations. To recruit participants, an American Indian female experimenter visited introductory psychology, history, and English courses. Participation in this part of the study took approximately three to five minutes and was completely voluntary.

Materials

Achievement-Related Possible Selves. In an open-ended format, participants were listed four expected and four feared selves for next year. "Next year selves" were used because adolescents often have difficulties generating specific selves for the more distant future (Oyserman & Markus, 1990). The probes for the expected and feared selves were as follows:

> *Expected selves*: Think a minute about next year and what you will be like this time next year. What do you expect you will be like? Write down at least four ways of describing yourself that will probably be true of you next year. You can write down ways you are now and will probably still be or ways you expect to become.
>
> *Feared selves*: Now think about ways you would not like to be next year. Ways you would like to avoid being or fear being. These could be ways you are now but want to avoid or things you want to avoid being like.

The achievement section of the coding system, developed by Oyserman (2002), was used to analyze the data. Achievement related possible selves were coded into one of five categories. The categories were as follows:

> *Job Achievements*: e.g., finding a job, having a job, working, being unemployed, losing my job, being without work.
>
> *Activities in school*: e.g., playing basketball, being more involved in school activities, not making the team, not playing on the football team.

School Achievements: e.g., getting good grades, getting my Associates Degree, getting into graduate school, flunking my courses, not being able to return to school.

Activities not in School: e.g., Indian dancing back home, going to powwows, volunteering with the children on the reservation, not being home all the time, not learning to make dresses.

Attitudes about American Indian Mascots: Four questions were designed to assess participants' attitudes about American Indian mascots (See Appendix A). The first two questions asked whether sports mascots have any influence on how Americans think about American Indians or how "you" feel about being American Indian. Participants responded to these questions on a three-point scale (1 = Yes, a negative influence; 2 = No influence; 3 =Yes, a positive influence). The remaining two questions asked if participants agree with non-American Indians having American Indian mascots and if they agree with American Indians having American Indian mascots. Participants responded to these questions on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree; 7 = strongly agree).

Procedure

Participants completed the surveys in class. Prior to data collection, the packets of experimental materials were masked and randomly ordered to eliminate experimenter bias, and the room was arranged to prevent students from seeing the packets or responses of other participants. Students were assured that their answers were completely confidential (including from school officials) and that they could discontinue the study without penalty at any time. Participants were also told that the

study was about their educational experiences. After completing a set of open-ended questions about their educational experiences, participants completed the two parts of this study.

Participants viewed one of four possible social representations of American Indians, according to the condition to which they were randomly assigned (Chief Wahoo, Chief Illiniwek, Haskell Indian, or American Indian college fund advertisement). After viewing the representation, participants then answered four questions about their opinions of the representation with which they were presented. Then participants turned the page and completed the open-ended possible selves questionnaire and the attitudes towards mascots questionnaire. Upon completion of the study, participants were debriefed and thanked.

Results

Two different coders, both of whom were blind to the hypotheses being tested, coded the questionnaires. After coding separately, the two coders compared codes and discussed differences until consensus was reached. The percent agreement for the achievement categories was .92, ranging from .87 to .96.

As Figure 5 illustrates, the three Indian mascot primes negatively affected the number of achievement-related possible selves reported by American Indian undergraduates. A one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) with gender (ns), age (ns), and reservation status (ns) confirmed that these differences were significant, $\underline{F}$ (5,164) = 3.40, $\underline{p} < .01$.

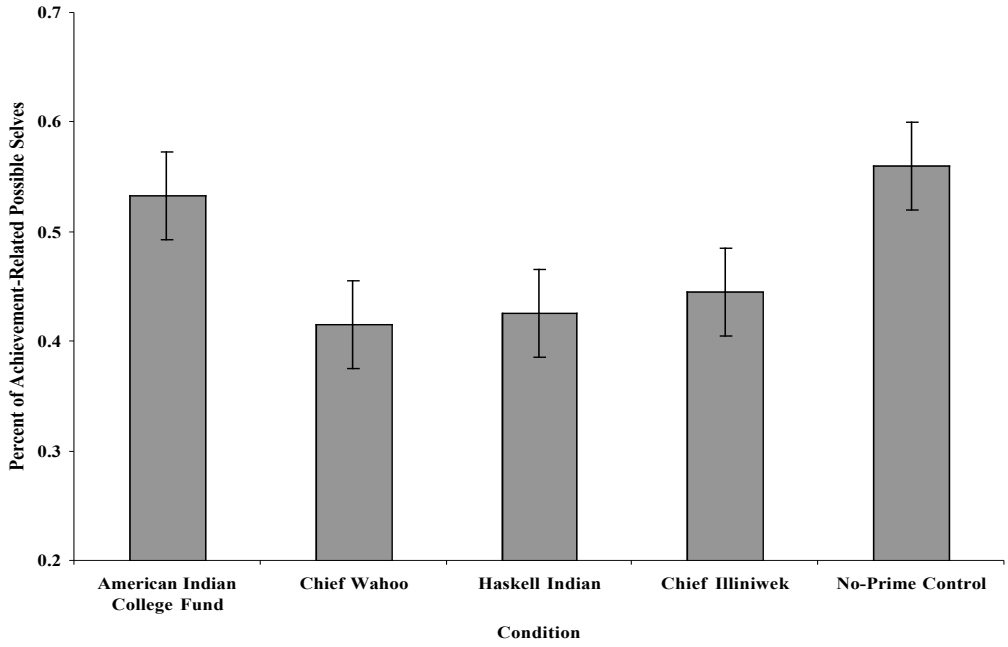

Figure 5. Percentage of Achievement-Related Possible Selves for American Indians by condition

Simple comparisons revealed that generation of achievement-related possible selves was depressed in the Indian mascot conditions ($p < .01$), as compared to the no-prime control condition and when compared to the American Indian College Fund advertisement ($p < .03$ for Chief Wahoo and $p < .05$ for the Haskell Indian). No differences were found within the different Indian mascot conditions or between the control condition and the American Indian College Fund advertisement.

Discussion

When compared to the control condition, the three Indian mascots (Chief Illiniwek, Chief Wahoo, and the Haskell Indian) all led to fewer achievement-related possible selves. However, the three Indian mascots did not differ from one another,

and similarly, no differences were found between the American Indian College Fund advertisement and the no-prime control condition.

In Studies 2 and 3, two hypotheses about why the representation of Chief Wahoo depressed self-esteem and collective efficacy were made. One was that Chief Wahoo elicits negative psychological consequences because he is a caricature rather than a real person (e.g, Chief Illiniwek) or a realistic-looking image (e.g., Haskell Indian). A second hypothesis proposed that the image of Chief Wahoo elicits negative psychological consequences because he is an out-group's representation of American Indians. The data did not support either of these findings, but rather provide evidence that using American Indians as mascots has psychological costs for American Indians.

STUDY 5: THE EFFECTS OF AMERICAN INDIAN SOCIAL ON EUROPEAN AMERICAN' SELF-ESTEEM

Because representations of American Indians are available in many public contexts in the form of decals, logos, sports team attire, clothing (e.g., Disney, National Football League and Major League Baseball paraphernalia), and food products (e.g., Land o' Lakes butter), understanding the psychological consequences of these representations for American Indians is extremely important. Social representations do not just affect the people they represent; they also affect other people in the same context. Many common American Indian representations, for example, have been designed by and proudly appropriated by majority group members.

Take, for example, Chief Iliniwek, the University of Illinois mascot that is typically represented at university events by a European American male undergraduate who performs gymnastics and quasi-traditional dances while wearing traditional American Indian regalia (Spindle, 2000). At the University of Illinios, students and fans take great pride and feel great emotion about Chief Iliniwek, so much so that attempts by American Indian students, like Charlene Teeters, to eliminate the use of an American Indian mascot was met with great hostility (Spindle, 2000). The majority of administration, faculty, students and fans have, in essence, co-opted both the image and the meanings associated with the image, with little regard for how American Indians might feel about this use of their identity.

Why are these fans so attached to Chief Iliniwek? One explanation is that this social representation is associated with positive memories and images for them. Many

Americans grow up “playing Indian” (Strong, 1998), and as Study 1 revealed, most media portrayals (if any at all) are likely to involve romantic portrayals of American Indians. Another explanation is that fans are experiencing a psychological boost as a result of downwardly socially comparing themselves to the lower-status caricatures of American Indians (i.e., "stereotype lift"). To explore further why European Americans use American Indians as mascots, Study 5 was assessed the effect of American Indian social representations have on European Americans' self-esteem. We hypothesized that when European Americans are overtly primed with images of American Indians, they will report increased self-esteem. This result would suggest that European Americans enjoy stereotype lift when American Indians are used as mascots.

Method

Participants

One hundred and thirty-seven European American undergraduates (71 females, 66 males) at Stanford University participated in this study. The average age was 20.2 (SD = 1.10); age did not differ by condition. Participants were recruited by a European American, male, undergraduate research assistant who recruited participants from on-campus dorms, eateries, and librarie.. Participation in the study took approximately three to five minutes and participants received a Stanford pencil as compensation.

Measures

The dependent measure was the same state self-esteem scale (Heatherton & Polivy, 1991) scale used in Study 2. For this task, participants are asked to indicate how true each of 20 items is for them “right now,” using a 5-point Likert scale (1 = not at all true of me, 5 = extremely true of me).

Procedure

Participants were approached by a research assistant and were asked to give their attitudes and opinions about the media. After being randomly assigned to one of four conditions (Chief Wahoo, Pocahontas, Negative Stereotypes, or no-prime control), participants were given a thin packet of experimental materials (See Appendix C) that began with the following directions:

> Here are two brief articles describing the same thing. Some articles are about movies; others are about current events or sports. Your articles are about <insert condition here>. Your job is to read the two articles and decide which version you prefer and write down your reasons in the space below.

After reading the articles, participants were asked to select which article they preferred and to give a reason for their response. Then, they were asked to select a picture (the prime) to go with the article, and again they were asked to give a reason for their selection. Upon completing these two tasks, participants completed the self-esteem measure.

Results

We hypothesized that participants would report higher self-esteem in the social representation conditions than in the no prime control condition. A 5 (condition: Chief Wahoo, Pocahontas, Negative Stereotypes, or no-prime control) X 2 (gender: female, male) analysis of variance (ANOVA) on self-esteem was performed. No effects of gender were found. As expected, however, a main effect for condition was significant, F (3, 128) = 5.56, $p < .001$. See Figure 5 for the means and standard errors for each condition.

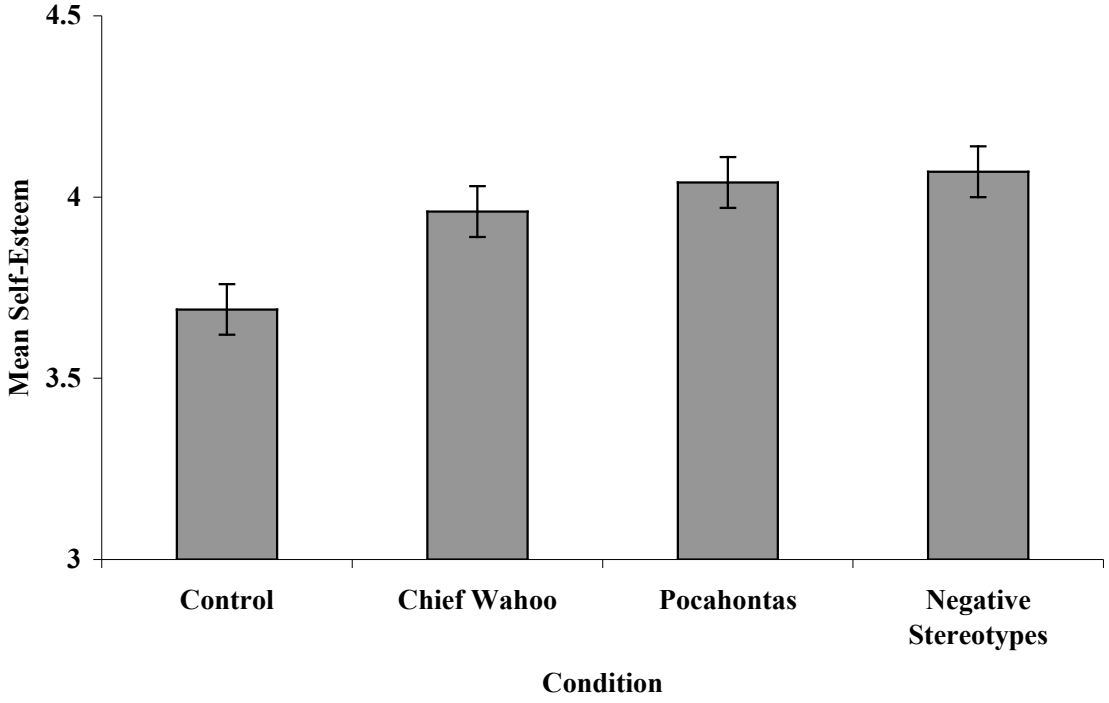

Figure 6. Means and standard errors for self-esteem scores of European Americans by condition

Pairwise comparisons revealed that participants in the control condition had lower self-esteem than participants in either of the romanticized Indian conditions, Pocahontas ($p < .001$) and Chief Wahoo ($p < .01$), and lower self-esteem than participants in the negative stereotypes condition ($p < .001$). And, similar to Study 3, the romanticized conditions and the negative stereotypes condition did not differ significantly from each other.

Discussion

Social representations of American Indians from mainstream media had a negative impact on American Indians in Studies 2, 3, and 4, yet the reverse was true

for European Americans. When primed with social representations of American Indians, European Americans experienced a psychological boost from the images, as compared to European Americans in the control condition. While the tasks were not identical in that the framing had to be changed to disguise the goals of the study, the results were substantially and importantly different.

One potential explanation for these findings is social comparison. It may well be that merely seeing an image of an American Indian, regardless of content, would create a positive feeling for European Americans. The data across studies are quite provocative, they show that the images that were seemingly threatening to one group were psychologically beneficial to the other. However, the data do not directly speak to whether the American Indian images remind European Americans of their higher status in society, of positive memories of playing Indian, or of watching American Indians on television and in the movies. Future research that unpacks the mediators driving both the American Indian and the European American data may better explain the sense of attachment and entitlement to antiquated and stereotyped American Indian images that many Americans feel.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

This dissertation extends the current social psychological literature on stereotype threat by examining the effects of social representations on a group for which these representations are not only overwhelmingly negative and simplistic, but also are few in number. Specifically, the prevalent social representations of American Indians in mainstream American media were examined, and then the relative influence of different American Indian social representations on self and identification were assessed for both American Indians and European Americans.

The dissertation uncovered three major findings regarding the role of social representations in the experience of being an ethnic minority group member in mainstream American contexts. First, American Indian representations were relatively scarce and fairly limited in scope, such that the majority of representations could be condensed into one of three categories: romanticized historical figures (e.g., warriors, princesses, and spiritual beings), broken Indians (i.e., people beaten down by social problems), and progressive people engaged in American style success (e.g., business, success, sovereignty). Representations of the romanticized Indian and the broken Indian were more prevalent than representations of the progressive Indian.

A second major finding was that American Indians, who were explicitly primed with prevalent social representations of American Indians (i.e., Pocahontas, Chief Wahoo, or Negative Stereotypes), reported lower self-esteem, lower collective self-efficacy, and fewer achievement-related future selves than did American Indians in the no-prime control condition. Ethnic identification did not mediate this relationship, but attitudes about the use of American Indians as mascots did. American

Indians who reported that they agreed with using American Indians as mascots reported lower collective self-efficacy and fewer future achievement selves than did those who disagreed with using American Indians as mascots.

The third major finding was that European Americans who were explicitly primed with the same social representations of American Indians (i.e., Pocahontas, Chief Wahoo, or Negative Stereotypes) reported higher self-esteem than did European Americans in the no-prime control condition. In sum, the results of these studies suggest that understanding the content and the nature of the available social representations is essential for understanding how interpersonal contexts can have different meanings for different groups. In this case, activating the social representations of American Indians was threatening for American Indians, but provided a psychological boost for European Americans.

While the social representations held by different members of society are implicated in individuals' self-esteem and collective self-efficacy, the processes underlying these results are not immediately apparent. One possible explanation for the different consequences of priming for American Indians and European Americans is that the two groups are engaging in somewhat different social comparison processes. When American Indians are primed with the images that others hold of their group, they may engage in upward social comparison, which may remind them both that powerful others define what it means to be a member of their group and that they have lower status in society. These processes may result in depressed self-esteem, lowered collective self-efficacy, and fewer achievement- related possible selves.

When European Americans are primed with the same images of American Indians, they may engage in downward social comparison. They see American Indians, a group that is substantially worse off socially, economically, and politically than European Americans, and they feel better because it is not their situation. Thus, the boost in self-esteem may merely reflect that European Americans were reminded of and benefited from their perceived higher status.

Another potential mechanism underlying American Indians' and European Americans' reactions to the primes may be the content or meaning that is associated with the prime. For example, Disney's assumed objective for the movie Pocahontas was to induce happy feelings and to produce positive entertainment for young children. To realize this objective, Disney depicted American Indians in a manner that would be perceived as positive by mainstream America, i.e., the depiction had to resonate with past stereotypes or images that Americans have of American Indians. Thus, the positive self-esteem correlates elicited by the negative stereotypes may well be the result of downward social comparison, but the positive self-esteem correlates of Pocahontas may merely be straightforward positive associations with the movie Disney had intended. These positive feelings can amplify state self-esteem.

Providing additional support for the positive memories theory, which holds that European Americans' self-esteem improves as a result of positive associations with American Indian representations, is the prevalence of "playing Indian" (Strong, 1998). Playing Indian requires a set of social representations about what an Indian is and what an Indian does. For the majority of children, this image is the one set forth in movies like Disney's Pocahontas, Disney's Peter Pan (where characters playfully go

out to hunt and kill Indians), or the movie Indian in the Cupboard (where young Omrie unlocks the cupboard to find that his toy Indian had come to life).

The negative psychological correlates of a representation like Pocahontas for American Indians may result from the fact that even though it is positive in some respects, it nevertheless associates being Indian with being victimized and with being confined to a past and outdated world. American society has relatively few representations of American Indians (Pewewardy, 1995), making Disney's well-marketed and widely distributed one all the more salient in the collective repertoire of public images, In those contexts where out-group members know very little about American Indians, this representation serves both descriptive and prescriptive functions, so that Pocahontas says what American Indians are and what they should be.

This dominant, singular, and pervasive representation may evoke negative feelings for American Indians but, it may also elicit a response that is constraining, condescending, or otherwise annoying from European Americans to American Indians. American Indian mascots may also harbor positive associations for European Americans, but negative associations for American Indians. Chief Wahoo, for example, was designed to inspire cohesiveness, playfulness, and pride among its overwhelmingly European American fan base. It entitles fans to embrace the image and to engage in behaviors representative of "The Tribe," i.e., dressing up as Indians, putting on war paint, and wearing feather headdresses. And, all this is done with little concern or attention paid to the impact these actions may have on the group whose identity is being co-opted.

Moreover, sports fans and students who are in favor of using Indians as mascots will claim “our mascot has nothing to do with American Indians,” and yet every activity the fans engages in (e.g., putting on war paint, wearing feathers, wielding tomahawks) are stereotypically American Indian activities (Spindle, 2000). The fact that sports fans feel that they can own a representation of an American Indian and engage in activities at these sporting events that are equivalent to “playing Indian,” but simultaneously deny that these events actually have anything to do with American Indians, suggests that these romantic images have been incorporated in such a way that they are now part of America’s “own” historical past. Thus, playing Indian or being a member of “The Tribe” allows European Americans to bask in the reflected glory of their image of the American Indian. Studies 1 and 2 strongly suggest that American Indians' reactions to this very real example of "identity theft" are overwhelmingly negative.

A third possible mediator of the relationships between American Indian primes and psychological functioning for American Indians is an interesting species of stereotype threat. Rather than fearing that their behaviors might confirm existing stereotypes about American Indians, American Indians may fear that “not” confirming existing stereotypes may further endanger the scant social representations about their group. Being stereotyped, goes the reasoning, is better than being extinct. Of course, priming these representations may also elicit the more classic variety of stereotype threat, and its concomitant indicators of anxiety and expectancy effects.

With respect to European Americans, the relationship between increased self-esteem and social representations of American Indians may also be mediated by a

different set of factors related to in-group favoritism and social comparison, including nationalism (i.e., American Indians are part of American history) and stereotype "lift" (i.e., a psychological boost one group gains from another group's negative stereotype). Implementing mediator tasks such as word completion tasks, the Implicit Attitudes Test (IAT), an American ethnic identity measure, or a mood measure can form the basis of future research on social representations and social group identity.

To the extent that this research provides evidence that widely shared social representations of American Indians negatively influence American Indians in a number of different psychological domains (i.e., self-esteem, collective self-efficacy, achievement-related possible selves), a number of questions need to be examined before the powerful influence that social representations have on psychological functioning can be fully understood. For example, are there positive social representations of American Indians that can reverse the effect of negative social representations? Does it matter who activates the social representation (e.g., in-group vs. out-group members)? What features of testing situations suggest that unfavorable social representations are afoot? Are these results specific to American Indians, or might similar results be found with other ethnic minority groups for whom there are few and limited social representations (e.g., Laotian Hmong in the U.S., Aborigines in Australia). What are the mediators for the American Indian findings and how do they differ from the mediators for the European American findings? Finally, how do these social representations affect the academic performance of American Indian students? Many of these questions have practical implications for understanding what it means to be American Indian in mainstream American contexts, how being a member of an

ethnic minority group can, in general, pose obstacles that are often overlooked or pushed aside, and how different work and school environments that include such representations may be contributing to under-performance.

Practical Implications

> The American dream that we were all raised on is a simple but powerful one—if you work hard and play by the rules you should be given a chance to go as far as your God-given ability will take you. (President William Clinton, speech to Democratic Leadership Council, 1993)

The American dream, the idea that people can achieve their dreams if they "work hard and play by the rules," is an important representation of how to be a "good American" (Markus, Mullally, & Kitayama, 1997; Spindler & Spindler, 1990; Triandis, 1995; White & Parham, 1990). From Horacio Alger to President Clinton, the notion of "pulling yourself up by your bootstraps" or of going "as far as your God-given ability will take you" has important consequences for assessing individual achievement and for understanding the impact of social identities on individual realities.

The American dream ideology is supported by stories of individuals doing extraordinary things and by individuals "refusing" to be limited by social or cultural constraints. As American culture celebrates the individual who embraces the individualist creed, who resists and contests what others think, and who perseveres without regard for past or future failures, so too does it shape the dominant ideology about how to be an American. Two assumptions are implicit in this ideology. First, it assumes that being a person is an individual project, rather than a collective project,

and second, it assumes that everyone can, if they desire, "choose" to improve his or her life situation.

In this dissertation I suggest that examining the content and the nature of social representations about groups can put in high relief the ways in which identities are not just an individual project, as much of the literature on identity implies, but instead are dynamic social projects which implicate the specific others and the social representations in one's immediate context (Sampson, 1988; Waters, 1990; Guisinger & Blatt, 1994; Markus & Kitayama, 1994; Fiske, Kitayama, Markus, & Nisbett, 1997). Thus, identities cannot be acquired or relinquished by individual acts, they require a process of three interrelated steps: 1) identification on the part of the person who is formulating or conceiving of a way to be, 2) being identified by others in similar ways, and 3) being identified by the social representations (stereotypes, stigmas, or images) of one's group that afford ways of being a self and ways of perceiving one's self. So in contending with identities, other people are essential for actualizing the identities afforded by their contexts.

For example, how an American Indian experiences herself very much depends on the contexts with which she engages. In contexts which include mostly other Indians (e.g., on an Indian reservation), being an American Indian can mean a variety of things ranging from being a member of the community or of one's family, speaking one's native tongue, speaking the native slang, working for the tribe, Indian dancing, playing basketball, fishing, and hunting, to having specific physical characteristics like brown skin, eyes, or hair. However, off the reservation, being an American Indian

may require long hair, beads, moccasins, brown skin, dark brown or black hair, and a long, serious face.

In the first context a variety of ways to be an American Indian are afforded and there is a sense of “choice” in what one can or should become, but in the second context being an American Indian (which involves being recognized as) is constrained in many ways. Thus, for American Indians, this process of finding ones' "true self" or constructing identities is not a "free" process. Yet, in as much as this process is not "free" and in fact runs counter to the dominant individualist creed, the lack of acknowledgement of the constraints serves to reinforce the dominant ideology and to shape the experience of American Indians whose psychology is subsequently affected by the environments in which they participate. More specifically, American Indians are led to believe that their shortcomings or negative experiences result from their own doing.

Furthermore, if these contexts represent American Indians in limited ways, and if being American Indian is a salient part of an individual’s self-understanding, then American Indians must confront these images. With respect to becoming a person, American Indians can accept these social representations of American Indians as self-definitional or they can resist them, but they cannot live outside of them. The mere presence of the representations as products of the social world requires individuals to engage or attend to them (i.e., to resist, contest, or ignore an image of one’s group identity requires pushing against or opposing the image, regardless of whether the act is in one’s mind or in one’s social world).

Lastly, the domains in which many of these representations are pervasive (e.g., school, work, sports) are performance domains that have real life consequences. We ask children to "turn their cheek" when they do not like the choice of words another speaks about them or about the groups of people with whom they are associated, but how can we expect children to defend themselves from those threats to their identity and their potential that are unknown to them? Do mainstream institutions have a responsibility to protect minority children from the unseen toxic effects of images that masquerade as entertaining or even honorific social representations?

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Appendix A

STUDY 3

Collective Self Efficacy (Fryberg, 2000)

I respect people in my community.

People in my community have a number of good qualities.

I care how others think about my community.

People in my community can take action to make things better.

I feel like people can make a difference in my community.

Attitudes about American Indian Mascots

Does this representation have any influence on how AMERICANS think about American Indians? Check one box.

Yes, a negative influence ☐ No influence ☐ Yes, a positive influence ☐

Does this representation have any influence on how YOU feel about being American Indian? Check one box.

Yes, a negative influence ☐ No influence ☐ Yes, a positive influence ☐

Do you agree with **NON** American Indians using American Indian mascots?

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

Do you agree with American Indians using American Indian mascots?

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

STUDY 3

Questionnaire: Racial-Ethnic Identity Assessment (Oyserman, 2000)

Read each statement and circle the number that best describes how often you think or feel the following ways:

It is important to me to think of myself as a member of my religious, national or ethnic group.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
I feel that I am part of my community.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
I have a lot of pride in what members of my community have done and achieved.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
I feel close to others in my community.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
If I am successful it will help my community.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
It is important for my family and community that I succeed in school.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Some people will treat me differently because I am a member of my racial-ethnic group.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
The way I look influences peoples expectations of me.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Things in my community are not as good as they could be because of lack of opportunity.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
It helps me when others in my community are successful.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
People might have negative ideas about my abilities because member of my racial-ethnic group.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
If I work hard and get good grades I will be respected by others in my racial-ethnic group.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6

STUDY 4

Public representations of American Indians may greatly influence people's perceptions of American Indians. For example, Chief Wahoo, the Cleveland Indian baseball team's mascot is one representation of American Indians found in the media:

Does this representation have any influence on how AMERICANS think about American Indians? Check one box.

Yes, a negative influence ☐ No influence ☐ Yes, a positive influence ☐

Does this representation have any influence on how YOU feel about being American Indian? Check one box.

Yes, a negative influence ☐ No influence ☐ Yes, a positive influence ☐

Do you agree with **NON** American Indians using American Indian mascots?

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

Do you agree with American Indians using American Indian mascots?

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

STUDY 4

Public representations of American Indians may greatly influence people's perceptions of American Indians. For example, the Haskell Indian Nations University mascot is one representation of American Indians found in the media:

Does this representation have any influence on how AMERICANS think about American Indians? Check one box.

Yes, a negative influence ☐ No influence ☐ Yes, a positive influence ☐

Does this representation have any influence on how YOU feel about being American Indian? Check one box.

Yes, a negative influence ☐ No influence ☐ Yes, a positive influence ☐

Do you agree with **NON** American Indians using American Indian mascots?

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

Do you agree with American Indians using American Indian mascots?

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

STUDY 4

Public representations of American Indians may greatly influence people's perceptions of American Indians. For example, Chief Illiniwek, the University of Illinois mascot, is one representation of American Indians found in the media:

Does this representation have any influence on how AMERICANS think about American Indians? Check one box.

Yes, a negative influence ☐ No influence ☐ Yes, a positive influence ☐

Does this representation have any influence on how YOU feel about being American Indian? Check one box.

Yes, a negative influence ☐ No influence ☐ Yes, a positive influence ☐

Do you agree with **NON** American Indians using American Indian mascots?

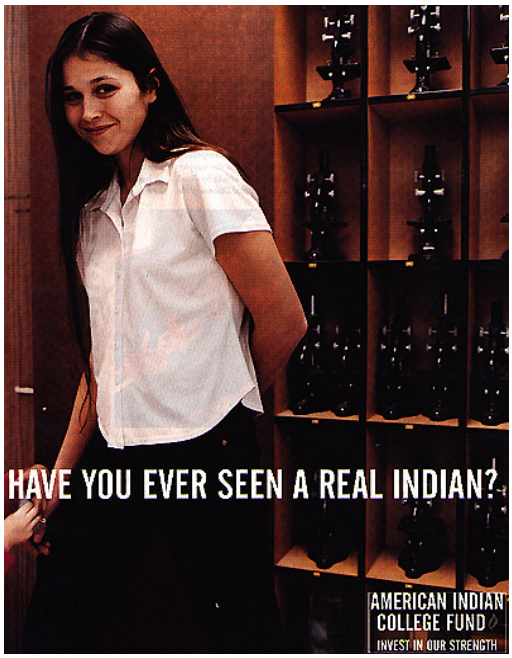
Strongly Disagree	1	2	3	4 Neutral	5	6	7	Strongly Agree

Do you agree with American Indians using American Indian mascots?

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

STUDY 4

Public representations of American Indians may greatly influence people's perceptions of American Indians. For example, the American Indian College Fund's advertisement is one representation of American Indians in the media:



Does this representation have any influence on how AMERICANS think about American Indians? Check one box.

Yes, a negative influence ☐ No influence ☐ Yes, a positive influence ☐

Does this representation have any influence on how YOU feel about being American Indian? Check one box.

Yes, a negative influence ☐ No influence ☐ Yes, a positive influence ☐

This type of advertising campaign will help people think about American Indians in less stereotyped ways?

Strongly Disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Strongly Agree

STUDY 5

Pocahontas stories

These are two brief articles describing the same thing. Some articles are about movies; others are about current events or sports. Your articles are about movies. Your job is to read the two articles and decide which version you prefer and write down your reasons in the space below.

Version 1:

Disney's most beautifully animated feature-length film masterpiece boldly brings to life a fun-filled adventure of hope, courage, and friendship. The movie is bursting with "all the colors of the wind". Along Virginia's lush tidewaters, the free-spirited Pocahontas wonders what adventures will await "just around the river bend." Then, gold-loving Governor Ratcliffe with his pampered pug Percy, a ship full of English settlers, and their courageous Captain, John Smith, sail in. Joined by her playful pals, Meeko, a mischievous raccoon, and Flit, a feisty hummingbird, Pocahontas is the star of the film. Her chance meeting with Captain Smith leads to their friendship and their joint adventure. True to the spirit of every Disney classic, Pocahontas became the #1 family film of the year!

Version 2:

The extraordinary life and indomitable spirit of a truly remarkable Native American heroine is celebrated through the animation magic of Disney's "Pocahontas." Reminding us that Indians are truly the first Americans, this is the first animated feature from the studio to be inspired by a real-life figure. This exciting musical adventure combines historical fact with legend to present the compelling tale of a brave, compassionate and dynamic young Woman who "listens with her heart" to help her choose which path to follow. Disney's telling of the Pocahontas story provides a timeless universal and uniquely satisfying motion picture experience. The film's release coincides with the 400th anniversary of Pocahontas' birth and features breathtaking animation, stylish art direction and an equally impressive song.

Which of these two versions do you prefer, version 1 or version 2? 1 2

Why?_____

_____

STUDY 5

Chief Wahoo stories

These are two brief articles describing the same thing. Some articles are about movies; others are about current events or sports. Your articles are about sports. Your job is to read the two articles and decide which version you prefer and write down your reasons in the space below.

Version 1:

The Cleveland Indians baseball team will look to stretch their winning streak against the Angels tonight in the second game of a three game series. The team will throw out rookie left-hander C. C. Sabathia on the mound against yet winless righty Ismael Valdes. The Indians are 8-4 against right-handed pitchers and as a team is also hitting .284 against right handed pitching. Last night, the Indians took advantage of early chances in the first and third innings to move ahead of the Angels. Coming out of a slump, Wally Joyner, who has been hitting .171, hit a two-run homer. During the streak, Cordero is hitting .500 (15-for-30) with five RBIs and five multi-hit games. The Indians are currently 3-0 on their nine-game home stand.

Version 2:

Putting on the war paint, the Indians will look to stretch their winning streak against the Angels in the second game of a three game series. The Tribe will whoop it up, sending warrior left-hander Chuck Finley on the mound against yet winless righty Ismael Valdes. The Indians are 8-4 against right-handed pitchers and as a team is also hitting .284 against right handed pitching. Last night the smoke signals were just right as the mighty Tribe pulled ahead in the first and third innings. The Tribe's bottom half of the order found some fight, making their line-up even more dangerous. The Indians are currently 3-0 on their nine-game home stand—The Tribe is on fire.

Which of these two versions do you prefer, version 1 or version 2? 1 2

Why?_____

_____

_____

STUDY 5

Negative Stereotypes stories

These are two brief articles describing the same thing. Some articles are about movies; others are about current events or sports. Your articles are about current events. Your job is to read the two articles and decide which version you prefer and write down your reasons in the space below.

Version 1:

McLaughlin, population 799, on the Standing Rock Indian reservation may be a symbol of problems Indians face throughout the nation. Three of four adults have no jobs and half the students drop out before the tenth grade. Burglaries, fights, vandalism, and petty theft have become common. The local grocery was burglarized so many times the owners finally covered the storefront with steel grating. This increase in crime is related to youth drug and alcohol problems, youths stoop to theft to fund their habit. "We need something to do," says one teen interviewed, "all anybody ever talks about in school is drinking". Alcohol is easy to get, even teens say they can easily get alcohol by paying panhandlers to buy it for them.

Version 2:

McLaughlin, population 799, on the Standing Rock Indian reservation may be a symbol of problems Indians face throughout the nation. Three of four Indian adults are unemployed; half of Indian teens are high school dropouts. Sadly the national dropout rate for American Indians is even higher. Burglaries, fights, vandalism, and petty theft are common, even the local grocery's storefront is covered with steel grating. Indian youth with drug and alcohol problems are likely to drop out of school and become involved in crime to fund their drug and alcohol habits. Boredom may be part of the problem. American Indian alcoholism continues to soar above the national average, devastating the American Indian community and contributing to low educational attainments and poverty.

Which of these two versions do you prefer, version 1 or version 2? 1 2

Why?_____
_____
_____