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Latoya Higginbottom

University of Akron Main Campus, toyastarhigg@yahoo.com

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An Analysis of Racial Identity, Internalized Racial Oppression, Self-Esteem, and Media
Consumption in African American Students

Latoya Higginbottom

The University of Akron

Abstract

The goal of this investigation was to gain greater insight into the racial attitudes and media usage behaviors of African American college students. Racial identity, internalized racial oppression, self-esteem, and media consumption were measured in a sample of African American college students (n = 59). Racial identity was measured with The Multidimensional Model of Black Identity, internalized racial oppression was measured using The Internalized Racial Oppression Scale, self-esteem was measured using the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale, and media consumption was measured via a researcher-designed survey. The results revealed significant correlations between constructs. Self-esteem was correlated to the racial identity subscales of private regard, humanist ideology, and nationalist ideology. Racial identity was also significantly correlated with internalized racial oppression. The internalization of negative stereotypes (INS) subscale was correlated with private regard, humanist ideology, and nationalist ideology. The belief in the biased representation of history (BRH) subscale was correlated with private regard and public regard. Self-esteem was correlated to the belief the BRH subscale and the INS subscale. The Media Consumption scale was correlated with nationalist ideology and centrality. Media consumption was not correlated with self-esteem or internalized racial oppression. This analysis revealed possible trends occurring amongst the African American college student population.

Keywords: African Americans, internalized racial oppression, racial identity, self-esteem, media

Introduction

Today, the pursuit of higher education has become quite common with approximately 21 million students enrolled in college as of 2011 (National Center for Education Statistics). According to Greyerbiehl and Mitchell Jr. (2014), “African Americans comprised 15% of the total undergraduate student population within the United States in 2010” (p. 1) . While African Americans are making great strides towards educational advancement questions still arise concerning this group’s formation of self-concept and identity. Each student has a distinctive college experience which may be influenced by multiple factors (ex. race, self-esteem, schemas, etc.). This study chose to look at factors associated with African American self-concept. This includes racial identity, internalized racial oppression, and self-esteem. The possible relationship media consumption has with the aforementioned variables will also be assessed.

A Brief Account of African American History

African American history in the United States has involved significant racial oppression. Blacks were enslaved for hundreds of years in the United States and denied their human rights. Slaves were forced to work their entire lives for white plantation owners who used various methods of physical brutality such as whippings and lynching to maintain slave submission (Zastrow et al., 2013).

Ultimately, the establishment of The Emancipation Proclamation released African Americans from their slavery. However, this liberation did not grant them any civil rights nor were they compensated for the decades of captivity they suffered. Many were left without any resources and often were forced back into a situation akin to slavery known as peonage. Over

time, African Americans did gradually begin to progress in society but Jim Crow laws, segregation, and the threat of physical violence (i.e., lynching, rape, etc.) were still ever-present hindrances. These types of systematic efforts to repress African Americans made the pursuit of advancement tremendously challenging.

Only fifty years ago was The Civil Rights Act passed which “ended segregation in public places and banned employment discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, sex or national origin” (History.com, 2010). Nevertheless, discrimination, prejudice and racism still persisted in part because “[w]hite supremacy was a dominant belief in the United States before the American Civil War and for decades after Reconstruction” (Zastrow & Kirst-Ashman, 2013, p.249).

African American Racial Identity

The development of identity is affirmed as an integral part of human development. According to Zastrow et al. (2013), “all of us have to develop a sense of identity—who we are...it is important that we form a positive self-concept and strive to obtain worthy goals” (p. 250). Erik Erikson’s theory of development maintains that forming an identity during adolescence is necessary to avoid undergoing the adverse alternative stage known as role confusion.

Racial identity is a component of one’s self-concept that involves how a person regards his or her membership to their particular racial group (Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, & Chavous, 1998). Sellers et al. (1998) state that racial identity is a complex element of self-concept because it is “the value a person places upon the membership in the Black racial group in their self-concepts” (p. 23).

While there are many diverse definitions and methods of measuring African American racial identity, this study utilizes Sellers's et al. (1998) model of racial identity. This measure is known as the The Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (MMRI) which was devised in order to measure racial identity in African Americans. Sellers et al. (1998) define racial identity as the significance and meaning African Americans place on their membership to the Black race in their self-concepts (p. 23). This model has four distinctive dimensions: salience, centrality, ideology and regard. There are also six subscales: private regard, public regard, oppressed minority, nationalist, humanist, and assimilation.

Salience is the relative importance race has in a person's self-concept at a particular time (Sellers et al., 1998). Centrality involves the level to which a person defines himself/herself in terms of race (ex. "Overall, being Black has very little to do with how I feel about myself"). Ideology is a person's belief system and ideas regarding how Blacks should behave. The dimension of Ideology contains the subscales of Oppressed Minority, Nationalist, Humanist, and Assimilation.

The oppressed minority ideology measures the similarities between other groups that are oppressed like African Americans (ex. "Black people should treat other oppressed people as allies"). The nationalist ideology is the extent to which a person views being Black as unique (ex. "It is important for Black people to surround their children with Black art, music and literature"). The humanist ideology exemplifies the similarities that all humans share; individuals high in humanist ideology are likely to view race as of little importance in regards to how they live their lives (ex. "We are all children of a higher being, therefore, we should love people of all races"). The assimilationist ideology focuses on the similarities between Blacks and all of American

society (ex. “Blacks should strive to be full members of the American political system”). This scale also includes private regard subscale which is the level of positivity or negativity the individual has towards African Americans and being an African American (ex. “I am happy that I am Black”) The public regard subscale evokes how one feels the public or others view African Americans (ex. “Overall, Blacks are considered good by others”).

The Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI) was created by Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, and Chavous (1998) and is comprised of the stable components of the MMRI. This study will utilize the three of subscales of the MMRI which are deemed stable: regard, ideology, and centrality.

Internalized Racial Oppression

Bailey, Chung, Williams, Singh, and Terrell (2011) define internalized racial oppression as “the process by which Black people internalize and accept the dominant White culture’s oppressive actions and beliefs toward Black people (e.g., negative stereotypes, discrimination, hatred, falsifications of historical facts, racist doctrines, White supremacist ideology)” (p.481).

According to Zastrow et al. (2013), African Americans face internalized racial oppression because they “have to first cope with how society defines them, marginalizes, and oppresses them” (p. 236). Likewise, Sellers et al. (1998) note that African Americans experiences with oppression has caused the concept of race to have a major part in their history.

Likewise, the negative events involved in African American history and the current societal conditions they live in are proposed to influence the attitudes and beliefs African Americans. Aronson (1999) claims that the “internalization of a value or belief is the most

permanent, most deeply rooted response to social influence” (p. 36). When African Americans are exposed to negativity regarding the value and meaning associated with their race then the result can be the formation of internalized racial oppression. Van Wormer, Sudduth, and Jackson (2011) assert that, “regular exposure to a hostile and dehumanizing environment, of course, is unhealthy and can bring out the worst in people...” (p. 413). A result of living in a historically oppressive culture can be difficulty forming an identity. Zastrow et al. (2013) state that forming an identity becomes more challenging when members of a minority group are treated as inferior.

The Internalized Racial Oppression Scale (IROS) created by Bailey et al. (2011) includes five dimensions: “internalization of negative stereotypes”, “self-destructive behaviors”, “devaluations of the African worldview and motifs”, “belief in the biased representation of history”, and “the alteration of physical appearance”. This study utilizes two dimensions of the IROS, internalization of negative stereotypes (INS) and belief in the biased representation of history (BRH). The INS dimension scale includes questions such as “Most criminals are Black men” and “Black women are confrontational”. The BRH dimension contains question such as “African people have no written history” and “The first mathematicians and scientists were European”. Stereotypes can influence the way people believe certain individuals “ought” to think and behave (Zastrow et al., 2013, p. 249). Belief in a biased representation of history can indicate internalized oppression because it indicates an acceptance and integration of the oppressive society’s beliefs.

Self-esteem

Maintaining a high level of self-esteem is considered ideal because it means an individual has a

positive sense of self-worth. Accordingly, self-esteem is often viewed as a protective factor that can support a person's psychological health throughout life. Higher self-esteem is also associated with positive outcomes in life such as happiness (Baumeister, Campbell, Krueger and Vohs, 2003). However, Oney, Cole, & Sellers (2011) propose that, "[b]ecause members of racial and ethnic minority groups differ in their phenomenological experience of group membership, we would expect significant within group variation in their attitudes regarding their social group membership, satisfaction with their bodies, and personal self-esteem" (p. 619). Zeigler-Hill (2007) mentions that, "it was generally believed that the experiences of oppression, discrimination, and segregation would have a devastating impact on Blacks resulting, at the very least, in low self-esteem" (p. 52). The belief that African Americans may report lower levels of self-esteem due to different racial experiences and/or racial oppression is one that has been extensively researched (Collins & Lightsey, 2001; Harris, 2007; Porter & Washington, 1979; See & Larkin, 2007; Wright, 1985).

However, recent studies report that African Americans generally report higher levels of self-esteem than Whites (Bachman, O'Malley, Freedman-Doan, Trzesniewski & Donnellan, 2011). Martinez and Dukes (1987) found in their research study that Blacks had higher levels of self-esteem than whites in the private domain of self-satisfaction. Sprecher, Brooks, and Avogo (2013) also reported that Blacks held higher self-esteem than Whites, Hispanics, and Asians.

This study will analyze participant's self-esteem using Rosenberg's (1965) self-esteem scale. The measure uses questions such as "On the whole, I am satisfied with myself", "I feel that I have a number of good qualities", and "I feel I do not have much to be proud of". These questions measure the individual's self-reported positive and negative feelings about themselves.

This measure produces a score that can range from 0-30; the higher the score, the higher the person's perceived self-esteem.

Media

The use of modern technology has become commonplace in the United States. On a daily basis an individual can make use of various devices such as a computer or laptop, a cellphone, a radio, an mp3 player and/or a television. Recent studies claim that Americans spend an average of thirty hours per week watching television (Aronson, 1999, p. 107). Peterson, Aye, and Wheeler (2014) reported that participants spent a “mean of 19.56 hours per week on the internet” (p. 56) with the most common internet activity being social networking. Moreover, there is widespread research being conducted in several countries in an attempt to ascertain if there are possible effects to the usage of such media (Carson & Janssen, 2012; Ceyhan, 2011; Salgado, Boubeta, Tobío, Mallou, & Couto, 2014; Yoo, Jo, & Jung, 2014).

As the body of media users grow, there is a growing interest in trying to understand the possible consequences of media usage. Media can reach people in ways that other forms of communication could not in the past. These innovative forms of media have the capacity to inform and influence those who use it. “For many, the media have become the primary source of images for how people belonging to other cultures live and interact with one another, and the various characteristics such people may possess” (Sanders & Ramasubramanian, 2012, p.21). Aronson (1999) mentions that “[t]he media play an important institutional role in sustaining prejudice” (p. 328). Media can subtly influence societies because it offers portrayals of how girls and women should look (Shaw and Lee, 2007), what things we should buy, what we should

eat, and what types of behaviors are deviant.

Thus, media can be viewed as a tool of socialization that may have the means to minimally or significantly influence one's attitudes and ideas. Bazzini, McIntosh, Smith, Cook, Harris, (1997) state that, "[p]opular media images are reflections of a culture's attitudes, beliefs, and standards, as well as projections of desired realities...media can be influential in the propagation and maintenance of stereotypes" (p. 532). A recent study by Yoo et al. (2014) revealed that "visual media influences perceptions of what is attractive, interesting, and attention grabbing" (p. 94).

According to Sanders and Ramasubramanian (2012), members of marginalized groups can internalize the negative characteristics presented of their social group by the media. Perhaps engaging in longer episodes of media consumption can impact an individual's self-concept due to the influential nature of media. This study intends to analyze if the hours spent engaging in media consumption behaviors such as television viewing, radio usage, and internet usage correlate to other constructs such as self-esteem, racial identity and internalized racial oppression.

The Current Study

This study will examine racial identity, internalized racial oppression, self-esteem and media consumption. These unique aspects of self-concept may reveal significant correlations and intercorrelations. Perhaps individuals who report low self-esteem will also report low racial identity and/or high internalized racial oppression. Media consumption at low levels may be correlated to high self-esteem and low internalized racial oppression. The following research

questions are proposed:

RQ1: Is racial identity significantly correlated to self-esteem? Media consumption? Internalized racial oppression?

RQ2: Is internalized racial oppression correlated to self-esteem? Media consumption? Racial identity?

RQ3: Is self-esteem correlated to racial identity? Media consumption? Internalized racial oppression?

RQ4: Do the number of hours spend engaging in certain media consumption activities correlate to racial identity? Self-esteem? Internalized racial oppression?

Method

Participants

According to the self-reported demographics, the participants in this study were 72 college students with a mean age of 20 (SD 2.0) with a range from 18 to 29. There were 44 female participants (61%). The majority of participants were psychology majors (37%) and nursing majors (17%). The study included 34 (58%) African Americans, 16 (27%) mixed heritage, 16% “other”, 5 (8%) Africans, 3 (5%) “Other” and 1 (2%) Hispanic. Also, there were 25 (42%) freshman, 9 (15%) sophomores, 14 (24%) juniors, 9 seniors (15%), and 2 (3%) 5th year seniors. Approximately 50% (n = 35) reported an annual parent or household income above \$30,000. The mean G.P.A. was 2.95 (SD .535).

Measures

Internalized Racial Oppression Scale

The Internalized Racial Oppression Scale (IROS) was created by Bailey, Chung, Williams, Singh, and Terrell (2011) in order to measure the levels of internalized racial oppression in African Americans. The IROS contains 28 items and uses a 5-point Likert; 1= “strongly disagree”, 2=”disagree”, 3=”neutral”, 4= “agree” to 5= “strongly agree”. A higher score indicates higher levels of internalized racial oppression.

Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity

The Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI) was created by Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, and Chavous (1998) and is comprised of the stable components of The Multidimensional Inventory of Racial Identity (MMRI). The scale does not produce a composite score but each subscale is scored independently. A 7 point Likert scale is used where 1= “strongly disagree” and 7=“strongly agree”.

Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale

The Rosenberg Self-Esteem (1965) scale is a widely used measure for evaluating self-esteem.

The 10 item measure uses a Likert scale where 0 = “strongly disagree”, 1= “disagree”, 2 = agree and 3 = “strongly agree”.

Media Consumption Scale

In order to measure media consumption, a scale was devised based upon the European Comenius

school partnership project “Enter- the impact of modern media”; the survey measures media habits and media consumption. See appendix for Media Consumption Scale. The measure utilizes a 4 point ordinal scale to assess the number of hours that a person is engaged in certain media usage activities. Each question had the following response choices: 1 = “0-2 hours”, 2 = “3-6 hours“, 3 = “7-10 hours“, and 4 = “More than 10 hours“. The following is a sample question from the scale: “How much time do you spend on social networking sites (e.g, Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, etc.) per day?”

Procedure

University of Akron students were recruited to participate in this research study via the online Human Participant Research system. Participants gave informed consent (electronically) before participating in the study. Each participant completed a demographic questionnaire and then the media consumption survey, Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale, IROS, and MIBI. Once participants finished the surveys, they were redirected to another website where they gave their names and email addresses in order to receive extra credit.

Data Analysis

The software SPSS was used to analyze the quantitative data collected. Descriptive statistics were conducted for demographic variables, self-esteem, internalized racial oppression, racial identity, and media consumption. Pearson r correlation was used to assess the relationship between variables.

Results

Participants' Racial Identity

The means and SD for the responses to the MIBI are presented in Table 1. The means for the subscales ranged from 3.58 to 5.40. The highest mean (5.40) belonged to the private regard subscale and the lowest mean belonged to the nationalist subscale (3.58).

Participants' Internalized Racial Oppression

The subscales Internalization of Negative Stereotypes and Belief in Biased Representation of History had means of 2.18 (SD .922) and 2.61 (SD .483) respectively. The highest means were found for Question 16, "African people have no written history," with a mean of 4.02 (SD 1.04) and Question 11, "Being a part of family celebrations is not important," with a mean of 3.98 (SD .97). The lowest mean was found for Question 13, "I hesitate to do business with Black-owned companies because of their mismanagement" with a mean of 1.92 (.93).

Participants' Self-Esteem

The mean self-esteem score was 20.6 (SD 6.18). The lowest reported score was 4.00 (n = 1) and the highest was 30 (n = 8). The mode was also 30. The majority of participants had SE scores that were over 20 (50.8 %).

Participants' Media Consumption

The means and standard deviations for the media consumption survey are shown in Table 2. For Question 1, "How much time do you spend watching TV per day?" nearly 95% reported watching between 2-6 hours of television per day. Approximately 85% (n = 50) of participants

reported listening to the radio 0-2 hours per day. For Question 4, “About how much time do you spend on the internet per day” nearly 70% reported spending 3-10 hours online. This question also had the highest number of participants ($n = 4$) selecting “More than 10 hours” per day than any other question.

Racial Identity Correlations

This study used Pearson’s r correlations to examine the relationships between variables. There was a significant correlation between self-esteem and several of the racial identity subscales. Self-esteem was significantly correlated to private regard ($r = .44$, $p = .001$), humanist ideology ($r = .355$, $p = .005$), and nationalist ideology ($r = -.365$, $p = .005$). This suggests that participants who felt more positively about themselves were also more likely to report more positive feelings about their race and their membership to this group. Likewise, those with a higher humanist score also reported higher levels of self-esteem. The negative correlations between self-esteem and nationalist ideology can indicate that those with higher self-esteem do not feel as strongly about the distinctiveness of being Black.

Racial identity was also significantly correlated with internalized racial oppression. The INS subscale was correlated with private regard ($r = -.604$, $p = .000$), humanist ideology ($r = -.276$, $p = .035$), and nationalist ideology ($r = .312$, $p = .016$). This indicates that participants who internalized negative stereotypes (INS) more strongly were also more likely to report less positive feelings about Blacks and their membership to this race. Also, as INS increased, belief in the individuality of being Black and human commonalities were likely to decrease. Additionally, the Belief in Biased Representation of History (BRH) subscale was correlated with private regard ($r = -.473$, $p = .000$) and public regard ($r = .304$, $p = .019$). While BRH was

positively correlated with public regard it was negative correlated with private regard. This indicates that participants with stronger belief in biased representations of history were less likely to view Blacks and their membership to their racial group positively.

The Media Consumption scale also produced significant correlations to racial identity. Question 2, “How much time do you spend listening to the radio per day?” was correlated with nationalist ideology ($r = .277$, $p = .034$). This could indicate that participants who held a greater belief in the uniqueness of being Black are also more likely to spend more hours listening to the radio daily. Question 5, “How much time do you spend on social networking sites (e.g. Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, etc.) per day?” was correlated with centrality ($r = .270$, $p = .039$). This suggest that participants who view being Black as more central to their self-concept are more likely to engage in social media activities.

Self-esteem Correlations

As noted earlier, self-esteem was significantly correlated with racial identity. Self-esteem was also significantly correlated to internalized racial oppression. Self-esteem was correlated to the BRH ($r = -.324$, $p = 0.12$) and INS ($r = -.346$, $p = .007$). These correlations suggest that self-esteem will likely be lower when participants believe more strongly in skewed interpretations of their history and the negative stereotype associated with their racial group. Self-esteem was not found to be significantly correlated to media consumption.

Internalized Racial Oppression Correlations

As noted earlier, internalized racial oppression was found to be significantly correlated to racial identity and self-esteem. Internalized racial oppression was not significantly correlated to media consumption. . Question 2, “How much time do you spend listening to the radio per day?” was correlated with nationalist ideology ($r = .277, p = .034$) and Question 5, “How much time do you spend on social networking sites (e.g. Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, etc.) per day?” was correlated with centrality ($r = .270, p = .039$).

Media Consumption Correlations

The analysis revealed that media consumption was significantly correlated to racial identity but not to self-esteem or internalized racial oppression.

Discussion

In this study, African Americans generally reported average to high levels of self-esteem. This finding is consistent with research (Twenge & Crocker, 2002). This indicates that the African Americans in this study generally felt positively about themselves overall. Self-esteem was also found to be positively correlated to private regard and humanist ideology, but negatively with the nationalist ideology. Therefore, the individuals who felt more positively regarding African Americans and their membership to this group also reported higher self-esteem. This finding is consistent with research done by Rowley, Sellers, Chavous, & Smith (1998) who also reported that, “[p]rivate regard was positively associated with both racial centrality and personal self-esteem” (p. 719).

While racial identity levels fell in the average range, internalized racial oppression was

also in the medium range. This means that participants reported an average amount of value in their racial group and group membership while still moderately internalizing negative stereotypes and belief in biased representations of history. This finding is consistent with Bailey's et al. (2011) research which states that, "negative racial stereotypes aid in the willingness to accept a notion of inferiority to the White majority". This could mean that African Americans who view their racial group more negatively may also be more likely to internalize the negative stereotypes concerning their racial group.

The media consumption scale provided some information about African Americans media usage patterns, specifically the number of hours they engage in particular activities. African Americans are still engaging in high levels of media consumption which is consistent with research (Brown and Pardun, 2004; Smith & Donnerstein, 1998). Greater hours of media consumption was also positively correlated to two racial identity subscales (centrality and nationalist ideology). While greater involvement in media related activities may have the potential to influence a person's beliefs regarding their race, the implications of media usage on socialization and behavior is complex (Watts, Pratt, Abdul-Adil, 2002). Therefore, even when correlations between racial identity and media consumption are significant, one cannot infer causality based upon this.

Conclusion

This study had limitations that could be resolved in future research. The sample size could be increased to include a larger pool of students. Further studies could also utilize a more comprehensive media consumption scale. Moreover, more reliable methods instead of self-report

measures could be utilized (ex. implicit association tests). Also, another major limitation was that the study was conducted at a single university in the United States.

Lastly, the goal of this investigation was to expand the literature concerning the unique experiences of African American. The implications of race and mass media are still being investigated due to the importance they both hold in our society; media is able to reach and impact large numbers of people (Zastrow et al., 2013, p. 259) and race still holds significant meaning to many. Research such as this increases the need for additional studies that aim to examine the prevailing ideologies and beliefs of African American young adults.

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Appendix:

Table 1

Participants Racial Identity (N=59)

Racial Identity Subscale	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Centrality	4.3686	1.12102
Private Regard	5.4068	1.14398
Public Regard	4.4011	.85496
Assimilation	4.7514	.99109
Humanist	5.0942	1.22254
Minority	4.5386	1.02352
Nationalist	3.5838	1.10816

Table 2

Participants Media Consumption (N=59)

Media Consumption Items	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
How much time do you spend watching TV per day?	1.49	.598
How much time do you spend listening to the radio per day?	1.17	.422
How much time do you spend listening to music per day?	1.59	.746
About how much time do you spend on the Internet per day?	2.08	.836
How much time do you spend on social networking sites (e.g. Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, etc.) per day?	1.68	.899

Note: 1= 0-2 hours; 2= 3-6 hours; 3= 7-10 hours; 4=More than 10 hours

Table 3

Correlation Matrix for Self-esteem, Internalized Racial Oppression, Racial Identity and Media Consumption (N=59)

Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1.SE														
2.INS	-.346**													
3.BRH	-.324*	.473**												
4.Central.	.045	-.220	-.191											
5.Priv.Reg.	.438**	-.604**	-.473**	-.533**										
6.Pub.Reg.	-.010	-.243	.304*	.142	.115									
7.Assimil.	.232	-.100	-.077	.276*	.432**	.213								
8.Humanist	.358**	-.276	-.202	.224	.590**	.177	.705**							
9.Minority	-.027	-.059	-.030	.396**	.264*	.214	.721**	.477						
10.Nation.	-.365**	.312*	.116	.300*	.029	.057	-.042	-.161	.166					
11.Media (TV)	.116	.048	-.101	-.072	.056	-.173	-.017	-.033	-.055	.086				
12. Media (Radio)	-.183	.051	.023	.048	-.068	-.001	-.030	-.098	.020	.277*	.074			
13.Media (Music)	.145	-.043	-.047	.146	.174	.107	.094	.070	.179	.248	-.008	.113		
14.Media (Internet)	.036	-.136	-.232	.035	.168	-.129	.141	.138	.082	.055	-.016	.203	.194	
15.Media (Soc. Net.)	-.042	-.177	-.220	.270*	.244	-.020	.124	-.122	.171	.230	-.182	.147	.290	-.427**

Note: Measures are abbreviated.

**p* < .05

***p* < .01

Table 4**Media Consumption Scale**

How much time do you spend watching TV per day?

- 0-2 hours
- 3-6 hours
- 7-10 hours
- More than 10 hours

How much time do you spend listening to the radio per day?

- 0-2 hours
- 3-6 hours
- 7-10 hours
- More than 10 hours

How much time do you spend listening to music per day?

- 0-2 hours
- 3-6 hours
- 7-10 hours
- More than 10 hours

About how much time do you spend on the Internet per day?

- 0-2 hours
- 3-6 hours
- 7-10 hours
- More than 10 hours

How much time do you spend on social networking sites (e.g., Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, etc.) per day?

- 0-2 hours
- 3-6 hours
- 7-10 hours
- More than 10 hours