The impact of racial identity on perceived microaggressions, racial socialization and psychological outcomes

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The Impact of Racial Identity on Perceived Microaggressions, Racial Socialization and Psychological Outcomes

by

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Thesis

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Abstract

The negative psychological consequences of racial prejudice and discrimination in the lives of African Americans have been well documented. Recently, researchers have investigated how racial identity status attitudes may influence the perception of discrimination (i.e., it has been suggested that racial identity may act as a buffer against experiencing negative affect as a consequence of exposure to racial discrimination). While this hypothesis has received increased attention in the literature of late, current studies testing said hypothesis have not examined this association by using the recent advances in the conceptualization of subtle discrimination (i.e., microaggressions). As such, the purpose of this study was to examine whether racial identity status attitudes moderate the relationship between perceived discrimination (quantified using the Racial and Ethnic Microaggressions Scale) and psychological functioning. A secondary hypothesis was that racial identity would mediate the relationship between racial socialization and psychological functioning. The study recruited 153 African American participants from undergraduate psychology courses at a medium sized Midwestern university. We found that racial identity attitudes moderated the association between the experience of microaggressions and endorsing symptoms of general psychological distress. Additionally, racial identity was found to partially mediate the association between racial socialization and psychological functioning.
The Impact of Racial Identity on Perceived Microaggressions, Racial Socialization and Psychological Outcomes

Introduction and Literature Review

One of the unfortunate legacies of slavery in the United States is that attitudes affirming the inferiority of African Americans still remain woven into the very fabric of our national consciousness. Although it is commonly believed that the Civil Rights Movement solved the problem of racism in America, it is more realistic to frame the Civil Rights Movement as facilitating the demise of socially-acceptable, blatant racism. Indeed, it is unrealistic to assume that attitudes of Black inferiority that were integral to the workings of this nation for hundreds of years could be fully assuaged within the span of fifty years. It could even be argued that many of the same negative stereotypes regarding the inferiority of Black people remain intact to this day; it is merely the outward expression of such attitudes that has decreased (Williams & Williams-Morris, 2000). As shall be discussed more fully later in this paper, racial discrimination now occurs in more insidious and covert forms (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000), and it is most frequently manifested by ambiguous and unintentional acts perpetrated by otherwise well-intentioned individuals who unconsciously disdain African Americans. What are the psychological effects on African Americans when they experience such bias? With the current study, we hope to begin to better understand these phenomena.

The purpose of the present study is to examine the relationship between racial identity, perceived racial discrimination, and negative affect. Unlike previous work on this topic, this study focuses on how the experience of ambiguous and subtle racism is associated with endorsing various facets of African American racial identity, and whether or not racial identity
attitudes mediate or moderate the previously established association between perceived racism and negative affect (e.g., symptoms of depression or anxiety). In addition, the role of racial socialization (i.e., how African Americans are taught as children to think about their race) in this relationship will also be examined. With this study, we are attempting to build upon previous research that has addressed these topics by incorporating the theoretical advances in both racial identity theory and microaggression theory, and by using this framework as a means of advancing theory regarding the association of racial socialization and racial identity.

The following literature review will describe all of the key constructs investigated in this study, beginning with perceived racism. Next, modern theories of African American racial identity theory will also be discussed. This will be followed by a discussion of how the perception of subtle forms of racial bias (i.e., microaggressions) is thought to predict specific forms of negative affect. The role of racial socialization in predicting racial identity attitudes will then be examined. Finally, this review will conclude with an explicit statement of the hypotheses of this study.

Perceived Racism

Experiences of Racism as Pervasive and Deleterious

To begin, we shall define the two most basic constructs relevant for this study. First, the terms African American and Black will be used interchangeably in this paper. Second, for the purpose of this study, racism will be defined as, “A system of dominance, power, and privilege based on racial-group designations: rooted in the historical oppression of a group defined or perceived by dominant-group members as inferior, deviant, or undesirable; and occurring in circumstances where members of the dominant group create or accept their societal privilege by
maintaining structures, ideology, values, and behavior that have the intent or effect of leaving nondominant-group members relatively excluded from power, esteem, status, and/or equal access to societal resources” (Harrell, 2000, p. 43). Racial discrimination can then be understood as the behavioral concomitant of racism. Within the past fifteen years, the topics of racism and racial discrimination have garnered increased attention as social scientists have recognized the need to investigate possible relationships between the perception of racial discrimination and various health outcomes (Jackson et al., 2004). In general, findings have been fairly consistent in indicating that the perception of racial discrimination can be especially detrimental to mental health outcomes (Carter, 2007), particularly in the case of African Americans (Hunter & Schmidt, 2010; Soto et al., 2011). As such, examining the factors that potentially influence the association between racial discrimination and mental health outcomes in African Americans is vitally important in developing appropriate treatment strategies as well as emphasizing protective factors that may exist for this population.

The term microaggressions is increasingly being used to refer to the subtle, nebulous behavioral and environmental manifestations of aversive racism, which communicate derogatory racial messages on a daily basis (Sue, Capodilupo, et al., 2007). As the study of microaggressions represents some of the most recent advancements in the study of racism and offers an effective means of measuring the construct of the day-to-day racial discrimination that many people of color encounter, it is invaluable to the study of perceived discrimination.

As racism has received more attention in the literature, researchers have detected many associations with health outcomes. Specifically, in terms of physical and mental health outcomes, research suggests that the cumulative effects of perceived racism are positively associated with hypertension, decreased quality of life, frustration, intrusive thoughts,
resentment, low self-esteem, hopelessness, and subjective distress in African Americans  
(Landrine & Klonoff, 1996; Clark et al., 1999; Harrell, 2000; Utsey et al., 2000; Utsey et al., 2002). Research has also indicated that the psychological distress most generally associated with experiences of discrimination is characterized by depression and anxiety (Carter, 2007; Paradies, 2006; Williams & Williams-Morris, 2000).

While it seems clear that the impact of perceived racial discrimination is deleterious to the mental health of the victims of such treatment in general, it is also important to note that African Americans often respond differently to being the target of such discrimination. Consequently, investigation of potential reasons for different response to racial discrimination can elucidate risk and protective factors related to why some individuals experience greater levels of negative affect and psychological difficulty than others. This represents an important step in recognizing resilience in African American communities. Pieterse and Carter (2010) point out that while the bulk of studies on this topic have certainly established that racial discrimination is associated with negative psychological outcomes for targets, this finding is by no means unequivocal. Uncovering the relevant factors to explain why this may be the case is vital in gaining further insight into this influential relationship. Toward this end, some researchers have suggested that how targets of such bias generally think and feel about their targeted social status may influence how they respond to discrimination. For African Americans, and other racial groups in the USA, such attitudes are generally framed as part of one’s racial identity; and a growing literature has explored how racial identity among this population influences how African Americans perceive discrimination (Pieterse & Carter, 2010; Jefferson & Caldwell, 2002; Watts & Carter, 1991). Though these studies seem to indicate that an understanding of the association between perceived discrimination and psychological
consequences may involve racial identity, up to this point this line of research has not been thoroughly explored (Sellers et al., 2006). Thus it seems appropriate to further explore the influence of racial identity in the perception of discrimination. In addition, the construct of racial socialization warrants consideration in the assessment of the relationship between racial discrimination and psychological outcomes because of its relation to racial identity. Racial socialization is understood as the implicit and explicit messages that African American parents impart to their children about race. These messages have a formative role in the development of positive or negative racial identification, which is central to the concept of racial identity.

The perception of racism can then be understood as the non-dominant group’s (in the case of this study, African Americans) experience of encountering denigrating messages regarding their identity as nondominant-group members. Kessler et al. (1999) found that 61% of African Americans report experiencing some form of racial discrimination every day. Similarly, Gibbons et al. (2004) found that 91% of preadolescent African Americans reported experiencing at least one discriminatory experience in their lifetime. These data suggest that instances of racial discrimination may be commonplace in the lives of African Americans.

Therefore, the extent to which one identifies with being a member of the nondominant group (i.e., being African American) is associated with perceived racial discrimination (Sellers & Shelton, 2003). For example, imagine two African American adults: (1) Person A who does not identify with being African American; and (2) Person B who does. If both individuals experience the same racially biased incident, their reactions may differ markedly due to how they think about what it means to be Black. For Person A, she may understand that she is being treated unfairly; however, she may explain this treatment outside of the context of her race (e.g., bad luck, being female, or some other non-racial cause). In contrast, Person B may directly attribute
this treatment to his racial group membership. The latter case seems as if it would create a
special category of stress. Thus, it makes sense to posit that racial identity would be related to
race-related stress, and research supports this association. Specifically, Sellers and Shelton
(2003) found that individuals who value being African American experience more perceived
racism in their lives than those who do not.

While some of the previously mentioned studies conceptualize racial discrimination in
terms of more overt acts, others attempted to use constructs of racism that were more chronic and
subtle. However, without an overarching theoretical framework from which to approach the task
of operationalizing subtle racism across multiple studies, the reliability and coherence of this
area of inquiry is markedly compromised. Part of the goal of the current study is to both use one
of the most current conceptualizations of racism to answer its core questions, as well as to
provide a needed baseline for future studies that choose to use the same key measures to answer
related questions (i.e., advances in measures of racial identity and perceptions of racism have
both recently reached a level of sophistication that researchers can now more readily measure
current conceptualizations of these constructs consistently across studies).

It is noteworthy that the increase in studies with primary aims of investigating racism and
its concomitants has only occurred relatively recently (within the past two decades). This may
be due in part to the growing awareness of researchers in this domain that racism is not actually
waning; rather, it is evolving into more subtle and pervasive forms. Ironically, the lay public is
often reported to endorse the view that racism is on the decline since the Civil Rights Movement;
and as the nation becomes more temporally distanced from that historical moment, many have
assumed that racism is no longer a problem in society (Sue, 2003). Unfortunately, research on
this topic offers limited or contradictory support for this alleged trend. In fact, many argue that
rather than disappearing, manifestations of racism have simply become more disguised and covert, making racism even more challenging to acknowledge or recognize (Sue et al., 2007). The difficulty with which nondominant-group members must contend in distinguishing real from imagined instances of racial bias makes responding healthily to such stressors all the more challenging; and this dynamic is further complicated by the fact that targets of such bias must simultaneously also parse how they ought to react in said situations, and what the likely consequences will be as a function of their potential reaction. The study of microaggressions offers one of the most promising approaches currently available in assessing these day-to-day, subtle racist encounters.

Perceived Racial Microaggressions

With the aforementioned definitions of racism and racial discrimination now firmly established, the concept of microaggressions offers an effective means of understanding racism as it is experienced most often in the present, in its more chronic and subtle form. Racial microaggressions are subtle verbal and behavioral expressions that communicate denigrating racist messages to people of color (Nadal, 2011). Cross-cultural researchers have long been interested in the cumulative effects of racism experienced on a daily basis, but until recently there has been disagreement on how this construct ought to be best operationalized (Utsey, 1998). With the recent increase in the term microaggressions in the literature (Nadal, 2011), the field has an opportunity to standardize the description, investigation, and explanation of chronic, subtle racism by embracing this construct. By utilizing a standard construct to assess some of these issues, researchers will be better positioned to make generalization across studies, populations, and constructs more efficiently, strengthening our understanding of this phenomenon.
Sue and colleagues (2007) proposed three types of microaggressions that occur as manifestations of present-day racism, as well as a number of themes under which microaggressions may be subsumed. *Microassaults* are defined as, “explicit racial derogations characterized by a verbal or nonverbal attack meant to hurt the intended victim through name-calling, avoidant behavior, or purposeful discriminatory actions,” (Sue et al., 2007, p.274). This type of microaggression is most similar to racism in the more traditional sense, as these manifestations are more overt, conscious, and deliberate. However, what distinguishes these microassaults from the racism that dominated before the Civil Rights Era is that these microaggressions are usually expressed in situations in which one’s anonymity may be maintained. As such these types of microaggressions usually only take place when an individual of the dominant group loses control or feels protected against the repercussions of using a microassault. An example of this phenomenon is exhibited on internet news sites, in which comment sections allow individuals to post their reactions to news stories in an anonymous manner; as such, stories that have a racial connection may attract comments from individuals who wish to share a racist point of view, but desire to avoid the social repercussions concomitant with expressing such views.

*Microinsults* are defined as, “communications that convey rudeness and insensitivity and demean a person’s racial heritage or identity,” (Sue et al., 2007, p. 274). Microinsults are frequently perpetrated unknowingly, and thus usually the messages communicated in microinsults are unconsciously and societally driven. For example, a White employer marveling at how articulate a Black employee is, may be an example of a microinsult, in that competence is expected of every employee; thus the emphasis on how articulate this Black employee is, communicates the hidden message that Black people in general are incompetent or unintelligent
(Sue et al., 2008). In addition, the occurrence of microinsults is not limited to verbal exchanges. For example, a Black man being followed or monitored intently in a store by a sales clerk for fear that the man may be stealing could be an example of a nonverbal microinsult, as the underlying message communicated to the individual is that Black people are deviant and apt to engage in criminal behavior.

Exchanges that deny or nullify the perspectives, feelings, or experiential reality of people of color are known as microinvalidations. Microinvalidations can perpetuate the painfulness of racist events by insinuating that one’s experience and perception of these events are flawed. In dismissing the reality of racism, microinvalidations also serve to perpetuate the structure of racism itself. When White people tell Black people that they are “colorblind,” it serves to diminish these Black individuals’ experience of life as racial beings. Accusations of overreacting, being oversensitive, or being petty also serve to dismiss the perspectives of people of color under the false notions that racism is dead and any “minor” instances of discrimination that occur ought to be ignored.

Categories of microaggressions based on common themes have also been delineated by Sue and colleagues (2007) and include: alien in one’s own land, ascription of intelligence, color blindness, criminality/assumption of criminal status, denial of individual racism, myth of meritocracy, pathologizing cultural values/communication styles, second-class status, and environmental invalidation. The theme of alien in one’s own land refers to microaggressive acts in which people of color are made to feel as if they do not belong based on their race. These microaggressions are most typically observed in the assumption that Asian and Latino Americans are foreigners. The ascription of intelligence theme refers to microaggressions that assign intelligence on the basis of race (exemplified with beliefs and statements that imply that
most people of color are unintelligent and/or Asian Americans are intelligent and excel at math and science). *Color blindness* refers to microaggressive acts in which the dominant-group wishes to ignore race as salient. These acts function by denying the racial reality and experiences of people of color. The *criminal/assumption of criminal status* theme refers to microaggressions that espouse beliefs in the deviance and dangerousness of people of color. The theme of *denial of individual racism* refers to microaggressions in which individuals fail to recognize their own racial biases as a consequence of, for example, having friends of color or experiencing forms of discrimination that are not racial or ethnic (e.g., “I am not racist because I have Black friends,” or “I understand how you must feel as a racial minority because I am a woman,”). The *myth of meritocracy* theme suggests that race has negligible influence on opportunities and implies that hard work and perseverance inevitably result in success, given that everyone is competing on the proverbial “level playing field.” *Pathologizing cultural values/communication styles* refers to microaggressions that imply that cultural values and expressions of people of color are abnormal and perhaps unacceptable, while dominant-group cultural values and ways of communicating are normal, acceptable, and preferable. The *second-class citizen/status* theme refers to microaggressive acts that reinforce notions of White superiority by affording preferential treatment to members of the dominant-group. Finally, *environmental microaggressions* are characterized by macro-level microaggressions, which are more apparent at institutional, systemic, and environmental levels (e.g., recognizing that television and movies predominantly feature White people, and lack representation of people of color, which sends the macro message that people of color do not belong).

The comprehensiveness with which microaggressions and microaggressive themes have been outlined in this theory represents a major step forward in how we conceptualize and assess
modern forms of racism. The theory is nuanced, it possesses good face validity and preliminary psychometric properties, and it opens the door for studies like the current project that attempt to elucidate how modern experiences of such subtle bias may be predictive of negative psychological states.

*Stress and Coping Framework for Conceptualizing Racism*

Many researchers in the area of multicultural issues conceptualize racism and racial discrimination within a stress and coping framework (Landrine & Klonoff, 1996; Clark et al., 1999; Harrell, 2000; Utsey et al., 2000; Pieterse & Carter, 2010). In accordance with these earlier studies, the proposed study also will conceptualize racism in this way, with a significant caveat being that perceived racism will be operationalized using Sue’s theory of microaggressions. The majority of these models are founded upon Lazarus and Folkman’s (1984) transactional model of stress and coping. The model is described as transactional because events characterized as stressful are thought to be the result of a transaction between person characteristics and situational characteristics. Subsumed within person characteristics is the role of cognitive appraisal, which emphasizes the evaluation of a situation to determine if it is a stressor. In a sense, a person’s characteristics are expected to concatenate with situational characteristics such that when situations are stressful, personal characteristics are theorized to precipitate a stress reaction. Essentially, an individual must perceive a stimulus to be a stressor in order for the subsequent stress reaction to take place. Racism-related stress can then be conceived of as the outcome of “transactions between individuals or groups and their environment that emerge from the dynamics of racism, and that are perceived to tax or exceed existing resources or threaten well-being,” (Harrell, 2000, p.44). Harrell points out that in order for a situation to be perceived as racist (and thus stressful), race must be considered a salient aspect of an individual’s
experience. As such, relevant personal characteristics involved in racism-related stress (specifically in regards to racial discrimination) would be the significance and centrality, (i.e., how salient is one’s race to their identity) and meaning that one ascribes to race. Awareness of the significance, centrality, and meaning of race in one’s life is reflected in one’s racial identity (Harrell, 2000). As a result, accounting for the role of racial identity in the association between experiencing racism, stress, and coping becomes crucial in understanding differing responses to racism as well as understanding the variety of psychological outcomes related to the aforementioned responses.

Racial Identity Theory

Cross’ Theory of Nigrescence

The original Nigrescence (French term for becoming Black) theory arose out of the Civil Rights Movement and was first proposed by William Cross in 1971 (Vandiver, 2001a). Cross sought to explain the identity development of Black Americans embedded in a national context that openly denigrated this racial group. Specifically, he desired to offer a theory that countered the general assumption at the time that because the mainstream culture disdained African Americans, African Americans would denigrate themselves in kind. Thus, the original Nigrescence theory posited five successive identity stages that transformed the psyche of African Americans from one steeped in racial self-hatred to a mentality replete with racial pride. These stages were: Pre-encounter, Encounter, Immersion-Emersion, Internalization, and Internalization-Commitment.

The first stage of Black racial identity development, Pre-encounter, describes individuals who have adopted the values of the dominant-group. Specifically, individuals in the pre-
encounter stage endorse anti-Black attitudes as well as a pro-White identification. Black self-hatred is a common hallmark of this stage, as at this stage the reconciliation of being Black with despising Blacks is resolved with hatred of the self. Cross also suggested that this stage likely would be accompanied by impaired personality, low self-esteem, and poor mental health (Cross, 1978).

The second stage of Black racial identity development, Encounter, involves an experience in which Black individuals were confronted with a jarring realization that their previous frame of reference may be flawed. This encounter experience could be deeply personal, as in being labeled with a racist epithet and treated sub-humanly because of one’s race, or it could be experienced on a societal level, as being witness to events that occurred in the Civil Rights Movement that may have challenged the notion that all things White are good, and all things Black are evil. It is the reconsideration of one’s worldview that potentially facilitates the third stage, Immersion-Emersion.

The Immersion-Emersion stage is characterized by two sub-stages: immersion and emersion. Immersion is characterized by a dramatic transition from endorsing mainstream identity attitudes, to vilifying these attitudes. In addition, Pro-Black attitudes are adopted to the extent that all things Black are glorified. While the outward acceptance of Black identity is pronounced in this part of the stage, the internalization of these attitudes at this point is minimal. Emersion represents moving out of Immersion and towards internalization. This part of the third stage is characterized by a decrease in dichotomous thinking (i.e., White is evil, Black is good) as well as an openness to objectively considering the strengths and weaknesses of Blackness.
Internalization represents a resolution of the conflict of the previous stage, as well as an acceptance of being Black. This stage is characterized by ideological flexibility and self confidence about one’s Blackness as well as a decrease in Anti-White feelings, to the extent that friendships with White people are again possible. Essentially the individual is moving towards a pluralistic nonracist perspective (Cross, 1978). The fifth stage of Black identity development, Internalization-Commitment, represents the ideals of the fourth stage placed into action, most often in the form of political activism and community involvement geared toward social change. Some activists in the Civil Rights Movement could potentially be characterized as being at this stage of Black identity development.

Revised and Expanded Theories of Nigrescence

In many ways the proximity of the establishment of Cross’ Black identity stages with the Civil Rights Movement allowed for the proliferation of new and refreshing ideas regarding the psychology of African Americans. However, as expressions of racial bias changed from explicit, government sanctioned acts of racial discrimination prior to the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to the more subtle versions experienced by African Americans today; how this group has dealt with discrimination and identity has also begun to change. In concert with this evolution, Cross has also revised the theory of nigrescence (Cross, 1991). While the sequence of the stages remains the same in the revised theory, the pre-encounter and internalization stages have been significantly altered. The revision also includes the concept of race salience (the importance or significance of race in a person’s life) as well as the distinction between personal identity and reference group orientation (Cross establishes that the basis of Nigrescence theory is reference group orientation, not personal identity).
In the revised Nigrescence model, Cross moves away from the notion of a linear stage model and instead embraces the view that people can be categorized as existing in racial identity statuses; and these statuses are thought to be relatively independent of each other, as well as no longer appearing in any fixed sequence or order (i.e., a person can endorse attitudes at different levels across the various statuses without having to complete any particular stage before another). Additionally, the pre-encounter status is no longer conceptualized as including pro-White attitudes. Instead, the inclusion of race salience establishes two identities within the pre-encounter status: Pre-Encounter Assimilation and Pre-Encounter Anti-Black. The adoption of a Pre-Encounter Assimilation identity would indicate that the individual has adopted a mainstream identity, in which race is not viewed as important (low salience). The Pre-encounter Anti-Black identity encompasses ideals of self-contempt, as the individual devalues Black aesthetics and cultural imperatives (based on negative stereotypes) and generalizes this disdain to core aspects of the overall evaluation of self. With this clarification, low self-esteem is now theorized to be the only linked with the Pre-Encounter Anti-Black identity attitudes (Worrell, Vandiver, Cross, & Fhagen-Smith, 2004).

The Immersion-Emersion stage of racial identity development was also revised. Sentiments of Black Nationalism were now assigned as an aspect of a new Internalization identity, and the Pro-Black and Anti White attitudes of the stage were separated into distinct racial identities within the Immersion-Emersion stage. As such an individual in the immersion part of the stage can be identified as incorporating either or both of the Pro-Black and Anti-White identities.

For the purpose of conciseness, the Internalization and Internalization-Commitment stages were combined into one collective Internalization stage, based on Cross’ notion that there
were not enough substantive differences in the psychology of individuals in each of these stages to necessitate their continued distinctiveness (Cross, 1991). The revised Internalization stage consists of three separate identities: Black Nationalist, Biculturalist, and Multiculturalist. As Internalization stages, each of these includes the critical concept of Black self-acceptance. However, these identities are distinguished in the degree to which individuals are able to incorporate more than one salient cultural identity. For the Black Nationalist, being Black is the only salient identity; for the Biculturalist, being Black and American are the most common salient identities incorporated into one’s sense of reference group orientation; and for the Multiculturalist, multiple cultural identities are salient to the individual.

These revisions were further refined in the most recent iteration of Nigrescence theory, known as the Expanded Nigrescence model. The changes that differentiate the expanded version from the revised version of the model coincide with the development of the Cross Racial Identity Scales (CRIS; Vandiver et al., 2000) as an alternative to the RIAS (Racial Identity Attitude Scale; Parham & Helms, 1981), which was based on Cross’ earlier theorizing and possessed psychometric properties that could be considered adequate at best. The development of the CRIS in many ways forced further re-conceptualization of the Nigrescence model based on empirical findings. The most notable change incorporated into the Expanded Nigrescence model is that a Pre-Encounter Miseducation identity was added to the Pre-encounter stage based on data that suggested that the Pre-Encounter status could psychometrically isolate three separate identities within it (Vandiver et al., 2001b). The expanded theory of Nigrescence, like its predecessor (the revised model), also recognizes that the statuses (and distinct identities) of racial identity are not mutually exclusive. This adaptation allows for the description of the complexity that is more typical of the real world attitudes and identities endorsed by Black individuals. The
dynamic interplay of sound theory and research reinforcing each other is observable in the
development of the Expanded Nigrescence theory of racial identity development as well as the
development of the CRIS. As such, the study of the construct of Black racial identity and its
relationships with other variables using the CRIS and Expanded Nigrescence theory is that much
more reliable.

Empirical Studies of Racial Identity

Racial identity has been associated with a significant number of psychological variables
in empirical investigations (Pieterse & Carter, 2010). Studies have consistently found
associations between Pre-Encounter attitudes and low levels of self-actualization and self-
estee m, and greater levels of feelings of inferiority (Parham & Helms, 1985; Cross et. al., 1998).
Research also suggests that individuals in the Encounter stage of racial identity development are
more likely to exhibit symptoms of psychological distress, while endorsement of Internalization
status attitudes and identities was predictive of psychological well-being (Franklin-Jackson &
Carter, 2007). Some studies also suggest that Immersion-Emersion attitudes are associated with
psychological distress, race-related stress, and anger (Johnson & Arbona, 2006; Cross et al.,
1998; Carter et al., 2008).

Interestingly enough, researchers have also found associations between more positive
psychological health outcome and racial identity attitudes. Specifically, a number of studies
indicate that better psychological health outcomes are associated with Black individuals who
identify positively with their race (Sellers et al., 2006; Rowley et al., 1998; Cross, 1991). Cross
et al. (1998) found that endorsement of Internalization attitudes was associated with higher levels
of self-actualization and self-esteem. These studies attest to the commonly held belief among
researchers of racism that being confident in one’s racial identity results in a sense of meaningfulness, belonging, and enterprise (Vandiver et al., 2001).

An examination of these studies seems to indicate that racial identity may moderate the relationship between microaggressions (perceived racism) and psychological outcomes; specifically, that the endorsement of certain racial identity attitudes act as a buffer against psychological outcomes associated with racial discrimination. Racial identity theorists have somewhat recently posited the idea that certain racial identity attitudes may afford protection from racism to those Black Americans who endorse them (Cross et al., 1998; Neblett et al., 2004). Up to this point, few studies have explored this relationship, but preliminary data from the investigations of the possible moderating role of racial identity in the relationship between perceived discrimination and psychological outcomes are promising (Sellers et al., 2006). As such, this potential relationship certainly seems worthy of further exploration.

Although Cross’ model of racial identity development is currently one of the most widely referenced, other theories are growing in influence. In a review of models and measures of African American racial identity, Marks and colleagues (2004) argue that there is no consensus on the best way to conceptualize and measure racial identity at present, partially because the available models may be addressing different aspects of racial identity. As no unifying theory of these conceptualizations exist, researchers must choose models and measures that best correspond with their understanding of African American functioning. Cross’ Nigrescence model and the resulting Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS) have consistently demonstrated that Anti-Black attitudes are generally associated with negative psychological outcomes. Each iteration of Cross’s theory of Internalization (Multiculturalist, Biculturalist and Afrocentric) has posited that such attitudes should be positively correlated with general
psychological health (Vandiver, 2001); however, empirical research on this topic has yielded inconsistent results. While it is unclear why this is the case, a likely explanation for this inconsistency in the literature is that the current conceptualization of Internalization attitudes focuses more on assessing a person’s “political” attitudes concerning being Black rather than how being black is associated with how one feels about being Black. Specifically, each item of the Preencounter Self-Hatred subscale utilizes the word “feeling,” while the internalization subscales (both IA and IMC) focus upon how a person should behave (e.g., “…I believe the best way to solve our problems is to think Afrocentrically,” or “I believe it is important to have both a Black identity and a multicultural perspective, which is inclusive of everyone…”). Given the theory behind this scale, it seems odd that the authors would adopt such an approach to measure Internalization subscales; however, perhaps the authors assumed that being politically active in any manner with regard to racial identity is a sign of pro-Black attitudes. Whatever the reason, this approach seems limiting for the current needs of this study.

Conceptualizations of Race in Self-concept

To elaborate on this point, it could be argued that the CRIS scales vary in their effectiveness in measuring self-concept. In Cross’ reconceptualization of the Nigrescence model (1991), he posits that Black identity is framed by a two-factor model, “in which self-concept is thought to consist of a general personal identity domain and a racial or group identity domain [or reference group orientation],” (p.39). This articulation of Black identity implies a strong relationship between the personal identity domain (PI) and reference group orientation (RGO). The personal identity domain can be understood as being emblematic of those variables, traits, or dynamics that appear to be universal in human beings (e.g., self-esteem, self-worth, self-confidence). In contrast, research on reference group orientation often attempts to elucidate
aspects of the self that may differ according to one’s membership in a specific class, culture, gender, or race. Items on the CRIS Preencounter Self-Hatred subscale seem well adapted to measure both the personal identity domain and the reference group orientation of the assessed individual. For example, the items “I go through periods when I am down on myself because I am Black,” and “When I look in the mirror at my Black image, sometimes I do not feel good about what I see,” both capture the individual’s ideas and beliefs about the self (PI) as well as the individual’s ideas and beliefs specific to his/her racial identification (RGO). Thus, Preencounter Self-Hatred is a true measure of self-concept because it taps both dimensions of this construct (i.e., it is not just a measure of personal identity or reference group orientation; it measures both simultaneously). Contrastingly, items on the CRIS internalization subscales (Multiculturalist and Afrocentric) seem more equipped to measure an individual’s reference group orientation without explicitly assessing the personal identity domain. This RGO bias is illustrated clearly when we examine Internalization constituent items like, “I respect the ideas that other Black people hold, but I believe that the best way to solve our problems is to think Afrocentrically,” and “I believe it is important to have both a Black identity and a multicultural perspective, which is inclusive of everyone (e.g., Asians, Latinos, gays & lesbians, Jews, Whites, etc.).” While these items effectively assess how an individual’s group identity ought to influence one’s behavior, they do not explicitly assess how an individual feels about being Black (i.e., do they feel good about being Black or are they confident in their Black identity). The operationalization of the measurement of Internalization subscales (with regard to the measurement of self-concept) seems incomplete because the items tend to consistently ignore aspects of personal identity while emphasizing reference group orientation attitudes.
Interestingly, Vandiver and Cross (2001) have emphasized the negative valence of Black self-concept in their measurement of Preencounter Self-Hatred Attitudes. And although they appear to have attempted to tap more positive aspects of self-concept with the internalization and Immersion-Emersion subscales, these scales are not true measures of self-concept because of the absence of items capturing the personal identity domain. Consequently, this study utilizes an alternative measure of self-concept that also taps Black racial identity attitudes. As the positive measures of Black identity on the CRIS are really measures of reference group orientation rather than true self-concept measures, to address this missing piece of the current study, the study borrows from the work of Robert Sellers.

In order to attend to the positive psychological effects of Pro-Black attitudes in the experience of microaggressions, Robert Sellers’ Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, & Chavous, 1998) and the resulting Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, & Smith, 1997) offer a way in which these Pro-Black racial identity attitudes can be studied more explicitly and in line with the construct of self-concept. Sellers’ multidimensional model (MMRI) incorporates the significance and meaning of racial group membership in order to determine individuals’ present racial identity. In this way, racial group membership can be understood as important (or unimportant) in positively and negatively valenced ways. The MMRI’s four dimensions of racial identity are racial centrality, racial salience, racial ideology, and racial regard. The significance of race is understood within the dimensions of racial centrality (a measure of whether race is a core part of an individual’s self-concept over time) and racial salience (a measure of how relevant one’s race is to one’s self-concept at a particular moment in time). The meaning of race is understood within the dimensions of racial ideology (a measure of one’s individual beliefs,
opinions, and attitudes regarding the way that African Americans should live and interact with society) and racial regard (a measure of a person’s affective and evaluative judgment of his/her race). Racial regard can be further dichotomized into public and private regard. Public regard refers to an individual’s beliefs about how others view African Americans (positively or negatively) – it seems to tap a reference group orientation construct. Private regard refers to how an individual feels (positively or negatively) both about African Americans in general and being African American more specifically. The dimension of private regard offers a meaningful way to understand how Pro-Black attitudes interact with the experience of microaggressions and psychological well-being and distress.

For the purposes of the current study, Seller’s theory of private regard is of primary interest. Seller’s Private Regard scale seems to be an appropriate complimentary measure of the positive aspects of Black self-concept. It includes such items as “I am proud to be Black,” and “I am happy that I am Black.” Thus, this scale has been selected to tap this more positive side of self-concept. Consonant with the theory, this subscale has been found to be positively associated with self-esteem; Rowley and colleagues (1998) found that among African American college and high school students, there was a moderate correlation between Private Regard and personal self-esteem. In addition, Oney and colleagues (2011) found that Private Regard moderated the relationship between body satisfaction and self-esteem in a sample of African American college students. Settles and colleagues (2010) also found that positive Private Regard attitudes were related to higher self-esteem, which in turn was related to lower depression in a sample of African American women.
Racial Microaggressions and Racial Identity

As mentioned previously, racial microaggressions theory will direct the aspects of this study associated with the perception of racial prejudice/discrimination. Although Sue and colleagues (2007) have established a comprehensive typology of the different microaggressions that people of color may experience, for the purpose of this study, it is most appropriate to focus on a select few of these. The Racial and Ethnic Microaggressions Scale (REMS) developed from the recent advances in microaggressions theory by Nadal (2011), possesses six subscales: Assumptions of Inferiority, Second-Class Citizen and Assumptions of Criminality, Microinvalidations, Exoticization/Assumptions of Similarity, Environmental Microaggressions, and Workplace and School Microaggressions. This study will use two of these subscales: the Assumptions of Inferiority subscale and the Microinvalidations subscale. Given the focus of this study on the racial identity attitudes of private regard and Preencounter self-hatred, the theoretical rationale for the use of these two subscales is that of the available subscales, these seem most likely to be impactful in the relationship among the experience of racial discrimination, racial identity, and psychological functioning. In experiences in which people of color are assumed to be inferior, there are likely ramifications for the person’s understanding of herself based on the racial identity attitudes that she holds (whether or not being Black is considered a good or bad thing). Exposure to an assumption of inferiority microaggression for an individual who endorses negative attitudes about being Black could then be implicated in that individual’s experience of negative affect (the same could be argued for positive racial attitudes and mental health). Thus, for individuals predisposed to evaluate Blackness negatively, experiencing a tacit comment suggesting that others believe that they are in fact inferior may kindle an intensification of such sentiments (i.e., in such an ambiguous interpersonal space, the
person may project their preexisting negative attitudes into their interpretation of the interaction). Contrastingly, if an individual experiences a microinvalidation but has a positive sense of his Blackness, then perhaps such experiences will not be associated with negative emotions (e.g., if you are proud of being a pianist, and someone disdains your skill, you may have a negative reaction; however, it is likely that such a reaction will be directed at the evaluator rather than at oneself). While the other microaggression subscales could certainly be related to one’s racial identity and psychological functioning (especially in the case of the assumptions of criminality and work/school subscales), there are ways in which these microaggressions are situation specific versions of the assumptions of inferiority and microinvalidation types. That is, the latter subscales (interiority and microinvalidation) are likely the most generalizable examples of microaggressions and likely best exemplify the main racism construct of interest in the current study. Additionally, it could be argued that the other types of microaggressions could more readily lend themselves to a situational explanation. For example, if an African American male has not committed a crime but is treated as if he is a criminal, there could potentially be different implications for psychological health than in the case when the attribution of inferiority occurs, which is a more global and generalizable indictment of the self. As such, this study was primarily concerned with microinvalidations and assumptions of inferiority in the examination of the relationship among racial identity, experience of microaggressions, and psychological functioning.

*Racial Socialization and Racial Identity*

The relationship between racial socialization and racial identity is another association that bears consideration in the relationship of microaggressions with psychological outcomes. Greene (1990) defines racial socialization as, “what Black parents communicate to Black
children about what it means to be a Black American, what they may expect from Black and White persons, how to cope with it, and whether or not the disparaging messages of the broader culture are true" (p. 209). Based on Harrell’s transactional model of stress and coping (Harrell 2000), racial socialization could be considered a situational characteristic that interacts with the personal characteristic of racial identity. This understanding in combination with the fact that it seems logical to conclude that messages that Black children receive from their parents may play a formative role in the accelerated development of racial identity, have lead to a significant number of studies that have explored this relationship (Thompson et al., 2000; Stevenson, 1995; Marshall, 1995; Sanders-Thompson, 1995). Evidence suggests that children with more racial socialization experiences are comparatively further along in their racial identity development and show less support for pro-White, mainstream attitudes (Marshall, 1995; Stevenson, 1995). Preliminary studies exploring the potential mediation of racial identity on the relationship of acculturative stress and racial socialization found evidence suggesting that racial identity acted as a partial mediator in this relationship (Thompson et al., 2000); specifically, when racial identity (only immersion and internalization attitudes were significant predictors in this equation) was added to the regression model, the previously significant effect of racial socialization on acculturative stress became insignificant. Given the presumption that parental messages about race precede racial identity development (Kenny et al., 1998), a secondary aim of the proposed study is to examine the possible mediating influence of racial identity on the relationship between racial socialization and psychological outcomes. Specifically, given the constructs described here, it seems reasonable to speculate that what Black parents teach their children about race should strongly influence these children’s eventual racial identity attitudes. As this is
the case, racial socialization should be significantly associated with key racial identity attitudes (e.g., Preencounter Self-Hatred, Private Regard, and Internalization attitudes).

Racial Identity and Resilience

Although the clinical relevance of understanding the adverse effects of racism cannot be overstated, an important caveat about research in this area must be considered. Psychologists in this country exist within a society in which aversive racism is perpetuated. As such, researchers in multicultural studies must be attuned to the possibility that research in which the negative impact of racism on historically oppressed and marginalized populations is studied can be interpreted in ways that may pathologize these populations. It also bears mentioning that in isolation, this research may not provide an adequate portrayal of the diversity of responses to racism that is often found within these populations. The construct of resilience offers a way in which this diversity can be accounted for as well as a means by which increased understanding about the multifaceted interactions of mental health, identity, and race can be facilitated.

Resilience can be understood as, “positive adaptation despite negative environmental influences,” (Miller & MacIntosh, 1999, p. 159). In the context of racism, research suggests that resilient responses may be related to racial identity and racial socialization (Stevenson & Arrington, 2009; Brown, 2008). DeGruy and colleagues (2012) posit that the study of racism and resilience, in elucidating factors that promote thriving in detrimental environments, could lead to interventions aimed at “building resilience” as a means of combating negative psychological outcomes of racism and promoting psychological wellbeing. Even though studies of resilience have been increasing in recent years, research examining resilience in the context of racism has been minimal to this point. This study seeks to offer a preliminary exploration of the
associations among resilience and racial identity to contribute to the growing literature. Specifically, this study intends to break with the longstanding tradition in much of this literature of only focusing on negative outcomes for African Americans (e.g., using dependent variables like depression), and to also examine the potentially salubrious associations that may exist with adopting certain racial identity or racial socialization stances. Because this is a nascent area of inquiry, the hypotheses are limited to correlational tests with the hope that these findings will serve as a foundation for more complex research in the near future.

*Present Study in Relation to the Literature*

This study assessed the relationships among the variables of perceived racism (in terms of microaggressions), racial identity, racial socialization, and psychological functioning. Specifically, the potential moderating effects of racial identity on the relationship between perceived microaggressions and psychological functioning were explored. In addition, the potential mediating impact of racial identity on the relationship between racial socialization and psychological functioning was assessed.

This study differs from prior investigations in significant ways. Most noticeably, this study will be one of the first to utilize the Racial and Ethnic Microaggressions Scale (REMS; Nadal, 2011), which as mentioned earlier represents the most recent advances in the conceptualization of modern racism. Also, while the relationship between racial identity and perceived discrimination has been attended to in the literature, perceived racism has not to this point been conceived of in terms of microaggressions in any study examining racial identity. This study will also serve as an addition to the literature regarding the moderating effects of racial identity on the relationship of psychological consequences and perceived racism. This is
important because although theorists have emphasized that racial identity may act as a buffer against perceived racism; up to this point, very few studies have attempted to investigate this potential moderation directly. As such, this study serves to advance our understanding of these associations. Finally, this study is also important (though not unique) because it has the potential to validate the heretofore untested theory that experiencing subtle forms of racial discrimination is both painful and psychologically damaging. Insight into this dynamic will benefit not just African American targets of such treatment, but these findings also have the potential to help dominant group members who perpetrate such acts to understand that such behavior is damaging to other people.

Hypotheses

As this study primarily sought to ascertain whether or not racial identity has an indirect effect on psychological functioning by means of acting as a buffer against microaggressions (Sellers et al., 2006), two main hypotheses guided this investigation:

Hypothesis 1: It was hypothesized that Preencounter Self-Hatred attitudes would moderate the association between the experience of perceiving microaggressions (i.e., assumptions of inferiority and microinvalidations, respectively) and endorsing symptoms of depression/anxiety.

Hypothesis 2: It was hypothesized that Private Regard attitudes would moderate the association between the experience of perceiving microaggressions (i.e., assumptions of inferiority and microinvalidations, respectively) and endorsing symptoms of depression/anxiety.

Additionally, elucidating the relationships among racial socialization, racial identity, psychological functioning, and resilience is an important purpose of this study. As such, it was further hypothesized that:
Hypothesis 3: There would be an association between racial identity and racial socialization. Specifically, it was expected that the Preencounter Self-Hatred racial identity status attitudes would be negatively correlated with pro-Black racial socialization constructs, while the Private Regard racial identity status attitudes would be positively correlated with said racial socialization.

Hypothesis 4: There would be a negative correlation between pro-Black racial socialization experiences and endorsing symptoms of depression/anxiety.

Hypothesis 5: Pro-Black racial socialization experiences would be significantly correlated with all of the statuses of Nigrescence. Specifically, pro-Black racial socialization would be negatively correlated with those aspects of racial identity that negatively evaluate Blackness, and positively correlated with more Black affirming attitudes.

Hypothesis 6: The relationship between pro-Black racial socialization and psychological functioning (i.e., depressive and anxious symptoms) would be mediated by racial identity. Specifically…

A. Anti-Black racial identity attitudes (e.g., Black Self-Hatred attitudes) would mediate the association of racial socialization and psychological functioning (i.e., depression and anxiety symptoms).

B. Private Regard attitudes (i.e., pro-Black personal identity attitudes) would mediate the association between racial socialization and psychological functioning (i.e., depression and anxiety symptoms).
*Hypothesis 7:* The measure of resilience would be positively correlated with pro-Black racial identity attitudes (i.e., private regard attitudes) and negatively correlated with anti-Black racial identity attitudes (i.e., Black self-hatred attitudes). Additionally, resilience attitudes would be positively correlated with racial socialization experiences.

*Hypothesis 8:* We wish to examine the possible mediating association between pro-Black vs. anti-Black attitudes in predicting depressive symptoms. Specifically, we predicted that anti-Black attitudes would be a better predictor of depressive symptoms than pro-Black attitudes.

**Method**

**Participants**

Participants were recruited from undergraduate psychology courses at Eastern Michigan University. Participation in this study was voluntary, and students could receive extra credit for their participation if professors of these courses were amenable. Participation in this study was restricted to students who identify racially as Black/African American. As was expected based on the composition of this institution’s student body and national trends (Eastern Michigan University, n.d.), the sample for this study was composed of more women than men (112 women, 41 men). Although it could be argued that a college or university sample is sought merely for the sake of convenience, for this study (and many that investigate issues of racial identity) the recruitment of African American participants in a collegiate environment affords the opportunity to sample from a population of African Americans from unique cultural backgrounds and comprised of diverse experiences. Consequently the breadth of racial identity attitudes and statuses found in such an environment represents a distinct advantage in attempting to assess the psychological implications of said varying racial identity statuses and attitudes.
Procedure

This study was conducted online. Participants accessed the study during a time of their choosing using the Eastern Michigan University SONA system (an online research management system that presents potential participants with a list of psychological research studies for which they might volunteer). Participants in the current study accessed our survey via a link provided on the EMU SONA system webpage. This Internet link transferred students to SurveyMonkey.com, and students then were provided with a consent form and the previously discussed questionnaires utilized for this study. The order of the assessments was as follows: the CRIS, the MIBI, the TERS, the CD-RISC, the DASS-21, and the REMS.

Participants were recruited via the Eastern Michigan University SONA system, which provides web-based human subject pool management software for the university’s psychology department. Essentially, the system acts as a virtual bulletin board, as individuals who are interested in participating in research may solicit information about a number of available studies for which they may be eligible. The professors of the courses from which participants were sampled will direct those individuals interested in participating in research studies to create a user name and password for the SONA system. Upon logging into the system, potential participants selected the option “Study Sign-Up,” which allowed the individual to browse a list of studies and sign up for those for which they are eligible and in which they are interested. If the participant was interested in this study, upon selecting and clicking on the option with this study’s title, the participant was directed to a concise description of the study, which included the criterion that individuals identify racially as Black/African-American in order to be eligible. This web page also included the duration of the study as well as the contact information (name, phone number, and email address) of the principal investigator and the faculty advisor. If
individuals chose to sign up for the study, they selected the option “View Time Slots for this study,” and were then directed to a page in which they clicked the “Sign-Up?” button. After having done so, the website for this study was made available for the participant to access at his or her leisure (until the study deadline at which data is no longer collected). Upon accessing the link to the study, participants were directed to the Informed Consent agreement for the study which outlines the purpose, procedures, risks, and benefits of participation in the study. Before participants were able to begin the study assessment, participants were asked to indicate that they agreed to the terms presented in the informed consent agreement. Questions that participants may have had about the informed consent agreement could be directed to the email address and phone number of the primary investigator and the faculty advisor, which were provided within the agreement as well as on the study page in the SONA system.

**Measures**

*The Racial and Ethnic Microaggressions Scale (REMS).* The REMS (Nadal, 2011) is a 45-item measure designed to assess the frequency with which people of color are exposed to subtle statements and behaviors that unconsciously communicate denigrating messages to them over the past six months. Items are scored using a six-point Likert-like scale to indicate the number of times a respondent has experienced a particular microaggression within the past 6 months (0 = *I did not experience this event in the past six months*, 3 = *I experienced this event 3 times in the past six months*, 5 = *I experienced this event 5 or more times in the past six months*). Higher scores indicate higher frequencies of microaggression experienced within the past six months. The REMS is composed of six subscales: Assumptions of Inferiority, Second-Class Citizen and Assumptions of Criminality, Microinvalidations, Exoticization/Assumptions of Similarity, Environmental Microaggressions, and Workplace and School Microaggressions.
The Assumptions of Inferiority subscale consists of 8 items and represents microaggressions in which people of color are assumed to be poor or hold substandard careers. The Second-Class Citizen and Assumptions of Criminality subscale consists of 7 items and represents microaggressions in which people of color receive inferior treatment or substandard service as compared to Whites as well as when people of color are stereotyped to be deviant or criminals. The Microinvalidations subscale consists of 9 items and represents microaggressions that are unconscious verbal statements in which the perpetrator may have good intentions, but which convey negative messages to people of color. The Exoticization/Assumptions of Similarity subscale consists of 9 items and represents microaggressions in which people of color may feel like perpetual foreigners. The Environmental Microaggressions subscale consists of 7 items and represents microaggressions exemplified by deficiencies of people of color in positions of power, prestige, and influence. The Workplace and School Microaggressions subscale consists of 5 items and represents microaggressions in which people of color experience discrimination and feelings of alienation in work and school settings. The REMS produced a coefficient alpha of .93 for the entire measure (Nadal, 2011). Internal consistency reliability was further supported in that each of the subscales produced a coefficient alpha well above .8 (α = .89 for Assumptions of Inferiority, α = .88 for Second-Class Citizen and Assumptions of Criminality, α = .89 for Microinvalidations, α = .85 for Exoticization/Assumptions of Similarity, α = .85 for Environmental Microaggressions, and α = .85 for Workplace and School Microaggressions). In terms of concurrent validity, the REMS was positively correlated (r = .46) with the RALES-B (Utsey, 1998), a measure of race-related stress (Nadal, 2011).

The Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS). The CRIS is a 40-item self-report measure designed to assess Black racial identity attitudes described in the expanded Nigrescence theory.
Impact of Racial Identity

(Cross & Vandiver, 2001). Items are scored using a seven-point Likert response scale to indicate the extent to which participants agreed or disagreed (1 = strongly disagree, 4 = neither agree nor disagree, 7 = strongly agree) with statements representing racial identity attitudes. The CRIS has six subscales that represent six racial identity statuses: Pre-encounter Assimilation (PA), Pre-encounter Miseducation (PM), Pre-encounter Self-hatred (PSH), Immersion-Emersion Anti-White (IEAW), Internalization Afrocentricity (IA), and Internalization Multiculturalist (IM). Each of the subscales consists of five items and there are 10 additional filler items. Scores can range from 5 to 35 on each of the subscales, with high scores indicating attitudes consistent with that particular identity. The PA subscale assesses the extent to which individuals endorse a pro-American identity, in which race is not salient. The PM subscale assesses the extent to which individuals endorse negative stereotypical beliefs about Blacks in general. The PSH subscale assesses the extent to which individuals identify personally with negative stereotypes about Blacks and exhibit attitudes of hatred towards Blacks in general, as well as hatred towards themselves (because they are Black). The IEAW subscale assesses the extent to which individuals endorse attitudes of disdain and rejection toward White people and White culture. The IA subscale assesses the extent to which individuals endorse Afrocentric attitudes and a desire to empower Black people and the Black community. The IM subscale assesses the extent to which individuals endorse attitudes of acceptance and camaraderie towards people both within and outside of the Black community. In a study of college students, Vandiver et al. reported the following estimates for Cronbach’s alpha for each of the six subscales: $\alpha = .85$ for PA, $\alpha = .78$ for PM, $\alpha = .89$ for PSH, $\alpha = .89$ for IEAW, $\alpha = .83$ for IA, and $\alpha = .82$ for IM.

The Depression, Anxiety and Stress Scale (DASS-21). The DASS-21 is the short form of the DASS-42 (Lovibond & Lovibond, 1995). The DASS-21 is a 21-item measure designed to
assess the severity and frequency of symptoms of depression, anxiety, and stress within the past week. Items are scored using a four-point Likert scale ranging from 0 (did not apply to me at all) to 3 (applied to me very much, or most of the time). Scores can range from 0 to 63, with higher scores indicating more severe and frequently occurring negative emotional states. The DASS-21 can be scored as a single measure of general negative psychological health (i.e., one simply sums all of the scores for all 21 items), or each of its three, 7-item subscales – i.e., (1) depression, (2) anxiety, and (3) stress subscales. The depression subscale assesses dysphoria, hopelessness, self-deprecation attitudes, lack of interest or involvement, devaluation of life, and anhedonia. The anxiety subscale assesses autonomic arousal, muscular tension, situational anxiety, and anxious affect. The stress subscale assesses general tension, difficulty relaxing, negative emotional lability, and nervous arousal. The internal consistency reliability of the DASS-21 is well established, with estimates of Cronbach’s alpha ranging from .83 to .96 for the Depression scale, .79 to .89 for the Anxiety scale, and .87 to .93 for the Stress scale, and .86 to .93 for the total scale (Yusoff, 2013; Henry & Crawford, 2005; Antony et al., 1998; Norton, 2007; & Brown et al., 1997). In addition, Norton (2007) found adequate internal consistency reliability in an investigation with an African American sample for each of the scales of the DASS-21 (α = .84 for Depression, α = .81 for anxiety, and α = .88 for stress).

The Teenager Experience of Racial Socialization Scale (TERS). The TERS (Stevenson et al., 2002) is a 40-item self-report measure designed to assess the frequency with which respondents were exposed to messages of racial pride, racial struggle, cultural survival, and spiritual and religious coping by their parents or caregivers. Items are scored using a three-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (never) to 3 (lots of times). The TERS consists of five subscales: Cultural Coping with Antagonism (CCA), Cultural Pride Reinforcement (CPR), Cultural
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Appreciation of Legacy (CLA), Cultural Alertness to Discrimination (CAD), and Cultural Endorsement of the Mainstream (CEM). The CCA subscale consists of 13 items and represents messages concerning the importance of struggling successfully through racial hostilities and the role of spirituality and religion in that coping. The CPR subscale consists of 9 items and represents messages emphasizing pride and knowledge of African American culture. The CLA subscale consists of 5 items and represents messages about cultural heritage issues (such as enslavement and knowing historical issues for African Americans). The CAD subscale consists of 6 items and represents messages teaching awareness of barriers of racism in society as well as awareness of multiple race relation challenges between African Americans and Whites. The CEM subscale consists of 6 items and represents messages expressing the relative importance of majority culture institutions, and the irrelevance of discussing issues of racism and African American culture. Stevenson et al. (2002) found the internal consistency reliability for the entire TERS was $\alpha = .91$, and the internal consistency reliability of most of the subscales was moderate ($\alpha = .85$ for CCA, $\alpha = .83$ for CPR, $\alpha = .74$ for CLA, $\alpha = .76$ for CAD, and $\alpha = .71$ for CEM).

*The Connor-Davidson Resilience Scale (CD-RISC).* The CD-RISC is a 25-item self-report measure designed to quantify resilience (Connor & Davidson, 2003). Connor and Davidson (2003) specify that resilience embodies the personal qualities that enable one to thrive in the face of adversity and posit that characteristics of resilient people include: a view of change/stress as a challenge or opportunity, a recognition of limits to one’s control, an engagement with the support of others, secure attachment to others, self-efficacy, a recognition of past successes, a realistic sense of control, a sense of humor, an action-oriented approach, patience, tolerance of negative affect, adaptability to change, optimism, and faith. Items are scored using a five-point Likert response scale to indicate the extent to which participants feel
each statement accurately describes their beliefs over the past month \( (0 = \text{not true at all}, 2 = \text{sometimes true}, 4 = \text{true nearly all of the time}) \). High scores are indicative of greater resilience. The CD-RISC produced a coefficient alpha of .89 for the entire measure (Connor & Davidson, 2003). Brown (2008) reported a coefficient alpha of .91 for the CD-RISC in a study of racial socialization and resiliency in African American undergraduate students.

The Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI). The MIBI is a 56 item self-report measure designed to measure the three stable dimensions of African American racial identity: centrality, ideology, and regard as conceptualized in the Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (Sellers et. al, 1997). Sellers and colleagues (1997) specify that the salience dimension was not included in the MIBI because of its susceptibility to situational influences. The MIBI consists of a Centrality scale, four ideology subscales (Nationalist, Oppressed Minority, Assimilationist, Humanist), and two regard subscales (Public Regard and Private Regard). Items are scored using a seven-point Likert response scale to indicate the extent to which participants feel each statement accurately describes their present beliefs \( (1 = \text{strongly disagree}, 4 = \text{neutral}, 7 = \text{strongly agree}) \). Because the MIBI is based on a multidimensional conceptualization of racial identity, Sellers and colleagues (1997) believed it was inappropriate to calculate a composite score for the entire scale. The MIBI produced a Cronbach’s alpha of .77, .60, .73, .70, .76, and .79 for the subscales of Centrality, Private Regard, Assimilation, Humanist, Minority, and Nationalist respectively (Sellers et. al, 1997).

Data Analysis

In this study, multiple regression was used to test all mediation and moderation hypotheses (Frazier, Tix, & Barron, 2004). Pearson bivariate correlations were used for preliminary analyses. Based on a review of the literature in the content area of racial identity, a
medium effect size (an $f^2$ of .15 as suggested by Cohen, 1992) was a reasonable expectation for the proposed study. A minimum sample size of 76 is needed to achieve adequate power (.80) with alpha set at .05 when three independent variables are employed.

Results

Before conducting the analyses for this study, the data were reviewed to assure accurate entry, account for missing values, and ensure that the distribution of the data fit with the basic assumptions of multivariate analysis. In order to confirm that the pattern of data was missing completely at random, Little’s test of the same name (i.e., Little’s Missing Completely at Random test; MCAR) was used. The Little’s MCAR test obtained for this study’s data resulted in a chi-square = 384.83 ($df = 437; p = .965$), which indicates that the data were indeed missing at random (i.e., no identifiable pattern exists to the missing data). After completing Little’s test, expectation maximization was used to impute the missing data from the sample. This procedure estimates means, variances, and covariances from cases that have no missing data. Maximum likelihood procedures are then used to accurately estimate regression equations that relate the variables based on the previously mentioned estimates of means, variances, and covariances (Dempster, Laird, & Rubin, 1977). The resulting regression equations are used to predict missing values. The estimation of missing values provides new data which is then used to estimate means, variances, and covariances again to further approximate maximum likelihood estimates for each variable.

Hypothesis 1

The first prediction of this study posited that Preencounter Self-Hatred attitudes would moderate the association between the experience of perceiving microaggressions and endorsing
symptoms of negative affect (i.e., depression and anxiety, respectively). However, our analyses revealed that whether or not the anxiety, depression, or overall DASS score were used as dependent variables, respectively, in the proposed tests of moderation, the findings mirrored each other (i.e., the findings were all significant in the same directions). Because the overall DASS score is a more comprehensive measure of general negative affect (i.e., it measures symptoms of depression, anxiety, and stress as a composite), it seemed that this would be a more parsimonious, and no less accurate, method to address our hypotheses. Consequently hypotheses 1 and 2 are only reported using the total DASS score as the dependent variable. See Table 1 for a summary of correlations between the DASS and the REMS scores, as well as their respective alpha coefficients.

To test all of the moderation hypotheses, Hayes’s (2013) PROCESS macro for SPSS was utilized. Thus, the first hypothesis consisted of two iterations:

1a. Preencounter Self Hatred attitudes were expected to moderate the association between assumption of inferiority microaggression scores and total DASS negative symptoms scores.

1b. Preencounter Self Hatred attitudes were expected to moderate the association between microinvalidation microaggression scores and total DASS negative symptoms scores.

To test hypothesis 1a, Preencounter Self-Hatred attitudes scores were designated as the moderator variable, the Assumptions of Inferiority subscale scores were used as the focal predictor, and DASS total scores were entered as the dependent variable. Bias-corrected confidence intervals were generated using bootstrapping with 1,000 resamples. The regression
coefficients for the interaction term in this analysis was significant, confirming the hypothesis, $b = .05, t(149) = 2.30, p = .023$. Thus, Preencounter Self-Hatred attitudes appear to moderate the association between experiencing Assumptions of Inferiority microaggressions and endorsing generalized negative affect. Follow-up analyses of this moderating effect revealed that when Preencounter Self-Hatred attitudes are low, there is a non-significant positive relationship between experience of inferiority microaggressions and psychological outcomes (severity and frequency of symptoms of depression, anxiety, and stress within the past week), $b = 0.104, 95\% CI [-0.201, 0.409], t = 0.67, p = .501$. At the mean value of Preencounter Self-Hatred attitudes, there is a significant positive relationship between experience of inferiority microaggressions and psychological outcomes, $b = 0.369, 95\% CI [0.144, 0.593], t = 3.24, p < .01$. When Preencounter Self-Hatred attitudes are high, there is a significant positive relationship between experience of inferiority microaggressions and psychological symptoms, $b = 0.654, 95\% CI [0.307, 1.002], t = 3.72, p < .001$. 
### Table 1

**Summary of Intercorrelations, Means, and Standard Deviations for Scores on the Racial and Ethnic Microagression Scale (REMS; Assumptions of Inferiority and Microinvalidations Subscales), Depression, Anxiety, and Stress Scale (DASS), Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI; Private Regard Subscale) and Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS; Preencounter Self-Hatred Subscale).**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>1</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. The Depression, Anxiety and Stress Scale (DASS total)</td>
<td>(.92)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td>2. Depression subscale (DASS-depression)</td>
<td>.90**</td>
<td>(.87)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>3. Anxiety subscale (DASS-anxiety)</td>
<td>.90**</td>
<td>.73**</td>
<td>(.77)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Stress subscale (DASS-stress)</td>
<td>.93**</td>
<td>.75**</td>
<td>.75**</td>
<td>(.80)</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>5. REMS Assumptions of Inferiority</td>
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<td>.23**</td>
<td>.25**</td>
<td>.22**</td>
<td>(.91)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. REMS Microinvalidations</td>
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<td>.19*</td>
<td>.16*</td>
<td>.20*</td>
<td>.65**</td>
<td>(.89)</td>
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<td>7. MIBI-Private Regard</td>
<td>-.17*</td>
<td>-.21**</td>
<td>-.18*</td>
<td>-.07</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>(.91)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. CRIS- Preencounter Self-Hatred</td>
<td>.23**</td>
<td>.30**</td>
<td>.18*</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>-.46**</td>
<td>(.85)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
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<td>9.86</td>
<td>10.14</td>
<td>12.07</td>
<td>13.07</td>
<td>13.87</td>
<td>35.33</td>
<td>10.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard Deviation</td>
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<td>3.25</td>
<td>3.21</td>
<td>3.79</td>
<td>6.32</td>
<td>5.79</td>
<td>6.59</td>
<td>5.52</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed). * Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed) Cronbach’s alpha coefficients are in parentheses on the diagonal.
Using the same method described previously, I tested hypothesis 1b. In this calculation, Preencounter Self-Hatred attitudes were designated as the moderator variable, Microinvalidations subscale scores were entered as the focal predictor, and we again used the DASS total score to assess general negative affect. The regression coefficient for the interaction term in this equation was significant, confirming the hypothesis, $b = .06$, $t(149) = 2.46$, $p = .015$. This, as with hypothesis 1a, Preencounter Self-Hatred attitudes moderated the association of microinvalidation experiences with experiencing negative affect. Specifically, follow-up analyses revealed that when Preencounter self-hatred attitudes are low, there is a non-significant negative relationship between experience of microinvalidation microaggressions scores and our measure of negative psychological symptoms, $b = -0.017$, 95% CI [-0.370, 0.336], $t = -0.09$, $p = .925$. At the mean value of Preencounter self-hatred attitudes, there is a significant positive relationship between experience of microinvalidation microaggressions scores and psychological symptoms, $b = 0.283$, 95% CI [0.038, 0.529], $t = 2.29$, $p < .05$. When Preencounter Self-Hatred attitudes are high, there is a significant and stronger positive relationship between experience of microinvalidation microaggressions and psychological symptoms, $b = 0.608$, 95% CI [0.258, 0.957], $t = 3.44$, $p < .001$.

**Hypothesis 2**

As stated previously, hypothesis 2 was also somewhat modified due to our findings related to the DASS total score. Specifically, the new hypotheses were as follows:

2a. Private Regard attitude scores were expected to moderate the association between Assumption of Inferiority microaggression scores and total DASS negative symptoms scores.
2b. Private Regard attitudes scores were expected to moderate the association between Microinvalidation microaggression scores and total DASS negative symptoms scores.

Using the procedure outlined previously (Hayes, 2013), we tested hypothesis 2a. The DASS total subscale scores were designated as the outcome variables, Microinvalidation scores were designated as the focal predictor, and Private Regard attitude scores were designated as the moderator. The regression coefficient for the interaction was significant, confirming the hypothesis, $b = -0.06$, $t(149) = -2.95$, $p = 0.004$. Further analyses to uncover the specific nature of the moderation effect revealed that when Private Regard attitudes scores were low, there was a significant positive relationship between Assumptions of Inferiority microaggression scores and total DASS scores, $b = 0.906$, 95% CI $[0.497, 1.314]$, $t = 4.38$, $p < 0.001$. At the mean value of Private Regard attitudes, there is a significant positive relationship between Assumption of Inferiority microaggression scores and total DASS scores, $b = 0.500$, 95% CI $[0.267, 0.732]$, $t = 4.25$, $p < 0.001$. When Private Regard attitudes are high, there was a non-significant positive relationship between Assumption of Inferiority microaggression scores and total DASS scores, $b = 0.094$, 95% CI $[-0.205, 0.393]$, $t = 0.62$, $p = 0.534$.

The test of hypothesis 2b yielded similar results. The DASS total score was again used as the dependent variable, Private Regard attitudes were designated as the moderator variable, and the Microinvalidation subscale scores were entered into the equation as the focal predictor. The regression coefficient for the interaction was significant, confirming the hypothesis that moderation would occur in this model, $b = -0.06$, $t(149) = -2.71$, $p = 0.008$. Further analyses revealed that when Private Regard attitudes were low, there was a significant positive relationship between Experience of Microinvalidation microaggression scores and psychological
symptoms, $b = 0.904$, 95% CI [0.444, 1.365], $t = 3.88$, $p < .001$. At the mean value of Private Regard attitudes, there was a significant positive relationship between Microinvalidation microaggression scores and total DASS scores, $b = 0.525$, 95% CI [0.254, 0.796], $t = 3.83$, $p < .001$. When Private Regard attitudes were high, there was a non-significant positive relationship between the experience of Microinvalidation microaggressions and total DASS scores, $b = 0.146$, 95% CI [-0.151, 0.443], $t = 0.97$, $p = .333$.

**Hypothesis 3**

The third prediction of the study posited that Preencounter Self-Hatred racial identity attitudes would be negatively correlated with racial socialization experiences, while the Private Regard racial identity attitudes would be positively correlated with total racial socialization scores. Pearson bivariate correlations were used for these analyses. The results are included in Table 2. The association between Preencounter Self-Hatred scores and Teenager Experience of Racial Socialization Scale scores was not significant. Private Regard racial identity attitudes were positively associated with racial socialization, as hypothesized. Incidentally, although not explicitly predicted, Cultural Pride Reinforcement subscale scores (a subscale of the Teenager Experience of Racial Socialization Scale) were found to be significantly negatively associated with Self-Hatred scores.
Table 2

Summary of Intercorrelations, Means, and Standard Deviations for Scores on the Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS; Preencounter Self-Hatred Subscale), Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI; Private Regard Subscale), Connor-Davidson Resilience Scale (CD-RISC), and Teenager Experiences of Racial Socialization Scale (TERS).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Preencounter Self-Hatred (CRIS-PSH)</td>
<td>(.85)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Private Regard (MIBI-Private Regard)</td>
<td>-.46**</td>
<td>(.91)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Teenager Experience of Racial Socialization Scale (TERS total)</td>
<td>-.08</td>
<td>.24**</td>
<td>(.93)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Cultural Coping with Antagonism (TERS-CCA)</td>
<td>-.13</td>
<td>.20**</td>
<td>.92**</td>
<td>(.88)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Cultural Pride Reinforcement (TERS-CPR)</td>
<td>-.21*</td>
<td>.49**</td>
<td>.76**</td>
<td>.65**</td>
<td>(.80)</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Cultural Appreciation of Legacy (TERS-CAL)</td>
<td>-.12</td>
<td>.29**</td>
<td>.82**</td>
<td>.73**</td>
<td>.64**</td>
<td>(.80)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Cultural Alertness to Discrimination (TERS-CAD)</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>.75**</td>
<td>.55**</td>
<td>.52**</td>
<td>.54**</td>
<td>(.88)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Cultural Endorsement of the Mainstream (TERS-CEM)</td>
<td>.17*</td>
<td>-.25**</td>
<td>.55**</td>
<td>.45**</td>
<td>.18**</td>
<td>.27**</td>
<td>.33**</td>
<td>(.66)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Connor Davidson Resilience Scale (CD-RISC)</td>
<td>-.34**</td>
<td>.55**</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>.20*</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>-.13</td>
<td>(.94)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>10.11</td>
<td>35.33</td>
<td>87.67</td>
<td>28.43</td>
<td>23.08</td>
<td>11.68</td>
<td>13.08</td>
<td>9.46</td>
<td>74.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard Deviation</td>
<td>5.52</td>
<td>6.59</td>
<td>13.82</td>
<td>5.75</td>
<td>3.29</td>
<td>2.58</td>
<td>3.26</td>
<td>2.31</td>
<td>13.78</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

** Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).  * Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed) Cronbach’s alpha coefficients are in parentheses on the diagonal.
Hypothesis 4

The fourth prediction of the study posited that there would be a negative correlation between racial socialization and endorsing symptoms of depression/anxiety. Contrary to this hypothesis, racial socialization were positively associated with endorsing symptoms of depression and anxiety (see Table 3 for correlation values).

Table 3

Summary of Intercorrelations, Means, and Standard Deviations for Scores on the Teenager Experiences of Racial Socialization Scale (TERS) and Depression, Anxiety, and Stress Scale (DASS).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>1</th>
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<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Teenager Experience of Racial Socialization Scale (TERS total)</td>
<td>.93</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Cultural Coping with Antagonism (TERS-CCA)</td>
<td>.92**</td>
<td>(.88)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Cultural Pride Reinforcement (TERS-CPR)</td>
<td>.79**</td>
<td>.65**</td>
<td>(.80)</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Cultural Appreciation of Legacy (TERS-CAL)</td>
<td>.82**</td>
<td>.73**</td>
<td>.64**</td>
<td>(.80)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Cultural Alertness to Discrimination (TERS-CAD)</td>
<td>.75**</td>
<td>.55**</td>
<td>.52**</td>
<td>.54**</td>
<td>(.88)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Cultural Endorsement of the Mainstream (TERS-CEM)</td>
<td>.55**</td>
<td>.45**</td>
<td>.18*</td>
<td>.27**</td>
<td>.33**</td>
<td>(.66)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. The Depression, Anxiety and Stress Scale (DASS total)</td>
<td>.33**</td>
<td>.28**</td>
<td>.20*</td>
<td>.18*</td>
<td>.30**</td>
<td>.35**</td>
<td>(.92)</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>8. Depression subscale (DASS-depression)</td>
<td>.23**</td>
<td>.20*</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td>.27**</td>
<td>.29**</td>
<td>.90**</td>
<td>(.87)</td>
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<tr>
<td>9. Anxiety subscale (DASS-anxiety)</td>
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<td>.27**</td>
<td>.19*</td>
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<td>.27**</td>
<td>.42**</td>
<td>.90**</td>
<td>.73**</td>
<td>(.77)</td>
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<td>10. Stress subscale (DASS-stress)</td>
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<td>.30**</td>
<td>.29**</td>
<td>.23**</td>
<td>.28**</td>
<td>.25**</td>
<td>.93**</td>
<td>.75**</td>
<td>.75**</td>
<td>(.80)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>87.67</td>
<td>28.43</td>
<td>23.08</td>
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<td>32.07</td>
<td>9.86</td>
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<td>2.58</td>
<td>3.26</td>
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<td>9.34</td>
<td>3.25</td>
<td>3.21</td>
<td>3.79</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed). * Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed). Cronbach’s alpha coefficients are in parentheses on the diagonal.

**Hypothesis 5**

The fifth prediction of this study posited that there would be significant correlations between racial socialization and all of the statuses of Nigrescence. Specifically, racial socialization will be negatively correlated with those aspects of racial identity that are negative, and positively correlated with more affirming attitudes. This hypothesis was partially supported by the data, as certain Nigrescence attitudes were associated with some of the subscales on the racial socialization measure. Preencounter Self-Hatred attitudes were negatively associated with Cultural Pride Reinforcement (CPR) and positively associated with Cultural Endorsement of the Mainstream (CEM); see Table 4 for correlations, means, SDs, and internal consistency statistics. The CPR subscale represents messages emphasizing pride and knowledge of African American culture and the CEM subscale represents messages expressing the relative importance of majority culture institutions, and the irrelevance of discussing issues of racism and African American culture. Preencounter Miseducation was also positively associated with CEM (.17, p < .05). Immersion-Emersion anti-white attitudes were negatively associated with Cultural Coping with Antagonism and Cultural Pride Reinforcement. The CCA subscale represents messages concerning the importance of struggling successfully through racial hostilities and the role of spirituality and religion in that coping. None of the internalization attitudes were associated with racial socialization (see Table 3 for a summary of these correlations).
### Table 4

**Summary of Intercorrelations, Means, and Standard Deviations for Scores on the Teenager Experiences of Racial Socialization Scale (TERS) and Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS).**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>1</th>
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<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>12</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Teenager Experience of Racial Socialization Scale (TERS total)</td>
<td>.93</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Cultural Coping with Antagonism (TERS-CCA)</td>
<td>.92**</td>
<td>.88</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Cultural Pride Reinforcement (TERS-CPR)</td>
<td>.79**</td>
<td>.65**</td>
<td>.80</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Cultural Appreciation of Legacy (TERS-CAL)</td>
<td>.82**</td>
<td>.73**</td>
<td>.64**</td>
<td>.80</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Cultural Alertness to Discrimination (TERS-CAD)</td>
<td>.75**</td>
<td>.55**</td>
<td>.52**</td>
<td>.54**</td>
<td>.88</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Cultural Endorsement of the Mainstream (TERS-CEM)</td>
<td>.55**</td>
<td>.45**</td>
<td>.18*</td>
<td>.27**</td>
<td>.33**</td>
<td>.66</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Preencounter Assimilation (CRIS-PA)</td>
<td>-.02</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>-.09</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>-.11</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td>.84</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Preencounter Miseducation (CRIS-PM)</td>
<td>-.02</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>-.11</td>
<td>-.10</td>
<td>-.08</td>
<td>.17*</td>
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<td>9. Preencounter Self-Hatred (CRIS-PSH)</td>
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<td>-.13</td>
<td>-.21**</td>
<td>-.12</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>.17*</td>
<td>.16*</td>
<td>.24**</td>
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<td>-.17*</td>
<td>-.28**</td>
<td>-.12</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>-.13</td>
<td>.01</td>
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<td>-.09</td>
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<td>.08</td>
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<td>.18*</td>
<td>.28**</td>
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<td>12. Internalization Multiculturalist Inclusive (CRIS-IMCI)</td>
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<td>-.07</td>
<td>-.07</td>
<td>-.28**</td>
<td>-.10</td>
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**Mean**

| 1. Teenager Experience of Racial Socialization Scale (TERS total)       | 87.67| 28.43| 23.08| 11.68| 13.08| 9.46 | 17.98| 17.84| 10.11| 7.47 | 16.02| 27.31|
| 2. Cultural Coping with Antagonism (TERS-CCA)                          |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| 3. Cultural Pride Reinforcement (TERS-CPR)                              |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| 4. Cultural Appreciation of Legacy (TERS-CAL)                           |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| 5. Cultural Alertness to Discrimination (TERS-CAD)                      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| 6. Cultural Endorsement of the Mainstream (TERS-CEM)                    |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| 7. Preencounter Assimilation (CRIS-PA)                                  |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| 8. Preencounter Miseducation (CRIS-PM)                                  |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| 9. Preencounter Self-Hatred (CRIS-PSH)                                  |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| 10. Immersion-Emerson Anti-White (CRIS-IEAW)                            |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| 11. Internalization Black Nationalist (CRIS-IBN)                        |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| 12. Internalization Multiculturalist Inclusive (CRIS-IMCI)              |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |

**Standard Deviation**

| 1. Teenager Experience of Racial Socialization Scale (TERS total)       | 13.82| 5.75 | 3.29 | 2.58 | 3.26 | 2.31 | 7.01 | 6.49 | 5.52 | 3.78 | 5.19 | 4.74 |
| 2. Cultural Coping with Antagonism (TERS-CCA)                          |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| 3. Cultural Pride Reinforcement (TERS-CPR)                              |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| 4. Cultural Appreciation of Legacy (TERS-CAL)                           |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| 5. Cultural Alertness to Discrimination (TERS-CAD)                      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| 6. Cultural Endorsement of the Mainstream (TERS-CEM)                    |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| 7. Preencounter Assimilation (CRIS-PA)                                  |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| 8. Preencounter Miseducation (CRIS-PM)                                  |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| 9. Preencounter Self-Hatred (CRIS-PSH)                                  |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| 10. Immersion-Emerson Anti-White (CRIS-IEAW)                            |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| 11. Internalization Black Nationalist (CRIS-IBN)                        |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| 12. Internalization Multiculturalist Inclusive (CRIS-IMCI)              |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |

**Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).  * Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed) Cronbach’s alpha coefficients are in parentheses on the diagonal.**
Hypothesis 6

The sixth hypothesis of this study posited that the relationship between racial socialization and psychological functioning would be mediated by racial identity. It was hypothesized that Anti-Black and private regard racial identity attitudes would mediate the association of racial socialization and psychological functioning (i.e., depression and anxiety symptoms). These hypotheses were supported by the data.

The relationship between racial socialization and psychological functioning was mediated by racial identity attitudes. Specifically, because racial socialization is theoretically supposed to predict racial identity attitudes, Black self-hatred racial identity attitudes were hypothesized to mediate the relationship between endorsement of cultural pride reinforcement racial socialization experiences and experiences of negative affect (e.g., depression, anxiety, and stress). In Step 1 of the mediation model test, the simple regression of Cultural Pride Reinforcement scores on psychological functioning was significant, \( b = .58, t(151) = 2.56, p = .011 \). Step 2 of this process revealed that the regression of Cultural Pride Reinforcement scores on the mediator, Black Self-Hatred attitude scores, was also significant, \( b = -.34, t(151) = -2.58, p = .001 \). Step 3 of the mediation test revealed that the association of, cultural pride reinforcement (the predictor variable) with negative affect (the dependent variable) was significantly mediated by Self-Hatred attitude scores (the designated mediator), \( b = .476, t(151) = 3.59, p < .001 \). When controlling for the mediator (self-hatred attitudes), cultural pride reinforcement was still a significant predictor of psychological functioning, \( b = .74, t(151) = 3.35, p = .001 \). A Sobel test was conducted and found significant mediation in the model (\( z = -2.04, p = .041 \)). It was found that self hatred attitudes partially mediated the relationship between racial socialization and psychological symptoms.
With specific regard to private regard racial identity attitudes as the mediator, the relationship between racial socialization and psychological functioning was partially mediated. In Step 1 of the mediation model, the regression of racial socialization on psychological functioning, ignoring the mediator, was significant, $b = .22$, $t(151) = 4.32$, $p < .001$. Step 2 showed that the regression of racial socialization on the mediator, private regard attitudes, was also significant, $b = .12$, $t(151) = 3.09$, $p = .002$. Step 3 of the mediation process showed that the mediator (private regard attitudes), controlling for racial socialization, was significant, $b = -.37$, $t(151) = -3.43$, $p < .001$. When controlling for the mediator (private regard attitudes), racial socialization was a significant predictor of psychological functioning, $b = .27$, $t(151) = 5.17$, $p < .001$. A Sobel test was conducted and found significant mediation in the model ($z = -2.24$, $p = .025$). It was found that private regard attitudes partially mediated the relationship between racial socialization and psychological symptoms.

**Hypothesis 7**

The seventh hypothesis of this study posited that resilience would be positively correlated with pro-Black racial identity attitudes (i.e., private regard attitudes) and negatively correlated with anti-Black racial identity attitude (i.e., Black self-hatred attitudes). Additionally, resilience would be positively correlated with racial socialization experiences. The first portion of this hypothesis was supported by the data. Specifically resilience was positively correlated with private regard attitudes ($.55$, $p < .01$) and negatively correlated with self-hatred attitudes ($-.34$, $p < .01$). However, resilience was only positively correlated with the racial socialization subscale cultural pride reinforcement ($.20$, $p < .05$; See Table 2 for a summary of correlations among the TERS, CD-RISC, MIBI-Private Regard, and CRIS-Preencounter Self-Hatred scales).
Hypothesis 8

The eighth hypothesis of this study posited that anti-Black attitudes would be a stronger predictor of depressive symptoms than pro Black attitudes, and that the impact of pro Black attitudes on depressive symptoms would be mediated by anti-Black attitudes (in order to determine if one set of attitudes better predicts depressive symptoms than the other). Subsequent analyses indicated that this hypothesis was supported by the data. When anti-Black attitudes were used as the mediating variable, in step 1 of the mediation model test, the simple regression of pro-Black attitudes on depressive symptoms was significant, $b = .10, t(151) = -2.67, p < .01$. Step 2 of this process revealed that the regression of pro-Black attitudes on the mediator, anti-Black attitudes, was also significant, $b = -.38, t(151) = -6.34, p < .001$. Step 3 of the mediation test revealed that the association of pro-Black attitudes (the predictor variable) with depressive symptoms (the dependent variable) was significantly mediated by anti-Black attitudes, $b = .15, t(151) = 2.97, p < .01$. When controlling for the mediator (anti-Black attitudes), pro-Black attitudes were not a significant predictor of depressive symptoms, $b = -.05, t(151) = -1.07, p = .28$. A Sobel test was conducted and found full mediation in the model ($z = -2.66, p = .008$). It was found that anti-Black attitudes fully mediated the relationship between pro-Black attitudes and endorsing depressive symptoms.

Discussion

The present study attempted to elucidate the potential relationships among the experience of racial microaggressions, racial identity, racial socialization, and psychological outcomes (depression, anxiety, resilience). The support for the various hypotheses of this study was fairly
consistent, indicating the existence of moderation and mediation of racial identity on the relationships among the aforementioned constructs.

As hypothesized, racial identity moderated the relationship between the experience of racial microaggressions and psychological outcomes. Specifically, when individuals endorsed moderate or high levels of negative attitudes about being Black (i.e., Preencounter self-hatred attitudes), a significant positive association between the experience of racial microaggressions and depression and anxiety was demonstrated. However, as predicted, this relationship was non-significant at low levels of Preencounter Self-Hatred attitudes. Additionally, when individuals endorsed low or moderate levels of positive attitudes about being Black (i.e., private regard attitudes), a significant positive association was uncovered between the experience of racial microaggressions and both depression and anxiety symptoms, respectively. Finally, this relationship was non-significant at high levels of private regard attitudes. In the aggregate, these findings paint a very interesting picture of how anti-Black vs. pro-Black attitudes differentially predict how Black individuals respond emotionally to racial microaggressions. That is, while endorsing moderate and high levels of negative attitudes about being African American seems to leave respondents vulnerable to experiencing symptoms of general negative affect as a consequence of exposure to microaggressions; endorsing high levels of positive attitudes about being African American seems to protect this group from experiencing such affect in response to being the targets of microaggressions. More specifically, these findings offer empirical support for the long held view that colorblind approaches to addressing issues of discrimination are, at least among a subset of African American targets, potentially quite emotionally damaging. If one is African American and at least moderately disdainful of this identity (or if one possesses low esteem for this identity), then it appears that being told by others that they do not see your racial
membership or that they see you as less competent because of your racial status, leaves one more prone to feelings of aggregated depression, anxiety, and stress. The clinical relevance of this finding cannot be understated, as it highlights possible points of intervention when treating African-American clients diagnosed with depression and/or anxiety. In so far as identity issues are implicated in these psychological outcomes, intervention in order to alleviate depression and/or anxiety could be supplemented with techniques aimed at increasing positive attitudes about being Black and/or diminishing negative attitudes about being Black. These findings also have implications for the perpetrators of microaggressions. Specifically, they highlight the fact that when such actions are taken by otherwise thoughtful and kind people, it is not accurate to frame a negative response to such treatment as the target being too sensitive or needing thicker skin. Such behavior has now been empirically demonstrated to be associated with negative affect and, consequently, when people engage in such acts of aggression, they now will do so knowing that what they do is potentially very harmful to the targets of such treatment.

Additionally, as hypothesized, racial socialization experiences (i.e., what you remember being taught about race as a child) were found to predictive of adult racial identity attitudes. Specifically, Preencounter self-hatred attitudes were negatively associated with cultural pride reinforcement and positively correlated with cultural endorsement of the mainstream. From a theoretical standpoint, these findings certainly make sense, as it would be expected that learning early in one’s life to take pride in one’s African American culture would be negatively associated with adult feelings of self-hatred related to being Black. Additionally, espousing attitudes that minimize the relative importance of White/European American cultural imperatives in the lives of African Americans and endorsing the view that racism plays a very minimal role in the racial milieu of the United States would be expected to be positively associated with self-hatred
attitudes. Complementarily, adult endorsement of pro-Black attitudes was also found to be associated with reporting that one’s early racial socialization experiences emphasized that participants should feel Black cultural pride.

Interestingly, racial socialization was positively associated with endorsing symptoms of depression and anxiety. The posited hypothesis was that racial socialization would be negatively correlated with depression and anxiety in light of the positive messages about Black identity transmitted via racial socialization. However, it may also be the case that individuals to whom these positive messages about being Black are transmitted may be more aware of experiences of discrimination and thus more susceptible to experiencing symptoms of depression and anxiety. Additionally, examining this association without considering the impact of racial identity, may partially explain this finding. Essentially, one can report that they were exposed to certain messages about being Black from their parents and society while they were being socialized without necessarily internalizing these messages. However, the extent to which positive or negative messages were internalized would be reflective of one’s personal racial identity (rather than the ideas of one’s parents), which theoretically would be more implicated in the individual’s experience of depressive and anxious symptoms than would be the messages heard from external sources. Further study and replication of this finding will be influential in elucidating how other factors involved in racial socialization experiences (potentially the quality of the relationship with one’s parents) are implicated in relationships among racial socialization, racial identity, and psychological functioning.

It was also hypothesized that racial socialization would be significantly correlated with all of the statuses of Nigrescence (positive correlations with positive racial identity attitudes and negative with negative racial identity attitudes). This hypothesis was partially supported, as
racial socialization was negatively associated with anti-White attitudes and self-hatred attitudes. Since higher endorsements of racial socialization are reflective of higher levels of cultural pride in being Black and realistic awareness of systemic inequity, the negative association between self-hatred attitudes and racial socialization makes sense. One could also argue that this awareness prompts the individual to understand the counterproductive nature of hatred in general, thus explaining the negative association between racial socialization and anti-White attitudes. However, being taught to embrace the cultural standard of mainstream US culture (i.e., cultural endorsement of the mainstream subscale scores) was positively associated with endorsing both self-hatred and Miseducation attitudes. One possible explanation for why more associations were not found between our measures of racial socialization and racial identity is that the measure of racial identity attitudes (the CRIS) may be better equipped to measure an individual’s reference group orientation (i.e., how one thinks of Black people in general) than it is at capturing aspects of the individual’s personal identity (i.e., what it means for the individual personally to be Black). Essentially, maybe what African Americans are taught about what it means to be Black by their childhood caregivers is more predictive of adult personal identity attitudes than adult reference group orientation attitudes. If this is the case, then clinicians who wish to change the racial identity attitudes of African American clients might do better to examine socialization patterns and self-referent attitudes rather than a client’s political orientation endorsement.

Racial identity was found to partially mediate the relationship between racial socialization and psychological functioning, with regard to both anti-Black (i.e., self-hatred) and pro-Black (i.e., private regard) attitudes. This suggests that influencing the messages that parents give to children about the meaning of being Black could consequently affect the racial identity
attitudes that the individual adopts in adolescence and adulthood. In considering early intervention strategies for depression and anxiety from a multicultural perspective, it may be warranted to examine the messages that African American parents communicate to their children about being Black, especially in families in which there may be some putatively genetic predisposition to mental illness. Given the fact that only partial mediation was uncovered in this model, the nature of the meditational relationship warrants further research to determine what other factors (e.g., shame, self-esteem etc.) may be influencing this relationship in order to determine how best to intervene cases of depression and anxiety in which identity issues are implicated. It might also be the case that other sources of socialization must be considered (such as peers and the school environment) in future research

As hypothesized, resilience was positively associated with pro-Black racial identity attitudes and negatively correlated with anti-Black racial identity attitudes. In other words, those who adopt positive attitudes about being Black may be more likely to orient toward challenges and adversity in a resilient manner, which is especially important in considering protective factors against racial prejudice and discrimination. Conversely, the adoption of anti-Black attitudes was expected to be accompanied by less hardiness, which would make experiencing racial prejudice and discrimination potentially more detrimental. Interestingly, resilience was not significantly associated with racial socialization (although it was significantly positively correlated with cultural pride reinforcement). A possible explanation for this finding would be that the racial socialization measure is explicit in its measurement of messages that individuals heard from their parents. Again, these may not be messages that the individual internalized. That is, individuals may espouse different beliefs about race than their parents, even though they accurately report that their parents exposed them to certain messages. One’s racial identity then
could theoretically be unrelated to these messages or related in such a way that the individual has
developed opposing views about race, depending on other influential factors (e.g., school
environment). The racial identity attitudes with which resilience is correlated both tap aspects of
personal identity, in assessing aspects of being Black that are internalized (both positive and
negative). If the individual’s personal identity associated with being Black is influenced by
several factors other than racial socialization, then the relationship between racial socialization
and resilience would be much less straightforward than hypothesized. As the examination of
resilience as an outcome variable in this study was exploratory, more research is necessary to
elucidate the ways in which resilience is related to racial identity, racial socialization, the
experience of racial microaggressions, and psychological functioning.

Finally, anti-Black attitudes were found to be more predictive of depressive symptoms
than were pro-Black attitudes. That is, anti-Black attitudes mediated the relationship between
pro-Black attitudes and endorsing depressive symptoms. Practically, this means that
interventions designed to diminish anti-Black attitudes may inadvertently result in increased
espousal of pro-Black attitudes in affecting changes in the individual’s depressive symptoms. It
may then be the case that effective interventions may first need to address anti-Black attitudes to
ameliorate feelings of race-related negative affect. However, the moderational analyses in this
study still seem to indicate that high levels of pro-Black attitudes can decrease the association
between experiencing microaggressions and endorsing symptoms of depression and anxiety,
respectively. This suggests that instances in which the referral question involves the perception
of racial discrimination, the clinician may be best served to implement interventions aimed at
diminishing anti-Black attitudes in the beginning and throughout treatment. In the event that
these negative beliefs about being Black can be diminished, it may also be clinically indicated to
increase pro-Black attitudes at that point. Further replication and study of these findings may serve to strengthen understanding regarding factors determining that diminishing anti-Black attitudes seems more important in the alleviation of depression than increasing of pro-Black attitudes. Perhaps this could also be related to the conceptualization of psychological health as the diminishing of disease, rather than the promotion of life improvements and satisfaction (e.g., as in positive psychology). Further research may then also be aimed at establishing the ways in which increases in pro-Black attitudes are related to constructs such as thriving and life satisfaction. In any case, further research in the relationship of the aforementioned constructs should serve to bolster our understanding of complex interactions among race, identity, and psychological health. Future research will want to replicate and further clarify these findings.

This study attempted to clarify the relationships among racial identity, racial socialization, experience of racial prejudice and discrimination, and psychological health. While the findings of this study certainly served to elucidate aspects of these relationships (specifically, the moderating and mediating effect of racial identity in the relationships between psychological functioning and socialization and discriminatory experiences, respectively), they also served as the impetus for considering more questions about the nature of these relationships outside of the scope of this study (e.g., if anti-Black attitudes mediate the relationship between pro-Black attitudes and endorsing depressive symptoms, might anti-Black attitudes mediate the moderation of pro-Black attitudes on the relationship between experiencing microaggressions and endorsing depressive symptoms? Are there ways in which pro-Black attitudes serve to better explain concomitants of decreases in mental illness, like life satisfaction?) It also bears mentioning that the sample for this study was comprised of college students, and though this segment of the population offers a unique opportunity to measure the attitudes of individuals from diverse
developmental backgrounds, for the purpose of generalizing the findings of this study, it will be important to undertake replication efforts with other diverse samples of African Americans. With increased research in this area, the development of multiculturally competent interventions that can serve to effectively assist African Americans with mental health issues in situations in which the complex interplay of race, society, and identity are evident can continue. As our understanding of these complex relationships improves, the ability to offer such services will be invaluable to our field in an increasingly diverse world.
References


Impact of Racial Identity


Appendices

The Racial and Ethnic Microaggressions Scale (REMS) Items

1. I was ignored at school or at work because of my race.
2. Someone’s body language showed they were scared of me, because of my race.
3. Someone assumed that I spoke a language other than English.
4. I was told that I should not complain about race.
5. Someone assumed that I grew up in a particular neighborhood because of my race.
6. Someone avoided walking near me on the street because of my race.
7. Someone told me that she or he was color-blind.
8. Someone avoided sitting next to me in a public space (e.g., restaurants, movie theaters, subways, buses) because of my race.
9. Someone assumed that I would not be intelligent because of my race.
10. I was told that I complain about race too much.
11. I received substandard service in stores compared to customers of other racial groups.
12. I observed people of my race in prominent positions at my workplace or school.
13. Someone wanted to date me only because of my race.
14. I was told that people of all racial groups experience the same obstacles.
15. My opinion was overlooked in a group discussion because of my race.
16. Someone assumed that my work would be inferior to people of other racial groups.
17. Someone acted surprised at my scholastic or professional success because of my race.
18. I observed that people of my race were the CEOs of major corporations.
19. I observed people of my race portrayed positively on television.
20. Someone did not believe me when I told them I was born in the U.S.
21. Someone assumed that I would not be educated because of my race.
22. Someone told me that I was “articulate” after she/he assumed I wouldn’t be.
23. Someone told me that all people in my racial group are all the same.
24. I observed people of my race portrayed positively in magazines.
25. An employer or co-worker was unfriendly or unwelcoming toward me because of my race.
26. I was told that people of color do not experience racism anymore.
27. Someone told me that they “don’t see color.”
28. I read popular books or magazines in which a majority of contributions featured people from my racial group.
29. Someone asked me to teach them words in my “native language.”
30. Someone told me that they do not see race.
31. Someone clenched her/his purse or wallet upon seeing me because of my race.
32. Someone assumed that I would have a lower education because of my race.
33. Someone of a different racial group has stated that there is no difference between the two of us.
34. Someone assumed that I would physically hurt them because of my race.
35. Someone assumed that I ate foods associated with my race/culture every day.
36. Someone assumed that I held a lower paying job because of my race.
37. I observed people of my race portrayed positively in movies.
38. Someone assumed that I was poor because of my race.
39. Someone told me that people should not think about race anymore.
40. Someone avoided eye contact with me because of my race.
41. I observed that someone of my race is a government official in my state.
42. Someone told me that all people in my racial group look alike.
43. Someone objectified one of my physical features because of my race.
44. An employer or co-worker treated me differently than White co-workers.
45. Someone assumed that I speak similar languages to other people in my race.
CROSS SOCIAL ATTITUDE SCALE

Beverly J. Vandiver, William E. Cross, Jr., Peony E. Phagen-Smith, Frank C. Worrell, Janet K. Swim, & Leon D. Caldwell.

Section I

1. Male □ Female □
2. How old are you? ______
3. Please indicate your ethnic background by circling the answer that applies to you. Choose only one category.
   a. African
   b. African-American
   c. Black
   d. West Indian/Caribbean Black
   e. Hispanic Black
   f. Mixed
   g. Other

4. If you are currently a student, are you a high schooler □ an undergraduate □ or a graduate student □?
5. Name of School: ____________________________ 5b. City where school is located: ____________________________
6. What is your semester standing in the school you listed in #5?
7. What is the racial composition of the school listed in #5? Mostly Black □ Mixed □ Mostly White □
8. What is your current grade point average? ______
9. If you are attending college, what is your major? ____________________________
10. If you are no longer a student, what is the highest education level obtained? Circle one.
    a. Elementary school
    b. Some high school
    c. High school diploma/equivalent
    d. Business or trade school
    e. Some college
    f. Associate or two-year degree
    g. Bachelor’s or four-year degree
    h. Some graduate/professional school
    i. Graduate or professional degree

11. If you are no longer a student, what is your current occupation? ____________________________
12. What religious affiliation do you hold? ____________________________
13. How often do you attend religious services? Seldom □ Sometimes □ Often □
14. How important is your religion to you? Not Important □ Somewhat Important □ Very Important □
15. What is the best estimate of your/your family’s yearly income before taxes? Circle “Y” for yours and “F” for family.
   a. Less than $10,000
   b. Between $10,000 and $20,000
   c. Between $20,000 and $30,000
   d. Between $30,000 and $40,000
   e. Between $40,000 and $60,000
   f. Over $60,000

16. How would you describe the primary community in which you were raised?
    Rural □ Suburban □ Urban □ Other ____________________________
17. What is the racial composition of the community listed in #16? Mostly Black □ Mixed □ Mostly White □
18. Are you a United States citizen □ a permanent resident of the US □ or Other □ ____________________________?
19. How many ethnic organizations do you belong to? 1 2 3 4 5 5+

20. What is the highest education level obtained by your mother (or female guardian) and father (or male guardian)?

For mother, circle the “M” in the appropriate box; for father, circle the “F.”

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<th>F</th>
<th>f. Associate or two-year degree</th>
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<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>g. Bachelor’s or four-year degree</td>
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<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. High school diploma or equivalent</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>h. Some graduate or professional school</td>
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<td>F</td>
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<tr>
<td>d. Business or trade school</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>i. Graduate or professional degree</td>
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<td>F</td>
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<tr>
<td>e. Some college</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
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21. How would you describe your family’s socioeconomic status?

Poor □ Working Class □ Middle Class □ Upper Middle □ Wealthy □

22. How would you describe your current physical health?

Very Poor □ Poor □ Fair □ Good □ Very Good □

23. How would you describe your current mental health?

Very Poor □ Poor □ Fair □ Good □ Very Good □

Section II

Instructions: Read each item and indicate to what degree it reflects your own thoughts and feelings, using the 7-point scale below. There are no right or wrong answers. Base your responses on your opinion at the present time. To ensure that your answers can be used, please respond to the statements as written, and place your numerical response on the line provided to the left of each question.

<table>
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<th>1</th>
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<td>somewhat disagree</td>
<td>neither</td>
<td>somewhat agree</td>
<td>agree</td>
<td>strongly agree</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

_____ 1. As an African American, life in America is good for me.

_____ 2. I think of myself primarily as an American, and seldom as a member of a racial group.

_____ 3. Too many Blacks “glorify” the drug trade and fail to see opportunities that don’t involve crime.

_____ 4. I go through periods when I am down on myself because I am Black.

_____ 5. As a multiculturalist, I am connected to many groups (Hispanics, Asian-Americans, Whites, Jews, gays & lesbians, etc.).

_____ 6. I have a strong feeling of hatred and disdain for all White people.

_____ 7. I see and think about things from an Afrocentric perspective.

_____ 8. When I walk into a room, I always take note of the racial make-up of the people around me.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>strongly disagree</th>
<th>disagree</th>
<th>somewhat disagree</th>
<th>neither agree nor disagree</th>
<th>somewhat agree</th>
<th>agree</th>
<th>strongly agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

9. I am not so much a member of a racial group, as I am an American.

10. I sometimes struggle with negative feelings about being Black.

11. My relationship with God plays an important role in my life.

12. Blacks place more emphasis on having a good time than on hard work.

13. I believe that only those Black people who accept an Afrocentric perspective can truly solve the race problem in America.

14. I hate the White community and all that it represents.

15. When I have a chance to make a new friend, issues of race and ethnicity seldom play a role in who that person might be.

16. I believe it is important to have both a Black identity and a multicultural perspective, which is inclusive of everyone (e.g., Asians, Latinos, gays & lesbians, Jews, Whites, etc.).

17. When I look in the mirror at my Black image, sometimes I do not feel good about what I see.

18. If I had to put a label on my identity, it would be “American,” and not African American.

19. When I read the newspaper or a magazine, I always look for articles and stories that deal with race and ethnic issues.

20. Many African Americans are too lazy to see opportunities that are right in front of them.

21. As far as I am concerned, affirmative action will be needed for a long time.

22. Black people cannot truly be free until our daily lives are guided by Afrocentric values and principles.

23. White people should be destroyed.

24. I embrace my own Black identity, but I also respect and celebrate the cultural identities of other groups (e.g., Native Americans, Whites, Latinos, Jews, Asian-Americans, gays & lesbians, etc.).
Impact of Racial Identity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>strongly disagree</td>
<td>disagree</td>
<td>somewhat disagree</td>
<td>neither agree nor disagree</td>
<td>somewhat agree</td>
<td>agree</td>
<td>strongly agree</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

25. Privately, I sometimes have negative feelings about being Black.

26. If I had to put myself into categories, first I would say I am an American, and second I am a member of a racial group.

27. My feelings and thoughts about God are very important to me.

28. African Americans are too quick to turn to crime to solve their problems.

29. When I have a chance to decorate a room, I tend to select pictures, posters, or works of art that express strong racial-cultural themes.

30. I hate White people.

31. I respect the ideas that other Black people hold, but I believe that the best way to solve our problems is to think Afrocentrically.

32. When I vote in an election, the first thing I think about is the candidate’s record on racial and cultural issues.

33. I believe it is important to have both a Black identity and a multicultural perspective, because this connects me to other groups (Hispanics, Asian-Americans, Whites, Jews, gays & lesbians, etc.).

34. I have developed an identity that stresses my experiences as an American more than my experiences as a member of a racial group.

35. During a typical week in my life, I think about racial and cultural issues many, many times.

36. Blacks place too much importance on racial protest and not enough on hard work and education.

37. Black people will never be free until we embrace an Afrocentric perspective.

38. My negative feelings toward White people are very intense.

39. I sometimes have negative feelings about being Black.

40. As a multiculturalist, it is important for me to be connected with individuals from all cultural backgrounds (Latinos, gays & lesbians, Jews, Native Americans, Asian-Americans, etc.).
**Depression, Anxiety and Stress Scale (DASS21)**

For each statement below, please circle the number in the column that best represents how you have been feeling in the last week.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Did not apply to me at all</th>
<th>Applied to me to some degree or some of the time</th>
<th>Applied to me a considerable degree or a good part of the time</th>
<th>Applied to me very much or most of the time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. I found it hard to wind down</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. I was aware of dryness of my mouth</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. I couldn't seem to experience any positive feeling at all</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. I experienced breathing difficulty (eg, excessively rapid breathing, breathlessness in the absence of physical exertion)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. I found it difficult to work up the initiative to do things</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. I tended to over-react to situations</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. I experienced trembling (eg, in the hands)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. I felt that I was using a lot of nervous energy</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. I was worried about situations in which I might panic and make a fool of myself</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. I felt that I had nothing to look forward to</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. I found myself getting agitated</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. I found it difficult to relax</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. I felt down-hearted and blue</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. I was intolerant of anything that kept me from getting on with what I was doing</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. I felt I was close to panic</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. I was unable to become enthusiastic about anything.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. I felt I wasn't worth much as a person</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. I felt that I was rather touchy</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. I was aware of the action of my heart in the absence of physical exertion (eg, sense of heart rate increase, heart missing a beat)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. I felt scared without any good reason.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. I felt that life was meaningless</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Teenager Experience of Racial Socialization Scale (TERS)

Do/Did or when you were younger? Circle the number on the line depending on how often you remember hearing any of these messages: 1 = never, 2 = a few times, 3 = lots of times.

Circle only one number per question. Thank you.

1. American society is fair toward Black people. 1 2 3
2. Black children will feel better about themselves if they go to a school with mostly White children. 1 2 3
3. Families who go to a church or mosque will be close and stay together. 1 2 3
4. Black slavery is important never to forget. 1 2 3
5. Relatives can help Black parents raise their children. 1 2 3
6. Religion is an important part of a person's life. 1 2 3
7. Racism and discrimination are the hardest things a Black child has to face. 1 2 3
8. Having large families can help many Black families survive life struggles. 1 2 3
9. You should be proud to be Black. 1 2 3
10. All races are equal. 1 2 3
11. If you work hard then you can overcome barriers in life. 1 2 3
12. A belief in God can help a person deal with tough life struggles. 1 2 3
13. Black children will learn more if they go to a mostly White school. 1 2 3
14. Knowing your African heritage is important for your survival. 1 2 3
15. Racism is real, and you have to understand it or it will hurt you. 1 2 3
16. You are connected to a history that goes back to African royalty. 1 2 3
17. Too much talk about racism will keep you from reaching your goals in life. 1 2 3
18. Schools should be required to teach all children about Black history. 1 2 3
19. Depending on religion and God will help you live a good life. 1 2 3
20. Families who talk openly about religion or God will help each other to grow. 1 2 3
21. Teachers can help Black children grow by showing signs of Black culture in the classroom. 1 2 3
22. Only people who are blood-related to you should be called your “family.” 1 2 3
23. Getting a good education is still the best way for you to get ahead. 1 2 3
24. “Don’t forget who your people are because you may need them someday.” 1 2 3
25. Spiritual battles that people fight are more important than the physical battles. 1 2 3
26. You should know about Black history so that you will be a better person. 1 2 3
27. “Train up a child in the way he should go, and he will not turn away from it.” 1 2 3
28. You have to work twice as hard as Whites in order to get ahead in this world. 1 2 3
29. Whites make it hard for people to get ahead in this world. 1 2 3
30. Be proud of who you are. 1 2 3
31. Going to a Black school will help Black children feel better about themselves. 1 2 3
32. You need to learn how to live in a White world and a Black world. 1 2 3
33. Never be ashamed of your color. 1 2 3
34. Whites have more opportunities than Blacks. 1 2 3
35. A Black child or teenager will be harassed just because s/he is Black. 1 2 3
36. More job opportunities would be open to African Americans if people were not racist. 1 2 3
37. Black children should be taught early that God can protect them from racial hatred. 1 2 3
38. Blacks don’t always have the same opportunities as Whites. 1 2 3
39. Black children don’t have to know about Africa in order to survive life in America. 1 2 3
40. Racism is not as bad today as it used to be before the 1960s. 1 2 3
Connor Davidson Resilience Scale (CD-RISC) Items

1. I am able to adapt to change.
2. I have close and secure relationships.
3. Sometimes fate or God can help.
4. I can deal with whatever comes my way.
5. Past successes give me confidence for new challenges.
6. I see the humorous side of things.
7. Coping with stress strengthens me.
8. I tend to bounce back after a hardship or illness.
10. I give my best effort, no matter what.
11. I can achieve my goals.
12. When things look hopeless, I don’t give up.
13. I know where to turn to for help.
14. Under pressure, I focus and think clearly.
15. I prefer to take the lead in problem solving.
16. I am not easily discouraged by failure.
17. I think of myself as a strong person.
18. I can make unpopular or difficult decisions.
19. I can handle unpleasant feelings.
20. I have to act on a hunch.
21. I have a strong sense of purpose.
22. I feel in control of my life.
23. I like challenges.
24. I work to attain my goals.
25. I take pride in my achievements.
SCORING INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE MULTIDIMENSIONAL INVENTORY OF BLACK IDENTITY (MIBI)

Reverse score all items that have a (R) next to them by subtracting 8 from each individuals' score on the item. Next, average the scores for each of the items within a particular subscale. DO NOT CREATE A SUM SCORE FOR THE ENTIRE SCALE. Because the MIBI is based on multidimensional conceptualization of racial identity, a composite score from the entire scale is inappropriate.

CENTRALITY ITEMS (8): 1(R), 6, 9, 13 (R), 19, 33, 48, 51 (R)

PRIVATE REGARD ITEMS (6): 4, 7, 8, 24 (R), 54, 55

PUBLIC REGARD ITEMS (6): 5, 15, 17 (R), 52 (R), 53, 56

ASSIMILATION ITEMS (9): 10, 18, 37, 39, 40, 41, 43, 44, 46

HUMANIST ITEMS (9): 23, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 35

MINORITY ITEMS (9): 20, 34, 36, 38, 42, 45, 47, 49, 50

NATIONALIST ITEMS (9): 2, 3, 11, 12, 14, 16, 21, 22, 25

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI)</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Overall, being Black has very little to do with how I feel about myself.</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. It is important for Black people to surround their children with Black art, music and literature.</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Black people should not marry interracially.</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. I feel good about Black people.</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Overall, Blacks are considered good by others.</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. In general, being Black is an important part of my self-image.</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. I am happy that I am Black.</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
8. I feel that Blacks have made major accomplishments and advancements.  
   | Strongly Disagree | Neutral | Strongly Agree |
   | 1  | 2  | 3  | 4  | 5  | 6  | 7  |

9. My destiny is tied to the destiny of other Black people.  
   | Strongly Disagree | Neutral | Strongly Agree |
   | 1  | 2  | 3  | 4  | 5  | 6  | 7  |

10. Blacks who espouse separatism are as racist as White people who also espouse separatism.  
   | Strongly Disagree | Neutral | Strongly Agree |
   | 1  | 2  | 3  | 4  | 5  | 6  | 7  |

11. Blacks would be better off if they adopted Afrocentric values.  
   | Strongly Disagree | Neutral | Strongly Agree |
   | 1  | 2  | 3  | 4  | 5  | 6  | 7  |

12. Black students are better off going to schools that are controlled and organized by Blacks.  
   | Strongly Disagree | Neutral | Strongly Agree |
   | 1  | 2  | 3  | 4  | 5  | 6  | 7  |

13. Being Black is unimportant to my sense of what kind of person I am.  
   | Strongly Disagree | Neutral | Strongly Agree |
   | 1  | 2  | 3  | 4  | 5  | 6  | 7  |

14. Black people must organize themselves into a separate Black political force.  
   | Strongly Disagree | Neutral | Strongly Agree |
   | 1  | 2  | 3  | 4  | 5  | 6  | 7  |

15. In general, others respect Black people.  
   | Strongly Disagree | Neutral | Strongly Agree |
   | 1  | 2  | 3  | 4  | 5  | 6  | 7  |

16. Whenever possible, Blacks should buy from other Black businesses.  
   | Strongly Disagree | Neutral | Strongly Agree |
   | 1  | 2  | 3  | 4  | 5  | 6  | 7  |

17. Most people consider Blacks, on the average, to be more ineffective than other racial groups.  
   | Strongly Disagree | Neutral | Strongly Agree |
   | 1  | 2  | 3  | 4  | 5  | 6  | 7  |

18. A sign of progress is that Blacks are in the mainstream of America more than ever before.  
   | Strongly Disagree | Neutral | Strongly Agree |
   | 1  | 2  | 3  | 4  | 5  | 6  | 7  |

19. I have a strong sense of belonging to Black people.  
   | Strongly Disagree | Neutral | Strongly Agree |
   | 1  | 2  | 3  | 4  | 5  | 6  | 7  |

20. The same forces which have led to the oppression of Blacks have also led to the oppression of other groups.  
   | Strongly Disagree | Neutral | Strongly Agree |
   | 1  | 2  | 3  | 4  | 5  | 6  | 7  |

21. A thorough knowledge of Black history is very important for Blacks today.  
   | Strongly Disagree | Neutral | Strongly Agree |
   | 1  | 2  | 3  | 4  | 5  | 6  | 7  |

22. Blacks and Whites can never live in true harmony because of racial differences.  
<p>| Strongly Disagree | Neutral | Strongly Agree |
| 1  | 2  | 3  | 4  | 5  | 6  | 7  |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>23. Black values should not be inconsistent with human values.</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 2</td>
<td>3 4 5</td>
<td>6 7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 24. I often regret that I am Black.                           | 1 2              | 3 4 5   | 6 7           |

| 25. White people can never be trusted where Blacks are concerned. | 1 2              | 3 4 5   | 6 7           |

| 26. Blacks should have the choice to marry interracially.       | 1 2              | 3 4 5   | 6 7           |

| 27. Blacks and Whites have more commonalities than differences. | 1 2              | 3 4 5   | 6 7           |

| 28. Black people should not consider race when buying art or selecting a book to read. | 1 2 | 3 4 5 6 7 |

| 29. Blacks would be better off if they were more concerned with the problems facing all people than just focusing on Black issues. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |

| 30. Being an individual is more important than identifying oneself as Black. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |

| 31. We are all children of a higher being, therefore, we should love people of all races. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |

| 32. Blacks should judge Whites as individuals and not as members of the White race. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |

| 33. I have a strong attachment to other Black people.           | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |

| 34. The struggle for Black liberation in America should be closely related to the struggle of other oppressed groups. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |

| 35. People regardless of their race have strengths and limitations. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |

<p>| 36. Blacks should learn about the oppression of other groups.    | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>37. Because America is predominantly white, it is important that Blacks go to White schools so that they can gain experience interacting with Whites.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38. Black people should treat other oppressed people as allies.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39. Blacks should strive to be full members of the American political system.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40. Blacks should try to work within the system to achieve their political and economic goals.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41. Blacks should strive to integrate all institutions which are segregated.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42. The racism Blacks have experienced is similar to that of other minority groups.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43. Blacks should feel free to interact socially with White people.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44. Blacks should view themselves as being Americans first and foremost.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45. There are other people who experience racial injustice and indignities similar to Black Americans.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46. The plight of Blacks in America will improve only when Blacks are in important positions within the system.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47. Blacks will be more successful in achieving their goals if they form coalitions with other oppressed groups.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48. Being Black is an important reflection of who I am.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49. Blacks should try to become friends with people from other oppressed groups.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>50. The dominant society devalues anything not White male oriented.</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51. Being Black is not a major factor in my social relationships.</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52. Blacks are not respected by the broader society.</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53. In general, other groups view Blacks in a positive manner.</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54. I am proud to be Black.</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7</td>
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<tr>
<td>55. I feel that the Black community has made valuable contributions to this society.</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7</td>
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<tr>
<td>56. Society views Black people as an asset.</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7</td>
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Scales and Subscales of the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI)

Centrality Scale
1. Overall, being Black has very little to do with how I feel about myself. (R)
2. In general, being Black is an important part of my self-image.
3. My destiny is tied to the destiny of other Black people.
4. Being Black is unimportant to my sense of what kind of person I am. (R)
5. I have a strong sense of belonging to Black people.
6. I have a strong attachment to other Black people.
7. Being Black is an important reflection of who I am.
8. Being Black is not a major factor in my social relationships. (R)

Regard Scale

Private Regard Subscale

1. I feel good about Black people.
2. I am happy that I am Black.
3. I feel that Blacks have made major accomplishments and advancements.
4. I often regret that I am Black. (R)
5. I am proud to be Black.
6. I feel that the Black community has made valuable contributions to this society

Public Regard Subscale

1. Overall, Blacks are considered good by others.
2. In general, others respect Black people.
3. Most people consider Blacks, on the average, to be more ineffective than other racial groups. (R)
4. Blacks are not respected by the broader society. (R)
5. In general, other groups view Blacks in a positive manner.

(R) items should be reverse coded.
Impact of Racial Identity

Ideology Scale

**Assimilation Subscale**

1. Blacks who espouse separatism are as racist as White people who also espouse separatism.
2. A sign of progress is that Blacks are in the mainstream of America more than ever before.
3. Because America is predominantly white, it is important that Blacks go to White schools so that they can gain experience interacting with Whites.
4. Blacks should strive to be full members of the American political system.
5. Blacks should try to work within the system to achieve their political and economic goals.
6. Blacks should strive to integrate all institutions which are segregated.
7. Blacks should feel free to interact socially with White people.
8. Blacks should view themselves as being Americans first and foremost.
9. The plight of Blacks in America will improve only when Blacks are in important positions within the system.

**Humanist Subscale**

1. Black values should not be inconsistent with human values.
2. Blacks should have the choice to marry interracially.
3. Blacks and Whites have more commonalities than differences.
4. Black people should not consider race when buying art or selecting a book to read.
5. Blacks would be better off if they were more concerned with the problems facing all people than just focusing on Black issues.
6. Being an individual is more important than identifying oneself as Black.
7. We are all children of a higher being, therefore, we should love people of all races.
8. Blacks should judge Whites as individuals and not as members of the White race
9. People regardless of their race have strengths and limitations.
Ideology Scale (Continued)

**Oppressed Minority Subscale**

1. The same forces which have led to the oppression of Blacks have also led to the oppression of other groups.
2. The struggle for Black liberation in America should be closely related to the struggle of other oppressed groups.
3. Blacks should learn about the oppression of other groups.
4. Black people should treat other oppressed people as allies.
5. The racism Blacks have experienced is similar to that of other minority groups.
6. There are other people who experience racial injustice and indignities similar to Black Americans.
7. Blacks will be more successful in achieving their goals if they form coalitions with other oppressed groups.
8. Blacks should try to become friends with people from other oppressed groups.
9. The dominant society devalues anything not White male oriented.

**Nationalist Subscale**

1. It is important for Black people to surround their children with Black art, music and literature.
2. Black people should not marry interracialy.
3. Blacks would be better off if they adopted Afrocentric values.
4. Black students are better off going to schools that are controlled and organized by Blacks.
5. Black people must organize themselves into a separate Black political force.
6. Whenever possible, Blacks should buy from other Black businesses.
7. A thorough knowledge of Black history is very important for Blacks today.
8. Blacks and Whites can never live in true harmony because of racial differences.
9. White people can never be trusted where Blacks are concerned.