

Asian but Never Asian Enough: Racial Identity Invalidation, Internalized Racial Oppression,
Racial Socialization, and Self-Esteem in Asian-White Emerging Adults

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Abstract

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The present study integrated Critical Multiracial Theory (MultiCrit) and Minority Stress Theory and examined the associations between racial identity invalidation, a racial stressor unique to biracial or multiracial individuals, internalized racial oppression and self-esteem in a sample of 211 biracial Asian-White emerging adults. The study specifically explored four domains of internalized racial oppression unique to biracial individuals (internalized racial inferiority, minority identity shame, distancing from minority identity, colorism). The study also sought to examine whether racial socializations strategies unique to multiracial families (multiracial identity socialization, navigating multiple heritages socialization, preparation for monoracism socialization, and race-conscious socialization) moderated the relationship between racial identity invalidation and internalized racial oppression. Results from a path analysis indicated that there was a significant positive relationship between racial identity invalidation and minority identity shame, a significant positive relationship between internalized racial inferiority and self-esteem, and a significant negative relationship between minority identity shame and self-esteem. Minority identity shame also significantly mediated the relationship between racial identity invalidation and self-esteem. Preparation for monoracism socialization significantly moderated the relationship between racial identity invalidation and minority identity shame. Implications for future research and clinical practice with biracial Asian-White individuals are discussed.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

The multiracial population in the United States is increasing at very high rates. It is expected that the multiracial population, which encompasses all people with biological parents of two or more different racial backgrounds, will increase by more than 200% between 2016 and 2060 (Atkin et al., 2022, Nishina & Witkow, 2019). By the year 2050, one in five people from the U.S. will identify as multiracial (Farley, 2001). Additionally, people identifying as biracial Asian and White, or having one monoracial Asian parent and one monoracial White parent, are growing in numbers particularly quickly (Christophe et al., 2022). Despite the fact the Asian-White population is increasing, psychological research that specifically examines the experiences of Asian-White individuals in the U.S. is scarce.

MultiCrit and the Monoracial Paradigm of Race

Critical Multiracial Theory, or MultiCrit, (Harris, 2016) offers a helpful framework to understand why biracial Asian-White individuals are overlooked in the psychological literature. Firstly, one of the tenets of MultiCrit, *challenge to ahistoricism*, proposes that the history of multiraciality in the U.S. continues to impact the way that multiracial individuals are seen and treated by current society. For example, the “one-drop rule” of hypodescent during slavery classified an individual with any multiracial heritage as Black and reinforced the notion that one could only be classified as one race (Hunter, 2005). This monoracial classification system that was established by the White dominant society marginalized and denied the existence of a multiracial or biracial identity. The social construct of race in the United States continues to be biased toward what MultiCrit refers to as a monoracial paradigm of race, which has led to fields of science, including psychology, to marginalize and ignore the racialized experiences of

multiracial people in their research, including the experiences of Asian-White people (Harris, 2016).

Minority Stress in Biracial Individuals

Multiracial and biracial emerging adults have been found to be at increased risk of stress-related problems, including illicit substance use, depressed mood, suicidality, and sleep problems compared to their monoracial peers (Shih & Sanchez, 2005; Subica & Wu, 2018; Udry et al., 2003). One of the reasons that they may be more at-risk is due the unique stress that stems from navigating a multiracial or biracial identity in a monoracial paradigm of race (Harris, 2016). Minority stress theory (Meyer, 2003) suggests that racial minorities, including multiracial and biracial individuals, experience unique stressors stemming from experiences of racism and discrimination. A common form of racial discrimination that multiracial and biracial individuals experience is racial identity invalidation, which is defined as experiences in which one's multiracial or biracial identity is denied or questioned by others (Franco & O'Brien, 2018; Albuja et al., 2019). Multiracial and biracial people are commonly asked the "What are you?" question regarding their racial background, connotating a questioning of the legitimacy of the individual's racial identity simply because their perceived racial ambiguity does not fall into one specific racial category (Miville et al., 2005; Yoo et al., 2016). Additionally, several scholars have noted that multiracial and biracial individuals also experience internalized racial oppression, a process through which members of racial minority groups internalize the negative views and stereotypes of their minority racial group (Root, 1996; Pyke & Dang, 2003). One study with Asian-White college students found that students who identified more with their White racial heritage had higher internalized racial oppression, which the authors argued may be because they may actively be trying to reject their Asian heritage (Chong & Kuo, 2015).

Racial Socialization in Multiracial Families

Contemporary researchers have started to examine not only the challenges faced by multiracial and biracial people but also the strengths and protective factors that can buffer the negative effects of racial identity invalidation on mental health and self-esteem (Shih & Sanchez, 2005). Several studies have highlighted the importance of racial socialization, which is defined as the methods parents use to communicate messages about race and racism to their multiracial or biracial children (Atkin & Yoo, 2019; Csizmadia et al., 2014). Parents of multiracial and biracial children are faced with the unique task to racially socialize their children that they do not share a racial identity with (Coleman, 2001). Parents may also find it difficult to understand how to best support their child as they themselves navigate encounters with racism and discrimination about being a part of an interracial family (Herman, 2004; Root, 1998; Miville et al., 2005; Chong, 2012). Poor racial socialization can have consequences for multiracial and biracial children including lower self-esteem and sense of belonging. On the other hand, positive racial socialization can mediate feelings of isolation and marginalization for multiracial and biracial youth and emerging adults (Root, 1990). Considering the complex challenges of racial socialization in multiracial families and the paucity of research in racial socialization in Asian-White families, this is a racial process that must be examined further in order to better understand how to prepare multiracial and biracial youth for monoracist discrimination and prejudice.

The Current Study

This dissertation study aimed to address the significant gaps in the biracial literature including a general lack of quantitative studies on minority stressors related to being biracial, including racial identity invalidation and internalized racial oppression. There also is a dearth of

research that specifically examines the experiences of Asian-White emerging adults, despite the evidence that this particular biracial group encounters specific challenges related to holding the intersection of an Asian and White identity. By using a MultiCrit framework, this study hoped to challenge the dominant ideology that biracial Asian-White emerging adults are not impacted by racism due to their proximity to Whiteness by critically examining the relationships between their racialized experiences and their self-esteem (Harris, 2006). Furthermore, this study hoped to build on an emerging body of research that examines potential protective factors that can buffer the harmful effects of minority stress on the well-being and self-esteem of biracial individuals, such as racial socialization (Shih & Sanchez, 2005).

Thus, this study examined the extent to which racial identity invalidation, internalized racial oppression, and racial socialization influence self-esteem in Asian-White young adults. Considering the fact that identity development is so salient in emerging adulthood, and research has shown that biracial individuals report difficulties in self-esteem as well as higher prevalence of risky behavior than their monoracial peers, it is imperative to understand what factors lead them to have more negative outcomes. This study could have a significant impact on the biracial Asian-White population because evidence demonstrating the impact of racial identity invalidation on internalized racial oppression and self-esteem could raise awareness about ways in which our society's monoracial bias is impacting the mental health of this population. Furthermore, differentiating the racialized experiences of Asian-White emerging adults from other intersecting biracial identities as well as from monoracial Asian Americans can challenge the dominant White narrative that this group does not experience race or racism (Harris, 2016). The inclusion of internalized racial oppression is also significant as it is an understudied topic in psychology despite the evidence that it is one of racism's most insidious consequences for not

only the mental health of racial minority individuals but also the perpetuation of white supremacy (Pyke, 2010). An examination of ways in which biracial Asian-White emerging adults internalize negative messages about their racial group could help to inform strategies that could be used to combat internalized racial oppression not just for this group but for other minority groups as well. Finally, understanding what strategies of racial socialization buffer or exacerbate the relationships between racial identity invalidation, internalized racial oppression, and self-esteem can help psychologists develop ways in which Asian-White biracial individuals and their families can navigate biracial identity development to prevent negative mental health outcomes.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Critical Multiracial Theory (MultiCrit)

In the United States, there is a dominant narrative that we are transforming into a post-racial society as evidenced by increases in biracial and multiracial people (DaCosta, 2020; Jones & Rogers, 2022). Since interracial marriages with Whites were banned in the United States for a long time as a way to maintain white supremacy, biracial people are now seen as “barometers of ethnoracial change” who transcend white supremacy and challenge our very understanding of the social construct of race (DaCosta, 2020, p.343). As such, there is an underlying assumption that biracial Americans do not experience race and do not encounter racism (Harris, 2016). This assumption may be especially applied to Asian-White biracial Americans, due to both the convergence in economic status and educational status between some Asian American groups and Whites leading people to believe that Asian Americans are becoming “almost white” (Lee & Bean, 2004, p.234; DaCosta, 2020), as well as the “model minority” narrative that assumes that Asian Americans have succeeded in assimilating into White U.S. society and thus do not experience negative racial discrimination (Choi et al., 2017; Wong & Halgin, 2006). Some researchers have even suggested that due to the smaller social distance between whites and Asians compared to other racial minority groups, race and racial identification may be “optional” for Asian-White individuals (Harris & Sim, 2002).

Critical Multiracial Theory, or MultiCrit (Harris, 2016) is a theoretical framework that directly challenges the aforementioned assumption that biracial Asian-White individuals have transcended race and racism. It posits that this presumption is severely misguided and that a more critical examination is needed into how white supremacy continues to manifest in the lives and experiences of biracial Asian-White individuals.

MultiCrit builds upon the foundation of Critical Race Theory (CRT), a framework developed by prominent civil-rights scholars and activists that urges us to critically examine the ways in which societal structures and institutions such as the U.S. legal and education systems continue to uphold racism, racial inequality, and white supremacy, especially toward Black Americans (Crenshaw 2011; Delgado & Stefancic, 2023; Ladson-Billings, 1998). Scholars have also utilized CRT to illuminate ways in which the field of psychology has historically overlooked the roles that psychological research, institutions, and practices play in the perpetuation of systemic racial oppression (Salter & Adams, 2013).

Since its development, there have been several theoretical additions to CRT to more inclusively address the racialized experiences of other racial minority groups such as Latinx Critical Race Theory (LatCrit) and Asian Critical Race Theory (AsianCrit); however, Harris (2016) argued that the emerging literature on CRT was not as well-suited to explore the experiences of multiracial populations. As such, she sought to expand CRT toward a critical multiracial theory in order to examine ways in which multiracial people are impacted by racism and to interrogate the socially constructed understanding that race exists in neatly defined monoracial categories (Harris, 2016). In her analysis of qualitative interviews with multiracial young adults at a university, she arrived at eight tenets of MultiCrit, four of which align with the tenets of CRT, and four that are revised from CRT to MultiCrit. These tenets include *challenge to ahistoricism; interest convergence; experiential knowledge; challenge to dominant ideology; racism, monoracism, and colorism; a monoracial paradigm of race; differential microracialization; and intersections of multiple identities.*

History of Biracial Identity in The United States

Challenge to ahistoricism calls attention to the importance of positioning current-day experiences of racial minority individuals within a historical framework in order to understand the lasting impacts of racial inequities and oppression (Harris, 2016; Delgado & Stefancic, 2023). MultiCrit proposes that several aspects of history of biraciality in U.S. society continue to impact the way that biracial individuals are seen and treated by current society. During the days of slavery in the U.S., biracial off-spring of Black women and White slave masters were racially classified on the basis of hypodescent, or the “one-drop rule” (Hunter, 2005). This “one-drop rule” was strictly and legally enforced, ensuring that biracial individuals would be seen as Black and thus barred from attaining any privileges of whiteness (Harris, 2016; Khanna, 2010).

The lasting influence of the “one-drop rule” has continued to enforce the idea that biracial individuals must choose one monoracial identity rather than be allowed to identify as biracial, which contemporary biracial identity have called the “forced-choice dilemma” (Shih & Sanchez, 2005; Sanchez, 2010). Furthermore, biracial individuals continue to be perceived as their “lower status” racial minority status rather than biracial or White by others (Chen & Hamilton, 2012; Gaither et al., 2016). In the current day, many systems such as schools, healthcare, and job sites do not offer biracial individuals the option to choose more than one racial group when applying for admission, registration or employment (Townsend et al., 2009). Additionally, the U.S. Census just recently started allowing for people to identify themselves as more than one race in 2000 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000). Some even argue that the addition of the multiracial category to the Census was largely influenced by the desire by White policy makers to decrease the political representation of monoracial minority groups (Atkin et al., 2022). MultiCrit describes

this acknowledgement of multiracial people only when it benefits the need of the dominant White elite as *interest convergence* (Harris, 2016).

In addition to the “one-drop rule,” the U.S. has a long history of denouncing and even criminalizing the existence of biracial individuals. Anti-miscegenation laws prevented racial minorities from marrying Whites as a way to neutralize the threat that biracial individuals posed on white supremacy (Atkin & Yoo, 2019). These laws were not abolished until 1967 with the *Loving v. Virginia* supreme court ruling that ended the ban on interracial marriage (Cashin, 2017). Furthermore, scientists supported anti-miscegenation laws throughout the early twentieth century by suggesting that biracial individuals were doomed to experience psychological suffering and fragmented views of the self due to their status as a “marginal man” (Stonequist, 1937; Collins, 2000). Overall, the historical context of biracial identity exposes what MultiCrit calls a *monoracial paradigm of race* that contributes to the marginalization and erasure of biracial individuals due to society’s dominant narrative that racial categories are singular and discrete (Harris, 2016; Johnston & Nadal, 2010).

Over the last few decades, attitudes toward biracial people have changed as intermarriage rates have increased and biracial people are more widely represented in the media (Jones & Rogers, 2022). The election of Barack Obama, the first biracial president of the United States, also contributed to wider acceptance and visibility of biracial people (DaCosta, 2020). Psychological literature on biracial identity has also started examining the strengths of holding a biracial identity in a predominantly monoracial society, including increased intercultural competence (Shih & Sanchez, 2005). Additionally, prominent biracial scholars have put forth an ecological approach to biracial identity aligned with the tenets of MultiCrit that suggests that biracial identity is socially constructed, fluid and dynamic, and context-dependent (Root, 1996;

2003). Maria Root's (1990; 1996; 2003) ecological model of multiracial identity development highlights the fact that biracial individuals must frequently negotiate their racial identity in the context of social, political, and environmental factors that are permeated by monoracism. For example, an Asian-White individual may choose to identify as monoracially Asian at school due to how their classmates perceive their race but biracial when they are at home with their family.

Despite these advances in the understanding of biraciality, research has found that biracial individuals continue to face *racism, monoracism, and colorism* uniquely related to their biracial identity, serving as a direct *challenge to dominant ideology* that race does not impact the experiences of biracial people (Harris, 2016; Johnston-Guerrero et al., 2020). As such, MultiCrit emphasizes the importance of centering the *experiential knowledge* of biracial individuals to better understand their racialized experiences (Harris, 2016; Jones & Rogers, 2022). While several studies have begun to examine racialized experiences of biracial individuals using a MultiCrit framework (Jones & Rogers, 2022; Christophe et al., 2022; Johnston-Guerrero et al., 2020; Atkin & Yoo, 2019), there is still a dearth of research on the impact of monoracism on mental health and well-being. Furthermore, few studies have solely examined the racialized experiences of Asian-White individuals. Instead, researchers tend to compare and contrast different biracial groups within the same study (Christophe et al., 2022; Albuja et al., 2019; DaCosta, 2020).

Biracial Asian-White Americans

From a MultiCrit perspective, it is important to analyze the *differential micro-racialization and intersections of multiple racial identities* experienced by each biracial group in the United States (Harris, 2016). Both MultiCrit and CRT argue that different minority groups have been racialized in their own individual ways according to the needs of the white majority

group (Delgado & Stefancic, 2023). In essence, when researching biracial populations, “the ‘mix’ matters” (Garrod et al., 2014, p.3; Harris et al., 2018). Thus, an intersectional lens must be used to analyze the influence of multiple intersections of racial identities, including biracial Asian-White identity.

Between 2000 and 2010, the biracial Asian-White population in the U.S. increased by 87% (Jones & Bullock, 2013). Asian-Whites also make up the majority of the biracial Asian population in the U.S., with 48.7% of all biracial Asian Americans identifying as Asian-White (Yamane, 2018). This may be due to the fact that Asian Americans and Whites have the highest intermarriage rates among all racial and ethnic groups in the country (Kitano et al., 1984). In 2008, 41% of U.S.-born Asian women and 38% of Asian men married White partners (Qian & Lichter, 2011).

The term “Asian” in the context of race encompasses people from a diverse range of ethnic backgrounds, including East Asian, South Asian, and Southeast Asian Americans. In the U.S., the six largest Asian ethnic groups by population are the Chinese, Filipino, Indian, Korean, Vietnamese, and Japanese, in that order (Yamane, 2018). It is important to note that while the experiences of individuals from these groups share some similarities, there are very significant differences as well. Within these ethnic groups, there is another subgroup within them with people who identify as biracial or multiracial. Within these six ethnic groups, a majority of the multiracial Asian Americans are biracial Asian-White, with 48.7% of all multiracial Asian Americans identifying as Asian-White (Yamane, 2018). The six largest multiracial Asian American ethnic groups are as follows in this order: Filipino, Japanese, Chinese, Asian Indian, Korean, and Vietnamese (Yamane, 2018). Despite fact the Asian-White population is rapidly

growing, psychological research that specifically examines the racialized experiences of biracial Asian-White individuals in the U.S. is still relatively scarce.

Biracial Asian-White Americans experience a unique paradox of racial self-identification. Studies have found that hypodescent norms usually lead to biracial individuals being perceived as their “lower status” racial minority identity (Chen & Hamilton, 2012; Gaither et al., 2016). However, some scholars have suggested that biracial Asian-Whites are more likely to racially identify themselves as monoracially White compared to other biracial groups (Harris & Sim, 2002). Examining the larger sociopolitical context of race in the U.S., it could be argued that because there is less of a societally perceived “social distance” between Asians and Whites as compared to Black Americans and Whites, it may be more accepted by society when biracial Asian-White individuals self-identify or ‘pass’ as White than Black-White individuals (Burke & Kao, 2013). A study with biracial adolescents found that forty percent of Asian-White high school students identified as White while none of the Black-White students did, suggesting that Asian-White students may see “White” as being a more acceptable identity for them to claim than their Black-White peers (Burke & Kao, 2013).

While Asian-Whites may hold certain racial “passing” privileges related to their proximity to Whiteness, most Asian-White individuals do not identify as monoracially White, indicating that their Asian racial heritage is a salient part of their identity (DaCosta, 2020). Research is mixed on whether Asian-White Americans are also more likely to identify as biracial compared to other biracial minority-White groups. In a survey study with biracial college students, Asian-White individuals were more likely than Black-White or Latino-White individuals to identify as biracial compared to monoracial (i.e. Asian, Black, or Latino), and the researchers posited that this may be due to the perceived higher status of Asians in American

society compared to Black and Latino racial groups according to racial hierarchies perpetuated by White supremacy (Townsend et al., 2012). Meanwhile, in another study which compared racial identification between Asian-White and Black-White individuals, there were no significant differences in biracial identification between the two groups with both groups being equally likely to identify as biracial (Suzuki-Crumly & Hyers, 2004).

Previous scholars have critiqued the argument that Asian-White individuals' closer proximity to Whiteness due to their Asian and White racial heritages means that they are afforded the privileges of a monoracial White identity (DaCosta, 2020). As MultiCrit highlighted in its challenge to ahistoricism, the historical treatment of biracial individuals in the U.S. demonstrates that biracials held and continue to hold a marginalized position in the United States and thus face various forms of racial discrimination (e.g., negative treatment based on race) (Harris, 2016; Johnston & Nadal, 2010). Qualitative studies that centered the narratives of Asian-White individuals have consistently found that they report experiences of monoracist discrimination due to their biracial status (Root, 1998; Johnston & Nadal, 2010). As such, a MultiCrit approach urges that psychologists object to the notion that Asian-White individuals are not impacted by race and racism. Therefore, this study aims to challenge the dominant ideology by examining the racialized experiences of Asian-White individuals and how it impacts their mental health and well-being.

Minority Stress Theory

Meyer's (2003) minority stress theory provides a useful theoretical framework to explain how biracial identity status in a monoracial paradigm of race may affect Asian-White individuals' mental health. Minority stress theory originally proposed that sexual minorities experience unique pervasive stressors stemming from experiences of stigma and prejudice,

which compromises their mental and physical health. Since then, the theory has been found to be applicable to racial minorities as well, with substantial literature supporting the fact that racism and race-based stress have deleterious impacts on both mental and physical health (Carter & Sant-Barket, 2015). Specifically, scholars have proposed that both intergroup racism (discriminatory beliefs or actions perpetuated by members of a different racial group) and intragroup racism (discriminatory beliefs or actions perpetuated by members of the same racial group) have been found to be harmful to racial minority groups (Clark et al., 1999). Minority stress theory as it applies to experiences of racism borrows from the biopsychosocial model of racism proposed by Clark and colleagues (1999), a framework that delineates how perceived racism influences health outcomes. According to the model, perceived experiences of racism are influenced by the interaction of sociodemographic, psychological, behavioral, and constitutional factors. Depending on how one perceives the racist experience, this can lead to different psychological and physiological responses, also dependent on biopsychosocial factors. Perceptions of environmental stimuli as racist can lead to stress and coping responses that can influence health outcomes over time.

Contrary to the dominant narrative that biracial people do not experience race or racism, biracial and multiracial population in the U.S. consistently report that they have experienced racial discrimination (Sanchez et al., 2020). Biracial people also experience distinct types of racial discrimination due to being both biracial and as well as a racial minority (Sanchez et al., 2020; Shih & Sanchez, 2005). As such, it can be expected that biracial individuals experience minority stress as well. Over the past few years, researchers have begun to examine the impact of racial discrimination on mental health outcomes in biracial individuals. A number of studies with biracial participants have linked experiences of racial discrimination to depressive symptoms,

anxiety, stress, and negative affect (Franco et al., 2021; Franco & O'Brien, 2018; Salahuddin & O'Brien, 2011; Yoo et al., 2016). However, the mechanisms through which forms of racial discrimination unique to biracial people contributes to negative health outcomes continue to be an area that warrants further study.

Racial Identity Invalidation

Minority stress theory (Meyer, 2003) differentiates between two types of minority stressors. Distal minority stressors are external events that are directed toward the individual, including interpersonal and institutional discrimination. Proximal stressors are internal appraisals of events and are associated with one's self-identification with their minoritized identity. For example, sexual minorities may develop *internalized heterosexism*, or a negative view of their own sexual minority identity, due to experiences of interpersonal and societal discrimination toward their identity (Meyer, 2003).

One of the most prominent distal stressors for biracial people is racial identity invalidation. Racial identity is defined as one's sense of self that is related to one's understanding race and one's racial group membership (Atkin & Yoo, 2019; Belgrave et al., 2000). Racial identity invalidation refers to others' denial or misperception of a biracial person's racial identity (Franco & O'Brien, 2018). Because of the monoracial paradigm of race, biracial individuals frequently experience being labeled as a certain racial identity by others, even if this does not align with their own sense of their racial identity (Root, 1990). Racial identity invalidation can include others' denial of one's racial identification by being told that one does not belong to a certain identity group, or identity questioning, for example being asked questions about your ancestry or racial heritage, such as "Where are you from?" (Albuja et al., 2019). Racial identity invalidation highlights a key dysfunction of society's use of race as a classification system and is

a pervasive issue in the biracial population. Results from several studies have demonstrated that 87% to 93% of biracial participants have reported experiences of racial identity invalidation (Albuja et al., 2019; Townsend et al., 2009).

Racial identity invalidation of biracial people occurs in several ways. In a study by Franco and O'Brien (2018), the researchers identified three common types of racial identity invalidation experienced by biracial individuals. A biracial person's racial identity may be invalidated by others because the biracial individual's action or behaviors do not align with stereotypes conflated with certain racial groups. Franco and O'Brien refer to this type of invalidation as "behavioral invalidation." Root (1998) described that as a result of behavioral invalidation, a biracial person may need to go through a "demeaning process of racial and ethnic authenticity testing" (p. 242). For example, in order for an Asian-White biracial person to be accepted as Asian by another individual, they may have to answer questions about their ethnic background or prove that they can speak their Asian heritage language.

Biracial individuals may also find their racial identity invalidated based on how others perceive their appearance, or what Franco and O'Brien refer to as "phenotype invalidation." How biracial individuals feel that others perceive their race is one of the most influential factors on how biracial individuals racially identify themselves (Root, 1997; Khanna, 2004; Brunnsma & Rockquemore, 2002). This is because the original social construction of race was highly influenced by physical features, including skin color, hair texture and length, facial features (e.g., eye and nose shape), height, and weight distribution (Hall, 1997). The historical context of the "one drop rule" made one's racial group membership contingent on one's physical appearance and characteristics, and the remnants of the rule can still be seen today in how biracial individuals tend to be identify as their minority race or biracial identity more than as White in

anticipation of having their White identity denied or questioned (Burke & Kao, 2013). Additionally, a common encounter for biracial individuals due to their racially “ambiguous” or uncategorizable phenotype is to be asked the “What are you?” question regarding their racial background (Miville et al., 2005). This question connotes a questioning of the legitimacy of the biracial individual’s racial identity simply because their perceived racial ambiguity does not fall into one specific racial category (Yoo et al., 2016). This form of invalidation has been found to increase the likelihood of biracial individuals becoming objectified or exoticized (Johnston & Nadal, 2010).

Biracial individuals also face a unique type of racial identity invalidation called “identity incongruent invalidation”, where one is discriminated against based on a perceived identity that does not match a biracial person’s self-identity (Franco & O’Brien, 2018). For example, a biracial Asian-White individual may be called a derogatory word for Asians even though they themselves do not identify as Asian. Shih and Sanchez (2005) describe another experience of racial identity invalidation called “double rejection,” which refers to the rejection and discrimination of biracial individuals from not only the dominant group of society but from minority groups as well. For example, a recent study found that monoracial Asian Americans perceive biracial Asian-White individuals as significantly more White than biracial or Asian (Chen et al., 2019). In another study by Grove (1991), Asian-White participants reported that they felt like Asians did not see them as a member of their community. Studies have also found that many biracial children are accepted by peers of both racial groups until adolescence, when they become isolated from them, especially their White peers (Herman, 2004; Gaskins, 1999).

Impacts of Racial Identity Invalidation on Mental Health

Racial identity invalidation has been shown to have profound impacts on psychological adjustment of biracial individuals (Franco & O'Brien, 2018; Franco et al., 2021; Sanchez, 2010). Experiencing racial identity invalidation has been linked to depressive symptoms and increased suicidal ideation (Franco & O'Brien, 2018; Campbell & Troyer, 2007), as well as damage to self-esteem and motivation (Sanchez, 2010; Townsend et al., 2009). Several qualitative studies show that biracial individuals whose identities are questioned or wrongly classified by others due to ambiguous racial appearance often feel hurt, frustration, anxiety, and confusion as a result of these experiences (Yoo et al., 2016; Miville et al., 2015). Experiences of racial identity invalidation can also lead to a sense of "racial homelessness", or lack of sense of belonging with any racial group (Campbell & Troyer, 2007; Franco & O'Brien, 2018).

Racial Invalidation in Asian-White Americans

Little is known about how racial identity discrimination uniquely impacts the mental health and well-being of Asian-White individuals, since most research on biracial groups tends to examine biracial individuals as one monolithic group. However, emerging research with biracial populations have started to differentiate results between different biracial groups, including Asian-Whites. For example, one study with 922 multiracial individuals found that Asian-White individuals reported experiencing less behavior invalidation than Black-White individuals (Franco & O'Brien, 2018). The authors of the study gave several hypotheses for these findings. First, they suggested that Asian-White individuals tend to have more fluid racial identities due to being able to claim a biracial identity compared to Black-White individuals who tend to be defined by their minority race (Franco & O'Brien, 2018; Herman, 2010; Ho et al., 2011). The fluidity and flexibility may serve as a buffer against experiences of invalidation. Second, the authors proposed that Asian-White individuals may be more likely to identify with an eastern

collectivistic orientation that emphasizes dialecticism. Because dialecticism preaches tolerance for change and ambiguities within the self, it might be a protective factor that allows Asian-White individuals to perceive their biracial identity as more versatile (Franco & O'Brien, 2018).

While researchers have begun to examine impacts of racial identity invalidation on mental health outcomes, very few studies have examined the specific pathways through which racial identity invalidation impacts mental health. One study with 922 multiracial individuals found that “challenges with racial identity” (i.e., lack of sense of racial identity) mediated the relationship between racial identity invalidation and depressive symptoms and self-esteem (Franco & O'Brien, 2018). This finding is aligned with previous research on minority stress that has found that proximal stressors including internalization of external events often mediate the relationships between distal stressors and negative outcomes (Hatzenbuehler, 2009). However, the operationalization of “challenges with racial identity” in this study does not encompass one of racism and racial discrimination’s most insidious proximal stressors: internalized racial oppression. As such, this study hopes to expand on the emerging body of research on pathways between racial identity invalidation to well-being by examining the mediating role of internalized racial oppression specifically for Asian-White individuals.

Internalized Racial Oppression

Minority stress theory suggests that a proximal stressor that could be experienced by minority groups is the internalization of negative beliefs about themselves and their minority group as a result of experiencing discrimination and oppression. For racial minority groups, this process is called internalized racial oppression (Pyke, 2010). Internalized racial oppression, also sometimes called internalized oppression, internalized racism, or appropriated racial oppression, refers to the process in which individuals from racially oppressed groups come to accept, believe,

and internalize the negative views and stereotypes about their racial group that have been produced by the dominant White group (Pyke, 2010; Campón & Carter, 2015). The concept of internalized racism was introduced to the psychological literature when Kenneth and Mamie Clark (1950) conducted an experiment with young Black children. Subjects were presented with four dolls that were identical except for their skin color (White or Black). The children were asked to answer several questions related to their preferences, racial differences, and self-identification. Approximately two-thirds of the children that they would prefer to play with the White doll, and identified the White doll as the “nice” doll. Over half of the children indicated that the Black doll was the “bad” doll. These findings were particularly significant for younger children ages three to five, with the preference for the White doll over the Black doll decreasing in slightly older children.

What Clark and Clark demonstrated in this groundbreaking study was that negative attitudes and beliefs towards one’s own racial group start developing at an early age in Black children and can be distressing to experience. Most literature on internalized racial oppression has stemmed from the original doll studies and focused on experiences of monoracial Black Americans. Numerous studies have demonstrated that internalized racial oppression in this population is associated with many harmful psychological outcomes and injuries such as increased shame, decreased self-esteem, depression and anxiety (Sosoo, 2020; David et al., 2019; Watts-Jones 2004). Indeed, a prominent scholar on internalized racial oppression argues that “the internalization of racism may arguably be the most damaging psychological injury that is due to racism” (Speight, 2007, p.130).

Considering these effects, it is imperative that psychologists continue to strive to understand how internalized racial oppression manifests in other racial minority groups as well.

The following sections will provide an overview of the small breadth of literature that examines internalized racism in two racial groups—Asian Americans and biracial Americans—and illustrate why this area of research warrants more investigation with these populations.

Internalized Racial Oppression in Asian Americans

Asian Americans are a racial minority group that has experienced systemic racism throughout U.S. history. The National Latino and Asian American Study in 2010 revealed that 62% of Asians reported experiences of racial discrimination (Chae et al., 2009). As a consequence, researchers argue that Asian Americans experience internalized racism as well (Hwang, 2021; Choi et al., 2017; Trieu & Lee, 2018).

The history of internalized racial oppression in Asian Americans can be traced back to European and U.S. colonialism and imperialism that occurred throughout Asia beginning in the sixteenth century (Trieu, 2019). Effects of colonial oppression were passed down through generations of Asian communities, and over time these oppressed groups began to internalize negative stereotypes and messages of inferiority they received about their group to the point where it became an unconscious, involuntary response to view White culture as superior (David et al., 2019).

David and Okazaki (2006) published a landmark study on internalized oppression in Asian Americans when they explored Filipino Americans' experiences with colonial mentality (CM). They conceptualized colonial mentality as a form of internalized oppression characterized by a perception of ethnic or cultural inferiority as a consequence of the Filipino people being colonized under Spain and the U.S. (David & Okazaki, 2006). The authors further defined the experience of CM as “an automatic and uncritical rejection of anything Filipino and an automatic and uncritical preference for anything American.” (David & Okazaki, 2006, p. 242). In their

study, they found that Filipino-Americans who reported higher levels of CM were more likely to endorse poorer attitudes toward their own and others' Filipino qualities (including feeling shame or resentment about being Filipino), discrimination against other Filipinos (including distancing oneself from Filipino culture to become as "American" as possible), be dissatisfied with their "non-European" physical features, and consider Western heritage to be superior and tolerating and accepting oppression (Choi et al., 2017; David & Okazaki, 2006). This study demonstrated how earlier events of colonization and oppression by White groups, and the effects of this oppression (including internalized racial oppression) can be passed down generationally and continue to oppress minority groups in the present day, whether they are conscious about it happening or not.

In expanded studies on CM in Filipino Americans, David and Okazaki (2006) proposed that CM among Filipino Americans manifests both covertly and overtly. Covert manifestations of CM refer to the experience of the oppressed internalizing the inferiority that is imposed by the oppressor, which leads to feelings of inferiority, embarrassment, and shame because of one's heritage or culture. Meanwhile, overt manifestations of CM refer to more externally driven thoughts and behaviors including discriminating against and distancing oneself from less acculturated Filipino Americans or emulating white European American culture's behaviors, preferences, and physical characteristics. David and Okazaki found that covert aspects of CM tended to be more correlated with psychological well-being due to being more internal to the person, while overt aspects of CM were positively correlated with assimilation. They offered that overt forms of CM such as discriminating against people within one's own minoritized group may serve as a way for one to protect themselves from the pain of racism and oppression by promoting their own self-esteem.

In the U.S. today, the racial oppression of Asian Americans, and as a result, internalized racial oppression, is perpetuated by stereotypes dictated by the dominant society such as the perpetual foreigner and the model minority myth. The perpetual foreigner stereotype refers to the presumption that members of ethnic minorities are always seen as the “other” in the White-dominant society of the U.S. (Devos & Banaji, 2005). While all minority groups in the U.S. experience being judged by as perpetual foreigners, several studies have found that Asian Americans tend to experience it more often than other racial groups (Huynh et al., 2011; Devos & Banaji, 2005). Additionally, Asian Americans are not only commonly viewed as foreigners, but they are also excluded or denied the identity of being “American,” especially by White Americans (Huynh et al., 2011). The model minority stereotype is an oft used term that suggests that Asian Americans are more successful in the U.S. than any other racial minority group because of their cultural values that emphasize hard work, achievement, perseverance, and belief in the American meritocracy system (Kim et al., 2021). It is worth noting that both the perpetual foreigner stereotype and the model minority myth are both stereotypes that have been framed from a dominant-group perspective that further celebrates and perpetuates White supremacy.

Research has found harmful psychological effects in Asian Americans as a result of internalization of these two stereotypes. Studies on internalization of the model minority myth in particular have found that it can create chronic stress and anxiety in Asian Americans because they feel unfair expectations and pressure to succeed (Lee, 1996). Additionally, more internalization of the model minority myth has been found to predict higher depression and higher levels of shame and guilt in Asian American college students (Yoo et al., 2015; Chen, 1995). In a study that examined the relationship of internalized racial oppression and psychological adjustment in Asian American adolescents, results showed that internalization of

one aspect of the model minority myth in particular, the myth of achievement, related positively to academic expectations stress (Yoo et al., 2015).

Furthermore, in order to cope with the psychological distress caused by discrimination and internalized racial oppression, Asian Americans may engage in certain overt strategies that further perpetuate White supremacy by pitting Asian Americans against each other within their own community. A common coping strategy includes self-mockery of one's Asian identity and dissociating oneself from other Asians by engaging in "defensive othering," which Schwalbe et al. (2000) defined as the process in which people with marginalized, oppressed identities seek membership in the dominant group by distancing themselves from the negative perceptions and stigma connected to their group status. For example, in an interview with a third generation-plus Chinese and Japanese American, he explained that he asked for chopsticks at a pizza parlor as a way of mocking his Asian identity in order to "get on the good side of their white peers" and to appear less threatening (Tuan, 2001, p.84).

Pyke and Dang (2003) provided another example of defensive othering, or what they labeled as "intraethnic othering," in their qualitative study that examined the term "FOB" ("Fresh Off the Boat"), which is commonly used within the Asian American community. In interviews with second-generation Asian American young adults, respondents shared how they used "FOB" as a way to create social categories within their racial group based on perceived acculturative location, ridiculing and isolating Asian Americans for being too "ethnic" (Pyke & Dang, 2003). Within Asian communities, use of this term can be seen as a way to deflect the stigmatized status of being the "forever foreigner" or the "other" by distancing and marginalizing those who have recently immigrated or are highly enculturated. Additionally, qualitative interviews with Asian Americans revealed that they expressed strong negative reactions such as disgust, shame and

embarrassment towards “FOB’s,” mimicking the contempt expressed in dominant culture toward ethnic immigrants (Pyke & Dang, 2003). On the other hand, Asian Americans who try to assimilate too much to White culture may be accused of being a “Twinkie” or “Banana” by other Asian Americans (e.g. ‘Yellow’ on the outside and ‘White’ on the inside) (Trieu, 2019; Hwang, 2021). Another form of defensive othering can happen when different ethnicities within the “Asian” umbrella utilize defensive othering toward each other by pitting one Asian community against another (Hwang, 2021).

Internalized Racial Oppression in Biracial Asian-White Americans

While little is still understood about internalized racial oppression in Asian Americans, our knowledge about internalized racial oppression in biracial Asian Americans is even more limited. However, recent studies suggest that biracial Asian Americans do experience internalized racial oppression toward their minority identities in ways that follow the racial hierarchies perpetuated by the dominant values of White supremacy in the U.S. For example, in a qualitative study that examined internalized oppression’s impact on racial identity development in biracial Black-Asians, several participants discussed how their Asian appearance granted them more social benefit and acceptance due to being more closely associated with appearing White, such as straight hair, thin body type, and lighter skin (Castillo et al., 2020). Thus, they tried to distance themselves and disconnect from their Black heritage and culture (Castillo et al., 2020).

In one of the very few studies that has looked at internalized racial oppression in Asian-White individuals, Chong and Kuo (2015) conducted a quantitative study with Asian-White biracial that examined several cultural and psychological factors’ relationships to different Asian-White biracial identity orientations. One aim of the study was to explore the interrelationship between internalized oppression, biracial identity, cultural socialization and

psychological distress among Asian-White young adults. To measure internalized racial oppression, they created a measure called the Internalized Oppression Scale for Biracial Individuals (IOSBI) that was partially adapted from the Colonial Mentality Scale for Filipino Americans (CMSFA; David & Okazaki, 2006). Results showed that those who identified as predominantly White had the highest scores on internalized oppression, which the authors argued may be because those who identify more with their White identities may be actively trying to reject their Asian heritage. Surprisingly, those in the Asian dominant group reported significantly higher levels of internalized oppression compared to the Asian-White integrated group, who had the lowest internalized oppression scores. The authors hypothesized that those who identify more with their Asian heritage could experience shame about their Asian heritage as a mutually exclusive process from feeling connected to their White heritage (Chong & Kuo, 2015). This study took an important step forward in identifying how internalized racial oppression manifests in a biracial Asian-White sample. This present study aims to fill the gaps in literature on internalized racial oppression by examining how internalized racial oppression as a proximal minority stressor might mediate the relationship between racial identity invalidation and self-esteem in biracial Asian-White emerging adults.

In a recent review of the literature on internalized racial oppression in Asian Americans in *American Psychologist*, Hwang (2021) argued that internalized racial oppression “is an especially insidious form of divisive racism that works subtly, silently, and often unconsciously to damage ERI [ethnic racial identity] formation and reinforce systems of oppression” (p. 598). Considering the deleterious effects of internalized racial oppression on racial minority groups such as Asian Americans, it is alarming that research on internalized racial oppression in biracial Asian-White groups is so scarce (Hwang, 2021). This present study aims to fill the gaps in

literature on internalized racial oppression by examining how internalized racial oppression mediates the relationship between racial identity invalidation and self-esteem in biracial Asian-White emerging adults. Additionally, it will examine a potential moderator that could buffer the negative effects of these minority stressors, which will be described in the following section.

Racial Socialization

One of the most important and influential contextual factors that impact biracial identity in biracial individuals is family, especially parents (Root, 1998). One of the ways that family can influence the development of racial identity is through racial socialization. Racial socialization refers to the ways in which parents communicate information, values, and perspectives about race to their children (Hughes et al. 2006; Thornton et al., 1990). Forms of racial socialization can include verbal communications, including parents' direct statements about race, modeling behaviors, and exposure to specific objects and environments (Thornton et al., 1990). Racial socialization differs from ethnic socialization, which refers to communicating beliefs, messages, and practices about one's ethnic heritage to promote pride and commitment in their ethnic identity, though these concepts often overlap (Hughes et al., 2006). Racial socialization has historically focused on the ways in which parents help their children understand the concept of race and race relations; however, since its conception in psychological literature, its definition has expanded to include aspects of ethnic socialization including exposure to racial-cultural practices and traditions, instilling racial pride, and teaching strategies on how to succeed in the dominant society (Hughes et al., 2006; Neblett et al., 2013).

Cultural Socialization, Preparation for Bias, and Egalitarianism

In a comprehensive literature review of racial-ethnic socialization, Hughes et al. (2006) identified four racial socialization processes that are practiced the most often in families across

racial groups: cultural socialization, preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, and egalitarianism. *Cultural socialization* refers to the ways that parents either implicitly or explicitly teach messages and customs of their racial heritage and history and promote children's racial or cultural pride (Hughes et al., 2006; Thornton et al., 1990). *Preparation for bias* refers to parents' efforts to teach their children about racism and racial inequality and to prepare their children to cope with discrimination (Simon, 2021; Rollins & Hunter, 2013). *Promotion of mistrust* involves parents emphasizing the need for skepticism and distrust toward other racial groups (Simon, 2021; Hughes et al., 2006). *Egalitarianism* is a racial socialization practice that promotes acceptance of people of all races and encourages valuing individual qualities over racial group membership, or what sometimes is referred to as a "color blind" approach (Hughes et al., 2006; Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020). Often seen in White families, parents may emphasize that skills and hard work are what are needed to be successful in society and discussions of race may be absent.

Cultural socialization and preparation for bias have been the most studied racial socialization approaches in the psychological literature. According to a meta-analysis by Wang and colleagues (2020), cultural socialization was consistently linked to positive psychological outcomes, including positive self-perceptions, positive interpersonal relationship quality, and decreased externalizing behaviors. Other studies have also found that cultural socialization is associated with positive racial identity development and higher self-esteem (Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020), decreased distress in response to racial discrimination (Neblett et al., 2012), and less depression in youth (McHale et al., 2006).

On the other hand, research is mixed on the psychological outcomes of preparation for bias (Wang, 2020). In a meta-analysis conducted by Umana-Taylor and Hill (2020), among the

69 studies that they identified that examined the relationships between preparation for bias and youth adjustment, several studies found no association, some found associations with positive outcomes for adjustment, and a few found that preparation for bias increased risk for greater maladjustment including higher depressive symptoms (Liu & Lau, 2013; Nelson et al., 2018), increased internalization of the model minority myth (Daga & Raval, 2018). Several studies have also reported that preparation for bias was a significant mediator between experiences of discrimination and mental health outcomes for youth and emerging adults. For example, one study with Latina college students found that preparation for bias mediated the relationship between perceived discrimination and use of effective coping strategies such as problem solving and social support (Sanchez et al., 2018).

Due to the fact that cultural socialization and preparation for bias have been the most studied dimensions of racial socialization as well as the most linked to positive psychological outcomes for people of color, these were the two dimensions that were examined in this study.

A majority of the research on racial socialization has focused on Black/ African American families; however, the topic of racial socialization has recently begun to be examined with other racial minority groups within the last few decades (Simon, 2021). Studies suggest that racial socialization may be practiced significantly differently across racial groups; for example, Black/African American parents frequently engage in cultural socialization and preparation for bias (Hughes et al., 2006), while for Asian American parents, the frequency of cultural socialization and preparation for bias is mediated by demographic variables such as acculturation status and mother's education (Tran & Lee, 2010; Simon, 2021). However, there is still very little research on racial socialization in biracial families; for example, out of the 24 studies examined in a systemic review of parental racial-ethnic socialization by Simon (2021), only four

of those studies were on racial socialization of biracial youth. Additionally, most of the studies with biracial families have focused on Black/White families (Stokes et al., 2021). In a systematic review of qualitative and quantitative research examining family racial socialization of multiracial American youth, only one study specifically addressed racial socialization of Asian-White individuals (Atkin & Yoo, 2019). Therefore, much of our understanding of how families of biracial individuals practice racial socialization may not be entirely applicable to Asian-White youth.

Racial Socialization in Multiracial Families

Parents of monoracial children who share the same race as their child are able to racially socialize their children based on their own experience of racial identity development and socialization. However, parents of biracial children face the challenge of racially socializing their children with whom they do not share the same racial heritage. For Asian-White youth, families must navigate how to engage in racial socialization while considering both White and Asian backgrounds in the family (Atkin & Yoo, 2019; Rollins & Hunter, 2013). Due to the different social positions that each of these racial groups have in the racial hierarchy of U.S. society, a White parent and an Asian parent may have very different experiences of race and attitudes toward race. This may lead to Asian parents and White parents using different or even contradictory racial socialization practices when discussing race with their biracial child (Atkin & Yoo, 2019). For example, a White parent who has never experienced living as a racial minority may not be familiar with how to talk to their child about being a racial minority (Atkin & Yoo, 2019). In fact, monoracial White parents often utilize egalitarian racial socialization strategies such as denying race or taking a “color-evasive” approach when raising their biracial child (Stokes et al., 2021; Stone & Dolbin-MacNab, 2017). They are also more likely to be silent

about race and to dismiss the detrimental impact that racism has on society (Simon, 2021). By engaging in color-evasive socialization and egalitarianism, White parents of biracial youth may be unintentionally disregarding the impact that their child's biracial identity has on their lived experience (Stone & Dolbin-MacNab, 2017). Biracial youth may consequently feel unprepared to cope with experiences of racism and discrimination that they may face throughout their lifetime due to their racial identity (Crawford & Alaggia, 2008).

Racial socialization is especially important in families with biracial children because research suggests that as biracial youth become aware that they are racially different from their monoracial parents, they can experience feelings of isolation, guilt, and disloyalty toward one parent if they find that they racially identify more with one race than the other (Kich, 1992). Root (1990) argues that a supportive family in which racial identity is talked about can help mediate those feelings of isolation and marginalization. Furthermore, openly talking about race and racial differences with parents can help strengthen parent-child relationships. For example, one study by Soliz et al. (2009) found that biracial adults reported stronger parent-child relationship satisfaction if their parents had been open and accommodating about talking about race and their racial backgrounds.

Some emerging research suggests that cultural socialization in particular can be a protective factor in buffering the effects of minority stress for biracial children and emerging adults. For example, in one study that examined cultural socialization in a sample of Asian-White emerging adults, researchers found that participants who reported the highest levels of cultural socialization related to their Asian identity reported higher integrated Asian-White identity and lower levels of internalized racial oppression and psychological distress compared to participants who reported less Asian socialization or predominantly White socialization (Chong

& Kuo, 2015). Perhaps emphasizing and instilling pride in one's racial minority identity could be beneficial in promoting racial identity; however, concurrently they may feel conflicted about receiving messages from their parents about only one racial identity while their experience of being biracial goes ignored or unacknowledged (Stokes et al., 2021). Therefore, an examination of cultural socialization specific to an individual's biracial identity is crucial in better understanding how it can promote more positive outcomes for biracial youth and adults.

In a meta-ethnographic review of racial socialization in multiracial Black-White families, Stokes et al. (2021) highlighted one type of cultural socialization that was unique to biracial families, which she called *multiracial socialization*. In multiracial socialization, parents discuss what it means to be both biracial and what it means to be different aspects of their biracial identities. They utilize cultural socialization to instill pride in their children regarding their biracial status and also engage in preparation for bias to help their child potentially cope with the discrimination that they may face in different contexts due to their dual race status. Additionally, parents may let their children explore how they racially identify and letting that decision guide the way that they engage in racial socialization (Stokes et al., 2021; Simon, 2021). This can be helpful to biracial emerging adults as it reduces the pressure for them to choose one racial group over the other, which can often be a source of distress and anxiety in their racial identity development (McKinney, 2016).

Though literature on racial socialization in biracial youth is relatively scarce, research suggests that overall, cultural socialization and egalitarianism are the two most commonly used racial socialization strategies by families with biracial youth, and these two types of socialization messages are the only ones that have been assessed in quantitative studies with biracial youth (Stokes et al., 2021; Hughes et al., 2006). However, more recent studies on racial socialization in

multiracial families suggests that preparation for bias may also be an important racial socialization strategy to examine more closely (Atkin & Yoo, 2022). Many preparation for bias strategies for biracial youth involve preparing their youth for racism related to their minority identity. For example, parents with Black-White biracial children reported that they taught their children about what it means to be Black in the United States and the type of racism and discrimination they may face as a result, including preparing children about encounters with police (Rollins & Hunter, 2013). Very few studies have examined how parents could prepare their children for racism and discrimination related to their biracial identity. One study examined the ways in which mothers of biracial Black-White youth prepared their children for racism by talking to them about how both Black and White people may discriminate against them due to them being biracial (Stone & Dolbin-MacNab, 2017).

Multiracial Youth Socialization

Atkin and her colleagues (2022) recently used a MultiCrit framework to contextualize racial socialization of biracial youth within systems of oppression and discrimination toward biracial people. In their paper, they argued that recognizing the monoracial paradigm of race from a MultiCrit lens includes recognizing that parents of biracial children may not initially know how to racially socialize their biracial children due to their monoracial identity. They also may not know how to teach their children how to respond to racial discrimination related to being biracial due to not understanding or having gone through that experience themselves. They also identified gaps in the literature related to how racial-ethnic socialization has been measured in research, including the fact that many studies have used the Familial Ethnic Socialization Measure (Umaña -Taylor et al., 2004) that was designed for monoracial minorities and that other

measures designed to examine racial socialization in biracial families do not ask about preparation for bias related to being biracial.

After conducting an extensive review of literature on racial-ethnic socialization in multiracial families (Atkin & Yoo, 2019) and a qualitative study with a diverse sample of biracial and multiracial emerging adults (Atkin et al., 2022), Atkin and colleagues identified eight themes of racial socialization strategies in biracial families and used those themes to create the Multiracial Youth Socialization Scale (MY-Soc; Atkin et al., 2022).

The first two domains of the MY-Soc scale relate to cultural socialization specific to having a biracial or multiracial identity. The first domain of the MY-Soc scale, *navigating multiple heritages socialization*, measures the extent to which parents transmit cultural knowledge and family history about all of their biracial child's racial backgrounds. The second domain, *multiracial identity socialization*, covers all of the ways in which parents transmit positive messages to their biracial child about having a multiracial identity and validating that struggles or changes in one's racial identity is normal. In their study validating the MY-Soc scale with biracial emerging adults, they found that there was a positive correlation between both of these domains and racial identity exploration, affirmation, and resolution, suggesting that they promoted a healthy racial identity development (Atkin et al., 2022).

The third and fourth domains of the MY-Soc relate to strategies to prepare biracial youth for racial discrimination and bias. *Preparation for monoracism socialization* involves warning biracial youth about monoracist discrimination they may encounter, such as racial identity invalidation. *Race-conscious socialization* measures the extent to which parents talk to their biracial youth about racial inequities and systemic racism and engage in racial justice activism (Atkin et al., 2022).

The fifth domain, *negative socialization*, refers to negative messages parents transmit to their youth about racial identities that the youth may identify with, such as discriminatory remarks or stereotypes about the youth's minority identity. The sixth and seventh domains, *colorblind socialization* and *silent socialization*, are similar to strategies of egalitarianism posed by Hughes et al. (2006) and involve messages that minimize or deny the fact that racism exists and can impact one's experiences (*colorblind socialization*), and messages that race is something that should not be talked about or avoided (*silent socialization*). The eighth domain, diversity appreciation socialization, refers to messages parents share about appreciating diverse cultures and backgrounds.

While the MY-Soc scale was found to have strong reliability, as well as convergent, discriminant, and incremental validity (Atkin et al., 2022), it has not yet been used in a study to examine racial socialization in interracial Asian-White families despite racial socialization being a key contextual factor influencing racial identity development in biracial youth and emerging adults (Tran & Lee, 2010). As such, this study aims to examine how both cultural socialization practices and preparation for bias specific to biracial families (e.g., navigating multiple heritages socialization, multiracial identity socialization, preparation for monoracism socialization, and race-conscious socialization) ultimately impact Asian-White emerging adults' perceptions and beliefs about themselves, including how they may internalize negative messages about their biracial identity.

Biracial Identity in Emerging Adulthood

This study aims to examine the relationships between racial identity invalidation, internalized racial oppression, racial socialization, and self-esteem in biracial Asian-White emerging adults. Emerging adulthood is defined as the life stage between adolescence and young

adulthood, encompassing the late teens until the mid- to late- twenties (Arnett, 2000). It is a time characterized by a high degree of transition of life directions and identity exploration (Arnett, 2000; Syed & Mitchell, 2013). During this stage, young people have the opportunity to explore different paths and avenues of their lives as they become more independent of their parents, with many of them leaving home, but are not yet beholden to the commitments of adult life, such as marriage, parenthood, and long-term jobs or careers (Arnett, 2014). As such, they can begin to clarify the answer to the question “Who am I?” as they clarify their sense of identity and their goals (Arnett, 2014). Recent studies have begun to examine emerging adulthood as a potentially critical period in which racial identity factors become especially salient for racial minority individuals (Phinney, 1990; Syed & Mitchell, 2016). As they become more independent and encounter changing contexts, racial minority emerging adults may experience more situations in which their race and ethnicity significantly affects their social interactions and worldview (Phinney, 2006). Increased cognitive capacities to understand more abstract, complex concepts such as race and ethnicity make emerging adulthood an ideal period to examine identity-based challenges such as racial identity invalidation and internalized racial oppression (Syed & Azmitia, 2008). Despite a broad understanding that emerging adulthood is a critical period for biracial individuals in navigating their racialized experiences, few quantitative studies have explored ways in which experiences of racism and discrimination impact their well-being.

Self-Esteem

Self-esteem refers to “the extent to which one prizes, values, approves, or likes oneself” (Blascovich & Tomaka, 1991, p. 115). Researchers differentiate between two types of self-esteem—global self-esteem, which refers to a person’s overall attitudes and feelings towards oneself, and specific self-esteem, which refers to specific attitudes and feelings of competence

and self-efficacy towards one particular aspect of one's identity, such as racial self-esteem, personal self-esteem, and academic self-esteem (Rosenberg et al., 1995). Overall, global self-esteem has been found to be more relevant to psychological well-being while specific self-esteem is more relevant to behavioral outcomes. For example, in a study that compared the consequences of global self-esteem and academic self-esteem, Rosenberg et al. (1995) found that there was a significant positive relation between academic self-esteem, or confidence in one's academic abilities, and academic performance; however, the same association was not found between global self-esteem and academic performance. Meanwhile, in the same study, the authors found that global self-esteem was more strongly related to most measures of psychological well-being, including depression, anxiety, life satisfaction, and negative affective states, compared to academic self-esteem (Rosenberg et al., 1995). Since this study seeks to examine the psychological impacts of racialized experiences in biracial individuals, global self-esteem will be used as the outcome variable of interest.

A significant body of work has identified a negative association between racial discrimination and global self-esteem in racial minority youth and emerging adults (Nadal et al., 2014; Harris-Britt et al., 2007; Umaña-Taylor & Updegraff, 2006). This association is notable considering the protective role that global self-esteem has against negative psychological outcomes. For example, one study with emerging adults found that higher levels of self-esteem predicted lower hopelessness and suicidal ideation (Chioqueta & Stiles, 2007). However, the mechanism by which experiences of racial discrimination results in lower self-esteem is still not entirely clear and warrants further investigation (Smith & Silva, 2011).

Summary

The small but emerging body of research concerning biracial Asian-White emerging adults suggests that they face unique experiences of racial discrimination nestled within the monoracial paradigm of race (MultiCrit; Harris, 2016). Two prominent experiences of racial discrimination for this population include racial identity invalidation and internalized racial oppression. Prior research using minority stress theory as a framework to understand the unique racialized experiences of biracial people has examined impacts of either distal stressors such as racial identity invalidation or proximal stressors such as internalized racial oppression on mental health outcomes (Franco et al., 2021; Franco & O'Brien, 2018; Chong & Kuo, 2015). Very few studies have examined the relationships between these distal and proximal stressors. Considering that previous research on minority stress has shown that proximal stressors often mediate the relationships between distal stressors and negative outcomes (Hatzenbuehler, 2009), it is important to examine how different facets of minority stress in biracial people are related in order to better understand the impact they have on mental health. MultiCrit also urges that it is important to examine unique intersections of multiple racial identities such as Asian-White in order to differentiate their experiences from other biracial groups and dismantle a dominant ideology that all biracial experiences are similar.

Additionally, because Asian-White individuals hold a different racial-ethnic identity from both of their parents, they may not have been as culturally socialized to be prepared to navigate the challenges that come with being biracial in a dominantly monoracial society. Depending on the type of racial socialization that a biracial individual's parent utilizes, it is possible that a biracial individual may find that they are either more or less prepared to cope with racial identity invalidation, which then can impact their self-esteem; however, these relationships have not been

examined in Asian-White populations. To address these gaps in the literature, the present study will explore the relationships between racial identity invalidation, internalized racial oppression, self-esteem and racial socialization in biracial Asian-White emerging adults.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

The present study aimed to: (1) Examine how the experience of racial identity invalidation is associated with self-esteem for biracial Asian-White emerging adults; (2) Examine how racial identity invalidation is associated with four domains of internalized racial oppression (internalized racial inferiority, minority identity shame, distancing from minority identity, colorism); (3) Examine how the four domains of internalized racial oppression is associated with self-esteem; (4) Examine how racial identity invalidation is indirectly associated with self-esteem through the four domains of internalized racial oppression, and (5) Examine whether multiracial socialization strategies (multiracial identity socialization, navigating multiple heritages socialization, preparation for monoracism socialization, race-conscious socialization) moderate the relationship between racial identity invalidation and internalized racial oppression. Figure 1 and Figure 2 illustrate the relationships that were examined in this study as well as the expected direction for the variables in the model. Based on previous studies rooted in MultiCrit theory and minority stress theory, it was hypothesized that:

H1: Racial identity invalidation would be directly and negatively associated with self-esteem.

H2: Racial identity invalidation would be directly and positively associated with all four domains of internalized racial oppression.

H3: All four domains of internalized racial oppression would be directly and negatively associated with self-esteem.

H4: Racial identity invalidation would yield a negative indirect association with self-esteem through the four domains of internalized racial oppression.

H5: All four domains of racial socialization would moderate the associations between racial identity invalidation and internalized racial oppression, such that the negative association between racial identity invalidation and internalized racial oppression would be weaker among biracial Asian-White emerging adults with higher levels of racial socialization.

Figure 1

Expected Effects of Racial Identity Invalidation and Internalized Racial Oppression on Self-Esteem

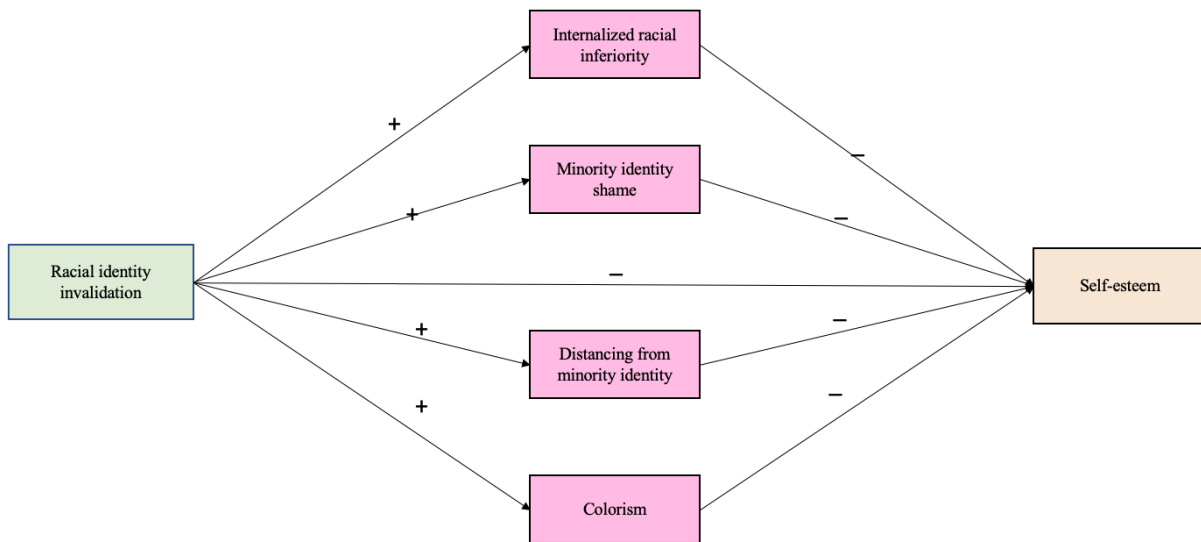
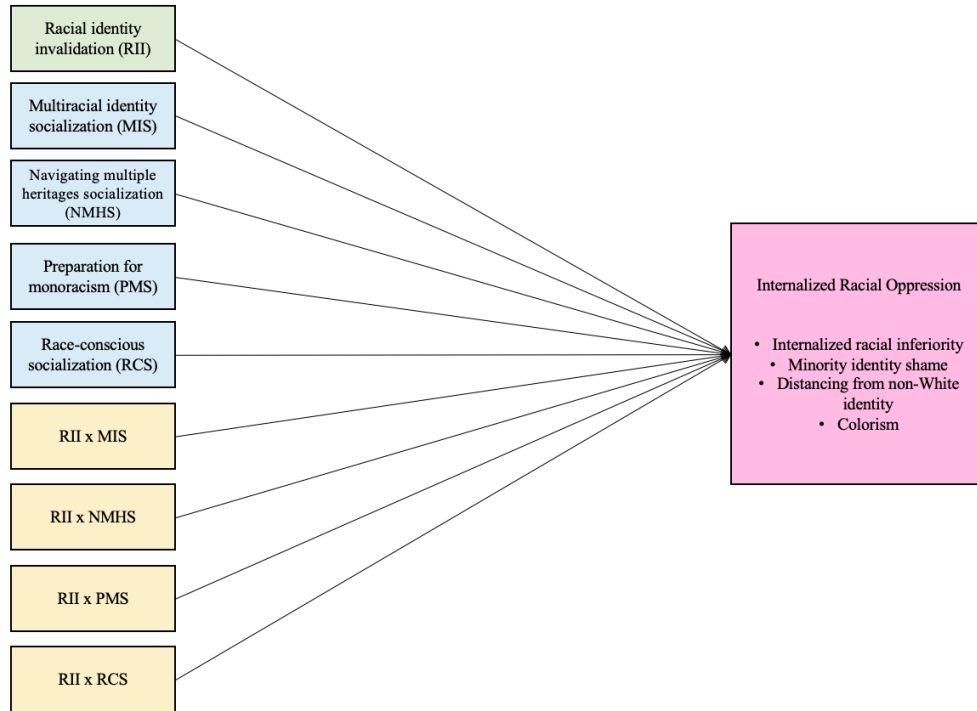


Figure 2

Conceptual Model of Moderating Effects of Racial Socialization Domains on the Relationship Between Racial Identity Invalidation and Internalized Racial Oppression



Chapter 3: Methodology

Participants

The study's sample was composed of 211 participants. All participants self-identified as biracial Asian-White, were 18 to 29 years of age ($M = 24.44$), and were born and raised in the U.S. With regards to gender, 69.2% of participants identified as cisgender women, 18.5% as cisgender men, 11.4% as gender nonconforming or gender nonbinary, and 0.9% identified as transgender. Approximately 49.8% of participants identified as heterosexual, 20.4% as bisexual, 14.2% as queer, 5.2% as asexual, 4.3% as lesbian, 1.9% as gay, and 4.3% as other sexual orientation (e.g., pansexual). 61.1% of participants had biological mothers who were monoracial Asian and biological fathers who were monoracial White, and 38.9% had biological fathers who were monoracial Asian and biological mothers who were White.

In terms of level of education, 41.2% had obtained a bachelor's degree, 24.2% had completed some college, 23.2% had obtained a master's degree, 4.7% had completed high school, 2.4% had completed a doctorate degree, 1.4% had obtained an associate's degree, and 2.8% said other (e.g., currently in high school). With regard to socioeconomic status, 48.3% identified as middle class, 26.5% as upper-middle class, 19% working class, 4.7% upper class, and 1.4% living in poverty. Participants were invited to write in their racial/ethnic identity ("In your own words, how would you describe your race/ethnicity?"). In terms of Asian identity, 23.7% of participants ($n = 50$) included Japanese in their description, 19% ($n = 40$) included Chinese heritage, 11.8% ($n = 25$) included Filipinx, 8.5% included Korean ($n = 18$), 2.7% ($n = 5$) included Indian, 2.7% ($n = 5$) included Taiwanese, 1.9% ($n = 4$) included Pakistani, 1.4% included Thai ($n = 3$), 0.1% ($n = 2$) included Vietnamese, 0.1% ($n = 2$) included Cambodian/Khmer, .05% ($n = 1$) included Malaysian, .05% ($n = 1$) included Hmong, .05% ($n =$

1) included Sri Lankan, and .05% (n = 1) included Indonesian. 1.9% (n = 4) of participants described their Asian ethnicity as “South Asian” more broadly, .05% (n = 1) described their Asian ethnicity as “Southeast Asian”, and .05% (n = 1) described their Asian ethnicity as “East Asian”. The remainder of the participants did not specify a specific ethnicity when describing themselves (e.g., “half Asian half White”, “mixed race”, “hapa”, “biracial”).

Procedures

This study was approved by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) of Teachers College, Columbia University (TC IRB #22-240). Recruitment efforts aimed to reach a nationally representative sample of biracial Asian-White emerging adults in the United States. Participants were recruited for the study via online postings with listservs through professional organizations and community organizations, and social media platforms such as Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, Reddit, and Craigslist. The study was advertised as an examination of biracial Asian-White emerging adults’ experiences of their biracial identity and their mental health. All recruitment materials invited interested persons from ages of 18-29 to complete the online survey, in which recruitment materials included the Internet address of the screener for participant eligibility as well as the contact information for the study’s principal investigator. Once participants filled out a screener, the principal investigator reviewed their responses and confirmed their eligibility. Once it was confirmed that they were eligible for the study, they were sent an email from the principal investigator with a link to the informed consent and online survey. If individuals did not agree with the terms in the informed consent, they were brought to a “thank you for your consideration” page. Participants who met all inclusion criteria were allowed to provide their informed consent. Next, participants were brought to the start of the survey, and they were informed that the survey will be administered for a one-time duration of approximately 25

minutes. There were no anticipated psychological or physical risks associated with participating in the current study. Recruitment materials indicated that participants could opt to enter a raffle for a \$50 Visa gift card.

Measures

Participants completed a self-report online survey comprised of different instruments measuring the variables of interest in the study, including racial identity invalidation, internalized racial oppression, racial socialization, self-esteem and demographic information.

Demographic Questionnaire

A 17-item demographic survey was constructed by the researcher to obtain information about the sample's demographic composition. The questionnaire asked participants to provide information regarding gender identity, age, racial/ethnic identity, sexual orientation, socioeconomic status, current city and state, level of education, environment, and parents' racial background.

Racial Identity Invalidation

Racial identity invalidation was measured using the Racial Identity Invalidation Scale (RIIS; Franco & O'Brien, 2018). The RIIS includes 12 items that measure how often multiracial individuals have experienced racial identity invalidation. The scale includes three subscales including four items measuring behavioral invalidation (e.g., "I am excluded from a racial group I feel connected to because I do not behave like a typical member of that racial group"), four items measuring phenotype invalidation (e.g., "People have reacted with surprise when I tell them the race(s) that I identify with") and four items measuring identity incongruent discrimination (e.g., "I am discriminated against based on a race that I do not identify with"). Participants rated the frequency of each item on a Likert-type scale of 0 (never) to 5 (always).

The developers of the scale indicated that researchers could use both total and subscale scores as a bifactor model consisting of one overall general factor of racial identity invalidation and three specific subfactors was superior to a three-factor structure model of each subtype of invalidation. Therefore, for this study, total score of all three subscales was used to measure racial identity invalidation, with higher scores indicating more experiences of racial identity invalidation.

Regarding validity of the RIIS, Franco and O'Brien (2018) found that all subscales of racial identity invalidation were associated with challenges to racial identity, racial homelessness, loneliness, and racial discrimination in the expected directions in line with minority stress theory. Additionally, the scale was negatively related to self-esteem. A path analysis conducted by the researchers also found that racial identity invalidation was associated with depression and self-esteem through challenges with racial identity. The subscales of the RIIS have also all demonstrated sufficient reliabilities of $\alpha = .85$ (behavioral invalidation), $\alpha = .85$ (phenotype invalidation), and $\alpha = .82$ (identity incongruent invalidation), as well as the total scale with an alpha coefficient of $.86$ (Franco & O'Brien, 2017). In the present study, the reliability coefficient for the total scale was $\alpha = .87$.

Internalized Racial Oppression

Internalized racial oppression was measured using the 34-item Internalized Oppression Scale for Biracial Individuals (IOSBI; Chong, 2012). Participants rated their experiences of internalized hostile attitudes and negative messages targeted toward their biracial Asian-White identity, specifically their minority Asian identity, using a six-point scale (1 = strongly disagree to 6 = strongly agree) with higher total scores indicating higher levels of internalized oppression. The IOSBI was adapted by Chong from the Colonial Mentality Scale for Filipino Americans scale (CMSFA; David & Okazaki, 2006), which was developed to measure internalized

oppression in Filipino individuals, due to the fact that there were no existing internalized racial oppression scales that had been developed for biracial individuals. To this author's knowledge, while there have been several scales developed that measure internalized racial oppression in racial minorities such as the Appropriated Racial Oppression Scale (AROS; Campón & Carter, 2015) and the Internalized Racism for Asian Americans Scale (IRAAS; Choi et al., 2017), at this time there are no other measures that specifically examine experiences of internalized racial oppression in biracial populations.

The CMSFA is a 36-item measure with a five-factor solution, including *Within-Group Discrimination*, *Physical Characteristics*, *Colonial Debt*, *Cultural Shame and Embarrassment*, and *Internalized Cultural/Ethnic Inferiority*. Chong adapted 25 items of the CMSFA by changing wording that specifically applied to Filipinos (e.g., "In general, I do not associate with newly-arrived Filipino Americans") to apply more generally to biracial individuals' attitudes toward their minority heritage (e.g., "In general, I do not associate with members of my minority group"). She did not adapt items in the *Colonial Debt* subscale of the CMSFA because these items were related to the specific experience of Filipinos internalizing indebtedness towards past White colonizers, which Chong deduced did not apply to most biracial individuals. Almost all of the items on the other four scales of the CMSFA were used in the IOSBI. She also added nine new items that she devised for the scale based on previous research on biracial identity, including four items about physical appearance (e.g., "I wish I looked more like my White parent"), two items about shame toward a biracial individual's non-White parent, and three items about rejection of a biracial individual's minority identity. Chong reported that the face validity of these nine additional items were verified by a focus group that she recruited prior to collecting data for her dissertation study.

Because Chong modified most of the items of the CMSFA and added nine additional items, she conducted an exploratory factor analysis (EFA) for her study using principle axis factoring extraction technique with direct oblimin rotation. She found that all of the items of the scale comprised a single factor and accounted for 41.36% of the variance (eigenvalue 13.23). In a research study by Chong and Kuo (2015) that utilized the IOSBI with a sample of 330 Asian-White biracial young adults in the U.S. and Canada, the scale was found to have strong internal consistency ($\alpha=.95$) and item correlations ranged from .40 to .81. As such, she concluded that the IOSBI measured a single factor of internalized racial oppression. The IOSBI demonstrated some evidence of validity as it was negatively correlated with self-esteem (Chong, 2012).

Due to the fact that the IOSBI had only been used in one previously published study (Chong & Kuo, 2015) and one dissertation (Chong, 2012), a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) was tested in order to examine whether a single factor solution was appropriate for the sample of this study. Maximum likelihood estimation with robust standard errors (MLR) was used due to being more robust to deviations from normality (Muthén & Muthén, 2017). The model fit was examined for the one-factor solution using model fit indices of Comparative Fit Index (CFI), Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA), and Standardized Root Mean Residual (SRMR). A CFI value greater than .90; RMSEA value less than .08; and SRMR value less than .08 was deemed to indicate acceptable fit to the data based on expert suggestions (Hu & Bentler, 1999; Kenny, 2020). The one-factor solution yielded poor fit to the data $\chi^2(527) = 2083.257, p < .001, CFI = .55, RMSEA = .119, 90\% CI [.114, .124], SRMR = .100$.

While the IOSBI was adapted from the previously validated CMSFA, which had five factors, Chong removed items from one of the CMSFA scales and added nine additional items that she authored herself. Due to the fact that a one-structure solution was found to have poor fit

for the sample of this study and the underlying factor structure of the IOSBI scale was unclear with the nine additional items added by Chong, an exploratory factor analysis (EFA) was performed on all 34 items of the IOSBI in order to explore what factor structure was appropriate for the sample of this study. First, the data were evaluated using the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy and Bartlett's test of sphericity to determine whether the sample was satisfactory for an exploratory factor analysis. The current sample's KMO was acceptable (0.87). Items were adequately correlated with one another, according to Bartlett's test of sphericity $\chi^2(561) = 3753.62, p < .001$. Next, the items of the IOSBI were analyzed using principle-axis factoring with orthogonal (Varimax) rotation. This EFA produced 8 factors with eigenvalues greater than 1.00. The Cattell's scree plot (Cattell, 1966), however, indicated that a four-factor solution best represented the underlying structure of the IOSBI. Based on Stevens' (2002) recommendations, items with factor loadings greater than .40 were retained. Items that cross-loaded (i.e., loaded 0.40 on more than one factor) where they loaded less than .15 on their primary factor than on their next highest factor were dropped. Five items were removed based on these criteria. The remaining 29 items comprised four factors and accounted for 50.66% of the variance.

Reviewing the scale items and the factor loadings, it was observed by this researcher that the factor structure generally followed the four factors of the CMSFA that the developer of the IOSBI had adapted the items from, with the nine additional items authored by Chong loading on different factors. The factors of the IOSBI were re-named in this study to more accurately describe the experiences of biracial individuals as follows: *Internalized Racial Inferiority* (changed from Internalized Cultural/Ethnic Inferiority on CMSFA), *Minority Identity Shame* (changed from Cultural Shame and Embarrassment on CMSFA), *Distancing from Non-White*

Identity (changed from Within-Group Discrimination on CMSFA), and *Colorism* (changed from Physical Characteristics on CMSFA). Items in Factor 1, Internalized Racial Inferiority, describe the tendency for a biracial individual to view their minority identity as inferior to their biracial or White identity (ex: “I generally think that a biracial part-White part-minority person is more attractive than a full-blooded minority person”). Items in Factor 2, Minority Identity Shame, describe a biracial individual’s feelings of shame and embarrassment toward their minority identity culture (ex: “In general, I feel that having a part-minority background is a curse”). Factor 3, Distancing from Minority Identity, includes items that describe the tendency to discriminate against monoracial people in a biracial individual’s racial minority group (ex: “I generally do not like members of my minority group”). Lastly, items in Factor 4, Colorism, describe the tendency to perceive lighter skin tones as superior to darker skin tones (ex: “I would like to have children with light skin-tones”). Items of the IOSBI for this study are presented in Table 1.

Table 1

Items and Factor Structure of the Internalized Oppression Scale for Biracial Individuals

Subscale and item	Factor			
	1	2	3	4
Factor 1 (Internalized Racial Inferiority)				
IOSBI9: I find White people to be more attractive than members of my minority group.	.625	.033	.081	.072
IOSBI10: I would rather have the facial features of a White person than a member of my minority group.	.718	.169	.155	.112
IOSBI11: I do not want my children to have the facial features of members of my minority group.	.685	.129	.184	.244
IOSBI16: I generally think that a biracial part-White part-minority person is more attractive than a full-blooded minority person.	.462	-.031	.230	.232
IOSBI25: In general, I am more proud of my White heritage than my minority heritage.	.553	.174	.361	.195

IOSBI27: I wish I looked more like my White parent.	.457	.389	.168	.194
IOSBI29: I would rather be mistaken for a full-blooded White person than a full-blooded member of my minority group.	.675	.268	.154	.136
IOSBI33: Sometimes I feel grateful that I am not a full-blooded member of my minority group.	.478	.202	.143	.106
IOSBI34: If I had to choose between being a full-blooded White person and a full-blooded member of my minority group, I would choose to be a full-blooded White person.	.734	.206	.149	.160
Factor 2 (Minority Identity Shame)				
IOSBI20: There are moments when I wish I was a full-blooded White person.	.255	.749	-.010	.047
IOSBI21: In general, I feel that having a part-minority background is a curse.	-.093	.495	.158	.138
IOSBI22: There are situations where I feel that it is more advantageous or necessary to deny my minority heritage.	.163	.410	.117	-.033
IOSBI23: There are situations where I feel inferior because of my minority heritage background.	.056	.555	.035	-.018
IOSBI24: There are situations where I feel ashamed of my minority heritage background.	.062	.618	.225	-.079
IOSBI26: I have tried to make myself appear more White (e.g., using hair lightening or straightening, colored contacts, wearing pale make-up, using skin Whiteners)	.106	.421	.028	.028
IOSBI31: Sometimes I wish both my parents were White.	.135	.645	.159	.255
IOSBI32: Sometimes I wish I was a full-blooded White person.	.169	.700	-.027	.257
Factor 3 (Distancing from Minority Identity)				
2. I generally do not like members of my minority group.	.128	.092	.521	.026
3. I think members of my minority group are backwards, have accents, or act weird.	.300	.166	.650	.270
4. I think members of my minority group should become Americanized as quickly as possible.	.272	.032	.562	.385

5. In general, I make fun of , tease, or badmouth members of my minority group who are not very Americanized in their behaviors.	.281	-0.63	.482	.160
6. I believe that more Americanized members of my minority group are superior, more admirable, and more civilized than less Americanized members of my minority group.	.403	.089	.589	.309
7. I tend to pay more attention to the opinions of members of my minority group who are very Americanized than to the opinions of less Americanized members of my minority group.	.389	.089	.405	.117
IOSBI8: In general, I am ashamed of members of my minority group because of the way they dress and act.	.278	.129	.552	.192
IOSBI19: I feel that there are very few things about my minority culture that I can be proud of.	-.066	.307	.495	.208
Factor 4 (Colorism)				
12. I find persons with lighter skin-tones to be more attractive than persons with dark skin- tones.	.387	.081	.101	.548
IOSBI13: I would like to have a skin-tone that is lighter than the skin-tone I have.	.150	.260	.187	.572
IOSBI14: I would like to have children with light skin-tones	.382	.108	.228	.753
IOSBI15: I do not want my children to be dark-skinned.	.408	.040	.277	.747
IOSBI28: I wish I looked less like my non-White parent.	.254	.339	.141	.087
IOSBI30: Sometimes I am ashamed to be seen with my non-White parent.	.134	.243	.221	.022
IOSBI33: Sometimes I feel grateful that I am not a full-blooded member of my minority group.	.478	.202	.143	.106
IOSBI34: If I had to choose between being a full-blooded White person and a full-blooded member of my minority group, I would choose to be a full-blooded White person.	.734	.206	.149	.160

Extraction Method: Principal Axis Factoring.

Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

Rotation converged in 7 iterations.

In the two previously published studies that utilized the IOSBI, the IOSBI was found to be measuring a single factor of internalized racial oppression. However, for this study, a four-factor structure emerged, and subscale intercorrelations between the four subscales were low to moderate, ranging from 0.28 (Minority Identity Shame and Colorism) to 0.61 (Internalized Racial Inferiority and Colorism). This suggests that although all four subscales reflect the general construct of internalized racial oppression, each of the four subscales uniquely measures a specific aspect of internalized racial oppression. Therefore, for this study the four separate subscales were used and interpreted to measure internalized racial oppression rather than one general factor. In the present study, each of the subscales demonstrated sufficient reliability of $\alpha = .85$ (internalized racial inferiority), $\alpha = .80$ (minority identity shame), $\alpha = .83$ (distancing from non-White identity), and $\alpha = .86$ (colorism).

Racial Socialization

Participants' perceptions of parental racial socialization they received during childhood was measured using the Multiracial Youth Socialization scale (MY-Soc; Atkin et al., 2022). Of the eight domains of the scale (e.g., *Multiracial Identity Socialization*, *Navigating Multiple Heritages Socialization*, *Preparation for Monoracism Socialization*, *Negative Socialization*, *Race-Conscious Socialization*, *Colorblind Socialization*, *Diversity Appreciation Socialization*, *Silent Socialization*), this study only used four subscales—*Multiracial Identity Socialization* (MIS), *Navigating Multiple Heritages Socialization* (NMHS), *Preparation for Monoracism Socialization* (PMS) and *Race-Conscious Socialization* (RCS) – in order to measure domains of cultural socialization and preparation for bias.

The Navigating Multiple Heritages Socialization (NMHS) subscale included seven items measuring the extent to which participants thought their parents taught them about all of their

racial backgrounds (e.g., “My (caregiver) exposed me to foods from all of my cultures”), while the Multiracial Identity Socialization (MIS) subscale consisted of ten items that measure the degree to which participants perceived that their parents taught them about being biracial and instilled biracial pride (e.g., “My (caregiver) of my parents encouraged me to explore what it means to be Multiracial”). The Preparation for Monoracism Socialization (PMS) subscale consists of three items that ask about parents’ messages preparing participants for monoracism (e.g., “At least one of my parents told me that monoracial people may not accept me as a member of their group”), while the race Race-Conscious Socialization (RCS) subscale asks participants to reflect on their parents’ messages about racism (e.g., “At least one of my parents taught me about that there used to be laws that banned interracial marriage in the United States”).

The developer of the scale provided permission to change the item stem for all subscales from “My (caregiver)” to “At least one of my parents” as this study sought to examine overall parental racial socialization rather than the racial socialization strategies of each parent.

Participants rated how much they agreed that their parents talked about or did what is described in the item on a five-point Likert scale from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree). Higher total scores indicated higher levels of racial socialization. In a recently published study with 501 multiracial participants validating the scale, all subscales of the MY-Soc (including the ones that will be used to measure preparation for bias and egalitarianism as described below) demonstrated acceptable reliabilities across samples ($\alpha = .74$ to $\alpha = .94$) (Atkin et al., 2022). The subscales also demonstrated sufficient criterion-related validity. The two subscales measuring cultural socialization, NMHS and MIS, were found to be positively correlated as expected with racial-ethnic identity dimensions including identity exploration, affirmation, and resolution. The relationship between NMHS and racial-ethnic identity exploration and the relationship between

MIS and racial-ethnic identity affirmation had large effect sizes. The two scales measuring preparation for bias, PMS and RCS, were found to be related to exploration, affirmation, and resolution as well, though the relationships were small in effect sizes. In this study, all four subscales demonstrated strong reliability ranging from $\alpha = .87$ to $\alpha = .91$.

Self-Esteem

Self-esteem was measured using the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSES; Rosenberg, 1965), a 10-item scale that uses a 4-point Likert scale system ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. Scores are then summed (range 0 to 30) with higher scores indicating higher self-esteem. Examples of items include “I take a positive attitude toward myself” and “I feel that I’m a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others.” The RSES has good internal reliability across studies ($\alpha = .92$) (Rosenberg, 1965). It has also been demonstrated to be a reliable and valid measure across cross-cultural samples (Schmitt & Allik, 2005). Additionally, a recent study that examined the relationship between internalized racial oppression and self-esteem across different racial groups using the RSES found that the scale had a reliability of $\alpha = .88$ (Roberson & Pieterse, 2021). Studies examining the construct validity of the RSES found that the overall RSES scale was negatively correlated with depression, anxiety, and stress as expected (Sinclair et al., 2010). In this study, the scale demonstrated a sufficient reliability of $\alpha = .91$.

Data Analysis Plan

Data analysis was conducted using SPSS v28 and R statistical package. Preliminary analyses examined the internal reliability of each scale using Cronbach’s alpha. Assumptions of the statistical model were tested through descriptive statistics including mean, standard deviation, and distributions of all variables. Kurtosis and skew values were evaluated to examine

normality of the data and were considered acceptable within the limits of -10.0 to 10.0 for kurtosis and -3.0 to 3.0 for skew values (Kline, 2011). Additionally, bivariate correlations of all key variables were conducted to assess for multicollinearity and to see significant relationships among all continuous variables.

Little's Missing Completely at Random (MCAR) Test was used to determine whether data were systematically or randomly missing in the final sample. The results of this test were nonsignificant, $\chi^2(758) = 701.95, p = .93$, which indicates that the data were MCAR. Thus, missingness was handled by using maximum likelihood (ML) estimation in the primary analysis, which were conducted using R.

Structural equation modeling was used to assess the hypothesized direct and indirect relationships between racial identity invalidation, internalized racial oppression with self-esteem. A path analysis was conducted where racial identity invalidation was considered an exogenous variable influencing self-esteem indirectly through the four domains of internalized racial oppression (internalized racial inferiority, minority identity shame, distancing from minority identity, colorism). The SEM analyses were conducted using R software, which estimated the model parameters using maximum likelihood estimation (ML; Muthén & Muthén, 2017). Model fit of the structural model was assessed using the comparative fit index (CFI), root-mean-square error of approximation, and standardized root-mean residual (SRMR), according to the criteria for adequate model fit (CFI > .95, RMSEA < .05, SRMR < 0.08; Weston & Gore, 2006; Hu & Bentler, 1999). The analyses of the estimated parameters employed the statistical significance level of less than .05. Age, gender, sexual orientation, socioeconomic status, level of education, and parents' race were included as control variables in the model, as previous studies have indicated that these variables are associated with differences in the variables examined in the

path model. Age has also been found to be significantly associated with self-esteem, with self-esteem increasing during adolescence and continually through young adulthood (Erol & Orth, 2011). Some studies suggest that males tend to score higher on self-esteem measures compared to females and gender nonbinary individuals (Bleidorn et al., 2016; Kling et al., 1999).

Researchers have also found that sexual minority individuals have overall lower self-esteem compared to heterosexual individuals partly due to experiences of minority stress (Bridge et al., 2019). A meta-analytic review by Twenge and Campbell (2002) found that higher SES individuals tend to report higher self-esteem. Additionally, lower valuing of higher education associated with higher levels of internalized racial oppression in a sample of 315 African Americans (Brown et al., 2017).

Additionally, path analysis was used to examine the moderation effect of racial socialization on the relationship between racial identity invalidation and internalized racial oppression by examining the interaction effects. Four unique interaction terms were created by computing new variables that were the product of the four multiracial socialization strategies examined in the study (MIS, NMHS, PMS, and RCS) and racial identity invalidation. Interaction effects of racial identity invalidation and multiracial socialization strategies on the four domains of internalized racial oppression were tested. Control variables included emerging adults' gender, age, sexual orientation, socioeconomic status, education level, environment, and parents' race.

Chapter 4: Results

Table 2 presents the mean, standard deviations, frequency distributions and correlations of key variables that were examined to test the assumptions required for the proposed statistical analyses. Regarding data distribution, all variables were found to be within the recommended limits of -3.0 to +3.0 for skewness and -10.0 to +10.0 for kurtosis (Weston & Gore, 2006; Kline, 2005).

Table 2

Descriptive Statistics

	N	Mean	SD	Variance	Skewness		Kurtosis	
					Statistic	SE	Statistic	SE
1. Age	211	24.44	3.411	11.638	-.347	.167	-1.08	.333
2. Racial Identity Invalidation	211	36.35	10.577	111.875	.423	.167	.367	.333
3. Internalized Racial Inferiority	211	16.93	7.269	52.843	1.33	.167	1.994	.333
4. Minority Identity Shame	211	17.07	7.191	51.714	.891	.167	.530	.333
5. Distancing from Minority Identity	211	11.08	4.008	16.065	2.187	.167	6.053	.333
6. Colorism	211	7.37	3.820	14.596	1.591	.167	2.426	.333
7. Multiracial Identity Socialization	211	31.81	11.962	143.097	.033	.167	-.810	.333
8. Navigating Multiple Heritages Socialization	211	31.55	7.392	54.648	-.946	.167	.987	.333
9. Preparation for Monoracism Socialization	211	7.98	4.430	19.628	.769	.167	-.362	.333
10. Race-Conscious Socialization	211	20.79	9.159	83.880	.295	.167	-.688	.333
11. Self-Esteem	211	27.02	4.858	23.604	-.002	.167	-.620	.333

Bivariate correlations between key variables yielded small to moderate coefficients reducing the risk of multicollinearity (See Table 3). Racial identity invalidation was positively correlated with minority identity shame ($\beta = 0.25, p < .01$). Internalized racial inferiority was positively correlated with self-esteem ($\beta = 0.15, p < .05$). Minority identity shame was negatively correlated with self-esteem ($\beta = -.28, p < .01$). Regarding multiracial socialization strategies, minority identity shame was negatively correlated with navigating multiple heritages

socialization, and both multiracial identity socialization ($\beta = .28, p < .01$) and navigating multiple heritages socialization ($\beta = .23, p < .01$) were positively correlated with self-esteem.

Table 3

Correlations

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1. Racial identity invalidation															
2. Internalized racial inferiority	.05														
3. Minority identity shame	.25**	.41**													
4. Distancing from minority identity	.11	.59**	.34**												
5. Colorism	-.05	.60**	.30**	.56**											
6. Multiracial identity socialization	-.06	-.02	-.21**	-.03	-.01										
7. Navigating multiple heritages socialization	.02	.05	-.17*	-.02	.04	.45**									
8. Preparation for monoracism socialization	.11	.03	-.07	.05	.13	.49**	.31**								
9. Race-conscious socialization	-.05	.04	-.07	-.05	.04	.57**	.37**	.44**							
10. Self-esteem	-.13	.15*	-.28**	.02	-.04	.28**	.23**	.02	.13						
11. Age	.28**	-.03	-.07	-.01	-.15*	-.04	-.02	-.03	-.13	.14*					
12. SES	-.13	.11	-.04	.06	.00	.07	.21**	-.00	.17*	.23**	-.09				
13. Level of education	.20**	.04	.04	.02	-.04	-.08	.09	-.09	-.17*	.07	.60**	.07			
14. Female	.03	.21**	-.04	.28**	.34**	-.06	-.05	.08	.04	.04	.01	-.05	-.05		
15. Gender non-binary	-.02	-.14*	.02	-.10	-.02	-.11	-.04	-.06	-.13	-.24**	.03	-.08	.04	-.18**	
16. Sexual orientation	-.03	-.18**	.07	-.08	-.12	-.21**	-.08	-.12	-.10	-.23**	-.08	-.02	-.09	-.31**	.34**

Note. * indicates $p < .05$. ** indicates $p < .01$.

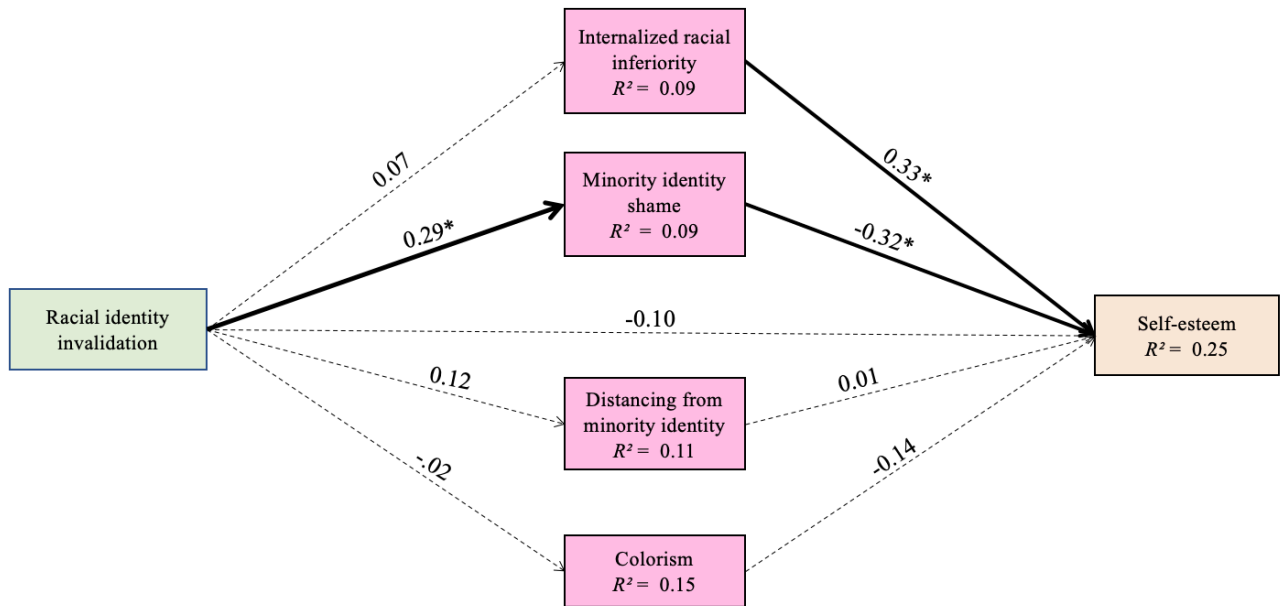
To examine the influence of racial identity invalidation on self-esteem mediated by the four domains of internalized racial oppression (Hypothesis 1), a path analysis was conducted.

Figure 3 illustrates the tested mediation model. The model indicated excellent fit: $CFI = 0.99$, $RSMEA = 0.05$ (90% CI 0.00 – 0.10), and $SRMR = 0.02$. The CFI and $SRMR$ indices were acceptable considering cut off values greater than .95 and lower than .08 respectively (Hu & Bentler, 1999).

An examination of the model parameters, as shown in Figure 3, found significant direct effects. Racial identity invalidation was significantly positively associated with minority identity shame ($\beta = 0.29$, $p < .01$). Internalized racial inferiority was positively associated with self-esteem ($\beta = .33$, $p < .01$), and minority identity shame was negatively associated with self-esteem ($\beta = -.32$, $p < .01$).

Figure 3

Model Results



Inferential tests of indirect effects were conducted using bias-corrected bootstrapped confidence intervals. The total effect of racial identity invalidation on self-esteem through internalized racial inferiority, minority identity shame, distancing from minority identity, and

colorism, including both direct and indirect effects, was equal to $\beta = -0.08$. The 95% CI was equal to $[-0.14, -0.01]$ and because this did not contain zero, the total effect was found to be statistically significant.

Examining the mediational pathways (Table 4), the total indirect effects of racial identity invalidation on self-esteem, which included all four mediational pathways through internalized racial oppression domains, was equal to -0.03 . The 95% CI was equal to $[-0.07, -0.01]$ and as such the effect was significant. Additionally, the specific indirect effect of racial identity and self-esteem through minority identity shame was -0.04 and was significant (95% CI $[-0.08, -0.02]$).

Table 4

Magnitude and Significance of Total Indirect Relations

Predictor	Mediator	Criterion	Standardized indirect relation		95% CI	
			β	SE	Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Racial identity invalidation	Internalized racial inferiority	Self-esteem	0.01	0.01	-0.01	0.04
Racial identity invalidation	Minority identity shame	Self-esteem	-0.04*	0.02	-0.08	-0.02
Racial identity invalidation	Distancing from minority identity	Self-esteem	0.00	0.01	-0.01	0.01
Racial identity invalidation	Colorism	Self-esteem	0.00	0.01	-0.01	.02
Total indirect effects			-0.03*	.02	-0.07	-0.01
Total effect			-0.08*	.03	-0.14	-0.01

Hypothesis 2 was tested by analyzing the interaction effects between racial identity invalidation and domains of multiracial socialization and was tested by creating interaction terms

to examine in path analyses in R. Variables were centered to compute interaction terms between the predictor (racial identity invalidation) and the moderators (MIS, NMHS, PMS, and RCS) (Aiken & West, 1991). The model yielded excellent fit to the data, $\chi^2(3) = 5.89$, CFI = .99, RMSEA = .07, SRMR = .01. Interaction effects are presented in Table 5.

Table 5

Tests of Racial Socialization Domains as Moderators of Relationship Between Racial Identity Invalidation and Internalized Racial Oppression

Exogenous Variable	Endogenous Variable (Internalized Racial Oppression)											
	Internalized Racial Inferiority			Minority Identity Shame			Distancing from Minority Identity			Colorism		
	β	<i>SE</i>	<i>p</i>	β	<i>SE</i>	<i>p</i>	β	<i>SE</i>	<i>p</i>	β	<i>SE</i>	<i>p</i>
Racial Identity Invalidation (RII)	.06	.05	.44	.29	.05	<.01**	.12	.03	.09	-0.04	.03	.55
Multiracial Identity Socialization (MIS)	-.05	.06	.61	-.14	.06	.11	.05	.03	.62	-0.06	.03	.52
Navigating Multiple Heritages Socialization (NMHS)	.06	.08	.45	-.13	.07	.08	.01	.04	.89	0.04	.04	.65
Preparation for Monoracism Socialization (PMS)	.03	.13	.67	.00	.13	.99	.09	.07	.28	.13	.07	.11
Race-Conscious Socialization (RCS)	-.01	.07	.95	.11	.07	.43	-.15	.04	.08	-.02	.04	.85
RII x MIS	.05	.01	.61	.00	.01	.98	.01	.003	.91	.07	.003	.49
RII x NMHS	-.12	.01	.19	.08	.01	.34	.03	.004	.72	-.05	.004	.58
RII x PMS	-.09	.01	.32	-.2	.01	.02*	-.16	.01	.07	-.06	.006	.39
RII x RCS	.09	.01	.29	.04	.01	.66	.01	.003	.34	.06	.003	.50

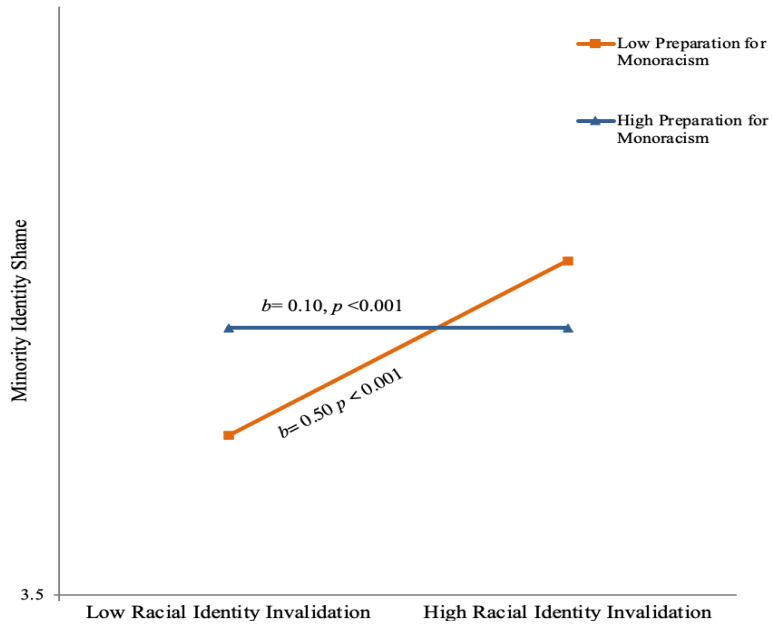
Note. N = 211. *Indicates $p < .05$; ** indicates $p < .01$. Interaction terms are indicated with an “x” between the variables that create the interaction term.

Only one significant interaction emerged between the interaction of racial identity invalidation and domains of racial socialization predicting internalized racial oppression. Preparation for monoracism socialization (PMS) significantly moderated the relationship between racial identity invalidation and minority identity shame ($\beta = -.03, p < .01$). There were no other significant interaction effects.

Simple slope analyses revealed the associations between racial identity invalidation and minority identity shame were significant in high levels of PMS (+1 SD; $\beta = .10, p < .05$) and in low levels of PMS (-1 SD; $\beta = .50, p < .05$). A graph of these effects (Figure 5) demonstrates that in lower levels of racial identity invalidation, minority identity shame was higher for participants who reported high levels of PMS compared to low PMS. However, in high levels of racial identity invalidation, minority identity shame was higher for participants who reported low levels of PMS compared to high PMS. That is, high racial identity invalidation appeared to have less of an impact on minority identity shame for those with high levels of PMS.

Figure 4

Interaction of Racial Identity Invalidation and Preparation for Monoracism Socialization on Minority Identity Shame



Chapter 5: Discussion

The objective of the present study was to explore the relationships between racial identity invalidation, dimensions of internalized racial oppression (internalized racial inferiority, minority identity shame, distancing from minority identity, colorism), and self-esteem for biracial Asian-White emerging adults. Furthermore, this study investigated the role of racial socialization (navigating multiple heritages socialization, multiracial identity socialization, preparation for monoracism socialization, race-conscious socialization) as a possible moderator for the relationship between racial identity invalidation and internalized racial oppression. To the best of this author's knowledge, this is the first study to test how both proximal factors (internalized racial oppression) and distal factors (racial identity invalidation) specific to experiences of racism in biracial Asian-White young adults impact their wellbeing, as well as how racial socialization strategies may serve as a protective factor against these factors. Using the framework of minority stress theory, two models were tested in order to understand both risk and protective race-related factors that impact the psychological wellbeing of biracial Asian-White emerging adults.

The first model tested the direct effects of racial identity invalidation on four dimensions of internalized racial oppression as well as self-esteem, the direct effect of the four dimensions of internalized racial oppression on self-esteem, and the indirect effects of racial identity invalidation on self-esteem through the four dimensions of internalized racial oppression (mediators). Overall, the model evidenced good fit for this sample of Asian-White biracial emerging adults.

A second model tested the direct and interaction effects of racial identity invalidation and racial socialization (NMHS, MIS, PMS, RCS) on the four domains of internalized racial

oppression in order to examine the moderating role of racial socialization. The model evidenced good fit for this sample and one significant interaction emerged between racial identity invalidation and preparation for monoracism predicting minority identity shame. Simple slope analyses revealed the associations between racial identity invalidation and minority identity shame were significant in high levels of preparation for monoracism and in low levels of preparation for monoracism. The slope indicating the rate in which minority identity shame increased was higher for those with low levels of preparation for monoracism compared to those with high levels of preparation for monoracism.

This chapter summarized significant findings in the context of the aforementioned hypotheses and discusses potential interpretations of the findings. Limitations are discussed, followed by future directions for research and implications of the findings.

Overview of Significant Findings

Direct Associations

Contrary to expectation, while there was a negative association between racial identity and self-esteem, the association did not achieve statistical significance in the path model (Hypothesis 1). These results contradict some previous findings that racial identity invalidation is negatively associated with self-esteem in biracial individuals (Franco & Franco, 2016; Salahuddin & O'Brien, 2011). However, other researchers reported mixed results regarding how self-esteem is related to biracial identity challenges such as racial identity invalidation. For example, one literature review found that studies where biracial participants reported low self-esteem due to navigating a biracial identity came from both clinical and nonclinical samples, while studies where biracial people reported higher self-esteem came from nonclinical samples only (Shih & Sanchez, 2005). Other researchers have proposed that navigating the identity-based

discrimination that biracial individuals face may actually result in biracial individuals developing more resilience which in turn increases their self-esteem (Shih & Sanchez, 2005). As such, it is possible that other mediating factors may play a stronger role in influencing Asian-White biracial individuals' self-esteem than solely racial identity invalidation. This study's focus on self-esteem as the outcome variable also may have played a factor in these insignificant findings, as previous meta-analyses have suggested that perceived racial discrimination is more strongly associated with psychopathology, such as depression and anxiety, rather than directly impacting psychological well-being or self-esteem (Schmitt et al., 2014; Chou et al., 2012). While experiences of discrimination such as racial identity invalidation can lead to chronic stress, which may contribute to the development of psychopathological symptoms, the impact on self-esteem may be more complex, as individuals may have various coping mechanisms or resilience factors that influence the relationships between discrimination and self-esteem. Future studies could examine the relationships between racial identity invalidation and outcome measures more related to psychopathology including psychological distress, depressive symptoms, and anxiety symptoms in Asian-White individuals, with self-esteem potentially being tested as a mediator between these associations.

Racial identity invalidation yielded a significant positive association with minority identity shame but did not yield a significant association with internalized racial inferiority, distancing from minority identity, and colorism (Hypothesis 2). Previous studies on internalized racial oppression in Asian Americans have established that society's frame of White supremacy may lead Asian Americans to internalize shame and embarrassment toward their minoritized Asian identity, especially as a result of experiencing discrimination and racism (Choi et al., 2017; Chou & Feagin, 2008). The process of assimilating into White norms in order to cope with

racism often involves devaluing and depreciating parts of one's identity that identify them as belonging to a minority group. The results of this study indicate that when biracial Asian-White Americans experience monoracism in the form of racial identity invalidation, they may be especially vulnerable to internalizing shame and embarrassment toward their Asian identity due to an awareness of the numerous ways in which being monoracially White is privileged as compared to being biracial or Asian American. This is also supported by the results of a previous study with biracial Black-Asian young adults which found that internalization of racism and colorism resulted in them devaluing aspects of their Black identity more so than their Asian identity (Castillo et al., 2020).

In this study's examination of the direct relationships between internalized racial oppression and self-esteem (Hypothesis 3), minority identity was significantly and negatively associated with self-esteem as expected; this aligned with previous research that has demonstrated the negative relationship between shame or the devaluation of the self and self-esteem (Budiarto & Helmi, 2021). Contrary to expectation, internalized racial inferiority was significantly positively associated with self-esteem. While this relationship was unexpected due to most research on internalized racial oppression indicating that it has only negative associations with psychological health and well-being (Gale et al., 2020), these results align with some findings that suggest that more covert forms of internalized racial oppression such as minority identity shame are more negatively related to psychological well-being (Nadal et al., 2014; David & Okazaki, 2006), while overt manifestations of internalized racial oppression such as discriminating against those in one's own racial group may actually have a self-protective function against threats to one's self-esteem (David & Okazaki, 2006).

Interestingly, items in the internalized racial inferiority subscale of the IOSBI were adapted from items in the internalized cultural/ethnic inferiority scale of the CMSFA, which was considered to be a covert manifestation of CM in studies by David and Okazaki (2006); however, the results from this study suggest that for biracial Asian-White emerging adults in this sample, internalized racial inferiority may be more accurately representing an overt form of internalized racial oppression. This may be because the adapted IOSBI scale items in the internalized racial inferiority domain asked Asian-White participants about their attitudes toward being White or biracial versus being a monoracial Asian person (e.g., “I generally think that a biracial part-White part-minority person is more attractive than a full-blooded minority person”), while in the original CMS items asked about being Filipino versus being White/European American (e.g., “In general, I feel that being a person of my ethnic/cultural heritage is not as good as being White/European American”). This study’s findings highlight the potential dissonance that Asian-White individuals face due to their closer proximity to Whiteness compared to monoracial Asian Americans, and the ways in which biracial Asian-White individuals may self-protectively internalize this proximity to Whiteness by devaluing monoracial Asian Americans or aspects of their own Asian identity in order to cope with the racism they experience due to their biracial or Asian identities.

Indirect Associations

A path analysis indicated that minority identity shame fully mediated the relationship between racial identity invalidation and self-esteem (Hypothesis 4). Internalized racial inferiority, distancing from minority identity, and colorism were all non-significant mediators. This suggests that for biracial Asian-White emerging adults, the internalization of shame of one’s Asian identity is a particularly salient and proximal risk stressor that mediates the relationship

between racial identity invalidation and self-esteem, compared to other internalized racial oppression domains. A recent study by Roberson and Pieterse (2021) with college students of Color found similar results that devaluation and shame of one's minoritized racial group (e.g., feeling that being a member of one's racial group was a shortcoming) was a significant predictor of lower self-esteem while negative attitudes towards one's physical characteristics and negative emotions toward others in one's racial group was not.

Additionally, the total effect of racial identity invalidation on self-esteem through the four domains of internalized racial oppression was found to be statistically significant, though the magnitude of the total effect was very minimal ($\beta = -0.08$). While the effect may have been small for this sample, the significance of the negative effect still aligns with minority stress theory that suggests that one way that distal race-related stressors affect the psychological health of a minoritized individual is a direct result of internalizing these negative experiences and attitudes toward their identity. A previous study by the creators of the racial identity invalidation scale (RIIS) used in this study similarly found that the relationship between racial identity invalidation and self-esteem was fully mediated by racial identity challenges, which they operationalized as a lack of sense of identity or belongingness with any racial group (Franco & O'Brien, 2018). This study also illuminates the importance of having a nuanced understanding of the different strategies of internalized racial oppression that biracial emerging adults may use to cope with monoracism and how each of these strategies may have different impacts on psychological well-being (David & Okazaki, 2006; Trieu & Lee, 2018).

Tests of Moderation

This study additionally expanded upon the emerging area of literature regarding racial socialization in families with biracial or multiracial youth by examining whether four racial

socialization strategies specifically related to teaching youth about navigating a multiracial identity (multiracial identity socialization; MIS, navigating multiple heritages socialization; NMHS, preparation for monoracism socialization; PMS, race-conscious socialization; RCS) moderated the relationship between racial identity invalidation and internalized racial oppression (Atkin et al., 2022). Results indicated that PMS significantly moderated the relationship between racial identity invalidation and minority identity shame, suggesting that the effects of racial identity shame on minority identity shame may vary depending on the degree of PMS that Asian-White emerging adults have received from parents in their lifetime. Simple slope analyses indicated that participants who reported higher levels of PMS were less likely to experience the negative effects of racial identity invalidation on minority identity shame compared to those who reported lower levels of PFM.

Previous research on preparation for bias with monoracial families of color indicate that when parents talk to their children about ways to recognize and cope with discrimination (e.g., preparation for bias), children develop more effective coping strategies including seeking support and using direct problem-solving (Hughes et al., 2006). Meanwhile, children who receive lower levels of preparation for bias may be at risk for more passive coping strategies including internalized racial oppression (Hughes et al. 2006). On the other hand, preparation for bias could lead to youth feeling more stigmatized in anticipation of discrimination (Hughes et al., 2006). The findings from this study appear to reflect these patterns, suggesting that for biracial Asian-White emerging adults, preparing them for experiencing discrimination due to being biracial may also have a buffering effect on the negative impact that experiences of identity invalidation could have on the internalization of shame toward their Asian identity. On the other hand, if they have not experienced as much perceived discrimination toward their identity, preparation for

monoracism may increase salience of their biracial identity which could impact internalized racial oppression. No other significant interactions were found in this model. This is most likely due to the small sample size, which reduces the statistical power to detect interactions in non-experimental designs, a limitation that is discussed in a later section.

Research Implications

The current research contributes to the counseling psychology literature by providing greater insight into the experiences of minority stress for Asian-White emerging adults and the specific race-related factors that can impact their psychological well-being. Previous research on racial identity invalidation indicates that it is a painful racial stressor experienced by biracial individuals and negatively impacts their mental health (Franco & O'Brien, 2018; Campbell & Troyer, 2007; Sanchez, 2010; Townsend et al., 2009). This study expanded on this research by examining the mechanisms through which it impacts self-esteem. Furthermore, this study aimed to gain a more nuanced understanding of the understudied phenomenon of internalized racial oppression by exploring four distinct domains: internalized racial inferiority, minority identity shame, distancing from minority identity, and colorism.

Results indicated that minority identity shame was a significant pathway through which invalidation affected self-esteem. Additionally, moderation analyses indicated that the relationship between invalidation and minority identity shame was also impacted by whether emerging adults had received preparation for monoracism from their parents. Future studies should further explore the role of minority identity shame on the psychological wellbeing of Asian-White individuals since it appeared to be the most prominent factor of internalized racial oppression in this sample. A qualitative study that asks Asian-White individuals to discuss their feelings and attitudes toward their Asian heritage could provide more insight into why and how

they may internalize feelings of shame based on race-related stressors and experiences. Additionally, relationships between internalized racial oppression and other desired psychological health outcomes should be assessed, such as depressive symptoms and anxiety. Researchers can also examine how demographic variables, including gender, sexual orientation, or race of one's parents, moderate or mediate the relationships between racial identity invalidation, internalized racial oppression, and self-esteem in biracial Asian-White individuals (Chong & Kuo, 2015). For example, there is some evidence that suggests that there are gender differences in racial identity salience in biracial Asian-White individuals (Harris, 2018), which could indicate that there may be different levels of internalized racial oppression for them as well. In fact, this author hopes to be able to explore some of these research questions in future studies using the data collected for this study.

The study also built on research on cultural socialization and preparation for bias, two racial socialization strategies well-established and studied in monoracial families, by examining four racial socialization strategies identified by previous researchers that were specific to multiracial families: multiracial identity socialization, navigating multiple heritages socialization, preparation for monoracism socialization, and race-conscious socialization (Atkin & Yoo, 2019). While multiracial identity socialization and navigating multiple heritages socialization were both positively correlated with self-esteem in this sample, this study was not able to examine this association in more depth. Additionally, the creators of the MY-Soc scale identified several more racial socialization strategies in multiracial families, such as silent socialization, that were not explored in this study. Future studies should investigate continue to utilize this scale to examine the relationship between racial socialization and desired outcome variables as it may more uniquely measure the experiences of racial socialization in multiracial families compared to other

more commonly used scales that do not capture the experience of multiracial socialization as accurately, such as the Familial Ethnic Socialization Measure (FESM; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2004). Furthermore, as suggested by the authors of the scale, studies may focus on investigating how caregivers' race and/or gender may influence the impact that racial socialization has on youth's internalized racial oppression or self-esteem (Atkin et al., 2022).

Clinical Implications

Findings from the current study suggest that addressing minority identity shame may be a valuable objective for clinical interventions for biracial Asian-White emerging adults. Clinicians who work with this demographic should use validated measures to assess their clients' levels of internalized racial oppression, particularly concerning minority identity shame. Subsequently, therapeutic interventions could be designed to facilitate processing of these emotions and reducing associated distress from distal stressors such as racial identity invalidation. Some emerging research has suggested that cognitive behavioral therapy (CBT) can be a particularly well-suited therapy to address and conceptualize minority stress including internalized racial oppression with minoritized individuals (Steele, 2020; Steele & Newton, 2022). CBT rests on the cognitive model, which suggests that our automatic thoughts that arise in situations determine our emotional, behavioral, and physiological responses rather than the situations themselves (Beck, 2020). The modification of these automatic thoughts, called cognitive restructuring, can help to deconstruct the core beliefs that one has developed over time about oneself, which can help in changing the attitudes or rules one may have in order to cope with those beliefs. For Asian-White emerging clients, it could be helpful to conceptualize how these clients have interpreted and integrated experiences of discrimination or invalidation in order to shape their self-schema, or the mental representation of the self, and how this in turn may be influencing

automatic thoughts related to minority identity shame or other internalized racial oppression beliefs or behaviors (Markus, 1977).

In Steele's (2020) CBT model of internalized racism, she proposes several ways that clinicians can intervene to challenge internalized racial oppression with their clients. First, the clinician should broach the role of internalized racial oppression in the client's current struggles and begin to conceptualize how their experiences navigating their racial identities may have influenced their presenting concerns. Steele proposes that the next step would be to assess the client's readiness to confront and challenge aspects of the client's internalized racial oppression. For example, if a biracial Asian-White client acknowledges the distress she experiences as one of the only biracial people in her friend group which is mostly made up of White individuals, the clinician could explore how experiences of racial identity invalidation or discrimination may have contributed to internalized beliefs that lead the client to want to distance herself from non-White individuals. Later steps include identifying and challenging automatic thoughts related to internalized racial oppression and coupling this with behavioral strategies that promote healthy racial identity development and increase racial pride. For a biracial Asian-White client, this may include encouraging the client to participate in communities or activities that affirm their biracial or Asian identity or providing them with bibliotherapy about Asian American or biracial identity. By providing validation about race-related stressors and internalized racial oppression and deconstructing the internalized negative beliefs that may be caused as a result of these stressors, clinicians may be better able to assist their biracial Asian-White clients in developing different, more positive ways to view themselves and their biracial identity in the face of monoracism or racial identity invalidation.

Furthermore, the results from this study also suggest that parental racial socialization could be another focus of clinical intervention to support the healthy identity development of biracial Asian-White youth. Clinicians can provide psychoeducation and specific interventions to parents of biracial Asian-White youth, such as teaching parents about specific challenges related to biracial identity development including experiencing monoracist discrimination. This is especially important for parents of Asian-White youth since monoracial parents do not share the same racial identity as their child. Since preparation for monoracism socialization emerged as a significant moderator of the relationship between racial identity invalidation and internalized racial oppression, providing parents with tailored strategies including how to communicate and problem-solve with children about monoracism and coping strategies that they can use to manage race-related stress (Bo et al., 2023). Furthermore, future research should focus on the design and development of a parental racial socialization program specifically for biracial Asian-White youth and their families. A recent review of parent-involved racial socialization programs found that overall, racial socialization programs for monoracial youth and their caregivers had positive long-term effects on youth outcomes including increasing parental efficacy in advocating for their children at school, parents' ability to cope with racial stressors, and adolescents' self-concept (Bo et al., 2023). By learning specific racial socialization strategies that promote racial identity development in Asian-White youth, parents can help themselves and their children recognize the distinct challenges and strengths that arise from navigating the intersection of White, Asian, and biracial Asian-White identities within the family, which could promote understanding and positive parent-child relationships (Bo et al., 2018).

Limitations of the Study

The results of this study expand the understanding of the unique racialized experiences that biracial Asian-White individuals have due to their racial identities challenging the monoracial paradigm of U.S. society (Harris, 2016). However, methodological limitations must be discussed when interpreting and generalizing these results.

First, the analyses were conducted with a relatively small sample of participants which impacted the statistical power of the analyses (Madjarova et al., 2022). A larger sample would inevitably improve the statistical power in order to account for the number of parameters in the two models. Additionally, while the skew and kurtosis statistics for the variables in the study fell within acceptable limits (Weston & Gore, 2006; Kline, 2011), the variables measuring internalized racial inferiority, distancing from minority identity, and colorism, had much higher skew and kurtosis statistics indicating some degree of non-normality in their distribution compared to the other variables. While the use of the ML method in structural equation modeling is more robust in estimating models despite a nonnormal distribution of variables (Kline, 2011), it is still possible that the analyses in this study were affected. Another limitation of this study was that the effect sizes observed were relatively small. This suggests that while the results may have been statistically significant, the practical significance and generalizability of these findings may be limited. Additionally, the small effect sizes may have been influenced by the small sample size and insufficient power.

Furthermore, the recruitment of participants was self-selection and self-report. As such, there may be subgroups of Asian-White emerging adults who were more likely or motivated to participate, such as those for whom their Asian-White identity may be more salient. Additionally, especially for internalized racial oppression, which is a highly stigmatized and

misunderstood concept in psychology, social desirability may have impacted the way in which participants responded. Due to the retrospective nature of the MY-Soc, there is also a risk that participants may not have accurately been able to recall or report their experiences of parental racial socialization, potentially impacting the study results.

The sample largely consisted of Asian-White participants who identified as cisgender women, heterosexual, college-educated, and middle class. In addition, while there was a wide range of Asian ethnicities self-reported by participants, 63.2% of the sample identified as having Japanese (23.7%), Chinese (19%), Filipino (12%), or Korean heritage (8.5). Provided that the sample was demographically skewed, the generalizability of the findings to a more diverse population of Asian-White emerging adults may be limited.

Data collection also occurred during the COVID-19 pandemic, a time during which there was increased negative bias and racism directed toward Asians and Asian Americans (Tessler et al., 2020). This may have introduced confounding variables and impacted the study results by affecting biracial Asian-White emerging adults' psychological well-being, including their self-esteem and attitudes toward their Asian heritage and identity. For example, one study found that Asian Americans experienced perceived more change in everyday discrimination and internalized racism during the COVID-19 pandemic compared to other racial-ethnic groups (Wong-Padoongpatt et al., 2022). Given the significance of Asian racial identity to most Asian-White individuals, as noted by DaCosta (2020), internalized racial oppression related to Asian identity shame may have been more impacted compared to other domains of internalized racial oppression for this sample, potentially explaining its emergence as a more significant factor across analyses. On the other hand, the unique circumstances brought about by the COVID-19 pandemic, including heightened media attention and increased discussions surrounding anti-

Asian discrimination and racism, may have created an environment where biracial Asian-White emerging adults felt a stronger connection to their Asian heritage. This heightened awareness and sense of identity may have made them more attuned to the nuances and complexities of navigating their biracial Asian identity, enabling them to provide more accurate perspectives regarding race-based experiences in the study. As such, it is also possible to view this limitation as a strength of the study as well.

Another limitation of this study was that several of the instruments used in the study, including the RIIS (Franco & O'Brien, 2018) and the MY-Soc (Atkin et al., 2022), were recently designed and validated and had not been specifically validated for use with Asian-White emerging adults in empirical research. Moreover, a confirmatory factor analysis conducted on the IOSBI scale revealed that the one-factor structure used in the scale developer's previous study was not supported by the sample in this study. As a result, the IOSBI scale was restructured for this study. While internal consistencies and item-total correlations were good, these scale modifications potentially impacted the validity of the instrument. While the recent development of more measures to assess the experiences of biracial individuals is a positive step, MultiCrit emphasizes the need to consider the impact of multiple intersections of racial identities, known as differential micro-racialization (Harris, 2016). To ensure that the measures that were used in this study accurately capture the experiences of Asian-White individuals, future studies could examine the validity of these measures with this population to see if scale items need to be modified to capture their unique experiences.

Conclusion

The experiences of biracial individuals have often been overlooked or marginalized in both psychological and racial justice discourse. This study utilized MultiCrit and minority stress

theory as frameworks in order to better understand how experiences of racial identity invalidation, internalized racial oppression, racial socialization and self-esteem were related for an Asian-White emerging adult sample. Results from this study may have important implications for counseling with biracial Asian-White individuals, for example the adaptation of CBT in order to help these individuals address, analyze, and challenge automatic thoughts related to internalized racial oppression. Furthermore, the findings from this study suggest that while experiences of discrimination and racism may negatively impact biracial Asian-White individuals by influencing internalized racial oppression and self-esteem, parents and families can serve as a valuable source of support to counter the harmful effects of racial identity invalidation and internalized racial oppression. Finally, the findings from this study underline the importance of researching internalized racial oppression, an insidious and subtle form of racism, in order to dismantle systems of oppression from both outside the individual and from within.

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Appendix A

Recruitment Flyer

Participants needed!


DO YOU IDENTIFY AS BIRACIAL ASIAN AND WHITE?

The Culture and Health Promotion of Minority Youth and Families (CHamP) lab at Teachers College, Columbia University, aims to identify how experiences uniquely related to being biracial Asian-White impacts young adults' mental health and well-being.

You may qualify for this study if you:

- Are between 18 and 29 years of age
- Identify as biracial Asian-White (i.e. have one Asian parent and one White parent)
- Were born in and currently reside in the U.S.

If eligible and interested, please use this QR code to complete a short screener to confirm your eligibility:



**QUESTIONS?
CONTACT EMILY HUNT
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TC IRB #22-240

Appendix B

Measures

Understanding the Racialized Experiences of Biracial Asian-White Young Adults (Measures)

Principal Investigator:

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Introduction

Thank you for choosing to participate in this research study, “Understanding the Racialized Experiences of Biracial Asian-White Young Adults”. We are interested in understanding the impact of the unique experiences throughout the lifespan related to biracial identity on the mental health and self-perceptions of biracial Asian-White young adults. The long-term goal of this project is to increase knowledge on ways to support the racial identity development and mental health of Asian-White individuals.

The following survey should take around 20-25 minutes to complete. The study is over when you have completed the survey. As a reminder, you can leave the study at any time even if you haven't finished. You can leave the survey by exiting your Internet browser.

At the end of the study, you will have the opportunity to enter a raffle for a \$50 Visa Gift Card. You must have completed at least 75% of the study to be eligible for the gift card. 1 in 20 participants will receive this gift card and the winners will be chosen at random once the data collection for this study has been completed.

Multiracial Youth Socialization Scale (MY-SOC; Atkin et al., 2022)

Instructions:

Please read and acknowledge the following:

In this study, we use "Multiracial" to refer to people of any mixed race background, including biracial, as long as they have biological parents from two or more of the following groups: White, Asian, Black, Latinx, Pacific Islander, American Indian, or Middle Eastern/North African. The term "monoracial" refers to people from only one of the listed racial groups.

- I understand

These questions ask about whether your parents explicitly said or did something. Disagreeing with these questions does not mean that your parents did not think these things were important or that they did the opposite of what is described, but simply that you do not recall them intentionally engaging in these conversations or actions.

- I understand

The following questions ask you to rate how much you agree that your parents/caregivers talked about or did what is described. This can be based on experiences you had growing up and/or your current experience.

1	2	3	4	5	6
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Slightly Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree

1. At least one of my parents taught me customs specific to all of my different cultural backgrounds
2. At least one of my parents taught me about my family histories from all of my racial-ethnic groups
3. At least one of my parents taught me about all of my racial-ethnic heritage(s)
4. At least one of my parents exposed me to foods from all of my cultures
5. At least one of my parents had me participate in activities that taught me about my cultures
6. At least one of my parents exposed me to other people in each of my racial-ethnic communities
7. At least one of my parents exposed me to extended family members from all of my racial-ethnic groups
8. At least one of my parents encouraged me to explore what it means to be Multiracial
9. At least one of my parents told me that I can racially identify with any of my racial-ethnic groups
10. At least one of my parents never talked to me about me being Multiracial **(R)**
11. At least one of my parents explained to me that I am Multiracial
12. At least one of my parents taught me multiple racial identity labels I could use
13. At least one of my parents discussed our racial differences in positive ways
14. At least one of my parents taught me to be proud that I am Multiracial
15. At least one of my parents told me to be proud of the way I look (e.g., skin color, hair color/type)
16. At least one of my parents told me that being Multiracial is special
17. At least one of my parents prepared me for others questioning me about my race
18. At least one of my parents told me that monoracial people may not accept me as a member of their group
19. At least one of my parents told me that members of my racial groups may treat me differently because I am Multiracial

20. At least one of my parents told me that others may make me feel like I don't belong to my racial-ethnic groups
21. At least one of my parents taught me about that there used to be laws that banned interracial marriage in the United States
22. At least one of my parents encouraged me to participate in events or organizations working towards racial equality
23. At least one of my parents taught me that people with lighter color skin have more privileges
24. At least one of my parents made me aware of racial stereotypes affecting racial groups other than my own
25. At least one of my parents taught me that racism is reinforced by institutions in our society (e.g., legal system, schools, banks)
26. At least one of my parents taught me about historical figures who fought for racial equality in America
27. My At least one of my parents taught me about unfair laws and policies in the United States that target racial-ethnic minorities
28. At least one of my parents says that they don't see race
29. At least one of my parents says there are no racial differences between us
30. At least one of my parents taught me that everyone has an equal opportunity for success regardless of their race
31. At least one of my parents says there are more important things to worry about than race
32. At least one of my parents says that people are too sensitive about race
33. At least one of my parents says that racism is no longer an issue in the United States
34. At least one of my parents says that White people also experience racism
35. At least one of my parents taught me that everyone's cultural differences make them unique
36. At least one of my parents taught me to appreciate different cultures other than my own
37. At least one of my parents taught me to be respectful of people from different cultures
38. At least one of my parents taught me that cultures with different customs are **not** inferior
39. At least one of my parents taught me to be accepting of people from all racial-ethnic backgrounds
40. At least one of my parents taught me to be open to cultural differences
41. At least one of my parents taught me to **not** be judgmental of people from other cultures
42. At least one of my parents taught me that the United States is enriched by its cultural diversity
43. At least one of my parents taught me **not** to judge or stereotype others based on their racial-ethnic background
44. At least one of my parents encourages me to learn about other cultures other than my own
45. When I try to discuss race, at least one of my parents changes the subject
46. My parents never talks about race
47. My parents avoid talking about race
48. My parents ignore the topic of race in conversation
49. My parents do not know how to talk about race with me
50. My parents are uncomfortable talking about race

Racial Identity Invalidation Scale (RIIS; Franco & O'Brien, 2018)

Directions: The next set of questions will ask you about your experiences related to your racial identity (the race you identify as, regardless of ancestry).

Based on your experiences related to your racial identity (the race you identify as, regardless of ancestry), please indicate how often each event has happened to you:

1	2	3	4	5	6
Never	Very Rarely	Rarely	Occasionally	Frequently	Almost Always

1. Because of the way I speak, others deny my racial group membership(s)
2. I am excluded from a racial group that I feel connected to because I do not “behave” like a typical member of that racial group(s)
3. Others think that my interests are different than those of a typical member of my racial group.
4. When people hear my opinions, they make me feel like I do not belong in my racial group(s)
5. Others would not guess the race(s) that I identify with
6. People have reacted with surprise when I tell them the race(s) that I identify with
7. My physical features (e.g. skin color, hair texture, eye shape, eye color) lead people to assume that I am not the race(s) that I perceive myself
8. People assume I am not a member of the racial group(s) that I identify with
9. Others call me racially-derogatory words that do not apply to the racial group(s) that I identify with
10. I am discriminated against based on a race that I do not identify with
11. Others apply racial stereotypes to me that do not apply to the racial group(s) that I identify with
12. People expect me to associate with members of a racial group that I do not identify with.

Internalized Oppression Scale for Biracial Individuals (IOSBI; Chong & Kuo, 2015)

Instructions: The next set of questions will ask you about your attitudes and feelings related to your racial identity. "Minority group" refers to your racial minority (Asian) heritage.

Please rate these items on a scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree). “Minority group” refers to your racial minority (Asian) heritage.

1	2	3	4	5	6
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Slightly Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree

1. In general, I do not associate with members of my minority group.

2. I generally do not like members of my minority group.
3. I think members of my minority group are backwards, have accents, or act weird.
4. I think members of my minority group should become Americanized as quickly as possible.
5. In general, I make fun of, tease, or badmouth members of my minority group who are not very Americanized in their behaviors.
6. I believe that more Americanized members of my minority group are superior, more admirable, and more civilized than less Americanized members of my minority group.
7. I tend to pay more attention to the opinions of members of my minority group who are very Americanized than to the opinions of less Americanized members of my minority group.
8. In general, I am ashamed of members of my minority group because of the way they dress and act.
9. I find White people to be more attractive than members of my minority group.
10. I would rather have the facial features of a White person than a member of my minority group.
11. I do not want my children to have the facial features of members of my minority group.
12. I find persons with lighter skin-tones to be more attractive than persons with dark skin-tones.
13. I would like to have a skin-tone that is lighter than the skin-tone I have.
14. I would like to have children with light skin-tones
15. I do not want my children to be dark-skinned.
16. I generally think that a biracial part-White part-minority person is more attractive than a full-blooded minority person.
17. In general, I am embarrassed of my minority culture and traditions.
18. In general, I feel ashamed of my minority culture and traditions.
19. I feel that there are very few things about my minority culture that I can be proud of.
20. There are moments when I wish I was a full- blooded White person.
21. In general, I feel that having a part-minority background is a curse.
22. There are situations where I feel that it is more advantageous or necessary to deny my minority heritage.
23. There are situations where I feel inferior because of my minority heritage background.
24. There are situations where I feel ashamed of my minority heritage background.
25. In general, I am more proud of my White heritage than my minority heritage. :
26. I have tried to make myself appear more White (e.g., using hair lightening or straightening, colored contacts, wearing pale make-up, using skin Whiteners).
27. I wish I looked more like my White parent.
28. I wish I looked less like my non-White parent.
29. I would rather be mistaken for a full-blooded White person than a full-blooded member of my minority group.
30. Sometimes I am ashamed to be seen with my non-White parent.
31. Sometimes I wish both my parents were White.
32. Sometimes I wish I was a full-blooded White person.
33. Sometimes I feel grateful that I am not a full-blooded member of my minority group.
34. If I had to choose between being a full-blooded White person and a full-blooded member of my minority group, I would choose to be a full-blooded White person.

Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSES; Rosenberg, 1989)

Instructions:

Below is a list of statements dealing with your general feelings about yourself. Please indicate how strongly you agree or disagree with each statement.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Agree (SA)	Agree (A)	Disagree (D)	Strongly Disagree (SD)

1. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.
2. At times I think I am no good at all.
3. I feel that I have a number of good qualities.
4. I am able to do things as well as most other people.
5. I feel I do not have much to be proud of.
6. I certainly feel useless at times.
7. I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others.
8. I wish I could have more respect for myself.
9. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.
10. I take a positive attitude toward myself.

Demographics

What is your age? _____

What is your gender?

- Man
 Woman
 Non-binary/ third gender
 Prefer not to say

In your own words, how would you describe your race/ ethnicity?

Please indicate how you perceive your racial identity:

- I identify with both of my parents' racial heritages
 I feel that I am closer to my White heritage than my Asian heritage
 I feel that I am closer to my Asian heritage than my White heritage
 I feel disconnected from all racial groups

Racial-ethnic background of biological mother: (Please choose one)

- African American/ Black
 White/ Caucasian
 Asian/ Pacific Islander
 Latino/ Hispanic

- Native American
- Biracial/ Multiracial/ Mixed-Race

Racial-ethnic background of biological father: (Please choose one)

- African American/ Black
- White/ Caucasian
- Asian/ Pacific Islander
- Latino/ Hispanic
- Native American
- Biracial/ Multiracial/ Mixed-Race

How do you identify your sexual orientation?

- Gay
- Lesbian
- Bisexual
- Heterosexual
- Queer
- Asexual
- Sexual orientation not listed (Please specify): _____

What is your highest level of education?

- Some High School
- High School Diploma
- Some College
- Associates Degree
- Bachelors
- Masters
- Doctorate
- Other (please describe): _____

How would you best characterize your social class?

- Living in Poverty
- Working Class
- Middle Class
- Upper-Middle Class
- Upper Class

In which environment do you currently reside?

- Urban
- Suburban
- Rural

In which state do you currently reside?

State: _____

Closing

Thank you very much for taking this survey! If you would like to be entered for the raffle for the \$50 Visa Gift Card, please click this link [embedded here] that will open up a separate survey where you can enter your email address. If you are chosen as one of the winners, we will contact you at this email address to notify you with a link to redeem your gift card.