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Internalized Racism: A Theoretical Model

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INTERNALIZED RACISM: A THEORETICAL MODEL

DISSERTATION

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the
College of Arts and Sciences
at the University of Kentucky

By

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ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

INTERNALIZED RACISM: A THEORETICAL MODEL

Internalized racism exists, we can observe and measure the effect it has on people. It manifests from both the psychological and sociological factors that form a person's racial self-image. As Campón and Carter (2015) state: "less attention to date has been given to … how racial minority groups appropriate (i.e., take in) racial beliefs." (p.498). In this dissertation, I explore how internalized racism forms. Further, I propose a new theoretical model integrating two concepts, the racialized self and racialized experiences. Racism is found at different levels, within the self through the racialized self, it highlights how People of Color view themselves through a racially framed lens, as well as racist experiences from people and institutions.

Combining sociological and psychological theoretical developments in internalized racism research, I explore these relationships amongst the racialized self, racialized experiences, and internalized racism. Using an original self-reported survey, data was collected using Amazon's Mechanical Turk and Prolific to explore how the racialized self and racialized experiences manifest among People of Color, then analyze their causal relationship with internalized racism. I find that the racialized self and racialized experiences significantly associate with internalized racism. While not all relationships are in the predicted direction, this dissertation shows that not only is there evidence for the existence of the racialized self and racialized experiences, but that both concepts aid in the formation of internalized racism.

KEYWORDS: Internalized Racism, Migration, Post-Colonialism, Race and Ethnicity

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To my wife and daughter, who supported me when I wanted to quit, our soon to be new family member who I am very excited to meet, my family who have been there from the beginning, my friends who inspire me, and my ancestors, I wouldn't be here without you.

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Statement of the Problem

Internalized racism can be described as a process and effect whereby People of Color internalize and adopt White supremacist ideologies and behaviors. For example, the beauty industry is a billion-dollar, worldwide industry that thrives, in some part, due to internalized racism (Jha 2015). Individuals receive messages throughout their lifetimes about ideal standards of beauty. These messages can be conveyed through interactions with significant others (i.e., family and friends) or through movies, tv shows, advertising, and other forms of popular media. Existing research shows that White standards of beauty are deemed beautiful, appropriate, and normal (Silvestrini 2020). These messages convey a standard that devalues the natural existence of non-white humans and requires People of Color to straighten their hair, get double eyelid surgery, or use skin Whitening services to imitate it. These messages not only influence personal beauty decisions but also convey to broader society the rules that must be followed in all aspects of personal presentation, explicitly valuing whiteness above other ways of existing. Furthermore, these expectations and values are not only monitored at the level of individual interaction, but they are also engrained in the very structure or society. Individuals and institutions reproduce and reify these standards for everyone, expecting compliance.

Internalized racism manifests in a variety of ways, including physical and/or mental rejection of all or some of one's own racial/ethnic group. According to Pyke (2010:553), internalized racism is "the individual inculcation of the racist stereotypes, values, images, and ideologies perpetuated by the White dominant society about one's racial group, leading

to feelings of self-doubt, disgust, and disrespect for one's race and/or oneself." Additionally, Bailey et al. (2011:481) define internalized racial oppression for Black individuals as "the process by which Black people internalize and accept the dominant White culture's oppressive actions and beliefs towards Black people (e.g., negative stereotypes, discrimination, hatred, falsification of historical facts, racist doctrines, White supremacist ideology), while at the same time rejecting the African worldview and cultural motifs." Nguyen (2016) examined the Twitter hashtags #Whitewashed and #fobby among People of Color, specifically Black, Latin, and Asian Americans. #Whitewashed is an adaptation of the term "whitewashed" meaning something is whiter, or that a racial or ethnic aspect of something is removed, predominantly used among all People of Color. #Fobby is an adaptation of the acronym F.O.B., which stands for "fresh off the boat", signifying that someone exhibits traits marking them as recent migrant, such as accent, or mannerisms, more commonly used with Asian Americans. Nguyen found that individuals whose identity falls somewhere between the dominant White culture and their own ethnic or racial culture use this discourse to delineate where along the continuum of White and Asian culture they or others belong. The hashtags are a way to call themselves out, providing evidence that they are aware of their closeness to dominant White culture, while also demeaning an aspect of their own ethnic or racial culture.

At the micro level, internalized racism contributes to negative evaluations of the self for People of Color; however, the origins of internalized racism begin at the macro level. Internalized racism is the result of the dominant ideology of the oppressor being absorbed by the oppressed. That is, the internalization of the values, beliefs, and expectations of the ruling class, especially as it concerns individual worth. These

overwhelmingly negative evaluations of non-White racial groups dominate as part of the White Racial Frame (Feagin 2013b). The White Racial Frame can be explained as a framing system that posits a worldview of White superiority and the inferiority of non-Whites. This involves assumptions and beliefs, such as beauty standards, as well as behaviors and actions, such as environmental racism.

As a socially constructed concept, the self is influenced and molded by racist messages stacked within a White supremacist society. Oppressed groups and individuals receive constant messages and reminders from the oppressor, which reinforces a politically, economically, and educationally stratified society. The oppressed may eventually accept the messages of the dominant ideology. Accepting these values as their own, the oppressed will repeat and perpetuate the messages of the dominant ideology and continue to uphold the existing oppressive structures.

To summarize, internalized racism is a personal, internal form of oppression. It is the result of being inundated with messages, experiences, and interactions that reinforce the inferiority of the oppressed. These reinforcing socialization forces flow from the White Racial Frame, which affects all aspects of life in a society dominated by the White racial group. Internalized racism is particularly problematic because research shows that it causes negative mental and behavioral outcomes, including anxiety, depression, stress, alcoholism, and violence (Brown 1986, David 2013, Drazdowski et al. 2016, Gale et al. 2020, Hipolito-Delgado et al. 2014, James 2020, Kalei Kanuha 1999, Liebow 2016, Nadal and Mendoza 2014, Poupart 2003, Szymanski and Kashubeck-West 2008, Yearby 2018).

1.2 Current Study

Much of the research on internalized racism focuses on its effects (Archakis and Tsakona 2022, Bailey et al. 2011, Brown, Rosnick and Segrist 2017, Choi, Israel and Maeda 2017, David 2009, David, Petalio and Crouch 2018, David, Schroeder and Fernandez 2019, Gale et al. 2020, Harper 2007, Hipolito-Delgado 2010, Hwang 2021, James 2020, Kline et al. 2021, Mason 2015, Maxwell et al. 2015, Molina and James 2016, Mouzon and McLean 2017, Nguyen 2016, Pyke and Dang 2003, Pyke 2007, Pyke 2010, Steele 2020, Szymanski and Kashubeck-West 2008, Tappan 2006, Trieu and Lee 2018, Trieu 2019, Yearby 2018). As Campón and Carter (2015) accurately point out, "less attention to date has been given to … how racial minority groups appropriate (i.e., take in) racial beliefs." (p.498). This dissertation endeavors to meet this call by proposing and testing a theoretical model of the mechanisms that cause internalized racism. The goal is to show that internalized racism forms through social psychological and structural factors, providing an integrated model accounting for internal, interpersonal, and institutional racism. In doing so, this dissertation will contribute and build upon burgeoning internalized oppression research.

There are two dominant perspectives on how internalized racism is created and perpetuated, each exemplifying the discipline from whence they derive, psychology or sociology. Psychology understands the process of internalized racism by adapting a familiar theoretical framework, cognitive behavioral theory (David 2009). According to this perspective, cultural primers activate cultural knowledge, and this knowledge helps construct meaning. Cultural knowledge within a White supremacist state creates and perpetuates messages and ideas of racial oppression primed through years of experience.

People of Color adopt and internalize a White supremacist culture of knowledge. While living and operating within it, racial oppression becomes internal as much as it is external. In this way, the social-cognitive approach applies the psychological perspective on cognition and the creation of knowledge to the issue of racial oppression.

David, Petalio and Crouch (2018) extend this theory to account for the products of internalized racism. They propose that the products, or manifestations, of internalized racism can be categorized within intrapersonal, interpersonal, and institutional levels of racism. At the intrapersonal level, internalized racism manifests as a form of self-hate among People of Color (Hipolito-Delgado 2010). For example, Hwang (2021) found while studying racism among Asian-Americans that stereotypes reinforce internalized oppression, such as the perpetual foreigner stereotype promoting xenophobia and interracial othering. At the interpersonal level, internalized racism manifests as racism among People of Color, either within group or between groups. For example, Lee et al. (2022) found strong anti-Blackness among Chinese-American families, espousing racial stereotypes. At the institutional level, internalized racism manifests in the form of subscription to institutional level biases against one's own race. For example, Jha (2015) found that billions of dollars are spent to fit a White framed beauty standard using skin whitening products and eyelid surgery. David, Petalio and Crouch (2018) posit that within-group racism acts as a feed-back loop to help create and reinforce internalized racism. People of Color act and perceive the world through that White supremacy lens. In summary, the psychological perspective on in internalized racism emphasizes cultural knowledge and meaning, and multi-layered manifestations.

Conversely, the sociological literature couches internalized racism in a larger discussion of systemic inequality. Pyke (2007) uses White hegemonic ideology (Gramsci and Hoare 1971) and racialized othering (Schwalbe et al. 2000) as a framework for understanding internalized racism. According to this view, White supremacy and internalized racism go hand in hand to perpetuate and reinforce each other. These two concepts interact to reify socially constructed superior and inferior groups. White supremacy permeates nearly all facets of life, politically, economically, educationally, and personally, to define artificial differences between racial groups. Internalized racism is a form of racial oppression that uses othering to create and establish a group of peoples as inferior and subordinate. This othering is accomplished through perpetuation of inferiority of one group and superiority of another, systematically and ideologically. Racial inequality is held up as proof that racial groups are different. Subsequently, these processes protect the perpetuation of White supremacy through convincing non-Whites to accept the ideology and participate in White supremacist structures. Whites deny the existence of racism, ideologically and structurally, while simultaneously investing in and profiting from its existence (Lipsitz 2006).

Both the psychological and sociological frameworks for understanding internalized racism provide models on how racism becomes internalized. The social-cognitive framework claims that cultural knowledge, such as stereotypes, messages of inferiority of non-Whites, and superiority of Whites, are received by People of Color who then adopt and internalized these messages, not only adopting these values personally but perpetuating them as well. The strength of this model is its ability to explain the micro-level phenomena that lead to the internalization of negative evaluations of self. The weakness of this model

is that it neglects specifying how structural components, such as the economic system or educational system, help create and reinforce these culturally held values. For example, White supremacy manifests in the higher education system of law schools as law schools reproduce racism through legitimizing the legality of White supremacy (Moore 2007). More specifically, professors often use cases in which racism was blatant and obvious as examples of legal objectivity. Furthermore, one might argue that the U.S. judicial system is inherently racist. Thus, the unwarranted objective and neutral framing of the law furthers the belief in the objectivity of a racist judicial system. The outcome of this is that when looking at how the legal system negatively impacts People of Color, we might assume that some racial groups are more criminogenic than others.

This is a strength of the sociological framework for understanding internalized racism. Sociology considers macro-level phenomena that initiate the downward flow of negative evaluations of People of Color. However, the weakness of the sociological perspective on internalized racism is that it ignores the intra- and interpersonal mechanisms through which White supremacy becomes internalized. It assumes that internalization occurs through Gramsci and Hoare (1971)'s conception of hegemony. That is, overarching White supremacist ideology seeps into People of Color's identity. Osajima (1993) reminds us that the effect of racism is not only explicit but can subtly appear among People of Color unknowingly. This assumption requires more clarification to explain how these ideologies are adopted and internalized by the racially oppressed.

In conclusion, both perspectives provide strong conceptualizations for the formation of internalized racism. Yet, both are incomplete. The psychological conceptualization emphasizes person-to-person interactions and the self, but incorporates

the influence of structure only theoretically, and the structural components have yet to be tested. The sociological conceptualization suffers from being too generalized. While the sociological version provides a strong overarching ideological component of social structure, it is ripe for development and would benefit from integration with the psychological version. Looking at both conceptualizations of internalized racism, the most realistic theoretical model is a combination of these approaches. In a combined theoretical model, White hegemonic ideology permeates all levels of society down to the individual. Racialization occurs through the White racial framing of non-Whites, creating messages of inferiority for People of Color. These negative messages are received by People of Color from institutions, other people, and from themselves, thus resulting in internalized racism.

1.3 Research Questions

To address the deficiencies of the two dominant perspectives of how internalized racism is created, an integrated theoretical model is necessary. The overarching goal of this dissertation is to elaborate the processes that create and perpetuate internalized racism.

The psychological perspective on internalized racism uses a social-cognitive framework. From this perspective, cultural knowledge, such as racial stereotypes and racist messaging, are adopted and internalized by People of Color. This information is taken into account as an individual compiles a personally held definition for their self. As such, People of Color develop a racialized self, attaching negative racial evaluations to self, and manifesting it in various ways, ranging from negative health outcomes (James 2020), to violence (Bryant 2009). This framework supports understanding of how the racial identity of a Person of Color is created. This racialized self is the identity, or self, produced from

interactions with racist people and structures that project messages of inferiority. Thus, individuals who hold a racialized self have also inherently internalized racism.

The sociological argument for the creation of internalized racism emphasizes the internalization of White supremacy through interacting and existing within White hegemony. Arguing that the process of racial 'othering' by People of Color shows how internalized racism is created from experiencing 'othering' and manifested from 'othering' other People of Color. This perspective highlights the importance of interpersonal, social interactions with racist ideology, such as experiences of racism from people and institutions. The sociological framework for internalized racism provides a pathway to explain the contribution of experiences of racism to internalized racism. For the current dissertation, experiences of racism have been categorized as racialized experiences. Racialized experiences are a complimentary component to the racialized self and will explore the sociological arm of the proposed combined theoretical model.

Exploring the two theorized concepts, the racialized self and racialized experiences, requires in depth analysis from People of Color, both qualitatively and quantitatively. Understanding the concepts substantively first will answer the research question:

> **RQ1:** How do racialized experiences and the racialized self manifest among People of Color?

For the current dissertation, the racialized self is applied as a representative of the psychological component of an integrated theory of internalized racism. Exploring the organizational pathway of its relationship with internalized racism will answer the research question:

RQ2: How does the racialized self help create and perpetuate internalized racism?

Racialized experiences are the sociological component of this dissertation's theoretical proposal. Exploring the relationship racialized experiences have with internalized racism will answer the research question:

RQ3: How do racialized experiences help create and perpetuate internalized racism?

1.4 Chapter Outlines

The second chapter discusses the existing literature internalized racism, how it has been studied previously, current theoretical frameworks discussing its formation, and how it manifests within people through actions and feelings. More specifically, the literature review shows that internalized racism is a form of racial oppression. Its products include negative mental and behavioral outcomes such as depression, anxiety, and substance use (Gale et al. 2020). However, there are notable weaknesses in our collective knowledge about internalized racism. For example, social scientists do not have a consensus regarding how internalized racism is formed.

The third chapter explicates a theoretical model for the process of internalized racism and explains the methodology of the current study. It is proposed that dominant ideologies frame how we perceive, exist, and operate within society, and our concept of self. This dominant ideology can be described as a White racial frame (Elias and Feagin 2016, Feagin 2013a). The White racial frame exists as a mechanism to understand racial oppression at all levels. This frame permeates all levels and facets of life, as stated prior, it racializes groups of people by ethnic group and phenotype, also creating a hierarchy

between racialized groups (Murji and Solomos 2005). It influences racialization at the meso level by providing a system of stratification dating back to the colonial era (Martinot 2010). Racialization is reified through how it is experienced. Experiencing racialization is a multilayered process, done between people and people, and between people and institutions (Banton 2005, Essed 2005). Racialization influences how People of Color perceive themselves. These experiences and interactions reinforce and sanction White supremacist behavior and identity. The racialized self is learned and adopted through differential association-reinforcement (Akers 1996, Burgess and Akers 1966b, Pratt et al. 2010). People of Color view themselves how they perceive others to see them. Through racialization stemming from the standards of the White racial frame, People of Color may view themselves as less than, and with lower self-worth, thus internalizing the racist beliefs and values of the society in which they live. Both the creation of the racialized self and experiences of interpersonal and structural racism, work together to create and then perpetuate internalized racism. Several waves of data were collected through online recruitment of various platforms. Participants were asked demographic questions and questions about how they perceived themselves as a racialized person, their experiences of racism from people and institutions, both with scales and open ended, and took an Implicit Association Test measuring internalized racism. These data were cleaned, then qualitative and quantitative analysis performed to test the proposed theoretical model.

The fourth chapter reveals the results of the qualitative analysis, answering RQ1 exploring how the proposed theoretical concepts, the racialized self and racialized experiences, manifest among People of Color. Qualitatively, participants reinforce that at times they have viewed themselves as a Person of Color more negatively as compared with

Whites. Their view of their racialized self highlights that People of Color perceive their race, Whiteness, and how they fit somewhere between differently. Also, participants report multiple clear and memorable experiences of racism from people more often than institutions.

The fifth and sixth chapters reveal the results of the quantitative analysis, testing the theoretical model and answering RQ2 and RQ3. Quantitative models tested two measures of internalized racism. Chapter 5 presents the results of an explicit conceptualization, using the Appropriated Racial Oppression Scale (Campón and Carter 2015). Chapter 6 presents the models using an implicit measures obtained from the Implicit Association Test (Greenwald, McGhee and Schwartz 1998). Two different dependent variables were modeled to investigate the two different ways internalized racism are realized, explicitly with beliefs and actions, as well as implicitly through bias. To understand how the theorized concepts help create internalized racism, multiple means of measuring it are necessary.

The seventh, and final, chapter of this dissertation discusses the results, implications, and limitations of the current study. This research shows that the study of internalized racism formation is burgeoning and ripe for breakthrough. Prior research has no clear and consensus as to how internalized racism forms and is much more focused on its effects. Therefore, exploration could yield promising results and spur other scholars to look at different concepts and phenomena than already researched

CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will lay out key concepts in preparation to discuss my theoretical proposal in Chapter 3. To do so, I am going to describe two macro-level abstract ideas first, Symbolic Interaction and the Dominant White Racial Frame. In discussing Symbolic Interaction, Hollander and Howard (2000:344) state that "people attach symbolic meaning to objects, behaviors, and other people, and develop and transmit these meanings through interaction." Consequently, individuals interact with objects (including other individuals) in ways that are congruent with the symbolic meaning they hold for that object (or individual). This is symbolic interaction. Feagin's (2020) White Racial Frame provides a theoretical framework explaining how European imperialism and western exceptionalism transformed into an overarching racial frame which consistently reinforces a narrative of Whiteness as normative and good. Both Symbolic Interaction and the White Racial Frame function together framing symbolic meanings of objects, actions, and people within Whiteness. After discussing Symbolic Interaction and the White Racial Frame, this chapter will delve into how both impacts race and its creation, highlighting how race is a social construct and subject to the rules of symbolic interaction. This means that the process of racialization utilizes symbolic interaction, creating and recreating these meanings. With these processes, how People of Color create and perceive themselves occurs within a context of Whiteness will be explored. Their internalized racism shows how much of an impact Whiteness has for People of Color. This chapter concludes discussing prior research

uncovering internalized racism, the multitude of methods used to measure it, and how internalized racism formation is explained to date.

2.2 Symbolic Interaction, The Self, and Identity

Symbolic Interaction can be described as a way that humans derive meaning through actions. We interpret, understand, and reinterpret these actions utilizing prior knowledge from previous interactions. Blumer (1986) posited that Symbolic Interaction had three key points: (a) Humans act in a way that reflects the meaning they have towards things, (b) These meanings are created through interactions, (c) How the meanings are created is contained within the process that occurs when a person interacts with things. Using Blumer as a strong example of the traditional school of thought for Symbolic Interaction, Stryker (2008) and Stets and Serpe (2013) discuss how some scholars have embraced a more Structural Symbolic Interaction, particularly when exploring identities and the self. This relatively recent theoretical camp leans more towards a structural lens, recognizing that people are born within society and, from the beginning, are defined and organized by it. Organization occurs through structures that can be large (e.g., group identity), intermediate (e.g., neighborhoods or community organizations), or proximate (e.g., families, teams, or social clubs). These multiple levels of organization provide meaningful definitions for people. With the multitude of possibilities and layers of structures and identities, it is easy to see how complex society can be. There exists the possibility of many types of identities.

In closer discussions of the self, social scientists focus on its formation and its consequences. Echoing the theories of George Herbert Mead (1934), Gecas (1982), in his

review of the literature on the social construction of self, reiterates that the construction of the self is actually a process between what Mead calls the "I" and the "Me". From this perspective, the social construction of the self is a reflexive process where the self (or one's definition of themselves) is created and reinforced through constant interactions. He mentions that prior scholarly work has described the self as the culmination of thoughts and feelings with the person as reference, as well as a structure of a multitude of layered identities and attitudes. Further, Stets and Burke (2003) describe the self as "both individual and social in character… [working] to control meanings to sustain itself, but many of those meanings … are shared and form the basis of interaction with others and ultimately social structure." Several schools of thought dominate how we attach meanings to self, they can be loosely categorized along a continuum of most structural, less structural, and interactionist (Blumer 1986, Stryker and Vryan 2006). The most structural camp states that people are born within society and from the beginning are defined and organized by social structures. The less structural camp sees the self as the product of interactions with society. From this perspective, the self is defined by boundaries of roles and reference groups where expectations constrain the self into a more solid position. The interactionist camp is more of a general theory positing that society and the self are constantly changing with each interaction. This camp is also a staunch supporter of ethnography rather than quantitative work, putting more emphasis on the content of the experience. This dissertation aligns more with the more structural camp, highlighting race as a structure that organizes and defines our social interactions.

Regardless of the perspective taken to examine the self, the self does not exist in a vacuum nor is it amorphous. It has substance and organization called the self-concept. Self-

concept can be described as a set of definitions or meanings we have for ourselves when we take stock of ourselves. The self-concept is created through observations, interactions, inferences, thoughts, and feelings. Felson (1985) builds upon Cooley's (1902a) concept of the "Looking Glass Self" and highlights how reflected appraisals aid in the development of the self-concept. Essentially, we see ourselves the way we think important people in our lives see us. Whether the important people in our lives see us how we think they see us is not important. In fact, these two appraisals may be dissimilar, but the important part is how we interpret the messaging and signals that important people in our lives provide, in turn using them to construct our internal image of ourselves.

The concept of identity takes one step further with the self and positions it within society. Swann Jr and Bosson (2010) build upon Goffman (2002) and highlight how the self can have a multitude of identities in response to and reflective of social interaction. Our identities help define roles, how we carry out those roles, what groups are, how they are defined, and how we define ourselves. An identity provides a set of meanings for multiple levels of identities, such as groups, roles, and personally (Stets and Serpe 2013). Making sure that others see us the way we see us is part of its verification process. This process is a feedback loop beginning with an identity standard, or a meaning or meanings that a person has for a particular identity. Perceptual input occurs through reflected appraisals, then the appraisals and identity standard are compared, resulting in feelings reflecting how well the identity is verified, and lastly output, or behavior based on how good or bad the identity is verified. Positive emotions are usually emitted by identity verification, while negative emotions may stem from non-verification. This process may be easy to understand within the framework of a singular identity, however we live in a

multilayered world so multiple identities exist at the same time and are called forth singularly or in multiplicity depending on the situation. Relevant to the current project, sometimes multiple identities are called forth that are in conflict with one another.

Stryker (1968) highlights that identity salience comes into play when we try to use a particular identity in a particular situation. For example, someone who interacts with a group of bakers may put forth their baking identity and establish that identity as the most salient during the interaction. Alternatively, if someone meets another person for the first time, and the person they meet puts forth an identity of a military veteran, and they also identify as a military veteran, they might make salient the version of their self reflecting that of a military veteran. While the different versions of the self a person has are multilayered, and some more salient than others, Serpe (1987) reminds us that for each person, their identity salience exists in a hierarchy. This means that for each one of us, some identities are active across most situations we are in, while some are enacted only in more particular situations. Examples of identities that might be salient across many situations include gender or race.

In summary, symbolic interaction is a theoretical perspective that proposes that humans interact with objects (meaning material objects, abstract objects, behaviors, and living things) based on the symbolic meaning that they have given those objects. Under this perspective, humans also act towards themselves based on the meanings that they have ascribed to themselves. These meanings have been called the self, which other theorists propose includes the elements self-concept and identity. More explicitly, the self is the result of continuous interactions between a person and society. Self-concept is how we view ourselves within society, or the cumulative "who" we think we are, and identity is a

portion of who we think we are. We can have multiple identities that exist and are only salient in specific environments, and we can have identities that are always salient. Given that the self, in all its facets, is subject to socially constructed meanings, similarly to other objects, the self is susceptible to the sentiments maintained by the dominant culture in which that self resides. In the United States of America, that culture is one of White supremacy, and it is a culture that has been described by race theorists as having a White Racial Frame.

2.3 The White Racial Frame

Dominant ideologies influence and frame how we perceive, exist, and operate within society. As described above, dominant values and beliefs also impact our self-concept. Within the United States, White supremacist dominant ideology shapes our everyday interactions, past, present, and future (Bonilla-Silva 2012, Collins 2002, Crenshaw et al. 1995, Feagin 2013b, Hill 2009). White supremacy exists as a racial system of domination and stratification to oppress People of Color. European imperialism and western exceptionalism transformed into an overarching racial frame that consistently reinforces a narrative of Whiteness as normative and valued over other racial categorizations. Over the centuries, the United States, like many other imperial oppressors, constructed a frame of normative and exceptional Whiteness that permeated through every institution and was reinforced by Whites. The concepts of Whiteness and being White were created to categorically differentiate Europeans and Anglo-Americans from groups of people they believed to be inferior. This dominant ideology perpetuates a belief in Whiteness as goodness where oppressive actions taken by Whites against other racial groups are not seen as racist behavior, and the institutional White privilege afforded and

reinforced by their behavior is ignored (Hooks 1992). This framework influences our daily lives, constructing and reinforcing a hierarchy wherein Whites believe themselves to be the inheritors and products of a superior European-American culture. White institutions and civilization are presented as excellent, and non-Whites are expected to orient their ideologies and values to assimilate towards a White ideology. This assimilation comes in the form of language, culture, beauty, history, religion, and others. Not being able to assimilate and "become" White leaves People of Color at a disadvantage socially and further reinforces the constructed negative differences. These negative differences accumulate in the form of stereotypes and injustices that perpetuate a negative view of People of Color and frames them as inferior to Whites. This dominant ideology can be described as a White Racial Frame (Elias and Feagin (2016), Feagin (2013a).

According to Feagin, the White Racial Frame is a lens, or frame, through which society must be viewed. Supported by scaffolding made of centuries of domination, colonization, and oppression, this frame distorts reality by setting Whiteness and White-European culture as the standard to be approximated and symbolically defining Whiteness as goodness. This frame ensures that White supremacy is the dominant cultural sentiment by placing its authority at a level of abstraction that is untouchable by critique. In this way, White supremacy becomes an unconscious, accepted norm of U.S. culture. Using colloquial terms, it is brain washing. (Bell et al. 1980, Feagin and Bennefield 2014, Feagin 2014, Lopez 1997). This frame permeates all levels and facets of life. It racializes groups of people by ethnic group and phenotype, also creating a hierarchy between racialized groups (Murji and Solomos 2005). The White Racial Frame exists and operates at the macro level. It influences race making at the meso level by providing a system of

stratification reaching as far as colonization (Martinot 2010). Modern society was constructed through structures and interactions to perpetuate White supremacy and its subsequent ideologies. As shown, this overarching influence frames worldviews, shaping the ways we adhere meanings to things and concepts. The White Racial Frame works together with Symbolic Interaction, granting the meanings we give to everything with a coat of Whiteness. An example of this can be found in the White portrayal of Jesus, showing that for Christians, their savior is a White man, reinforcing the White Racial Frame with this religious symbol.

2.4 Race, Racialization, and the Racialized Self

With Symbolic Interaction and the White Racial Frame working in concert, race operates as a social construct. Race is an abstract category that humans created with meaning through Symbolic Interaction within the White Racial Frame. These categories, just like other concepts, carry expectations for behavior and value judgements about where people fit in within the stratification of society. The process that ordains these expectations and ascribes a particular group of humans a racial category is called racialization (Omi and Winant 2014). Hoyt (2016) describes racialization as the "process by which societies construct races as real, different and inequal in ways that matter to economic, political and social life." Racialization entails categorizing groups of people with similar characteristics, such as physical attributes, culture, or geographical region. Racialization is different from racism, which can be defined as discrimination or prejudice based on racial categories. Acts of racism help reify and make real racial categories through reinforcing a racial difference between the perpetrator and victim. Meaning that a reason for discrimination is a socially constructed category based on physical attributes, culture, or geographical

region. A culminating effect of racist acts is part of the process that ascribes a racial category on a group of people, or racialization. Racial groups, or races, exist because of racialization. The process of racialization is ongoing, occurring constantly, covertly and overtly.

Modern racial categories and relationships were created to maintain order and control over non-Whites prior to the founding of the United States. Martinot (2010) shows how racialization makes White supremacy normative. Deviations to the norm or describing the norm as White supremacy are sanctioned, and those elements are removed by the criminal justice system or other systems in place to perpetuate White supremacy. Collins (2002) repeatedly shows how modern issues for Black women are tied to the relationship Black women had with the world during slavery. Today, the social position and typifications that reinforce those positions were formed from treatment of Black women as slaves.

Racialization influences how People of Color perceive themselves. A lifetime of experiences and interactions reinforce and sanction White supremacist behavior and identity. The racialized self is learned and adopted through differential association-reinforcement (Akers 1996, Burgess and Akers 1966b, Pratt et al. 2010). When interacting with racial structures, differential reinforcement acts as an external modifier to provide positive affirmations towards White structural systems. For example, Jones et al. (2014) reminds us that racism negatively influences how People of Color evaluate themselves. When an act of racial discrimination, racism, occurs towards a Person of Color, there are multiple effects. The committer of the offense reinforces the racial category ascribed towards the recipient. It highlights that the recipient is not only a part of that group, but

also exists within a White racial framework where these racial categories have definitions, meanings, and expectations. Through this interaction, existing as the recipient of the offence legitimizes that the racial category is real, but also that the recipient is part of that category. These offenses can come from people or institutions. When consistent experiences occur, they can create a culminating effect where the Person of Color negatively evaluates themselves, which ultimately occurs because of racialization. Reacting and interacting throughout a lifetime, People of Color internalize these experiences and perceptions of self, thus creating internalized racism.

2.5 Internalized Racism

Du Bois provides the foundational conceptualization of internalized racism in the form of "Double Consciousness" with his collection of essays *The Souls of Black Folk,* first published in 1903 (Du Bois 2008). His first essay lays out the groundwork to understanding how Black Americans perceive and evaluate themselves within the United States. Du Bois describes the two different selves that Blacks must reconcile with, one that is American, and one that is Black. Because of an overarching dominant ideology within the United States that reifies the inferiority of non-Whites, Black Americans receive two messages that reinforce their own inferiority though their American self, while also trying to see themselves as equal, valuable, and not subhuman through their Black self. Du Bois shows how this occurs by looking at oneself through the perspective of the dominant ideology, or in this case, a racist White society. Double Consciousness, this two-ness of self, helps us understand racialization, its process and its effects, from the perspective of the racialized, Du Bois. We see that for Black Americans, a process of racializing a group of people, Africans, was done. This process took place from the construction of the country

and has transformed to account for emancipation and constitutional amendments, creating what Du Bois sees as "Black Folk" politically, economically, and socially. Du Bois lays out context to help us understand how black Americans were racialized, what that racialization looks like, and consequently how they internalized their experiences and perceptions of self. We also see that "Double Consciousness" highlights how People of Color living in America see themselves through the lens of Whiteness and the dominant ideology, providing the foundation for connecting racialization to internalized racism.

Racialization influences how People of Color view themselves and experience the world. At a young age, People of Color perceive that, compared to Whites, they are seen as inferior. This product of racialization is seen in the 1950's research that explored how Black children view Black bodies using dolls (Clark and Clark 1940, Clark and Clark 1950). The researchers uncover that Black children from an early age understand racial differences. In acknowledging racial differences, the majority Black children in their studies prefer a White skin color and reject a Brown skin color. In one of their most famous experiments, children were asked to pick between a brown or White doll, then explain their choice in terms of pretty and ugly, and dirty and clean. The children more often picked White dolls and expressed their opinions of Whiteness as a superlative and Brownness as negative. The authors show an internal preference to be lighter skinned entrenches itself from a very young age. Oppression manifests through the understanding that Whiteness is better. Black children consequently feel inferior and see themselves as less than Whites. When a racialized group internalizes consistent messages of inferiority, we see how racialization leads to internalized racism.

Uncovering internalized racism has not been uniform nor has it employed a singular methodology. The Clark and Clark (1950) series of studies set forth the scientific inquiry showing the presence of internalized racism. With the progression of digital statistical software tools, measuring the type and strength of internalized racism present in People of Color through survey instruments became prevalent. Since the series of the doll studies, social scientists have sought to uncover the process and presence of internalized racism. Taylor and Grundy (1996) helped initiate using scaled survey instruments to measure internalized racism and how it manifests. They created the Nadanolitization Scale, used to measure how strongly or degree to which Black Americans identify with racial stereotypes. It helped us think about the components that make up and are attributed to internalized racism. The Nadanolitization Scale has been used to not only expose internalized racism, but to also explore how it correlates with Black racial identity. Cokley (2002) tests the correlation between the Nadanolitization Scale and the Cross Racial Identity Scale and finds that several subscales from both scales significantly correlate to each other, indicating that Black racial identity and internalization of racial stereotypes (positive and negative) are related. The Cross Racial Identity Scale, created by Vandiver et al. (2000) to measure Black racial identity, accounting for concepts such as assimilation, self-hatred, anti-Whiteness, Black nationalism, and multiculturalism.

Further development into measuring internalized racism is seen in Bailey et al. (2011) development of their Internalized Racial Oppression Scale. This scale, like the Nadanolitization Scale, only measures internalized racial oppression among Black Americans. However, the Internalized Racial Oppression Scale expands their measurement of components. These include a Belief in the Biased Representation of History;

Devaluation of an African Worldview and Motifs; Alteration of Physical Appearance; Internalized of Negative Stereotypes; and Hair Change. The development of this scale helps us sift through how complex and multifaceted internalized racism is. Subsequent research using the Internalized Racial Oppression Scale have explored the effects of internalized racism. Brown and Segrist (2016) show that when Black American adults have a devalued African worldview, they are more likely to have low career aspirations. Internalized racism also can interact with Black racial identity, influencing psychological distress, either by enhancing it, or even mitigating it, depending on how congruent the racial identity and internalized racism is (Willis et al. 2021). Seaton, Iida and Morris (2022) uncover that among Black youth, internalized racism increases the likelihood for depression.

Internalized racism has also been measured using the Implicit Association Test (Greenwald, McGhee and Schwartz 1998). With survey instruments asking participants explicit and overt questions about their beliefs and internalized racism, the Implicit Association Test seeks to capture unconscious and covert internalized racism among participants. In doing so, it highlights how internalized racism can exist within People of Color unconsciously. David and Okazaki (2010) use the Colonial Mentality Implicit Association Test to measure a specific type of internalized racism amongst Filipino-Americans. Implicit association tests have also used to explore internalized racism among Black Americans (Chae et al. 2014), and Hispanic/Latinx groups as well (Uhlmann et al. 2002). They show that the Implicit Association Test can be used to measure internalized racism. James (2020) makes note that much of the research on internalized racism uses

explicit measures and that more research is needed using implicit measures to capture unconscious internalized racism.

Gale et al. (2020) provides a meta-analysis of the mental and physical health outcomes of internalized racism. Findings show that commonly used measures of internalized racism include the Colonial Mentality Scale, the Implicit Association Test, two subscales from the Cross Racial Identity Scale, the Nadanolitization Scale, and the Racial Identity Attitude Scale (David and Okazaki 2006, Greenwald, McGhee and Schwartz 1998, Parham and Helms 1981, Taylor and Grundy 1996, Vandiver et al. 2002). Findings also show that, within the United States, internalized racism leads to a higher likelihood of experiencing negative mental health outcomes and negative physical health outcomes. Examples of these outcomes are stress, depression, anxiety, diabetes, and obesity.

Some scholars have argued that the term internalized racism would be more accurately described as appropriated racism because stating that internalized racism implies a victim-centered approach. This approach neglects acknowledging how racism is sociocultural, historical, as well as psychological (Tappan 2006). Accounting for this sociocultural perspective, Campón and Carter (2015) developed the Appropriated Racial Oppression Scale. The Appropriated Racial Oppression Scale has five dimensions that are seen across different racial groups, appropriation of negative stereotypes; patterns of thinking that maintain the dominant ideology; adaption of White culture; devaluation of one's own race or ethnicity; and emotional responses. The authors state the each of these dimensions of racism show up in all People of Color, and thus the Appropriated Racial

Oppression Scale is the first of its kind to measure appropriated racial oppression among all People of Color, instead of focusing on specific groups of Color.

Different racial and ethnic groups have different histories and migration pathways when coming to the United States, therefore experiencing and internalizing racism in different ways. The experiences and racialization that non-Whites encounter help frame their perceptions of self within the context of Whiteness and the. For example, Choi, Israel and Maeda (2017) recognize that Asian Americans as a group experience racism differently than other racial groups, such as the Latino/Hispanic population and Black Americans. In response, they created the Internalized Racism in Asian Americans Scale to explore the type of internalized racism that Asian Americans manifest. While prior empirical evidence exists highlighting internalized racism among a group of Asian Americans, Colonial Mentality and Filipino-Americans, no research exists to explore this population, and thus showing the existence of internalized racism among Asian Americans collectively.

As touched on prior, evidence showing a unique form of internalized racism among Filipino-Americans exists. Due to the Philippines' unique historical relationship with Spain and the United States because of colonization, it does not share all aspects of internalized racism with other Asian-American groups. In the case of this unique history, internalized racism manifests in the form of a colonial mentality. David and Okazaki (2006) created the Colonial Mentality Scale to highlight the different form of internalized racism that Filipino-Americans experience. They share similar aspects of internalized racism with other racial/ethnic groups, such as a feeling or belief of their inferiority while holding onto a superior view of Whites/Americans while also differing from other groups by connecting itself to the colonial experience. One example of this colonial connection is a form of

within-group discrimination in which Mixed Filipino-Americans will emphasize their presumed Spanish heritage, highlighting their Spanish surname, and knowledge of and fluency in Spanish, while simultaneously making discriminatory comments about more indigenous sounding names or Filipino-Americans of darker complexion and curly hair; thus, supporting a distinct hierarchy tied to colonial relationships. As its manifestations can differ, internalized racism can exhibit differing outcomes among different People of Color.

Like the Philippines, much of Latin America experienced Spanish colonization, and therefore share a similar history of oppression. For example, a hierarchy system put in place with Spaniards at the top, and indigenous persons at the bottom was put in place and reinforced throughout centuries, ascribing negative values to native features, such as darker skin tones or non-Spanish names (Gutierrez 1999). To explore internalized racism among this population, Hipolito-Delgado (2010) created the Mochihua Tepehuani Scale, using the Nadanolitization Scale as its foundation, while accounting for the specific types of racism Hispanics and Latinos encounter such as language and cultural stereotypes (Taylor and Grundy 1996). From their study, Hipolito-Delgado (2010) found that interpersonal racism leads to higher rates of internalized racism among Chicana/o and Latina/o students.

As with Asian-Americans, Black Americans, and Latino/Hispanic Americans, Indigenous peoples form, experience, and manifest internalized racism differently as well (John et al. 2018). Poupart (2003) highlights that interpersonal violence and alcoholism are directly related to internalized racism among Indigenous Americans. Lewis, Allen and Fleagle (2014) cite that Indigenous Alaskans manifest internalized racism by not feeling "native" enough or having overall negative perceptions of Natives. With these two feelings situating themselves at opposites ends of a spectrum, some Native peoples experience both,

further highlighting the complexity of internalized racism. In addition to complex thoughts on Native identity, the authors show that internalized racism increases mental and behavioral health issues such as alcohol and drug use, and even suicide among Indigenous Alaskans.

More recently, therapists have used parts of this research to better serve Black American patients by applying internalized racism to cognitive behavioral therapy (Steele 2020). Utilizing the cognitive development model of internalized racism, therapists help patients work through the negative manifestations and effects of internalized racism. Framing this type of therapy with internalized racism helps, because Black Americans have a unique history in North America which shapes their worldview. The author reminds us that the enslaved peoples have their own culture and historical background prior to their forced migration: thus, the collective oppression among Africans and the subsequent generations are distinctive.

2.6 Internalized Racism Formation

Research on the formation of internalized racism has seen multiple iterations of theoretical and conceptual evolutions. Earlier work on internalized racism explores quantifying its existence, as discussed above. Hipolito-Delgado (2010) posits that there are two main arguments regarding how racism is internalized: through exposure to racism or through acculturation to a racist society. Exposure to racism consists of interpersonal racism experiences and exposure to racism propaganda in the media that leads to internalizing these racist messages. Work from Taylor and Grundy (1996) provides a clear example of this pathway, where exposure to interpersonal racism and racist media would

become internalized, implicating higher internalized racism. They argued that for Black Americans, centuries of racist acts and exposure to racist media, such as the long history of slavery, segregation, subsequent negative stereotypes, and the accumulated acts of interpersonal racism they received, that Black Americans who were exposed to these types of racism more would have more internalized racism. The other argument for internalized racism formation is acculturation to a racist society. Hipolito-Delgado (2010) argues that when People of Color assimilate into US society and acculturate US culture, that itself is internalized racism. Because the United States is a racist society with racist structures and values which perpetuate racism, when adopting the dominant US culture, People of Color also adopt and internalize that racism.

David (2009) provides the overarching framework for how psychologists interpret internalized racism formation, he uses cognitive behavioral theory to explain its creation. Adopting cognitive behavioral theory to this phenomenon helps bolster research from other psychologists, and as well as internalized racism overall. He posits that internalized racism is a product of existing in a White supremacist environment where People of Color are inundated with messages of their inferiority and White superiority. These messages are received overtly, such as direct verbal statements, and covertly, such as being followed in a store. David (2013) further expands on cognitive behavioral theory by moving the theory forward to recognize cultural knowledge for racial or ethnic groups, the author shows us that internalized racism can be different for different racial or ethnic groups, renaming it as the social-cognitive framework, providing a more whole perspective to view internalized racism. With the social-cognitive framework that David (2013) builds from cognitive behavioral theory, the process of internalizing racism is contingent on cultural knowledge,

such as stereotypes and messaging. Overwhelmed with this cultural knowledge, People of Color then adopt and internalize this knowledge. The most recent psychological theoretical development of internalized racism theorizes that it influences oppression at multiple levels (David, Petalio and Crouch 2018). The authors state that internalized racism may result from explicit and implicit oppression, more likely implicit oppression, such as racial microaggressions. The resulting manifestations are intrapersonal, interpersonal, and institutional racism. Interpersonal and institutions racism in turn reinforces internalized racism through a feedback loop.

Pyke (2007) provides a sociological framework for explaining how internalized racism forms. They posit that internalized racism is a result of White hegemonic ideology (Gramsci and Hoare 1971). This ideology seeps into the minds of People of Color with or without consent (Osajima 1993). This model provides a social structural underpinning regarding what causes internalized racism, White hegemony. Further, this model brings to light examples of the process, such as the myth of meritocracy, which fosters the belief that racial oppression does not exist and helps to perpetuate White hegemony. This framework relies on othering as a part of the multitude of mechanism creating internalized racism (Schwalbe et al. 2000). Pyke and Dang (2003) highlight a form of othering, intra-ethnic othering, as an outcome as well as a cause of internalized racism. For example, a Person of Color may believe in and perpetuate White hegemony by distancing themselves from others in their ethnic/racial group. This distancing can take the form of reciting negative stereotypes of other co-ethnics, such as an Asian-American making fun of other Asian accents to distance themselves from an Asian identity, while simultaneously trying to move closer to Whiteness. Focusing on co-ethnic othering is a viable mode of internalized racism

and works particularly well for People of Color who also come from racial or ethnic groups with large migrant populations, such as Asian or Latin communities. This model helps us understand ideological and cultural components which create and perpetuate internalized racism within groups, but it overlooks interracial racism and the strength and level of institutional racism.

Rather than racial oppression becoming internalized, as mentioned above, some researchers argue that it is instead appropriated (Banks and Stephens 2018, Campón and Carter 2015, Tappan 2006, Versey et al. 2019). This vein of racial oppression research argues that the term internalized focuses too much on the victim and only the psychological aspects of how a Person of Color takes in White supremacist ideology. Using the term appropriation accounts for the sociocultural and historical processes as well as underscoring that negative stereotypes and inferior views of one's race are not characteristic of that racial or ethnic group. Rather, it is White supremacist ideology and culture that views these racial and ethnic groups as inferior. When People of Color take in these beliefs, they are appropriating a viewpoint or belief system that is not their own, they are borrowing the cultural values of White supremacy.

With all the great strides research on internalized racism has made, more work is needed to explore several gaps. For example, no consensus regarding formation of internalized racism has been made, as Campón and Carter (2015) state, "less attention to date has been given to … how racial minority groups appropriate (i.e., take in) racial beliefs." (p.498). As stated, much of the empirical evidence for internalized racism exists using quantitative scales, more work needs to explore this phenomenon through qualitative or mixed methodologies to provide a more complete picture of internalized racism. To

explore and uncover unconscious and covert internalized racism, James (2020) recommends more work needs to be done using implicit measures. Quantitative scales provide strong evidence for overt internalized racism, where participants acknowledge internalized racist beliefs, however implicit measures may uncover how pervasive and multidimensional internalized may be. Additionally, more research exploring internalized racism among multiple racial and ethnic groups may provide insights into its formation and manifestation that have yet to be uncovered.

2.7 Conclusion

Symbolic Interaction says that how we interact with objects is based on the symbolic meaning that we give those objects. These objects include abstract and material things, and even include ourselves. The symbolic meaning we give ourselves is the self, which is constructed through a lifetime of interactions with society (Blumer 1986, Stryker 2008). Dominant social ideologies help bound these meanings, and in a White supremacist environment, the symbolic meanings we give are influenced by Whiteness. The White Racial Frame is the dominant ideology that espouses a pro white-European centric worldview (Feagin 2020). This frame permeates all facets of life, racializing groups of people and impacting our interactions with people and places, and even how we view ourselves (Martinot 2010). These two macro-level processes work together to influence self in a negative way if you are not white. There are various pathways that this can happen, some of these pathways are consistent exposure to racism, or acculturation to a racism society (Hipolito-Delgado 2010). Another pathway is existing in a white supremacist society and receiving messages of inferiority (David, Schroeder and Fernandez 2019). Lastly, a pathway can be striving towards the dominant hegemony with our thoughts and

behavior (Pyke 2007). I propose a new theory of understanding the way this happens in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3. THEORY AND METHODS

3.1 Introduction

As stated in Chapter 1, this dissertation proposes a new theoretical model for the creation of internalized racism. I synthesize the main assumptions of Symbolic Interactionism, understandings of the construction of self, the concept of the dominant White racial frame, and research on racialization in the U.S. to develop a comprehensive explanation of the role of interpersonal interaction and environmental experience in the development of internalized racism. The logic of the research at hand is as follows: Human interaction is organized based on the shared meanings that we give things. "Things" in this instance can be objects, symbols, words, actions, interactions, situations, and so forth. The meanings that we give these things are socially constructed. Race is no exception. More specifically, the way that we categorize humans based on constellations of their physical characteristics is the result of shared understandings about meanings attributed to these categories. Further, the self is a social construct. That is, one's definition of self, is produced primarily though interactions with others and the environment. Racial categorization, being based on shared meanings about physical features, is subject to the overarching societal beliefs about race. In the United States, those beliefs are built upon dominant White supremacist ideologies which influence and frame the race making process. Thus, when People of Color are racialized, that is, when People of Color are given an assumed racial character, categorized, and marginalized based on race, it is done within the context of Whiteness. Any racial categorization other than White, then, is less valued. For People of Color within this White supremacist society, racialization inherently affects

perceptions of the self. Since a Person of Color will never be White, their mere existence violates the pro-Whiteness norms, and they will receive appraisals from other individuals and their environment that will remind them that they are negatively valued. The acceptance and internalization of this negative racialized construct put forth by the White framed racial ideology is *internalized racism*. More specifically, internalized racism is the fostering of a negative evaluation of one's own race. Thus, the negatively evaluated racialized self is a product of racialization within the dominant ideology of the White supremacist state. This can lead to internalized racism, the presence of which is only reified by the race-specific beliefs of the dominant White culture.

Racialization exists not only as a race-making concept for people, but it also frames interactions and affects the character of institutions. Racialized experiences from interactions between people and institutions produce internalized racism via the social-construction-of-self process through the constant bombardment of racist messages from people and institutions. Racialized experiences can be categorized into two types of experience, interpersonal racism and institutional racism. These two forms of racism, produced through racialization and framed by dominant ideologies, act to produce and maintain internalized racism. Overall, dominant White supremacist ideologies influence race making, racializing experiences and how people view themselves. These two components, racialized experiences and the racialized self, work in tandem to create internalized racism, as well as to maintain it, through the fundamental processes of self-concept production.

3.2 The New Theory of Racialized Self

As mentioned in Chapter 2: Literature Review, Symbolic Interactionism focuses on the ways in which human behavior is organized by the definitions that we give symbols, words, objects, people, interactions, and so forth. From this perspective, the social construction of abstract concepts and their meanings greatly affects the way that we interact with those concepts. Most relevant to the current study is the way that we construct racial categories and give meanings and expectations to people whom we assign to each racial category. In U.S. society, everything we do, including the meanings we attach to socially constructed race and ethnicity categories, is done so under the influence of a dominant White racial frame (Feagin 2020). That is, as mentioned in Chapter 2, the White racial frame is the dominant framework that "provides an overarching worldview extending across divisions of class, gender, age (Feagin)." Where Whites and whiteness are seen positively, while non-Whites are seen negatively. The positive and negative orientation attaches to all aspects of everyday life.

The Self is no exception to these forces. If we act towards things based on the shared meanings that we give those things, we too act towards our self based on the meaning that we give our self. If everything that we do in U.S. culture is affected by the umbrella of understandings created by the dominant White racial frame, then so too is our development of self-concept affected by the values and beliefs of the dominant White racial frame. For People of Color, this can include negative evaluations of their own racial group. Gecas (1982) states that the self is a process created and reinforced through interaction. That it is something akin to a structure with layers upon layers of identities and attitudes. These identities are the source of and provide dimension to the self-concept. When interacting

with people and structures within a dominant racial ideology, the self would reflect these experiences.

The current research focuses on the self that forms through experiences of racism, called the racialized self. The racialized self is how People of Color perceive themselves, it is their self-concept produced from interactions with people and structures. They can range from encounters with racism at different levels to messages of inferiority from a White supremacist society. This racialized concept of self helps provide meaning at different levels. For example, one's racialized self might inform how they evaluate their beauty as compared to Whites (Jha 2015). People of Color are told messages about their appearance, and how it is inferior to that of a White standard of beauty. These messages influence why People of Color may or may not choose to straighten their hair, get double eyelid surgery, or use skin Whitening services. These messages not only influence personal beauty decisions but inform the individual about how they are expected to present themselves in society.

Consistent messages of inferiority through racism reinforce a negative evaluation of the racialized self among People of Color. Jones et al. (2014) found that racial discrimination can negatively affect racial identity. Small and Pager (2020) highlight hiring practices as an example of when People of Color would encounter racialized interactions within a White racial framework. They point out that many organizations hire through referral, and when the organization is mostly White, referrals are comprised of mainly Whites. Additionally, Zschirnt and Ruedin (2016) conducted a meta-analysis of discriminatory hiring practice research over the course of 25 years, and among the findings,

People of Color send in 50% more applications to be invited for an interview. These blatant acts of racism influence People of Color's view of themselves.

3.3 Racialized Experiences

In the proposed theory of Racialized Self, the process of socially constructing the self is infiltrated by negative messages that are derived from the dominant White racist ideology in which the individual lives. These negative messages are delivered through racialized experiences. Racialized experiences can be split into two categories, interpersonal and institutional. In each of these cases, the individual receives feedback about their own value. Ultimately, these dominant societal values seep into one's own conception of self in the form of internalized racism.

Interpersonal racialized experiences are any social interaction between people that conveys information, either explicitly or implicitly, about society's prescribed values and beliefs about race. In fact, because how race organizes our interactions in small groups as a diffuse status characteristic (Berger and Fişek 2006, Goar and Sell 2005, Manago, Sell and Goar 2022), it could be argued that *any* interaction between individuals of different races is an interpersonal racialized experience. Examples of this form of racialized experience include overt intergroup interpersonal racism, such as racial epithets, hate crimes, racial profiling, and microaggressions (Martinot 2010, Nadal 2013, Ritchie and Mogul 2007, Selod 2015). Bonilla-Silva (2012) highlights how more covert forms of racism, such as colorblind racism, has become more prevalent than blatant, hatemongering, outward displays of overt racism from Whites. People of Color may also participate in acts of racism, echoing the dominant ideology against other People of Color. In doing so, they

perpetuate internalized racism. This phenomenon is called 'othering.' Pyke and Dang (2003) state is when People of Color will ostracize, bully, and commit acts of racism against other People of Color. Othering highlights and reinforces internalized racism. We see that internalized racism is both a product and a process. Internalized racism produces how certain People of Color feel that there is an 'approved' way of acting your race/ethnicity. Internalized racism also describes how People of Color on the receiving end begin to internalize racism and start to believe these messages themselves. Trieu (2019) provides another example of 'othering' among Asian-Americans. They explain how internalized racism among Asian-Americans is seen when Asian-Americans commit acts of racism against other Asian-Americans. Common forms of 'othering' include verbal bullying, calling out their foreignness (FOB) or Whiteness (twinkie/banana). Othering may occur within racial groups or towards other People of Color. Haywood (2017) also shows us how this can occur between peoples of different races. They highlight the existence and complexity of anti-Black racism and sentiment among Latinos who were pro-Trump within the context of the Trump election.

Interpersonal racialization works in conjunction with institutional racialization to influence internalized racism. Institutional racializing experiences are any instance in which the structures of society convey information, either explicitly or implicitly, about society's prescribed values and beliefs about race. Institutional racializing experiences occur when a Person of Color interacts with societal institutions that have been shown to be systems of White supremacy, such as political, economic, educational, and legal institutions. Given that these social institutions operate within the dominant White racist frame, one could argue that every interaction Person of Color has with these institutions is

an institutional racialization experience. The term institutional racism has been used interchangeably at times with the terms structural racism and systemic racism. These experiences can occur through policy, social systems, ideology, and culture, as well as influence health, the environment, and wealth (Bailey et al. 2017, Feagin and Bennefield 2014, Nazroo, Bhui and Rhodes 2020, Paradies et al. 2015).The effects of institutional racializing can be seen through a lack of political representation at all levels, a White framed educational curriculum, and even higher infant mortality for non-White groups as compared to Whites, excluding Asians (Feagin 2013b, Lukachko, Hatzenbuehler and Keyes 2014, Wallace et al. 2017).

People of Color experience racialization interpersonally and institutionally. These experiences serve as reflected appraisals to inform People of Color about themselves. Unfortunately, the mirror used for People of Color reflections is distorted by the dominant White racial frame that informs all racialized experiences. As such, People of Color are likely to receive more negative messages than positive about their value. Negative, discriminatory assessments can be simply described as racism, and when an individual receives overwhelming negative feedback about their self, they are almost powerless to resist the infiltration of those ideals into their own construction of self process. The internalization of these racist ideals is internalized racism.

3.4 Racialized Experiences and the Formation of Internalized Racism

Interpersonal racialized experiences act as reflected appraisals and institutional racialized experiences act as differential reinforcement and association. Reflected appraisals work in tandem with differential reinforcement to internalize racism within

People of Color. Cooley (1902b) provides a useful concept, the looking-glass self, to describe a general process of self-formation that can be applied to the way a racialized self is produced and reinforced. He states that we see ourselves the way important and significant people in our lives see us. We act and respond to how we perceive that others perceive us. Thus, others' actions towards us produce a sort of social mirror that reflects to us our social image. These reflected appraisals aid in the construction of self. Within interactions, the self is verified or not verified through a process of comparing the meaning that a person holds for their self to the feedback that they receive from others in the interaction. Thus, we compare how we think others see us to the way that we see ourselves. If these appraisals are congruent, the self is verified. If these appraisals differ, the self is not verified. The mechanisms behind the self and its verification all operate consistently throughout the plethora of interactions in society. These continuous reflected appraisals help explain how forces of oppression and domination manifest within the person. Felson (1985) shows us that reflected appraisals contribute to the development of the self. He provides empirical support for reflected appraisals as a concept. Gecas (1982) reminds us that self-esteem and self-evaluation come from competency, which is performance based, and virtue, which comes from reflected appraisals. He indicates that self-concepts and actual appraisals are not necessarily similar. Feedback from others may not be interpreted accurately due to poor communication. This shows that self-worth is tied to how individuals think significant others view them.

Hughes and Demo (1989) investigate self-esteem among Black Americans and find that positive reflected appraisals significantly contribute to higher self-esteem. Khanna (2004) also shows how reflected appraisals contribute to Asian/White mixed individuals'

perception of their Asian-ness or Whiteness. Individuals who looked more Asian as compared with looking Whiter had more feelings of Asian identity, along with more exposure of their Asian culture. When those individuals perceived that their significant others, reference groups, and important individuals saw them as Asian, they felt and had stronger Asian identity. Building on their prior work, Khanna (2010) shows how reflected appraisals reinforce a racialized self with the 'one-drop rule. Mixed-raced Black individuals more strongly identify as Black when they believed others viewed them as Black. As shown, reflected appraisals provide a mechanism, within the self, for internalized racism, created by existing and interacting in an environment filled with messages and perceptions of racial inferiority.

As stated, differential reinforcement and association acts as the mechanism for institutional racialized experiences. This dissertation adopts the work Burgess and Akers (1966a) built upon from Sutherland's work on crime (Matsueda 1988). Rather than focusing on how criminal behavior is learned, differential reinforcement and association provides a useful tool to help describe how a racialized self created and reinforced. This occurs through experiencing and interacting with White supremacist structures. At its core, differential reinforcement tells us that people will likely continue to act in a way that provides rewards (Akers and Jennings 2015). The frequency with which these rewards are given reinforces that behavior. Thoughts or actions inconsistent with what is socially desired are not reinforced or punished. When interacting with institutions, socially desired behavior will be accepted and rewarded with positive feedback from the institutions, or punishment will not be received. Differential association tells us that we learn behaviors through exposure to models that define what is appropriate or not. When people interact or

associate with structures that are White supremacist in nature, then it is expected that those people will internalize and engage in White supremacist aligning actions. Differential reinforcement and association both provide the tools to understand how institutional racialized experiences impact People of Color's racialized self's. When looking at these two concepts within the context of Whiteness and White supremacy, differential reinforcement states that emulating Whiteness will be positively reinforced. Further within that context, differential association states that when we associate and interact with White institutions, because they are positively valued, People of Color are more likely to engage in behavior that perpetuates upholding these White supremacist institutions.

Cumberbatch (2021) discusses how legal institutions are foundationally White supremacist, that "professional" and "becoming" behavior and appearances align with cisgendered heteronormative Whiteness. When non-Whites, particularly women and gender non-conforming People of Color, engage and interact with these institutions, pro-social behavior aligns with identifying and presenting in ways that promote and reinforce White supremacy. Patton (2016) adapts Ladson-Billings and Tate's (1995) work on Critical Race Theory in the education system and looks at how higher education perpetuated White supremacy. Patton reminds us of higher education's promise as a great equalizer. While its meritocratic underpinnings make us believe that working hard can presumably constitute entrance into university, the reality is much different. Higher education has been used as a tool to perpetuate White supremacy since the establishment of colleges in the colonies. This can be seen in the admissions process and requirements to attend school, where most students are White people who have access to the fiscal and cultural capital to enroll and succeed in schools. We also see this in the faculty, where most tenured professors are White

people, and the curriculum on non-White peoples or cultures are taken as electives. Being surrounded by Whiteness and Whites in higher education tells People of Color that Whiteness is positive and Whites are to be emulated. Differential reinforcement and association provide the mechanism to describe how interacting with Historically White Institutions are institutional racialized experiences for People of Color.

People of Color view themselves how they perceive others to see them. Through racialization stemming from the standards of the White racial frame, People of Color may view themselves as less than, and with lower self-worth, thus internalizing the racist beliefs and values of the society in which they live. Both the creation of the racialized self and experiences of interpersonal and structural racism, work together to create and then perpetuate internalized racism.

3.5 Survey Methods

The racialized self and racialized experiences were operationalized using survey data to try to measure their impact on internalized racism. U.S. residents of Color aged 18 and older were asked to complete the online survey. In the recruitment title, it noted that the study was recruiting People of Color, additionally, in the survey, participants were made to identify their racial or ethnic identity, and if a participant selected White, the survey ended for them. In order, the survey consisted of demographic questions such as age, gender, race or ethnicity, education, and generation migrant. They then were asked to complete several scales, open ended questions about experiences of racism, and an implicit association test. These scales, questions, and test were selected as measurements of the racialized self, racialized experiences, and internalized racism. The questionnaire was

designed to take around 30-40 minutes to complete with over 140 questions. Participants were monetarily compensated for their complete responses. For each participant that completed a survey, they were paid $2.50. This is consistent with the average pay for both Mechanical Turk and Prolific platforms (Douglas, Ewell and Brauer 2023, Moss et al. 2023).

Participants were recruited in two waves. The first wave was collected via Amazon's Mechanical Turk platform, an online data collection platform where users complete "tasks," such as surveys, and receive monetary compensation based on the time and assumed difficulty of the "task". Mechanical Turk was used to collect data because of its ease of use, ability to collect data quickly, and access to a diverse population (Aguinis, Villamor and Ramani 2021). However, the quality of data from Mechanical Turk is a concern, especially with the rise of automatic bots, or programs to complete tasks for a user automatically, so they do not have to complete the task themselves. This data collection wave occurred between August and December 2021, yielding 670 responses; however, most participants failed to complete the survey or, following Greenwald, Nosek and Banaji (2003), took too long or short when completing the implicit association tests. Any trials over 10,000 milliseconds and participants where greater than 10% of their trials were faster than 300 milliseconds were removed. This is done to omit participants who complete the test by randomly pressing the sorting keys as fast as they can and admit participants who may have taken too long, thus defeating the purpose of a timed test measuring implicit associations. These parameters were adopted to cut out participants who may have tried to get through the tests quickly through the repetitive smashing of buttons or may have walked away from the test and started again or took too long to answer each prompt.

With only 96 complete responses, a second wave was collected via the online survey platform Prolific. Prolific, like Mechanical Turk, is another online data collection platform, and known to provide more reliable results, meaning that there is less of a chance of participants not completing your surveys, and that they are more likely to take time in answering the questions (Douglas, Ewell and Brauer 2023). This wave of data collection occurred between January and February 2022, yielding 292 responses with almost all participants completing the survey and only needing to drop 4 responses that do not fit within the parameters mentioned above.

Table 1 provides the summary statistics for participants, highlighting their demographic makeup, along with their aggregate scale responses. The sample demographics represent a mostly male, sample who has at least a Bachelor's degree, identify as middle class, are in their 20s and 30s, and has at least one parent born overseas.

3.6 Summary

In sum, the process through which individuals normally construct their self-concept necessarily includes information learned through interpersonal interactions and environmental reinforcement. In the case of People of Color living in a society that is dominated by White supremacist ideologies, the information learned about the self and used in constructing conceptions of self are tainted by negative evaluations of their racial categorization, which itself is socially constructed. If the individual succumbs to the constant barrage of negative evaluations and internalizes biased assessments of their own race, they are suffering from internalized racism. If this is true, we would expect individuals who have experienced more interpersonal racism and/or more institutional racism to exhibit internalized racist ideologies at a higher rate than those who have experienced less

interpersonal and/or institutional racism. Furthermore, the affect of interpersonal and institutional racism on the uptake of internalized racism may vary in strength or effectiveness.

In the next chapter, I will explain in detail how the concepts were operationalized, understood by the participants, and their experiences with racialization. For the sake of brevity, this dissertation research focuses only on the ways that interpersonal and institutional racializing experiences affect individual levels of internalized racism. The influence of the White dominant frame on the interpersonal and institutional racializing experiences is assumed and not empirically assessed. As such, I am dealing primarily with measures of interpersonal racist experiences, institutional racist experiences, and measures of internalized racism. I examine both qualitative and quantitative data to assess these relationships.

Table 1 Chapter Summary Statistics

Variable measure	Mean or %	SD	Range
Gender (%) (Male=1)	60.9	-	-
Education (%) (Bachelor's = 1)	69.8	-	-
Socioeconomic Status (%)			
Lower	9.9	-	-
Working	28.9	-	-
Middle	57	-	-
Upper	4.2	-	-
Generation Migrant (%)			
Born overseas	27.3	-	-
Parent(s) born overseas	34.7	-	-
Grandparent(s) born overseas	9.7	-	-
Great Grandparent(s)+ born overseas	28.4	-	-
Age	33.3	9.9	18-77
IAT D Score	-0.012	0.43	-1.76-1.09
AROS Score Summed	88.7	36.4	24-166

CERIS-A Subscales			
Assimilation	4.3	1.7	1-7
Miseducation	4.1	1.6	1-7
Self-Hatred	3.6	1.9	1-7
Anti-Dominant	3.5	1.9	1-7
Ethnocentrism	4.5	1.3	1-7
Multicultural Inclusive	5.3	1.2	1-7
Ethnic-Racial Salience	4.2	1.6	1-7
Street Race Match (%) (Concordance=1)	40.9	-	-
Perceived Discrimination Scale	48.3	72.9	9-1008
Perceived Discrimination Scale (Standardized)	1.16e-10	1	-0.54-13.16
IRS Subscales			
Indices of Racism	4.3	1.4	1-7
Effectiveness of Strategies in Reducing Racism	3.0	0.6	1-4
Use of Strategies in Reducing Racism	2.9	1.0	1-4
Organizational Attributes	3.5	1.1	1-7
Administrative Efforts to Reduce Racism	3.7	0.8	1-6
Personal Efforts to Reduce Racism	3.6	0.8	1-6

Note: N=384

CHAPTER 4. THE MANIFESTATIONS OF THE RACIALIZED SELF AND RACIALIZED EXPERIENCES

4.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to answer the research question: *How do racialized experiences and the racialized self manifest among People of Color?* Using open-ended questions from the online survey described in Chapter 3, the goal of this chapter is to demonstrate that the two primary theoretical constructs of racialized self and racialized experiences exist among People of Color. By analyzing the respondents' own experiences navigating a White world, we can unpack the sources of internalized racism.

4.2 Open-Ended Questions

The online survey contained a total of six open-ended questions.

The first two aimed to capture the racialized self:

What age were you when you first started to recognize your race?

Can you describe that experience or other experiences which helped you understand you as a person within your racial group? (i.e. conversation with parents or friends, tv shows, etc.)

The next two questions assess racialized experiences on the interpersonal level:

What age were you when you first encountered interpersonal racism? (i.e. racial slurs, jokes, stereotypes, person to person encounters of racism)

Can you describe that experience or other experiences in which you encountered interpersonal racism?

Finally, the last two questions gauged racialized experiences at the institutional level:

What age were you the first time you encountered structural/institutional racism? (i.e. racism in education, negative encounters with law enforcement based on race, lower wages or lack of promotions, etc.)

Can you describe that experience or other experiences in which you encountered structural/institutional racism?

4.3 Analysis and Results

96%, 368, of respondents in the final dataset, 384, answered the open-ended questions. Additionally, over 80%, 297, of the respondents provide substantive responses. Substantive responses include answers to the questions that imply they read the question and understood to provide an answer. Examples of response not included as substantive are when participants responded with their race or ethnicity, single word responses such as "good" or "nice", and if they answered with a jumble of letters. I followed Braun and Clarke's (2012) methodology to highlight commonalities and themes. First, I examined the racialized self by coding the ways participants described the time when they began to understand race and the time when they were racialized by society. Then, I moved on to their responses for racialized experiences, investigating interpersonal racism first, then institutional racism, using a similar method. This method yielded five main code categories: Peers, Family, Environment, Jokes, and School Experiences.

4.3.1 Racialized Self

Looking at responses for the racialized self first, we see in Table 2 respondents tend to recognize their racial differences from the dominant group at an early age and in a multitude of settings, experiences, and environments.

Table 2 Age of Racial Recognition

	Average Age of Racial Recognition (SD)	**Number of Responses**
Native/Indigenous	16.33 (20.5)	3
Arab or Middle Eastern	6.25 (2.99)	4
Mixed/Multi-Racial	10.52 (8.76)	42
Latinx-Hispanic	9.34 (8.56)	53
Black American	10.15 (8.16)	141

Asian American	10.14 (9.64)	125

Hirschfeld (1995) points out that children by the age of 3 years old can recognize racial categories and sort people into them, while also recognize racial stereotypes as well. Looking at Table 2 above, on average, respondents recognized their race between 6 and 16 years of age. Other authors mention how children as young as 6 years old can distinguish and understand what racial discrimination is (Marcelo and Yates 2019). Participants in this study have a higher average, which is somewhat surprising. For the four most common categories, respondents state on average they were around ten years old when they first recognized their race or ethnicity. This tells us that in their youth, participants begin to recognize their race and ethnicity within a White supremacist society. This recognition occurs for a multitude of reasons, explored below. Participants state these reasons as: *environment/neighborhood/community, self, none, peers/others at school, family, media, religious service/organization/cultural event.* Each of these labeled categories represent the code that was assigned to the participant response.

Table 7 in the appendix shows the frequency by which participants, categorized by race/ethnicity, stated the experience or environment they began to recognize themselves as a member of a racial or ethnic group. Each number indicates the number of respondents in each racial group who recognized their racialized selves from a particular source. From our excerpts below we see that who and where participants matter. They point out that a recognition between themselves and Whites became apparent, and for some it was a disheartening realization, for others it was a way to connect with that group, with their family and others.

4.3.1.1 Schools or Peers

For most Asian American, Black American, and Mixed/Multi-Racial participants peers and/or within school are where they started to understand and recognize their racialized selves for the first time. The incidents provided negative and inferior messages for non-Whites by White peers, friends, and even a teacher. For example:

> (Asian-American participant #7) I remember being made fun of/stoned in a playground as a child since I didn't look like the other kids. It made me realize that I would never really fit in and it wasn't something that I could change.
>
> (Latinx-Hispanic participant #3) When I would bring my home lunch and it was usually some type of Mexican food that my white peers deemed as "weird" and "gross".
>
> (Multi-Racial/Ethnic participant #9) I don't know that 14 is the exact age, but I started to recognize who I was racially early on in high school. Sort of, that's a really difficult question. I'm half-white and half-Japanese and grew up in a rural part of Kansas. My high school was predominantly white, and I began to realize my race when other students (and even a teacher in one incident) began making derogatory remarks to me based on my Asian heritage. I didn't realize it until I was in my 20's, but as a mixed-race individual, other people are more inclined to emphasize one race you're comprised more than the other in order to portray you in a way that they want. I.e., they would call me a racist slurs [sic]for Asians and treat me like I was full-Japanese, ignoring the white side of me, but as soon as I would call people out for being racist, suddenly they would question why I cared because I was "too white to be offended by it". Double standards were ubiquitous where I came from.
>
> (Black American participant #19) I was 7 playing dodgeball, I think it was first grade (very few blacks at my school) and I got one of the students out with the ball (he was white) and he said "why don't you go back to Africa?"[sic]. I knew I was black, my family celebrated it, but that was the first personal experience where it was used as a dagger instead of something positive.

These participants tell us that they learned or experienced their racial or ethnic differences from people outside their racial or ethnic group. Additionally, another respondent

highlights how recognizing this difference made them insecure about their physical appearance and attractiveness, and how they felt pressure to conform:

> (Latinx-Hispanic participant #14) Around 12 I started to become insecure and question my attractiveness/place in my community. I went to a dominantly white school and my features and very Latino and not at all similar to the light skin, thin noses of my fellow peers. This is when I started to understand the differences between me and them and feel the pressure to conform.

As seen in the excerpts, negative messages of one's race or ethnicity can come from friends, classmates, and even teachers. This is important in understanding the racialized self because, as Cooley (1902b) points out, we see ourselves how we think others see us. Having people who you respect, and may even look up to, perpetuate derogatory messages towards you because of your race, ultimately will negatively impact how you view yourself. We see that participants are being socialized to view their identities, and by extensions themselves, as something negative. This form of socialization, secondary socialization, occurs commonly within formal settings, such as educational institutions and professional environments, where individuals learn values and norms from social environments (Crisogen 2015). Because these values of non-White inferiority are learned and reinforced, non-Whites learn that their identity is something to be ashamed of.

4.3.1.2 Family

The second most common category where participants stated they began to recognize their racialized selves was from their own family. Some participants highlighted how their family made them think positively about their race, and to be proud of their heritage and culture. For example:

> (Latinx-Hispanic participant #1) family reunion[sic] and met all family members and the different ways culture was embraced.
>
> (Black American participant #3) My mother used to talk to me about it all the time. She wanted me to love my skin and understand how important being a black woman or child is.
>
> (Asian-American participant #32) Around 5 years old was when I realized and became curious about my parents and other family members speaking Tagalog. I asked many questions about what words meant, and this is when I realized they spoke Tagalog because we are Filipino. I would also talk to my Filipino classmates about our shared ethnicity. When I was 7 years old, I went on a vacation to the Philippines with my family. This experience also helped me realize how I was different from other kids.
>
> (Arab/Middle Eastern participant #4) My family puts a large emphasis on our culture so I was in touch with it from a very young age.

Not all participants mentioned positive experiences from their family members. Some reported that family members perpetuated negative messages by hurling racial slurs or being discriminated against. These participants reported identifying as Mixed or Multi-racial, and they started to recognize their racialized selves when one side of their family made a point that the participants were of a different race. For example:

> (Multi-Racial/Ethnic participant #3) I was primarily raised by my mother, but when I saw my father I noticed he was darker than other children's fathers. My maternal grandmother also made comments about my facial structure- she said I could never be beautiful because my nose was flat. She also called my father's side of the family "savages" because they culturally ate with their hands.
>
> (Multi-Racial/Ethnic participant #16) I am mixed, half Black, half White and I began noticing that I'm Black when my White side of the family made racially insensitive jokes about my brother and I, it showed me that they don't see us as being one of them and I became hyperaware of my race.

Some participants reported that their family members helped them understand their race and recognize their racialized selves, as well as underscore that racial reality within the United States. Parents and family members taught participants that because of their race, they may be victim to discrimination or prejudice. For example:

> (Black American participant #8) I realized I was black when I overheard my parents saying we have to be careful about what we say to white people.
>
> (Asian-American participant #16) My parents were talking about a racist incident in which someone from our community was hurt in a violent attack.
>
> (Black American participant #9) My parents made sure to teach me all about my ethnicity and how I will face some people who hate me because of it.
>
> (Black American participant #22) my mom would explain to me how the world is and how cruel it can be just because im black[sic].

Families provide meaning, socializing and helping us understand the environment we exist in. Parke and Buriel (2008) show that for non-Whites, socialization is not uniform across racial and ethnic groups. However, the common theme among socializing children of color is how to exist or interact within their own racial or ethnic group, and how within the larger White majority society. Looking at the first set of excerpts above, some families of color stress the importance of their racial and ethnic background. Those families provide a positive mindset for their children, which implies that when understanding their racialized self, these participants view themselves, and by extension their racial and ethnic group, positively. As seen in the second set of excerpts for the family category code, not all families provide a positive socialization experience, thus impacting the view of the racialized self negatively. Looking at the last set of excerpts, family members provide understanding as to what it might mean socially to exist as a non-White, which would also include recognizing that the larger White dominant society discriminates non-Whites. These experiences show that although families may directly provide a positive view of one's racialized self, living and existing in a White supremacist society can mean that racial and ethnic discrimination occurs. Taken together, this means that family socialization is not uniform, complex, and can help provide a positive view of one's racialized self, or it

can exacerbate and contribute to a negative view of one's racialized self, thus further impacting internalized racism.

4.3.1.3 Media

The third most common category where participants reported themselves recognizing their racialized selves was from the media. Some participants mention that they see cultural and racial representation in the media. Others point out the lack of representation of their racial or ethnic groups, and when they did see it, it was few and far between. For example, a mixed-race participant mentioned they never saw themselves aside from the movie Mulan. Further, another participant points out that they began to recognize their race by seeing more Latin culture and shows, revealing how the participant understood their race in the context of larger society, as non-normative, or different. For example:

> (Black American participant #6) It was mostly just watching tv shows that had lessons about racism was when I really noticed anything.
>
> (Latinx-Hispanic participant #6) Seeing more latin culture in TV shows. One that comes to mind when I was younger was George Lopez's sitcom.
>
> (Asian-American participant #21) I remember not seeing a lot of Asians on tv shows in general as well as not going to a school that included a lot of members of my racial group.
>
> (Black American participant #14) Archie Bunker and The Jeffersons.
>
> (Asian-American participant #25) magazines not showing people like me
>
> (Asian-American participant #26) The show Fresh off the boat was a big eye-opening experience that helped me understand my racial group.
>
> (Black American participant #17) Watching tv shows bac [sic] then of people who look like me and seeing my family members.
>
> (Asian-American participant #27) I noticed that no one on tv looked like me. As a child I wanted to be an actress or model and I remember thinking that I needed to learn martial arts because that was the only capacity that I saw Asians in entertainment. What a sad thought for a five-year-old.

The media can influence how identities are formed and reflect popular culture. Fürsich (2010) explains that national identities, such as an "American" one, were created for nation-building efforts. Populations outside of what the media identified as belonging to that national identity would be excluded as minorities and others. With their influence, identities and groups outside of the boundaries are excluded and ostracized. When thinking about the power that television, magazines, the news, and other forms of media have to influence identities, we can see how non-Whites are impacted with the image that media has of their racial or ethnic group. Participants provide evidence of the influence of the media on their racial and ethnic identities. For some, it was positive representation or one that supported stereotypes, while others noted the lack of representation of their racial or ethnic group in media.

Most respondents expressed an understanding of the difference between them and Whites, White culture, and Whiteness through different sources and experiences, their family members, media, and their peers. The evidence provided by participants explains how racialization can occur, and how this impacts their self-perceptions. For the respondents, it seems positive or negative views of their racialized self is dependent on how they first experienced racialization. When the rhetoric and connotation about their race or ethnicity is done in celebration and family members can elicit pride in being part of that heritage, then their view of their racialized self can be positive. Whereas jokes, insults, and verbal discrimination towards someone about their race would result in viewing their racialized self negatively. As Gans (2017) mentions, racialization can have positive effects, it can increase racial pride and reinforce group cohesions. It also has the potential for

othering, as shown with some participants. The racialized self is complicated and as seen, each person perceives what it means differently.

4.3.2 Interpersonal Racialized Experiences

Interpersonal racialized experiences encapsulate experiences of verbal, non-verbal, and/or physical forms of racial discrimination. Participants were asked what age they were when they first encountered an interpersonal racialized experience, and then asked to elaborate on that experience. We can see the average age of participants in the table below. Four of the groups of participants averaged around 11 and 12 years of age, with one group whose average age of experience is 5 and the other over 15. One thing to note is that both of those groups have a low number of responses. Benner et al. (2018) show in their meta-analysis that by the age of 10, most youth understand clear and more covert forms of racial discrimination. The average is a little higher than what some literature suggests, but not surprising overall.

Table 3 Age of First Interpersonal Racialized Experience

	Average Age of First Interpersonal Racialized Experience (SD)	**Number of Responses**
Native/Indigenous	15.25 (6.6)	3
Arab or Middle Eastern	5 (2.65)	4
Mixed/Multi-Racial	11.27 (5.97)	42
Latinx-Hispanic	11.57 (5.03)	53
Black American	12.43 (6.85)	141
Asian American	12.38 (12.38)	125

The open-ended responses to asking participants to elaborate on that first instance were coded with terms describing that experience, such as if it came from a family member or occurred at school, then grouped together by race and ethnicity. Table 8 in the appendix shows the seven categories of codes that emerged from the open-ended responses.

4.3.2.1 Schools or Peers

Like the racialized self data, many respondents stated that their first remembered experiences of interpersonal racism started in elementary or middle school with bullying, racial slurs, or physical abuse. The table above highlights that for all racial categories of participants, they report that school is the highest frequency of occurrence, while the code jokes/stereotypes/racist humor or epithet not at schools was second. Racialized experiences at schools contain also jokes or stereotypes, but also include physical acts of harm, verbal abuse, and other acts of racism, deliberate or not. Through reading excerpts from respondents, it emerged that experiences can be categorized as intentionally malicious or not. The following excerpts highlight deliberately hateful acts towards the participants:

> (Black American participant #5) There was a student in my classroom that made fun of the color of my skin almost everyday. I am a darker African American and he would make up songs and just bully me daily about my color.
>
> (Asian American participant #1) My friend kept making fun of my chocolate milk drink because it wasnt an american brand and looked like "diarrhea'". My other friend once called me a Chink ignorantly not knowing what kind of asian I am. Another time a man who I wasn't giving my attention to called me a Filipino c*nt for no reason whatsoever other than he was white and could demean me in that way.
>
> (Black American participant #9) being called a nigger at school by other students. having parents say they did not want me in their kids class. being accused of cheating because "your people aren't very smart".
>
> (Arab or Middle Eastern participant #1) i was called a terrorist at school..
>
> (Asian American participant #60) In class there was an Asian firefighter and someone shouted "Look, its your sister" and I almost cried because everyone was laughing at me.
>
> (Mixed Racial/Ethnic participant #30) When we first moved to Wisconsin we lived in a nearby town. I actually don't remember the incident myself, but after being treated much differently than the other children (the school only had one other non-white student) my mom said the final thing that

> upset her the most was that white children on the playground decided to force me to be their slave, in order to celebrate black history month.
>
> (Latinx-Hispanic participant #34) I remember distinctly that at even this young age that I was hanging around friends, not minorities but white, on the school playgrounds on the weekend. I didn't even know that racism existed nor understood it at that point in my life. In any case, the guys wanted to play a game where they wanted to tie me up with a rope. Yeah, I know what a game but I was naive at that age. So they tied me up from the feet down and threw the rope over a tree limb. Then they all ran away. I wondered where they went. But I remember that a neighbor came by and let me down cause he saw me and asked me if those kids were really my friends. I was shocked and humiliated, and hurt very deeply from that point on. I carry that grudge to this day at 73 years of age.

In contrast, some participants mentioned experiences where the intent may not be malicious directly, however, the experience still registered as an act of racism against the participant. For example:

> (Black American participant #6) People in school used to make fun of me for "acting white" all the time or saying im black and shouldnt do certain things.
>
> (Latinx-Hispanic participant #6) I remember having to defend my mom from people asking her to speak english because we live in the USA or having to make sure she felt comfortable speaking in spanish despite getting looks from others.
>
> (Mixed Racial/Ethnic participant #9) My sophomore year of high school I walked into one of my classes and the teacher said me as I walked in, in front of the entire class, "Julian, I'm so glad you're here. I was just telling the class that my rice cooker at home is broken, and I was hoping you could come and take a look at it." It was the single most racist thing anyone has ever said directly to me, and I had no idea where that had come from. He apologized to me after class without my prompting (I think he noticed that I didn't laugh), but I have never forgotten that moment. I've been on the receiving end of racist remarks, comments and stereotypes since far, far before high school, but that moment sticks out to me the most.

As we grow, we spend less time with parents and at home and more with teachers, peers, and school. Due to this, they become a stronger influence in our lives. These interactions impart lessons shaping our worldview, including how we view ourselves. For students of color, racial discrimination at schools negatively impacts their racial identity (Brown and

Chu 2012, Butler-Barnes et al. 2019). The interactions students have at school, with teachers and classmates, sway how students of color value their racial identity. When students of color perceive discrimination from important people in their lives, it negatively impacts how they view themselves, and even how they feel about school overall (Brown and Tam 2019). Looking at the excerpts above, we see that these instances of interpersonal racialized oppression not only have left a long-lasting impression on the participants, but also reinforced messages of White supremacy, negatively affecting their racialized selves.

4.3.2.2 Jokes or Racial Epithets

The second most frequent instance of interpersonal racism experienced among participants was coded as jokes/stereotypes/humor or racial epithets. These instances occurred outside of the school environment. This category arose because participants mentioned the verbal comment as the most important aspect of the experience, and explicitly neglect to mention the environment where the experience occurred.

> (Asian-American participant #3) This is when I most vividly remember people making explicitly racist jokes or mocking an ethnic language by exaggerating the way they stereotypically speak.
>
> (Mixed-Racial/Ethnic participant #2) People calling me names such as "rice-picker."
>
> (Mixed-Racial/Ethnic participant #4) I remember my nickname in softball became "wonton" because I was asian. I don't even like wontons and they had nothing to do with any of my softball skills.
>
> (Asian-American participant #15) I would hear things like "Go back to your country."
>
> (Black American participant #13) exposed to stereotypes of all kinds and people joking about them.
>
> (Black American participant #14) I was called a cotton picker.

Several responses of participants categorized within the jokes/stereotypes/racial epithets code mentioned racism among People of Color. As mentioned prior, inter-racial racism can occur, and reinforces White supremacy. Some participants mentioned that they were racially harassed by other People of Color:

> (Asian American participant #88) I went to a dominantly black middle school as a kid. There were upperclassmen who didn't like me because of my race. They would pick on me and call me "white boy," or "cracker". When I was in college, I would sometimes ride my bike to campus. Sometimes I would hear someone shout "Nice bike, white boy!" or "What you doin' out here, white boy?" Sometimes when I walk past a group of black kids, they'd say "White boy nervous!" and laugh. Sometimes they'd throw things at me.
>
> (Mixed-Racial/Ethnic participant #5) Excluded from a group of Asian friends for only being half in elementary school, hearing & learning about slurs in elementary school.
>
> (Mixed-Racial/Ethnic participant #3) I was called a half breed and a "dog" because I was mixed race. It was by a full blooded member of the community and everyone else, also full blooded- took it as a joke and laughed.

Racist jokes and statements expose the different typifications that exist as part of our shared culture (Parks and Heard 2009). When people hear racist comments and interpret them as jokes and humor, they are less likely to confront or dispel them, since jokes and humor masks whether the speaker had malicious intent. With racist jokes and statements not addressed, and allowed to exist, they have negative consequences for the recipients and bystanders. The jokes foster environments where People of Color do not feel the safest, nor does it create a sense of belonging (Katz, Grant and Merrilees 2019). As seen, some participants experienced racism from not only other People of Color, but multi-racial participants received racial epithets from ‘full blooded’ members of the racial group. These racialized messages received by People of Color support a White supremacist ideology and show how they are viewed by Whites and non-Whites alike (Trieu 2019). Constantly

inundated with experiences of racism promote a negative or inferior perception of one's own race.

These racialized messages received by People of Color support a White supremacist ideology. Repeated experiences of racism contribute to a negative or inferior perception of one's own race. These excerpts show an array of verbal slurs, not only from classmates, but from family members, teachers, and even random people met at parties or out and about. Further, Asian American participants were mentioned their experiences reminded them that they are seen as foreigners. While Black American participants mention being called the 'N' word many times, as well as physical avoidance from people. I believe these excerpts also highlight that racism and racialization exist differently between racial and ethnic groups at times. While these experiences share commonalities such as inferiority as compared with Whites, there are differences between groups connecting and highlighting the different histories and experiences.

4.3.3 Institutional Racialized Experiences

Institutional racialized experiences vary and help as reinforcement for White supremacy. Participants were asked what age they were when they first had an institutional racialized experience and to elaborate on that experience. Looking at the table below, most participants report 15 or older years old on average for their first interpersonal racialized experience. While one group's average age is 9, it should be noted that its number of responses is 3.

Table 4 Age of First Institutional Racialized Experience

	Average Age of First Interpersonal Racialized Experience (SD)	**Number of Responses**

Native/Indigenous	16 (5.29)	3
Arab or Middle Eastern	9.3 (5.13)	3
Mixed/Multi-Racial	17.42 (6.72)	43
Latinx-Hispanic	15.31 (6.88)	55
Black American	15.56 (8.63)	141
Asian American	17.03 (9.25)	131

Interestingly, one participant rejected the existence of institutional racism, stating that "I don't use my country's past as an excuse for my personal failures." Another mentioned that "Structural racism is not something that a few people or institutions choose to practice." Table 9 in the appendix shows that the most frequent instance where participants reported they experiences institutional racism was at work, then school, then when interacting with the law or criminal justice system.

4.3.3.1 Work

For participants who elucidated their institutional racism experiences at work or in a work environment, they range from racist experiences from leaders or managers to noting covert racisms within the organizational structure itself. For example:

> (Asian American participant #12) I can only say I encountered lower wages from what I perceive to have been racism, considering I was the only Asian person at my company and after speaking to coworkers, finding out my wage was considerably less for the same position.
>
> (Mixed-Racial/Ethnic participant #8) Coworkers being treated less fairly by management.
>
> (Asian American participant #27) My first job was diverse, but my second one was in a city that was predominantly white. It was there that I knew that I was being treated poorly by my manager because I was not white. She was a middle aged white woman who constantly targeted black customers very openly (accusing them of theft on the walkie talkies). Because of this behavior, I knew that she did not view minorities positively.

> (Latinx-Hispanic participant #12) I was working at my first professional job in Georgia and saw that only higher ups were white.
>
> (Asian American participant #47) It was my first job and I had been working there for about a year and I had started to notice that people who were hired after me were being promoted to do fewer and easier tasks than me. After every closing shift, I had to always wash the dishes and sweep and mop the floors while they just pack up and left. I never brought it up to management or anything because I did not want to cause trouble.
>
> (Black American participant #34) I was overlooked for a promotion after working hard for several years, the position went to someone else who was white and wasn't very professional.

Adults spend a significant amount of time working, while overt incidents of structural racism decreased with the Civil Rights Act, more subtle incidents arise, such as lower chances for professional development, mentorship, and promotion occur for People of Color (Act 1964, McCluney et al. 2018). As working adults, we are socialized to acknowledge and adopt the norms, values, beliefs, behaviors, and attitudes of our work environment (Preves and Mortimer 2013). As such, we enter a system that reproduces the majority ideology, White supremacy, and structures it in a way that in turn benefits and rewards persons who accept the socialization process. Cooper Brathwaite et al. (2022) explain that within White systems and structures, such as work, People of Color recognize and can identify these structural effects of White supremacy, such as a lack of leadership opportunities and even making space for Black women. Some researchers have found that institutional racism hinders Black nurses from promotion and advancement (Iheduru-Anderson 2020a, Iheduru-Anderson 2020b). We see that not only can White supremacy in the workplace exist but also be identified by non-Whites. Coinciding with prior research, these excerpts provide further evidence for the existence and impact of institutional racialized experiences.

4.3.3.2 School

Like with the excerpts from interpersonal racism, instances of racism shown themselves at schools and within the educational environment. Participants saw the disparities between treatment between racial groups within the educational system:

> (Latinx-Hispanic participant #15) Despite knowing English and not having any accent or impediments, I was separated from my classmates who got to watch movies and listen to a teacher reading a book in order to practice more English grammars and phonetics. The implication was that I was behind my classmates because I spoke Spanish at home and my parents did not know much English.
>
> (Asian American participant #7) My teacher refused to help me in math class when I was struggling since I was being "lazy" and was supposed to be good at math.
>
> (Asian American participant #16) teachers wanted to put me in higher-level classes just because of my race.
>
> (Mixed-Racial/Ethnic participant #13) When I was applying for colleges. My mom is an immigrant and didn't go to college. Everyone else seemed to have so much background knowledge on schools & the processes but I was like a deer in headlights.
>
> (Latinx-Hispanic participant #18) I was in advanced classes but they were mostly filled with white and asian [sic] kids. I felt very out of place and I don't think the Hispanic kids had much information on these classes.
>
> (Black American participant #35) I was denied access to information regarding a school-sponsored scholarship program despite taking honors classes and having a higher gpa then several classmates that were selected as finalist.
>
> (Black American participant #36) teachers assuming I was not smart, preventing me from moving to advanced classes, even though I was an advanced student.
>
> (Black American participant #46) When I moved to North Carolina I noticed how Black students were not encouraged in the education system. They were not offered the same resources as White students.
>
> (Mixed-Racial/Ethnic participant #4) When I went to college to become a teacher, one of my classes had to volunteer in a school that had 80% POC. I saw how underfunded this school was and learned from some of the teachers that they get less money because of their test scores.

These respondents provide evidence highlighting the different treatment among racial groups. For Asian American participants, following the model minority myth, they are expected to advance academically and succeed (Chou and Feagin 2015). For Latin and Black American participants, they recognized the lack of investment in their education as well as negative assumptions regarding their ability. These instances send messages to Latin and Black American students, socializing them to believe in White supremacist ideology, that they are less than because of their race (Aldana and Byrd 2015). The evidence exists not only of their treatment by educators and at school, but how the education system is structured.

4.3.3.3 Law or Criminal Justice System

The third major code category that participants stated they experienced institutional racism was from the law or criminal justice system. For example:

> (Black American participant #9) my dad got pulled out the car and beat by white men, the cops showed up, when he pressed the issue (cuz the cops were not doing anything and the white men were laughing with the cops) my dad went to jail. the white neighbors all saw and did nothing.
>
> (Black American participant #14) An officer pulled me over and searched me and my white friend for no apparent reason. He then took me in his car and asked me to show him my boob to not be arrested. I didn't think he could arrest me for anything anyway. So I refused and he took me back to my vehicle.
>
> (Mixed-Racial/Ethnic participant #10) After more than one interaction with the police in which I eliminated other factors such as age, I began to suspect that my encounters were attributable to my racial appearance.

These experiences are only snippets of participant excerpts, many stated ‘negative encounters with cops’ as an example. Mesic et al. (2018) shows us how negative police interactions, fatal shootings, are a product of structural racism. We can connect the instances of negative police encounters as indicators of structural racism, thus providing

evidence to its existence. The result of these interactions with law enforcement can show up as depressive symptoms, anxiety, and overall negative health (Bowleg et al. 2020, Turney, Testa and Jackson 2022). The compounding effect of these instances internalizes White supremacist ideology for People of Color.

These examples of institutional racism underscore the overarching reach of racism and show the multitude of ways it can manifest. Further, like interpersonal racism, the excerpts emphasize that racism manifests differently for different groups, because of the context of their racialization and their history with the United States and Whites. Institutional racialized experiences as a phenomenon had the greatest number of participants deny its existence, through these examples, we see that for some participants their effects are lasting.

4.4 Discussion and Conclusion

4.4.1 Discussion

This study highlights the multilayered racial self and the wide array of racialized experiences, both interpersonal and environmental for People of Color. For participants, their perceptions of these three concepts illustrate how differently they understand racism and its effects. We see for participants' racialized self, they can hold a positive or negative view. Whether this viewpoint was positive or negative seemed to depend on how the participant was first racialized, or how they first began to recognize themselves as a Person of Color. For example, if a participant first understood their racial identity negatively through messages of inferiority, such as realizing they look different from European beauty standards, they could view themselves negatively, and try to change their appearance

through skin whitening products, surgery, or hair straightening (Bryant 2013, Jha 2015). Participants also discussed positive recognition of their racialized self. For some, their family, community, or others provided positive messages of their racial or ethnic group. While highlighting the effects of positive racial recognition wasn't explored in this study, looking further into its relationship with internalized racism may provide interesting findings.

When looking at racialized experiences, we find the bulk of information within interpersonal racism. Participants' experiences included verbal and physical abuse, not only from White, but also People of Color as well. Further, these experiences of racism came from both within and between racial groups, providing more evidence that People of Color support White supremacy through racism amongst their own racial and ethnic group, and towards other racial and ethnic groups. White supremacist ideologies and messages show up differently for different groups, but the common thread is that the messages support the notion that non-Whites are inferior. For example, some Asian American participants expressed that were subject to racist messaging reinforcing the perpetual foreigner myth.

For mixed-race individuals, particularly White mixed participants, it was interesting to see how racism came from both Whites and people of their racial or ethnic group. Several respondents iterated how they felt unsure about their identity or caught between two spaces because they didn't see themselves as White or, for example, Asian. These participants pointed out that they received messages of being inferior to Whites, but also that they didn't 'measure up' or were accepted as a Person of Color. As Johnston and Nadal (2010) mention, multiracial individuals don't always have a clear cut response to

questions of their racial identity, nor how they identify. The authors provide several domains as pathways for multiracial responses. Two of them, exclusion or isolation, and assumption of monoracial or mistaken identity, seem to contradict, however, thinking about the different histories and processes for racialization, different multiracial individuals may consolidate towards one more so than the other. For example, Khanna (2010) highlights the 'one drop rule' regarding racialization amongst Black Americans, where mixed-Black individuals would identify as Black. This phenomenon has historical ties and is directly connected to Black American experiences and White supremacy. Connecting these themes, some mixed-Black participants feel connected to and identify as the racialized identity, whereas some mixed-Asian participants don't feel as though they fit in.

The respondent's response to institutional racism highlights larger motifs about color blindness, post-racialism, and false consciousness (Cohen 2011, Dawson and Bobo 2009, Neville et al. 2005). This question received the largest number of responses stating that the participant never experienced it. If the participants did discuss their experiences, it was normally in the form of negative police or teacher encounters. As mentioned above, several themes arise from participant experiences, negative encounters at work, or with police, and varying treatment in the educational system for different racial groups. A common theme was negative encounters, especially how similar it was for each racial group. For example, Black participants remarked about the assumptions of criminality or deviance they received from law enforcement as well as teachers. Latinx-Hispanic participants, and some Asian American participants, highlighted that in school, teachers and administrators assumed they didn't speak English and funneled them into classrooms

or participate in activities to improve their language ability. Further, Asian American participants routinely mentioned how they were expected to succeed academically and pushed to enroll in advanced and higher-level coursework, while Black and Latinx participants were not pushed at the same intensity.

Putting together the three categories of questions, the importance of schools and family emerges. Looking at the frequency tables, school environment or an offence at school were the top thematic response categories. This shows how impactful the experiences we have during our school years are. These experiences and interactions shape how we view ourselves. Impactful experiences and interactions occur during a significant amount of these impressionable years. A culminating effect of these instances can lead to internalized racism.

4.4.2 Conclusion

This chapter highlights how some People of Color see themselves racially and shows that being a Person of Color means being a recipient of racialization, and that can include negative messages about oneself. Participant responses tell us how racialization within a White Supremacist state contributes to the experiences and perceptions that People of Color have of themselves, their groups, and the world around them. When interacting with society, through consuming media, engaging with others, and going through school, People of Color receive messages that tell them they are different and less than as compared to Whites (Banaji, Fiske and Massey 2021, Sovacool et al. 2020). These messages also tell them that other People of Color are inferior as well, for example, during the COVID-19 Pandemic, anti-Asian violence occurred at the hands of other People of Color (Croucher, Nguyen and Rahmani 2020, Wu, Qian and Wilkes 2021). Interestingly though, while they

may be inundated with messages of inferiority, some People of Color see their racialized self positively. Instead of negative messages of White supremacy, some respondents acknowledged their racialized self as a source of pride and a connection to a community.

Participant excerpts provide evidence for the two theorized concepts, the racialized self and racialized experiences. These quotes show that these concepts are part of the process that creates internalized racism. How People of Color view themselves racially, and how they experience racialization work together, sending White supremacist messages to recipients, impacting one's own belief system. Ultimately, this chapter supports the two theorized concepts, the racialized self and racialized experiences, and provides evidence to their existence and how they contribute to internalized racism.

CHAPTER 5. SOURCES OF EXPLICIT INTERNALIZED RACISM

5.1 Introduction

This chapter analyzes the quantitative survey data to answer the remaining research questions: (2) How does the racialized self help create and perpetuate internalized racism? and (3) How do racialized experiences help create and perpetuate internalized racism? The goal of this chapter is to assess the extent to which the psychological concept of racialized self and the sociological concept of racialized experiences can explain differences in levels of internalized racism among a sample of People of Color.

5.2 Variables and Measures

5.2.1 Dependent Variables

For our outcome variable, internalized racism, the Appropriated Racial Oppression Scale (AROS) and the Implicit Association Test (IAT) were utilized (Campón and Carter 2015, Greenwald, McGhee and Schwartz 1998). The AROS models produced the best results so they will be presented first. A thorough discussion of the IAT results is included as Chapter 6. Each of these outcome measures assessed a different aspect of internalized racism, its implicit or covert aspect through the IAT, and the overt or explicit aspect of it through the AROS. Other measures for internalized racism exist, such as David and Okazaki (2006) Colonial Mentality Scale, Choi, Israel and Maeda (2017) Internalized Racism in Asian Americans Scale, or the Internalized Racial Oppression Scale for Black Individuals from Bailey et al. (2011). However, the AROS provides a measure not aimed at any specific racial or ethnic group and can therefore be used with a multiracial and multiethnic participant population such as the population of interest for the study at hand.

Following Tappan (2006), Campón and Carter suggest the use of "appropriated" instead of "internalized" because it shifts the focus away from the victim of racial oppression and attaches it to a sociocultural context. This change in perspective highlights the ways in which racial oppression is a function of white supremacy and emphasizes the notion that groups of Color borrow, or appropriate, these white supremacist ideologies.

The AROS itself is comprised of 24 items that ask participants to assess their emotional responses to their racial or ethnic group. These items include measures of how respondents perceive American standards of beauty, how they value their own racial or ethnic group, and how they think about racial matters and discrimination in America. All items were scored using a 7-point Likert scale with 1 being 'Strongly disagree,' 7 being 'Strongly agree,' while 4 was a neutral response worded as 'Neither agree nor disagree.' For each participant, the items were summed to create a singular variable for the measure. A higher score indicates higher levels of appropriated racism. Looking at Table 1 in Chapter 3, the summary statistics show the average AROS score is 88.7, with a standard deviation of 36.4, and a range from 24 to 166. When disaggregating by gender and race, we see in Table 10 that female participants have lower AROS scores on average compared to males, meaning that males would have higher levels of appropriated racism. Additionally, Native, Arab or Middle Eastern, and Mixed participants have lower AROS scores on average as compared to Black, Asian-American, and Latinx-Hispanic participants, telling us that Black, Asian-American, and Latinx-Hispanic participants have higher levels of appropriated racism. I expect that because the groups with the higher levels of appropriated racism are over 86% of the total sample, the average for those groups will skew the associations between the predictor variables and internalized racism.

5.2.2 Racialized Self

To see the influence that the racialized self has on internalized racism, two measures were used as independent variables for this study, a discordance between "street race" and perceived race, and the Cross Ethnic Racial Identity Scale – Adult (CERIS-A). These multidimensional measures of race are rooted in reflected appraisals and differential reinforcement (Burgess and Akers 1966b, Cooley 1902b, Mead 1934). Using these two different measures capture how the racialized self becomes reified through both in-group and out-group processes. That is, the concept of one's own race is socially constructed while considering understandings of the groups in which one is a member, as well as the groups in which one is not a member. Social interactions actively reinforce the racialized self through racial performative actions and the inundation of racialized messaging. Further, the racialized self is negotiated between held conceptions and the interpretation of others' reflected appraisals, feedback about others' conceptions of the actor's racial or ethnic identity.

To investigate this process, the first variable measures the discordance between one's self-perceived race and one's street race (Elam-Evans et al. 2008, López et al.). Self-perceived race, or how you might self-classify your race on official documents or surveys, encapsulates how one sees their bodily social status (Monk Jr. 2015). This concept was operationalized through the self-described race question in the demographic portion of the survey. Street race was measured using López et al. (2018)'s question "If you were walking down the street, what race do you think other Americans who do not know you personally would assume you were based on what you look like?" Answer categories include White, Black, Asian, Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander, American Indian or Alaskan

Native, Arab or Middle Eastern/North African, and Hispanic or Latino. Street race as a measure improves upon a socially defined perception of race because it accounts for multiple racialization experiences one may experience, it reflects a racialized view of the self through social interactions with others, and it avoids conflating race with nationality, ethnicity, and other social constructions of the racialized self. Individuals who have a discordant answer between self-perceived race and street race will be measured as 0. For example, someone who perceives their race as Black, and their street race as White, or non-Black will be measured as 0. For individuals without a discordant answer, they will be measures as 1. For example, someone who answers Black to both self-identified and street race will be measured as 1. For the sake of brevity, I will hereafter call this measure "street race match". A mismatch on the street race measure shows inconsistent racial identity between the individual and society. This discordance provides insight into one way in which racialization can negatively influence our own self-identity, thus leading towards internalized racism. Does et al. (2023) show that racial miscategorization negatively affects psychological well-being. Reflected appraisals tell us that we see ourselves how we think others see us, and if we believe others miscategorize our racial or ethnic identity, it might influence someone to think negatively on their racialized self (Sims 2016). Therefore, I predict that discordant matching on the "street race match" measure, where ones "street race" and self-identified race are not the same, will associate with an increase in AROS score.

Hypothesis 1A: People of Color who **express a discordant view** of their racialized self will show higher AROS scores, or higher levels of internalized racism.

Looking at the summary statistics in Table 1 in Chapter 3, 40.9% of participants believe that how they identify racially would be consistent with how they expect someone

walking down the street to identify them. Looking at Table 5, we see that there is little to no variation between male and female respondents. When looking at differences between race and ethnicity, we see that Black participants have the highest concordance with a mean of 0.92, whereas Asian-American participants have the lowest at 0.007. This means that for Black participants, on average, while walking down the street they may believe that other Americans would assume their correct self-identified race. For Asian-American participants, the opposite may occur, where other Americans may not assume their correct race if they were walking down the street.

Table 5 Street Race Match Average score by Gender and Race or Ethnic Groups

	Mean	SD	Range	N
Gender				
Male	0.4	0.49	0-1	223
Female	0.42	0.49	0-1	157
Racial or Ethnic Group				
Black American	0.92	0.27	0-1	144
Latinx-Hispanic	0.036	0.19	0-1	56
Asian-American	0.008	0.087	0-1	132
Native/Indigenous	0.75	0.5	0-1	4
Arab or Middle Eastern	0.75	0.5	0-1	4
Mixed/Mult-Racial/Ethnic	0.34	0.48	0-1	44

In addition to street race match, it is necessary to understand the respondents' racial identity as situated in U.S. culture, therefore the Cross Ethnic Racial Identity Scale – Adult (CERIS-A) was employed. The CERIS-A was developed to account for problems associated with earlier ethnic and racial instruments (Vandiver et al. 2002, Worrell, Mendoza-Denton and Wang 2019). These instruments focused on measuring Black ethnic and racial identity, whereas the CERIS-A was created to measure ethnic and racial identity among multiple racial and ethnic groups within a sample. In understanding that racial-

ethnic identity can change and manifest over time, the CERIS-A accounts for personal feelings and attitudes of one's own racial or ethnic group (Umaña-Taylor et al. 2014). Overall, the CERIS-A provides validated and well-rounded measures for the meta-construct of racial-ethnic identity. The CERIS-A considers seven ethnic and racial identity attitudes, four items/questions are in each attitude. Participants are asked their degree of agreement or disagreement on a 7-point Likert scale with 1 being 'Strongly disagree,' 7 being 'Strongly agree,' and 4 being a neutral 'Neither agree nor disagree.' The seven identity attitudes are scored using the average of the corresponding items in the subscale.

(1) **Assimilation** attitudes describe someone identifying more strongly with an American identity than their own ethnic or racial identity. Prediction: Higher assimilation scores will contribute to higher AROS Scores.
(2) **Miseducation** attitudes describe the acceptance of broad negative racial and ethnic stereotypes. Prediction: Higher miseducation scores will contribute to higher AROS Scores.
(3) **Self-hatred** attitudes describe the dislike, or hatred, that one has for their own racial or ethnic group. Prediction: Higher self-hatred scores will contribute to higher AROS Scores.
(4) **Anti-dominant** attitudes describe general anti-White sentiments. Prediction: Higher anti-dominant scores will contribute to lower AROS Scores.
(5) **Ethnocentric** attitudes describe the belief that racial or ethnic values and value systems belong as a guiding factor in one's life. Prediction: Higher ethnocentric scores will contribute to lower AROS Scores.
(6) **Multicultural inclusive** attitudes describe how a person of a racial or ethnic group can feel a strong connection to their group, while also being inclusive of other racial and ethnic groups. Prediction: Higher multicultural inclusive scores will contribute to lower AROS Scores.
(7) Lastly, **Ethnic-racial salience** attitudes describe how important one's race or ethnicity is towards everyday life and self. Prediction: Higher salience scores will contribute to lower AROS Scores.

Summarizing the predictions of the CERIS-A subscales, I expect higher Assimilation, Miseducation, and Self-hatred scores, will associate with higher AROS scores, or internalized racism, and higher Anti-dominant, Ethnocentric, Multicultural Inclusive, and Ethnic-racial salience scores will associate with lower AROS scores.

Hypothesis 1B: People of Color who **express negative views** of their racialized self will show higher AROS scores, or higher levels of internalized racism.

When we look at participant results in the summary statistics table in Chapter 3, on average participants had scored 'Neither agree or disagree' for four of the CERIS-A subscales; Assimilation (4.3), Miseducation (4.1), Ethnocentrism (4.5), and Ethnic-Racial Salience (4.2). On average, participants also 'somewhat disagreed' with the Self-Hatred (3.6) and Anti-Dominant (3.5) subscales, and 'somewhat agreed' with the Multicultural Inclusive Subscale (5.3). When disaggregating by gender, Female participants on average disagreed slightly more, lower number, than Male participants, except for the Multicultural Inclusive subscale, 5.34 for Males and 5.37 for Females. We see that for the CERIS-A subscales Anti-Dominant, Ethnocentrism, and Ethnic and Racial Salience, Female participants have lower scores on average, as well as higher Assimilation and Miseducation scores which might predict higher internalized racism than their Male counterparts.

When looking at the subscales by race or ethnicity of the participants, for the Assimilation subscale, Black American (4.19), Latinx/Hispanic (4.13), Asian-American (4.29), and Mixed/Multi-Racial/Ethnic (4.09) participants respond similarly to the mean (4.3), or "Neither agree or disagree," whereas Arab or Middle Eastern (5.06) and Native/Indigenous (3.5) participants differ from the mean. For the Miseducation subscale, Black American (4.18) and Asian-American (4.29) participants respond similar to the mean (4.1) "Neither agree or disagree," where Latinx/Hispanic (3.5), Native/ Indigenous (3.69), Arab or Middle Eastern (2.31), and Mixed/Multi-Racial/Ethnic (3.44) participants scores average lower than the mean. Looking at the Self-Hatred subscale, Black American (3.7), Asian-American (3.83), and Native/Indigenous (3.06) participants score the same average response as the mean (3.6) or "somewhat disagree." Latinx/Hispanic (2.89), Arab or

Middle Eastern (1.75), and Mixed/Multi-Racial/Ethnic (2.77) participants score lower than the mean, to "disagree," "strongly disagree," and "disagree" respectively. For the Anti-Dominant subscale, the results follow a similar pattern to the Self-Hate subscale, where Black American (3.6), Asian-American (3.45), and Native/Indigenous (3.44) participants respond similar to the mean (3.5), and Latinx/Hispanic (2.88), Arab or Middle Eastern (1.75), and Mixed/Multi-Racial/Ethnic (2.62) participants do not. For the Ethnocentrism subscale, Native/Indigenous (3.92) and Arab or Middle Eastern (2.88) score lower than the mean (4.5), "Neither agree or disagree." For the Multicultural Inclusive subscale, only Arab or Middle Eastern (2.88) have scores that are not "somewhat agree," the mean (5.3). For the last subscale, Ethnic-Racial Salience, Black American (4.56), Asian-American (4.14), and Native/Indigenous (4.31) participants respond similar to the mean (4.2), "Neither agree or disagree," and Latinx/Hispanic (3.67), Arab or Middle Eastern (2.81), and Mixed/Multi-Racial/Ethnic (3.57) participants do not. Summarizing the averages, for the last four CERIS-A subscales, Black and Asian-American participants had the highest or higher averages that other groups, indicating that they might have lower AROS scores based on the predictions and hypothesis.

5.2.3 Racialized Experiences

Racialized experiences can be categorized as interpersonal racialized experiences and institutional racialized experiences. To assess the influence that each of these sources of racialized experience have on internalized racism, a measure for each is included in the current study. The Perceived Discrimination Scale (PDS) was utilized to assess experiences of interpersonal racism (Williams et al. 1997). It is a 20-item instrument measuring the frequency of discrimination people feel based on race, ethnicity, gender, age, or other

characteristics. Participants were asked the frequency of perceived discrimination incidents based on their race. This scale is comprised of two subscales, one that measures lifetime discrimination, and another that measures daily discrimination. The lifetime measure asks whether an individual was treated poorly or discriminated against throughout their lives using multiple events such as talking to a teacher, job promotions, receiving medical care, encounters with law enforcement, and others. The daily measure asks how frequently participants experience more common occurrences discrimination from often to never in a 4-point Likert scale. This measure is then summed with a range from 0 to 36. Daily examples of discrimination include being called names, being harassed, others acting afraid around you, or acting as though you are not smart. This measure's score is summed if the event occurred at least once. This scale has been validated and consistently used in many studies. Existing uses of this scale include research on daily discrimination correlates to health (Kessler, Mickelson and Williams 1999), meta analyses (Luthar 2006, Pascoe and Smart Richman 2009), how racial and ethnic identities influence perceptions of everyday racism (Gong, Xu and Takeuchi 2017), its measurement equivalence across races and ethnicities (Kim, Sellbom and Ford 2014), and others.

Hypothesis 2A: People of Color who higher **negative experiences** of racialization will show higher AROS scores, or internalized racism.

According to my hypotheses, it is expected that higher perceived discrimination scores will contribute to higher AROS Scores. Looking at summary statistics in Table 1, PDS has a range of 9-1008 with a mean of 72.9. This shows that, on average, the population surveyed has dozens of experiences of racial discrimination, but there were two participants with scores over 500 and skewed the data heavily, therefore it was decided to standardize the variable. After transforming the variable, the standardized PDS mean is 1.16e-10 with

a range of -0.54 to 13.16. When looking at the standardized means by gender and race and ethnicity, we see very little difference between means.

To assess institutional racism, the Institutional Racism Scale (IRS) was used (Barbarin and Gilbert 1981). The IRS measures how people interpret institutional racism, participate in anti-racism actions, and evaluate their organization or structure's dedication towards quelling racism. If an individual perceives their organization committed to reducing racism, it may show that they will have less experiences with institutional racism. However, if an individual perceives acts and indices of racism from their organization or other institutions, it may contribute to higher levels of internalized racism. The scale consists of multiple self and organizational attribute subscales.

(1) **Indices of racism** subscale measures how perceptive an individual is to institutional racism. Higher scores indicate higher perception of institutional racism from examples, where 1 is not at all, 4 is neutral, and 7 is most. Prediction: Higher indices of racism scores are expected to contribute to higher AROS Scores.
(2) **Use of strategies of reducing racism** subscale examines multiple interventions such as voting, lobbying, education, from the individual. Higher scores indicate more instances of methods seen institutionally to reduce racism. Prediction: Higher use of strategies scores is expected to contribute to lower AROS Scores.
(3) **Effectiveness of strategies of reducing racism** subscale measures how effective the strategies are in reducing racism. Higher scores indicate the perception that the example strategy given will reduce racism. Prediction: Higher scores on this subscale are expected to lower AROS Scores.
(4) **Organization attribute** subscales consist of the agency climate subscale, which measures how racist an organization's policies and climate are. Higher scores indicate more climate for racism in organization seen by respondent. This is a Likert scale of 1-7, where 1 is strongly agree, 4 is uncertain, and 7 is strongly disagree. Prediction: Higher scores are also expected to contribute to higher AROS Scores.
(5) **Administrative efforts to reduce racism** subscale, which uses semantic differential ratings evaluating how individuals in the organization evaluate the organizations efforts and effectiveness in reducing racism. Higher scores indicate low to no administrative efforts to reduce racism. Prediction: Higher AROS Scores.
(6) P**ersonal efforts to reduce racism** subscale uses semantic differential ratings evaluating personal behavior in reducing racism. Higher scores indicate low to no personal efforts to reduce racism. Prediction: Higher AROS Scores.

Summarizing the predictions of the IRS subscales, I expect higher Indices of racism, Organization attribute, Administrative efforts to reduce racism, and Personal efforts to reduce racism scores, will associate with higher AROS scores, or internalized racism, and higher Use of strategies of reducing racism and Effectiveness of strategies of reducing racism will associate with lower AROS scores.

Hypothesis 2B: People of Color who higher **negative experiences** within racialized structures will show higher AROS scores, or internalized racism.

Parts of this scale have been validated and used to examine stereotype threat in the workplace (Bridges 2008), psychological effects of racism (Watts and Carter 1991), student's perception of racism and discrimination (Jackson and Henderson 2019), and others. Looking at the Tables 14 and 15 in the Appendix, we see very slight differences for the responses between Male and Female respondents for the IRS subscales. For each of the subscales, the differences are less than half a point. When exploring the difference among race and ethnic groups, Black American, Latinx-Hispanic, and Asian American participants all average around the mean of 4, meaning that they are neutral in indicating the acts as racism, whereas Indigenous participants indicate the acts as racism, and Arab and Middle Eastern and Mixed/Multi-racial/ethnic participants indicate slightly that the acts are not racism. All racial and ethnic groups fall near the overall mean regarding the effectiveness and use of strategies in reducing racism, meaning that they see and believe the strategies posed institutionally would reduce racism. Concerning how the racist their organization's policies and climate are, respondents report near the mean, between neutral and somewhat agree that their organization's policies and clime are racist. When looking at administrative and personal efforts to reduce racism, racial and ethnic groups do not deviate much from the mean.

5.2.4 Control Variables

Chapter 3 describes the research design, administration, and final sample for this study. We saw that most participants were male, with at least a bachelor's degree, and considered themselves upper or middle class. Further, on average, their age was just over 33, and the respondents were first- and second-generation migrants.

The control variables for this study reflect common socio-demographic indicators of internalized oppression variability, such as gender, socioeconomic status, education status, age, and migration status. Gender was measured by asking the respondents to self-identify through the question, "What is your gender?" The responses were transformed into a dichotomous variable where Male is coded as 1 and all else coded 0. Respondents' education level was collected through the question, "What is your highest level of education?" The education measure was also transformed into a dichotomous variable with participants with at least a Bachelor's degree coded as 1 and those without coded 0. Socioeconomic status was collected through a self-report measure whereby participants chose which category they felt they belonged: Lower, Working, Middle, and Upper. For migrant generation, participants divulged whether they themselves were born overseas (coded as 1), their parents (coded as 2), grandparents (coded as 3), or if their great grandparent or further was born overseas (coded as 4).

5.3 Analysis and Results

Conducting preliminary analyses, the dependent variable, AROS, was regressed using OLS with the control variables, and the independent variables in multiple models and was found to be heteroskedastic. AROS was then transformed with its natural log,

regressed again, and still found to be heteroskedastic. Since the dependent variable is a sum of responses from the multiple questions and subscales, a Poisson regression is appropriate for this analysis. Poisson regression handles non-normal data better than OLS regression. The first test was a baseline model that only includes the control variables. Subsequent models tested the relationship between the independent variables and internalized racism. Each of the independent variables will be included in the model individually, with 7 CERIS-A subscales, the Street Race Match measure, the IRS subscales, and the PDS. Testing out each of the independent variables individually shows the impact of each one on AROS scores, while controlling for other factors. In doing so, we can understand not only how strong or weak the effect of each predictor has on internalized racism, but also understand how it differs from the final model when all independent variables are included. In total 20 models with independent variables will be presented, Table 20 shows models testing the relationship between the racialized self and internalized racism. Model 1 only includes the control variables, providing a base to examine the subsequent models, showing that Gender, Age, Education, and Socioeconomic Status have a positive association with AROS scores, with Generation Migrant a negative relationship. Model 2 includes the Street Race Match variable, while not significant, the significant relationships stayed the same. Model 3 replaces Street Race Match with the CERIS-A Assimilation subscale and has a positive significant association with AROS scores. Each subsequent model replaced the independent variable with the next CERIS-A subscale, with each showing a positive and significant relationship with AROS scores. The last model, Model 10, included all racialized self variables together and we see that the CERIS-A subscales Assimilation, Miseducation, Self-Hate, and Anti-Dominant all had significant and positive associations

with AROS scores, while the subscale Multicultural Inclusive show a negative relationship. Further, in the last model, only Age and being a 4th Generation Migrant compared to a 1st Generation Migrant were the significant control variables, and they both had a negative relationship with AROS scores.

Our results tell us that when controlling for gender, age, education, socioeconomic status, and generation migrant, all the CERIS-A subscales are statistically significant predictors internalized racism, but the Street Race Match variable was not significant. All the variables report an incidence rate ratio over 1, meaning that when we see an increase in each of the CERIS-A subscale scores, we expect a higher AROS score as well. With all CERIS-A subscales showing a positive relationship with AROS, some of the outcomes resulted in the reverse of the expectations. For example, with the last 4 CERIS-A subscales, Anti-Dominant, Ethnocentrism, Multicultural Inclusive, and Ethnic-Racial Salience, it was predicted that higher subscale scores will lead to lower AROS scores, or a negative relationship. However, our results show us that when the subscales are regressed individually with the control variables on our internalized racism variable scores increase, indicating that when participants embrace higher anti-White sentiments, hold racial or ethnic values as a guiding factor, inclusive of other racial and ethnic groups, and believe that their race or ethnicity is important to their daily life, it is associated with higher measured internalized racism, when controlling for gender, age, education, generation migrant and socioeconomic status. Our last model combines all predictor variables, and the Assimilation, Miseducation, Self-Hate, Anti-Dominant, and Multicultural Inclusive subscales are all significant. Only the Multicultural Inclusive subscale associated with our dependent variable, AROS, negatively, while controlling for gender, age, education,

generation migrant, and socioeconomic status. When looking at the predictions, only the Anti-Dominant subscale was the opposite. The subscale Multicultural Inclusive changing direction, and following our predicted expectations was surprising. When looking at model fit, the combined and last model, Model 10 in the table, has the highest Pseudo R^2 value, at 0.587. While this isn't directly interpretable as it is for OLS regressions, it being the highest value compared to the other models tells us that when including all our independent variables with our control variables, provides the best model fit. When looking at the control variables, we see that being male, being in higher SES categories, and having a bachelor's degree are positively associated with having a higher AROS score across the models. Being a 4th generation migrant compared to being a 1st generation migrant has a negative association, while age fluctuates between positive and negative across the models.

We see that with our population, the higher age, men with at least a Bachelor's degree and identify Upper or Middle class are associated with having higher AROS scores, or internalized racism. Together, while these characteristics have a positive relationship with internalized racism, the latter in generation migrant a person in associates with lower internalized racism. When examining the result of the Street Race Match variable, in a model with controls and together with other racialized self variables, it does not associate with internalized racism. Practically, this could mean that a mismatch between how a Person of Color perceives themselves and how they believe others perceive their race isn't a factor in creating internalized racism. When looked at individually, there is more evidence that does not support the theoretical model this dissertation explores. Only three predictions of the association of CERIS-A subscales with AROS scores, Assimilation, Miseducation, and Self-Hatred have evidence supporting the hypothesis, the remaining

four subscales, Anti-Dominant, Ethnocentrism, Multicultural Inclusive, and Ethnic-Racial Salience provide evidence that show a positive view of one's racialized self associates with internalized racism. Put together, the racialized self variables show us more evidence that instead a negative view of one's racialized self is associated with increased internalized racism. Four out of the five significant independent variables coincide with their predicted outcomes, that their predicted increase (Assimilation, Miseducation, Self-Hate) or decrease (Multicultural Inclusive) help create and reinforce internalized racism. Each of the concepts, beliefs, and ideologies operationalized in the measures and subscales do not exist within a bubble, acting independently, therefore a combined model provides a more realistic conceptualization of how the racialized self exists. With all racialized self variables included in the model, we see evidence that does support the theoretical proposal of this dissertation.

Moving to the racialized experiences table, Table 21 in the Appendix, it follows a similar format to our racialized self models, where the first model is all the control variables, then the subsequent models add each of the racialized experience variables individually, with the last model combining all the independent variables. Every independent variable was significant and had a positive relationship, except the IRS Organizational Attribute subscale, with the predictor variable, AROS scores. With the interpretation like the racialized self models, values over 1 mean a positive relationship between the two variables. Additionally, like the racialized self models, several of our predicted outcomes were reversed. Both the Use of and Effectiveness of Strategies to Reduce Racism, as well as Organizational attributes were in the opposite predicted direction, meaning that when looking at these aspects separately, when organizations try

to quell racism through actions, policy, or within their climate, it results in respondents reporting higher internalized racism, when controlling for our reported covariates. Our predicted results tell us then when looking at the independent variables individually in the models, higher rates of perceived racial discrimination, incidents of racism, a lack of administrative and personal efforts to reduce racism have a positive association with internalized racism measure, AROS scores, when factoring in gender, age, education, generation migrant and socioeconomic status. After regressing the independent variables individually, they were included all together in Model 9. The results show that when together, all racialized experience measures are significantly associated with the internalized racism measure. Two of the IRS subscales changed direction, Effectiveness of Strategies to Reduce Racism and Administrative Efforts to Reduce Racism. Both measure report incident rate ratios just under 1, at 0.99 each, showing us that while they both changed direction, there is barely any effect at all. All other independent variables follow the same direction they did when regressed individually. The IRS subscale Personal Efforts to Reduce Racism was the only variable that increased in strength when put together, all other variables decreased in their strength. Additionally, when all the independent variables are included in a single model, that model provides the best fit overall, compared to other models regressed. Examining the control variables, being male, having a bachelor's degree, and being in the middle and upper SES groups compared with being in the lower group all have positive associations internalized racism. The age variable hovered near 1, only dipping lower significantly in the last model, showing that while significant, it has little effect when included in the model. Again, similar to the racialized self models, 4th

generation migrants, compared to 1st generation migrants, are associated negatively with internalized racism.

The racialized experience variables were all significant individually and collectively. This means that every measure significantly influences internalized racism. On their own, all independent variables, except the IRS Organization Attributes subscale, have a positive relationship with AROS scores. However, as iterated, these experiences do not operate or exist in a vacuum, independent of the others, therefore the combined model provides a more sociologically forward model. Looking at the combined model of racialized experiences in Tabel 21 Model 9, three out of seven outcomes are opposite our predictions. When looking at what supports our hypothesis, we see that together, an increase in perceived discrimination, indices of racism, and acting personally in ways that do not reduce racism are associated with an increase in AROS scores, increased internalized racism. These three variables provide evidence that supports the theoretical model that this dissertation is testing. Additionally, the increased use of strategies in reducing racism associates with a decrease in AROS scores, or internalized racism. The two variables, organizational attributes, and administrative efforts in reducing racism both are significant, but directionally the opposite of what was predicted, showing us that a racist climate within their organization, and organization administrators acting in ways that do not reduce racism associate with lower AROS scores, or lower internalized racism. The strongest predictor out of the racialized experience variables was personal efforts in reducing racism. This variable tells us that when a Person of Color does not act in a way that does not work towards reducing racism, that their own internalized racism increases.

In our last model, Model 10 in Table 21, all racialized self and racialized experience variables were combined. We see that out of all fifteen predictor variables, only six are significant, two from the IRS subscales, and the remaining four from the CERIS-A subscales. The two significant IRS subscales, administrative and personal efforts to reduce racism, do not change direction as compared with the racialized experience model only, meaning that administrative efforts to reduce racism is negatively associated with higher AROS scores, while personal efforts are positively associated with higher AROS scores. Meaning that when People of Color and their organizational administrators act in a way that does not help reduce racism, it is associated with an increase and decrease of AROS scores. The CERIS-A subscales Assimilation, Miseducation, Self-Hate, and Anti-Dominant were all significant as well as had a positive association with higher AROS scores. These four out of six independent variables are all directionally consistent with the predicted results. While two variables are opposite our model, evidence supports the theoretical model of this dissertation. Psychological and sociological factors contribute to internalized racism. A more negative view of one's racialized self and more negative racialized experiences contributes to internalized racism.

5.4 Discussion

Looking at our original research questions, we see that overall, the Racialized Self and Racialized Experiences positively influence internalized racism, as measured by the AROS. While the variable Street Race Match yielded no significant results, all the CERIS-A subscales did, in the same direction. Several of the CERIS-A subscales were predicted to correspond with lower AROS scores, such as the Anti-Dominant, Ethnocentrism, Multicultural Inclusive, and Ethnic-Racial Salience subscales. This would mean that

collectively, the more a participant reported that they held anti-White sentiments or have a higher view of their own ethnic or racial salience, their measured internalized racism increased. As David (2013) mentions, internalized oppression is an individual differences variable, meaning that it may not manifest uniformly among oppressed groups, or at all. What we see with the other subscales falls in line with what was predicted, participants with attitudes that hold an American identity higher than their own, or they accept negative racial stereotypes, or describe the animosity they have towards their own racial or ethnic group, those participants show higher rates of internalized racism, as measured by the AROS.

The results exploring how the Racialized Self influences internalized racism show that it has a relationship with internalized racism. Higher scores for three subscales Assimilation, Self-Hatred, and Miseducation support the theoretical proposal in this dissertation, while the four other subscales imply that internalized racism can increase when a person has a positive view of their race or ethnicity, and themselves as a person of that racial or ethnic group. However, when together, the subscale Multicultural Inclusive switched directions, following its predicted association.

Concerning the Racialized Experiences variables, two predictors yielded results in the opposite direction hypothesized. We see that when organizations work towards reducing racism, it coincides with higher internalized racism. Conversely, when an organization or agency has a climate for racism, participants are likely to have lower AROS scores. All other results suggest that when people experience racial discrimination, as well as exist, operate, and interact in a racist institution, they are more likely to have higher internalized racism. When the variables were together in a model, conceptually

representing the cumulative effect of racialized experiences, all independent variables were significant, albeit some were in the opposite direction than predicted, showing that aggregately racialized experiences impact internalized racism.

When combined, both sets of independent variables had not only significant predictors, but four of them were pointed in the predicted way, showing that negative racialized experiences and views of the racialized self are associated with increasing internalized racism.

5.5 Conclusion

Theoretical and conceptual developments in internalized racism research have identified multiple concepts that lead to internalized racism. These concepts still require further exploration and analysis into a pathway model providing researchers with a clear understanding of how internalized racism is created. This study is just one step in that direction. This study shows that the theorized concepts, the Racialized Self and Racialized Experiences significantly relate to internalized racism. While mixed results with the variables occurred, we might interpret this as any racialized view of oneself influences and helps create internalized racism. Further, any racialized experience might contribute to internalized racism as well. The mixed results tell us that multiple factors can increase as well as mitigate internalized racism. One's own internalized racism is not a singular thing that doesn't just exist or not. Internalized racism ebbs and flows, and experiences and psychological concepts help increase or decrease its hold on People of Color. If white supremacy exists, People of Color will have to contend with internalized racism. This

dissertation chapter shows that the theorized concepts not only exist but have significant relationships with internalized racism.

CHAPTER 6. SOURCES OF IMPLICIT INTERNALIZED RACISM

6.1 Introduction

Recall the second and third research questions associated with this dissertation research: (2) How does the racialized self help create and perpetuate internalized racism? and (3) How do racialized experiences help create and perpetuate internalized racism? The goal of this chapter is to explore these research questions by measuring internalized racism at the subconscious level. Internalized racism acts consciously and subconsciously. Because of this, two dependent variables each measure how internalized racism manifests explicitly, measured using the AROS, and implicitly, measured by the Implicit Association Test. I have adapted the Implicit Association Test (IAT) to measure implicit bias against one's own race. The IAT was utilized because it has potential as an implicit and covert measure for internalized racism. If the IAT can measure internalized racism, this dissertation would mark a major step forward for our cumulative knowledge on the internal cognitive workings of internalized racism.

6.2 Variables and Measures

6.2.1 Dependent Variables

The Implicit Association Test aims to measure unconscious bias through the amount of time it takes respondents to sort words and images into categories. Theoretically, this is a behavioral measure of the strength of associations between concepts and evaluations or stereotypes (Greenwald, McGhee and Schwartz 1998). If respondents take very little time to associate words or images with one another, this is an indication of strong

association within the mental schema. If respondents take relatively longer amounts of time, this would represent weaker associations within the mental schema. This test is administered via computer. Respondents go through practice rounds to learn the necessary controls before facing words and images that are to be sorted into two categories. Then, respondents are asked to, as quickly as possible, press A to sort the word or image into the category shown on the left side of the screen or press L to sort the word or image into the category shown on the right side of the screen[1]. In this study, the categories are evaluations of good or bad and the words and images have been tailored to represent the respondents' own race.

The Implicit Association Test was introduced by Greenwald, McGhee and Schwartz (1998) to measure associations between target pairs of concepts, such as races or genders or merchandise brands, and an evaluative category dimension, such as pleasant-unpleasant or positive-negative. The IAT measures implicit associations between concepts and ideas. For example, if the target were race, such as black and white, and the category dimension was pleasant-unpleasant, the IAT would measure which race is seen relatively more pleasant or unpleasant, implicitly. Previous studies have used various implicit association tests to measure internalized oppression and have validated this approach as a measure of bias regarding race, gender, and sexual orientation (Anselmi et al. 2013, Cralley and Ruscher 2005, David and Okazaki 2010, Oswald et al. 2013, Rezaei 2011, Rudman and McLean 2016, Thomas 2020).

[1] The specific keys that respondents are asked to press are irrelevant other than the fact that the key used to sort words/images to the left is on the left side of the standard U.S. keyboard and the key used to sort words/images to the right is on the right side of the standard U.S. keyboard.

Importantly, while the most well-known implicit association tests assess implicit bias against Black persons, the current study involves customized IAT procedures for each respondents' race. For example, if the respondents' response to a previous item indicated that their race was Asian, they were presented with images that represent White people and Asian people. If the respondent indicated that their race/ethnicity was Latinx-Hispanic, they would be asked to sort pictures represent Latinx-Hispanic people and White people. For each IAT version, images that represent White people were included, because the focus of this dissertation is the importation of White-positive and self-negative ideology. Further, the aim of the IAT for this dissertation was to ascertain the evaluation of one's own race and White in terms of positive/negative evaluations. As such the sorting categories were labeled as Pleasant and Unpleasant.

Customizing the IAT to be relevant for a plethora of races was challenging. See Table 19 in the Appendix of all images used for each race/ethnicity[2]. Once these variations were created and imported into Qualtrics, the skip logic was calibrated to present the proper IAT to the respondent based on their response to the self-reported race/ethnicity question. In the end, versions of the IAT were created for races that were chosen by none of the respondents. Thus, the relevant IAT versions were Black American, Latinx-Hispanic, Asian American, Native/Indigenous, Arab or Middle Eastern, and Mixed/Multi-Racial/Ethnic.

As mentioned above, the numerical measure of implicit association is the latent response times between the presentation of targets (i.e., White or People of Color's images)

[2] This research was supported in part from the University of Kentucky's Center for Equality and Social Justice's Graduate Student Research Fellowship.

and the pressing of keys to sort those targets into positive or negative categories (Pleasant or Unpleasant terms). The test aims to detect differences in the speed with which participants press the keys to sort target pairs into those evaluative categories. Faster responses to a pair, such as a White image sorted into Pleasant or a non-White image sorted into Unpleasant shows a pro-White racial bias. Whereas a faster response towards sorting a non-White image into Pleasant or a White image into Unpleasant shows a pro-non-White racial bias. The non-White images were chosen from copyright free and unlicensed images of people from those respective racial and ethnic groups.

In the procedural language of the IAT, each set of pair-sorting tasks is called a block. These blocks can present the Unpleasant and Pleasant categories on either the right or the left of the screen and can also begin with an image that the researcher assumes to be positive or an image that the researcher assumes to be negative. Following similar formatting from prior studies, the respondents were presented with seven blocks in total. This procedure has been shown to prepare the respondent to complete the test without priming them to respond in a certain way. In the seven-block protocol, three of the blocks (1, 2, and 5) are practice blocks with results that are not included in the final measure. The remaining four blocks are configured with either Target A on the right initially positive (compatible); Target A on the right initially negative (incompatible); Target A on the left initially positive (compatible); Target A on the left initially negative (incompatible). As mentioned earlier, according to Greenwald, Nosek and Banaji (2003), any trials over 10,000 milliseconds and participants where greater than 10% of their trials were faster than 300 milliseconds are to be omitted. This is done to omit participants who complete the test by randomly pressing the sorting keys as fast as they can and admit participants who may

have taken too long, thus defeating the purpose of a timed test measuring implicit associations. To calculate the measurement, termed "D-score", the difference in average time for each participant for blocks 4 and 7, and blocks 3 and 6, was divided by one pooled standard deviation, which provided two scores. The average of these two scores is the resulting D-score for the participant. A score of '0' means no preference, while a positive score signifies a pro-White bias, and a negative score signifies a pro-non-White bias. D-scores of 0.15 associate with a "slight preference," 0.35 with a "moderate preference," and 0.64 with a "strong preference (Blanton, Jaccard and Burrows 2015)." As it relates to the aim of this dissertation, a pro-White bias is internalized racism, and a pro-non-White bias is not. Further, since all the respondents included in our sample are non-White, those respondents who exhibit a pro-White bias (positive D-score) experience internalized racism.

Looking at the summary statistics in Chapter 3, the average IAT D-Score is -0.012, with a standard deviation of 0.43, and a range from -1.76 to 1.09. We see that the participants on average have skew slightly negative, or they are less likely to have internalized racism as measured by the implicit association test. When disaggregating by gender (Table 6), we see minimal differences. By race and ethnicity, Native/Indigenous participants have the lowest score, but also a high standard deviation, which encapsulates the means of the other racial and ethnic groups. Mixed/Multi-Racial/Ethnic and Asian-American participants were the only ones with positive means as well. Interestingly, many of the means are close to 0, which was not expected. A score of 0 means that there is no bias, and with no bias seen, it would be difficult to measure any relationship between our independent variables on internalized racism if there is no evidence for it present.

Table 6 IAT D score by Gender and Race or Ethnic Group

	Mean	SD	Range	N
Gender				
Male	-0.02	0.42	-1.76-1.09	223
Female	0.01	0.43	-1.49-0.95	157
Racial or Ethnic Group				
Black American	-0.02	0.42	-1.49-0.97	144
Latinx-Hispanic	-0.03	0.36	-0.7-0.78	56
Asian-American	0.005	0.43	-1.48-0.97	132
Native/Indigenous	-0.66	0.81	-1.76-0.21	4
Arab or Middle Eastern	-0.04	0.45	-0.41-0.59	4
Mixed/Mult-Racial/Ethnic	0.05	0.44	-1.02-1.09	44

6.2.2 Independent Variables

The racialized self and racialized experiences both use the same measures as Chapter 5. For the racialized self, the constructed "street race match" and the CERIS-A subscales are used (López et al. 2018, Vandiver et al. 2000, Worrell, Mendoza-Denton and Wang 2019). When measuring racialized experiences, the same measures were used as well, the Perceived Discrimination Scale (PDS), and the Institutional Racism Scale (IRS) subscales (Barbarin and Gilbert 1981, Williams et al. 1997). Additionally, the control variables are the same as described in Chapter 5; age, gender, socioeconomic status, education status, and migration status.

6.2.3 Hypotheses

Using IAT as the measure for internalized racism, this chapter tested three hypotheses:

H1: People of Color who **express negative views** of their racialized self will show a pro-White bias, or internalized racism.

For the racialized self variables, I predict that discordant matching on the "street race match" measure, where ones "street race" and self-identified race are not the same, will

associate with a higher D-Score, or a pro-White bias. Regarding the CERIS-A subscales, I predict that higher Assimilation, Miseducation, and Self-hatred scores, will associate with a higher D-Score, or a pro-White bias, and higher Anti-dominant, Ethnocentric, Multicultural Inclusive, and Ethnic-racial salience scores will associate with a lower D-Score, or a pro-non-White bias.

H2: People of Color who experience **negative experiences** of racialization will show a pro-White bias, or internalized racism.

According to my hypotheses, it is expected that higher scores on the Perceived Discrimination Scale will contribute to higher D-Scores, or pro-White bias. Regarding the Institutional Racism Scale, I predict that higher scores for Indices of racism, Organization Attributes, Administration efforts to reduce racism, and Personal efforts to reduce racism will contribute to higher D-Scores, or pro-White bias. For the other IRS subscales, I predict that higher Use of strategies of reducing racism and Effectiveness of strategies of reducing racism will contribute to lower D-Scores, or a pro-non-White bias.

H3: People of Color who express negative views of their racialized self **and** have negative racialization experiences will show a pro-White bias, or internalized racism.

6.3 Analysis and Results

OLS regression analyses were conducted to assess the effect of racialized self and racialized experience on internalized racism as indicated by the modified implicit association test. The first regression is a baseline model only including the control variables, and the subsequent models test the relationship between the independent variables and internalized racism. Each of the racialized self variables are included in the model individually (i.e., 7 CERIS-A subscales and the Street Race Match measure). All variables are included together in the last model. The racialized experience variables are

handled in similar fashion, regressed first individually and then all together in the last model.

The tables below provide our output for all participants. For the racialized self models, independently, shown in Table 22 Model 6, only the CERIS-A Anti-Dominant subscale was a significant independent predictor on IAT D-score. While it was significant, it was only at the 0.1 level, not providing strong evidence as a predictor for our internalized racism variable. For the racialized experiences models, shown in Table 23 Model 9, only the IRS Use of Strategies in Reducing Racism were a significant predictor, and that was with other independent variables, and only at the 0.1 level.

The consistent significant result for both tests was 4th generation migrant status. While this was only at the 0.1 level, being a 4th generation migrant was associated with lower internalized racism, measured by the IAT, when controlling for all other variables and as compared to being a 1st generation migrant.

After interpreting the OLS regression results, the D-score measure was dichotomized in such a way as to code any positive D-score as 1 and any other D-score as 0. This means that any respondent who exhibited any kind of pro-White implicit bias, which indicates internalized racism as defined in this study, is coded as 1 and any respondent who does not exhibit any pro-White implicit bias is coded as zero. In analyses not presented here, this dichotomized version of the IAT results was entered into a logistic regression as the dependent variable along with the same independent and control variables included in the OLS regression described above. Unfortunately, this reconfiguration of the dependent variable still did not result in statistically significant findings regarding the main independent variables (racialized self and racialized experience).

6.4 Discussion

This facet of the dissertation did not provide many significant results. Most importantly, the results do not provide evidence to support the hypothesized relationship in which the racialized self and racialized experiences predict internalized racism as measured by the IAT. There could be several reasons for this result. First, implicit association tests purport to assess unconscious bias. While internalized racism may well be part of the unconscious psyche, the inherently social nature of racialization and racial categorization may require a conscious comparative process in order to be activated in observable behavior. In other words, since racial categories are socially constructed, asking respondents to evaluate racial categories invokes a racialized comparison vis a vis the respondents own racial self and their understanding of the dominant racial frame.

The previous chapter assesses the Appropriated Racial Oppression Scale (AROS) as the dependent variable operationalizing internalized racism. The findings showed that the racialized self and racialized experiences are related in the hypothesized direction to internalized racism when measured with AROS. The fact that operationalizing internalized racism with AROS shows significant results and operationalizing internalized racism with the IAT does not show significant results, supports the notional that internalized racism is a social product and effects individuals in the conscious rather than subconscious realm. With the lack of internalized racism present measured by the IAT, it shows it may not be the most appropriate measure for internalized racism. The insignificant results may be cause of how close the D-score means were close to 0, or no bias.

A second reason that the IAT may not have shown statistically significant results in this study could be a matter of statistical power. The IAT, due to its nature, results in

numerically small variation between subjects. Regardless of transformations, the variation from respondent to respondent is relatively small. As such, the 380-sample size for this study is simply too small to detect a weak relationship between the independent and dependent variables in the study.

Despite these issues, there were some variables that presented a statistically significant relationship with internalized racism when operationalized via the IAT. For example, being a fourth-generation migrant was a significant predictor of lower internalized racism. This shows us that individuals whose families have been in the US for multiple generations are predicted to have lower internalized racism than their counterparts who were born overseas. The CERIS-A Anti-Dominant subscale was the only significant racialized self predictor variable. This variable has a negative relationship with internalized racism measured by the IAT, meaning that the more general anti-White sentiments a participant has, the lower their internalized racism. The IRS Use of Strategies to Eliminate Racism subscale was the only significant racialized experience predictor variable. This had a very small positive relationship with internalized racism and was in the combined model, shown in Table 23 Model 9. We can interpret this meaning that the multiple interventions to reduce racism they participant in is associated with more internalized racism. This result was opposite with the prediction in Chapter 5, that it would be associated with lower internalized racism, as measured by the AROS Score.

6.5 Conclusion

Theoretical and conceptual developments in internalized racism research have identified multiple concepts creating internalized racism. These concepts still require

further exploration and analysis into a pathway model providing researchers with a clear understanding of how internalized racism is created. This study is just one step in that direction and prompts more questions than it answers. Had the customized IAT been a useful operationalization of internalized racism, this facet of the dissertation would have been a major step forward in the science of internalized racism. As it stands, the null findings show us that more work needs to be done exploring the antecedents of internalized racism in the United States. Additionally, the results of this chapter may point to internalized racism as a process that operates in the conscious realm rather than the unconscious one. Afterall, social interaction is the basis for racial comparison. Further, these results remind that when exploring internalized racism among multi-ethnic and multi-racial populations, attention needs to be paid to the heterogeneous experiences of racism, because racial and ethnic groups differ in their experiences of racism, as well as how they respond to it.

CHAPTER 7. CONCLUSION

7.1 Summary of Findings

Internalized racism is a complicated and multilayered process and phenomenon. Drawing from Symbolic Interactionism, the social construction of self, and the concept of the dominant White racial frame, this dissertation argued that interpersonal interaction and environmental experiences play a pivotal role in shaping internalized racism (Feagin 2020, Stryker 2008). The dissertation posited that human interaction is organized around shared meanings, including those attributed to race, which are socially constructed. In the United States, racial categorization occurs within the overarching framework of White supremacist ideologies, leading to the marginalization and negative valuation of People of Color. Consequently, racialized experiences, both interpersonal and institutional, contribute to the internalization of negative racialized constructs, resulting in internalized racism (Bonilla-Silva 2001, Brown and Segrist 2016, Buggs 2017, Feagin 2013a). The dissertation proposed a comprehensive explanation of how racialization processes within a White supremacist society influence individuals' perceptions of self and contribute to the formation and maintenance of internalized racism.

The dissertation explored how societal structures and interactions reinforce dominant White supremacist ideologies, leading to the internalization of racialized beliefs and values among People of Color. Interpersonal racialized experiences encompass various forms of racism, from overt acts to more covert manifestations such as microaggressions and colorblind racism (Bonilla-Silva 2006, David, Petalio and Crouch 2018). Institutional racialized experiences, on the other hand, stem from interactions with societal institutions that perpetuate White supremacy. The dissertation highlighted the intertwined nature of

interpersonal and institutional racism in shaping individuals' perceptions of self and the internalization of racist ideologies. Through qualitative and quantitative analysis, this dissertation reports the impact of racialized experiences on internalized racism, shedding light on the mechanisms through which individuals come to internalize negative racialized constructs within a White supremacist society.

When looking at the qualitative data, Chapter 4 of this dissertation delves into the intricate layers of racial identity and experiences among People of Color. It uncovers a spectrum of perceptions regarding racism and its effects, demonstrating that individuals racialized self-perceptions can vary from positive to negative based on initial racialization experiences. These experiences are deeply intertwined with societal messages and interpersonal interactions, shaping individuals' understanding of themselves as racial beings. Notably, the chapter highlighted the prevalence of both positive and negative racial recognition, suggesting that while some People of Color may internalize messages of inferiority propagated by White supremacist ideologies, others find pride and community connection in their racialized identities. Furthermore, the examination of racialized experiences reveals the pervasive nature of racism, not only in interpersonal interactions but also within and between racial groups, clarifying how individuals navigate their identities amidst systemic and internalized racism. These findings underscore the complexity of racial identity formation and experiences within the context of a White supremacist society. It emphasizes the impact of societal messages and interpersonal interactions on individuals' perceptions of themselves and others, shedding light on the mechanisms through which internalized racism is perpetuated. By corroborating the existence of the racialized self and racialized experiences as theorized concepts, this study

contributes to the broader understanding of how systemic racism manifests in individuals' beliefs and behaviors.

The dissertation's quantitative investigation into internalized racism, Chapter 5, utilized a multi-faceted approach, employing both racialized self and racialized experiences variables. Through a series of regression analyses, it was revealed that while certain racialized self variables, such as the CERIS-A subscales, consistently demonstrated significant and positive associations with internalized racism, others yielded unexpected results (Worrell, Mendoza-Denton and Wang 2019). Notably, the Street Race Match variable showed no significant relationship, whereas variables like Assimilation, Miseducation, and Self-Hate consistently exhibited positive associations with internalized racism, aligning with theoretical predictions (López et al. 2018). However, the Multicultural Inclusive subscale unexpectedly displayed a negative association, challenging initial expectations. Furthermore, the analysis of racialized experiences indicated that while most variables demonstrated positive associations with internalized racism, there were instances of counterintuitive results, particularly concerning organizational efforts to reduce racism. Despite these discrepancies, the combined model incorporating all variables provided valuable insights, with significant predictors emerging and highlighting the complex interplay between racialized self-perceptions, experiences, and internalized racism.

Chapter 6 of this dissertation utilized a proprietary adaptation of the Implicit Association Test (IAT) as a measure of subconscious bias to explore the implicit manifestations of internalized racism among People of Color (Greenwald, McGhee and Schwartz 1998). The IAT, adapted to measure implicit bias against one's own race,

provided a unique opportunity to delve into the subconscious dimensions of internalized racism, complementing the traditional explicit measures employed in Chapter 5. The findings, however, did not yield significant support for the hypothesized relationships between the racialized self, racialized experiences, and internalized racism as measured by the IAT. While previous research has highlighted the role of conscious processes in internalized racism, such as the Appropriated Racial Oppression Scale (AROS), the current study suggests that the subconscious nature of the IAT may not capture the nuances of internalized racism adequately (Campón and Carter 2015). Through this we can begin to understand the complexity of internalized racism as a social construct influenced by both conscious and unconscious factors. Moreover, the results raise questions about the suitability of the IAT as a measure of internalized racism, particularly within diverse racial and ethnic populations. The lack of significant findings may be attributed to the small variation in IAT scores and the limited statistical power of our sample size. Nevertheless, certain variables, such as generational status and attitudes towards dominant racial narratives, emerged as significant predictors of internalized racism, shedding light on potential avenues for future research.

While this dissertation represents a step towards understanding internalized racism, it stresses the need for further exploration and refinement of measurement tools and theoretical frameworks. This dissertation's exploration into the formation of internalized racism contributes to the ongoing discourse, emphasizing the nuanced nature of its determinants and underscoring the necessity for further research to elucidate its underlying mechanisms and inform efforts aimed at mitigating its impact. By acknowledging the conscious and subconscious dimensions of internalized racism, researchers can continue to

unravel its complexities and develop interventions aimed at dismantling its pervasive effects in society. Additionally, attention to the heterogeneous experiences of racism among diverse racial and ethnic groups is essential for a comprehensive understanding of internalized racism and its implications for social justice efforts.

7.2 Limitation

The dissertation's comprehensive exploration of internalized racism within the framework of a White supremacist society provides valuable insights into the complex interplay between individual perceptions, societal structures, and racialized experiences. However, several limitations warrant consideration. Firstly, the reliance on qualitative data for understanding racialized self-perceptions and experiences may limit the generalizability of findings and overlook quantitative nuances. Additionally, the sample size of 380 participants may have limited the statistical power of the quantitative analyses, making it difficult to detect weak relationships between variables. Moreover, the utilization of the IAT as a measure of subconscious bias presents methodological challenges, including the potential inadequacy of this tool in capturing the multifaceted nature of internalized racism. Furthermore, the lack of significant findings regarding the hypothesized relationships between the racialized self, racialized experiences, and internalized racism as measured by the IAT tells us that alternative methodologies and refined theoretical frameworks are needed to better comprehend this intricate phenomenon.

Despite these limitations, the dissertation contributes significantly to the understanding of internalized racism by highlighting the interconnectedness of individual and societal factors in its perpetuation. By exposing the complexities of racial identity

formation and experiences, we see a need for nuanced approaches to address systemic racism and its impacts. Furthermore, the identification of significant predictors of internalized racism, such as generational status and attitudes towards dominant racial narratives, opens avenues for future research and intervention strategies. Moving forward, researchers must continue to explore diverse methodologies and theoretical perspectives to deepen our comprehension of internalized racism and inform efforts aimed at promoting social justice and equity.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: TABLES OF RECOGNITION FREQUENCY

Table 7 Racialized Self Recognition Frequency Table N(Row%)

Code System	Environment/ Neighborhood/ Community	Self	None	Peers/ Other people at school	Family	Media	Religious Service/ Organizations/ Cultural Events	Total
Native/Indigenous	0	0	0	2 (66%)	0	1 (33%)	0	**3**
Arab or Middle Eastern	1 (25%)	0	1 (25%)	0	2 (50%)	0	0	**4**
Mixed/Multi-Racial	2 (5%)	1 (3%)	4 (11%)	18 (47%)	11 (29%)	2 (5%)	0	**38**
Latinx-Hispanic	1 (2%)	2 (4%)	0	18 (36%)	22 (44%)	6 (12%)	1 (2%)	**50**
Black American	2 (2%)	4 (4%)	3 (3%)	35 (35%)	34 (34%)	20 (20%)	1 (1%)	**99**
Asian American	4 (4%)	3 (3%)	1 (1%)	39 (38%)	28 (27%)	20 (19%)	8 (8%)	**103**
Total	**10**	**10**	**9**	**112**	**97**	**49**	**10**	

Table 8 Interpersonal Racialized Experience Frequency Table N(Row%)

Code System	Environment	Offensive experience school	Jokes and stereotypes or racist humor and epithet	Encounter from family member	Media	Random encounter self	Friend/Peer	Total
Native/Indigenous	0	1 (50%)	1 (50%)	0	0	0	0	**2**
Arab or Middle Eastern	0	2 (100%)	0	0	0	0	0	**2**
Mixed/Multi-Racial	4 (13%)	9 (29%)	7 (23%)	6 (19%)	0	4 (13%)	1 (3%)	**31**
Latinx-Hispanic	5 (13%)	17 (44%)	9 (23%)	1 (3%)	3 (8%)	1 (3%)	3 (8%)	**39**
Black American	5 (8%)	32 (48%)	12 (18%)	1 (2%)	3 (5%)	7 (11%)	6 (9%)	**66**
Asian American	1 (1%)	39 (49%)	16 (20%)	1 (1%)	2 (3%)	15 (19%)	6 (8%)	**80**
Total	**15**	**100**	**45**	**9**	**8**	**27**	**16**	

Table 9 Racialized Experiences Institutional Racism Code Relations Table N (%)

Code System	Financial	Shopping/retail	Work	School environment	News/Media	Law/criminal justice/police	Total
Native/Indigenous	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Arab or Middle Eastern	0	0	0	1 (100%)	0	0	**1**
Mixed/Multi-Racial	0	0	3 (25%)	5 (42%)	1 (8%)	3 (25%)	**12**
Latinx-Hispanic	1 (5%)	1 (5%)	5 (25%)	6 (30%)	0	7 (35%)	**20**
Black American	2 (8%)	2 (8%)	4 (17%)	9 (38%)	0	7 (29%)	**24**
Asian American	0	1 (4%)	11 (39%)	9 (32%)	0	7 (25%)	**28**
Total	**3**	**4**	**23**	**30**	**1**	**24**	

Appendix 2 TABLES OF VARIABLES BY GENDER AND RACE OR ETHNIC GROUP

Table 10 AROS Average score by Gender and Race or Ethnic Group

	Sum	SD	Range	N
Gender				
Male	97.2	38.01	24-166	223
Female	77.4	30.7	24-157	157
Racial or Ethnic Group				
Black American	91.6	39.9	24-159	144
Latinx-Hispanic	80.6	27.4	31-157	56
Asian-American	94.4	37.4	26-166	132
Native/Indigenous	72.3	37.1	40-120	4
Arab or Middle Eastern	54	15.7	36-74	4
Mixed/Mult-Racial/Ethnic	76.9	26.2	25-141	44

Table 11 CERIS Subscale Average score by Gender

	Mean	SD	Range	N
Assimilation				
Male	0.4	0.49	0-1	223
Female	0.42	0.49	0-1	157
Miseducation				
Male	4.32	1.56	1-7	223
Female	3.54	1.42	1-7	157
Self-Hatred				
Male	3.87	1.89	1-7	223
Female	2.96	1.58	1-7	157
Anti-Dominant				
Male	3.67	1.96	1-7	223
Female	2.82	1.58	1-7	157
Ethnocentrism				
Male	4.56	1.39	1-7	223
Female	4.22	1.15	1-7	157
Multiculturalism				
Male	5.34	1.34	1-7	223
Female	5.37	1.1	1-7	157
Ethnic and Racial Salience				
Male	4.22	1.67	1-7	223
Female	4.05	1.39	1-7	157

Table 12 CERIS Subscale Average score by Race or Ethnic Group

	Mean	SD	Range	N
Assimilation				
Black American	4.19	1.72	1-7	144
Latinx-Hispanic	4.13	1.72	1-7	56
Asian-American	4.29	1.73	1-7	132
Native/Indigenous	5.06	1.83	1-7	4
Arab or Middle Eastern	3.5	1.74	1-7	4
Mixed/Mult-Racial/Ethnic	4.09	1.95	1-7	44
Miseducation				
Black American	4.18	1.55	1-7	144
Latinx-Hispanic	3.5	1.45	1-7	56
Asian-American	4.21	1.55	1-7	132
Native/Indigenous	3.69	1.84	1-7	4
Arab or Middle Eastern	2.31	1.14	1-7	4
Mixed/Mult-Racial/Ethnic	3.44	1.46	1-7	44
Self-Hatred				
Black American	3.7	1.89	1-7	144
Latinx-Hispanic	2.89	1.5	1-7	56
Asian-American	3.83	1.86	1-7	132
Native/Indigenous	3.06	1.85	1-7	4
Arab or Middle Eastern	1.75	0.65	1-7	4
Mixed/Mult-Racial/Ethnic	2.77	1.47	1-7	44
Anti-Dominant				
Black American	3.6	1.85	1-7	144
Latinx-Hispanic	2.88	1.53	1-7	56
Asian-American	3.45	1.95	1-7	132
Native/Indigenous	3.44	2.03	1-7	4
Arab or Middle Eastern	1.75	0.74	1-7	4
Mixed/Mult-Racial/Ethnic	2.62	1.73	1-7	44
Ethnocentrism				
Black American	4.64	1.15	1-7	144
Latinx-Hispanic	4.16	1.15	1-7	56
Asian-American	4.47	1.44	1-7	132
Native/Indigenous	3.92	0.13	1-7	4
Arab or Middle Eastern	2.88	2.2	1-7	4
Mixed/Mult-Racial/Ethnic	4.01	1.31	1-7	44
Multiculturalism				
Black American	5.23	1.09	1-7	144
Latinx-Hispanic	5.4	0.93	1-7	56
Asian-American	5.42	1.12	1-7	132
Native/Indigenous	5.88	1.03	1-7	4
Arab or Middle Eastern	2.88	2.03	1-7	4

CERIS Subscale Average score by Race or Ethnic Group

Mixed/Mult-Racial/Ethnic	5.66	1.13	1-7	44
Ethnic and Racial Salience				
Black American	4.56	1.43	1-7	144
Latinx-Hispanic	3.67	1.23	1-7	56
Asian-American	4.14	1.66	1-7	132
Native/Indigenous	4.31	1.56	1-7	4
Arab or Middle Eastern	2.81	2.05	1-7	4
Mixed/Mult-Racial/Ethnic	3.57	1.63	1-7	44

Table 13 Standardized Perceived Discrimination Scale Average score by Gender and Race or Ethnic Group

	Mean	SD	Range	N
Gender				
Male	0.07	1.06	-0.49-12.39	223
Female	-0.11	0.89	-0.49-9.13	157
Racial or Ethnic Group				
Black American	0.08	0.99	-0.49-9.13	144
Latinx-Hispanic	-0.15	0.36	-0.49-1.07	56
Asian-American	0.05	1.3	-0.49-12.39	132
Native/Indigenous	0.5	0.62	-0.14-1.31	4
Arab or Middle Eastern	-0.34	0.11	-0.42- -0.19	4
Mixed/Mult-Racial/Ethnic	-0.25	0.4	-0.49-2.03	44

Table 14 IRS Subscales Average score by Gender

	Mean	SD	Range	N
Indices of Racism				
Male	4.29	1.19	1-7	223
Female	4.17	1.45	1-7	157
Effective of Strategies to Reduce Racism				
Male	2.98	0.61	1-4	223
Female	2.95	0.61	1-4	157
Use of Strategies to Reduce Racism Average				
Male	3.03	0.92	1-5	223
Female	2.69	1.07	1-5	157
Organizational Attributes				
Male	3.37	1.15	1-7	223
Female	3.63	0.85	1-7	157

IRS Subscales Average score by Gender

Administrative Efforts to Reduce Racism				
Male	3.72	0.83	1-6	223
Female	3.55	0.47	1-6	157
Personal Efforts to Reduce Racism				
Male	3.64	0.48	1-6	223
Female	3.42	0.83	1-6	157

Table 15 IRS Subscales Average score by Race or Ethnic Group

	Mean	SD	Range	N
Indices of Racism				
Black American	4.4	1.26	1-7	144
Latinx-Hispanic	4.13	1.29	1-7	56
Asian-American	4.26	1.46	1-7	132
Native/Indigenous	5	0.77	1-7	4
Arab or Middle Eastern	3.69	1.79	1-7	4
Mixed/Mult-Racial/Ethnic	3.78	1.28	1-7	44
Effective of Strategies to Reduce Racism				
Black American	3.02	0.55	1-4	144
Latinx-Hispanic	2.91	0.53	1-4	56
Asian-American	2.98	0.64	1-4	132
Native/Indigenous	2.73	0.48	1-4	4
Arab or Middle Eastern	2.66	1.13	1-4	4
Mixed/Mult-Racial/Ethnic	2.89	0.72	1-4	44
Use of Strategies to Reduce Racism Average				
Black American	3.1	0.93	1-5	144
Latinx-Hispanic	2.69	0.89	1-5	56
Asian-American	2.82	1.17	1-5	132
Native/Indigenous	3.24	0.74	1-5	4
Arab or Middle Eastern	2.68	1.22	1-5	4
Mixed/Mult-Racial/Ethnic	2.57	0.88	1-5	44
Organizational Attributes				
Black American	3.38	1.11	1-7	144
Latinx-Hispanic	3.69	0.85	1-7	56
Asian-American	3.41	1.03	1-7	132
Native/Indigenous	3.83	0.95	1-7	4
Arab or Middle Eastern	4.08	1.98	1-7	4
Mixed/Mult-Racial/Ethnic	3.66	0.91	1-7	44

IRS Subscales Average score by Race or Ethnic Group

Administrative Efforts to Reduce Racism				
Black American	3.63	0.69	1-6	144
Latinx-Hispanic	3.57	0.51	1-6	56
Asian-American	3.72	0.87	1-6	132
Native/Indigenous	3.45	0.59	1-6	4
Arab or Middle Eastern	3.46	0.39	1-6	4
Mixed/Mult-Racial/Ethnic	3.61	0.43	1-6	44
Personal Efforts to Reduce Racism				
Black American	3.54	0.68	1-6	144
Latinx-Hispanic	3.49	0.49	1-6	56
Asian-American	3.61	0.89	1-6	132
Native/Indigenous	3.35	0.25	1-6	4
Arab or Middle Eastern	3.41	0.23	1-6	4
Mixed/Mult-Racial/Ethnic	3.51	0.45	1-6	44

APPENDIX 3 SCALES USED

Table 16 Appropriated Racial Oppression Scale (Campón and Carter 2015)

Question	St/D	D	Sw/D	Neither	Sw/A	A	St/A
There have been times when I have been embarrassed to be a member of my race							
I wish I could have more respect for my racial group							
I feel critical about my racial group							
Sometimes I have a negative feeling about being a member of my race							
In general, I am ashamed of members of my racial group because of the way they act							
When interacting with other members of my race, I often feel like I don't fit in							

Appropriated Racial Oppression Scale (Campón and Carter 2015)							
I don't really identify with my racial group's values and beliefs							
I find persons with lighter skin-tones to be more attractive							
I would like for my children to have light skin							
I find people who have straight and narrow noses to be more attractive							
I prefer my children to not have broad noses							
I wish my nose were narrower							
Good hair (i.e. straight) is better							
Because of my race, I feel useless at times							
I wish I were not a member of my race							
Whenever I think a lot about being a member of my racial group, I feel depressed							
Whites are better at a lot of things than people of my race							
People of my race don't have much to be proud of							
It is a compliment to be told "You don't act like a member of your race"							
When I look in the mirror, sometimes I do not feel good about what I see because of my race							
I feel that being a member of my racial group is a shortcoming							

Appropriated Racial Oppression Scale (Campón and Carter 2015)							
People of my race shouldn't be so sensitive about race/racial matters							
People take racial jokes too seriously							
Although discrimination in America is real, it is definitely overplayed by some members of my race							

Table 17 Perceived Discrimination Scale (Williams et al. 1997)

	Questions	Frequency	Likert Scale			
	Lifetime	Frequency				
1	You were discouraged by a teacher or advisor from seeking higher education					
2	You were denied a scholarship					
3	You were not hired for a job					
4	You were not given a promotion					
5	You were fired					
6	You were prevented from renting or buying a home in the neighborhood you wanted					
7	You were prevented from remaining in a neighborhood because neighbors made life so uncomfortable					
8	You were hassled by the police					
9	You were denied a bank loan					
10	You were denied or provided inferior medical care					
11	You were denied or provided inferior service by a plumber, care mechanic, or other service provider					
	Daily		1	2	3	4
12	You are treated with less courtesy than other people					
13	You are treated with less respect than other people					
14	You receive poorer service than other people at restaurants or stores					
15	People act as if they think you are not smart					
16	People act as if they are afraid of you					
17	People act as if they think you are dishonest					
18	People act as if they think you are not as good as they are					
19	You are called names or insulted					
20	You are threatened or harassed.					

Table 18 Institutional Racism Scale (Barbarin and Gilbert 1981)

	Questions	Likert Scale						
	Indices of Racism: "To what extent do you consider the following an indication of institution racism?"	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	Seniority as a major criterion for promotion							
2	Disproportionally high suspension rates or flunk-out rates of POC students							
3	Formation of separate POC businesses, caucuses, or organization							
4	Low level of knowledge on the part of POC populations about organizational events and opportunities							
5								
6	Use of standardizing reading tests for promotion in high school							
7	Personnel selection based on written tests							
8	Desegregation of Black colleges							
	Higher insurance rates for inner city areas							

	Involvement in Reduction of Racism Effectiveness and Use of Strategies		1	2	3	4
1	Vote for politicians sympathetic to altering racist practices	Effectiveness				
		Extent of Use				
2	Actively lobby for enactment of antidiscrimination laws	Effectiveness				
		Extent of Use				
3	Provide setting in which POC and whites can participate in common social activities to get to know one another	Effectiveness				
		Extent of Use				
4	Persuade white friends on an individual that racism hurts them as much as it does POC	Effectiveness				
		Extent of Use				
5		Effectiveness				
	Inform POC groups of the problem and help mobilize them to change	Extent of Use				
6		Effectiveness				
	Demonstrate and picket against racist practices	Extent of Use				
7		Effectiveness				
	Integrate neighborhoods	Extent of Use				
8		Effectiveness				
	Bring in POC at top administrative levels so they can monitor and change racism	Extent of Use				
9	policies	Effectiveness				
		Extent of Use				
10	Make it possible for POC to withdraw and develop their own businesses,	Effectiveness				
	schools, and other organization than rely on predominantly white organizations	Extent of Use				
11	Utilize the courts to alter unfair practices	Effectiveness				
		Extent of Use				
	Provide education about the subtleties of racism					

	Climate for Racism	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	There is a very sensitive understand and acceptance of differences among ethnic or racial groups							
2								
3	Extensive changes have been made to make services accessible to POC persons							
4	Few attempts have been made to alter services or organizational functioning to accommodate the cultural perspectives of POC groups							
5	POC groups have little to say about decisions which affect functioning in this agency							
6	This organization goes out of its way to make POC group members feel at home							
	An important function of management in this organization is to promote cooperation between POC and whites							

Institutional Racism Scale (Barbarin and Gilbert 1981)

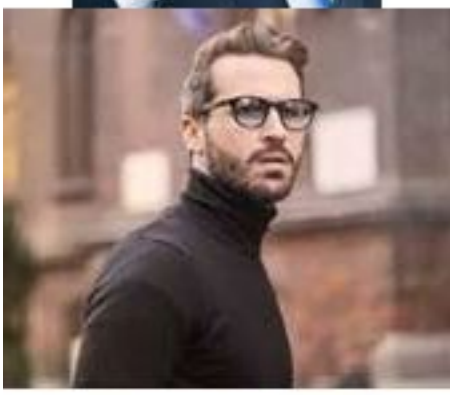
Administrative Efforts to Reduce Racism

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Active								Passive
Democratic								Autocratic
Constructive								Destructive
Resistance								Cooperation
Impractical								Practical
Involuntary								Voluntary
Reluctance								Eagerness
Accurate								Inaccurate
Positive								Negative
Vigorous								Feeble
Strong								Weak
Private								Public
Closed								Open
Willingly								Grudgingly
Uninformative								Informative
Contrived								Natural
Realistic								Idealistic
Movement								Inertia
Flexible								Rigid
Precise								Ambiguous

Personal Efforts to Reduce Racism

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Active								Passive
Democratic								Autocratic
Constructive								Destructive
Resistance								Cooperation
Impractical								Practical
Involuntary								Voluntary
Reluctance								Eagerness
Accurate								Inaccurate
Positive								Negative
Vigorous								Feeble
Strong								Weak
Private								Public
Closed								Open
Willingly								Grudgingly
Uninformative								Informative
Contrived								Natural
Realistic								Idealistic
Movement								Inertia
Flexible								Rigid
Precise								Ambiguous

Table 19 Pictures used in the IATs

White American (Pictures)	
   	 

Pictures used in the IATs

Asian American	
	
	
	
	

Pictures used in the IATs

Latinx	
	
	
	
	

Pictures used in the IATs

African American

Pictures used in the IATs

Native/Indigenous	
	
	
	
	

APPENDIX 4 REGRESSION MODELS

Table 20 Poisson Regression of Racialized Self Measures on AROS Sum Score, Incident Rate Ratios

	(Model 1)	(Model 2)	(Model 3)	(Model 4)	(Model 5)	(Model 6)	(Model 7)	(Model 8)	(Model 9)	(Model 10)
Gender (Male=1)	1.238**	1.237**	1.033	1.047**	1.044*	1.166**	1.178**	1.242**	1.22**	0.997
	(0.0153)	(0.0153)	(0.0136)	(0.0133)	(0.0133)	(0.0039)	(0.0147)	(0.0153)	(0.0151)	(0.0134)
Age	1.002	1.002	0.996**	0.997**	0.999	0.996**	0.999	1.001	0.999	0.997**
	(0.0006)	(0.0006)	(0.0007)	(0.0006)	(0.0006)	(0.0007)	(0.0006)	(0.0006)	(0.0006)	(0.0007)
Generation Migrant Born Overseas	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)
Generation Migrant 2nd Generation	1.046	1.047	1.053	1.054	0.976	1.029	1.035	1.0331	1.0229	1.005
	(0.0243)	(0.0244)	(0.0246)	(0.0247)	(0.0229)	(0.024)	(0.0242)	(0.0241)	(0.0238)	(0.0238)
Generation Migrant 3rd Generation	1.0312	1.0317	0.993	0.987	0.978	1.007	0.994	1.0148	1.027	0.977
	(0.0171)	(0.0171)	(0.0164)	(0.0164)	(0.0162)	(0.0167)	(0.0165)	(0.0169)	(0.017)	(0.0163)
Generation Migrant 4th+ Generation	0.9241**	09221**	0.953*	0.925**	0.947*	0.922**	0942**	0.9195**	0.935**	0.947*
	(0.0154)	(0.0155)	(0.0159)	(0.0153)	(0.0671)	(0.0153)	(0.0157)	(0.0153)	(0.0156)	(0.0159)
Education (Bachelor's = 1)	1.095**	1.094**	1.067**	1.028	1.015	0.9902	1.04*	1.089**	1.018	0.999
	(0.0159)	(0.0149)	(0.0153)	(0.015)	(0.0148)	(0.0145)	(0.0152)	(0.0157)	(0.0149)	(0.0148)
Socioeconomic Status Lower	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)
Socioeconomic Status Working	1.005	1.005	0.947	1.013	0.996	0.996	0.977	1.003	1.014	0.992
	(0.0231)	(0.0231)	(0.0218)	(0.0233)	(0.023)	(0.0229)	(0.0225)	(0.0231)	(0.0234)	(0.0231)
Socioeconomic Status Middle	1.164**	1.164**	1.083**	1.0355	1.017	1.0496	1.0575	1.1554**	1.0963**	1.0019
	(0.0261)	(0.0261)	(0.0243)	(0.0234)	(0.023)	(0.0236)	(0.024)	(0.0259)	(0.0246)	(0.0229)
Socioeconomic Status Upper	1.556**	1.558**	1.271**	1.105*	1.052	1.019	1.202**	1.5043**	1.168**	0.0986
	(0.0484)	(0.0485)	(0.0401)	(0.0354)	(0.0337)	(0.0331)	(0.0389)	(0.0472)	(0.0377)	(0.0327)
Street Race Match		1.009								0.981
		(0.0123)								(0.0121)
CERIS Assimilation			1.162**							1.031**
			(0.0047)							(0.0056)
CERIS Miseducation				1.235**						1.081**
				(0.0053)						(0.008)

Poisson Regression of Racialized Self Measures on AROS Sum Score, Incident Rate Ratios

CERIS Self-Hatred					1.204** (0.0042)					1.107** (0.0071)
CERIS Anti-Dominant						1.166** (0.004)				1.034** (0.0069)
CERIS Ethnocentrism							1.155** (0.005)			0.998 (0.0074)
CERIS Multicultural Inclusive								1.044** (0.0055)		0.986* (0.0065)
CERIS Ethnic-Racial Salience									1.144** (0.0046)	0.996 (0.0072)
_cons	65.496** (1.984)	65.35** (1.989)	48.359** (1.555)	38.06** (1.238)	44.14** (1.39)	54.99** (1.694)	41.72** (1.422)	53.24** (2.11)	42.569** (1.404)	43.36** (1.752)
N	328	328	328	328	328	328	328	328	328	328
Pseudo R^2	0.131	0.131	0.34	0.498	0.543	0.427	0.258	0.14	0.294	0.587

*** p<0.01, *p<0.05*

Table 21 Poisson Regression of Racialized Experiences Measure on AROS Sum Score and Combined Model, Incident Rate Ratios

	(Model 1)	(Model 2)	(Model 3)	(Model 4)	(Model 5)	(Model 6)	(Model 7)	(Model 8)	(Model 9)	(Model 10)
Gender (Male=1)	1.238**	1.221**	1.231**	1.24**	1.192**	1.221**	1.21**	1.186**	1.139**	0.992
	(0.0153)	(0.0151)	(0.0152)	(0.0153)	(0.0148)	(0.0151)	(0.015)	(0.0149)	(0.0146)	(0.013)
Age	1.002	1.221**	1.001	1.002	0.999	1.0012	1.0007	1.0007	0.998*	0.997**
	(0.0006)	(0.0006)	(0.0006)	(0.0006)	(0.0006)	(0.0006)	(0.0006)	(0.0006)	(0007)	(0.001)
Generation Migrant Born Overseas	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)
Generation Migrant 2nd Generation	1.046	0.9994	1.058	1.009	1.008	1.061	1.034	1.019	1.0001	0.996
	(0.0243)	(0.238)	(0.0247)	(0.0237)	(0.0236)	(0.0247)	(0.0241)	(0.0239)	(0.0242)	(0.024)
Generation Migrant 3rd Generation	1.0312	1.0293	1.046*	1.0001	1.009	1.021	1.005	1.0007	1.0158	0.979
	(0.0171)	(0.0171)	(0.0173)	(0.0168	(0.0167)	(0.0169)	(0.0167)	(0.0167)	(0.0172)	(0.017)
Generation Migrant 4th+ Generation	0.9241**	0.9245**	0.9414**	0.893**	0.897**	0.918**	0.928	0.922**	0.927**	0.945**
	(0.0154)	(0.0154)	(0.0157)	(0.0151)	(0.0149)	(0.0153)	(0.0154)	(0.0153)	(0.0158)	(0.017)
Education (Bachelor's = 1)	1.095**	1.089**	1.059**	1.068**	1.09**	1.088**	1.101**	1.114**	1.101**	1.006
	(0.0159)	(0.0157)	(0.0154)	(0.0156)	(0.0158)	(0.0157)	(0.0159)	(0.0161)	(0.0163)	(0.015)
Socioeconomic Status Lower	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)
Socioeconomic Status Working	1.005	1.007	0.992	1.017	0.949	0.986	1.004	0.998	0.947*	0.996
	(0.0231)	(0.0231)	(0.0228)	(0.0234)	(0.0219)	(0.0227)	(0.0231)	(0.0232)	(0.0223)	(0.024)
Socioeconomic Status Middle	1.164**	1.173**	1.121**	1.16**	1.032	1.127**	1.15**	1.139**	1.039	1.01
	(0.0261)	(0.262)	(0.0251)	(0.0259)	(0.0237)	(0.0253)	(0.0257)	(0.0258)	(0.0243)	(0.024)
Socioeconomic Status Upper	1.556**	1.526**	1.293**	1.484**	1.286**	1.379**	1.403**	1.364**	1.104*	-0.996
	(0.0484)	(0.0476)	(0.0414)	(0.0467)	(0.0414)	(0.0443)	(0.0447)	(0.0438)	(0.0369)	(0.034)
Standardized PDS		1.063**							1.046**	1.005
		(0.0055)							(0.006)	(0.006)
IRS Indices of Racism			1.107**						1.054**	0.989
			(0.0147)						(00006)	(0.006)
IRS Effectiveness of Strategies in Reducing Racism				1.117**					0.944**	0.999
				(0.0112)					(0.012)	(0.013)
IRS Use of Strategies in Reducing Racism					1.152**				1.084**	0.989
					(0.0069)				(0.009)	(0.009)

Poisson Regression of Racialized Experiences Measure on AROS Sum Score and Combined Model, Incident Rate Ratios

IRS Organizational Attributes						0.919** (0.0051)			0.0958** (0.005)	1.004 (0.006)
IRS Administrative Efforts to Reduce Racism							1.134** (0.0084)		0.939** (0.013)	0.936** (0.012)
IRS Personal Efforts to Reduce Racism								1.175** (0.0087)	1.189** (0.016)	1.077** (0.013)
Street Race Match										0.978 (0.012)
CERIS Assimilation										1.033** (0.006)
CERIS Miseducation										1.081** (0.007)
CERIS Self-Hatred										1.106** (0.006)
CERIS Anti-Dominant										1.034** (0.007)
CERIS Ethnocentrism										0.998 (0.008)
CERIS Multicultural Inclusive										0.991 (0.007)
CERIS Ethnic-Racial Salience										1.005 (0.008)
_cons	65.496** (1.984)	70.35** (2.169)	44.93** (1.543)	49.135** (1.97)	52.32** (1.667)	92.43** (3.498)	43.47** (1.678)	39.33** (1.51)	48.989** (2.72)	42.338** (0.059)
N	328	328	328	328	328	328	328	327	327	327
Pseudo R^2	0.131	0.148	0.209	0.148	0.211	0.165	0.172	0.198	0.294	.595

** *p<0.01*, * *p<0.05*

Table 22 OLS Regression of Racialized Self Measures on IAT D Score

	(Model 1)	(Model 2)	(Model 3)	(Model 4)	(Model 5)	(Model 6)	(Model 7)	(Model 8)	(Model 9)	(Model 10)
Gender (Male=1)	-0.0123	-0.0122	-0.0122	-0.00837	-0.00329	0.00542	0.00377	-0.00923	-0.0110	-0.0123
	(0.0493)	(0.0494)	(0.0494)	(0.0526)	(0.0507)	(0.0504)	(0.0498)	(0.0496)	(0.0494)	(0.0494)
Age	-0.000580	-0.000548	-0.000548	-0.000467	-0.000384	-0.000458	0.000141	-0.000441	-0.000655	-0.000562
	(0.00250)	(0.00251)	(0.00251)	(0.00256)	(0.00252)	(0.00250)	(0.00252)	(0.00252)	(0.00251)	(0.00251)
Generation Migrant Born Overseas	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)
Generation Migrant 2nd Generation	-0.0258	-0.0263	-0.0263	-0.0250	-0.0236	-0.0204	-0.0229	-0.0225	-0.0299	-0.0258
	(0.0685)	(0.0686)	(0.0686)	(0.0687)	(0.0686)	(0.0684)	(0.0682)	(0.0687)	(0.0691)	(0.0686)
Generation Migrant 3rd Generation	-0.121	-0.120	-0.120	-0.119	-0.111	-0.107	-0.107	-0.118	-0.126	-0.120
	(0.0905)	(0.0908)	(0.0908)	(0.0910)	(0.0915)	(0.0907)	(0.0905)	(0.0907)	(0.0911)	(0.0908)
Generation Migrant 4th+ Generation	-0.125*	-0.122*	-0.122*	-0.127*	-0.130*	-0.135*	-0.132*	-0.129*	-0.125*	-0.126*
	(0.0717)	(0.0734)	(0.0734)	(0.0723)	(0.0720)	(0.0718)	(0.0716)	(0.0720)	(0.0718)	(0.0720)
Education (Bachelor's = 1)	0.0598	0.0605	0.0605	0.0603	0.0628	0.0677	0.0753	0.0643	0.0587	0.0610
	(0.0586)	(0.0587)	(0.0587)	(0.0587)	(0.0587)	(0.0586)	(0.0589)	(0.0590)	(0.0587)	(0.0592)
Socioeconomic Status Lower	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)
Socioeconomic Status Working	-0.0500	-0.0502	-0.0502	-0.0485	-0.0508	-0.0498	-0.0490	-0.0479	-0.0501	-0.0500
	(0.0872)	(0.0873)	(0.0873)	(0.0875)	(0.0872)	(0.0869)	(0.0868)	(0.0873)	(0.0873)	(0.0873)
Socioeconomic Status Middle	-0.0878	-0.0881	-0.0881	-0.0862	-0.0811	-0.0724	-0.0719	-0.0805	-0.0889	-0.0869
	(0.0861)	(0.0862)	(0.0862)	(0.0865)	(0.0865)	(0.0863)	(0.0861)	(0.0869)	(0.0862)	(0.0864)
Socioeconomic Status Upper	-0.0531	-0.0542	-0.0542	-0.0492	-0.0360	-0.00925	0.0164	-0.0325	-0.0597	-0.0486
	(0.139)	(0.139)	(0.139)	(0.140)	(0.140)	(0.141)	(0.143)	(0.142)	(0.139)	(0.143)
Street Race Match		-0.00954								-0.0158
		(0.0506)								(0.0518)

OLS Regression of Racialized Self Measures on IAT D Score

CERIS Assimilation			-0.00339 (0.0156)							0.0115 (0.0202)
CERIS Miseducation				-0.0130 (0.0170)						0.0111 (0.0275)
CERIS Self-Hatred					-0.0230 (0.0141)					-0.0206 (0.0251)
CERIS Anti-Dominant						-0.0261* (0.0140)				-0.0413 (0.0255)
CERIS Ethnocentrism							-0.0125 (0.0194)			-0.0104 (0.0283)
CERIS Multicultural Inclusive								0.0102 (0.0211)		-0.00210 (0.0251)
CERIS Ethnic-Racial Salience									-0.00220 (0.0163)	0.0436 (0.0272)
_cons	0.0995 (0.119)	0.101 (0.119)	0.106 (0.123)	0.135 (0.127)	0.151 (0.122)	0.134 (0.119)	0.140 (0.134)	0.0507 (0.156)	0.107 (0.130)	0.0489 (0.162)
N	328	328	328	328	328	328	328	328	328	328
R^2	0.024	0.024	0.024	0.025	0.032	0.034	0.025	0.024	0.024	0.046

**** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1*

Table 23 OLS Regression of Racialized Experiences Measures on IAT D Score

	(Model 1)	(Model 2)	(Model 3)	(Model 4)	(Model 5)	(Model 6)	(Model 7)	(Model 8)	(Model 9)
Gender (Male=1)	-0.0123	-0.00441	-0.0123	-0.0111	-0.0201	-0.0106	-0.0140	-0.0107	-0.00572
	(0.0493)	(0.0495)	(0.0494)	(0.0494)	(0.0495)	(0.0494)	(0.0496)	(0.0499)	(0.0508)
Age	-0.000580	0.000313	-0.000570	-0.000547	-0.00100	-0.000547	-0.000638	-0.000672	-8.35e-05
	(0.00250)	(0.00257)	(0.00251)	(0.00251)	(0.00251)	(0.00251)	(0.00251)	(0.00251)	(0.00260)
Generation Migrant Born Overseas	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)
Generation Migrant 2nd Generation	-0.0258	-0.0248	-0.0261	-0.0344	-0.0311	-0.0237	-0.0280	-0.0256	-0.0326
	(0.0685)	(0.0684)	(0.0686)	(0.0694)	(0.0684)	(0.0686)	(0.0688)	(0.0687)	(0.0702)
Generation Migrant 3rd Generation	-0.121	-0.123	-0.121	-0.133	-0.135	-0.116	-0.124	-0.107	-0.125
	(0.0905)	(0.0903)	(0.0907)	(0.0918)	(0.0908)	(0.0910)	(0.0909)	(0.0916)	(0.0936)
Generation Migrant 4th+ Generation	-0.125*	-0.126*	-0.125*	-0.134*	-0.130*	-0.125*	-0.124*	-0.126*	-0.140*
	(0.0717)	(0.0716)	(0.0719)	(0.0728)	(0.0717)	(0.0718)	(0.0720)	(0.0718)	(0.0733)
Education (Bachelor's = 1)	0.0598	0.0620	0.0604	0.0525	0.0586	0.0609	0.0603	0.0575	0.0590
	(0.0586)	(0.0585)	(0.0589)	(0.0594)	(0.0584)	(0.0586)	(0.0587)	(0.0587)	(0.0599)
Socioeconomic Status Lower	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)
Socioeconomic Status Working	-0.0500	-0.0517	-0.0497	-0.0464	-0.0658	-0.0473	-0.0502	-0.0654	-0.0795
	(0.0872)	(0.0870)	(0.0873)	(0.0873)	(0.0876)	(0.0874)	(0.0873)	(0.0880)	(0.0892)
Socioeconomic Status Middle	-0.0878	-0.0906	-0.0872	-0.0881	-0.119	-0.0834	-0.0886	-0.104	-0.136
	(0.0861)	(0.0859)	(0.0864)	(0.0861)	(0.0882)	(0.0865)	(0.0862)	(0.0870)	(0.0900)
Socioeconomic Status Upper	-0.0531	-0.0407	-0.0499	-0.0647	-0.102	-0.0353	-0.0614	-0.0762	-0.0742
	(0.139)	(0.139)	(0.143)	(0.139)	(0.142)	(0.142)	(0.140)	(0.141)	(0.146)
Standardized PDS		-0.0387							-0.0445
		(0.0265)							(0.0274)

OLS Regression of Racialized Experiences Measures on IAT D Score

IRS Indices of Racism			-0.00170						-0.0120
			(0.0176)						(0.0213)
IRS Effectiveness of Strategies in Reducing Racism				0.0308					0.0139
				(0.0402)					(0.0478)
IRS Use of Strategies in Reducing Racism					0.0371				0.0529*
					(0.0244)				(0.0313)
IRS Organizational Attributes						0.0137			0.0241
						(0.0229)			(0.0247)
IRS Administrative Efforts to Reduce Racism							0.0125		0.0129
							(0.0327)		(0.0554)
IRS Personal Efforts to Reduce Racism								0.00536	-0.0204
								(0.0328)	(0.0547)
_cons	0.0995	0.0637	0.106	0.0184	0.0398	0.0443	0.0579	0.0990	-0.0773
	(0.119)	(0.121)	(0.135)	(0.159)	(0.125)	(0.150)	(0.161)	(0.160)	(0.232)
N	328	328	328	328	328	328	328	327	327
R^2	0.024	0.030	0.024	0.025	0.031	0.025	0.024	0.023	0.044

**** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1*

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VITA

Education

2024 (Expected)	Ph.D., Sociology Chair: Janet Stamatel, Ph.D. Co-Chair: Tony Love, Ph.D. University of Kentucky, Lexington
2014	M.S., Sociology Thesis Supervisor: Jane Sell, Ph.D. Chair: Nancy Plankey-Videla, Ph.D. Texas A&M University, College Station Thesis: Human Trafficking in Houston TX; A Study of Literature and Law Enforcement
2011	B.A., History Texas A&M University, College Station

Areas of Specialization

Race and Ethnicity Social Psychology Post-Colonialism Crime and Deviance

Grants and Awards

2019 Professional Development Grant
Center for Graduate and Professional Diversity Initiatives University Kentucky ($750)

"It Takes One to Know One: Testing the similarity assumption in role-taking theory and research"
The Role-Taking Project
The Australian National University Fellowship ($1000)

"The Ubiquity and Influence of Internalized Oppression Among College Students"
Center for Equality and Social Justice
University of Kentucky College of Arts and Sciences ($5000)

Presentations

Conference

2023	"Teen Math Mindset" American Education Research Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, IL. April
2019	"Colonial Criminality: The Criminological and Deviant Manifestations of Colonial Mentality" American Society of Criminology Annual Meeting, San Francisco, CA. November

2018 "Filipino-American Crime and Deviance; A Theoretical Framework"
Graduate Student Regional Research Conference, University of Louisville, Louisville, KY. March

2012 "Rates of Filipino Labor Migration"
SSSA 2012: Southwest Social Science Association, San Diego, CA. April

Invited Talks

2018 Spoke at Panel on Charter School Adoption in Kentucky Political Meet and Greet Panel, Lexington, KY. October

Research Experience

2020 Quantitative Researcher for Journalist at The New Republic ' "No Choice but to Do It": Why Women Go to Prison'

2019-2020 Research Team Supervisor "The Ubiquity and Influence of Internalized Oppression Among College Students"

2017-2018 Graduate Student Researcher "Colonial Criminality: The Criminological and Deviant Manifestations of Colonial Mentality"

2011-2014 Graduate Student Researcher "Human Trafficking in Houston TX; A Study of Literature and Law Enforcement"

Teaching Experience

Primary Instructor

2021 SOC 339 Introduction to Criminology
Department of Sociology, University of Kentucky

2020 SOC 339 Introduction to Criminology SOC 235 Social Inequalities
Department of Sociology, University of Kentucky

2019 SOC 101 Introduction to Sociology
Department of Sociology, University of Kentucky

2015-2016 Introduction to Sociology
Triad Math and Science Academy, Greensboro, NC

Graduate Teaching Assistant

2019 SOC 435 Sociology of Law
Department of Sociology, University of Kentucky. Instructor: Janet Stamatel

2018 SOC 337 Juvenile Delinquency
SOC 339 Introduction to Criminology
Department of Sociology, University of Kentucky. Instructor: Tony Love
SOC 304 Classical Sociological Theory
Department of Sociology, University of Kentucky. Instructor: Patrick Mooney

2017 SOC 432 Race and Ethnic Relations
Department of Sociology, University of Kentucky. Instructor: Ana Liberato

Guest Lecturer

2018 Lecturer, "W. E. B. DuBois" (SOC 350)
Department of Sociology, University of Kentucky. Instructor: Patrick Mooney

Service and Membership

2020-2021 Graduate Committee Student Representative
Department of Sociology Graduate Student Organization, University of Kentucky

2017-2019 Graduate Mentor
Filipino-American Student Organization, University of Kentucky

2018-2019 Vice President
Department of Sociology Graduate Student Organization, University of Kentucky

2019-2021 Member
American Society of Criminology American Sociology Association
Section: Social Psychology