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The Relationships Among Multiracial Identity, Color-blind Racial Ideology, and Discrimination in Multiracial Individuals: Implications for Professional Counseling and Counselor Education

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ACCEPTANCE

This dissertation, THE RELATIONSHIPS AMONG MULTIRACIAL IDENTITY, COLOR-BLIND RACIAL IDEOLOGY, AND DISCRIMINATION IN MULTIRACIAL INDIVIDUALS: IMPLICATIONS FOR PROFESSIONAL COUNSELING AND COUNSELOR EDUCATION, by CHRISTEN PEEPER MCDONALD, was prepared under the direction of the candidate's Dissertation Advisory Committee. It is accepted by the committee members in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree, Doctor of Philosophy, in the College of Education and Human Development, Georgia State University.

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THE RELATIONSHIPS AMONG MULTIRACIAL IDENTITY, COLOR-BLIND RACIAL IDEOLOGY, AND DISCRIMINATION IN MULTIRACIAL INDIVIDUALS: IMPLICATIONS FOR PROFESSIONAL COUNSELING AND COUNSELOR EDUCATION

by

CHRISTEN PEEPER MCDONALD

Under the Direction of Dr. Catherine Y. Chang

ABSTRACT

Due to the on-going growth of the Multiracial population in the U.S. (Rockquemore, et al., 2009; Shih & Sanchez, 2005, 2009) and the continuous struggle minorities face regarding racial attitudes, discrimination, and understanding their own racial identity, it is more important than ever for mental health professionals, including professional counselors and counselor educators, to work to further understand how these factors interact and ultimately impact Multiracial people. This study explored the relationships between the constructs of Multiracial identity, color-blind racial ideology, and discrimination in Multiracial individuals through data analysis including correlation, hierarchical regression, and moderation analysis. Participants (n = 287) were Biracial and Multiracial adults living in the U.S. Participants were recruited primarily through a southeastern university and through social media, and they each anonymously com-

pleted a questionnaire packet that included the following measures: demographic questions, the Multiracial Identity Integration Scale (MII; Cheng & Lee, 2009), the Color-Blind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS; Neville et al., 2000), the Brief Perceived Ethnic Discrimination Questionnaire – Community Version (PEDQ-CV; Brondolo et al., 2005), and the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (short version) (M-C II; Strahan & Gerbasi, 1972). Bivariate correlations revealed significant relationships among the color-blind racial attitudes outcome factors of *Unawareness of Blatant Racial Issues* and *Unawareness of Institutional Discrimination* with Multiracial identity integration and all four subscales of the experiences of discrimination variable *(Exclusion, Workplace Discrimination, Stigmatization,* and *Threat and Harassment)* with Multiracial identity integration. Controlling for social desirability and gender, a blockwise hierarchical regression indicated that several subscales of the constructs contributed to Multiracial Identity Integration. Surprisingly, participants' *Unawareness of Blatant Racial Issues* and experiences of discriminatory *Exclusion,* most significantly predicted Multiracial Identity Integration. A moderation analysis revealed that color-blind racial attitudes does not moderate the relationship between experiences of discrimination and Multiracial identity integration in Multiracial people. Implications for professional counselors and counselor educators working with Multiracial clients, students, and supervisees, as well as limitations, and future research are discussed.
INDEX WORDS: Multiracial, Color-blind racial ideology, Discrimination, Identity integration

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DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this manuscript to my friends and family, especially my husband, Ben McDonald – Thank you for all the times you have read my papers, loved and supported me through this crazy journey; I could not have asked for a better partner in life.

I would also like to dedicate this manuscript to my grandfather, Bill Austin, whom recently passed in December 2015. Grandpa, you are sorely missed and even though you are no longer physically with us, I will carry you in my heart always.

Finally, I would like to especially recognize my parents. You have always told me that I can do anything that I put my mind to and have supported me unconditionally. Please know that this endeavor is as much yours as it is mine. I could not have crossed the finish line without you and so now, we cross together.

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I would also like to recognize all the participants in this study as well previous studies I have conducted leading to the completion of this manuscript. I truly consider you all to be co-researchers with me, sharing a passion for the unique experiences of Multiracial persons to be heard.

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ABBREVIATIONS

CoBRAS	**The Color-Blind Racial Attitudes Scale**
M-C II	**The Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability**
MII	**Multiracial Identity Integration**
PEDQ-CV	**The Brief Perceived Ethnic Discrimination Questionnaire– Community Version**

CHAPTER 1

MULTIRACIAL IDENTITY, COLOR-BLIND RACIAL IDEOLOGY, AND PERCEIVED DISCRIMINATION IN MULTIRACIAL INDIVIDUALS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR PROFESSIONAL COUNSELING AND COUNSELOR EDUCATION

The population within the U.S. continues to grow more and more diverse (Rockquemore, Brunsma, & Delgado, 2009; Shih & Sanchez, 2005, 2009) and as a result, there is an increase in the number of Multiracial individuals (Aldarondo, 2001; Lou & Lalonde, 2015). With the increase in the Multiracial population, there is a growing need for understanding the unique experiences of individuals from mixed racial backgrounds. Additionally, the racial make-up of over 9 million people who identified as Multiracial on the U.S. Census has shown to be extremely varied (Charmaraman, Woo, Quach, & Erkut, 2014) and as a result, research related to Multiracial individuals can be extremely complex. The examination of the conceptualization of race related to color-blind racial attitudes, identity, discrimination, and inter-group relations are especially salient issues within the Multiracial community (Shih & Sanchez, 2009). Furthermore, though the U.S. has made progress in the area of race relations and perceptions, racial inequality still exists in U.S. society and though many people condemn overt acts of racism, the assertion that race should not matter is actually a social misstep towards the goal of equality (Neville & Awad, 2014). Therefore, in this paper, the author will explore the constructs of Multiracial identity, racial color-blindness, (perceived) discrimination, and implications for the field of professional counseling and counselor education. Specifically, the over-arching theories that will frame the discussion of these constructs include Social Constructivism and Critical Race Theory (CRT). Given that the goal of CRT is to address racism and the marginalization of oppressed groups within a White majority society (Haskins & Singh, 2015; Ladson-Billings, 1998) and that Social Constructivism describes society in terms of individuals' experience of context and

culture (Chang, Hays & Milliken, 2009; Lyddon, 1999; Vygotsky, 1978), it follows that these theories are appropriate for understanding societally and racially influenced constructs of: Multiracial identity, racial color-blindness, and experiences of discrimination.

Multiracial Identity

Before a description of what is meant by *Multiracial* and *Multiracial identity* can be explored, the term *race* and other related terms such as *ethnicity* must be described. Without such a description, these various terms could leave readers feeling ambiguous about their meanings and could serve as potential convoluting variables within the study itself. Among the many sources that attempt to define these terms, the U.S. Census reports that the racial categories it utilizes are generally based on the social construction of race perpetuated in the U.S. (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013). Additionally, the U.S. Census Bureau goes on to report that the racial categories within the census do not speak to biology, genetics, or anthropology. In this way, the U.S. Census Bureau is one of numerous sources within the racial literature that views race as a socially constructed concept (i.e., see Allen, Garriott, Reyes, & Hsieh, 2013; Deters, 1997; Giamo, Schmitt, & Outten, 2012; Terry & Winston, 2010). Other aspects that make up race according to the U.S. Census Bureau can include: national origin and sociocultural groups, making race a difficult construct to operationalize, especially given other similar terms such as *ethnicity* (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013). In the past, *ethnicity* has traditionally referred to a person's culture, language, and nationality whereas *race* has traditionally referred to a person's genetics, color, and physical characteristics (Aldarondo, 2001; Citro, 2012). These traditional definitions, therefore, are in stark contrast to the broad description of race given by the U.S. Census Bureau that appears to meld the two concepts into one and label it all as *race*. Given the multiple uses and discrepancies among terms such as *race* and *ethnicity*, it is no surprise that the term *Multiracial* has also

undergone a similar convolution in meaning (Charmaraman, et al., 2014; Rockquemore, et al., 2009).

In response to the lack of a universal definition for any of the aforementioned terms, this study will use the term *Multiracial* to reference participants and any literature that explores concepts related to Biracial and Multiracial identity (Charmaraman, et al., 2014; Citro, 2012). *Multiracial* will be used to include anyone who identifies with two or more races (Allen, et al., 2013; Deters, 1997; Giamo, et al., 2012; Terry & Winston, 2010). The use of the term Multiracial is meant to be inclusive of individuals who also identify as Biracial. The term Multiracial is used for purposes here to include Biracial persons as a broad term and as a result both Biracial and Multiracial research literature will be referenced, however, it is important to keep in mind that the two terms are not necessarily synonymous (Jackson, Yoo, Guevarra, & Harrington, 2012; Lou, Lalonde, & Wilson, 2011; Renn, 2000). Though the singular term *Multiracial* will be utilized throughout the study, because of the numerous meanings associated with it and the overall construct of *race*, this study will use measures that include both terms: *race* and *ethnicity*. Additionally, due to the numerous meanings that are associated with race and ethnicity, the rationale for using one term, *Multiracial*, when referring to participants is for simplicity sake while allowing participants the autonomy to identify, or not identify, as Multiracial based on their own conceptions of what it means to be Multiracial. Finally, given the multiple meanings of *race*, *ethnicity*, and *Multiracial*, participants will be asked during the study questionnaire how they personally define these terms in an effort to further add to the Multiracial literature and increase understanding of these terms.

Previous research concerning Multiracial identity has often focused on detrimental psychological challenges that Multiracial persons experience (Giamo, et al., 2012; Jackson, et al.,

2012; Shih & Sanchez, 2005) during their racial identity development. Giamo et al. (2012) found that perceptions of discrimination in 252 Multiracial individuals was negatively related to overall life satisfaction and Jackson et al. (2012) similarly found that negative psychological adjustment was related to perceived racial discrimination in 263 Multiracial individuals. Nonetheless, in a meta-analysis by Shih and Sanchez (2005), evidence for detrimental effects related to Multiracial identity development were supported in samples only from studies in clinical populations whereas in non-clinical samples, the researchers found that Multiracial individuals tended to be similar in adjustment to their self-identified monoracial counterparts. In Williams' (1999) description of growing up in 1950's America as a Biracial individual from a Black father and German mother, the importance for Williams to claim the "I," meaning individuals choose for themselves how to identify racially and reject the social constructions of race, speaks to the idea that race is more than blood quantum or biological characteristics. To this effect, results from a study by Brunsma and Rockquemore (2001), indicated that the way Biracial individuals chose to racially classify themselves strongly related to their assumptions of how others perceived their race. In this way, Multiracial identification is a fluid concept influenced by pressure to conform to socially constructed racial categories (Deters, 1997; Giamo, et al., 2012; Terry & Winston, 2010).

Numerous Biracial identity development models have been created to account for the unique issues Multiracial persons face, but often fall short of capturing the experience and complexity of being Multiracial. Poston's (1990) Biracial Identity Development Model appears to assume like other research on racial identity that someone who identifies as Biracial or Multiracial has physical characteristics that match social constructions of race and in essence *look* Biracial or Multiracial. Root's (1990) Biracial Identity Model highlights societal racism in addition

to internalized oppression and purports four ways Biracial individuals can resolve Biracial tensions. Root's (1990) four potential resolutions include: *Acceptance of the identity society assigns, identification with both racial groups, identification with a single racial group,* and *identification as a new racial group*, where the fourth resolution describes an individual who's race can be fluid, but overwhelmingly identifies as Biracial and with other Biracial people, no matter the racial mix. Smith's (1991) Ethnic Identity Development Model seeks to reconceptualize the construct of race, so that the construct of ethnic identity can be applicable to minority and majority individuals. The development of ethnic identity occurs through the negotiation of ethnic identity conflicts throughout life. Though helpful to a certain degree, models like these often fail to take into account the increasing diversity of the U.S. and that Biracial or Multiracial does not *look* or *feel* a particular way (Shih & Sanchez, 2005, 2009). Though many researchers (e.g. Poston, 1990; Root, 1990, Smith, 1991) have purported that monoracial identity development models fail to capture the unique issues Biracial individuals face and have developed models in response to this, these researchers have essentially committed the same offense when choosing to base their models solely on Biracial, rather than Multiracial individuals, leaving out anyone who identifies with three of more races. Renn's (2004, 2008) grounded theory research on patterns on identity of Multiracial individuals appears to have come the closest in broadening participants to people who identify with three or more races, but her patterns of identity are limited to individuals in postsecondary institutions and do not describe a developmental model. Renn's (2008) five identity patterns are:

> student holds a monoracial identity, student holds multiple monoracial identities, shifting according to the situation, student holds a multiracial identity, student holds an extraracial identity by deconstructing race or opting out of identification

> with U.S. racial categories, and student holds a situational identity, identifying differently in different contexts (pg. 16-17, Renn, 2008).

Additionally, Henriksen and Paladino (2009) have developed a model entitled the Multiple Heritage Identity Development Model (MHID). The *multiple heritage* definition within this model is inclusive of individuals who identify as Biracial and Multiracial but broadly identifies a variety of characteristics including race, ethnicity, religion, language, gender, sexual orientation, and national origin to describe multiple heritage individuals. The model, like other racial identity development models, is a non-linear model that involves six periods: Neutrality (lack of difference awareness), Acceptance (recognize and accept basis differences between people), Awareness (awareness of multiple identities), Experimentation (seeking a group with which to identify), Transition (inner search for identity), and Recognition (identification with multiple heritages). As a result, this model can be used as an overarching umbrella to understand various identities that make up an individual but fails to add to the dialogue about the specific impact of race and specifically racial identity for Biracial and Multiracial individuals.

To this end, there is no known racial identity model for individuals who specifically identify with three or more racial identities and moreover, the majority of research conducted with Biracial individuals has shown to overwhelmingly be studies of individuals that have a Black-White racial mix (Brown, 1995; Chen, Moons, Gaither, Hamilton, & Sherman, 2014; Hud-Aleem & Countryman, 2008; Kerwin, Ponterotto, Jackson, & Harris, 1993), though there has been an increase in studies concerning Asian and White Biracial individuals, one of the largest Biracial groups (Black & Giardino, 2013; Brittian, Umaña-Taylor, & Derlan, 2013; Chong & Kuo, 2015). Nonetheless, more research is needed to understand the role Biracial/Multiracial identity plays in one's understanding of race and the complexity therein.

Additionally, as the aforementioned researchers have indicated, racial identification especially for Biracial and Multiracial individuals is a developmental process. Literature concerning racial identity in adolescents (Biracial/Multiracial) has significant implications for contributing to racial identity understanding because these adolescents will become the adults of the future and will have to contend with mixed racial messages from society (Lorenzo-Blanco, Bares, & Delva, 2013; Schlabach, 2013; Terry & Winston, 2010). In a study by Marks, Patton and Coil (2011), younger adolescents revealed inhibited responses to labeling themselves as "White," supporting the need for future research to be conducted examining the construct of identity within the U.S. and related effects on Multiracial individuals.

Multiracial Identity Research in Professional Counseling

Researchers in the field of professional counseling have conducted numerous studies on Multiracial identity development, with special emphasis given to counseling competencies and outcomes (i.e., Chao, 2012; Middleton, Ergüner-Tekinalp, Williams, Stadler, & Dow, 2011). Renn (2000) studied situational identity among Biracial/Multiracial college students and found two main themes: the notion of "space" and the impact of peer culture. Collins' (2000) study explored Biracial Japanese American identity development and the importance of having one's identity be congruently perceived by others. Studies like these have examined perceptions of racial identity and how Multiracial individuals choose to assert their identity. In the dimensional model described by LaFromboise, Coleman, and Gerton (1993), the authors suggested six dimensions for bicultural competence. This model appears to acknowledge the negative effects of being a minority within a majority culture and seeks to help individuals navigate this system in a positive way. Kerwin and Ponterotto (1995) described a racial model useful for counseling Biracial clients and includes seven stages that correlate with age and transitional life periods (e.g.,

pre-school stage and college/young adulthood stage). Despite the benefits of these models and competencies intended for use in counseling relationships, the limitations therein are still apparent when these models exclude individuals who identify with three or more races. In this way, it appears that even the models used within professional counseling, a field dedicated to multicultural competence (Sue & Sue, 2013), lack an integrated understanding of the complexity of Multiraciality. Nonetheless, it is clear that the field of professional counseling is dedicated to further understanding this construct as evidenced by the continued growth in literature on Multiracial identity.

Multiracial Identity Assessment

Several assessments have been developed to further understand Multiracial identity. Cheng and Lee (2009) have proposed a construct called Multiracial Identity Integration (MII) which focuses on the negotiation that takes place for Multiracial individuals in their different racial identities. MII is a construct that discusses Multiracial identity integration in terms of negative and positive racial experiences and was specifically created to "measure individual differences in perceptions of compatibility between multiple racial identities" (pg. 55). Cheng and Lee (2009) used the construct of Bicultural identity integration developed by Benet-Martínez and Haritatos (2005; Haritatos & Benet-Martínez, 2002) as the basis for the development of MII. In general, constructs of identity integration consist of two dimensions known as: conflict and distance.

> *Conflict* refers to perceptions that the two identities represent values and norms that fundamentally contradict one another, whereas *distance* refers to perceptions that the two identities are separated from one another. High levels of identity integration are characterized by low levels of perceived conflict and distance. (pg. 53, Cheng & Lee, 2009).

In this same way, Cheng and Lee (2009) developed the MII scale to "measure individual differences in perceptions of compatibility between multiple racial identities" (pg. 55). The MII scale uses a 5-point Likert scale for 8 items to measure "racial distance (perceptions of separation between different racial identities) and racial conflict (feelings of tension between different racial identities), with lower levels of distance and conflict corresponding to higher levels of MII" (pg. 63). The authors suggested that MII be used in more diverse samples of Multiracial individuals. To this end, in a study by Jackson et al. (2012), the relationship between MII, perceived racial discrimination, and psychological adjustment was examined in 263 Multiracial adults. The researchers reported that lower levels of psychological adjustment were related to higher levels of perceived racial discrimination. Additionally higher levels of psychological adjustment were related to higher levels of MII (with low racial conflict and low racial distance), where MII was a moderating factor for psychological adjustment and perceived racial discrimination. Based on these results, the researchers suggested that MII might serve as a protective factor against the negative impact of perceived racial discrimination on psychological adjustment. The authors suggested that future studies further explore the role of racial discrimination in the lives of Multiracial individuals. Additionally, the authors highlighted the importance of MII as a tool for understanding the perceptions of racial inequality and the need for professional counselors working with Multiracial individuals to utilize the construct of MII while helping their clients conceptualize their racial identity.

The Multiracial Challenges and Resilience Scale (MCRS) was developed by Salahuddin and O'Brien (2011) to understand the experiences of Multiracial individuals as a result of there being very few psychometric measures of this kind. The authors reported that past research has revealed that race-related challenges for Multiracial people include: racism, social invalidation of

identity, and negative psychological outcomes whereas race-related resilience factors include enhanced social functioning and positive psychological outcomes. Initial studies of the MCRS using an exploratory and confirmatory factor analysis revealed and supported four factors relating to Multiracial challenge: Others' Surprise and Disbelief Regarding Racial Heritage, Lack of Family Acceptance, Multiracial Discrimination, and Challenges With Racial Identity with two factors relating to Multiracial resilience factors: Appreciation of Human Differences and Multiracial Pride. Overall, the authors reported that, "internal consistency estimates for the MCRS scales were moderate to high, and the test–retest reliability scores over a 2-month period were adequate" (pg. 502). Salahuddin and O'Brien (2011) suggested that future studies be conducted using the MCRS with a larger and more diverse sample. Additionally, authors suggested that the MCRS be used in combination with other measures to help pinpoint challenges to Multiracial identity while also exploring further protective factors to help with such challenges. Like Cheng and Lee (2009) with their MII scale, Salahuddin and O'Brien (2011) encouraged the use of the MCRS in helping professions to better understand their Multiracial clients and psychological functioning as it relates to Multiracial identity. Although gaining understanding in the process of identity integration for Multiracial individuals builds awareness for professional counselors' work with clients, it is important to further investigate ideologies and behaviors that may affect racial identity for these individuals.

Color-Blind Racial Ideology (CBRI)

When discussing the construct of race, for either monoracial or Multiracial individuals, one must consider the concept of color-blind racial ideology (CBRI) (Neville, Awad, Brooks, Flores, & Bluemel, 2013). CBRI is a general concept used to describe ideas surrounding racial color-blindness and is often measured using the Color-Blind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS)

(Barr & Neville, 2014; Neville, et al., 2013). It should be noted here that racial color-blindness is not simply defined as "not noticing race" but speaks to an overarching idea that racial color-blindness ignores racial inequality and as a result actually perpetuates this inequality (Neville & Awad, 2014). CBRI consists of two domains: color-evasion and power-evasion and is used as an overarching framework to understand color-blind concepts that justify societal racial inequalities in the U.S. (Neville, et al., 2013). Neville, et al. (2013) described color-evasion as a concept that occurs when one minimizes racial differences while underscoring sameness, and power-evasion as a concept that occurs when one denies the existence of racism while underscoring equal opportunities. CBRI serves as an extension of Sue's microaggression framework, whereby "racial microaggressions are brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioral, and environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights and insults to the target person or group" (Sue et al., 2007, p. 273), by including additional dimensions such as "the denial of racialized experiences and denial of institutional racism" (Neville, et al., 2013, p. 459-460). Neville, et al. (2013) purport that anyone can adopt CBRI, regardless of their racial identification due to the racial socialization that all racial groups in the U.S. receive:

> Although Whites and people of color can and do adopt CBRI, adhering to these beliefs has different implications for the two groups. For Whites, CBRI is linked to racial privilege and animus, and for people of color, CBRI is linked to internalized racism. Given that Whites as a whole benefit from CBRI, it is not surprising that White students and community members, on average, adopt higher levels of CBRI as measured by the Co-BRAS than do their racial and ethnic minority counterparts (pg. 461, Neville, et al., 2013).

Neville et al. (2013) reported that there is a positive correlation between the adoption of CBRI and the engagement in racial insensitive behavior. However, they also purport that there is little data that describes the difference in CBRI between racial/ethnic minority groups. As a result, these authors suggest that future studies focus on how CBRI manifests itself in various racial groups as well as what might contribute to within-group differences in CBRI.

CBRI has been shown to affect the micro and macro systems with which we live and cause harm as evidenced by the results in studies conducted in the school and workplace (e.g., Apfelbaum, Pauker, Sommers, & Ambady, 2010; Plaut, Thomas, & Goren, 2009). Overall, color-blind racial attitudes have been studied heavily in college students and results of numerous studies have indicated that there is a relationship between greater levels of CBRI and lower levels of social justice attitudes, even in racially diverse samples (Neville, Yeung, Todd, Spanierman, & Reed, 2011; Tynes & Markoe, 2010).

Color-Blind Assessment

Though the concept of color-blind racial attitudes originally surfaced in the field of law, it has been used in the social sciences to underscore the idea that racism lives on in the form of color-blindness and is defined as the "denial of racial dynamics" leading to "an unawareness of the existence of racism" (pg. 61) (Neville, Lilly, Duran, Lee, & Browne, 2000). The CoBRAS is a scale developed by Neville, et al. (2000) under the CBRI framework and is based on a 3-factor model of unawareness of racial privilege, institutional discrimination, and blatant racial issues. The majority of research on color-blind attitudes using the CoBRAS has focused on measuring color-blind attitudes in White participants, as can be seen in the participant demographics of the initial reliability and validations studies of the CoBRAS (Neville, et al.; 2000). In all five studies contributing to the initial reliability and validation of the CoBRAS, participants were over-

whelmingly college students (with some community members) from the Midwest and West Coast regions with the highest percentage of participant demographics self-identifying as White. Researchers found that racial/ethnic minorities reported overall lower levels of color-blind racial attitudes. Gushue et al. (2012) examined the relationship between colorblind racial attitudes (using the CoBRAS), social desirability, and motivation (external and internal) to respond without prejudice in 198 White graduate students in urban universities in the Northeastern U.S. *Motivation to respond without prejudice* was a construct designed by the authors in keeping with Plant and Devine's (1998) model of motivation, and describes external motivation as an individual concern over how one will be viewed by others and internal motivation as an individual concern of how one will be viewed by oneself and the potential for dissonance between one's actions and beliefs. Gushue et al. (2012) reported that "higher levels of general social desirability and external motivation to respond without prejudice were associated with greater unawareness of both blatant racism and of White privilege" (pg. 3). Additionally,

> Higher levels of external motivation to respond without prejudice were associated with greater unawareness of institutional racism. On the other hand, higher levels of internal motivation to respond without prejudice were associated with greater awareness of blatant racism, institutional racism, and White privilege (less colorblindness in these domains) (pg. 3, Gushue et al., 2012).

Though color-blind racial attitudes have been overwhelmingly studied in White and Black individuals as a way to further understand and conceptualize White privilege and minority oppression (Neville, Poteat, Lewis, & Spanierman, 2014; Spanierman, et al., 2008; Tynes & Markoe, 2010; Zou & Dickter, 2013), the authors of the CoBRAS suggest future studies examine color-blind attitudes of specific racial groups (Neville, et al., 2000).

Awad (2012), using a sample of 530 African-American participants, found that color-blind racial attitudes differ in meaning for African American individuals than for Whites. The four factors that emerged in this study differed from the aforementioned 3 factors originally supported by Neville et al. (2000) and included: importance of race and racism, denial of racial problems, causes of racism, and beliefs about immigrants. These results support the need for a continued investigation of color-blind racial attitudes in minority participants. In a study by Barr and Neville (2014), the concept of racial socialization was examined using the CoBRAS in 207 participants who identified as Black from a predominantly White university. In this study, Black participants' ability to acknowledge systemic inequalities related to racism to successfully manage socialization messages from parents was compared to participants who internalized color-blind racial beliefs. These findings support the need for further research on color-blind racial attitudes in minority populations, specifically in under-represented minority populations such as those who identify as Multiracial. Specifically, Barr and Neville (2014), concluded that there is a relationship between racial socialization as it relates to CBRI and mental health outcomes, though the relationship is not clear and warrants future research. Additionally, authors of this study suggested that racial identity be studied as a moderator of the relationship between racial socialization and mental health.

One study that sought to understand color-blind racial attitudes in the Biracial/Multiracial community was conducted by Stepney, Sanchez, and Handy (2015) where the role ethnic identity plays in color-blind attitudes of part-White Biracial individuals using the CoBRAS was studied. This study is one of the few (if not only) studies that investigated CBRI in Biracial individuals and has important implications for the racial experiences and responses of Biracial individuals. Specifically, Stepney, et al. (2015) found that closeness to one's parent and the ethnic identi-

ty of the parent predicted the way in which the part-White participant would ethnically self-identify. Biracial individuals who identified more with their White background were more likely to endorse CBRI than Biracial individuals who identified more with their minority background, though there was no statistically significant relationship between Multiracial identity and the endorsement of color-blind attitudes. Nonetheless, this study supports the idea that Biracial individuals' identification shapes their views of race and racial attitudes. Authors suggested that future studies include Biracial and Multiracial individuals who do not share a White background.

Despite the assertion by Neville, et al. (2013) that the CoBRAS may not be as relevant to CBRI at the present because it was developed in the early years of empirical CBRI research, and as a result the authors suggest that future research be focused on the creation of a CBRI measure, the CoBRAS has been used in a variety of studies and is the best measure to date for measuring color-blind racial attitudes. This can be seen in the use of the CoBRAS in a study by Chao (2013) where the CoBRAS was used to examine the link between color-blind racial attitudes of school counselors, race/ethnicity, multicultural training, and multicultural competence (MCC). Results indicated that school counselors had low MCC when their color-blind racial attitudes were high and they had limited training. The CoBRAS has been used in a variety of setting to understand color-blind racial attitudes and has even led to further understanding of the way students in helping professions such as school counseling exemplify multicultural competence.

Perceived Discrimination

Understanding how color-blind racial attitudes/ideology impact racial identity integration is simply a first step in comprehending the construct of race within our society. Learning about the ways in which CBRI may manifest itself in racial discrimination from the perspective of those experiencing discrimination is an important second step. Research with Multiracial indi-

viduals has consistently been rife with experiences of racism characterized by *microaggressions* and *perceived racial discrimination* which can take the form of pressure from outside entities onto the Multiracial person to adopt a singular identity or verbal and physical attacks on one's Multiracial identity (Giamo, et al., 2012; Jackson, et al., 2012; Shih & Sanchez, 2005; Sue, et al., 2007). Furthermore, Multiracial individuals' experiences of perceived racial discrimination has been linked to mental health issues (Brondolo, Pencille, Kwok, & Crupi, 2011; Giamo et al., 2012; Jackson, et al., 2012; Lou & Lalonde, 2015) and as a result, professional counselors and counselor educators need to be aware of the impact and complexity of racial discrimination on Multiracial individuals. Given the holistic approach found in professional counseling, physical health in addition to mental health has been impacted by experiences of perceived discrimination (Brondolo, et al., 2011). Carter (2007) reported that mental and physical harm can result from the stressors created by the cumulative and long-lasting impact of racial microaggressions. Brondolo, et al. (2011) examined the relationship between perceived discrimination and health in 734 Asian, Black, and Latino(a) adults. The researchers found a significant relationship between perceived discrimination and poor self-reported health across all the racial groups of participants. The Perceived Ethnic Discrimination Questionnaire – Community Version (PEDQ-CV) Lifetime Exposure to Discrimination Scale was used to measure perceived racial discrimination (Brondolo, et al., 2005). This scale consists of 34 items and includes four subscales that assess different dimensions of discrimination, including: experiences of social exclusion, stigmatization, discrimination at work/school, and threat/ harassment. According to Kwok, et al. (2011) the PEDQ-CV is designed "to permit researchers to assess the experiences of racial/ethnic discrimination in different ethnic groups by identifying experiences of discrimination that may be similar or shared across groups" (pg. 272). The authors reported that the results of this study highlight the need

for the helping professions to recognize the specific mental concerns of racial minority clients and for researchers to specifically work to understand racial discrimination and the effects thereof to help with targeted interventions for these minority clients.

There are few studies that link both Multiracial Identity Integration (MII) to perceived discrimination in Multiracial individuals. Lou and Lalonde (2015) investigated MII, self-concept clarity, group identification, racial discrimination, and well-being in 201 Biracial participants. The authors of this study indicated that due to the complex nature of Multiracial identity and factors that could interact with identity integration, such as discrimination and psychological well-being, an overall increase in the research around these constructs is needed. Discussed previously in the "Multiracial Identity Assessment" section of this paper, Jackson et al. (2012) examined the relationship between MII, perceived discrimination, and psychological adjustment. This study provided support for perceived racial discrimination to be characterized as a risk factor for Multiracial individuals. Additionally, results from this study indicate that having an integrated Multiracial identity could serve as a protective factor for psychological adjustment. Overall, more research is needed to understand the complex nuances of having a Multiracial identity, what is means to be integrated in that identity, and the role discrimination plays in that identity. Further illustrating the complex nature of Multiracial identity, results from a study conducted by Giamo et al. (2012) with 252 Multiracial people indicated that higher levels of perceived discrimination (based on the rejection identification model by Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999) resulted in participants feeling more committed to upholding their Multiracial identity. Additionally, this study shed light on the concept of self-stereotyping (see Leach, et al., 2008) whereby "Perceptions of discrimination might encourage multiracial people to see themselves as more stereotypical of the multiracial category, as discrimination implies that other people see

them as representative of that category" (pg. 321, Giamo et al., 2012). To this end, the literature suggests that future studies include measures related to perceived discrimination and Multiracial identity to further understand this complex construct.

Though the term *discrimination* is widely known especially in race literature, numerous researchers have taken to using the term "perceived discrimination" especially in reference to experiences of racial minorities (i.e., Brondolo, et al., 2005; Brondolo, et al., 2011; Hall, Williams Jr., Penhollow, Rhoads, & Hunt, 2015; Jackson, et al., 2012; Wong, Tsai, Liu, Zhu, & Wei; 2014). Banks (2014) argued that the use of the phrase "perceived discrimination" is actually a perpetuation of CBRI due to the use of the word "perceived" acting as a minimization of one's experiences of discrimination because it is a qualifier unnecessary to any other interpersonal interaction studied in the helping professions. Banks purports that teachers and supervisors hold great power to influence future generations of practitioners and educators and it is of utmost importance that experiences of discrimination are validated for the purpose of understanding the experiences of one another. To this end, Banks calls for the "perceived" to be dropped from the construct of discrimination as an acknowledgement that discrimination happens whether the perpetrator intends for it to happen or not.

Therefore, intentional awareness, skill building, and reflection on the part of all researchers, educators, and clinicians is necessary for psychology to be a field adequately equipped to understand increasingly diverse communities. Words are powerful and are the tools we use to communicate. With what we understand about the prevalence of CBRI, we should cease the use of the term "perceived discrimination" as it refers to experiences of unfair treatment (pg. 312, Banks, 2014).

The construct of perceived discrimination experienced by Multiracial individuals in con-

junction with the construct of CBRI, are important factors in understanding the complex nature of Multiracial identity integration, especially given the links between mental health, CBRI, and experiences of discrimination (Brondolo, et al., 2011; Carter, 2007; Giamo et al., 2012; Jackson, et al., 2012).

Conclusions and Implications for Professional Counselors and Counselor Educators

"Color-consciousness" or "racially cognizant" are the labels given to describe the tools and language used to help support racial dialogue, especially in reference to CBRI and to combat the negative effects thereof (Neville & Awad, 2014). The idea is that in order to reconcile the problem of racial inequality/racism, society must first understand how the problem functions within and affects society. Aldana, Rowley, Checkoway, and Richards-Schuster (2012) used the term "ethnic-racial consciousness" to describe this concept as two-fold: "(1) an awareness of one's ethnicity and/or race (i.e., ethnic-racial identity); and (2) knowledge of social systems that create and perpetuate power differentials between groups (i.e., racism awareness)" (pg. 121). Aldana et al. (2012) asserted that having ethnic-racial consciousness means understanding that we live in a world that classifies people based on race/ethnicity and the main purpose of this classification system is to uphold a social hierarchy. "Racial literacy" is another term used by Sue (2013) that appears to describe the understanding that individuals have of race playing an influential part on society gained through constructive racial dialogues. As the U.S. continues to grow more diverse, racial dialogue and the need for people to be "color-conscious" grows, especially given the knowledge gap relating to understanding the racial experience of Multiracial individuals. Though numerous studies on Biracial/Multiracial individuals exist, there is a lack of diversity within these studies related to the complexity of the Multiracial experience. For example, numerous studies on Biracial individuals focus only on the Biraciality of being Black and

White (Brown, 1995; Chen, et al., 2014; Hud-Aleem & Countryman, 2008; Kerwin, et al., 1993), or studies/models fail to recognize that there often exists an incongruence between one's Biracial or Multiracial identity and the way the individual appears (Poston, 1990; Smith, 1991). Though research relating to Biracial/Multiracial identity appears to grow, especially within the field of professional counseling (for example, Chao, 2012; Middleton, et al.; 2011; Renn; 2000), it is clear that further research is needed to understand the complex nature of *being* Biracial/Multiracial.

Additionally, with the growth of Multiracial people comes the societal danger of believing that racism no longer exists. Though overt acts of racism seem to be reported less and less, researchers have studied the ongoing role color-blind racial ideology plays in the way in which the construct of race is understood. The literature discussed in this paper underscores the idea that color-blind racial ideology has the potential to affect and influence anyone, no matter one's racial identification and as a result, further research is needed to understand how color-blind racial ideology functions or influences Biracial/Multiracial individuals (Barr & Neville, 2014; Neville, et al., 2013; Neville & Awad, 2013).

Future investigations seeking a better understanding of racial color-blindness in Multiracial individuals have the potential to influence multicultural counseling competencies for professional counselors and counselor educators. These types of research efforts could provide knowledge and support for professional counselors and counselor educators servicing Multiracial clients, students, and supervisees. Likewise, these efforts could lead to multicultural competent care and lead to increased wellness, advocacy, education and prevention efforts for Multiracial clients, students, and supervisees.

To date, no quantitative studies have examined color-blind racial ideology in solely Biracial/Multiracial individuals. Because discrimination and Multiracial identity integration are shown to be facets of the Multiracial experience, it follows that further investigations will need to continue examining Multiracial identity, racial color-blind ideology and experiences of discrimination. Specifically, investigations should explore the relationships among the experiences of discrimination, attitudes of racial color-blindness, and identity integration in Multiracial individuals.

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CHAPTER 2

THE RELATIONSHIPS AMONG MULTIRACIAL IDENTITY, COLOR-BLIND RACIAL IDEOLOGY, AND DISCRIMINATION IN MULTIRACIAL INDIVIDUALS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR PROFESSIONAL COUNSELING AND COUNSELOR EDUCATION

With the continued growth of the United States (U.S.) population, the Multiracial population is one of the fastest growing populations, growing 32% from 2000 to 2010 (Jackson, Yoo, Guevarra & Harrington, 2012; Shih & Sanchez, 2009). Additionally, according to Charmaraman, Woo, Quach, and Erkut (2014), the variance among over 9 million Multiracial people reported in the U.S. Census is extremely varied, illustrating the vast diversity and complexity of the Multiracial population. With this growth in the Multiracial population as well as the variation within, it becomes more important to understand the experiences of Multiracial individuals, especially given the commitment of the counseling profession to multiculturalism (Harley, Jolivette & McCormick, 2002; Sue, 2013). Issues related to racial experiences, attitudes, and identity are in need of further examination within the Multiracial community (Shih & Sanchez, 2009), especially given that studies have shown a link between mental health issues, experiences of discrimination, and racial pressure in Multiracial individuals (Giamo, Schmitt, & Outten, 2012; Jackson, et al., 2012; Shih & Sanchez, 2005; Sue, et al., 2007).

Although the profession of counseling and counselor education has attended to racial issues in minority populations, the unique issues Multiracial individuals face are still underrepresented in the literature given the infinite amount of racial mixtures that could make up a Multiracial person. Past Multiracial research has focused on a variety of topics including: detrimental psychological challenges that Multiracial persons experience (Giamo, et al., 2012; Jackson, et al.,

2012; Shih & Sanchez, 2005), identity development in relationship to counseling competencies and outcomes (i.e., Chao, 2012; Middleton, Ergüner-Tekinalp, Williams, Stadler, & Dow, 2011), and the creation of racial developmental models (Poston, 1990; Root, 1990; Smith, 1991). However, it is important to further expand on the Multiracial literature by understanding the way in which identity, discrimination, and racial attitudes and beliefs intersect for the ultimate purpose of providing competent counseling practice and counselor education related to the Multiracial population. Specifically, given that Social Constructivism and Critical Race Theory (CRT) facilitate understanding of societally and racially influenced facets, it is appropriate that these lenses frame the current study's constructs (Chang, Hays & Milliken, 2009; Lyddon, 1999; Vygotsky, 1978.)

Multiracial Identity

Before the construct of Multiracial identity can be described, it is important to operationalize what is meant by *race* and subsequently other terms such as *ethnicity* that could potentially act as convoluting variables. The U.S. Census reports that, "the racial categories included in the census questionnaire generally reflect a social definition of race recognized in this country and not an attempt to define race biologically, anthropologically, or genetically" (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013). According to the U.S. Census Bureau and numerous other race researchers, race *is* a socially constructed concept (Allen, Garriott, Reyes, & Hsieh, 2013; Deters, 1997; Giamo, et al., 2012; Terry & Winston, 2010). The U.S. Census goes on to report "it is recognized that the categories of the race item include racial and national origin or sociocultural groups" (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013). This definition is in contrast to traditional ideas of *ethnicity* typically referring to shared cultural, language and nationality characteristics and *race* typically speaking to genetics, color, and physical characteristics. This discrepancy between the definitions of these terms

speaks to the idea that these *traditional* terms are no longer adequate when describing the vastly diverse population (Aldarondo, 2001; Citro, 2012). Inconsistent understanding and utilization of the terms race and ethnicity have lead to a similar convolution of the term *Multiracial* (Charmaraman, et al., 2014; Rockquemore, Brunsma & Delgado, 2009). As a result, because arguments have been made on both sides to include both *race* and *ethnicity* as a singular term (Charmaraman, et al., 2014) and as separate terms (Citro, 2012), this study used a single term *Multiracial* (described further in the procedure section) to describe the Biracial and Multiracial literature referenced throughout as well as the participants while utilizing measures that included both terms: *race* and *ethnicity*. Additional rationale for utilizing one term (Multiracial) when referring to participants in the study was to allow participants complete autonomy of whether or not to identify as Multiracial based on their own conceptions of what it means to be Multiracial. In an effort to continue to further add to the literature surrounding race and ethnicity, participants were asked during the study questionnaire how they personally define race, ethnicity, and Multiracial.

Though several developmental models have been created to understand non-monoracial identity, these models have focused only on Biracial identity and leave out identity development concerns for anyone identifying as Multiracial (i.e., Poston, 1990; Root, 1990). Additionally, Henriksen and Paladino (2009) developed the Multiple Heritage Identity Development Model (MHID) where *multiple heritage* includes individuals who identify as Biracial and Multiracial but broadly identify with a variety of characteristics including race, ethnicity, religion, language, gender, sexual orientation, and national origin to describe multiple heritage individuals. Though this model can be used as an overarching umbrella to understand the intersection of identities that define an individual, it appears to minimize race, and therefore does not specifically aid in the understanding of racial identity for Biracial and Multiracial individuals.

Despite a lack of developmental models regarding Multiracial identity, there has been progress made in the area of specific assessments created to further understand Multiraciality. One construct, Multiracial Identity Integration (MII), was developed by Cheng and Lee (2009), to specifically focus on racial identity negotiation that occurs in Multiracial individuals in terms of negative and positive racial experiences. In this way, Multiracial identity integration is the way in which individuals perceive their racial identities to be conflictual or agreeable to one another and the way in which this identity is consistent across situations (Cheng & Lee, 2009; Lou & Lalonde, 2015). Numerous studies have investigated the way in which Multiracial identity has predicted outcome variables, such as racial attitudes and beliefs, but very few studies have used Multiracial identity integration serve as the outcome variable (Fisher, Reynolds, Hsu, Barnes & Tyler, 2014; Gaither, 2015; Stepney, Sanchez & Handy, 2015). Results from one of the few studies that examined both MII and perceived discrimination in relationship to psychological adjustment, indicated that experiences of perceived racial discrimination be characterized as a risk factor for Multiracial individuals and that having an integrated Multiracial identity could serve as a protective factor for psychological adjustment (Jackson et al., 2012). Given the complex nature of Multiracial identity, (Marks, Patton & Coil, 2011; Rockquemore, et al., 2009; Shih & Sanchez, 2009) and the link between mental health, discrimination, and racial attitudes (Giamo, et al., 2012; Jackson, et al., 2012; Offermann, Basford, Graebner, Jaffer, De Graaf & Kaminsky, 2014; Shih & Sanchez, 2005; Sue, et al., 2007) it follows that these factors be studied in relation to one another.

Color-Bind Racial Ideology

Despite the progress made in the U.S. related to acts of overt racism and racial perceptions, racial inequality still exists especially in the form of racial microaggressions/discrimination

and attitudes held by individuals living in the U.S. (Sue, et al., 2007). One particularly dangerous and common belief is the idea that race should not matter, and Neville and Awad, (2014) asserted that this belief, an example of color-blind racial ideology (CBRI), actually leads U.S. society further away from the goal of racial equality. The general construct of CBRI (Barr & Neville, 2014; Neville, Awad, Brooks, Flores & Bluemel, 2013) describes ideas surrounding racial color-blindness, specifically within two domains, color-evasion and power-evasion, and is used as a framework to understand the perpetuation of discrimination and inequality (Neville & Awad, 2014; Neville, et al., 2013). CBRI is often measured using the color-blind racial attitudes scale (CoBRAS) and is based on a 3-factor model of unawareness of racial privilege, institutional discrimination, and blatant racial issues (Barr & Neville, 2014; Neville, et al., 2013). Though the majority of research using the CoBRAS has focused on measuring color-blind attitudes in White participants to compare to minority participants' attitudes, (Johnson & Williams, 2015; Neville, Lilly, Duran, Lee & Browne, 2000; Neville, Poteat, Lewis, & Spanierman, 2014; Tynes & Markoe; 2010; Zou & Dickter, 2013), the CoBRAS has been used with a small subset of minority and non-monoracial people (i.e., Chao, 2012; Offermann, et al., 2014; Stepney, et al., 2015). In Chao's (2012) study, the interaction between multicultural training, CoBRAS, and racial/ethnic identity was tested in school counselors. Results supported a 3-way interaction between the variables where despite racial/ethnic identification of participants, school counselors had lower levels of Multicultural competence when their training was low and their CoBRAS was high. This contrasts findings from other researchers (Offerman, et al., 2014; Stepney, et al., 2015) that found that stronger minority identity was linked to lower levels of CoBRAS and supports the idea that color-blind racial ideology can afflict anyone, no matter their racial identification as a minority (including Biracial/Multiracial identification) (Chao, 2012).

Despite results from these studies generally supporting the idea that racial/ethnic minorities often report overall lower levels of color-blind racial attitudes compared to their White counterparts (Neville, et al., 2000; Offerman, et al., 2014; Stepney, et al., 2015), the contradictory results from Chao's (2012) study suggest a need for additional future investigations to include Co-BRAS as an interaction factor to minority identity with Multiracial individuals as a target population. In addition to understanding the role racial ideology plays in the identity of Multiracial individuals, given the racial inequality that continues to ail U.S. society, it is also important to understand the effect of external forces, such as discrimination, on Multiracial identity integration (Brondolo, et al., 2005; Carter, 2007; Carter & Sant-Barket, 2015; Giamo et al., 2012; Jackson, et al., 2012). These are especially salient issues given the findings that Multiracial identity integration can mediate the affects of racism, whether in the form of overt discrimination or CBRI (Carter, 2007; Jackson, et al., 2012).

Perceived Discrimination

The term *perceived racial discrimination* has been used to describe Multiracial individuals' experiences of: verbal and physical attacks concerning one's racial identity, microaggressions, and feelings of pressure from outsiders to adopt a single identity (Giamo, et al., 2012; Jackson, et al., 2012; Shih & Sanchez, 2005; Sue, et al., 2007). Physical and mental health issues have also been linked to these experiences of perceived racial discrimination and speak to the need for professional counselors and counselor educators to increase awareness and advocacy efforts surrounding the impact of racial discrimination on Multiracial individuals, given the holistic approach of professional counseling (Brondolo, et al., 2011; Carter, 2007; Giamo et al., 2012; Jackson, et al., 2012). Brondolo, et al. (2011) examined the relationship between perceived discrimination and health in minority participants using the Perceived Ethnic Discrimina-

tion Questionnaire Community Version (PEDQ-CV) and found a significant relationship between perceived discrimination and poor self-reported health. The results of this study underscored the need for professional counselors and other helping professions to recognize the link between racial identity, mental health concerns, and the effects of racial discrimination on racial minority clients. Furthermore, results from a study by Giamo et al., (2012) with Multiracial participants indicated that higher levels of perceived discrimination resulted in increased commitment levels to Multiracial identity. This study underscored the idea that experiences of racial discrimination could encourage Multiracial people to see themselves as congruently Multiracial (in the eyes of themselves and others) (Leach, et al., 2008). In this way, the literature suggests that future studies seek to further understand the complex nature of Multiracial identity by including measures of perceived discrimination.

Further illustrating the complexity of Multiracial identity as a research construct, it is important to note that although the term *discrimination* is widely used in race-related literature, within numerous writings regarding experiences of racial minorities, the term *perceived discrimination* has been referenced to mean self-reported experiences of discrimination (i.e., Brondolo, et al., 2011; Hall, Williams Jr., Penhollow, Rhoads, & Hunt, 2015; Jackson, et al., 2012; Wong, Tsai, Liu, Zhu, & Wei; 2014). Nonetheless, Banks (2014) argued that the word *perceived* minimizes the discrimination as an event that perhaps would not be definitively viewed as discrimination by others and ultimately perpetuates CBRI. To this end, this researcher agrees with Banks for the *perceived* to be dropped from the construct of discrimination and throughout the remainder of this paper has used the term discrimination when referring to the construct unless referring to a formal name of an instrument. Given the links between mental health, CBRI, and experiences of discrimination in Multiracial individuals, it is important for these factors to be further

studied in relationship to their impact on Multiracial identity integration (Carter, 2007; Giamo et al., 2012; Jackson, et al., 2012).

Rationale for the Current Study

Although there have been numerous studies concerning Multiracial identity integration and experiences of discrimination, no quantitative studies have examined color-blind racial ideology in Multiracial individuals. Specifically, research endeavors need to investigate the relationships among the experiences of discrimination, attitudes of racial color-blindness, and identity integration in Multiracial individuals. Additionally, literature has shown that constructs relating to attitudes, beliefs, and cognitive flexibility could serve as moderating factors to established relationships (Brewster, Moradi, DeBlaere & Velez, 2013; Costarelli, 2011; Costarelli & Gerłowska, 2015). Specifically, beliefs related to diversity have been shown to serve as a moderating factor to identification (van Dick, van Knippenberg, Hagele, Guillaume & Brodbeck, 2008). An example of how attitudes may moderate a relationship is indicated in the results of a study by van Dick et al. (2008), where there was a positive relationship between identification and subjective diversity in the ethnically diverse project teams when group members held pro-diversity beliefs. Though constructs related to attitudes and beliefs may not necessarily predict the direction of relationships, the results of this study are an example of how higher (pro-diversity) attitudes influenced the outcome.

Since color-blind racial attitudes, under the umbrella of CBRI, fits the description of attitudes and beliefs and research has shown that color-blind racial attitudes can be held by racial minorities (i.e., Chao, 2012), it follows that color-blind racial attitudes could moderate the relationship between experiences of discrimination and overall Multiracial identity integration in Multiracial participants. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to explore the relationships

among experiences of discrimination, color-blind racial attitudes, and Multiracial identity integration in Multiracial people. As a result, the following research questions were developed:

1) What are the relationships among color-blind racial attitudes, experiences of discrimination, and Multiracial identity integration for Multiracial people?

H1a: There will be a negative relationship between color-blind racial attitudes and Multiracial identity integration.

H1b: There will be a negative relationship between color-blind racial attitudes and experiences of discrimination.

H1c: There will be a positive relationship between experiences of discrimination and Multiracial identity integration.

2) Are the experiences of discrimination and color-blind racial attitudes predictive of Multiracial identity integration in Multiracial people?

H2a: Perceived discrimination will predict ratings of Multiracial identity integration in Multiracial people.

H2b: Color-blind racial attitudes will predict Multiracial identity integration in Multiracial people.

3) Does color-blind racial attitudes moderate the relationship between discrimination and Multiracial identity?

H3: Color-blind racial attitudes will moderate the relationship between discrimination and Multiracial identity integration.

Method

Participants

G*Power, version 3.1, was used to estimate the sample size needed to conduct data analysis (Faul, Erdfelder, Buchner, & Lang, 2009). The recommended sample based on the power analysis with a medium effect size and a power of .8 based on Cohen's recommendation was 85 (Field, 2013).

288 people participated in this study (age: M = 25.60, SD = 7.75, range 18-63 years). Participation was on a volunteer basis and consent was given by each participant regarding completion of the online survey. The sample included 184 individuals who identified as females (63.7%) and 104 individuals who identified as males (36.0%) with one person from this group identifying as transgender.

223 participants (77.2%) described themselves as Biracial, 62 participants (21.5%) described themselves as Multiracial, and 3 participants (1.0%) chose *None of these. I choose to describe myself as (please specify below)* and described themselves as *Multiple Heritage* (n = 2) and *Multiethnic* (n =1). These three individuals were included in the data analysis given their description in the write-in portion of the questionnaire of what it meant to be *Multiple Heritage* and *Multiethnic.*

Regarding sexual identity, .7% (n = 21) identified as bisexual, 3.8% (n = 11) identified as gay, 82.7% (n = 239) identified as heterosexual, 1.4% (n = 4) identified as lesbian, 2.8% (n = 8) identified as queer, and 3 participants identified using the write-in response. One participant identified as *Free-Spirit*, one participant identified as *pansexual*, and one participant identified as *romantic/asexual*.

When asked about language use, 92.0% (n = 266) of participants indicated that they use English as their primary form of reading, writing, speaking, and/or communicating. The remaining participants (6.2%, n = 18) reported using another language.

Regarding relationship or marital status, 14.5% (n = 42) stated they were married, 4.5% (n = 13) stated they were in a domestic partnership, .7% (n = 2) stated they were divorced, 73.4% (n = 212) stated they were single, and 5.9% (n = 17) stated they we unmarried and living in the same household. No participants reported being widowed. With respect to religion, spirituality, and belief identification, 11.4% (n = 33) identified as Agnostic, 5.2% (n = 15) identified as Atheist, 2.4% (n = 7) identified as Buddhist, 60.6% (n = 175) identified as Christian, 1.0% (n = 3) identified as Hindu, 1.4% (n = 4) identified as Jewish, 8.0% (n = 23) identified as Muslim, and 8% (n = 23) specified a religion other than the options listed above. Regarding ability status, 12.1% (n = 35) participants reported having a disability and 6.2% (n = 18) experienced limitations in functioning. Additionally, 12.8% (n = 37) reported having a chronic health condition.

With regard to formal education, 47.1% (n = 136) participants had attained a high school diploma, 13.5% (n = 39) participants attained degrees of Associates, 22.8% (n = 66) Bachelors, 11.4% (n = 33) Masters, .7% (n = 2) Specialist, and 2.1% (n = 6) Doctoral. Given that recruitment procedures included a university setting (described in more detail below), the remaining demographic questions focused on student/academic status of participants. As a result, 1.7% (n = 5) of student participants reported having First Year/Freshman status, 5.5% (n = 16) reported Second Year/Sophomore status, 23.2% (n = 67) reported Third year/Junior status, 32.9% (n = 95) reported Fourth year/Senior status, and 15.2% (n = 44) reported Fifth Year or more status. Overall, 78.55% (n = 227) of participants reported being a current student and 21.45% (n = 62) reported not being a current student.

Table 1
Demographic Data for Study Participants

	N	%
Age		
Range: 18-63		
M = 25.60, *SD* = 7.75		

Gender Identification		
Female	184	63.7
Male	104	36.0
Transgender	1	
Racial Identification		
Biracial	223	77.2
Multiracial	62	21.5
Multiethnic/Multiple Heritage	3	1.0
Sexual Identification		
Bisexual	21	7.0
Gay	11	3.8
Heterosexual	239	82.7
Lesbian	4	1.4
Queer	8	2.8
Other: (including) Free-Spirit/Pansexual/ Romantic/Asexual	3	1.0
Primary Language		
English	266	92.0
Other language	18	6.2
Relationship/Marital Status		
Married	42	14.5
Domestic Partnership	13	4.5
Divorced	2	.7
Single	212	73.4
Unmarried and Living in the Same Household	17	5.9
Widowed	0	0
Religion/Spirituality/Belief Identification		
Agnostic	33	11.4
Atheist	15	5.2
Buddhist	7	2.4
Christian	175	60.6
Hindu	3	1.0
Jewish	4	1.4
Muslim	23	8.0
Other Religion	23	8.0
Ability Status		
Disabled	35	12.1
Limitations in Functioning	18	6.2
Chronic Health Condition	37	12.8
Formal education		
High School Diploma	136	47.1
Associates	39	13.5
Bachelors	66	22.8
Masters	33	11.4
Specialist	2	7.0
Doctoral	6	2.1

Current student status	227	78.6
First Year/Freshman	5	1.7
Second Year/Sophomore	16	5.5
Third Year/Junior	67	23.2
Fourth Year/Senior	95	32.9
Fifth Year or more	44	15.2
Non-Current Students	62	21.5

Procedure

Participation was generated using request emails to department faculty and national internet groups to which the researcher belongs, including both professional organizations (e.g., CESNET) and social organizations such as Facebook. Additionally, the study was made available to undergraduate students at the researcher's institution using an online study portal designed to allow students to gain extra credit in their psychology related courses by participating. Recruitment also included email requests sent to colleagues and faculty at institutions around the country. The email request included a link to the online survey generated through the Qualtrics survey system in affiliation with Georgia State University (www.gsu.qualtrics.com). Participants were also encouraged through the email invitation to forward the survey link to others they may know who also meet the inclusion criteria. This type of convenience sampling was appropriate given that a random sampling of the Multiracial population was not possible (Minium, Clarke & Coladarci, 1999). The electronic survey link included an informed consent form and the survey. Participants were informed through this link that their information would be kept confidential and that data would be securely stored and password protected. Once the participants agreed through the link to participate in the study, they were directed to complete the four measures (in addition to other measures not considered variables of interest in this study), along with a demographic questionnaire, described in the next section.

Though the term *Multiracial* generally refers to individuals with three or more races making up their racial identity and *Biracial* generally referring to individuals with two races making up their racial identity, for the purpose of this study, the term Multiracial was used as a broad term to include both terms so as to be inclusive of anyone identifying as non-monoracial and to be consistent with recent literature purporting that race is a socially constructed label (Allen, et al., 2013; Deters, 1997; Giamo, et al., 2012; Terry & Winston, 2010). For the purpose of this study, *Multiracial* was used to refer to any person who identifies with two or more races (Jackson, et al., 2012; Lou & Lalonde, 2015; Lou, Lalonde & Wilson. 2011). As a result, the inclusionary criteria for participation in this study was for participants to self-identify as either Biracial or Multiracial and be at least 18 years old. As a result, participants were asked at the outset of the questionnaire *Which term best describes your racial identification?* and were given four options: *Monoracial (typically defined as one race), Biracial (typically defined as two races), Multiracial (typically defined as three or more races), or None of these. I choose to describe myself as (please specify below).*

Measures

Demographic Questionnaire. The demographic questionnaire requested information regarding participant age, specifics of race and ethnicity, gender, sex assigned at birth, sexual identity, religious or spiritual affiliation, ability status, language preference, relationship status, geographic location, and education level/status.

The Color-Blind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS). The CoBRAS is a 20-item scale that measures attitudes concerning racial color-blindness. Each item consists of a 6-point Likert-scale where 1 indicates *strongly disagree* and 6 indicates *strongly agree*. The Likert-scale number options 2, 3, 4, and 5 do not include specific meanings. Example items include: *Race plays a*

major role in the type of social services (such as type of health care or day care) that people receive in the U.S. and *Social policies, such as affirmative action, discriminate unfairly against White people*. The CoBRAS produces a total score that informs three outcome factors: Unawareness of Racial Privilege, Unawareness of Institutional Discrimination, and Unawareness to Blatant Racial Issues. Results from Neville et al. (2000) suggest that higher scores suggest greater levels of *blindness, denial, or unawareness* and are related to greater: global belief in a just world (GBJW), sociopolitical dimensions of a belief in a just world, racial and gender intolerance, and racial prejudice. Additionally, Neville et al. (2000) reported coefficient alphas from .86 to .91 for the total score and significant correlation among the sociopolitical subscales, the three CoBRAS factors, and the CoBRAS total score where "correlations ranged from .39 (between Institutional Discrimination and GBJW) to .61 (among Multidimensional Belief in a Just World—Sociopolitical subscale (MBJWS) and Racial Privilege as well as the CoBRAS total)" for the initial validity testing of the CoBRAS (pg. 63). Gushue (2004) reported CoBRAS alphas of .85 and .88 in a sample of White and racial minority psychology trainees. In a more recent study, Chao (2013) reported a coefficient alpha of .88 where CoBRAS scores were related to measures of ethnicity (Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure - MEIM) and training (Multicultural Counseling Knowledge and Awareness Scale – MCKAS) in a sample of high school counselors in the U.S. The Cronbach's Alpha for this measure in this sample was .89.

Given that the CoBRAS has been used on a limited basis with the Multiracial population, a factorial analysis of the three CoBRAS factors that act as subscales within the CoBRAS full-scale score (*Unawareness of Racial Privilege*, *Unawareness of Institutional Discrimination*, and *Unawareness of Blatant Racial Issues*) were analyzed as oblique variables. Principle Component Analysis served as the extraction method and Oblimin with Kaiser Normalization served as

the Rotation method. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) measure of sampling adequacy was .89 (above the recommended value of .6). Bartlett's Test of Sphericity indicated that the data were suitable for factor analytic procedures and none of the communalities exceeded .8 (Tinsley & Tinsley, 1987). Overall, results indicated that there were four patterns revealed instead of the expected three. The factors of *Unawareness of Racial Privilege* and *Unawareness of Blatant Racial Issues* loaded fairly tightly, whereas the factor of *Unawareness of Institutional Discrimination* appeared to be split into two components. Permission was given by the first author of the CoBRAS for the scale to be used in the study (H. Neville, personal communication, July 10, 2015).

Multiracial Identity Integration (MII). The MII is an 8-item scale used to measure two subscales that describe Multiracial identity integration: racial conflict and racial distance. Each item consists of a 5-point Likert scale where 1 indicates *completely disagree,* 2 indicates *somewhat disagree,* 3 indicates *not sure,* 4 indicates *somewhat agree* and 5 indicates *completely agree*. Sample items include: *There are more advantages than disadvantages to be a multiracial person* and *I feel like someone moving between the different racial identities*. Higher scores on the scales indicate higher racial distance and racial conflict and indicate lower levels of MII. In a pre and post-test data analysis procedure, Cheng and Lee (2009) reported that, "The reliabilities of the subscales were high in both the pre (Cronbach's alphas for racial distance and racial conflict were .80 and .74, respectively) and post administrations of the scale (Cronbach's alphas for racial distance and racial conflict were .77 and .70, respectively)" (pg. 58). In a more recent study with a target population of Multiracial people living in the U.S., Jackson, et al. (2012) reported an internal reliability estimate of .65 (M = 1.86, SD = 0.73) for the *Distance* subscale of the MII and an internal reliability estimate of .81 (M = 2.54, SD = 1.05) for the *Conflict* subscale

of MII. MII correlated with the construct of perceived racial discrimination (the Perceived Ethnic Discrimination Questionnaire - Community Version - PEDQ-CV), psychological adjustment (Depression Anxiety Stress Scale - Short Form - DASS-21), and the Positive Affect Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS – Short Form). The Cronbach's Alpha for this measure in this sample was .61. Permission was given by the first author of the MII for the scale to be used in the study (C. Cheng, personal communication, August 4, 2015).

The Brief Perceived Ethnic Discrimination Questionnaire – Community Version (PEDQ-CV). The Brief PEDQ-CV is a 17-item scale that assesses the frequency to which participants report experiencing discrimination from others based on ethnicity where "ethnicity refers to various groupings of individuals based on race or culture of origin" (pg. 271, Kwok, et al., 2011). Each item consists of a 5-point Likert scale where 1 indicates *never*, 3 indicates *sometimes* and 5 indicates *very often*. The Likert-scale number options 2, and 4 do not include specific meanings. Sample items include: (How often…) *Have policemen or security officers been unfair to you*? and (How often…) *Have people not trusted you?* The items inform four subscales including: Exclusion, Workplace discrimination, Stigmatization, and Threat and Harassment. Brondolo et al., (2005) report that the subscales are intercorrelated (*r*s: 0.55–0.72) where Social Exclusion and Discrimination at Work/School were most closely correlated and Threat/Aggression and Discrimination at Work/School were the least closely correlated subscales. Despite significant differences among subscale scores, $F(3, 1002) = 153.76$, $p < .001$ between the full version and brief version, Brondolo et al. (2005) report strong psychometric properties related to the Brief PEDQ-CV scale. The authors reported that though the scale has fewer items, the subscales of the Brief PEDQ-CV scale "had only slightly lower internal consistency than did the full subscales formed from the Lifetime Exposure scale of the PEDQ-CV" and "the

pattern of scores for the Brief PEDQ-CV was identical to that for the full PEDQ-CV" (p. 354, Brondolo et al., 2005). In Jackson, et al.'s (2012) study, an internal reliability estimate of .92 (*M* = 1.76, *SD* = 0.61) was found with the PEDQ-CV. Additionally, the PEDQ-CV correlated with psychological adjustment (Depression Anxiety Stress Scale – Short Form – DASS-21) and the *Conflict* subscale of the Multiracial Identity Integration Scale (MII). The Cronbach's Alpha for this measure in this sample was .94. Permission was given by the first author of the Brief PEDQ-CV for the scale to be used in the study with recommendations to specifically use the brief community version of the measure (E. Brondolo, personal communication, June 28, 2015).

The Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability (M-C II). Given that social desirability describes the tendency of people to view and present themselves in a positive light and given that measures of social desirability have been included in self-report psychological research and related fields since the mid 1900s, it is appropriate to include such a measure in this study (Fischer & Fick, 1993; Heppner, Kivlighan & Wampold, 2008; Ki Hyun, Junfei & Estrada-Hernandez, 2015; van de Morel, 2008). Though the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (MCSDS) was created in 1960 to measure the degree to which a participant's responses are related to social desirability using 33 items, Strahan and Gerbasi (1972) created two short versions of the measure that have been shown to be reliable and preferable to the original version (Fischer & Fick, 1993; Ki Hyun et al., 2015). Strahan and Gerbasi (1972) reported that the two short versions are about equal in terms of reliability. In the current study, the rationale for choosing M-C II (as opposed to M-C 1) were the findings by Ki Hyun et al. (2015) that M-C II had a higher correlation (r = .9) with the original 33-item scale and the internal consistency ranging from .49 to .75 across varied groups. In the study by Ki Hyun et al. (2015), Cronbach's α was equal to .53. The M-C II is a 10-item assessment made up of statements requiring a response of true or false. Sample items

include: *I have never intensely disliked anyone* and *There have been times when I was quite jealous of the good fortune of others.* Total scores on this scale can range from 0 to 10 where higher scores indicate that the participant is responding in socially desirable ways. The Cronbach's Alpha for this measure in this sample was .56.

Results

Preliminary Analysis

Data were downloaded from www.qualtrics.com onto an SPSS file and then cleaned and screened for potential problems (i.e., normality, multicollinearity, univariate outliers, and missing data; Fields, 2013). Three participants began the survey, but did not complete it past the demographics section and therefore were deleted from the data set. Additionally, there were two significant outliers removed from the data set. This resulted in a total of 283 participants that were used in the final analyses. In order to see the patterns of missing data shown in the variable to be used in the study and to better determine whether it was reasonable to consider data missing at random (MAR), missing values analysis was conducted. Results suggested that there were 15 different patterns of missing data. The most common pattern was one with no missing data, with no variable missing data for more than 2% of the sample. These results suggested that multiple imputation was not desirable considering the low percentage of missing data. Additionally, the variables of interest were in the acceptable range of skewness and kurtosis and parametric and nonparametric tests revealed no differences that were statistically significant on the M-C II, the PEDQ-CV, or the MII scale as a result of the demographic variables. However, there was a significant difference among the CoBRAS full-scale scores based on gender. The average CoBRAS full-scale score for men from this sample was higher (M = 57.47, SD = 16.27) than the average CoBRAS full-scale score for women from this sample (M = 50.13, SD = 15.65), indicat-

ing that men from this sample had higher color-blind racial attitudes compared to women (p = .00). The other demographics did not create differences (for example, age: F = 1.3, p = .15; race: F = 1.4, p = .25).

Given that recruitment came from a college campus as well as through social media, a Mann-Whitney U test was calculated to examine the difference in total scores of the outcome variable (MII) among the student and non-student population. No significant difference in the total scores of the MII was found (U = 6960.50, p > .05). Participants who identified as students averaged a MII total score of 142.63 whereas participants who did not identify as students averaged a MII total score of 137.89. Finally, there were no differences based on the demographic variables collected on the MII scale.

Main Analysis

Table 2 displays the descriptive statistics for the full-scale scores of the four instruments.

Table 2
Descriptive Statistics for Full-Scale Scores

Measure	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
MII	4.00	34.00	19.92	5.21
CoBRAS	20.00	101.00	52.77	16.24
PEDQ-CV	16.00	76.00	37.52	13.84
M-C II	.00	10.00	5.32	2.02

Note. MII = Multiracial Identity Integration Scale; CoBRAS = Color-Blind Racial Attitudes Scale; PEDQ-CV = Brief Perceived Ethnic Discrimination Questionnaire – Community Version M-C II = Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (short version).

Several analyses were conducted including correlation, regression analysis, and moderation analysis. The MII, CoBRAS, and PEDQ-CV have subscale scores as well as full-scale scores. The M-C II yields a full-scale score. Full-scale scores were analyzed first.

Bivariate correlations demonstrated significant relationships among the study's variables (see Table 3). The PEDQ-CV full-scale scores had a significant medium correlation with the MII full-scale scores ($r = .37$, $p < .01$) with n = 283. This result suggests that the more experiences of discrimination experienced by a Multiracial individual, the more integrated the individuals' understanding of Multiracial identity. The M-C II full-scale scores had a significant (although small) correlation with the CoBRAS full-scale scores ($r = .14$, $p < .05$) with n = 283. This relationship indicates that the more participants reported color-blind racial attitudes, the more they were likely to respond in socially desirable ways.

Table 3
Correlations between Color-blind Racial Attitudes, Multiracial Identity Integration, Perceived Discrimination, and Social Desirability

Instrument	MII	CoBRAS	PEDQ-CV	M-C II
MII	1			
CoBRAS	.08	1		
PEDQ-CV	.37**	-.03	1	
M-C II	-.05	.14*	.03	1

Note. Abbreviations: MII = Multiracial Identity Integration Scale; CoBRAS = Color-Blind Racial Attitudes Scale; PEDQ-CV = Brief Perceived Ethnic Discrimination Questionnaire – Community Version; M-C II = Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (short version).
**$p > .01$.
*$p > .05$.

Analysis proceeded by examining the correlations of the subscales of the CoBRAS and PEDQ-CV (see Table 4). The MII full-scale scores had a small significant positive correlation with the CoBRAS outcome factor of *Unawareness of Institutional Discrimination* scores ($r = .13$, $p < .05$), CoBRAS outcome factor of *Unawareness of Blatant Racial Issues* ($r = .19$, $p < .01$), and a medium positive correlation with all of the PEDQ-CV subscales: *Exclusion* subscale scores ($r = .33$, $p < .01$), PEDQ-CV *Workplace Discrimination* subscale scores ($r = .33$, $p < .01$), PEDQ-CV *Stigmatization* subscale scores ($r = .32$, $p < .01$), and the PEDQ-CV *Threat and Harassment* subscale scores ($r = .33$, $p < .01$), where the total number of cases was 283 for

all scores. These relationships suggest that the more integrated one's Multiracial identity is, the more aware one is of exclusion, workplace discrimination, stigmatization and threat and harassment based on race. Interestingly however, the relationship between the MII total score and the CoBRAS outcome factors of *Unawareness of Institutional Discrimination* and *Unawareness of Blatant Racial Issues*, suggests that the more integrated one's Multiracial identity is, the more his or her unawareness of institutional discrimination and blatant racial issues increases, though the relationships were statistically weak.

Table 4

Subscale Correlations between Multiracial Identity Integration, Social Desirability, Experiences of Discrimination and Color-blind Racial Attitudes

Instrument	CoBRAS Institutional Discrimination	CoBRAS Blatant Racial Issues	PEDQ-CV Exclusion	PEDQ-CV Workplace Discrimination	PEDQ-CV Stigmatization	PEDQ-CV Threat & Harassment	MII	M-C II
CoBRAS Institutional Discrimination	1							
CoBRAS Blatant Racial Issues	.63**	1						
PEDQ-CV Exclusion	-.08	-.08	1					
PEDQ-CV Workplace Discrimination	.03	.05	.75**	1				
PEDQ-CV Stigmatization	.12	.15*	.64**	.77**	1			
PEDQ-CV Threat & Harassment	.24**	.34**	.50**	.66**	.72**	1		
MII	.13*	.19**	.33**	.32**	.32**	.33**	1	
M-C II	.01	.15*	-.08	.09	.04	.05	-.05	1

Note. Abbreviations: MII = Multiracial Identity Integration Scale; M-C II = Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (short version); CoBRAS = Color-Blind Racial Attitudes Scale (Subscales indicate *Unawareness of* the outcome factor listed); PEDQ-CV = Brief Perceived Ethnic Discrimination Questionnaire – Community Version

**$p < .01$.

*$p < .05$.

The second research question aimed to understand what factors predict ratings of Multiracial identity integration. A multiple linear regression was calculated to predict participants' Multiracial identity integration (MII) based on color-blind racial attitudes (CoBRAS) and perceived discrimination (PEDQ-CV). The total number of cases was n = 283 for all the full-scale scores. This model found that 14.7% of the variation in Multiracial identity integration can be explained by experiences of discrimination and color-blind racial attitudes $F(2, 280) = 24.12$, $p < .001$) with an R^2 of .15.

Prior to conducting the hierarchical multiple regression, the relevant assumptions related to this analysis were tested and met (independence, homogeneity of variance, linearity, multicollinearity, bias, and normality) (Field, 2013). The minimum sample size requirement was met given Field's (2013) recommendation of a minimum of 10 cases per predictor. The Durbin-Watson test statistic was 1.40, suggesting fairly uncorrelated errors. Assumptions of linearity and homogeneity of variance were met using a scatterplot analysis. Additionally, the assumption of multicollinearity was met by examining the absolute values of predictor variables and variance inflation. In order to check for bias, casewise diagnostics were used to assess the residuals and no cases in the sample had a Cook's distance greater that 1. A three-stage hierarchical multiple regression analysis was utilized to determine if both color-blind racial attitudes and perceived discrimination are more predictive of Multiracial identity integration than either variable alone. Finally, unstandardized residuals were normally distributed (*z* score for skewness = .145; *z* score for kurtosis = .289).

After the assumptions were tested, the models were interpreted. Social Desirability was entered at stage one of the regression to control for socially desirable responding. Additionally,

the demographic variable of gender was entered at stage one given the difference among gender on the CoBRAS. Given the relationship among the CoBRAS outcome factors *Unawareness of Institutional Discrimination* and *Unawareness of Blatant Racial Issues* to MII, these were entered at stage two. Finally, given the relationship among the PEDQ-CV subscale scores of *Exclusion, Workplace Discrimination, Stigmatization, and Threat and Harassment* relating to experiences of discrimination, these were entered at stage three. The total number of cases were 283 for all the scores. The hierarchical multiple regression revealed that at stage one, Social Desirability and gender did not contribute significantly to the regression model, F (2, 280) = .44, $p > .05$) and accounted for .3% of the variation in MII. Introducing the CoBRAS outcome factors of *Unawareness of Institutional Discrimination* and *Unawareness of Blatant Racial Issues* explained an additional 4.4% of variation in MII and this change in R^2 was significant, $F(2, 278) = 5.93$, $p < .05$. Finally, the addition of the PEDQ-CV subscales of *Exclusion, Workplace Discrimination, Stigmatization, and Threat and Harassment* to the regression model explained an additional 17.7% of the variation in MII and this change in R^2 was also significant, $F(4, 274) = 11.10$, $p < .05$. When all eight independent variable were included in stage three of the regression model, Social Desirability, gender, the CoBRAS outcome factor of *Unawareness of Institutional Discrimination*, nor the PEDQ-CV subscales of *Workplace Discrimination, Stigmatization, and Threat and Harassment* were significant predictors of MII. The most important predictors of MII were the CoBRAS outcome factor of *Unawareness of Blatant Racial Issues* and the PEDQ-CV subscale of *Exclusion*, which uniquely explained 55.5% of the variation in MII. Overall, color-blind racial attitudes and experiences of discrimination do seem to add to the predictive capacity of Multiracial identity integration. The results of the hierarchical regression analysis are found in Table 5.

Table 5
Summary of Hierarchical Regression Predicting MII

Variable	□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□			*t*	sr^2	*R*	R^2 ΔR^2
Step 1				.06	.00	.00	
M-C II	-.05	-.77					
Gender	.03	.48					
Step 2				.21	.04	.04	
M-C II	-.08	-1.33					
Gender	-.02	-.29					
Institutional Discrimination (CoBRAS)	.01	.13	.13				
Blatant Racial Issues (CoBRAS)*	.20	2.65	.20				
Step3				.42	.18	.13	
M-C II	-.07	-1.22					
Gender	-.04	-.67					
Institutional Discrimination (CoBRAS)	.02	.28					
Blatant Racial Issues (CoBRAS)	.17	2.30					
Exclusion (PEDQ-CV)*	.23	2.57	.35				
Workplace Discrimination (PEDQ-CV)	.05	.47	.33				
Stigmatization (PEDQ-CV)	.04	.43	.31				

Threat and Harassment (PEDQ-CV)	.10	1.16	.29

Note. N = 283. M-C II = Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (short version); CoBRAS = Color-Blind Racial Attitudes Scale (Subscales indicate *Unawareness of* the outcome factor listed); PEDQ-CV = Brief Perceived Ethnic Discrimination Questionnaire – Community Version.
*$p < .05$

Hayes' PROCESS Macro on SPSS (Hayes, 2013) was conducted to determine if color-blind racial attitudes moderated the relationship between perceived discrimination and Multiracial identity integration (assumptions of linearity, normally distributed errors, and uncorrelated errors were checked and met) (Leech, Barrett, & Morgan, 2015). A statistically significant interaction was not found, $F(3, 279) = 22.25$, $p > .001$, R squared $= .15$. According to Cohen (1988) this is a small effect size. It was found that there was not a statistically significant relationship between perceived discrimination and Multiracial identity integration, $b = .11$, 95% CI [.04, .19], $t = 2.88$, $p = .004$. However, when color-blind racial attitudes is at the mean, there is a statistically significant positive relationship between perceived discrimination and Multiracial identity integration, $b = .14$, 95% CI [.09, .18], $t = 6.14$, $p < .001$. Finally, when color-blind racial attitudes increases, there is a statistically significant positive relationship between perceived discrimination and Multiracial identity integration, $b = .16$, 95% CI [.11, .21], $t = 6.56$, $p < .001$. The results of the regression analysis were confirmed among the variable, but the interaction $F(3, 279) = 22.25$, $p > .001$) between the PEDQ-CV and MII was not significant which suggests that the CoBRAS was not a moderating factor.

Discussion

This study examined the relationships among Multiracial identity integration, experiences of discrimination and color-blind racial ideology. The first research hypothesis stating that there would be a negative relationship between color-blind racial attitudes and Multiracial identity in-

tegration was not statistically supported. However, given that the constructs featured subscale scores, correlations among these were also analyzed. In this way, the color-blind racial attitudes outcome factors of *Unawareness of Blatant Racial Issues* and *Unawareness of Institutional Discrimination* did significantly correlate positively with Multiracial identity integration. Surprisingly, higher unawareness of both blatant racial issues and institutional discrimination contributed to higher Multiracial identity integration.

The second hypothesis stating that there would be a negative relationship between color-blind racial attitudes and experiences of discrimination was supported (though the data did not yield statistically significant results). However, consistent with previous literature (Jackson, et al., 2012) the third research hypothesis stating that there would be a positive relationship between experiences of discrimination and Multiracial identity integration was significantly supported. Unsurprisingly, all four subscales of the experiences of discrimination variable *(Exclusion, Workplace Discrimination, Stigmatization,* and *Threat and Harassment)* significantly correlated positively with Multiracial identity integration. In sum, higher reports of racial discrimination contributed to a better integration of one's Multiracial identity, but color-blind racial attitudes did not significantly affect Multiracial identity integration one way or the other.

Additionally, though there was a negative relationship, the relationship between the constructs of experiences of discrimination and color-blind racial attitudes was not statistically meaningful for this sample. Interestingly however, correlations among the subscales revealed a significant positive relationship among the *Threat and Harassment* subscale of experiences of discrimination to the color-blind racial attitudes outcome factors of *Unawareness of Blatant Racial Issues* and *Unawareness of Institutional Discrimination*. Additionally, there was a signifi-

cant positive relationship among the experiences of discrimination subscale of *Stigmatization* and the color-blind racial attitudes subscale of *Unawareness of Blatant Racial Issues*.

Though not included in the hypotheses, scores of color-blind racial attitudes did have a significant positive relationship with the construct of social desirability and specifically with the color-blind racial attitudes subscale of *Unawareness of Blatant Racial Issues*. Responses indicative of higher color-blind racial attitudes also appear to be indicative of socially desirable responses.

Given the significant findings regarding the variable subscales, this study also explored prediction among all the variables subscales. In general, color-blind racial attitudes and experiences of discrimination both predicted ratings of Multiracial identity integration in Multiracial people, supporting the hypotheses. More specifically, analyses found that the color-blind racial attitudes outcome factors of *Unawareness of Blatant Racial Issues* and *Unawareness of Institutional Discrimination* accounted for 4.4% of the variation in Multiracial identity integration. The four subscales of the experiences of discrimination variable *(Exclusion, Workplace Discrimination, Stigmatization,* and *Threat and Harassment*) explained an additional 17.7% of the variation in Multiracial identity integration.

Finally, this study also explored color-blind racial attitudes as a potential moderator to the statistically significant relationship between experiences of discrimination and Multiracial identity integration. Color-blind racial attitudes did not significantly moderate the relationship between discrimination and Multiracial identity integration, thus the hypothesis was not supported despite the reasonable expectation based on literature that it would (Brewster, et al., 2013; Costarelli, 2011; Costarelli & Gerłowska, 2015; van Dick, et al., 2008).

Implications

Because experiences of discrimination and color-blind racial attitudes predicted Multiracial identity integration, it is clear that more research is needed regarding these constructs for Multiracial individuals. Specifically, education and prevention around the forms and effects of racial discrimination on Multiracial people is needed. Examples include educational trainings and groups by universities, colleges and professional organizations dedicated to the support and wellness of people (e.g., American Counseling Association, the Association for Multicultural Counseling and Development) regarding competencies related to Multiracial people. These trainings could be a part of licensure requirements and take the form of continuing education mandates to inform current multicultural standards utilized by professional counselors and counselor educators. Additionally, accreditation standards for programs and schools should utilize language that supports Multiracial knowledge, skills, and understanding. Given the Wellness model of counseling based in prevention and multiculturalism, and that professional counselors and counselor educators are already at the forefront of multicultural and social justice and advocacy efforts, it follows that these professionals continue to seek out and integrate new knowledge regarding Multiracial individuals (Sue & Sue, 2013). This in turn will lead to more culturally competent care for clients.

Though color-blind racial ideology has been studied in a small subset of Multiracial people, this study confirms that there are more questions than answers regarding the role color-blind racial ideology plays in Multiracial identity. It appears that the manifestation and understanding of what it means to be racially color-blind and the effects of this ideology, is different for Multiracial people in this study when compared to samples of monoracial people based on the current literature (Johnson & Williams, 2015; Neville, et al., 2000; Neville, et al., 2014; Tynes & Markoe; 2010; Zou & Dickter, 2013). The current study supports the assertion made by Chao (2012)

that color-blind racial ideology can afflict anyone, including racial minorities. In this way, color-blind racial ideology should continue to be explored among the Multiracial population.

Limitations and Future Directions

The findings of this study provide useful insight into the experiences of Multiracial individuals regarding color-blind racial ideology, experiences of discrimination, and identity integration. As with any study, there are several limitations that warrant discussion. This study's limitations include the generalizability of the sample and the self-report nature of the questionnaire. Given the nature of this study, it is possible that participants could have over or under reported their answers or the intensity of their answers. Furthermore, the Cronbach Alpha levels for the MII ($r = .61$) and M-C II ($r = .56$) measures are a limitation to the study. Though these alphas are less than desirable, they are not necessarily surprising. Regarding the M-C II, researchers have time and time again shown that social desirability measures can lack consistent reliability scores and even more so when dealing with the complex construct of Multiracial identity (Field, 2013; Kline, 2000; Loo & Thorpe, 2000; Nunnally, 1978). Furthermore, given the complexity of race and ethnicity research (underscored further by the nuances of Multiraciality), the alpha level of the MII is not necessarily surprising and race researchers even suggest that reliance on traditional psychometric approaches (Cronbach's Alpha not excluded) for establishing a measure's reliability may be ill-advised (Helms, 2007; Trimble, 2007). With regards to understanding the construct of Multiraciality and the integration thereof, to date, there is not a more qualified measure. Finally, it is reasonable to expect alpha values between .5-.7 in the early stages of research with psychological constructs (Field, 2013; Kline, 2000; Nunnally, 1978).

Additionally, given the taboo nature of the topic of race within the measured constructs, it is important to take into account the correlation between the color-blind racial attitudes measure

and the social desirability measure. Though it is outside the scope of this study to understand the reasons for this correlation, the responses from the color-blind racial attitudes measure coupled with the small amount of research done using this measure with Multiracial individuals, should be interpreted with caution. In this way, future studies could continue to seek understanding on the way in which color-blind racial attitudes influence and/or affect Multiracial people. Additionally, future studies could compare the manifestation of color-blind racial ideology between Multiracial people and monoracial people, given the surprising findings of this study that racial color-blindness does not function as predicted in Multiracial individuals. These perspectives could be valuable in further understanding the complexity of what it means to be Multiracial and what it means for Multiracial people in relation to others.

Additionally, within this study, *Multiracial* was used as an umbrella term to mean anyone who identifies racially as non-monoracial. Future studies could parse Multiracial people into groups (for example, *Biracial*, *Multiple Heritage*, etc.) and compare differences among the constructs of this study between groups. These efforts would further contribute to understanding the intricacies of identity within the non-monoracial population.

Finally, some researchers (Henriksen & Paladino, 2009; Root, 1990) assert that Multiracial research should incorporate more constructs of understanding than just race and ethnicity to create a broader and holistic look at the identity development of Multiracial people (referred most recently by these authors as *Multiple Heritage* individuals). In this way, future studies on Multiracial individuals could continue to focus on both harmful and protective factors of Multiracial identity. Additionally, the use of multiple terms by participants within this study as well as within the literature to describe Multiracial people indicates that future studies could also explore the use of language and labeling within the Multiracial population.

Conclusion

Given the results of this study and the on-going growth of the Multiracial population in the U.S. (Rockquemore, et al., 2009; Shih & Sanchez, 2005, 2009) and the continuous struggle minorities face regarding racial attitudes, discrimination, and understanding their own racial identity, it is more important than ever for mental health professionals, including professional counselors and counselor educators, to work to further understand how these factors interact and ultimately impact Multiracial people. Though there have been numerous studies on Multiracial individuals, the diversity within these studies related to the overall Multiracial experience is lacking. Literature supports the idea that Multiracial people often face difficult challenges related to race (Giamo, et al., 2012; Shih & Sanchez, 2005) and discrimination has specifically been shown to be a risk factor for Multiracial individuals, while having an integrated racial identity can be a protective factor (Jackson et al., 2012). Investigations like the current study have the potential to influence multicultural counseling competencies for professional counselors and counselor educators by providing further knowledge regarding Multiracial individuals that could lead to multiculturally competent care by professional counselors and counselor educators working with Multiracial clients, students, and supervisees.

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APPENDIX

Demographics Form

(Adapted, with permission, from O'Hara, 2014)

1. What is your age in years: _____
2. Do you identify as Biracial or Multiracial?
3. Please identify the racial, ethnic, and/or cultural groups you belong to:
    a. African American/Black
    b. Asian or Pacific Islander
    c. European American/White
    d. Latino/a or Hispanic
    e. Middle Eastern
    f. Other? Please specify: _____
4. Please identify the racial, ethnic, or cultural identity that you believe others assume you to be.
    a. African American/Black
    b. Asian or Pacific Islander

c. Biracial (Please specify): _____

d. European American/White American

e. Latino/a or Hispanic

f. Middle Eastern

g. Multiracial (Please specify): _____

h. Other? Please specify: _____

5. Please identify your biological sex assigned at birth:

a. Female

b. Male

6. Do you identify as transgender?

a. Yes

b. No

7. Please identify your sexual orientation (identity):

a. Bisexual

b. Gay

c. Heterosexual

d. Lesbian

e. Queer

f. Other? Please specify: _____

8. Is English the primary language you use for reading, speaking, writing and/or communicating?

If not, please identify the primary language you use.

a. Yes

b. No. Please specify: _____

9. Please identify your relationship or marital status:

a. Civil Union

b. Divorced

c. Domestic Partnership

d. Married

e. Single

f. Unmarried and living in the same household

g. Widowed

10. Please indicate your religious, spiritual, or other belief identification:

a. Agnostic

b. Atheist

c. Buddhist

d. Christian

e. Hindu

f. Jewish

g. Muslim

h. Other? Please specify: _____

11. For the past six months, please select the kind of community where you live:

a. Urban / Metropolitan / City location

b. Suburban location outside of a Metropolitan location

c. Town or village location

d. Rural location

12. For the past six months, please indicate in which area of the US you live:

a. Northeast

b. South

c. Midwest

d. Rocky Mountains

e. West Coast

f. Alaska / Hawai'i

13. Do you have a chronic health condition?

a. Yes

b. No

14. Do you have a disability (e.g., hearing, seeing, moving, medical, psychological, learning)?

a. Yes

b. No

15. If you do have a disability, do you experience limitations in functioning (e.g., your ability to

do work, your ability to get cleaned and dressed)?

a. Yes

b. No

c. Not applicable

16. Please indicate the highest degree, of any kind, that you have attained:

a. High School

b. Associates

c. Bachelors

d. Masters

e. Specialist

f. Doctorate

g. Other? Please specify: _____

17. If you are a current student, please indicate your class standing:

a. First Year/Freshman

b. Second Year/Sophomore

c. Third Year/Junior

d. Fourth Year/Senior

e. Fifth Year +

18. If you are a current student, please indicate your GPA:

a. Yes _____

b. No

19. How did you hear about this study?

a. Email recruitment

b. Facebook or other social media site

c. Georgia State SONA program

d. Word of mouth

e. Other? Please specify: _____