MULTIRACIAL MICROAGGRESSIONS AND LATINX/A/O/WHITE INDIVIDUAL'S PSYCHOLOGICAL DISTRESS: THE ROLE OF RESILIENCE FACTORS

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of the present study was to gain insight into the lived experiences of Latinx/a/o/White multiracial individuals. This rapidly expanding population is often grouped with multiracial, Latinx/a/o, and White samples in the literature, leaving the unique experiences of this community largely underexplored. The aim of the current study was to explore the relationship between multiracial microaggressions and psychological distress among individuals with one biological Latinx/a/o parent and one biological White parent. Utilizing a resilience lens, potential protective factors (i.e., self-esteem, multiracial pride) were explored as moderators. A total of 304 Latinx/a/o/White multiracial individuals, primarily of Mexican descent, participated in the present study. The findings indicated that multiracial microaggressions and multiracial pride significantly and positively predicted psychological distress, whereas self-esteem significantly and negatively predicted psychological distress. Regarding moderation effects, self-esteem weakened the relationship between multiracial microaggressions and psychological distress, while multiracial pride exacerbated the significant relationship. The findings of this study provide important clinical implications for providers working with Latinx/a/o/White multiracial individuals, as well as highlight some of the unique strengths and challenges faced by this community.

APPROVAL PAGE

The faculty listed below, appointed by the Dean of the School of Education have examined a dissertation titled “Multiracial Microaggressions and Latinx/a/o/White Individual’s Psychological Distress: The Role of Resilience Factors” presented by Raquel Sandate Craney, candidate for the Doctor of Philosophy, and certify that in their opinion it is worthy of acceptance.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In the U.S., approximately 33.8 million people possess a multiracial background (Jones et al., 2021). There has been a substantial incline in the number of individuals who identify with more than one racial group, which is evident by examining the increase of approximately 24.8 million people between the 2010 and 2020 censuses (Jones et al., 2021). The 2000 Census was the first time in U.S. history in which people were able to select more than one race (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012), and the push for this change was powered by multiracial individuals and their allies involved in the multiracial movement (Austin, 2004). This event kindled research efforts on the multiracial community, which largely explored the experiences of Black/White biracial individuals (Rockquemore, 2002; Rockquemore & Brunsma, 2002; Rockquemore & Brunsma, 2004). Due to the majority of multiracial literature focusing on individuals with one Black biological parent and one White biological parent, the term "biracial" has become somewhat synonymous with this specific racial background (Austen, 2004; Franco et al., 2019; Rockquemore & Brunsma, 2004). However, it is not entirely appropriate to extrapolate research findings on Black/White individuals to other multiracial groups such as Latinx/a/o/White and Asian/White persons, given the latter are more elevated in the racial hierarchy present in society and may be more likely to receive privileges from being categorized as White (Davis, 2016).

When examining the extant multiracial literature, it is evident that research efforts specifically focused on Latinx/a/o multiracial individuals is scarce. This gap in the literature has been attributed to the complexities surrounding the assessment of Hispanic and Latinx/a/o background, including Latinx/a/o heritage being categorized as ethnicity as opposed to race (Davenport, 2016). As an example of this, when looking at U.S. Census Bureau and Pew

Research Center reports, information regarding population size and growth patterns is absent for Latinx/a/o/White multiracial individuals in comparison to other multiracial communities (e.g., Black/White, Asian/White) because of Latinx/a/o heritage being classified ethnically. Despite the challenges that can surround conducting research with this population, it is important to make efforts to elucidate this community's lived experiences, as Latinx/a/o and White couples account for more than 43% of interracial/interethnic marriages in the U.S., and the number of children born from these couples per year is higher in comparison to other interracial newlywed couples with one White partner (e.g., Black/White, Asian/White) (Davenport, 2016; Rico et al., 2018; Wang, 2012).

In the current study, the term Latinx/a/o is utilized to describe persons of Latin American descent, as opposed to solely using the terms Latinx, Latino, or Latina. The term Latinx, which initially surfaced in 2004 and achieved more widespread attention in 2015, has been met with ongoing debate (Salinas & Lozano, 2017). The origination of the term has been attributed to lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer or questioning (LGBTQ+) community members and allies, as the term challenges the gender binary language present in the terms Latino and Latina, and provides a more inclusive option for sexual minority Latinx folks (Salinas & Lozano, 2017). Whereas the use of the word Latinx has increased among academic and social activism settings, it appears that the term has not been adopted similarly within broader Latinx communities (Salinas, 2020). Arguments against the use of the term include difficulties with pronouncing the "x" for languages other than Spanish and English spoken in Latin American countries, common misuse of the word, and the predominant use of the term within the U.S. and privileged spaces, such as academia (Salinas, 2020). Previous research has suggested the use of Latina/o/x when the gender of the population is undetermined (Salinas & Lozano, 2017). In order

to be inclusive of the many ways in which persons of Latin American heritage may choose to identity, the term "Latinx/a/o" was selected for the present study.

In an effort to bridge the gap in the counseling literature on the multiracial community, the purpose of the current study is to examine the relations among multiracial microaggressions, self-esteem, multiracial pride, and psychological distress (i.e., depression, anxiety, stress) with a sample of Latinx/a/o/White multiracial individuals (Edwards & Pedrotti, 2008). In line with suggestions from researchers to utilize a resilience framework when exploring multiracial individuals' exposure to challenging events (Salahuddin & O'Brien, 2011), a resilience lens will be applied by examining self-esteem and multiracial pride as potential moderators in the proposed multiracial microaggressions-psychological distress link. Racial microaggressions are covert, discriminatory messages regarding a person's racial background, which can be communicated verbally, behaviorally, or through the surrounding environment (Sue et al., 2007). Only a limited number of studies have examined racial microaggressions, including multiracial specific microaggressions, among multiracial persons within the U.S. (e.g., Harris, 2018; Johnston & Nadal, 2010; Meyers et al., 2020; Nadal et al., 2013). Previous research has revealed that multiracial individuals experience discrimination related to their identity as a non-monoracial person in addition to microaggressions related to their racial minority group (i.e. Black, Asian, Latinx/a/o; Johnston & Nadal, 2010; Salahuddin & O'Brien, 2011). Considering the established relations between racial microaggressions and negative mental health outcomes among Latinx/a/o individuals, gaining further insight into Latinx/a/o/White multiracial individual's microaggression experiences appears important for supporting the mental health of this community (Hernández & Villodas, 2020; Huber & Cueva, 2012; Huynh, 2012; Torres & Taknint, 2015; Sanchez et al., 2018).

Review of the Literature

In order to provide a more comprehensive picture of the present-day experiences and treatment of Latinx/a/o/White multiracial persons in the U.S., it is important to discuss two major contextual factors, specifically sociopolitical relations between the U.S. and Latin America and anti-miscegenation related beliefs and policies. These sociopolitical and historical factors, which encompass institutional discrimination towards interracial couples and immigrants, have largely influenced the lives of both monoracial and multiracial Latinx/a/o communities. Thus, providing insight into changes in public policy and attitudes throughout time is key to understanding the social experiences and well-being of Latinx/a/o/White multiracial individuals in the U.S.

History of U.S. and Latin American Relations

The presence of imperialism, racism, and nationalism are evident when examining the longstanding relationship between the U.S. and Latin America, including the historical and current treatment of Latinx/a/o United States citizens and immigrants. The central positioning of white supremacy within immigration related laws and policies has been observed across time and in present day affairs (Douglas et al., 2015). Historically, the United States has perpetuated the ideology of Latin America being inherently weaker and less civilized than the U.S., often positioning the U.S. as the supposed solution to Latin America's "problems" (Weeks, 2009). The U.S.'s involvement in Latin America has largely included a forceful economic and military presence (Baker & Cupery, 2013; McPherson, 2020; Weeks, 2009). In addition to violence caused by militarization and financial interference, the U.S. has also exploited Latin America by stripping countries of resources and stealing Indigenous artifacts and rehousing them in museums in the U.S. (Weeks, 2009).

The 1800's were a critical time period for the U.S. and Latin American countries, as several major events occurred between the U.S. and Mexico including the acquiring of Texas, the Mexican-American War, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, and the Gadsden Purchase (Council on Foreign Relations, 2020). The events that transpired were directly influenced by the colonialist ideals of the Manifest Destiny and beliefs by White settlers that Mexicans were lazy and unfit to possess the land they lived on (Urrieta & Calderón, 2019). As a result of these major events, the U.S. gained possession of a substantial portion of Mexican land, which greatly influenced immigration into the U.S., along with political tension and unrest in Mexico (Council on Foreign Relations, 2020; Tienda & Sánchez, 2013). Furthermore, as an outcome of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, approximately 80,000 Mexican individuals became residents of the U.S. (McPherson, 2020).

The early 1900s were met with the U.S. taking control of Veracruz, Mexico in addition to land in Haiti and the Dominican Republic (McPherson, 2020). President Woodrow Wilson's actions resulted from his fear of European powers (i.e., Germany) colonizing land in Latin America, as well as his desire to secure territory for U.S. businesses (McPherson, 2020). In addition to increasing U.S. imperialism during this time, large-scale changes related to immigration policy were taking place, such as the 1924 National Origins Act (Douglas et al., 2015). This act placed limits on the number of immigrants granted entry from each country, based on a racially discriminatory quota system. While Southern and Eastern Europe received extremely restrictive quotas, with the underlying goal of limiting the migration of Jewish people, Western Hemisphere countries were excluded from being assigned quotas (Tienda & Sánchez, 2013). Despite the potential reaping of benefits associated with exemption for Latin American countries, such as decreased restrictions on immigration, President Coolidge encouraged U.S.

Consuls to more liberally label Mexican immigrants as "likely to become a public charge," negatively impacting their application process (Douglas et al., 2015).

In 1936, President Roosevelt introduced his Good Neighbor Policy, which attempted to shift relations with Latin America in a more positive and peaceful direction (McPherson, 2020). As part of the Good Neighbor Policy, the U.S. discontinued physical occupation in Haiti, Nicaragua, Panama, and Cuba (McPherson, 2020). However, a myriad of issues accompanied the policy, such as reduced tariffs on materials, which disproportionality impacted Latin Americans. During the early 1940s, laws and programs aimed at securing farm labor from Mexican immigrants and refugees were created, such as the Bracero Program (Tienda & Sánchez, 2013). The Bracero Program, which was in place for approximately 22 years, provided workers with adequate living conditions and minimum wage earnings. In the midst of these events came the Cold War era, which brought with it a resurgence of U.S. military presence in Latin America and the subsequent spreading of anti-American attitudes (McPherson, 2020).

Present day immigration has been shaped by laws, such as the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA), which was implemented in 1952 (Tienda & Sánchez, 2013). The INA largely reformed immigration, as it established a preference system based on the skills of those seeking entry and their family ties to the U.S. (Douglas et al., 2015). Throughout time, various amendments have been made to the act by Congress, such as the removal of the discriminatory quota system during the civil rights movement, which had disenfranchised Asian immigrants by limiting the number of immigrants (Tienda & Sánchez, 2013; U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, 2020). During the latter half of the 20th century, a large influx of Cubans sought refuge in the U.S. following the Cuban revolution (Tienda & Sánchez, 2013). The numerous exoduses of this community greatly transformed U.S. refugee policies, with an example of this being the

1966 Cuban Adjustment Act (ACA). This act permitted Cuban exiles to submit applications for permanent resident status following one year of residency in the United States (Tienda & Sánchez, 2013). In 1980 the Refugee Act was created, which further established various refugee related policies and procedures related to asylum and refugee admission (Tienda & Sánchez, 2013). The Cuban Migration Agreement, which was introduced following the third Cuban exodus, put in place the "wet foot/dry foot" policy, which meant that Cuban individuals caught at sea would be forced to return to their country of origin, while those who made it to U.S. soil would be eligible for legal permanent residence in the U.S. (Tienda & Sánchez, 2013).

The late 90's was met with more U.S. involvement in Latin American political affairs, including the use of military force in both the overthrowing of the General of Panama during President Bush's presidency, and the reinstating of Haiti's former president while Bill Clinton was in office (McPherson, 2020). Additionally, more amendments were made to the Immigration and Nationality Act, including the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) which permitted legal status to over 2 million undocumented residents within the U.S., the vast majority from Latin America (Tienda & Sánchez, 2013). However, this act also tightened security at the border and punished those employing unauthorized immigrants (Douglas et al., 2015). The increase in unauthorized migration of Mexican immigrants during the second half of the 1990's is attributed to the discontinuation of the Bracero Program (i.e., 1964), reformed quotas, and increasing obstacles in pursuing legal immigration (Douglas et al., 2015; Tienda & Sánchez, 2013). In response to hikes in unauthorized migration, additional acts such as the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 was implemented, which targeted border security and broadened the basis for deportation by creating the Secure Borders Initiative (Douglas et al., 2015).

Present U.S. and Latin American Relations

Approximately 13% of the total U.S. population is comprised of immigrants, with Latin American immigrants constituting a substantial proportion of this number (Radford, 2019). Furthermore, Mexican immigrants account for 25% of the overall U.S. immigrant population and the trend of this specific community making up the largest proportion of the Latinx/a/o immigrant community has been observed throughout time (Radford, 2019; Tienda & Sánchez, 2013). Despite these rates, the number of Latin American immigrants coming to the U.S. has significantly declined since 2004, and it appears a greater number of Mexican immigrants are leaving the United States when compared to the number entering the country (Tienda & Sánchez, 2013; Radford, 2019). The decline in Mexican immigrants has been associated with a decrease in job opportunities as a result of economic recession and increases in deportation.

Previous research has found that the immigration of persons from Latin American countries to the United States has greatly benefited the U.S. economy, by lowering costs for immigrant made products, contributing to the sale of U.S. products, and increasing the labor force (Tienda & Sánchez, 2013). However, attitudes towards immigrants living in the United States are largely divided along political party lines, as over 80% of Democrats believe immigrants are an asset to the U.S. due to their work ethic and personal strengths, in comparison to only 37% of Republicans (Radford, 2019). Douglas and colleagues (2015) noted that since the establishment of the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996, immigration has remained a hot topic of debate within the U.S., and negative sentiments regarding undocumented immigrants have intensified. In the past decade, two extremely fatal attacks targeting the Latinx/a/o community have occurred. First is the shooting at Pulse, a gay nightclub in Orlando, Florida, which was hosting Latin night on the eve of June 12th, 2016

(Jenson, 2016). This deadly hate crime towards Latinx/a/o LGBTQ+ community members left at least 54 people wounded and 49 dead (Jenson, 2016). Second, on August 3rd, 2019 a 21-year-old white supremacist opened fire at a Walmart in El Paso, Texas, killing a total of 22 people and injuring 26 more (Romo, 2019). Prior to the attack, the shooter publicly voiced his hatred towards the Latinx/a/o community, including his strong views against immigration, interracial mixing, and the presence of Latinx/a/o folks in Texas (Romo, 2019). These events demonstrate the continued presence of racist, nationalist, white supremacist, and anti-immigration beliefs within the U.S., which threaten the livelihood and well-being of Latinx/a/o community members.

In the past decade, several major immigration related events have occurred. In 2014, thousands of Central American children fled their countries with hopes of finding refuge in the U.S., by way of the Texas/Mexico border (Douglas et al., 2015). Additionally, in 2012, Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) was established. DACA is a policy that provides immigrants brought to the U.S. as children the opportunity to apply for temporary deportation relief, assuming they fulfill specific guidelines such a being under the age of 31 as of June 15th, 2012, came to the U.S. before their 16th birthday, and had no unlawful status as of June 15th, 2012 (Douglas et al., 2015; U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, 2018). If accepted, DACA recipients are qualified to work and granted deferred action for two years, after which they must reapply. During the course of Donald Trump's presidential term, the fate of DACA has been continuously threatened, leaving many DREAMers (i.e., young immigrants affected by DACA and the DREAM Act) at risk of deportation to countries most do not have ties with (Douglas et al., 2015). For example, on September 5th, 2017, DACA was rescinded, which meant that after October 5th, 2017 recipients could not apply to renew their status nor would new initial applications be considered (U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, 2018). As of July 28th,

2020, the U.S. Department of Homeland Security's webpage stated that they would make immediate changes to DACA, including rejecting first time applications and reducing the period of deferred action from two years to one year. At the present time, the future of DACA remains unclear, leaving thousands at risk.

Providing insight into historical and present-day relations between the U.S. and Latin America is necessary for garnering a more in-depth understanding of the current experiences of Latinx/a/o/White multiracial persons. Despite possessing White heritage and benefiting from White privilege to varying degrees, the aforementioned events and policies have likely adversely impacted the lives of Latinx/a/o/White multiracial individuals and their ancestors, including their well-being and perceptions of acceptance and safety in the U.S. Additionally, it is important to discuss societal attitudes and policies related to interracial couples and their offspring in both the U.S. and Latin America, as these factors contribute to the present day treatment of Latinx/a/o/White multiracial persons and influence trends among the community.

Anti-Miscegenation and Attitudes Towards Multiracial People

Throughout U.S. history, societal beliefs rooted in white supremacy and racism have permeated public policy, with one example of this being laws prohibiting miscegenation (i.e., romantic relations and procreation among individuals of differing racial backgrounds). As a result of these statutes, people of color and White individuals within the U.S. were legally forbidden from marrying one another (Jeffreys & Zoucha, 2001). Individuals who maintained anti-miscegenist beliefs during the early 1910's claimed that in order to further societal growth and secure racial purity, interracial marriage needed to be avoided, demonstrating the discriminatory attitudes present towards interracial romantic partners and mixed-race children (Frazier, 1947). The U.S. Supreme Court case, Loving v. Virginia (1967), reversed state laws

that forbade marriage between individuals of different racial backgrounds (Farley, 2001). Although interracial romantic relationships and multiracial offspring were present well before this case (Austin, 2004), the overturning of this statute provided greater opportunities for interracial romantic relationships to flourish and for the multiracial community to increase (Rockquemore et al., 2009). As an example of this, in 2015 a reported 17% of all newly married couples in the U.S. were comprised of individuals of differing racial/ethnic backgrounds, a major contrast from the 3% of interracial marriages reported in 1967 (Livingston & Brown, 2017). When taking a closer look at the composition of interracial marriages within the U.S., it appears the largest number of interracial/interethnic marriages are between non-Hispanic and Hispanic individuals (Rico et al., 2018). In regards to growth patterns of the multiracial population, in countries such as the U.S. and Canada, this community has been steadily increasing for decades and it is hypothesized that one fifth of the total U.S. population will be non-monoracial by 2050 (Farley, 2001).

The term mestizaje, which is utilized in Latin America, is synonymous with miscegenation. People of mixed racial background are typically categorized as mestizos, especially those with European and indigenous heritage (Gonzalez-Barrera, 2015; Nielsen, 2016). The history of mestizaje dates back to the colonization of Latin America by Europe, which resulted in a Eurocentric racial hierarchy being imposed on Latin American culture (Nielsen, 2016). Historically, mestizos have been positioned below Latin Americans with European heritage and above indigenous persons in the racial hierarchy (Urrieta, 2019). Because of their unique positioning in this social structure, mestizos have generally had greater social access and mobility in comparison to indigenous communities (Nielsen, 2016). When unpacking the history and impacts of mestizaje, a complicated picture is revealed. Mestizaje has been

characterized in some regards as an embracement of racial mixing and a mechanism for eliminating race and racial prejudice in Latin America (Gonzalez-Barrera, 2015; Nielsen, 2016). For example, in mid 20th century Mexico, attitudes towards mestizos began shifting in a seemingly positive direction (Telles & Flores, 2013). The acceptance of the mestizo population that emerged during this era appeared to confront anti-miscegenist beliefs and preferences for whiteness. Countries such as Argentina and Costa Rica differed from Mexico, in that their attitudes more closely mirrored U.S. treatment towards mixed race persons and ultimately exhibited a preference for whiteness (Telles & Flores, 2013).

Previous research has highlighted the ways in which mestizaje has been utilized to control and eliminate Indigenous peoples in Latin America (Urrieta, 2019). As an example of the dangers of mestizaje, during the 20th century it was believed by some Latin Americans with elevated social status, that the White population would successfully increase through procreation between White and non-White individuals, as White genes were presumed to be more dominant than non-White genes (Telles & Flores, 2013). While these eugenic ridden motives have somewhat diminished over time, many Latin American countries have maintained their beliefs valuing whiteness.

Currently, there is a diverse range of attitudes and perspectives towards non-White and multiracial or mestizo persons within Latin American countries. One example of this is the racial attitudes and relations in Brazil. Previous research has found that White individuals in Brazil engage in efforts to safeguard their whiteness by minimizing contact between their children and darker skinned individuals and through avoiding prolonged sun exposure (Telles & Flores, 2013). Given this finding, it is not surprising that Brazilian multiracial children with one White parent and one mixed race parent are typically categorized as White (Telles & Flores, 2013).

While the literature has shone light on current preferences for whiteness in Latin American countries, such as the presence of a pigmentocracy in Mexico, existing research has also reported the increase of multicultural affirming attitudes and behaviors in various countries, including Brazil (Nielsen, 2016; Telles & Flores, 2013). Nevertheless, racism is still present throughout Latin America (Nielsen, 2016). It is evident that the negative impacts of anti-miscegenist beliefs have been felt across nations, shaping sociocultural attitudes towards interracial couples and multiracial offspring throughout time. As we continue to engage in scientific exploration of this ever-growing population, it is important to be mindful of this history and cognizant that the bulk of very early research on this community has been tainted with anti-miscegenist beliefs and influences (Collins, 2000). More specifically, in these early studies, anti-miscegenist views were heavily applied in the construction of hypotheses and in the analysis of results, rendering many of the findings unusable (Collins, 2000).

Race, Ethnicity, and Multiracial Heritage

Multiracial is a term used to describe individuals from two or more racial backgrounds, comprising biracial individuals as well (Root, 1996, p. xi). Within the literature, various terms have been used to describe multiracial individuals including biethnic, biracial, mixed race, mestizo, multiple-race and multiple heritage individual (Canache et al., 2014; Davenport, 2016; Gonzáles et al., 2006; Jeffreys & Zoucha, 2001; Levy et al., 2018; Root, 1992; Townsend et al., 2009). In the present study, the term multiracial will be utilized throughout, including application to biracial individuals with Latinx/a/o heritage. Given the intricacies surrounding the classification of Latinx/a/o individuals, it is important to delineate the definitions of race and ethnicity, especially as it pertains to multiracial identification and the literature (Quintana, 2007).

Race is defined by the U.S. Census Bureau (2017) as "a person's self-identification with one or more social groups" and these groups include "…White, Black or African American, Asian, American Indian or Alaska Native, Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander, or some other race." Conversely, ethnicity is characterized by an individual's background including Hispanic or Latinx/a/o origin, and according to the U.S. Census (2017), Latinx/a/o individuals can self-identify with any of the aforementioned racial groups. Throughout time there has been debate regarding the definition of race and the process of racially categorizing persons. For example, prior to the addition of the "multiracial" option in the 2000 U.S. Census, a debate occurred between those in favor of the addition and those who believed that the existing options should not be altered. Proponents against adding the "multiracial" option positioned that existing racial categorization data was useful for tracking racial inequities and discrimination and ultimately representative of racial groupings present throughout time (Rockquemore et al., 2019). The "multiracial" option was eventually added to the U.S. Census, allowing for greater visibility and representation of the diverse multiracial population.

Today, it is more broadly accepted that race is ever changing and socially constructed as opposed to biologically based (Fergus, 2016; Salinas & Lozano, 2017; Sanchez & Garcia, 2009). The U.S. Census Bureau (2020) supports this conceptualization by stating "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" (para. 10). Rockquemore and colleagues (2009) proposed that the U.S. Census's influence and significance extends beyond merely obtaining numerical information regarding populations. More specifically, Rockquemore et al. (2009) explained that the census is representative of the greater racial structure present in society and a product of sociocultural discourse regarding race.

Despite widespread understanding of race as a social construct, it remains important to acknowledge and attend to the real-life implications of this construct in the lives of People of Color (Jones, 2005; Rockquemore et al., 2009.) Scholars have warned of the dangers of conceptualizing race as purely fictional or eliminating it all together, given observed differences in health disparities and disease etiologies among diverse racial groups (Jones, 2005).

Within the present study, Latinx/a/o identity is categorized as race as opposed to ethnicity, despite it traditionally not being viewed as such or provided as a racial option in previous censuses. The one exception to this trend is the 1930 Census, in which Mexican heritage (i.e., born in Mexico, parents born in Mexico) was categorized as "color or race" along with White, Black, American Indian, Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, Hindu, and Korean (U.S. Census Bureau, n.d.). The racialization of Latin American identity dates back to the 1800's, when Latinx/a/os, such as Mexicans, were viewed as being part of a distinct racial group by White settlers (Hayes-Bautista & Chapa, 1987). The clustering of Latin American persons from separate countries into a single social category began taking place during the Gold Rush era by miners. Subsequently, systematic racism towards persons of Latin American descent through the form of taxes was present during this time period, creating economic inequalities for Latinx/a/o United States citizens (Hayes-Bautista & Chapa, 1987). In the 20th century, Mexican background continued to be categorized as race as opposed to nationality, evidenced by language present in political reports, sociological research studies, and public health policy work (Hayes-Bautista & Chapa, 1987).

Presently, Hispanic and Latinx/a/o heritage is classified ethnically and not racially. However, when looking at trends in census data, Latinx/a/o community members are more likely to indicate that their race is different than the options provided for race related questions, and are

more likely to write in their racial background (i.e., Hispanic, Latino) in comparison to other racial and ethnic groups (Parker et al., 2015). Furthermore, findings from a Pew Research Center survey with Hispanic individuals demonstrated that the majority of the participants conceptualized being Hispanic as part of their racial background, regardless of gender, age, language dominance, and level of education (Parker et al., 2015). Despite Latinx/a/o heritage being formally recognized as ethnicity, Latinx/a/o persons have been treated as members of a distinct minority racial group throughout history (Hayes-Bautista & Chapa, 1987). Prior research examining the experiences of multiracial Latinx/a/o individuals has conceptualized Latinx/a/o identity similar to the present study given this community's struggles with inequality, lack of privilege, and discrimination in the U.S., similar to other racial minority groups (i.e., African American, Asian; Brittian et al., 2013).

Well into the 1900s, sentiments of the "one-drop rule" of hypodescent were present, evidenced by censuses that categorized Black/White multiracial persons as Black regardless of degree of Black lineage (U.S. Census Bureau, n.d.). Furthermore, any persons with a multiracial background consisting of racial minority lineage and White lineage were automatically classified as their racial minority background. By examining trends of past censuses, the erasure of multiracial individuals is evident, as well as larger societal efforts to secure the dominance of White racial status and marginalization of persons of color.

Beginning in 2000, the option to identify with more than one race was finally added to the U.S. Census, and as a result of this change the past two censuses have been able to provide valuable information about multiracial communities, including growth patterns (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012). More specifically, from 2000 to 2010 the multiracial population increased from 6.8 million people to 9.0 million people (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012). While the census reports

shed some light on the specific racial backgrounds of individuals reporting more than one race, this image becomes much less clear when examining the Latinx/a/o population, due to the fact that Latinx/a/o background is assessed as ethnicity as opposed to race (Sue & Sue, 2016). Furthermore, the potential underreporting of a multiracial background by Latinx/a/o individuals may be due to the confusion and frustration that often surrounds the process of reporting race and ethnicity.

As highlighted by Davenport (2016), Latinx/a/o multiracial individuals are typically not included in multiracial research efforts, largely due to difficulties surrounding the classification and identification of Latinx/a/o heritage. However, considering the existence of Latinx/a/o multiracial individuals and their tendency to identify monoracially (Sue & Sue, 2016), it is likely that this community comprises a portion of existing studies with Latinx/a/o, Black, and White samples. Nonetheless, due to the lack of comprehensive reporting of demographic information in the majority of studies, multiracial identities are often rendered invisible. As an example of this, among many of the existing research studies on Mexican individuals, there is a tendency to report information on the generational status of participants (e.g., 1st generation, 1.5 generation, etc.); yet, information regarding multiracial background is typically not disclosed (e.g., Kline et al., 2016; Morgan Consoli et al., 2016). While it is apparent there are challenges with defining and categorizing Latinx/a/o multiracial identities for both community members and researchers, the tendency to exclude this population from research efforts contributes to ongoing gaps in our understanding of their lived experiences, including exposure to discrimination and monoracism. Given the long history and remaining presence of anti-miscegenation, anti-immigrant, and racist sentiment in U.S. culture and policy, it is important to elucidate Latinx/a/o/White multiracial

individuals' encounters with multiracial microaggressions in their everyday lives, including subsequent impacts on mental health.

Microaggressions

The origins of microaggressions lie in Dr. Chester Pierce's work on subtle forms of racism with African American individuals in the 1970s (Harris, 2018; Pérez & Solorzano, 2014). Dr. Pierce's scholarship provided invaluable insight into racial microaggressions, including impacts on People of Color throughout the course of their lives. Sue and colleagues (2007) define racial microaggressions as "brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioral, or environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights and insults toward People of Color." (p. 271). Racial microaggressions are characterized as covert and subtle in nature, and are believed to have resulted from more overt forms of racism being condemned during the civil rights era. Nonetheless, racial microaggressions are classified as a type of systemic racism and the prefix "micro" does not denote that these events are less harmful to those on the receiving end (Pérez Huber & Solorzano, 2014). Microaggressions have the potential to be extremely pervasive in the lives of People of Color, as they can occur across contexts and settings such as work, school, community organizations, and home. However, it has been suggested that in environments with greater racial diversity, microaggressions are experienced less frequently, as a result of recurrent interactions with individuals of differing backgrounds (Meyers et al., 2020). While microaggressions may be viewed by some as less detrimental to mental health in comparison to more overt forms of racial prejudice, previous research has supported that covert forms of discrimination are equally as harmful (Jones et al., 2016; Sue et al., 2007). One proposed reason for this is the frequency of racial related microaggressions in the everyday lives of racial and

ethnic minorities, which can compound over time (Jones et al., 2016; Pérez Huber & Solorzano, 2014; Sue et al., 2007). Moreover, the stress stemming from an isolated encounter with a racial microaggression may endure for an extended period of time after the discriminatory act (Yosso et al., 2009).

Following an encounter involving a race related microaggression, People of Color may experience emotions such as frustration, anger, mistrust, guilt, and confusion, especially if the perpetrator is dismissive of their harmful behavior when confronted or called in (Nadal et al., 2014; Sue et al., 2007). People of Color may exert a substantial amount of effort preparing for encounters with microaggressions, coping, and defending themselves against the act of discrimination (Franklin et al., 2014). These experiences can leave racial and ethnic minorities feeling psychologically distressed and emotionally drained, and it is not uncommon for People of Color to question their perception of the racial microaggression and how to best respond (Jones et al., 2016; Sue et al., 2007). The negative impacts of racial microaggressions on People of Color's health and well-being is well supported by existing literature, as these experiences have demonstrated positive relations with anxiety, lack of behavioral control, internalized racial microaggressions, compromised well-being, depression, elevated nocturnal blood pressure, negative affect/view of the world, and psychological distress (Brondolo et al., 2009; Johnston & Nadal, 2010; Kohli & Solórzano, 2012; Moradi & Risco, 2006; Nadal et al., 2013; Nadal et al., 2014). Moreover, some People of Color experience chronic psychological distress due to persistently feeling as though they are ineffective in handling microaggressions (Sue et al., 2008).

Sue and colleagues (2007) identified three forms of microaggressions, including microinsults, microinvalidations, and microassaults. Microinsults can be verbal or non-verbal

and are usually unconscious on the part of the perpetrator. This form of racial microaggression conveys an unkind and insensitive message to the receiver related to their racial background, such as a White individual unconsciously alluding to a Person of Color that their success may be due to affirmative action policies (Sue et al., 2007). Similarly, microinvalidations are generally unconscious and are rooted in denying the lived experiences of People of Color. An example of a microinvalidation would be color-blind rhetoric on the part of the perpetrator, such as a White individual insinuating that race and ethnicity are unimportant to a Person of Color. Microassaults are more blatantly racist acts and are typically conscious to the deliverer, such as using racially offensive language (Sue et al., 2007). Sue and colleagues (2007) presented nine different racial microaggressions themes including criminality/assumption of criminal status, ascription of intelligence, myth of meritocracy, second-class status, alien in one's own land, denial of individual racism, pathologizing of cultural values/communication styles, color blindness, and environmental invalidation.

Nadal (2011) utilized Sue's (2007) work to create the Racial and Ethnic Microaggressions Scale (REMS) which encompasses six subscales, including workplace and school microaggressions, exoticization/assumptions of similarity, assumptions of inferiority, microinvalidations, environmental microaggressions, and assumption of criminality. Another commonly experienced racial microaggression is the mispronunciation or changing of a Person of Color's name, which has been associated with a host of adverse effects (Kohli & Solórzano, 2012). While members of diverse racial/ethnic minority communities can be recipients of each of these forms of microaggressions, some are more frequently experienced by certain groups than others. For example, Nadal and colleagues (2014) conducted a study examining racial microaggressions among different racial/ethnic groups and the findings revealed that Latinx/a/o

and Black individuals experience more inferiority-related microaggressions (e.g., poverty, substandard careers; Nadal, 2011) in comparison to Asian individuals. Additionally, Black individuals are subjected to higher levels of criminality-related microaggressions in comparison to Asian and Latinx/a/o individuals, and Asian individuals encounter more environmental and exoticization related microaggressions in comparison to Black individuals. Important to note, the results also indicated that Latinx/a/o, Asian, and Black participants all encountered equivalent rates of cumulative racial microaggressions. While the focus of the present study is specifically on race related microaggressions, it is important to note that racial microaggressions intersect with other personal aspects and identities of People of Color (i.e. phenotype, gender, sexual orientation, immigration status, etc.; Kohli & Solórzano, 2012; Pérez Huber & Solorzano, 2014).

Latinx/a/o Community's Experiences with Microaggressions

In the U.S., the Latinx/a/o community is the most rapid growing ethnic group (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015), with Latinx/a/o individuals comprising approximately 18% of the total U.S. population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2018). The Latinx/a/o population in the U.S. is primarily constituted by Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, Salvadorans, and Dominicans, respectively (Fergus, 2016). Furthermore, in the United States, 31.8 million individuals are of Mexican origin, making up approximately 63% of the total Hispanic population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012). Despite the considerable within-group differences among the Latinx/a/o community (i.e., physical appearance, country of origin, generational status, geographic location, etc.; Nadal et al., 2014), as a whole, this community is vulnerable to racially discriminatory experiences based on their status as People of Color within a larger society that values and protects whiteness.

It has been proposed that educational, employment, income, insurance, and health disparities in the Latinx/a/o community are due to discrimination (Nadal et al., 2014; U.S.

Department of Health and Human Services Office of Minority Health, 2019). A sizable amount of research, predominantly qualitative, has investigated Latinx/a/o college students experiences, including encounters with racial discrimination. For example, Yosso and colleagues (2009) conducted a qualitative study with Latinx/a/o students from different college campuses and the findings revealed that participants were subjected to institutional microaggressions, racial jokes, and interpersonal microaggressions. The students' testimonies indicated that the microaggressions they encountered attempted to discredit their intelligence and educational achievements, as well as disrespected their ethnic backgrounds. Relatedly, the positive relationship between racial microaggressions and psychological stress has been supported among Latinx/a/o individuals in higher education settings (Franklin et al., 2014). Findings from Sanchez and colleagues' (2018) study with Asian American and Latinx college students revealed significant positive correlations among psychological distress and 5 out of the 6 subscales from the Racial and Ethnic Microaggressions Scale, as well as a significant and positive direct effect between racial/ethnic microaggressions and psychological distress.

Existing research has discovered trends among Latinx/a/o individual's encounters with racial microaggressions. In Rivera and colleagues' (2010) qualitative exploration of racial microaggressions experienced by Latinx/a/o participants, eight different themes were revealed, including invalidation of the Latinx/a/o experience, assumptions of criminal status, characteristics of speech, second class citizenship, alien in one's own land, assumed Latinx/a/o attributes (i.e., poor, lazy, elevated alcohol use), pathologizing cultural values/communication style, and ascription of intelligence. Additionally, Nadal and colleagues (2014) examined demographic and sociopolitical variables in the context of Latinx/a/o participant's microaggressions. The findings revealed that Latina/x women experienced microaggressions

more frequently than Latino/x men, including more frequent school and workplace microaggressions. Additionally, participants with higher levels of education experienced fewer microaggressions in comparison to those with lower levels. Latina/x women with higher educational attainment and older in age reported fewer microaggressions in comparison to those with less education. In addition, Latina/x women with lower educational attainment reported higher levels of exoticization compared to those with more educational experience (Nadal et al., 2014). Participants born in the U.S. reported fewer experiences of being treated as though they were inferior compared to participants who were not born in the U.S. Furthermore, Dominican participants reported higher levels of exoticization in comparison to Mexican participants, and Puerto Rican participants reported the highest levels of microaggressions related to criminality and being treated as a second-class citizen in comparison to the other Latinx/a/o groups (e.g., Mexican, Dominican).

Among the Latinx/a/o community, racial discrimination has demonstrated positive associations with a host of negative outcomes including depression, state anxiety, trait anxiety, suicidal ideation, and increased psychological distress (Franklin et al., 2014; Hwang & Goto, 2008; Moradi & Risco, 2006; Torres et al., 2011). Moreover, racial microaggressions have been linked with negative physiological effects on well-being, self-doubt, alienation, discouragement, negative educational outcomes, PTSD, depression, somatic symptoms, physiological stress responses (i.e., poor sleep, muscle aches, back pain), behavioral stress responses (i.e., decreased eating, procrastination), poorer mental health and psychological distress for Latinx/a/o persons (Franklin et al., 2014; Hernández & Villodas, 2020; Huber & Cueva, 2012; Huynh, 2012; Sanchez et al., 2018; Torres & Taknint, 2015). Taken together, these studies provide strong support for the positive relationship between racial/ethnic microaggressions and psychological

distress, including stress, anxiety, and depression, among the Latinx/a/o community. Considering the growth of the Latinx/a/o population, the prevalence of intermarriage between Latinx/a/o and White individuals, and the deleterious effects of racial microaggressions for Latinx/a/o folks, gaining insight into Latinx/a/o/White multiracial individual's encounters with microaggressions appears important (Rico et al., 2018; Sue et al., 2007; U.S. Census Bureau, 2015). Furthermore, Latinx/a/o/White multiracial individuals are likely vulnerable to microaggressions based on their background as a Person of Color as well as susceptible to experiencing unique microaggressions related to their multiracial identity within the context of a predominately monoracial society. Thus, applying research findings related to Latinx/a/o individual's experiences with racial microaggressions to Latinx/a/o/White multiracial individuals may not be entirely appropriate given the unique experiences of this community.

Multiracial Microaggressions

While the literature on monoracial People of Color's experiences with racial microaggressions has built steam over the past several decades, research efforts specifically focused on multiracial microaggressions is scarce. It is imperative that greater attention is paid to multiracial individual's experiences with microaggressions, as this diverse community faces similar rates of microaggressions to Latinx/a/o, Black, and Asian individuals (Nadal et al., 2011; Nadal et al., 2014) and is similarly vulnerable to adverse outcomes (Harris, 2018). Works by prior scholars provide valuable insight into the lived experiences of multiracial persons, including their experiences with multiracial microaggressions (Franco et al., 2019; Harris, 2018; Johnston & Nadal, 2010; Meyers et al., 2020; Nadal et al., 2011; Nadal et al., 2013; Salahuddin & O'Brien, 2011). Johnston and Nadal (2010) created a taxonomy of multiracial microaggressions, which included denial of multiracial reality, exclusion or isolation due to

one's multiracial background, pathologizing of identity and experiences, assumption of monoracial identity, and exoticization/objectification. In addition, the pathologizing of identity and experiences category was comprised of two subthemes, specifically family pathology and individual psychopathology. While the authors did not directly measure the impacts of multiracial microaggressions on psychological outcomes, they did note that these reoccurring experiences are likely detrimental to the mental health of multiracial individuals. More specifically, Johnston and Nadal (2010) explained that having one's racial experiences denied by others may contribute to psychological distress. The authors suggested future studies explore the effects of multiracial microaggressions on psychological distress, identity development, and self-esteem.

Expanding on Johnston and Nadal's (2010) work, Nadal and colleagues (2011) conducted a mixed-methods study that examined the frequency and types of microaggressions commonly experienced by multiracial individuals. Results from the quantitative portion of the study demonstrated equivalent scores for monoracial participants of color and multiracial participants on the Racial and Ethnic Microaggressions Scale (REMS). Additionally, findings from the qualitative portion presented six domains of microaggressions frequently experienced by multiracial persons of diverse backgrounds (e.g., Asian/White, Black/Latina), including exclusion/isolation, exoticization and objectification, assumption of monoracial or mistaken identity, denial of multiracial reality and experiences, pathologizing of identity or experiences, and microaggressions based on stereotypes. The findings of this mixed-method study highlighted the commonalities and differences between monoracial People of Color and multiracial individual's experiences with microaggressions.

Although Salahuddin and O'Brien (2011) did not directly assess multiracial microaggressions, their study explored resilience and challenges among the multiracial community and led to the development of the Multiracial Challenges and Resilience Scale (MCRS), subscales of which are utilized in the present study. The results of their exploratory factor analyses revealed four challenge factors commonly experienced by multiracial persons (i.e., challenges with racial identity, multiracial discrimination, lack of family acceptance, others' surprise/disbelief regarding racial heritage) as well as two resilience factors (i.e., appreciation of human differences, multiracial pride). Additionally, the results demonstrated significant positive relations for the four multiracial challenge factors with depression and racism stress, providing support for the positive relationship between multiracial microaggressions and psychological distress.

Nadal et al.'s (2013) study focused on multiracial individuals' experiences with microaggressions within the context of their families, as previous multiracial microaggression research has supported the commonality of these events. A total of five domains emerged from their focus groups centered on multiracial participant's encounters with microaggressions within family settings, including experiences of isolation within the family, denial of multiracial identity/experiences by monoracial family members, favoritism with the family unit, feelings about not learning about family heritage or culture, and questioning of authenticity. Some participants reported feeling physically objectified by family members, as well as recruited by family members to partake in culturally specific actions. Additionally, participants in the study reported experiencing psychological distress as a result of being overly or under favored in comparison to other family members.

Importantly, multiracial microaggressions may occur across a variety of context. More recent research has linked familial discrimination among multiracial individuals with substance use, increased blood pressure, psychological distress (i.e., anxiety, depression) and negative emotional experiences (i.e., alienation, confusion, feeling hurt) (Franco & Carter, 2019; Franco & O'Brien, 2020; Franco et al., 2020). Franco and Carter (2019) utilized the lack of family acceptance subscale from the Multiracial Challenges and Resilience Scale and found significant positive correlations between discrimination from family members with depression and anxiety among a diverse sample of multiracial individuals, approximately 11 percent of whom identified as Latinx/a/o/White. Their findings also demonstrated that both depression and anxiety significantly mediated the relationship between discrimination from family and drug use, providing support for discrimination from family as a significant predictor of anxiety and depression symptoms. Harris (2018) conducted a qualitative study examining multiracial microaggressions among campus professionals, emphasizing the importance of understanding this phenomenon in the context of higher education. Three themes emerged from the interviews, including assumptions of monoracial identity, denial of a multiracial reality, and not monoracial enough, which are in line with former multiracial microaggression literature (Johnston & Nadal, 2010; Nadal et al., 2011; Nadal et al., 2013). The findings of this study suggest the presence of institutional monoracism in educational environments, as well as the potential negative impacts (i.e., isolation, exclusion, racial battle fatigue) of multiracial microaggressions for all multiracial members in higher education settings (Harris, 2018). Collectively, these studies highlight the types of microaggressions commonly experienced by multiracial individuals in familial and educational contexts, including having their multiracial identity denied, feeling excluded, and being tokenized by others.

Lastly, Meyers et al. (2020) extended the work of Nadal et al. (2011) by utilizing the Racial and Ethnic Microaggressions Scale (REMS) with a sample of multiracial, White, and non-White monoracial participants. More specifically, the researchers examined both discriminatory and microaggressive experiences in differing communities, as well as perceptions of offensiveness in racially diverse and predominately White settings. In order to assess the unique microaggressions experienced by multiracial individuals, Meyers et al. (2020) constructed the Multiracial Microaggressions Scale based on their earlier findings from qualitative research efforts. The five subscales of the Multiracial Microaggressions Scale included exclusion or isolation, exoticization or objectification, assumption of monoracial or mistaken identity, denial of multiracial reality, and pathologizing of identity and experiences. In general, their findings indicated that multiracial and monoracial People of Color experienced less microaggressions and discrimination in racially diverse settings in comparison to more homogenously White settings. Additionally, the study found that multiracial microaggressions were described as less offensive when occurring in racially diverse settings versus predominately White settings. Important to note, a significant positive relation was found between gender and multiracial microaggressions in the study, which the researchers attributed to experiences of exoticization for multiracial women. Taken together, these studies provide crucial information about the presentation and frequency of multiracial microaggressions in the lives of multiracial individuals across diverse settings and also suggest different experiences within groups.

Gaining additional insight into the negative impacts of microaggressions on multiracial individuals, as well as providing education about the insidious nature of microaggressions remains important, as these events uphold a larger societal system rooted in White supremacy and contribute to the psychological distress of community members (Pérez Huber & Solorzano,

2014). Moreover, it is important to further validate the use of the Multiracial Microagressions Scale (Meyers et al., 2020) with specific multiracial populations (i.e., Latinx/a/o/White, Asian/White, Asian/Black, etc.), considering the heterogeneity of this expanding community. The current study intends to provide insight into Latinx/a/o/White multiracial individuals experiences with multiracial microaggressions and the proposed positive relationship with psychological distress, which has been supported in the literature (Johnson & Nadal, 2010; Nadal et al., 2013). Furthermore, in the spirit of seeking ways to support multiracial people encountering multiracial microaggressions and provide potential clinical implications, the present study will explore protective factors in the multiracial microaggressions-psychological distress link. Utilizing a resilience framework, an aim of the present study is to identify if multiracial pride and self-esteem help protect Latinx/a/o/White multiracial individuals from the harmful effects of multiracial microaggressions.

Resilience Framework

Resilience is understood as a person's ability to adapt or achieve positive outcomes in the face of significant challenges or adversity (Luthar et al., 2000; Luthar, 2003). Masten (2001) posited that resilience is a normal part of the human experience, as opposed to a rare and hard to reach phenomena. An individual's response to adverse situations is believed to vary over time depending on available resources or protective factors in the person's life (Hill & Gunderson, 2015). Previous literature has linked higher levels of resilience with the utilization of more adaptive coping mechanisms and has suggested that successfully facing stressful events may contribute to the development of skills and future successes, referred to as "thriving" (Afifi et al., 2016; Carver, 1998; Hill & Gunderson, 2015). Discrepancies are revealed when reviewing the ways in which resilience has been defined and operationalized throughout the literature (Luthar

et al. 2000). Additionally, previous research has noted the lack of concrete theory related to resilience, despite the popularity of this construct across fields (Afifi et al., 2016; Davydov et al. 2010). Whereas some studies have directly measured resilience using assessments such as the Brief Resilience Scale (e.g., Watson et al., 2018), others have utilized a resilience lens or model to explore protective factors (e.g., self-esteem, ethnic identity) in the context of adverse circumstances (Umaña-Taylor & Updegraff, 2007).

Davydov and colleagues' (2010) work summarized three resilience approaches/factors that are present in the literature. Harm-reduction factors aid in a person's ability to quickly and successfully recover following an adverse event. The utilization of harm-reduction factors is closely related to the act of employing coping mechanisms, with an example of this being someone's ability to return to their baseline levels of cognitive and emotional functioning following a stressful situation, such as a divorce (Davydov et al., 2010). Next is the protection approach, which emphasizes the roles protective factors (e.g., personal, interpersonal) play in resiliency. Protective factors can safeguard an individual from the harmful effects of an adverse event or experience, as well as potentially strengthen their overall well-being (Hill & Gunderson, 2015). As an example, a person exposed to a racially discriminatory event may be better protected from negative mental health outcomes by having a strong social support network. Lastly, promotive factors are acquired resources (e.g., positive emotions, optimism, strong future orientation) which support one's psychological health (Davydov et al., 2010; Hill & Gunderson, 2015). The presence of promotive factors facilitates positive experiences and subsequent psychological health for an individual, regardless of their encounters with adverse events (Hill & Gunderson, 2015).

Salahuddin and O'Brien (2011) highlighted the utility of employing resilience theory when exploring the lived experiences of the multiracial community, including exposure to challenging events. In their study, resilience is described as an individual's ability to experience or further develop self-esteem and racial pride in the face of an adverse event, as well as the evasion of undesired psychological outcomes that others may experience. Self-esteem and ethnic pride have commonly been proposed as protective factors in the link between discriminatory events and psychological outcomes (Martinez & Dukes, 1997; Mossakowski, 2003; Nadal et al., 2014; Sánchez & Fernández, 1993; Torres et al., 2011). Previous literature has supported using moderation analyses to examine protective factors, as they can moderate relations between adversity and undesired outcomes by contributing to stability, increasing positive outcomes, or mitigating the negative effects of adversity (Lee & Davis, 2000; Lee, 2005). In the present study self-esteem and multiracial pride will be conceptualized similarly, as these protective factors are hypothesized to buffer the potential negative effects of multiracial microaggressions on psychological outcomes for Latinx/a/o/White multiracial participants.

Multiracial pride. Racial and ethnic regard (i.e., pride, positive evaluations of one's race/ethnicity) has been examined among People of Color, including multiracial individuals (Charmaraman & Grossman, 2010; Kian et al., 2006). Findings from Charmaraman and Grossman's (2010) mixed method study revealed high levels of positive regard for all racial/ethnic groups in their study (i.e., Black, Latinx/a/o, Asian, multiracial), with Asian and Latinx/a/o participants demonstrating significantly elevated levels of positive regard towards their racial/ethnic group. Furthermore, results from a Pew Research Center survey with Hispanic multiracial adults demonstrated that, in comparison with other multiracial groups, this community was more likely to report feeling pride towards their mixed-race background (Parker

et al., 2015). In addition, the majority (89%) of Hispanic multiracial individuals indicated that they have not ever felt embarrassed or ashamed about being multiracial. Taken together, these findings provide support for the presence of multiracial pride among multiracial communities, specifically multiracial persons with Latinx/a/o heritage.

Prior research efforts have elucidated the importance of People of Color having pride in their background, linking it with positive outcomes including better performance in school, self-esteem, and well-being (Quintana, 2007). For example, Kiang and colleagues (2006) utilized hierarchical linear modeling (HLM) to examine the relation between ethnic regard (a construct similar to multiracial pride) and happiness, as well as the moderating role of ethnic regard in the relation between daily stressful events and daily happiness among Mexican and Chinese adolescents. Their results revealed that ethnic regard significantly and positively predicted daily happiness and moderated the relationship between daily stressful demands and happiness, such that participants with higher levels of ethnic regard did not report decreases in happiness in response to stressful demands (Kiang et al., 2006). Pride towards one's racial, ethnic, or cultural group has also been examined in relation to psychological distress and other adverse mental health outcomes. Among multiple studies with Black participants, racial/cultural pride has demonstrated significant negative correlations with depression and anxiety, as well as significantly predicted less psychological distress (Bynum et al., 2007; Utsey et al., 2008). Similarly, a significant negative correlation between ethnic pride and depressive symptoms has been found for Mexican American women (Dinh et al., 2009). Previous research has also provided evidence of an inverse relationship between multiracial pride and depressive symptoms for multiracial persons (Franco & McElroy-Heltzel, 2018). Overall, the negative relationship

between racial/ethnic pride and adverse mental health outcomes including distress, depression and anxiety has been supported among People of Color, including multiracial communities.

Existing literature has associated feelings of pride and positive attitudes towards one's ethnic group with a secure ethnic identity (Phinney et al., 1997; Phinney & Ong, 2007; Roberts et al., 1999). According to Phinney and Ong (2007), ethnic identity is multidimensional and understood as one's sense of belongingness with a cultural community and related aspects (i.e., setting, people). Developing a secure ethnic identity is a process that is carried out over time, involving experience, awareness of one's relations to a group, and behaviors (Phinney & Ong, 2007). Researchers have called for future studies to investigate the role of cultural variables, such as aspects of ethnic identity, in relation to racial microaggressions and psychological health (Sanchez et al., 2018). Extant research has suggested that encountering microaggressions may strengthen People of Color's ethnic identity, which is important, as elevated ethnic identity has been observed as a protective factor against the negative impacts of microaggressions on psychological health for racial and ethnic minorities, including Latinx/a/o persons (Forrest-Bank & Cuellar, 2018; Torres et al., 2011). However, it has also been suggested that possessing a strong sense of ethnic identity may intensify adverse impacts on mental health in the context of discriminatory experiences for People of Color (Lee, 2005; Mossakowski, 2003; Torres et al., 2011).

Among the greater Latinx/a/o community, mixed findings have been revealed regarding the protective nature of ethnic identity components. The discrepancies within the literature may be in part due to the multifaceted nature of ethnic identity, as ethnic affirmation, pride, and commitment tend to operate as protective factors, while ethnic identity exploration is more frequently linked to negative outcomes. Previous literature has highlighted the positive

relationship between ethnic identity exploration and perceptions of discrimination and has conceptualized ethnic identity exploration as a precursor to ethnic identity affirmation among Mexican American, African American, and European American adolescents (Romero & Roberts, 2003). Existing research has also revealed that possessing a strong racial/ethnic identity is related to worse outcomes for racial and ethnic minorities, including Latinx/a/o individuals, in settings where there is elevated exposure to racial discrimination and when racial/ethnic identity is central to an individual's overall identity (Mossakowski et al., 2019; Quintana, 2007).

As an example of the different roles of ethnic identity components among Latinx/a/o individuals, Torres and colleagues (2011) conducted a study which examined the moderating roles of ethnic commitment and ethnic identity exploration in the relationship between covert discrimination and mental health outcomes, specifically in the context of work, academic, and public settings. The results indicated that ethnic identity commitment weakened the link between covert discrimination and negative mental health outcomes. However, ethnic identity exploration was only related to decreased psychological distress at lower levels of perceived discrimination, whereas at higher levels of discrimination ethnic identity exploration contributed to more psychological distress. The authors attributed this finding to participants being more susceptible to the negative effects of racial/ethnic discrimination during the process of examining and reflecting on their own ethnic identity (Torres et al., 2011). In Hernández and Villodas' (2020) study with Latinx/a/o students, the relationship between racial microaggressions and psychological health was not attenuated by ethnic identity (i.e., commitment, exploration), as predicted. However, higher levels of ethnic identity commitment yielded a unique direct relation with better mental health outcomes (i.e., positive affect, life satisfaction) despite encounters with racial microaggressions. Additionally, Umaña-Taylor and colleagues' (2012) findings revealed

that ethnic identity affirmation (i.e., ethnic pride, positivity towards one's ethnic group) weakened the relationship between discrimination and externalizing behaviors for male Mexican adolescents.

The protective role of ethnic identity, including ethnic pride, has also been supported among other racial/ethnic minority communities. Lee (2005) explored Korean American college students' resilience in the context of perceived ethnic discrimination and the results revealed a significant negative correlation between ethnic pride and depressive symptoms, as well as a significant negative correlation between self-esteem and depression. The moderation findings provided support for ethnic pride as a protective factor. More specifically, at lower levels of perceived discrimination, participants with higher levels of ethnic pride reported fewer depressive symptoms than participants with lower levels of ethnic pride. However, as perceptions of discrimination increased, so did depression symptoms, although the depression scores for participants with higher levels of ethnic pride still remained lower than those with lower levels of ethnic pride. Additionally, Mossakowski (2003) examined the relations among ethnic identity (i.e., self-identifying with one's racial/ethnic group members, involvement in ethnic practices, having feelings of pride and positivity towards one's ethnic group, interest and knowledge of one's ethnic group), mental health, and discrimination with a sample of Filipino Americans. The findings revealed a significant negative relation between ethnic identity and depressive symptoms, providing support for the positive impacts of ethnic pride on psychological health. Regarding the moderation effects, the results indicated that ethnic identity buffered the link between lifetime racial/ethnic discrimination and depressive symptoms. Furthermore, ethnic identity also buffered the link between everyday discrimination and depressive symptoms. Lastly, among a sample of Arab Americans, higher levels of ethnic

affirmation buffered the negative effects of perceived discrimination on the participants' reports of psychological flourishing (i.e., living a meaningful and optimal life; Atari & Han, 2018). Ultimately, the protective nature of ethnic identity (i.e., pride, sense of belonging) in the relationship between racial/ethnic discrimination and psychological outcomes (e.g., depression, confidence, self-esteem, purpose in life, psychological distress) has been supported among People of Color, including Latinx/a/o and multiracial individuals (Martinez & Dukes, 1997; Mossakowski, 2003; Sánchez & Fernández, 1993; Torres et al., 2011).

Historically, multiracial heritage and related experiences have been conceptualized through a deficit lens. However, the presence of the multiracial social movement in the 1990's led to the formation of multiracial groups such as the Association of Multi-Ethnic Americans (AMEA) and Reclassify All Children Equally (Project RACE), as well as increased visibility of the multiracial community and new ways of thinking and feeling about one's multiracial identity (Austin, 2004; Farley, 2001). The literature has revealed that there are a variety of strengths associated with having a multiracial background, including greater accessibility to support networks (i.e., cultural groups), increased respect and empathy towards racially/culturally different others, and multiracial pride (Franco et al., 2019; Salahuddin & O'Brien, 2011; Shih & Sanchez, 2005). Literature on multiracial pride is scarce; however, several researchers have examined multiracial pride in the contexts of racial/ethnic identity and psychological outcomes (e.g., Cheng & Lee, 2009, Franco & McElroy-Heltzel, 2018). Cheng and Lee (2009) investigated the relations between multiracial identity integration and multiracial pride among a sample of diverse multiracial undergraduate and graduate students. Multiracial identity integration is comprised of racial distance (i.e., perceiving one's racial identities as disparate) and racial conflict (i.e., conflict among one's racial identities) and higher levels of multiracial identity

integration are achieved when an individual has lower levels of both racial conflict and racial distance. The researchers proposed that multiracial identity integration would be positively related to multiracial pride and this finding was only partially supported, as multiracial pride demonstrated a significant negative relationship with racial distance but not racial conflict (Cheng & Lee, 2009). The authors explained that although the relationship was not significant, a negative relationship was present between these two constructs. The authors discussed possible reasons for the non-significant inverse relationship, including the possibility that multiracial pride is activated when there are high levels of conflict between one's racial identities. The results also indicated that multiracial identity integration is malleable and influenced by the remembrance of past multiracial related experiences and specific reminders in the environment (Cheng & Lee, 2009).

To my knowledge, no previous studies have specifically examined multiracial pride as a potential moderator in the relationship between multiracial microaggressions and psychological distress. Given the benefits associated with having racial/ethnic pride for People of Color, including potential protection in the face of discriminatory experiences, the present study intends to shed light on the role of multiracial pride in the lives of Latinx/a/o/White multiracial individuals. Furthermore, self-esteem will also be explored as a potential protective factor against the negative effects of multiracial microaggressions, as previous literature has supported the protective nature of this variable (Corning, 2002; Umaña-Taylor & Updegraff, 2007).

Self-esteem. The negative relationship between self-esteem and psychological distress, including depression and anxiety, has been established in the literature among diverse populations, including Latinx/a/o persons (Cassidy et al., 2004; Chen & Tryon, 2012; Corning, 2002; Feng & Xu, 2015; Greenberg et al., 1992; Kernis et al., 1991; Knowlden et al., 2016; Lee,

2005; Moradi & Risco, 2006; Nima et al., 2013; Szymanski, 2009; Umaña-Taylor & Updegraff, 2007; Wei et al., 2013; Wei et al., 2015). Self-esteem has been identified as a significant predictor of psychological distress, with higher levels of self-esteem predicting lower levels of psychological distress, and conversely, lower levels of self-esteem predicting higher levels of psychological distress with White, Chinese, Indian, Pakistani, and Latinx/a/o samples (Cassidy et al., 2004; Knowlden et al., 2016; Moradi & Subich, 2004; Umaña-Taylor & Updegraff, 2007).

Previous research has examined self-esteem as a moderator in relations between discriminatory experiences and adverse outcomes (i.e., psychological distress) among various populations, including communities of color and sexual minorities. Wei and colleagues (2013) investigated family support and self-esteem as moderators in the relationship between perceived racial discrimination and psychological distress among a sample of Asian American male college students, and findings revealed that when participants utilized less family support, the relationship between perceived discrimination and psychological distress was only significant for participants with lower levels of self-esteem, whereas for participants with higher levels of self-esteem this relationship was not supported. In another study conducted by Wei and colleagues (2015), the researchers explored self-esteem as a moderator in the link between perceived language discrimination and negative mental health outcomes among Chinese international students. The results suggested that participants with higher levels of self-esteem did not report increases in anxiety and depression despite increased encounters with language discrimination.

In addition, Moradi and Subich (2004) examined self-esteem as a moderator in the link between perceived sexist events and psychological distress among a sample of young women, 2% of whom identified as Latinx/a and 3% of which identified as multiracial/other. Their findings indicated that for participants with higher levels of self-esteem, the relationship between

perceived sexist events and psychological distress was no longer significant like it was for participants with lower levels of self-esteem, providing support for self-esteem as a protective factor against sexism. Feng and Xu (2015) conducted a study examining self-esteem as a moderator in the relation between perceived discrimination and psychological distress among Chinese participants, and their findings revealed that self-esteem successfully buffered the relationship. More specifically, at higher levels of self-esteem, the relationship between perceived discrimination and psychological distress was no longer significant. Corning (2002) investigated personal self-esteem as a moderator in the relationship between perceived discrimination and psychological distress among a sample of predominately White college aged women, a small percentage of which were Latinx/a and multiracial. The results demonstrated that lower levels of personal self-esteem strengthened the relationship between perceived discrimination and depression, while higher levels weakened this relationship.

Several scholars have also examined the protective role of self-esteem in response to discriminatory experiences among sexual minority communities. Douglass and colleagues (2017) explored self-esteem as a moderator in the relationship between perceived discrimination and well-being (i.e., life satisfaction, negative affect, positive affect) among a sample of lesbian, gay, and bisexual participants. The findings revealed that self-esteem successfully moderated the proposed relationship, with higher levels of self-esteem weakening the link between perceived discrimination and negative affect. Additionally, Szymanski (2009) investigated self-esteem as a moderator in the relation between heterosexist events and psychological distress among a sample of gay and bisexual men and the proposed moderation effect was supported. More specifically, participants with higher levels of self-esteem in comparison to low self-esteem experienced less distress as encounters with heterosexist events increased, whereas participants with low self-

esteem experienced significantly more psychological distress. Taken together, these findings provide support for the buffering effects of self-esteem in the discrimination-distress link. However, research specifically examining the protective role of self-esteem in the face of microaggressions and among multiracial communities is missing, highlighting the need for the present study.

Among the extant literature on multiracial individuals and self-esteem, conflicting findings have been observed, including evidence of higher and lower self-esteem for multiracial individuals in comparison to monoracial individuals, and no differences in self-esteem between the two groups (Milan & Keiley, 2000; Shih & Sanchez, 2005). Early multiracial researchers posited that an underdeveloped or incomplete sense of oneself is related to decreased self-esteem for some multiracial individuals (Shih & Sanchez, 2005). The discrepancies in multiracial self-esteem across studies appears to be due in part to the utilization of clinical versus non-clinical samples, with the latter group demonstrating higher levels of self-esteem (Shih & Sanchez, 2005). Nonetheless, an inverse relationship between self-esteem and depression has been supported among multiracial individuals, highlighting the need for continued exploration into the potentially protective role of self-esteem for this community (Salahuddin & O'Brien, 2011).

Previous research has also specifically examined the impacts of racial microaggressions on the self-esteem of People of Color. More specifically, Nadal and colleagues (2014) found that increased exposure to racial microaggressions was negatively related with self-esteem among undergraduate Students of Color. Their findings also revealed significant negative relationships between specific racial microaggressions (i.e., workplace/school microaggressions, second-class citizen and assumptions of criminality) and self-esteem. Regarding the impacts of microaggressions on multiracial person's self-esteem, Franco and O'Brien (2018) found that

racial invalidation, a type of microaggression, significantly predicted increased depression and decreased self-esteem among a sample of predominately Black/White and Asian/White multiracial individuals. Multiracial researchers have made calls for future studies to explore the impact of multiracial specific microaggressions on self-esteem and psychological distress (Johnston & Nadal, 2010). Furthermore, Salahuddin and O'Brien (2011) have suggested the use of the Multiracial Challenges and Resilience Scale (MCRS) in examining self-esteem among the multiracial community, as it may provide insight into variables which bolster or diminish one's self-esteem.

Current Study

The current study responds to these calls by utilizing the MCRS as well as other measures in investigating the impacts of multiracial microaggressions on self-esteem, multiracial pride and psychological distress among Latinx/a/o/White individuals. The present study intends to provide insight into the protective nature of multiracial pride and self-esteem in the proposed link between multiracial microaggressions and psychological distress, specifically among individuals with one biological parent with Latinx/a/o heritage and another biological parent with White heritage. It is hypothesized that multiracial microaggressions will be significantly and positively related to psychological distress (hypothesis 1), whereas self-esteem and multiracial pride will be significantly and negatively related to psychological distress (hypothesis 2). Furthermore, it is expected that both multiracial pride and self-esteem will buffer the multiracial microaggressions-distress link (hypotheses 3 and 4). More specifically, it is anticipated that at higher levels of encounters with multiracial microaggressions, participants with elevated multiracial pride and self-esteem will report less psychological distress than those with decreased multiracial pride and self-esteem.

CHAPTER 2

MANUSCRIPT

In the U.S., approximately 33.8 million people possess a multiracial background (Jones et al., 2021). There has been a substantial incline in the number of individuals who identify with more than one racial group, which is evident by examining the increase of approximately 24.8 million people between the 2010 and 2020 censuses (Jones et al., 2021). When reviewing the extant multiracial literature, it is clear that research efforts specifically focused on Latinx/a/o multiracial individuals is scarce. This gap in the literature has been attributed to the complexities surrounding the assessment of Hispanic and Latinx/a/o background, including Latinx/a/o heritage being categorized as ethnicity as opposed to race (Davenport, 2016). Despite the challenges that can accompany conducting research with this population, it is important to make efforts to elucidate this community's lived experiences, as Latinx/a/o and White couples account for more than 43% of interracial/interethnic marriages in the U.S., and the number of children born from these couples per year is higher in comparison to other interracial newlywed couples with one White partner (e.g., Black/White, Asian/White) (Davenport, 2016; Rico et al., 2018; Wang, 2012).

Only a limited number of studies have examined racial microaggressions, including multiracial specific microaggressions, among multiracial persons within the U.S. (e.g., Harris, 2018; Johnston & Nadal, 2010; Meyers et al., 2020; Nadal et al., 2013). Previous research has revealed that multiracial individuals experience discrimination related to their identity as a non-monoracial person in addition to microaggressions related to their racial minority group (Johnston & Nadal, 2010; Salahuddin & O'Brien, 2011). Considering the established relations between microaggressions and negative mental health outcomes for People of Color (POC),

including multiracial individuals, gaining further insight specifically into Latinx/a/o/White multiracial individuals' microaggression experiences appears important for supporting the mental health of this community (Franco & Carter, 2019; Hernández & Villodas, 2020; Huber & Cueva, 2012; Huynh, 2012; Torres & Taknint, 2015; Sanchez et al., 2018). In an effort to bridge the gap in the counseling literature on the multiracial community, the present study examined the relations among multiracial microaggressions, self-esteem, multiracial pride, and psychological distress with a sample of Latinx/a/o/White multiracial individuals. In line with suggestions from researchers to utilize a resilience framework when exploring multiracial individuals exposure to challenging events (Salahuddin & O'Brien, 2011), the current study examined self-esteem and multiracial pride as potential moderators in the proposed multiracial microaggressions-distress link.

In the current study, the term Latinx/a/o is utilized to describe persons of Latin American descent, as opposed to solely using the terms Latinx, Latino, or Latina. The term Latinx, which initially surfaced in 2004 and achieved more widespread attention in 2015, has been met with ongoing debate (Salinas & Lozano, 2017). The origination of the term has been attributed to lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer or questioning (LGBTQ+) community members and allies, as the term challenges the gender binary language present in the terms Latino and Latina, and provides a more inclusive option for sexual minority Latinx folks (Salinas & Lozano, 2017). Whereas the use of the word Latinx has increased among academic and social activism settings, it appears that the term has not been adopted similarly within broader Latinx communities (Salinas, 2020). Arguments against the use of the term include difficulties with pronouncing the "x" for languages other than Spanish and English spoken in Latin American countries, common misuse of the word, and the predominant use of the term within the U.S. and

privileged spaces, such as academia (Salinas, 2020). Previous research has suggested the use of Latina/o/x when the gender of the population is undetermined (Salinas & Lozano, 2017). In order to be inclusive of the many ways in which persons of Latin American heritage may choose to identity, the term "Latinx/a/o" was selected for the present study.

Microaggressions and Psychological Distress

Sue and colleagues (2007) defined racial microaggressions as "brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioral, or environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights and insults toward People of Color" (p. 271). Despite the "micro" prefix, racial microaggressions are equally as harmful as overt forms of racial discrimination (Jones et al., 2016; Pérez Huber & Solorzano, 2014; Sue et al., 2007). One proposed reason for this is the frequency of racial microaggressions in the everyday lives of POC, which can compound over time (Jones et al., 2016; Pérez Huber & Solorzano, 2014; Sue et al., 2007). Moreover, the stress stemming from an isolated encounter with a racial microaggression may endure for an extended period of time after the discriminatory act (Yosso et al., 2009). Microaggressions have the potential to be extremely pervasive in the lives of POC, occurring across a variety of contexts.

Following an encounter involving a race related microaggression, POC may experience a range of negative emotions, especially if the perpetrator is dismissive of their harmful behavior when confronted (Nadal et al., 2014; Sue et al., 2007). Furthermore, POC may exert a substantial amount of effort preparing for encounters with microaggressions, coping, and defending themselves against the act of discrimination (Franklin et al., 2014), which can leave them feeling psychologically distressed (Jones et al., 2016; Sue et al., 2007). The negative impacts of racial microaggressions on POC's health and well-being is well supported by existing literature, as

these experiences have demonstrated positive relations with anxiety, lack of behavioral control, internalized racial microaggressions, compromised well-being, depression, elevated nocturnal blood pressure, negative affect, and psychological distress (Brondolo et al., 2009; Johnston & Nadal, 2010; Kohli & Solórzano, 2012; Moradi & Risco, 2006; Nadal et al., 2013; Nadal et al., 2014). Moreover, some POC experience chronic psychological distress due to persistently feeling as though they are ineffective in handling microaggressions (Sue et al., 2008). While the present study specifically focused on race related microaggressions, it is important to note that racial microaggressions intersect with other personal aspects and identities of POC (i.e., phenotype, gender, sexual orientation, immigration status, etc.; Kohli & Solórzano, 2012; Pérez Huber & Solorzano, 2014).

The Latinx/a/o community is vulnerable to racially discriminatory experiences based on their status as POC within a larger society that values and protects whiteness. It has been proposed that educational, employment, income, insurance, and health disparities in the Latinx/a/o community are due to discrimination (Nadal et al., 2014; U.S. Department of Health and Human Services Office of Minority Health, 2019). Previous research has supported the presence of racial microaggressions in the lives of Latinx/a/o youth and adults (Nadal et al., 2014; Rivera et al., 2010; Yosso et al., 2009). Common types of racial microaggressions experienced by Latinx/a/o individuals include invalidation of the Latinx/a/o experience, assumptions of criminal status, characteristics of speech, second class citizenship, alien in one's own land, assumed Latinx/a/o attributes (i.e., poor, lazy, elevated alcohol use), pathologizing cultural values/communication style, and ascription of intelligence (Rivera et al., 2010). These experiences have been linked with negative physiological effects on well-being, self-doubt, alienation, discouragement, negative educational outcomes, PTSD, depression, somatic

symptoms, physiological and behavioral stress responses, poorer mental health and psychological distress (Franklin et al., 2014; Hernández & Villodas, 2020; Huber & Cueva, 2012; Huynh, 2012;Torres & Taknint, 2015; Sanchez et al., 2018).

Whereas the literature on monoracial POC's experiences with racial microaggressions has built steam over the past several decades, research efforts specifically focused on multiracial microaggressions is scarce. It is imperative that greater attention is paid to multiracial individuals' experiences with microaggressions, as this diverse community faces similar rates to Latinx/a/o, Black, and Asian individuals (Nadal et al., 2011; Nadal et al., 2014) and is similarly vulnerable to adverse outcomes (Harris, 2018). A handful of studies have provided valuable insight into the lived experiences of multiracial persons, including their interactions with multiracial microaggressions. Johnston and Nadal (2010) created a taxonomy of multiracial microaggressions (e.g., denial of multiracial reality, exclusion or isolation due to one's multiracial background) and although the authors did not directly measure the impacts of multiracial microaggressions on psychological outcomes, they did note that these reoccurring experiences are likely detrimental to mental health. The authors explained that having one's racial experiences denied by others may contribute to psychological distress, and suggested future studies explore the effects of multiracial microaggressions on psychological distress, identity development, and self-esteem. In Nadal and colleagues' (2011) study, equivalent scores were found for monoracial participants of color and multiracial participants on the Racial and Ethnic Microaggressions Scale (REMS), and six domains of microaggressions frequently experienced by multiracial persons emerged from the data, including exclusion/isolation, exoticization and objectification, assumption of monoracial or mistaken identity, denial of multiracial reality and experiences, pathologizing of identity or experiences, and

microaggressions based on stereotypes. Although Salahuddin and O'Brien (2011) did not directly assess multiracial microaggressions, their study uncovered factors related to resilience and challenges for multiracial persons and led to the development of the Multiracial Challenges and Resilience Scale (MCRS), a subscale of which was utilized in the present study. Additionally, the results demonstrated significant positive relations between multiracial challenges with depression and racism stress, providing support for the positive relationship between multiracial microaggressions and psychological distress.

Nadal et al.'s (2013) study focused on multiracial individuals' experiences with microaggressions within the context of their families and a total of five domains emerged from their focus groups, including isolation within the family and denial of multiracial identity/experiences by monoracial family members. Some participants reported feeling physically objectified by their family, as well as recruited by family members to partake in culturally specific actions. Additionally, participants in the study reported experiencing psychological distress as a result of being overly or under favored in comparison to other family members. More recent research has linked familial discrimination among multiracial individuals with substance use, increased blood pressure, psychological distress (i.e., anxiety, depression) and negative emotional experiences (Franco & Carter, 2019; Franco & O'Brien, 2020; Franco et al., 2020). Franco and Carter (2019) found significant positive correlations between discrimination from family members with depression and anxiety among a diverse sample of multiracial individuals, approximately 11 percent of whom identified as Latinx/a/o/White. Their findings also demonstrated that both depression and anxiety significantly mediated the relationship between discrimination from family and drug use, providing support for discrimination from family as a significant predictor of anxiety and depression symptoms. Harris

(2018) conducted a qualitative study examining multiracial microaggressions among campus professionals and three themes emerged from the interviews (i.e., assumptions of monoracial identity, denial of a multiracial reality, not monoracial enough). Collectively, these studies highlight the types of microaggressions commonly experienced by multiracial individuals in familial and educational contexts, including having their multiracial identity denied, feeling excluded, and being tokenized by others.

Lastly, Meyers et al. (2020) found that multiracial and monoracial POC experience fewer microaggressions and less discrimination in racially diverse settings in comparison to more homogenously White settings. The researchers also found that multiracial microaggressions were described as less offensive when occurring in racially diverse versus predominately White settings. Important to note, a significant relation was found between gender and multiracial microaggressions in the study, with women reporting more encounters with multiracial microaggressions in comparison to men. The researchers attributed this finding to more frequent experiences of exoticization for multiracial women. Taken together, these studies provide crucial information about the presentation and frequency of multiracial microaggressions in the lives of multiracial individuals across diverse settings and within groups. Gaining additional insight into the negative impacts of microaggressions on multiracial individuals, as well as providing education about the insidious nature of microaggressions remains important, as these events uphold a larger societal system rooted in White supremacy and contribute to the psychological distress of community members (Pérez Huber & Solorzano, 2014). The current study intended to provide insight into Latinx/a/o/White multiracial individuals experiences with multiracial microaggressions and the proposed positive relationship with psychological distress, which has been supported in the literature (Johnson & Nadal, 2010; Nadal et al., 2013). Furthermore, in the

spirit of seeking ways to support multiracial people encountering multiracial microaggressions and provide potential clinical implications, the present study explored protective factors in the multiracial microaggressions-distress link.

Protective Factors

Resilience is understood as a person's ability to adapt or achieve positive outcomes in the face of significant challenges or adversity (Luthar et al., 2000; Luthar, 2003). An individual's response to adverse situations is believed to vary over time depending on available resources or protective factors in the person's life (Hill & Gunderson, 2015). Previous literature has suggested that successfully facing stressful events may contribute to the development of skills and future successes, referred to as thriving (Afifi et al., 2016; Carver, 1998; Hill & Gunderson, 2015). Salahuddin and O'Brien (2011) highlighted the utility of resilience theory when exploring the lived experiences of the multiracial community, including exposure to challenging events. In their study, resilience was described as an individual's ability to experience or further develop self-esteem and racial pride in the face of an adverse event, as well as the evasion of undesired psychological outcomes that others may experience. Self-esteem and ethnic pride have commonly been proposed as protective factors in the link between discriminatory events and psychological outcomes (Martinez & Dukes, 1997; Mossakowski, 2003; Nadal et al., 2014; Sánchez & Fernández, 1993; Torres et al., 2011). In the present study self-esteem and multiracial pride were conceptualized as protective factors that may buffer the potential negative effects of multiracial microaggressions on psychological outcomes for Latinx/a/o/White multiracial participants.

Multiracial pride. The effects of high levels of racial and ethnic regard (i.e., pride, positive evaluations of one's race/ethnicity) have been examined among POC, including

multiracial individuals (Charmaraman & Grossman, 2010; Kian et al., 2006). Results from a Pew Research Center survey with Hispanic multiracial adults demonstrated that, in comparison with other multiracial groups, this community was more likely to report feeling pride towards their mixed-race background and largely reported (89%) that they have not ever felt embarrassed or ashamed about being multiracial (Parker et al., 2015). Prior research efforts have elucidated the importance of POC having pride in their background, linking it with positive outcomes including better performance in school, self-esteem, happiness, and well-being (Kiang et al., 2006; Quintana, 2007). Pride towards one's racial, ethnic, or cultural group has also been examined in relation to psychological distress and other adverse mental health outcomes. More specifically, the negative relationship between pride towards one's racial/ethnic group and psychological distress (i.e., depression, anxiety) has been supported among Black, Mexican, and multiracial individuals (Bynum et al., 2007; Dinh et al., 2009; Franco & McElroy-Heltzel, 2018; Utsey et al., 2008).

Existing literature has associated feelings of pride and positive attitudes towards one's ethnic group with a secure ethnic identity (Phinney et al., 1997; Phinney & Ong, 2007; Roberts et al., 1999). According to Phinney and Ong (2007), ethnic identity is multidimensional and understood as one's sense of belongingness with a cultural community and related aspects (i.e., setting, people). Extant research has suggested that encountering microaggressions may strengthen POC's ethnic identity, which is important, as elevated ethnic identity has been observed as a protective factor against the negative impacts of microaggressions on psychological health for racial and ethnic minorities, including Latinx/a/o persons (Forrest-Bank & Cuellar, 2018; Torres et al., 2011). However, it has also been suggested that possessing a strong sense of ethnic identity may intensify adverse impacts on mental health in the context of

discriminatory experiences for POC (Lee, 2005; Mossakowski, 2003; Torres et al., 2011). Among the Latinx/a/o community, ethnic identity commitment has served as a buffer between covert discrimination and negative mental health outcomes and has demonstrated unique direct relations with positive outcomes (i.e., positive affect, life satisfaction) in the face of racial microaggressions (Hernández & Villodas, 2020; Torres et al., 2011). The protective role of ethnic identity (i.e., pride, sense of belonging) in the relationship between racial/ethnic discrimination and psychological outcomes (e.g., depression, confidence, self-esteem, purpose in life, psychological distress) has been supported among POC, including Arab Americans, Filipino Americans, Korean American college students, Latinx/a/o individuals, and multiracial persons (Atari & Han, 2018; Lee, 2005; Martinez & Dukes, 1997; Mossakowski, 2003; Sánchez & Fernández, 1993; Torres et al., 2011).

To my knowledge, no previous studies have specifically examined multiracial pride as a potential moderator in the relationship between multiracial microaggressions and psychological distress. Given the benefits associated with having racial/ethnic pride for POC, including potential protection in the face of discriminatory experiences, the present study intended to shed light on the role of multiracial pride in the lives of Latinx/a/o/White multiracial individuals. Furthermore, self-esteem was also be explored as a potential protective factor against the negative effects of multiracial microaggressions, as previous literature has supported the protective nature of this variable (Corning, 2002; Umaña-Taylor & Updegraff, 2007).

Self-esteem. The negative relationship between self-esteem and psychological distress, including depression and anxiety, has been established in the literature among diverse populations, including Latinx/a/o persons (Cassidy et al., 2004; Chen & Tryon, 2012; Corning, 2002; Feng & Xu, 2015; Greenberg et al., 1992; Kernis et al., 1991; Knowlden et al., 2016; Lee,

2005; Moradi & Risco, 2006; Nima et al., 2013; Salahuddin & O'Brien, 2011; Szymanski, 2009; Umaña-Taylor & Updegraff, 2007; Wei et al., 2013; Wei et al., 2015). Self-esteem has been identified as a significant predictor of psychological distress, with higher levels of self-esteem predicting lower levels of psychological distress, and conversely, lower levels of self-esteem predicting higher levels of psychological distress with White, Chinese, Indian, Pakistani, and Latinx/a/o samples (Cassidy et al., 2004; Knowlden et al., 2016; Moradi & Subich, 2004; Umaña-Taylor & Updegraff, 2007). Self-esteem has been found to buffer links between discrimination and distress among young women in college, Asian American male college students, Chinese participants, and sexual minorities (Corning, 2002; Douglass et al., 2017; Feng & Xu, 2015; Moradi & Subich, 2004; Szymanski, 2009; Wei et al., 2013; Wei et al., 2015). Although these previous studies have provided support for the protective role of self-esteem in the discrimination-distress link, research specifically examining the protective role of self-esteem in the face of microaggressions and among multiracial communities is missing, highlighting the need for the present study.

Among the extant literature on multiracial individuals and self-esteem, conflicting findings have been observed, including evidence of higher and lower self-esteem for multiracial individuals in comparison to monoracial individuals, and no differences in self-esteem between the two groups (Milan & Keiley, 2000; Shih & Sanchez, 2005). The discrepancies in multiracial self-esteem across studies appear to be due in part to the utilization of clinical versus non-clinical samples, with the latter group demonstrating higher levels of self-esteem (Shih & Sanchez, 2005). Regarding the impacts of microaggressions on multiracial persons' self-esteem, Franco and O'Brien (2018) found that racial invalidation, a type of microaggression, significantly predicted increased depression and decreased self-esteem among a sample of predominately

Black/White and Asian/White multiracial individuals. Multiracial researchers have made calls for future studies to explore the impact of multiracial specific microaggressions on self-esteem and psychological distress (Johnston & Nadal, 2010). Furthermore, Salahuddin and O'Brien (2011) suggested the use of the Multiracial Challenges and Resilience Scale (MCRS) in examining self-esteem among the multiracial community, as it may provide insight into variables which bolster or diminish one's self-esteem. The current study responded to these calls by utilizing the MCRS as well as other measures in investigating the impacts of multiracial microaggressions on self-esteem, multiracial pride and psychological distress among Latinx/a/o/White individuals.

Present Study

Racial microaggressions have been linked with a host of negative outcomes for POC, including anxiety, lack of behavioral control, internalized racial microaggressions, distress, depression, and negative affect (Johnston & Nadal, 2010; Kohli & Solórzano, 2012; Nadal et al., 2014). Multiracial individuals are subjected to racial microaggressions related to their racial minority group (i.e. Black, Latinx/a/o, Asian), as well as multiracial microaggressions specific to their identity as a non-monoracial person, referred to as monoracism (Johnston & Nadal, 2010; Salahuddin & O'Brien, 2011). To date, minimal research has investigated multiracial individuals experiences with microaggressions specific to their identity as a multiracial person, including the relations between this covert form of discrimination and the psychological health of the community. Given the prevalence of microaggressions in the lives of multiracial individuals, which has proven to be comparable to the frequency of microaggressions in the lives of monoracial racial and ethnic minorities (Nadal et al., 2011; Nadal et al., 2014), it remains important to investigate potential protective factors for mental health (i.e. self-esteem, multiracial

pride) in response to racially discriminatory events. The present study attempted to bridge significant gaps in our understanding of the multiracial community by examining the relationship between multiracial microaggressions and psychological distress (i.e., stress, anxiety, depression) among a sample of multiracial (Latinx/a/o/White) individuals. Latinx/a/o/White multiracial individuals constitute a substantial portion of the larger multiracial population and as a community are continuing to grow. Thus, gaining insight into their lived experiences and well-being is important for providers working with this diverse group (Davenport, 2016). The hypotheses for the present study included:

Hypotheses

1. Multiracial microaggressions will be significantly and positively related to psychological distress.
2. Self-esteem and multiracial pride will be significantly and negatively related to psychological distress.
3. Multiracial pride will attenuate the positive link between multiracial microaggressions and psychological distress.
4. Self-esteem will attenuate the positive link between multiracial microaggressions and psychological distress.

Method

Participants

A total of 304 Latinx/a/o/White multiracial individuals participated in the present study. A priori power analyses were conducted using G*Power with an alpha coefficient level of 0.05 and power of .80. The present study examined multiracial microaggressions, two moderators

(i.e., self-esteem, multiracial pride), and two interaction terms predicting one outcome variable. The power analyses for multiple regression analysis (fixed model, increase in R^2) indicated that 43 participants would be needed to detect large effects, 92 to detect moderate effects, and 434 participants to detect small effects. The present study exceeded the initial goal of achieving at least 200 usable data points by recruiting 304 participants.

Participants ranged in age from 18 to 63 years of age (*M* = 29.42, *SD* = 7.57). The majority of participants identified as Mexican (*n* = 133, 43.8%), followed by Brazilian (*n* = 40, 13.2%), Colombian (*n* = 24, 7.9%), and Argentinian (*n* = 22, 7.2%; additional details regarding participants' Latinx/a/o origins are provided in Table 1). Approximately 56% of participants indicated that their biological mother was Latinx/a/o, in comparison to approximately 41% for their biological father. A modified version of Rockquemore's (1999) typology was utilized to assess racial identity and the results revealed that participants most commonly identified with "Sometimes Latinx/a/o, sometimes White, sometimes biracial/multiracial depending on the circumstances" (*n* = 97, 31.9%), followed by "Biracial/multiracial, but I experience the world as a White person" (*n* = 77, 25.3%), "Biracial/multiracial, but I experience the world as a Latinx/a/o person" (*n* = 70, 23%), "Exclusively Latinx/a/o" (*n* = 20, 6.6%), "Exclusively as White (i.e., neither Latinx/a/o or biracial/multiracial" (*n* = 19, 6.3%), "Exclusively as biracial/multiracial (i.e., neither Latinx/a/o or White" (*n* = 18, 5.9%), and "Race is meaningless, I do not believe in racial identities" (*n* = 3, 1%). Participant skin color was assessed using a scale ranging from 0 to 12 (i.e., 0 = white, 6 = light brown, 12 = black) and the findings indicated that the participants were predominately lighter skinned (*M* = 3.9, *SD* = 3.3).

The majority of participants identified as heterosexual (*n* = 181, 59.5%), although 95 (31.3%) participants identified as bisexual, ten (3.3%) as questioning, nine (3%) as pansexual,

seven (2.3%) as queer, six (2%) as gay, four (1.3%) as lesbian, four (1.3%) as demisexual and three (1%) as other. One-hundred and thirty-two participants identified as cisgender women (43.4%), 130 as cisgender men (42.8%), 19 as transgender men (6.3%), 12 as transgender women (3.9%), eight as non-binary (2.6%), and three as other/own words (i.e., male, woman-aligned (afam) non-binary, straight) (1%). The majority of participants had earned a Bachelor's degree (*n* = 145, 47.7%), followed by Master's degree (*n* = 73, 24%), Associate's degree (*n* = 40, 13.2%), High School Diploma (*n* = 37, 12.2%), and Doctoral or Professional degree (*n* = 9, 3%). Regarding personal annual income, 35% of participants made less than $30,000, 32.2% made between $30,000 and $59,000, 28.7% between $60,000 and $99,000, and 4.3% over $100,000 annually. Participants in the present study were from diverse geographical regions within the U.S., including 81 (26.6%) Northeast, 64 (21.1%) Midwest, 59 (19.4%) Southeast, 50 (16.4%) Southwest, 33 (10.9%) West Coast, 15 (4.9%) Mountain West, and 2 (.7%) Hawaii/Alaska. The majority of participants reported living in an urban area (*n* = 191, 62.8%), followed by suburban (*n* = 82, 27%) and rural (*n* = 31, 10.2%). Most participants reported living in a predominately White environment (*n* = 145, 47.7%), followed by mixed/diverse (*n* = 103, 33.9%), and predominately People of Color (*n* = 56, 18.4%).

Table 1. Demographic Data

	N = 304
Gender	**Number (Percentage)**
Cisgender Woman	132 (43.4)
Cisgender Man	130 (42.8)
Transgender Man	19 (6.3)
Transgender Woman	12 (3.9)
Non-binary	8 (2.6)
Own Words	3 (1.0)
Sexual Identity/Orientation	
Heterosexual	181 (59.5)
Bisexual	95 (31.3)
Questioning	10 (3.3)

Pansexual	9 (3.0)
Queer	7 (2.3)
Gay	6 (2.0)
Lesbian	4 (1.3)
Demisexual	4 (1.3)
Other	3 (1.0)
Latinx/a/o Origins	
Argentinian	22 (7.2)
Bolivian	4 (1.3)
Brazilian	40 (13.2)
Chilean	7 (2.3)
Colombian	24 (7.9)
Costa Rican	5 (1.6)
Cuban	12 (3.9)
Dominican	15 (4.9)
Ecuadorian	10 (3.3)
El Salvadorian	7 (2.3)
Guatemalan	2 (0.7)
Haitian	2 (0.7)
Honduran	3 (1.0)
Mexican	133 (43.8)
Nicaraguan	1 (0.3)
Panamanian	2 (0.7)
Paraguayan	1 (0.3)
Peruvian	6 (2.0)
Puerto Rican	9 (3.0)
Salvadoran	3 (1.0)
Uruguayan	2 (0.7)
Venezuelan	8 (2.6)
Other	8 (2.6)
Education	
High School	37 (12.2)
Associate's Degree	40 (13.2)
Bachelor's Degree	145 (47.7)
Master's Degree	73 (24.0)
Doctoral Degree	9 (3.0)
Region	
Northeast	81 (26.6)
Southeast	59 (19.4)
Midwest	64 (21.1)
Southwest	50 (16.4)
Mountain West	15 (4.9)
West Coast	33 (10.9)
Hawaii/Alaska	2 (0.7)
Location	
Urban	191 (62.8)

Suburban	82 (27.0)
Rural	31 (10.2)
Racial Identity	
Exclusively Latinx/a/o	20 (6.6)
Sometimes Latinx/a/o, sometimes White, sometimes biracial/multiracial depending on the circumstances	97 (31.9)
Biracial/multiracial, but I experience the world as a Latinx/a/o person	70 (23.0)
Biracial/multiracial, but I experience the world as a White person	77 (25.3)
Exclusively as biracial/multiracial (i.e., neither Latinx/a/o nor White)	18 (5.9)
Exclusively as White (i.e., neither Latinx/a/o or biracial/multiracial)	19 (6.3)
Race is meaningless, I do not believe in racial identities	3 (1.0)
Biological Mother's Race/Ethnicity	
Latinx/a/o	171 (56.3)
White	133 (43.8)
Biological Father's Race/Ethnicity	
Latinx/a/o	123 (40.5)
White	181 (59.5)
Personal Annual Income	
$0-9,999	24 (7.9)
$10,000-19,999	47 (15.5)
$20,000-29,999	35 (11.5)
$30,000-39,999	33 (10.9)
$40,000-49,999	29 (9.5)
$50,000-59,999	36 (11.8)
$60,000-69,999	20 (6.6)
$70,000-79,999	21 (6.9)
$80,000-89,999	20 (6.6)
$90,000-99,999	26 (8.6)
$100,000 or more	13 (4.3)
Community Composition	
Mostly People of Color	56 (18.4)
Mixed/Diverse	103 (33.9)
Mostly White	145 (47.7)

Note. Some values may exceed 100% because multiple responses were allowed.

Procedures

Prior to collecting data, this study was approved by the university's Institutional Review Board. All participants met the following inclusion criteria: a) were 18 years of age or older, b)

had one biological parent with a White racial background and one biological parent with a Latinx/a/o background, c) were currently residing in the U.S., and d) had lived in the U.S. for at least 2 years. The 2-year U.S. residence period was selected based on the idea that after 2 years people who have immigrated to the U.S. have likely immersed themselves in different contexts, become aware of multiracial microaggressions, and potentially been exposed to multiracial microaggressions themselves. This quantitative descriptive study utilized purposive and snowball sampling, including asking participants to share the study with other potentially eligible individuals. Participants were recruited through advertisements on social media sites (e.g., Reddit, Facebook, Instagram) and listservs (e.g., academic, community organizations). Biracial/multiracial and Latinx/a/o related groups and organizations were specifically targeted. In an attempt to obtain variability in socioeconomic status (SES), recruitment efforts were made to community colleges in borderland states. Additionally, Amazon Mechanical Turk (MTurk) was utilized to recruit participants. A total of 213 participants were recruited from Amazon (MTurk) and 91were recruited through the additional electronic recruitment methods.

Within the various recruitment channels (i.e., listservs, Reddit, Facebook groups, Instagram, community organizations), potential participants were electronically informed about the purpose of the study and inclusion criteria. Interested persons who qualified to participate were directed to click the provided hyperlink to access the study survey. For MTurk recruitment, a job (HIT) was posted on the website with a brief description of the study, expected completion time, and notice of the $1.00 reward for completion. Interested workers who accessed the HIT were provided with information regarding inclusion criteria and were redirected to the study survey. Qualtrics, an online survey platform, was utilized to collect survey data. The beginning of the online survey presented participants with a message regarding informed consent, the

purpose of the study, potential benefits and risks associated with participating, and the expected amount of time needed to complete the study. Participants were required to complete all items. In order to reduce potential order effects, the measures were presented in a randomized fashion. Additionally, three validity check items were embedded in the survey. Lastly, non-MTurk participants were informed that upon completing all items in the survey they could enter into a raffle to win one of six $25 amazon.com gift cards. Participants who did not complete all items were ineligible for the raffle. To ensure anonymity, interested participants were directed to a separate survey link to enter in their raffle information. Following completion of the survey all participants were presented with a list of national mental health resources, as indicated in the informed consent.

Measures

Demographic form. Eligible participants completed a demographic form which included questions regarding recruitment method, age, racial identity based on a modified version of Rockquemore's (1999) typology, biological parent's racial/ethnic background, specific Latinx/a/o origins, country of origin including length of residence in the U.S., sexual identity, gender identity, personal annual income, level of education, region of residence within the U.S., neighborhood type, skin color, and community composition.

Multiracial microaggressions. Multiracial specific microaggressions were measured using the Multiracial Microaggressions Scale created by Meyers and colleagues (2020). This 16-item scale measures the frequency of microaggressions using a scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 *(a great deal*). Participants were instructed to consider their current and overall life experiences and how often they have experienced various incidents. The creators of this scale refer to what would traditionally be labeled as subscales as categories. The scale consists of five

categories including (1) exclusion or isolation (e.g., “Felt excluded by people around me, because I am multiracial”), (2) exoticization or objectification (e.g., “People stared at me, because I am multiracial”), (3) assumption of monoracial or mistaken identity (e.g., “Asked ‘What are you?’ in reference to my race”), (4) denial of multiracial reality (e.g., “Pressured to pick or choose just one race to identify with”), and (5) pathologizing of identity and experiences (e.g., “Questioned by someone on the legitimacy of my racial background” (Category 5). For the purpose of the present study the overall scale score was used. Consistent with Meyers and colleagues (2020), the overall score was achieved by averaging responses, with higher scores indicating greater frequency of multiracial microaggressions. Convergent validity for this scale is supported through its relation (r = .70) with the Racial and Ethnic Microaggressions Scale (REMS) created by Nadal (2011). Additionally, Meyers et al. (2020) found evidence of strong internal consistency among all scale items (α = .91). In the present study Cronbach’s alpha was .95.

Psychological distress. The Depression Anxiety and Stress Scale (DASS-21) was administered to assess psychological distress (Lovibond & Lovibond, 1995). The measure contains a total of three subscales (i.e., anxiety, stress, depression), each containing seven items. The instructions ask participants to read each statement and circle the number which represents how much the statement applied to them over the past week using a scale that ranges from 0 (*did not apply to me at all*) to 3 (*applied to me very much or most of the time*). Example items include “I tended to over-react to situations” (stress), “I was worried about situations in which I might panic and make a fool of myself” (anxiety), and “I felt down-hearted and blue” (depression). The DASS-21 is scored by summing the scores of the items, with higher scores indicating greater severity. A higher order factor has been supported via confirmatory factor analysis, supporting

the use of an overall distress score (Lovibond & Lovibond, 1995). Additionally, Osman and colleagues (2012) conducted two studies investigating the reliability, dimensionality, and correlates of the DASS-21, and the results of both of their studies provided strong support for utilizing the total scale score versus the individual subscales for depression, anxiety, and stress. In the present study the total scale score was used, similar to Jackson and colleagues' (2012) study which utilized the DASS-21 among a diverse sample of multiracial participants, including multiracial individuals with Hispanic heritage. The authors attributed their decision to use the total scale score as opposed to the subscale scores to the elevated intercorrelations among distress subscales. In Jackson and colleagues (2012) study, the DASS-21 demonstrated excellent internal consistency reliability (α = .93), providing support for the use of the full-scale DASS-21 with multiracial communities. Furthermore, the results of their study provided support for convergent and divergent validity based on correlations among the anxiety and depression subscales with the Beck Anxiety Inventory and Beck Depression Inventory-II. In the present study, there was evidence of excellent internal consistency reliability (α = .97).

Multiracial pride. The Multiracial Challenges and Resilience Scale (MCRS; Salahuddin and O'Brien, 2011) was utilized to assess multiracial pride. The multiracial pride subscale contains a total of 5 items and participants are instructed to indicate how strongly they agree with the statements, using a scale ranging from 0 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). Example items for the multiracial pride subscale include "I am proud that I am Multiracial" and "Being Multiracial makes me feel special." Scores were obtained by computing the mean for the subscale, with higher scores indicating greater multiracial pride. Item 4 "I wish I was NOT multiracial" was reverse scored. In the original scale construction study, the internal consistency for the multiracial pride subscale was good (α = .85) and additional studies have provided

evidence of adequate internal consistency reliability (α = .78; Franco & McElroy, 2018). Multiracial pride demonstrated divergent validity with the challenges with racial identity subscale of the MCRS and convergent validity with self-esteem and ethnic identity (Salahuddin & O'Brien). Adequate 2-month test-retest reliability scores for the majority of the subscales, including the multiracial pride subscale, were found (Salahuddin & O'Brien, 2011). In the present study, the internal consistency reliability for the MCRS was initially .65, demonstrating poor reliability. Item 4 (i.e., "I wish I was NOT multiracial") was removed, as it was poorly correlated with the other four items and suggested for removal. It is possible that due to this item being the only reverse scored item in this measure, participants became confused and were potentially uncertain of how to answer. After the removal of item 4, the internal consistency reliability increased to .79, demonstrating acceptable reliability.

Self-esteem. The Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSE; Rosenberg, 1965) was utilized to assess participants' self-esteem. This 10-item scale ranges from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 4 (*strongly agree*) and example items include "I wish I could have more respect for myself" and "I feel that I have a number of good qualities". The items are averaged, with reverse scoring used for negatively worded items, and higher scores indicating greater self-esteem. Among a multiracial sample, responses demonstrated excellent internal consistency (α = .91; Salahuddin & O'Brien, 2011). Additionally, the study also demonstrated evidence of divergent validity with depression (r = -.37) and convergent validity with multiracial pride (r = .22). In the present, study the Cronbach's alpha for the RSE was .79.

Results

Data Cleaning and Preliminary Analyses

A total of 1,516 participants accessed the survey. Of these, only 399 met the inclusion criteria. Three validity check items were included in the survey (e.g., "please select strongly agree for this item") to check for random responding and ensure reliable data with an online sample. Participants who did not correctly answer all three validity items were removed from the data set, resulting in 306 participants. Due to the forced response design of the survey there was no missing data.

Next, data were examined for violations of regression assumptions (i.e., univariate outliers, multivariate outliers, normality, linearity, homoscedasticity, multicollinearity). Univariate normality was assessed through examination of histograms and skewness and kurtosis statistics (skewness < 3, kurtosis, < 10; Weston & Gore, 2006), and this assumption was met for all scales. Additionally, a bivariate scatterplot was examined to assess for linearity, homoscedasticity, and homogeneity of variance and no violations were observed. Univariate outliers were assessed for by examining Z-scores |3.29|, and two outliers were identified on the Multiracial Challenges and Resilience Scale. After the deletion of these two cases, the total sample size consisted of 304 participants. Next, Mahalanobis distance values and Cook's values (Cook's distance > 1.00) were examined to identify any multivariate outliers and none were observed. Prior to running analyses, skin color and gender were examined as potential covariates. Before examining gender, trans women and cisgender women were combined into one category (i.e., women) and transgender men and cisgender men were combined into one category (i.e., men). Gender was positively related to multiracial microaggressions (r = .12, p = .048). More specifically, women reported significantly more microaggressions than men. Darker skin color was negatively related to multiracial pride (r = -.16, p =.005) and positively related to

psychological distress (r = .13, p = .028). Thus, gender and skin color were included as covariates in the subsequent analyses. Women were coded as 1 and men were coded as 0.

Correlations among the observed variables were reviewed (see Table 2). Cohen's (1992) standards were utilized to determine the strength of the relationships (i.e., small $r \leq .10$, medium $r \leq .30$, and large $r \leq .50$). The majority of the significant correlations were in the anticipated direction. Multiracial microaggressions was significantly negatively correlated with self-esteem (r = -.40, p < .001) and significantly positively correlated with psychological distress (r = .70, p < .001), demonstrating medium and large effects, respectively. A significant positive correlation was found between self-esteem and multiracial pride (r = .20, p < .001), whereas a significant negative correlation was found between self-esteem and psychological distress (r = -.58, p < .001), demonstrating small and large effect sizes, respectively. Multiracial microaggressions were significantly positively correlated with multiracial pride (r = .26, p <.001), demonstrating a small effect size. In contrast to the anticipated direction, multiracial pride was significantly positively related to psychological distress (r = .16, p = .004), although the effect size was small.

Table 2.

Correlations and Descriptive Statistics

Variable	1	2	3	4
1. RSE	(.79)			
2. MMS	-.40**	(.95)		
3. MCRS	.20**	.26**	(.79)	
4. DASS-21	-.58**	.70**	.16**	(.97)
M	2.75	3.00	3.57	27.96
SD	.49	1.02	.91	16.88
Possible Range	1-4	1-5	0-5	0-63

Note. The coefficient alpha for each measure is reported along the diagonal in parentheses. RSE = Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale; MMS = Multiracial Microaggressions Scale; MCRS = Multiracial Challenges and Resilience Scale; DASS-21 = Depression Anxiety Stress Scale.
** p < .01.

Given the newness of the Multiracial Microaggressions Scale (Meyers et al, 2020), an exploratory factor analysis (EFA) was conducted to assess unidimensionality, including the appropriateness of utilizing the full-scale score as opposed to subscales. Principal-axis factoring was used and all items were constrained to load onto a single factor. Bartlett's test of sphericity was conducted to identify significant correlations among variables and the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) measure of sampling adequacy was utilized to assess factorability. Hutcheson and Sofroniou's (1999) guidelines (i.e., .90s = marvelous, .80s = meritorious, .70s = middling, .60s = mediocre, .50s = miserable, below .50 = unacceptable) were applied to the obtained KMO values (Worthington & Whittaker, 2006). More specifically, KMO's measure of sampling adequacy was .96, providing indication that the sample size was large enough to conduct an EFA and in the marvelous range. Additionally, Bartlett's test was significant ($p < .001$), demonstrating the appropriateness of factor analysis for the data in the present study. Item retention was assessed based on factor loadings of $> .45$ (Field, 2013). Factor loadings ranged between .66 - .82; thus, all items were retained and the full-scale score of the MMS was employed in the present study.

Main Analyses

To test the four proposed hypotheses, hierarchical multiple regression analyses were conducted and the three-step hierarchical regression model proposed by Frazier and colleagues (2004) was applied. Cohen's (1992) standards were utilized to determine the strength of the relationships (i.e., small $r \leq .10$, medium $r \leq .30$, and large $r \leq .50$). In the model, multiracial microaggressions served as the independent variable, psychological distress served as the criterion variable, and self-esteem and multiracial pride served as the moderators. The control variables (i.e., gender, skin color) were entered in the first step, multiracial microaggressions

were entered in the second step, the moderators (i.e., multiracial pride, self-esteem) were entered in the third step, and the interaction terms (i.e., Multiracial Microaggressions x Self-Esteem, Multiracial Microaggressions x Multiracial Pride) were entered in the fourth step. The scores of the predictor (i.e., multiracial microaggressions) and moderator variables (i.e., self-esteem, multiracial pride) were mean centered prior to creating the interactions terms to reduce multicollinearity and aid in the interpretability of the results (Field, 2013; Frazier et al., 2004). The first block containing the control variables (i.e., skin color, gender) was statistically significant, $r = .03$, $SE = 16.63$, $F(2, 291) = 4.82$, $p = .009$, accounting for 3% of the variance in psychological distress. Specifically, women reported experiencing more distress than men, $\beta = .11$, $t = 1.98$, $p = .048$, and individuals with darker skin reported experiencing more psychological distress than those with lighter skin, $\beta = .14$, $t = 2.46$, $p = .014$.

Hypothesis 1. Hypothesis 1 proposed that multiracial microaggressions would be significantly and positively related to psychological distress. The results of the second block supported this hypothesis. Multiracial microaggressions explained an additional 46% of the variance in psychological distress, demonstrating a strong positive relation and large effect size, $r = .70$, $SE = 12.05$, $F(1, 290) = 93.99$, $p < .001$. More specifically, multiracial microaggressions, $t = 16.24$, $p < .001$, was related to elevated psychological distress, after controlling for the effects of gender and skin color.

Hypothesis 2. The second hypothesis, which proposed that self-esteem and multiracial pride would both be significantly and negatively related to psychological distress, was partially supported. The third block of variables was statistically significant, $r = .78$, $SE = 10.74$, $F(2, 288) = 86.44$, $p < .001$, and explained an additional 10.7% of the variance in psychological distress. As expected, self-esteem was related to lower levels of psychological distress, $t = -8.77$,

$p < .001$. However, multiracial pride was related to higher levels of psychological distress, $t = 3.07$, $p = .002$, which was not anticipated. Medium and small effect sizes were observed, respectively.

Hypotheses 3 and 4. Hypotheses 3 and 4 proposed that multiracial pride and self-esteem would moderate (i.e., attenuate) the relationship between multiracial microaggressions and psychological distress. There was a statistically significant effect for the fourth block of variables, $r = .80$, $SE = 10.33$, $F(2, 286) = 70.45$, $p < .001$, $\Delta F = 12.79$, $p < .001$, explaining an additional 3% of the variance in psychological distress. The interactions between both multiracial microaggressions and multiracial pride, $t = 4.25$, $p < .001$, and multiracial microaggressions and self-esteem, $t = -3.12$, $p = .002$, were statistically significant and demonstrated small effect sizes.

Table 3
Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analyses Predicting Psychological Distress

Predictor	β	R^2	R^2 Change	*F* Change	*df*
Criterion: Psychological Distress					
Step 1					
Main effects		.03	.03	4.82**	2,291
Gender	.11*				
Skin Color	.14*				
Step 2					
Main effects		.49	.46	263.64***	1,290
Gender	.03				
Skin Color	.07				
MMS	.69***				
Step 3					
Main effects		.60	.11	38.58***	2,288
Gender	.05				
Skin Color	.06				
MMS	.49***				
RSE	-.38***				
MCRS	.13**				
Step 4					
Main effects		.63	.03	12.79***	2,286

Gender	.04
Skin color	.09*
MMS	.45***
RSE	-.46***
MCRS	.19***
MMS x MCRS	.17***
MMS x RSE	-.14**

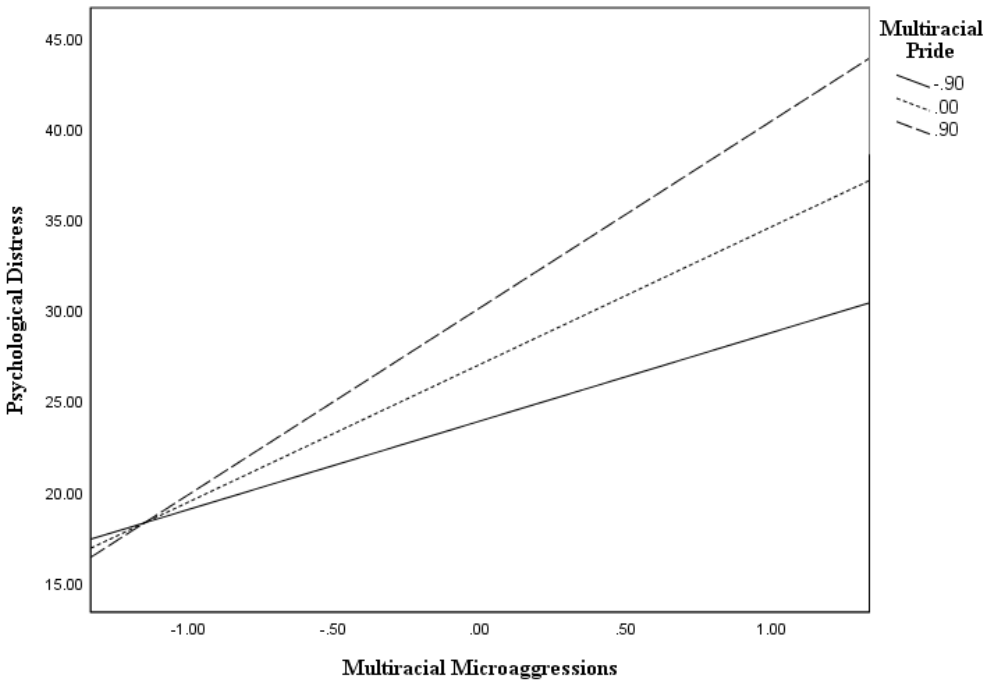
Note. MMS = Multiracial Microaggressions Scale; RSE = Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale; MCRS = Multiracial Challenge and Resilience Scale; MMS x MCRS = interaction between multiracial microaggressions and multiracial pride: MMS X RSE = interaction between multiracial microaggressions and self-esteem.
* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

The PROCESS SPSS Macro Model 1 was used to decompose the significant interaction terms, while controlling for the additional variables in the model (Hayes, 2013). A test of the simple slopes was conducted to determine the significance, strength, and the direction of the relationships between Multiracial Microaggressions x Multiracial Pride and Multiracial Microaggressions x Self-Esteem by plotting the moderation effects at three levels of the moderating variable, specifically high (i.e., 1 standard deviation above the mean), medium (i.e., mean), and low (i.e., 1 standard deviation below the mean) (Frazier et al., 2004). Five-thousand bootstrap samples were drawn from the data to compute 95% confidence intervals.

The test of simple slopes indicated that the relation between multiracial microaggressions and psychological distress was significant and positive at one standard deviation below the mean of multiracial pride (i.e., -.90; $B = 4.89$, $SE = 1.13$, $t(294) = 4.33$, $p < .001$, 95% confidence interval = 2.67 to 7.11), the mean (i.e., .00; $B = 7.60$, $SE = .76$, $t(294) = 9.96$, $p < .001$, 95% confidence interval = 6.10 to 9.11), and one standard deviation above the mean (i.e., .90; $B = 10.32$, $SE = .84$, $t(294) = 12.24$, $p < .001$, 95% confidence interval = 8.66 to 11.98; see Figure 1.). While the relationship between multiracial microagressions and psychological distress was significant and positive at low, medium, and high levels of multiracial pride, the relationship

became the strongest when multiracial microaggressions were high and with high levels of multiracial pride. In contrast, this relationship weakened at lower levels of multiracial pride. Thus, hypothesis 3 was not supported, as multiracial pride did not attenuate the multiracial microaggressions-distress relation and instead had an exacerbating effect.

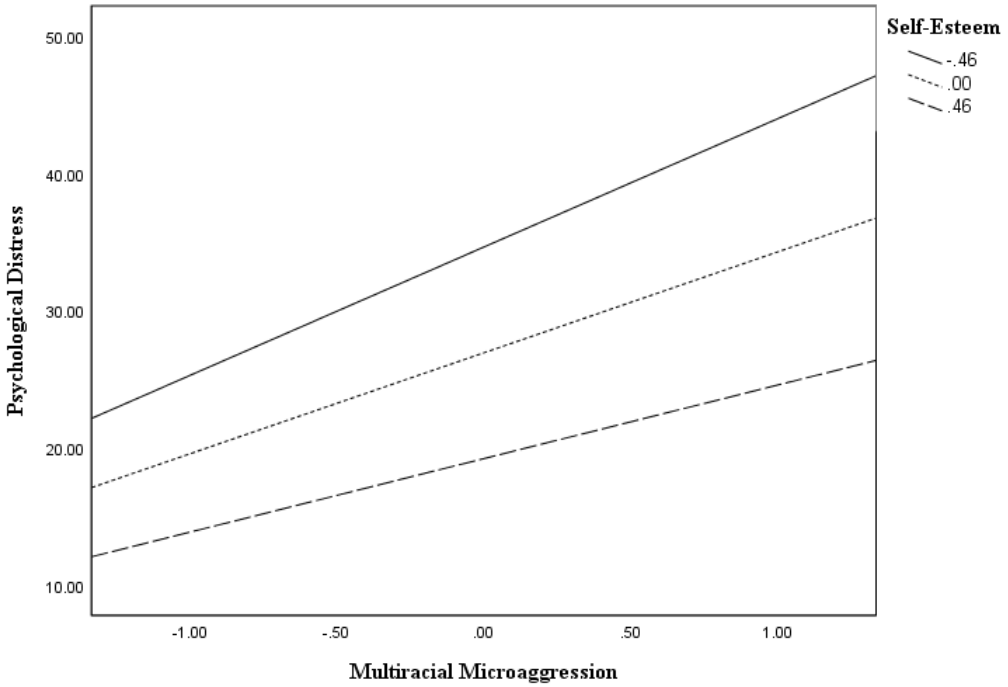
Figure 1. Interaction between multiracial microaggressions and multiracial pride as it predicts psychological distress



Furthermore, results revealed that the relation between multiracial microaggressions and psychological distress was significant and positive at one standard deviation below the mean (i.e., -.46; $B = 9.37$, $SE = 1.07$, $t(294) = 8.79$, $p < .001$, 95% confidence interval = 7.27 to 11.47), the mean (i.e., .00; $B = 7.37$, $SE = .77$, $t(294) = 9.56$, $p < .001$, 95% confidence interval = 5.85 to 8.89), and one standard deviation above the mean (i.e., .46; $B = 5.37$, $SE = .93$, $t(294) = 5.75$, $p < .001$, 95% confidence interval = 3.53 to 7.21), for all three levels of self-esteem (see Figure 2.). The relationship between multiracial microaggressions and psychological distress was significant

and positive at low, medium, and high levels of self-esteem; however, this relationship became the strongest when multiracial microaggressions were high and self-esteem was low. Conversely, the relationship between multiracial microaggressions and psychological distress became weaker at higher levels of self-esteem. These findings provide support for hypothesis 4, as higher levels of self-esteem buffered the effects of multiracial microaggressions on psychological distress.

Figure 2. Interaction between multiracial microaggressions and self-esteem as it predicts psychological distress



Discussion

The purpose of the present study was to examine the potential moderating roles of multiracial pride and self-esteem in the hypothesized link between multiracial microaggressions and psychological distress, specifically among a sample of Latinx/a/o and White multiracial individuals. At the bivariate level, findings indicated that both multiracial microaggressions and multiracial pride were related to more psychological distress, whereas self-esteem was related to less psychological distress. Important to note, multiracial microaggressions demonstrated a

significantly stronger correlation with psychological distress (r = .70) in comparison to multiracial pride (r = .16). This finding suggests that exposure to multiracial microaggressions may have a particularly detrimental effect on Latinx/a/o and White multiracial individuals' psychological health in comparison to having pride in one's multiracial heritage.

The first hypothesis predicting that multiracial microaggressions would be significantly and positively related to psychological distress was supported. After controlling for the effects of gender and skin color, the results indicated that multiracial microaggressions was a strong predictor of psychological distress. This suggested that the more multiracial microaggressions a Latinx/a/o and White multiracial person faced, the more likely they were to experience psychological distress (i.e., depression, anxiety, stress). This finding is consistent with prior research regarding the negative impacts of multiracial related discrimination on psychological health. More specifically, among diverse multiracial communities, including individuals with Latinx/a/o and White heritage, perceived discrimination related to one's multiracial background has been linked with increased psychological distress, depression, and negative affect (Franco & Carter, 2019; Jackson et al., 2012; Salahuddin & O'Brien, 2011; Yoo et al., 2016). The present study enhances our understanding of the deleterious effects of microaggressions on mental health by utilizing a validated measure of multiracial microaggressions with a more targeted sample.

Hypothesis two, which predicted that self-esteem and multiracial pride would both be significantly and negatively related to psychological distress, was only partially supported. As anticipated, self-esteem demonstrated a significant negative relation with psychological distress. This finding indicated that individuals with higher self-esteem reported less psychological distress. While the inverse relationship between self-esteem and psychological distress has been well documented in the literature across diverse communities (e.g., Cassidy et al., 2004; Lee,

2005; Moradi & Risco, 2006; Nima et al., 2013; Szymanski, 2009; Umaña-Taylor & Updegraff, 2007; Wei et al., 2015), to this researcher's knowledge, only one other study has provided support for this relation among multiracial individuals. More specifically, Salahuddin and O'Brien (2011) observed a significant negative correlation between self-esteem and depression among a diverse multiracial sample, approximately 14% of which identified as Latinx/a/o/White. The current study not only provides additional support for the inverse relation between self-esteem and depression but also expands our understanding of the negative relation between self-esteem and psychological distress (i.e., depression, anxiety, stress).

Next, it was anticipated that having higher levels of pride in one's multiracial background would be associated with less psychological distress, similar to the inverse relation between self-esteem and psychological distress. Contrary to the hypothesized relationship, multiracial pride exhibited a significant positive relationship with psychological distress. This finding indicated that individuals who endorsed having a great deal of pride in their multiracial background also reported more psychological distress. This finding contrasts with the outcome of Franco and McElroy's (2018) recent study with diverse multiracial participants (approximately 10% of which identified as Latinx/a/o/White) that found a significant negative relationship between multiracial pride and depressive symptoms utilizing the same multiracial pride measure (i.e., MCRS) as the present study. While there are several similarities between the current study and Franco and McElroy's (2018), there are also notable differences. First, the current study extended beyond solely measuring depressive symptoms and assessed for psychological distress (i.e., anxiety, stress, depression). Thus, the inclusion of stress and anxiety in addition to depression may explain the unanticipated positive correlation between multiracial pride and psychological distress. Additionally, the current study specifically focused on multiracial

individuals with Latinx/a/o and White heritage versus the larger multiracial community and was conducted during the midst of the COVID-19 pandemic. It is possible that Latinx/a/o/White multiracial individuals with a strong sense of pride in their multiracial heritage experienced a significant disconnect from their community and related resources as a result of the pandemic, potentially contributing to greater psychological distress. Furthermore, sociopolitical factors such as an increase in the number of children and families seeking asylum at the border and perceptions of the U.S. Government poorly handling this sensitive matter may be negatively impacting Latinx/a/o/White multiracial individuals with a strong sense of multiracial pride (Krogstad & Lopez, 2021). In general, monoracial and multiracial individuals with Latinx/a/o heritage report having more pride and positive regards towards their racial/ethnic background than the majority of other monoracial and multiracial groups (Charmaraman & Grossman, 2010; Parker et al., 2015). Given the prevalence of strong racial/ethnic pride and multiracial pride for Latinx/a/o multiracial individuals, as well as conflicting outcomes regarding impacts on well-being, it remains important to better understand the mechanisms driving this relation while attending to relevant social context issues.

The third hypothesis predicted that multiracial pride would attenuate the positive link between multiracial microaggressions and psychological distress and serve as a protective factor; however, this hypothesis was not supported. Multiracial microaggressions were significantly positively related to psychological distress at low, average, and high levels multiracial pride. Furthermore, participants reported level of psychological distress was especially high at high levels of multiracial microaggressions and multiracial pride, demonstrating the exacerbating nature of multiracial pride for Latinx/a/o/White multiracial individuals in the context of multiracial microaggressions. While racial/ethnic pride has been commonly characterized as a

protective factor against microaggressions and linked with a wide range of positive outcomes (e.g., well-being, self-esteem, stronger school performance) for people of color (Atari & Han, 2018; Forrest-Bank & Cuellar, 2018; Mossakowski, 2003; Sellers et al., 2003; Sellers, Copeland-Linder, Martin, & Lewis, 2006; Torres et al., 2011), including Latinx/a/o individuals, prior research has also noted that having a strong sense of racial/ethnic identity may contribute to poorer mental health outcomes in the context of discriminatory experiences (Lee, 2005). Moreover, factors including elevated exposure to racial/ethnic discrimination and experiencing racial/ethnic heritage as particularly salient in one's overall identity may increase the likelihood of negative mental health outcomes (Mossakowski et al., 2019; Quintana, 2007; Sellers et al., 2003).

Based on existing literature, there are several possible explanations for the exacerbating nature of multiracial pride in the multiracial microaggressions-psychological distress link. It is possible that Latinx/a/o/White multiracial individuals who possess a great deal of pride in their multiracial heritage also experience their multiracial background as particularly salient to who they are as an individual. Greater salience of multiracial identity may contribute to more psychological distress in the context of multiracial microaggressions. Lee (2005) observed similar outcomes to the present study with a sample of Korean Americans and explained that individuals with strong ethnic pride may find discriminatory experiences more offensive, leading to poorer mental health outcomes. This phenomenon has been referred to as rejection sensitivity or status-based rejection sensitivity within the literature (Lee, 2005; Mossakowski, 2019; Wong-Padoongpatt et al., 2020). Status-based rejection sensitivity is understood as anticipating judgment or rejection from others due to stigmatized group membership (Wong-Padoongpatt et al., 2020). Prior research has proposed that individuals from marginalized groups with greater

sensitivity to rejection may be more likely to ruminate about discriminatory events, contributing to heightened psychological distress (Wong-Padoongpatt et al., 2020). It may be that Latinx/a/o/White multiracial individuals with less multiracial pride and potentially less multiracial identity salience do not perceive multiracial microaggressions as offensive or insulting as those with higher levels. This potential disconnect or neutral stance towards one's multiracial heritage may mitigate the negative impacts of such experiences.

Another possible explanation for multiracial pride exacerbating the relationship between multiracial microaggressions and psychological distress may be that individuals with average and high levels of pride in their multiracial heritage may be more knowledgeable about and skilled at identifying various forms of multiracial microaggressions (i.e., exclusion or isolation, exoticization or objectification, assumption of monoracial or mistaken identity, denial of multiracial reality, pathologizing of identity and experiences) than their counterparts with less multiracial pride. Having greater awareness of the presence and frequency of multiracial microaggressions across contexts (e.g., school, family settings, workplace) may contribute to poorer mental health outcomes for Latinx/a/o/White multiracial individuals (Franco & Carter, 2019; Harris, 2018). However, further exploration is needed to better understand this process.

Hypothesis four, which predicted that self-esteem would attenuate the positive link between multiracial microaggressions and psychological distress, was supported. More specifically, self-esteem weakened the relation between multiracial microaggressions and psychological distress, such that participants with average and high levels of self-esteem reported less psychological distress in the face of multiracial microaggressions in comparison to those with less self-esteem. However, the relationship between multiracial microaggressions and psychological distress remained significant at low, average, and high levels of self-esteem. Thus,

self-esteem did not buffer the multiracial microaggressions-distress link as expected and observed within the literature on discriminatory experiences and mental health outcomes (Moradi & Subich, 2004; Szymanski, 2009; Wei et al., 2013). While having average and high levels of self-esteem did not entirely protect Latinx/a/o/White multiracial individuals from the harmful effects of multiracial microaggressions, it did weaken the relation between this specific form of discrimination and psychological distress. This finding slightly contrasts research with people of color that has portrayed self-esteem as a strong protector against adverse mental health outcomes in the context of discriminatory events (e.g., racial discrimination, language discrimination), rendering the discrimination-psychological distress link non-significant at higher levels of self-esteem (Feng & Xu, 2015, Wei et al., 2013, Wei et al., 2015). It is unclear why the relationship between multiracial microaggressions and psychological distress remained significant at average and high levels of self-esteem. One contributing factor may be the pervasiveness of multiracial microaggressions in Latinx/a/o/White multiracial individual lives, with potential perpetrators being monoracial members of White and racial/ethnic minority communities, including Latinx/a/o individuals and family members (Franco & Carter, 2019; Johnston & Nadal, 2010; Nadal et al., 2013; Salahuddin & O'Brien, 2011). The dual sourced nature of these discriminatory events for Latinx/a/o/White multiracial individuals may contribute to feelings of isolation and limited social support (Shih & Sanchez, 2005). Nonetheless, this study is the first to explore self-esteem as a moderator in the multiracial microaggressions-psychological distress link with Latinx/a/o/White individuals and provides valuable insight into the importance of fostering a strong sense of self-esteem for this community.

Strengths

Among the extant multiracial literature, diverse biracial and multiracial communities (e.g., Black/Asian, Latinx/a/o/White) have often been grouped together. While such studies have advanced this domain of research and provided fruitful outcomes, the multiracial population is incredibly heterogeneous and the unique experiences of specific groups are needed. In addition, an extremely limited number of studies have explicitly conducted research with Latinx/a/o multiracial persons (e.g., Davenport, 2016) due to reported complexities surrounding the racial/ethnic categorization of Latinx/a/o background. This perceived obstacle has contributed to significant gaps in our knowledge of Latinx/a/o/White multiracial individuals overall functioning and mental health.

Thus, a notable strength of the current study was the recruitment of a large sample of Latinx/a/o/White multiracial individuals. This sample size allowed for the detection of interaction effects for both moderators (i.e., self-esteem, multiracial pride) in the multiracial microaggressions-psychological distress link. Participants in the present study were diverse in regards to Latinx/a/o origins, sexual orientation, geographical region, neighborhood composition (i.e., mostly People of Color, mixed/diverse, mostly White) and neighborhood type (i.e., urban, rural, suburban), enhancing the generalizability of the findings.

Another strength of the current study was the decision to categorize Latinx/a/o heritage as race instead of ethnicity. This decision was appropriate considering Latinx/a/o and Hispanic individuals often conceptualize their Latinx/a/o heritage racially and have historically been treated as members of a distinct racial minority group (Hayes-Bautista & Chapa, 1987; Parker et al., 2015). In general, Latinx/a/o community members are more likely to indicate that their race is not listed among available options, and are also more likely to write in their race in comparison to other communities (Parker et al., 2015). Thus, providing options that more

accurately reflect Latinx/a/o/White multiracial individuals' identities and lived experiences might eliminate feelings of erasure and bolster a sense of validation.

Additionally, the current study provides support for the implementation of various measures with Latinx/a/o/White multiracial individuals, including the recent Multiracial Microaggressions Scale (Meyers et al., 2020). To my knowledge, this study was the first to explore the relationship between multiracial microaggressions and psychological distress among Latinx/a/o/White multiracial individuals utilizing a validated measure of multiracial microaggressions. Prior studies investigating multiracial individuals encounters with multiracial related discrimination have commonly utilized modified measures of racial discrimination originally designed for monoracial people of color. Employing a measure specifically designed to capture multiracial individuals encounters with multiracial microaggressions is important given the uniqueness of these types of discriminatory events.

Limitations and Future Research

There are several limitations to this study. While this research study makes a significant contribution to the literature by specifically examining the experiences of Latinx/a/o/White multiracial individuals, a potential weakness is the grouping of various Latinx/a/o communities together. Among the Latinx/a/o population, considerable diversity exists in regard to language, cultural norms, physical appearance, and other important variables. Thus, future research might consider narrowing the target population to specific Latinx/a/o multiracial groups (e.g., Cuban/White, Colombian/White) to better capture nuanced experiences. A second limitation is the use of convenience sampling, which included online recruitment through Amazon Mechanical Turk, social media sites (i.e., Reddit, Instagram, Facebook), and academic listservs. College educated participants were overrepresented in the present study despite utilizing diverse

recruitment outlets. More specifically, the majority of participants in the present study were highly educated, with more than 87% of participants reporting some level of college education. This, as well as solely utilizing the internet for recruitment, poses potential limitations when generalizing the findings to Latinx/a/o/White multiracial individuals with less secondary education and without internet access. Future studies could employ more diverse recruitment and sampling methods to obtain a more representative sample.

In addition, the current study consisted entirely of self-report measures administered at one time point. This poses potential threats to validity due to recall bias and social desirability effects, and ultimately, causality cannot be assumed. Considering that this area of research is largely underdeveloped, future research should consider employing qualitative, mixed methods, longitudinal, and experimental designs to better understand determinants of psychological health for this community. Regarding the self-report instruments, the multiracial pride subscale of the Multiracial Challenges and Resilience Scale and the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale both demonstrated acceptable, yet less than ideal internal consistency reliability (α = .79). Franco and McElroy (2018) observed similar internal consistency reliability (α = .78) for the five-item multiracial pride subscale of the Multiracial Challenges and Resilience Scale. A limitation of this specific subscale may be the limited number of items, as the internal consistency reliability in the original scale construction study was less than excellent (α = .85). It remains unclear why the internal consistency reliability of the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale in the present study was weaker in comparison to other studies with multiracial individuals (e.g., α = .91; Salahuddin & O'Brien, 2011), although one possible explanation may be greater homogeneity of this sample in regard to racial/ethnic origins of participants versus other multiracial samples. An additional drawback of the present study was the lack of assessment of incremental validity to determine

whether multiracial microaggressions predicted psychological distress above and beyond general experiences of racism. Multiracial individuals are exposed to two distinct forms of discrimination, namely discrimination related to their multiracial background and discrimination related to their racial minority group (Johnston & Nadal, 2010; Salahuddin & O'Brien, 2011). Gathering information regarding general experiences of racism in addition to multiracial microagressions would have provided greater insight into factors negatively impacting Latinx/a/o/White individuals well-being.

Another area of future research may be to explore the role of multiracial identity salience in the context of multiracial microaggressions, multiracial pride, and psychological distress. In the present study, having higher levels of pride in one's multiracial heritage was associated with greater psychological distress for Latinx/a/o/White multiracial individuals. It is possible that having less multiracial pride and potentially less multiracial identity salience influenced Latinx/a/o/White multiracial individual's perceptions of multiracial microaggressions, such that they were perceived as less offensive and distressing. However, additional research is needed to better understand how multiracial identity salience influences perceptions of multiracial microaggressions for this community.

Practice Implications

The findings of the present study pose several important practice and social justice implications. As previously mentioned, multiracial individuals are at risk for experiencing discrimination related to their multiracial background (e.g., monoracism) and their identity as a racial/ethnic minority, with potential perpetrators including members of both dominant and minority groups (Johnston & Nadal, 2010; Salahuddin & O'Brien, 2011). This experience has been referred to as "double rejection" within the literature (Shih & Sanchez, 2005). When

working with Latinx/a/o/White multiracial individuals, practitioners should be intentional about formally assessing for clients encounters with multiracial microaggressions in addition to general experiences of racial discrimination, considering these events are strongly associated with adverse mental and physical health outcomes (e.g., substance use, anxiety, depression, high blood pressure, alienation; Franco & Carter, 2019; Franco & O'Brien, 2020; Franco et al., 2020).

The current study provides modest support for use of the Multiracial Microaggressions Scale (Meyers et al., 2019) with Latinx/a/o/White multiracial individuals. It may be fruitful to administer and review outcomes with Latinx/a/o/White multiracial clients when clinically indicated to better understand the specific forms of multiracial microaggressions they may be facing across settings (e.g., workplace, school, familial encounters). For example, results from this measure may reveal that a Latinx/a/o/White multiracial client is experiencing high levels of multiracial microaggressions within the family setting, potentially hindering social support and community. Gaining insight into situations and contexts where multiracial microaggressions are frequently occurring could assist in treatment planning and intervention. Furthermore, engaging in discussion on Latinx/a/o/White individuals encounters with multiracial microaggressions might aid in normalizing these experiences and help community members understand that their experience is collective.

The present study took a resilience-based approach when conceptualizing the roles of multiracial pride and self-esteem in the multiracial microaggressions-psychological distress link. Contrary to the hypothesized relation, multiracial pride exacerbated the aforementioned link and did not serve as a protective factor. In addition to assessing for discrimination based on race and multiracial heritage, practitioners working with Latinx/a/o/White multiracial individuals should explore their client's level of pride in their multiracial background. While there are likely a range

of benefits associated with multiracial pride not captured within the scope of this study, Latinx/a/o/White clients with higher levels of multiracial pride may benefit from additional support to offset the harmful effects of multiracial microaggressions on their well-being and mental health. Providing affirming therapeutic services, including both individual and group options, may not only protect Latinx/a/o/White individual's from experiencing poorer mental health outcomes in the context of multiracial discrimination but also bolster social support and community connectedness.

In addition, self-esteem appeared to weaken the harmful effects of multiracial microaggressions on Latinx/a/o/White individual's psychological health. Clinicians working with Latinx/a/o/White multiracial individuals with low and average levels of self-esteem should consider implementing interventions specifically aimed at fostering a stronger sense of self-esteem, in addition to monitoring changes throughout the course of treatment. In addition to intervening at the individual level, mental health professionals are strongly encouraged to create public awareness of multiracial microaggressions and associated detriments to mental health, as these events are pervasive among this rapidly expanding community. Ultimately, multiracial microaggressions are a product of oppressive ideologies including racism, colorism, White supremacy, monoracism, and anti-miscegenist beliefs. In order to truly protect Latinx/a/o/White multiracial individuals well-being, anti-racism work aimed at dismantling these oppressive sociocultural systems must be carried out.

Lastly, it would behoove counseling training programs to incorporate available research on Latinx/a/o/White multiracial individuals into their training and supervision materials. The majority of multiracial research, albeit limited, has centered on Black/White multiracial individuals experiences. While this research has made significant contributions to the literature

and expanded our knowledge, the findings and clinical implications of these studies may not be entirely applicable to Latinx/a/o/White individuals' experiences. Considering the heterogeneity of the multiracial population, it is important to educate future practitioners on the nuances of multiracial individuals' lived experiences to best support multiracial clients. Informing future clinicians on the roles of self-esteem and multiracial pride in the multiracial microaggressions-distress link could enhance case conceptualization and treatment planning, in collaboration with client input.

Conclusion

The goal of the current study was to examine the relations among multiracial microaggressions, self-esteem, multiracial pride, and psychological distress with Latinx/a/o/White multiracial individuals. Hierarchical regression analysis was utilized to test the hypothesized relationships. The findings demonstrated that psychological distress was negatively predicted by self-esteem and positively predicted by multiracial microaggressions and multiracial pride. For participants with low, average, and high levels of both self-esteem and multiracial pride, multiracial microaggressions positively predicted psychological distress. However, self-esteem and multiracial pride demonstrated differing effects on the multiracial microaggressions-psychological distress link. More specifically, self-esteem displayed a buffering effect, as participants with higher levels reported less psychological distress. Additionally, multiracial pride appeared to exacerbate this relationship, with participants with greater pride in their multiracial heritage reporting more psychological distress. Taken together, the current study enhances our understanding of the negative impacts of multiracial microaggressions on Latinx/a/o/White individual's well-being, including factors that may ameliorate and exacerbate this link.

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APPENDIX A

Demographics Form

1. Please indicate how you learned about the study:
    a. Amazon Mechanical Turk (MTurk)
    b. Other

2. Age in years: _____

3. Which of the following options most accurately describes your racial identity?
    a. Exclusively Latinx/a/o
    b. Sometimes Latinx/a/o, sometimes White, sometimes biracial/multiracial depending on the circumstances
    c. Biracial, but I experience the world as a Latinx/a/o person
    d. Biracial, but I experience the word as a White person
    e. Exclusively as biracial (i.e. neither Latinx/a/o nor White)
    f. Exclusively as White (i.e. not Latinx/a/o or biracial)
    g. Race is meaningless, I do not believe in racial identities

4. What is your biological mother's racial/ethnic background?
    a. Latinx/a/o
    b. White

5. What is your biological father's racial/ethnic background?
    a. Latinx/a/o
    b. White

6. Please identify your Latinx/a/o origins
    a. Argentinean
    b. Bolivian
    c. Brazilian
    d. Chilean
    e. Colombian

f. Costa Rican

g. Cuban

h. Dominican

i. Ecuadorian

j. El Salvadorian

k. Guatemalan

l. Haitian

m. Honduran

n. Mexican

o. Nicaraguan

p. Panamanian

q. Paraguayan

r. Peruvian

s. Puerto Rican

t. Salvadoran

u. Uruguayan

v. Venezuelan

w. If the above terms do not adequately describe your Latinx/a/o origins identity, please specify a term that does_____

7. Country of origin _____

    a. If other than the U.S., please indicate the number of years you have been living in the U.S. _____

8. On a scale of 0 to 12, with 0 = white, 6 = light brown, and 12 = black, what is your skin color?

9. Please identify your sexual identity

    a. Heterosexual

b. Lesbian

c. Gay

d. Bisexual

e. Pansexual

f. Omnisexual

g. Demisexual

h. Queer

i. Questioning

j. If the above terms do not adequately describe your sexual identity, please specify a term that does_____

10. Please identify your gender identity

a. Woman of cisgender experience (assigned female at birth and identify as a woman)

b. Transgender woman (assigned male at birth and identify as a woman)

a. Man of cisgender experience (assigned male at birth and identify as a man)

b. Transgender man (assigned female at birth and identify as a man)

c. Non-binary (e.g., agender, genderqueer, genderfluid)

d. Woman of cisgender experience (assigned female at birth and identify as a woman)

e. If the above terms do not adequately describe your gender identity, please specify a term that does_____

7. Please identify your personal annual income:

a. $0-9,999

b. $10,000-19,999

c. $20,000-29,999

d. $30,000-39,999

e. $40,000-49,999

f. $50,000-59,999
g. $60,000-69,999
h. $70,000-79,999
i. $80,000-89,999
j. $90,000-99,999
k. $100,000 or more

8. What is your highest level of education?
    a. No formal schooling
    b. Elementary school
    c. Middle school
    d. High school
    e. Associate's Degree
    f. Bachelor's Degree
    g. Master's Degree
    h. Doctoral or Professional Degree

9. Please indicate in which area in the United States you live
    a. Northeast
    b. Southeast
    c. Midwest
    d. Southwest
    e. Mountain West
    f. West Coast
    g. Hawaii/Alaska

10. What best describes the area in which you live?

a. Urban

b. Suburban

c. Rural

11. How would you describe the composition of your surrounding community?

a. Mostly People of Color

b. Mixed/Diverse

c. Mostly White

APPENDIX B

Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale

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

1. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.

   Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

2. At times I think I am no good at all.*

   Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

3. I feel that I have a number of good qualities.

   Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

4. I am able to do things as well as most other people.

   Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

5. I feel I do not have much to be proud of.*

   Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

6. I certainly feel useless at times.*

   Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

7. I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others.

   Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

8. I wish I could have more respect for myself.*

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

9. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.*

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

10. I take a positive attitude toward myself.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

APPENDIX C

Multiracial Microaggressions Scale

Instructions: Given both your CURRENT and OVERALL experiences in life, how often have you experienced the following incidents? 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*a great deal*)

1. Felt excluded by family members, because I'm multiracial (Category 1)
2. Felt excluded by people around me, because I'm multiracial (Category 1)
3. Made to feel I did not belong because of my multiracial appearance (Category 1)
4. People stared at me, because I am multiracial (Category 2)
5. People have wanted to take a picture of me or feel my hair or skin because of my multiracial appearance (Category 2)
6. Was told my multiracial background made me "exotic," "unique," and/or "special" (Category 2)
7. Asked "What are you?" in reference to my race (Category 3)
8. Being told I was wrong or mistaken when I told someone my racial background (Category 3)
9. People around me felt uncomfortable about not knowing my racial background (Category 3)
10. People around me seem to not pay attention to me and favor people with less ambiguous racial features (Category 3)
11. Made to feel guilty about not knowing some cultural aspect of my racial background (Category 4)
12. Pressured to pick or choose just one race to identify with (Category 4)
13. My family disapproved of me because of my multiracial appearance (Category 4)
14. Family members who were of similar age to me were favored over me because they lacked an "ethnic" appearance or behavior (Category 4)
15. Questioned by someone on the legitimacy of my racial background (Category 5)
16. People often ignore or downplay the discrimination I experience based on my multiracial identity or appearance (Category 5)

APPENDIX D

Multiracial Challenges and Resilience Scale

Instructions: Based on your experiences as a Multiracial person, please indicate how strongly you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.

0 = Strongly disagree
1 = Disagree
2 = Slightly disagree
3 = Slightly agree
4 = Agree
5 = Strongly agree

1. I love being Multiracial.
2. Being Multiracial makes me feel MORE attractive to romantic partners.
3. I am proud that I am Multiracial.
4. I wish I was NOT Multiracial. *
5. Being Multiracial makes me feel special.

APPENDIX E

Depression Anxiety and Stress Scale (DASS-21)

Instructions: Please read each statement and circle a number 0, 1, 2 or 3 which indicates how much the statement applied to you **over the past week**. There are no right or wrong answers. Do not spend too much time on any statement.

The rating scale is as follows:

0 = Did not apply to me at all
1 = Applied to me to some degree, or some of the time
2 = Applied to me to a considerable degree or a good part of time
3 = Applied to me very much or most of the time

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

APPENDIX F

Consent Form

Information for Participation in a Research Study

Latinx/a/o/White individual's social experiences, resilience, racial identity, and mental health

Raquel Craney and Dr. Laurel B. Watson

Request to Participate

You are being asked to take part in a research study. This study is being conducted at the University of Missouri-Kansas City (UMKC). You will be participating in a one-time online survey that is anticipated to take approximately 15 minutes to complete. This study, protocol number _____ has been determined to be _____ by the UMKC Research Compliance Office.

The researcher in charge of this study is Raquel Craney and she is acting under the advisement and direction of Dr. Laurel B. Watson.

You are being asked to take part in this research study because you meet the following criteria: 1) are 18 years of age or older, 2) have one biological parent with Latinx/a/o background and one biological parent with a White background 3) currently reside in the U.S. and 4) have lived in the U.S. for a minimum of two years. Research studies only include people who choose to take part. This document is called an information sheet. Please read this information sheet carefully before making your decision to participate in the survey.

Background

This study seeks to learn more about multiracial people with one Latinx/a/o biological parent and one White biological parent. More specifically, we are interested in understanding this community's social experiences, racial identity, resilience, and mental health. The researchers of this study, one of which is a member of this community, believe it is important to explore the experiences of this ever-growing population in order to provide useful information for providers working with Latinx/a/o/White multiracial persons.

Purpose

The purpose of this study is to collect information about your mental health, racial identity, social experiences, and resilience. The data will be collected online and utilized to gain insight into the potential impact of social experiences on mental health, including ways in which resilience factors may influence this potential relationship.

Procedures

If you agree to participate in this study, you will be asked to complete a one-time online survey (online, anonymous) that is estimated to take approximately 15 minutes to complete. All surveys will be completed online and will be hosted through Qualtrics. Participants whom meet the inclusion criteria will be directed to a short demographic form before answering a series of

questions. Participation in this study is voluntary and you can choose to terminate the survey at any time. You will not face any consequences for withdrawing. If you would like to be entered into a drawing for one of seven $25 amazon gift cards for your participation, you will be directed to click on a separate link at the end of the survey to provide your email address. Your email address will not be linked to your survey responses. Only participants who answer every item will be eligible for the gift card drawing.

Risks and Inconveniences

The risks of taking part in this research are not expected to be more than the risks in your daily life. However, you may experience mild psychological discomfort when answering some of the questions. You are free to skip any question(s) you might feel uncomfortable answering. We have also provided contact information at the end of the survey for some national mental health resources should you experience distress.

Benefits

The benefits of participating in this study are not certain. However, it is possible that you may find it helpful to reflect on your racial identity and mental health. In addition, the findings from this study may inform the work of mental health providers and other professionals providing services to this community.

Fees and Expenses

There is no monetary cost to participating in this study beyond paying for internet access.

Compensation

Upon completion of the survey you may choose to enter into a random drawing for one of seven $25 amazon gift cards. To be eligible for the drawing, you must provide a valid email address as a form of contact if you are selected. You will be directed to click on a separate link at the end of the survey to provide your email address. Your email will not be linked to your survey responses.

Alternatives to Study Participation

The alternative is not to take part in the study.

Confidentiality

The researchers will do their best to maintain your confidentiality. We will not ask you for personally identifying information (e.g. names, e-mail addresses), outside of the email address for the gift card drawing if you choose to participate. Only the researchers of this project will have access to survey data, which will be stored on a university password protected network.

Contacts for Questions about the Study

You should contact the Office of UMKC's Institutional Review Board at 816-235-5927 if you have any questions, concerns or complaints about your rights as a research subject. Additionally, you may contact the faculty advisor for this study, Dr. Laurel B. Watson, at WatsonLB@umkc.edu or 816-235-2489, or Raquel S. Craney, M.A. at rscbqb@mail.umkc.edu if you have any questions about this study. You may also contact them if any problems come up.

Voluntary Participation

You are eligible to participate in this study if you meet the following criteria:
(a) You are 18 years of age or older
(b) You have one Latinx/a/o biological parent and one White biological parent
(c) You are currently residing in the U.S.
(d) You have lived in the U.S. for a minimum of two years

Taking part in this research study is voluntary. If you choose to be in the study, you are free to stop participating at any time and for any reason.

You have now completed reading the information sheet. By checking the box next to the statement "Yes, I am providing consent to participate" below, you volunteer and consent to take part in this study.

APPENDIX G

Sample Recruitment Message

Subject: Latinx/a/o/White multiracial individual's social experiences and mental health

To whom it may concern,

My name is Raquel Craney, and I am a fifth-year counseling psychology doctoral student at the University of Missouri–Kansas City. I am currently conducting a study on Latinx/a/o/White multiracial individual's social experiences, resilience, racial identity, and mental health, under the supervision of my advisor, Dr. Laurel B. Watson (WatsonLB@umkc.edu). As a biracial (Mexican/White) woman, I am personally invested in this type of psychological research and supporting other community members.

The purpose of the present study is to gather information about Latinx/a/o/White multiracial individual's social experiences, resilience, racial identity, and mental health. All information will be collected online and the gathered responses will be utilized to explain how this community's social experiences potentially impact their mental health. Additionally, I will be exploring if resilience interacts with this proposed relationship. Participants in the study will be asked to complete the online survey in one sitting and it should take approximately __ minutes to complete. Upon completion of the survey participants may choose to enter into a random drawing for one of six $25 amazon gift cards.

IRB Approval Number: IRB at University of Missouri, Kansas City, protocol #2040223 KC

I am more than happy to provide you with any additional information that may be needed. If you are able and willing to share, the email recruitment statement listed below can be utilized. Thank you for your consideration, it is much appreciated!

Raquel S. Craney, M.A.
Doctoral Candidate, Counseling Psychology
University of Missouri, Kansas City
Counseling & Educational Psychology
rscbqb@mail.umkc.edu
Pronouns: *she / her / hers* ***(What is this?)***

Email recruitment for listservs:

Hello,

My name is Raquel Craney and I am fifth-year student in the Counseling Psychology Doctoral program at the University of Missouri-Kansas City. I am conducting an online survey under the supervision of my academic visor, Dr. Laurel Watson (watsonlb@umkc.edu) to better understand Latinx/a/o/White multiracial individual's social experiences, resilience, racial

identity, and mental health. As a member of the biracial community, I understand the importance of gaining visibility and am passionate about serving my fellow community members through my research. The requirements for participation include 1) must be 18 years of age or older, 2) must have one biological parent with a Latinx/a/o background and one biological parent with a White background 3) currently reside in the U.S. and 4) have lived in the U.S. for a minimum of two years.

If you decide you would like to participate in the study you will be asked to complete a one-time online survey that is estimated to take approximately ____ minutes to complete. **Upon completion of the survey you may choose to enter into a random drawing for one of six $25 amazon gift cards.**

If you are interested in participating in this study, please click on the following link:
[ADD LINK]

Feel free to contact me via email (rscbqb@mail.umkc.edu) if you have any questions about the study.

This study, protocol number XXXXX, has been reviewed by University of Missouri, Kansas City's Institutional Review Board. If you have any concerns about your rights as a participant your concerns, please call 816-235-5927

Thank you for your consideration,

Raquel Craney, M.A.
Doctoral Candidate, Counseling Psychology
University of Missouri, Kansas City
Counseling & Educational Psychology
rscbqb@mail.umkc.edu
Pronouns: *she / her / hers*

APPENDIX H

Mental Health Resources

Mental Health America
http://www.nmha.org/go/find_therapy

National Alliance on Mental Illness (NAMI)
1-800-950-NAMI (6264)
https://www.nami.org/find-support/nami-helpline

National Suicide Prevention Lifeline
English: 1-800-273-8255(TALK)
Spanish: 1-888-628-9454
www.suicidepreventionlifeline.org

SAMHSA's National Helpline
1-800-622-4357
https://www.samhsa.gov/find-treatment

Crisis Text Line
Text "HELLO" to 741741

Veterans Crisis Line
1-800-273-8255 then press 1 or text 838255

VITA

Raquel Sandate Craney was born on July 1st, 1993 in Springfield, Missouri. She grew up in Tucson, Arizona and earned a B.S. in Family and Human Development and a B.A. in Psychology from Arizona State University in 2015. Raquel began pursuing her Ph.D. in Counseling Psychology at the University of Missouri-Kansas City in August of 2016 and has been working under the advisement of Dr. Laurel B. Watson. She was awarded a Masters of Arts in Counseling Psychology in 2020 and will graduate with her Ph.D. in May 2022.

During her time at UMKC she worked as a graduate research assistant with the UMKC Office of Institutional Research, worked part-time at the UMKC Writing Studio, served as a student reviewer for the Psychology of Women Quarterly, and served as a student representative for several APA related organizations, including the Bisexual Issues Committee and the Section for the Advancement of Women. While at UMKC, Raquel earned various grants in support of her academic efforts, including the UMKC Graduate Opportunity Fellowship twice, the UMKC Women's Council Graduate Assistant Fund twice, the Dr. Phyliss L. Bernstein Scholarship twice, the Terrence R. & Linda D. Ward Scholarship twice, and the APA Graduate Student Travel Aware through Division 35, Section 4. She has co-authored 4 published articles and has presented her research findings at national conferences. Raquel is currently completing her predoctoral internship at the Kansas City VA Medical Center. She will begin a two-year postdoctoral fellowship at Kansas City Center for Anxiety Treatment specializing in OCD and other anxiety disorders in Fall of 2022.