Black Lives Matter!: Systems of Oppression Affecting Black Youth

Special Series: Dismantling Systems of Racism and Oppression during Adolescence

Longitudinal Effects of the "Acting White" Accusation and Racial Identity Development Among Black College Students

Myles I. Durkee [iD], Tiani R. Perkins [iD], and Richard E. Smith II [iD]

University of Michigan

The "acting White" accusation (AWA) is a type of cultural invalidation that undermines the racial authenticity of Black youths. This study examines how the AWA and racial identity (RI) influence one another longitudinally during the transition to college for Black students. Findings were moderated by gender. For Black males, a negative feedback loop emerged for RI centrality where AWA experiences predicted lower centrality, which then predicted more AWA experiences over a 2-year period. Additionally, AWA experiences in high school predicted lower RI private regard for Black males and lower RI public regard for Black females during the first year of college. Implications and policy recommendations to address forms of cultural oppression such as the AWA are further discussed.

Racial identity (RI) is a fundamental aspect of human development that represents an individual's personal identification with their racial or ethnic group and the sense of meaning they draw from this affiliation. RI is crucial for the normative development of racial minority youths (Williams, Tolan, Durkee, Francois, & Anderson, 2012); however, during emerging adulthood RI development may be hindered by exposure to culturally invalidating experiences that challenge or undermine how individuals express their cultural identities (Durkee, Gazley, Hope, & Keels, 2019). One of the most common cultural invalidations Black youths face is the accusation of "acting White" (Neal-Barnett, 2001). The "acting White" accusation (AWA) is a specific type of cultural invalidation that challenges the perceived authenticity of people of color who demonstrate nonstereotypical behaviors or display attributes that are believed to be prototypical of White Americans (Durkee et al., 2019; Fordham & Ogbu, 1986). The AWA is derived from a system of cultural oppression that stigmatizes Black racial identity, portrays the Black race as a monolithic group, and undermines the racial authenticity of Black people who deviate

from the prescribed traits or stereotypes associated with their race (Durkee et al., 2019; Fanon, 1952; Ogbu, 2004). The largely cross-sectional extant literature indicates that the AWA may hinder subsequent RI development among Black youths (Durkee & Williams, 2015; Neal-Barnett, Stadulis, Singer, Murray, & Demmings, 2010). However, though this small body of literature suggests that the AWA has a negative association with RI, the reciprocal influence and temporal ordering of these constructs over time remains unclear. Furthermore, despite evidence suggesting that Black female college students are more likely to be targeted by the AWA compared to their Black male counterparts (Durkee & Williams, 2015), there remains a dearth of research examining the gender nuances of AWA experiences over time.

This study is one of the first to examine RI development and AWA experiences longitudinally to determine how these factors influence one another over time. On one hand, AWA experiences may predict RI development by invalidating one's affiliation with their racial group through a meaning-making process that triggers the reevaluation of RI beliefs (Spencer & Harpalani, 2008). On the other hand, RI development may predict future AWA experiences and determine whether Black

---

Requests for reprints should be sent to Myles I. Durkee, Department of Psychology, University of Michigan, East Hall 1004, 530 Church St, Ann Arbor, MI 48109. E-mail: mdurkee@umich.edu

youths are even targeted by these threats, because highly identified individuals may be perceived as prototypical members of their racial group (Hogg, 2018) and be less likely to be targeted by the AWA. Additionally, the relationship between RI development and the AWA may be distinct for Black male and female college students considering that unique aspects of the AWA may be salient to each gender group (Durkee et al., 2019). This study provides important contributions to the existing literature by addressing the following objectives: (1) empirically testing the longitudinal associations, directionality, and temporal ordering of AWA experiences and RI development and (2) identifying gender discrepancies in the relationship between these factors among Black male and female college students.

Racial Identity Development

As students transition from high school to college, they face new campus experiences and social interactions that signal a shift in key identity dimensions (Willis & Neblett, 2020). For students of color, RI becomes increasingly salient during the college transition (Douglass, Wang, & Yip, 2016). This research utilizes the Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (MMRI), a content model of RI that examines the importance and meaning of one's racial membership on the dimensions of centrality and regard (Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, & Chavous, 1998). RI centrality examines the significance of one's racial membership to their internal self-concept (i.e., how they see themselves), whereas RI regard captures the extent to which one's racial group is viewed positively or negatively. RI regard is further distinguished by two subdimensions: RI public regard (i.e., perceptions of how positively society views one's racial group) and RI private regard (i.e., how positively individuals view their own racial group). The MMRI dimensions of RI centrality and regard were originally conceptualized as relatively stable traits across the life span, particularly during emerging adulthood (Seaton, Yip, Morgan-Lopez, & Sellers, 2012; Sellers et al., 1998). However, major race-related life experiences (e.g., racial discrimination and major shifts in school racial composition during the transition to college) appear to influence RI development as emerging adults are challenged by new contexts and interpersonal experiences (Arnett, 2000; Keels, Durkee, & Hope, 2017; Tsai & Fuligni, 2012; Willis & Neblett, 2020; Zhou, Lee, & Syed, 2019).

As a period of change marked by shifting contexts, new peer groups, and considerable identity exploration, emerging adulthood is associated with a series of significant experiences that facilitate the development of RI (Arnett, 2000; Hurd, Stoddard, & Zimmerman, 2012). Although contextual factors (e.g., school racial composition) may contribute to the development and growth of RI, systematic racial oppression may be a greater predictor of RI development for emerging adults and Black college students in particular (Chavous, Richardson, Webb, Fonseca-Bolorin, & Leath, 2018; Hurd et al., 2012). The Nigrescence model of African American RI describes how explicit racial events (i.e., "encounters") may trigger subsequent RI development by prompting Black youths to question their previously held attitudes and beliefs about their RI (Cross, 1995; Cross, Parham, & Helms, 1991). Exposure to racial discrimination and other forms of oppression from peers and faculty are characteristic of typical college experiences for many Black students attending predominantly White institutions, and these encounters contribute to changes in RI development over time (Fries-Britt & Griffin, 2007; Swim, Hyers, Cohen, Fitzgerald, & Bylsma, 2003; Yip, Wang, Mootoo, & Mirpuri, 2019). Experiences of racial discrimination provide important racial socialization information that communicates messages about the relevance of race/ethnicity and the prevalence of stigma, prejudice, and racial bias in society (Anderson & Stevenson, 2019). Frequent exposure to racial discrimination where Black youths are treated unfairly or devalued on campus may encourage them to strengthen their sense of belonging and identification with their racial group (i.e., greater RI centrality; Jerald, Cole, Ward, & Avery, 2017; Sellers & Shelton, 2003). However, these experiences may also detrimentally impact Black students' own perceptions of their racial group and convey a sentiment of lower societal status (i.e., lower public regard; Seaton, Yip, & Sellers, 2009; Sellers, Copeland-Linder, Martin, & L'Heureux Lewis, 2006). Although racial socialization has been traditionally defined through the messages parents teach their children about race and how to navigate a racialized society (Hughes & Chen, 1997; Hughes, Watford, & Del Toro, 2016), children and youths encounter many racial experiences in their daily lives that provide powerful racial socialization messages (e.g., racial discrimination, AWA). These racial experiences also have important implications for how youths make meaning of race and develop their RI beliefs (Spencer & Harpalani, 2008).

Conceptual frameworks such as the Phenomenological Variant of Ecological Systems Theory (PVEST; Spencer, 2007; Spencer, Dupree, & Hartmann, 1997) have highlighted bidirectional pathways linking RI development to multiple forms of racial oppression and emphasized the importance of the meaning-making process where youths must think about and make sense of negative racial events. For example, one study found that Black college students with consistently low or decreasing RI public regard and centrality throughout the first year of college reported greater exposure to racial discrimination and more negative perceptions of their campus racial climate (Chavous et al., 2018). At the same time, RI developmental trajectories over the first two years of college are heavily influenced by racial socialization messages provided by parents, which influences the meaning-making process that youths rely on as they try to make sense of racial experiences (Zhou et al., 2019). Collectively, these studies indicate that racial oppression and RI development bidirectionally influence one another during the transition to college. However, the extant literature remains unclear about the extent to which cultural invalidations (e.g., AWA) influence and are influenced by RI development over time.

Cultural Invalidations

Cultural invalidations are identity threats that discredit or undermine an individual's sense of belonging to their social identities (Durkee et al., 2019; Durkee & Gómez, 2021). Informed by social identity theory (Hogg, 2018; Tajfel & Turner, 1986), cultural invalidations target ingroup belonging and may hinder RI development as an individual's racial membership is questioned and attacked. Cultural invalidations have conceptual similarities to Sue and colleagues' (2007) work on racial microinvalidations. Microinvalidations are demeaning statements meant to negate or nullify the experiences of marginalized individuals (Sue et al., 2007). While microinvalidations capture invalidating statements from outgroup members, cultural invalidations are expressed by both outgroup and ingroup members. Additionally, individuals experience cultural invalidations across a wide range of social identities (e.g., race/ethnicity, gender, religion, social class). Cultural invalidations are utilized by both ingroup and outgroup members to police individuals who violate the prototypical norms or prescribed stereotypes of their social identity (Durkee & Gómez, 2021). Consequently, victims of cultural invalidations risk being perceived as inauthentic or atypical (Durkee et al., 2019). These experiences also provide important socialization messages by educating individuals about specific behaviors that are considered socially acceptable or unacceptable for group members. Individuals targeted by cultural invalidations rely on meaning-making processes to understand these experiences and find resolutions for how to internalize this information (Spencer & Harpalani, 2008). In line with the PVEST framework, the meaning-making process resulting from cultural invalidations is likely to influence identity development (Spencer, 2007; Spencer et al., 1997).

Cultural invalidations may target people's sense of belonging to the social groups they identify with, prompting changes in their identity beliefs. For example, Black multiracial people are perceived more negatively by monoracial Black people when they display identity markers of only one of their cultural backgrounds and are more likely to report experiencing racial homelessness (i.e., feelings of rejection from one's racial group; Franco & Franco, 2016; Smith & Wout, 2019). Findings from Cheryan and Monin (2005) indicate that Asian American students who experience identity threats attacking their American identity become motivated to demonstrate more American behaviors and characteristics, such as listening to American music, playing American sports, and having American friends. Overall, these studies demonstrate that cultural invalidations influence identity development by reinforcing group norms and coercing individuals to reevaluate their RI beliefs.

"Acting White" accusations. The AWA is a specific type of cultural invalidation that is commonly experienced by Black youths when they are perceived to demonstrate atypical behaviors for their racial group or behave in a manner that is stereotypically associated with White culture (Durkee et al., 2019; Fordham & Ogbu, 1986). The sociohistorical context of the AWA stems from the colonial era and reinforces a system of White supremacy where the cultural traits of people from European descent are promoted as superior and civilized, whereas the traits of colonized populations are construed as inferior and savage. In the book *Black Skin, White Masks*, Psychiatrist Frantz Fanon (1952) provides a historical critique of colonialism and strategic efforts to keep colonized Black populations oppressed through systematic cultural oppression that stigmatizes all aspects of Black RI and encourages Black populations to assimilate to the colonizer's culture (i.e., forced adoption of a "White mask").

Reinforcement of these colonialist practices has a lasting impact on the persistence of racial stereotypes into the present day as Black people are compared against a negative homogenous prototype of the Black race. Research in developmental and social psychology has demonstrated that Black youths make significant effort to resist confirming negative stereotypes about their racial group (Rogers & Way, 2016; Steele & Aronson, 1995; Way, Hernández, Rogers, & Hughes, 2013). Research also indicates that many Black adolescents continue to be targeted by the AWA within school contexts (Cokley, 2014; Horvat & O'Connor, 2006; Tyson, 2011), primarily due to these individuals defying racial expectations across a variety of social domains including academic achievement, style of speech, clothing style, music/dance preferences, and interracial friendships (Bergin & Cooks, 2002; Burrell, Winston, & Freeman, 2013; Durkee et al., 2019).

The AWA provides unique racial socialization messages that target behaviors that are portrayed to be atypical for specific racial groups (Durkee et al., 2019). The following participant quote from Durkee et al. (2019) demonstrates how the AWA influences the behavior of Black youths and perpetuates distancing from their racial group: "['Acting White'] just means acting proper and acting in a manner that is more acceptable to society and not Black people. It has made me want to act more White especially now that I am in a college environment. (Thomas, Black male)" (p. 456). Individuals targeted by the AWA are likely to cope with these identity threats by questioning their RI beliefs (Durkee & Williams, 2015; Neal-Barnett et al., 2010). Existing research indicates that the frequency of receiving the AWA is negatively associated with several RI dimensions, including public and private regard (Durkee & Williams, 2015). However, one of the few longitudinal AWA studies has found that Black adolescents qualitatively change their definition of the AWA from mostly descriptions of appearance and behavior to descriptions focusing on RI and cultural beliefs (Thelamour & Johnson, 2017). This developmental change over a 2-year period shows that Black teenagers deepened their understanding of race from surface-level observations of one's appearance to focusing more on internal processes such as the lack of pride in one's cultural background (Thelamour & Johnson, 2017). Thus, longitudinal quantitative research is needed to examine the bidirectional relationship between the AWA and RI development over time. This work is also needed to establish the directionality and temporal ordering of these associations.

Gender Differences

The extant literature examining gender differences in the RI development of Black adolescents is inconclusive. Despite evidence suggesting that Black male and female youths experience unique forms of gendered–racial socialization from their parents (Varner & Mandara, 2013, 2014), there is little evidence of gender differences in the overall pattern of RI development (Mandara, Gaylord-Harden, Richards, & Ragsdale, 2009; Martinez & Dukes, 1997; Rowley, Chavous, & Cooke, 2003). However, research demonstrates gender differences in the reports of AWA experiences. Black female adolescents and emerging adults are more likely to experience AWA insults than their Black male counterparts (Carter, 2006; Durkee & Williams, 2015). Additionally, Black female college students are three times more likely to experience the AWA in reference to their style of speech (i.e., sounding "White") compared to Black males (Durkee et al., 2019). Black males experience the AWA in a unique fashion that targets their masculinity and racial authenticity interchangeably (Carter, 2006). For Black males, many behaviors and attributes classified within the AWA (e.g., speaking proper, dressing preppy) are also perceived as less masculine behaviors, resulting in gendered (i.e., acting "soft") or racialized (i.e., acting "White") invalidations (Carter, 2005, 2006). Therefore, even though Black females experience the AWA primarily due to racialized invalidations, Black males experience the same insults in reference to both their racial and gender identity. Together, these findings suggest that social identities, such as race and gender, may intersect in unique ways that have differential effects on AWA experiences and RI development.

Current Study

This study addresses a major gap in the literature by examining the bidirectional relationship between the AWA and RI development over time. Currently, the research literature remains unclear as to whether: (1) the AWA and dimensions of RI influence one another longitudinally, (2) the directionality of these longitudinal associations, and (3) the temporal ordering as to whether AWA experiences precede RI development or vice versa. The AWA is believed to convey racial socialization messages that an individual's behavior is incompatible with the prototypical norms of their racial group, and thus, these insults may trigger a meaning-making process that prompts them to

reevaluate their RI (Durkee & Williams, 2015; Spencer & Harpalani, 2008). However, research also finds that RI development may determine the extent to which Black youths experience racial insults over time (Chavous et al., 2018; Cross et al., 1991). Specifically, RI development may predict future AWA experiences because individuals who are highly identified with their RI may be perceived as prototypical members of their racial group and be less likely to be targeted by the AWA. Therefore, the extant literature suggests that bidirectional associations between the AWA and RI development are likely to occur. Additionally, there remains little research examining the gender dynamics of the AWA and RI development, so this study seeks to examine whether unique gender patterns emerge for Black male and female students during the transition from high school to college. In this study, we investigate the following research questions and hypotheses:

(1) What are the longitudinal associations between the AWA and RI development (e.g., centrality, public regard, private regard) among Black students during the transition to college?

(H_1) We predict a negative bidirectional relationship between the AWA and each RI dimension. Students with more AWA experiences are expected to have lower levels of RI over time, while students with high levels of RI are expected to have less AWA experiences over time. These predictions are in line with cross-sectional research demonstrating a negative association between the AWA and public regard and private regard (Durkee & Williams, 2015).

(2) How does gender influence the relationship between the AWA and RI dimensions over time?

(H_2) We expect to find gender differences in the longitudinal results of Black male and female college students. However, the dearth of existing research in this area prevents us from predicting the specific nature of these differences.

METHOD

Participants

Data come from the Minority College Cohort Study, a longitudinal investigation of college transition among 533 students of color who began college in the fall semester of 2013. These students were recruited from five predominantly White universities in the Midwestern United States, consisting of two urban private universities, one urban public university, one rural public university, and one suburban public university. To qualify for the study, participants were required to be full-time students who recently enrolled in college for the first time, and self-identify as Black/African American or Hispanic/Latinx. Only students who self-identified as Black/African American from the larger study were utilized for this investigation ($N = 220$). Ethnic diversity within the sample of Black students was 78% African American, 5% African, 2% Caribbean, 2% Afro-Latinx, 9% multiracial, and 4% undeclared. Only 6% of the sample were born outside of the United States. Approximately 48% of Black students identified as first-generation college students and the gender distribution was 75% female ($n = 164$) and 25% male ($n = 56$). The gender distribution in our sample is similar to the gender imbalance among Black students at many higher education institutions in the United States (Snyder, De Brey, & Dillow, 2019). One student identified as transgender and was excluded from the gender analyses. The mean age of the sample at college entry was 18.2 years old ($SD = 0.52$).

Procedures

Administrators at each university distributed an e-mail containing a description of the study and a link to the online survey during September 2013. Students completed a screening questionnaire to verify their eligibility and provided informed consent before advancing to the main survey. During the first and second years of college, participants were surveyed three times each year (beginning, middle, and end of each academic year) for a total of six waves of data collection. Participants were e-mailed a survey link for each wave of data collection: Waves 1 and 4 were conducted at the beginning of each academic year, Waves 2 and 5 occurred in the middle of each academic year, and Waves 3 and 6 occurred at the end of each academic year. Waves 1, 3, 4, and 6 took approximately 45 min to complete and participants were compensated with a $25 electronic gift card. Waves 2 and 5 took approximately 15 min to complete and participants received a $15 electronic gift card. Data were collected using REDCap software tools hosted at the University of Chicago (Harris et al.,

2009) and the Institutional Review Board at the University of Chicago approved all study procedures. The present investigation uses data from Waves 1, 3, and 6. From here forward, these time points will be referred to as T1 (college entry), T2 (college year 1), and T3 (college year 2), respectively.

Measures

Acting White accusations. To capture AWA experiences, we used an adapted version of the Acting White Experiences Questionnaire (AWEQ; Neal-Barnett et al., 2010) that contained six items measuring insults pertaining to attributes of the AWA: *style of speech, music preferences, clothing style, nonstereotypical hobbies, interracial friendships,* and *academic achievement.* Example items included "People say that I listen to White music" and "People criticize me because I hang out with different races." Participants responded to each item on a Likert scale ranging from 1 (*never*) to 5 (*almost all of the time*). To reduce the skewed distribution, responses were recoded to indicate whether or not participants experienced the item to any extent: 0 (*no*) or 1 (*yes*). These dichotomous responses were then summed together to create a breadth score of the total amount of unique AWA experiences at each time point. These totals ranged from 0 to 6 unique AWA insults. At T1, responses were based on experiences during the final year of high school ($\alpha_{T1} = .71$, $M_{T1} = 3.04$, $SD_{T1} = 1.73$), and at T2 and T3, responses were based on experiences during college year 1 and college year 2, respectively ($\alpha_{T2} = .83$, $M_{T2} = 3.23$, $SD_{T2} = 2.12$; $\alpha_{T3} = .82$, $M_{T3} = 3.07$, $SD_{T3} = 2.02$). Across each time point, style of speech was the most common form of AWA insult experienced by the sample (T1 = 87%, T2 = 78%, T3 = 80%).

Racial identity. Racial identity centrality, public regard, and private regard were measured using the Multidimensional Model of Black Identity–Short (MIBI-S). Items used a 7-point Likert scale that ranged from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). The RI centrality dimension consisted of three items and measured the importance of participants' racial group membership to their self-concept. An example item was "Being Black is an important reflection of who I am" and this scale demonstrated high internal reliability at each time point ($\alpha_{T1} = .86$, $\alpha_{T2} = .91$, $\alpha_{T3} = .86$). The RI public regard dimension consisted of four items measuring the extent to which participants believed

society viewed their racial group positively. An example item was "In general, other groups view Black people in a positive manner" and this scale had high internal reliability at each time point ($\alpha_{T1} = .92$, $\alpha_{T2} = .92$, $\alpha_{T3} = .92$). The RI private regard dimension consisted of three items measuring the extent to which participants perceived their own racial group positively. An example item was "I am happy that I am Black" and this scale had high internal reliability at each time point ($\alpha_{T1} = .81$, $\alpha_{T2} = .85$, $\alpha_{T3} = .76$).

Demographic covariates. All demographic covariates were collected at T1. Single item questions were used to capture the university participants attended, their mother's highest education level, their father's highest education level, and the name and location of the high school they graduated from. High school information was used to obtain objective racial composition data from the National Center for Education Statistics. The proportion of Black/African American students attending each high school was obtained from the 2012–2013 school year (i.e., the year participants were high school seniors).

Analytical Plan

Multigroup autoregressive cross-lag panel models (Cole & Maxwell, 2003) were used within a structural equation modeling framework to examine the reciprocal relationship between AWA exposure and RI development over the first two years of college transition. In the cross-lag models, AWA exposure was examined as the observed sum score of AWA insults and RI dimension were examined as latent factors. To determine the model fit of latent factors, confirmatory factor analysis was performed for each dimension of RI. Modification indices were also evaluated to provide the best model fit. Next, autoregressive cross-lag panel models were constructed to examine AWA experiences and RI dimensions over three time points. A separate cross-lag model was constructed for each RI dimension and the following covariates were accounted for at T1: high school racial composition, university attended, mother's education level, and father's education level. Additionally, multigroup analyses and measurement invariance were examined to determine whether parameters within the cross-lag models varied by gender. All analyses were conducted with STATA 16.

The retention rates of participants from T1 to T2 and T1 to T3 were 88% ($n = 193$) and 82% ($n = 181$), respectively. Missing data across all

study variables ranged from 1% to 18%. Missingness at T2 was not correlated with any variables at college entry (T1). Missingness at T3 was negatively correlated with father's education level ($r = -.17$, $p = .022$), such that students with missing data had less educated fathers, and positively correlated with RI public regard at T1 ($r = .14$, $p = .046$), such that students with missing data reported higher RI public regard at college entry. Little's missing completely at random (MCAR) test confirmed that all study variables were missing completely at random; $\chi^2(62, N = 217) = 68.52$, $p = .266$ (Little & Rubin, 2019). Additionally, there was little evidence for covariate-dependent missingness (CDM); $\chi^2(140, N = 169) = 64.53$, $p = 1.00$. To account for missing data in the study design, full information maximum likelihood (FIML) was utilized in STATA 16 to retain all available data from the final analytical sample of 220 students (164 females and 56 males).

A priori power analyses were performed using the Soper calculator (Soper, 2020) to ensure that the sample size was sufficient. Power analyses indicated that the minimum sample sizes required to detect a large (Cohen's $f^2 = 0.50$), medium (Cohen's $f^2 = 0.30$), or small (Cohen's $f^2 = 0.10$) effect size with a power level of 0.80 were $N = 30$, $N = 119$, and $N = 1258$, respectively. Therefore, the sample size of the current study ($N = 220$) was adequate to detect large and medium effects.

RESULTS

Descriptive statistics, including means, standard deviations, percent missing, and bivariate correlations of study variables are presented in Table 1. T-test comparisons revealed that Black males reported higher RI public regard at T1 ($M = 4.04$, $p = .001$), T2 ($M = 3.90$, $p = .004$), and T3 ($M = 3.85$, $p < .001$) than Black females ($M_{T1} = 3.22$, $M_{T2} = 3.12$, $M_{T3} = 2.82$, respectively). Black females reported higher RI private regard at T2 ($M = 5.94$, $p = .040$), and T3 ($M = 6.12$, $p = .006$) than Black males ($M_{T2} = 5.53$, $M_{T3} = 5.64$, respectively). Mean-level gender differences across all remaining study variables were nonsignificant (all $ps > .05$).

The model fit of each RI latent factor from T1 to T3 was determined by performing confirmatory factor analyses. Good model fit was indicated by a root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) $\leq .80$, a comparative fit index (CFI) and Tucker–Lewis index (TLI) $\geq .90$, and a nonsignificant chi-square statistic ($p > .05$; Hu & Bentler, 1999).

Confirmatory Factor Analysis of Latent Factors

RI centrality. Initial model fit for RI centrality over three time points was less than adequate: RMSEA (.127); CFI (.933); TLI (.900); $\chi^2(24) = 107.60$, $p < .001$. Modification indices suggested that the covariance correlation of a single item over each time point would improve model fit. Therefore, the error terms for item #1 (*Being Black is an important reflection of who I am*) were correlated across each time point (T1, T2, and T3). The revised model exhibited good model fit: RMSEA (.054); CFI (.990); TLI (.982); $\chi^2(21) = 34.09$, $p = .035$.

RI public regard. Initial model fit for RI public regard was adequate: RMSEA (.076); CFI (.967); TLI (.957); $\chi^2(51) = 114.77$, $p < .001$. Modification indices suggested that three covariance correlations between observed items would further improve model fit. Therefore, the error terms for item #1 (*Overall, Black people are considered good by others*) and item #2 (*In general, others respect Black people*) were correlated within each time point (T1, T2, and T3). The revised model demonstrated good model fit: RMSEA (.047); CFI (.988); TLI (.983); $\chi^2(48) = 71.28$, $p = .016$.

RI private regard. Initial model fit for RI private regard was poor: RMSEA (.167); CFI (.827); TLI (.741); $\chi^2(24) = 168.44$, $p < .001$. Modification indices suggested that the covariance correlation of a single item over each time point would improve model fit. Therefore, the error terms for item #1 (*I am happy that I am Black*) were correlated across each time point (T1, T2, and T3). Fit statistics for the revised model were improved, but model fit remained less than ideal: RMSEA (.097); CFI (.949); TLI (.912); $\chi^2(21) = 63.92$, $p < .001$.

Measurement Invariance

Multigroup analyses of the cross-lag models for each RI dimension were examined to determine whether model parameters varied by gender. Tests of measurement invariance compared the fit statistics of the configural model (i.e., fully unconstrained model where parameters could vary freely by gender) to the metric model (i.e., partially constrained model where path coefficients were fixed across gender), and if necessary, compared to the scalar model (i.e., fully constrained model where path coefficients and means were fixed across gender). Measurement invariance results for each cross-lag model are presented in Table 2.

TABLE 1
Means, Standard Deviations, and Bivariate Correlations Among Primary Study Variables for T1–T3

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. AWA (T1)	—	−.22**	.03	−.20**	.62***	−.16	−.10	−.20*	.39***	−.04	.14	−.09
2. Private (T1)	−.18	—	.26***	.65***	−.16	.39***	.10	.35***	−.13	.34***	.08	.27***
3. Public (T1)	.04	.32*	—	.29***	.14	.20*	.58***	.22**	−.00	.13	.51***	.18*
4. Centrality (T1)	−.30*	.68***	.29*	—	−.19*	.28***	.16	.56***	−.17*	.26***	.09	.37***
5. AWA (T2)	.63***	−.08	−.01	−.12	—	−.21*	−.03	−.31***	.55***	−.06	.08	−.27***
6. Private (T2)	−.19	.75***	.33*	.47***	−.08	—	.21*	.65***	−.04	.33***	−.03	.38***
7. Public (T2)	−.06	.39***	.53***	.32*	.11	.41**	—	.33***	−.04	−.06	.45***	.07
8. Centrality (T2)	−.30*	.56***	.33*	.80***	−.11	.62**	.54***	—	−.18*	.24**	−.03	.52***
9. AWA (T3)	.67***	−.01	.00	−.17	.56***	.06	.10	−.32	—	−.13	.03	−.25**
10. Private (T3)	−.20	.29	−.12	.10	−.05	.17	.17	.11	−.06	—	−.03	.61***
11. Public (T3)	.07	.05	.51***	.05	.02	.15	.43**	.02	.35*	−.01	—	.05
12. Centrality (T3)	−.20	.36*	.09	.56***	.02	.31	.19	.49**	−.08	.64***	.18	—
M	3.04	5.83	3.42	5.21	3.23	5.84	3.30	5.14	3.07	6.00	3.06	5.47
SD	1.73	1.14	1.56	1.48	2.12	1.20	1.60	1.64	2.02	1.00	1.64	1.30
Missing	1%	2%	3%	2%	13%	13%	13%	14%	18%	16%	17%	17%

Note. Bivariate correlations for Black females are above the diagonal (n = 164) and Black males are below the diagonal (n = 56).
AWA = acting White accusations; Private = private regard; Public = public regard; T1 = college entry; T2 = college year 1; T3 = college year 2.
*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.

TABLE 2
Multigroup Analyses Examining Measurement Invariance by Gender

Model	RMSEA	CFI	TLI	χ^2(df)	ΔRMSEA	ΔCFI	ΔTLI	$\Delta\chi^2$(Δdf)	Invariant
Centrality									
Configural	.050	.967	.958	230.96 (181)**	—	—	—	—	—
Metric	.060	.951	.940	261.59 (188)***	.010	.016	.018	30.63 (7)***	No
Public regard									
Configural	.065	.940	.930	412.64 (283)***	—	—	—	—	—
Metric	.067	.935	.925	429.49 (287)***	.002	.005	.005	13.85 (4)**	No
Private regard									
Configural	.076	.892	.864	296.53 (181)***	—	—	—	—	—
Metric	.079	.880	.855	316.31 (188)***	.003	.012	.009	19.78 (7)**	No

**p < .01, ***p < .001.

RI centrality.   A chi-square difference test comparing the configural model to the metric model indicated that path coefficients differed significantly by gender and should not be constrained to be equal; $\Delta\chi^2$(Δdf) = 30.63(7), p < .001. The configural model was retained for final analyses and model fit was good: RMSEA (.050); CFI (.967); TLI (.958); χ^2(181) = 230.96, p = .007.

RI public regard.   A chi-square difference test comparing the configural model to the metric model indicated that path coefficients differed significantly by gender and should not be constrained to be equal; $\Delta\chi^2$(Δdf) = 13.85(4), p = .008. The configural model was retained for final analyses and model fit was good: RMSEA (.065); CFI (.940); TLI (.930); χ^2(283) = 412.64, p < .001.

RI private regard.   A chi-square difference test comparing the configural model to the metric model indicated that path coefficients differed significantly by gender and should not be constrained to be equal; $\Delta\chi^2$(Δdf) = 19.78(7), p = .006. The configural model was retained for final analyses, however, model fit was less than ideal so the results for private regard should be interpreted with caution: RMSEA (.076); CFI (.892); TLI (.864); χ^2(181) = 296.53, p < .001.

Multigroup Autoregressive Cross-Lag Panel Models

Across each cross-lag model, autoregressive paths for AWA experiences demonstrated stability over the three time points and these effects ranged from β = .50 to .63. Also, a unique pattern of results for Black male and female students were observed across each panel model.

RI centrality. Autoregressive paths for RI centrality demonstrated stability over the three time points and these effects ranged from β = .50 to .75. For Black males, there was a cyclical developmental pattern, where AWA experiences at T1 predicted lower RI centrality at T2 (β = −.23, SE = .08, p = .004), and lower centrality at T2 predicted more AWA experiences at T3 (β = −.28, SE = .13, p = .027). Therefore, a negative feedback loop between the AWA and RI centrality occurred for Black males where these factors inversely predicted each other over time. For Black females, there were no statistically significant cross-lag effects between

AWA experiences and RI centrality over time (Figure 1).

RI public regard. Autoregressive paths for RI public regard demonstrated stability over the three time points and these effects ranged from β = .54 to .68. For Black males, there were no statistically significant cross-lag effects between the AWA and RI public regard over time. However, a marginal effect was observed where AWA experiences at T2 predicted higher public regard at T3 at the trend level (β = .18, SE = .11, p = .098). For Black females, AWA experiences at T1 predicted lower public regard at T2 (β = −.16, SE = .06, p = .008), and there was a marginal effect where public regard at T1 predicted more AWA experiences at T2 at the trend level (β = .11, SE = .07, p = .096). The cross-lag effects for Black females from T1 to T2 were in opposite directions, such that T1 AWA experiences predicted lower T2 public regard, and T1 public regard had a marginal effect predicting more AWA experiences at T2 (Figure 2).
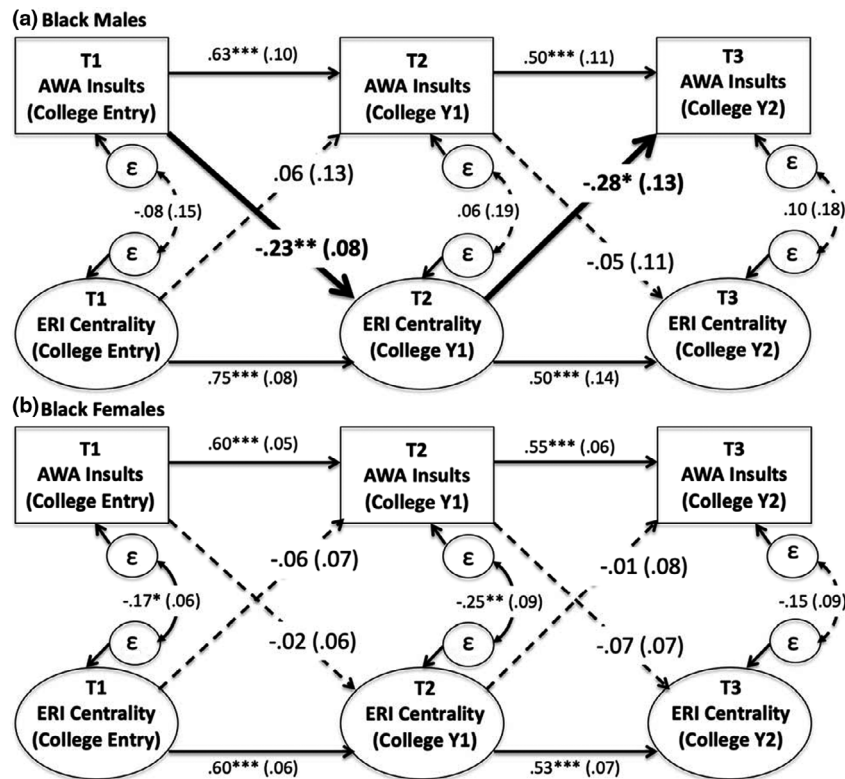

FIGURE 1   Cross-lag panel model examining AWA insults and RI centrality for (a) Black males and (b) Black females. *Note*. Standardized coefficients are depicted with standard errors in parentheses. Solid lines indicate statistically significant pathways and dashed lines indicate nonsignificant pathways. The following covariates were accounted for at T1: mother's education level, father's education level, high school racial composition, and university attended. Model fit: RMSEA (.050); CFI (.967); TLI (.958); χ^2(181) = 230.96, p = .007. AWA = acting White accusation, RI = racial identity. $^{\pm}p$ < .10, $^*p$ < .05, $^{**}p$ < .01, $^{***}p$ < .001.
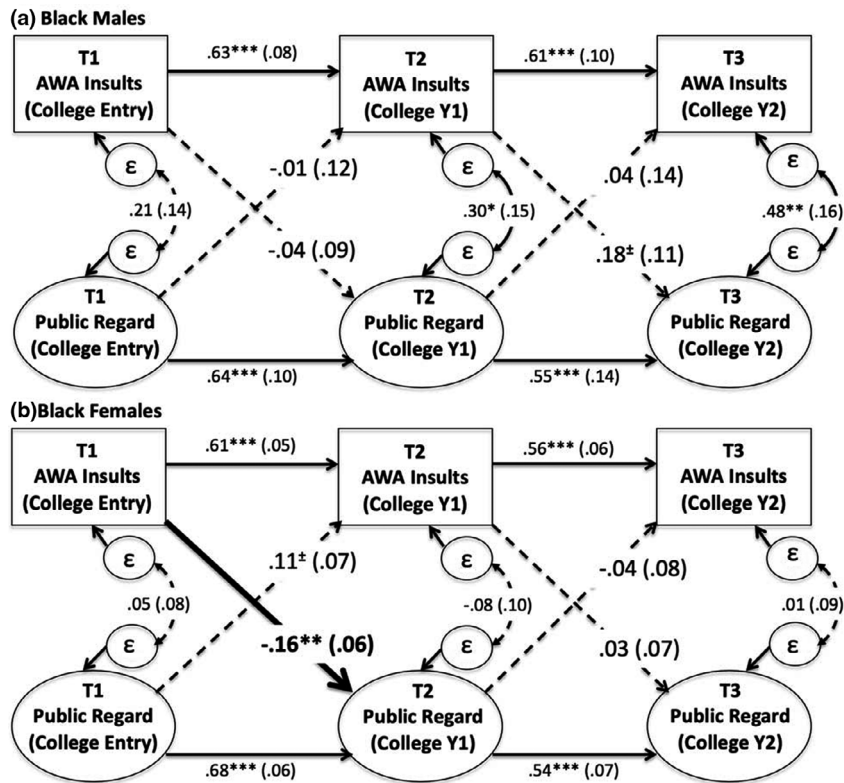
FIGURE 2 Cross-lag panel model examining AWA insults and RI public regard for (a) Black males and (b) Black females. *Note.* Standardized coefficients are depicted with standard errors in parentheses. Solid lines indicate statistically significant pathways and dashed lines indicate nonsignificant pathways. The following covariates were accounted for at T1: mother's education level, father's education level, high school racial composition, and university attended. Model fit: RMSEA (.065); CFI (.940); TLI (.930); $\chi^2(283) = 412.64$, $p < .001$. AWA = acting White accusation, RI = racial identity. $^{\pm}p < .10$, $^{*}p < .05$, $^{**}p < .01$, $^{***}p < .001$.

RI private regard. Autoregressive paths for RI private regard demonstrated stability over the three time points for Black female students and these effects ranged from $\beta = .46$ to $.48$. For Black male students, the autoregressive path from T1 to T2 private regard was statistically significant ($\beta = .71$, $SE = .08$, $p < .001$), but the path from T2 to T3 private regard was nonsignificant ($\beta = .27$, $SE = .20$, $p = .171$). For Black males, AWA experiences at T1 predicted lower RI private regard at T2 ($\beta = -.25$, $SE = .08$, $p = .002$), and a marginal effect occurred at the trend level where AWA experiences at T2 predicted lower RI private regard at T3 ($\beta = -.20$, $SE = .10$, $p = .055$). For Black females, there were no statistically significant cross-lag effects between AWA experiences and RI private regard over time (Figure 3).

DISCUSSION

The aim of this study was to use longitudinal modeling to examine the bidirectional relationship between the AWA and RI development during the transition from high school to college for Black students. Our study has important implications for the role of gender in distinguishing longitudinal associations between these factors. For Black male students, a negative reciprocal effect emerged for RI centrality where AWA experiences in high school predicted lower levels centrality after the first year of college, and subsequently, lower levels of centrality predicted more AWA experiences after the second year of college. This suggests a negative feedback loop where AWA insults and RI centrality influence each other over the first two years of college. Among Black males we also found that AWA experiences predicted lower RI private regard at the end of the first and second years of college, but the effects observed at the end of the second year of college were only marginal (i.e., $p = .055$). Furthermore, model fit statistics of the panel model examining RI private regard were below the standard metrics of good model fit (Hu & Bentler, 1999), so these findings should be interpreted with
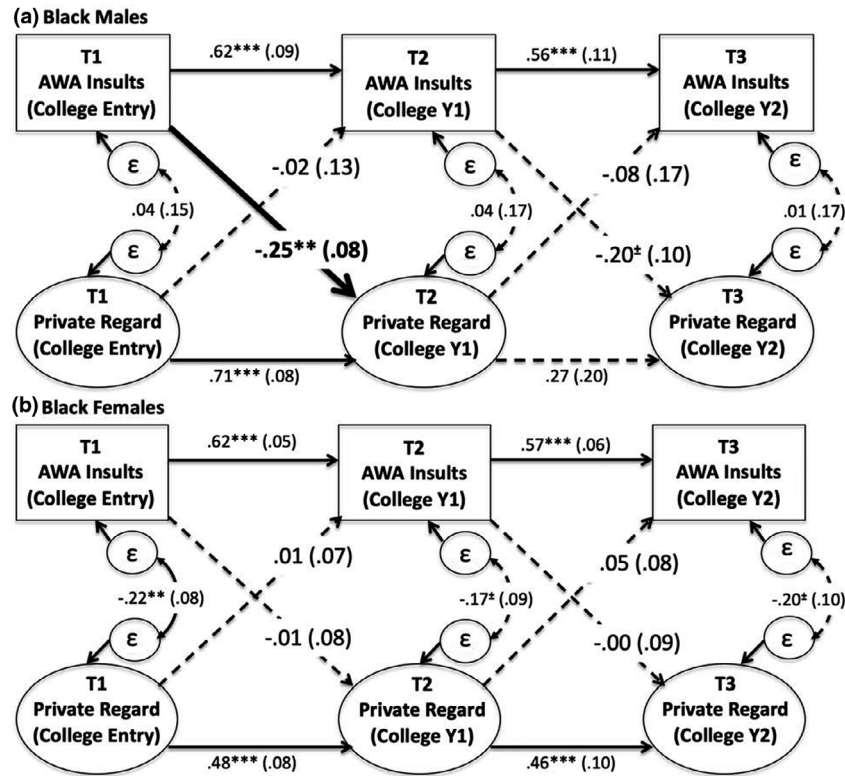
FIGURE 3   Cross-lag panel model examining AWA insults and RI private regard for (a) Black males and (b) Black females. *Note.* Standardized coefficients are depicted with standard errors in parentheses. Solid lines indicate statistically significant pathways and dashed lines indicate nonsignificant pathways. The following covariates were accounted for at T1: mother's education level, father's education level, high school racial composition, and university attended. Model fit: RMSEA (.076); CFI (.892); TLI (.864); $\chi^2(181) = 296.53$, $p < .001$. AWA = acting White accusation, RI = racial identity. $^{\pm}p < .10$, $^{*}p < .05$, $^{**}p < .01$, $^{***}p < .001$.

caution. For Black female students, AWA experiences in high school predicted lower public regard at the end of the first year of college. Interestingly, findings also revealed a marginal positive relationship between RI public regard at college entry and AWA experiences at the end of the first year of college. We cautiously highlight this latter marginal finding because the bidirectional effects between AWA experiences and RI public regard from T1 to T2 were in opposite directions.

The present findings highlight the multidimensional nature of RI and reveal that the AWA is a form of cultural oppression that has major implications for the RI development of Black youths. Although the RI dimensions examined in this study were originally conceptualized to be mostly stable over time (i.e., trait-like dimensions; Sellers et al., 1998), the present findings add to recent literature suggesting that Black students experience longitudinal changes in RI during college, and that these changes are distinct for each dimension of RI (Chavous et al., 2018; Hurd et al., 2012; Willis & Neblett, 2020). Our results indicate that on average,

RI centrality and public regard were relatively stable over time, but private regard was not stable for Black males between the first and second years of college. We extend previous cross-sectional research with Black youths (Durkee & Williams, 2015; Murray, Neal-Barnett, Demmings, & Stadulis, 2012) by finding that gender determines how AWA experiences are associated with RI centrality, public regard, and private regard over time. This study highlights the significance of the meaning-making process that Black youths utilize to make sense of AWA insults, and these socialization messages appear to differentially motivate Black males and females to reevaluate their RI beliefs.

Potential Mechanisms and Implications

The transition to college provides many new experiences that can promote RI development (Arnett & Brody, 2008). As such, it is important to examine how the AWA and RI development influence one another over time, as well as potential mechanisms that might moderate these effects. This is

particularly important given the unique role gender played in this study. Using PVEST as a guiding framework (Spencer, 2007; Spencer et al., 1997), one potential mechanism for these gender differences is that Black male and female students may utilize different meaning-making processes and rely on distinct coping strategies to address cultural invalidations like the AWA. Previous research has found that Black male students are more likely than Black female students to use avoidant-oriented coping strategies, which are maladaptive coping strategies where individuals avoid the stressors in their lives rather than addressing them (Sheu & Sedlacek, 2004). Therefore, Black males in this study may have utilized more avoidant-oriented behaviors, such as distancing themselves from certain people or racially salient situations, to reduce negative feelings and lower the likelihood of experiencing future AWA insults. Over time, separation from other Black peers or situations where race is salient may lead Black males to become less identified with their RI (specifically lower centrality and private regard). This pattern is consistent with previous research associating avoidant-oriented behaviors with lower feelings of authenticity and self-esteem (Lodge & Feldman, 2007; Newheiser & Barreto, 2014; Wood, Linley, Maltby, Baliousis, & Joseph, 2008). Given that people who engage in avoidant-oriented behaviors are more likely to be excluded by others (Newheiser & Barreto, 2014), the use of such behaviors could explain why Black males in this study exhibit a negative feedback loop where AWA experiences in high school predict lower identification with their racial group during freshman year in college, which in turn predicts more AWA experiences by the end of the second year of college.

While Black male students experienced negative implications for RI development following AWA insults, Black female students experienced RI implications that may be more effective for coping with racial stressors. Findings indicate that Black females who experienced AWA insults in high school reported decreased RI public regard after the first year of college. Although individuals with low public regard tend to perceive more racial discrimination in society, research has shown that low public regard can protect Black people from the negative psychological consequences of discrimination (Sellers et al., 2006; Sellers & Shelton, 2003). Individuals with low public regard likely anticipate negative treatment by racial outgroup members and minimize psychological distress by attributing this mistreatment to racial discrimination rather than personal shortcomings (Smith & Wout, 2019; Wout, Murphy, & Steele, 2010). The meaning-making process among Black female students in this study may have led them to recognize that the AWA is a culturally oppressive insult that is rooted within a system of White supremacy designed to normalize White traits and perpetuate negative stereotypes prescribed to non-White populations (Durkee et al., 2019; Fanon, 1952). Therefore, experiencing the AWA for demonstrating common American behaviors or exhibiting traits that contradict racial stereotypes associated with the Black race may explain why Black females experienced lower public regard following these accusations. Oppressive messages like the AWA may provide a degree of racial socialization that affirms the reality that society has historically held negative attitudes toward Black people (i.e., preparation for bias; Hughes & Chen, 1995).

Black female students also exhibited a marginally significant positive relationship between public regard at college entry and AWA experiences after the first year of college. Given that Black youths overwhelmingly acknowledge the existence of racial discrimination in society (Helms, Nicolas, & Green, 2012), Black female students who entered college believing that other groups viewed Black people positively may have been more likely to be accused of "acting White" because they held beliefs that were inconsistent with group norms. This would be in line with research demonstrating that people who deviate from ingroup norms are likely to have their identity questioned (Howard, Kennedy, & Vine, 2021; Johnson & Ashburn-Nardo, 2014). Although the aforementioned effect was merely marginal, the combined results for Black female students over the first year of college are surprising because the bidirectional effects between AWA experiences and RI public regard were in opposite directions. This indicates that on average, the AWA and public regard have distinct longitudinal associations over the first year of college.

Limitations and Future Directions

The findings of this study must be considered along with several limitations. As mentioned previously, the model fit statistics for RI private regard did not meet the standard metrics for good model fit (Hu & Bentler, 1999); therefore, these findings should be interpreted with caution. The reduced model fit for RI private regard is likely explained by the fact that private regard changed drastically for Black males between the first and second years

of college, but this level of instability did not occur for Black females. While recent findings indicate that RI dimensions continue to change during the early years of college (Chavous et al., 2018; Willis & Neblett, 2020), additional research is needed to determine whether the instability observed in this study is a consistent pattern for Black male college students. Although the gender makeup of this study is similar to the actual gender distribution of Black students at many U.S. colleges and universities (Snyder et al., 2019), Black male students were still underrepresented in our sample compared to Black female students. Therefore, the findings for Black males should be interpreted with a degree of caution until these results can be replicated with larger samples. Future research should consider oversampling for Black male college students because this demographic is severely underrepresented at many higher education institutions in the United States.

Future research should continue to examine the relationship between the AWA and RI development by considering additional social identities that Black youths possess. An intersectional perspective that acknowledges the multiple identities that each person holds will allow researchers to further disaggregate the implications of the AWA and RI among heterogenous populations of Black youths who vary in terms of ethnic background, social class, immigrant status, religious affiliation, and sexual orientation. Existing research has made important strides in this direction by demonstrating that Black immigrant youths and African American youths differ in their understanding of what it means to "act Black" or "act White" (Thelamour & Johnson, 2017). Additionally, Black immigrant and African American students attending the same predominantly White university differ in their perceptions of campus racial climate, campus racial diversity, racial discrimination, and marginalization on campus (Griffin, Cunningham, & Mwangi, 2016). Therefore, large ethnically diverse samples will be needed to tease out the implications of multiple intersecting identities among Black youths. Additionally, the bidirectional effects between the AWA and RI development should be examined among other racial minority groups to determine where similarities or discrepancies exist across cultural groups. Because Black, Latinx, and Asian American youths vary in terms of the stigma, bias, and stereotypes they encounter in the United States, these populations may experience and internalize AWA insults differently (Zou & Cheryan, 2017).

The sample in this study was collected from five predominantly White universities in the Midwestern United States. Therefore, the current sample is not nationally representative and the findings may not generalize to Black students attending minority-serving institutions (e.g., HBCUs) or Black emerging adults who did not matriculate directly from high school to 4-year institutions. The sample was also recruited in fall 2013 and surveyed over the next two academic years. During this period, the killing of unarmed Black adolescents such as Trayvon Martin in 2012 and Michael Brown in 2014 sparked national protests and community organizing to combat the grotesque use of violence against Black Americans. The sociohistorical context of this period is significant because the Black Lives Matter Movement (BLM) also began in 2013 and has continued to the present day, gaining significant popularity in 2020 following the killing of George Floyd and several other unarmed Black Americans. Therefore, the participants in this sample were recruited at a pivotal time which marked the beginning of a modern racial reckoning in the United States to bring attention to the violent mistreatment of Black people and advocate for social justice reforms.

University Considerations

One solution to combat the negative implications of the AWA and promote RI development is for institutions to invest more heavily in campus resources to support Black students during the transition to college. Previous research has consistently demonstrated the positive impact of racial organizations on RI development (Inkelas, 2004; Mitchell & Dell, 1992). As such, universities should provide funding and administrative support to sustain racial organizations and programming on campus. This would provide Black students with opportunities to connect with Black peers from diverse backgrounds who may vary across social class, ethnicity, sexual orientation, and religious affiliation. Intragroup contact with diverse Black peers is essential to help normalize the high degree of heterogeneity within the Black community and reduce cultural policing, which reinforces group norms and standards of behavior (Contrada et al., 2001). While some Black youths who have been previously targeted by the AWA may be more hesitant to engage in racial organizations, their participation in these groups may be crucial to help reduce further disidentification with their RI and racial group. Therefore, greater outreach efforts

from these organizations may be necessary to attract and retain a diverse community of Black students.

Likewise, universities should strive to create more inclusive campus climates by increasing the number of Black students and faculty on campus. This would increase the representation of Black people from different backgrounds and potentially reduce the amount of AWA experiences that occur when Black people are perceived as a monolith. Research has demonstrated the importance of having a critical mass of people from the same racial group to provide a safe and supportive environment for minority students on college campuses (Nagda, Gregerman, Jonides, von Hippel, & Lerner, 1998). Together, these types of changes could help create a broader feeling of connectedness on campus, which would have a positive impact on multiple outcomes, including perceived stress, college retention, and resilience (Allen, Robbins, Casillas, & Oh, 2008; Lee, Keough, & Sexton, 2002; Pidgeon, Coast, Coast, Coast, & Coast, 2014).

Conclusion

The AWA is a cultural invalidation derived from a system of oppression that portrays Black youths as a homogenous group and undermines the racial authenticity of individuals who deviate from the norms and stereotypes ascribed to their racial group (Durkee et al., 2019; Durkee & Gómez, 2021). This study finds that the AWA and RI development influence one another over time during the transition to college for Black students. However, the longitudinal associations between these factors are distinct for Black male and female college students. These findings provide noteworthy contributions that expand our current understanding of how cultural invalidations and identity development are related. This work should encourage the development of strategic interventions aimed at addressing systems of cultural oppression in the United States that continue to marginalize and invalidate Black youths for being "too Black" or "not Black enough."

REFERENCES

Allen, J., Robbins, S. B., Casillas, A., & Oh, I. S. (2008). Third-year college retention and transfer: Effects of academic performance, motivation, and social connectedness. *Research in Higher Education*, 49(7), 647–664. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11162-008-9098-3

Anderson, R. E., & Stevenson, H. C. (2019). RECASTing racial stress and trauma: Theorizing the healing potential of racial socialization in families. *American Psychologist*, 74(1), 63. https://doi.org/10.1037/amp0000392

Arnett, J. J. (2000). Emerging adulthood: A theory of development from the late teens through the twenties. *American Psychologist*, 55(5), 469–480. https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.55.5.469

Arnett, J. J., & Brody, G. H. (2008). A fraught passage: The identity challenges of African American emerging adults. *Human Development*, 51(5-6), 291–293. http://dx.doi.org/10.1159/000170891

Bergin, D. A., & Cooks, H. C. (2002). High school students of color talk about accusations of "acting White". *The Urban Review*, 34(2), 113–134. https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1015310332639

Burrell, J. O., Winston, C. E., & Freeman, K. E. (2013). Race-acting: The varied and complex affirmative meaning of "acting Black" for African-American adolescents. *Culture & Psychology*, 19(1), 95–116. https://doi.org/10.1177/1354067X12464981

Carter, P. (2005). *Keepin' it real: School success beyond Black and White*. New York, NY: Oxford Press.

Carter, P. L. (2006). Straddling boundaries: Identity, culture, and school. *Sociology of Education*, 79(4), 304–328. https://doi.org/10.1177/003804070607900402

Chavous, T. M., Richardson, B. L., Webb, F. R., Fonseca-Bolorin, G., & Leath, S. (2018). Shifting contexts and shifting identities: Campus race-related experiences, racial identity, and academic motivation among Black students during the transition to college. *Race and Social Problems*, 10(1), 1–18. http://doi.org/10.1007/s12552-017-9218-9

Cheryan, S., & Monin, B. (2005). "Where are you really from?" Asian Americans and identity denial. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 89, 717–730. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.89.5.717

Cokley, K. O. (2014). *The myth of Black anti-intellectualism: A true psychology of African American students*. Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger-ABC CLIO LLC.

Cole, D. A., & Maxwell, S. E. (2003). Testing mediational models with longitudinal data: Questions and tips in the use of structural equation modeling. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 112, 558–577. https://doi.org/10.1037/0021-843X.112.4.558

Contrada, R. J., Ashmore, R. D., Gary, M. L., Coups, E., Egeth, J. D., Sewell, A., . . . Chasse, V. (2001). Measures of ethnicity-related stress: Psychometric properties, ethnic group differences, and associations with well-being. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*,

31, 1775–1820. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1559-1816.2001.tb00205.x

Cross, W. E., Jr (1995). The psychology of nigrescence: Revising the Cross model. In J. G. Ponterotto, J. M. Casas, L. A. Suzuki, & C. M. Alexander (Eds.), *Handbook of multicultural counseling* (pp. 93–122). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Cross, W. E., Jr, Parham, T. A., & Helms, J. E. (1991). The stages of Black identity development: Nigrescence models. In R. L. Jones (Ed.), *Black psychology* (pp. 319–338). Oakland, CA: Cobb & Henry Publishers.

Douglass, S., Wang, Y., & Yip, T. (2016). The everyday implications of racial identity processes: Exploring variability in racial identity salience across situations. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *45*, 1396–1411. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-015-0390-1

Durkee, M. I., Gazley, E. R., Hope, E. C., & Keels, M. (2019). Cultural invalidations: Deconstructing the "acting White" phenomenon among Black and Latinx college students. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *25*, 451–460. https://doi.org/10.1037/cdp0000288

Durkee, M. I., & Gómez, J. M. (2021). Mental health implications of the acting white accusation: The role of cultural betrayal and ethnic-racial identity among Black and Latina/o emerging adults. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*. Advance online publication. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/ort0000589

Durkee, M. I., & Williams, J. L. (2015). Accusations of acting White: Links to Black students' racial identity and mental health. *Journal of Black Psychology*, *41*(1), 26–48. https://doi.org/10.1177/0095798413505323

Fanon, F. (1952). *Black Skin, White Masks*. New York, NY: Grove press.

Fordham, S., & Ogbu, J. U. (1986). Black students' school success: Coping with the 'burden of acting White'. *The Urban Review*, *18*, 176–206. https://doi.org/10.1007/bf01112192

Franco, M. G., & Franco, S. A. (2016). Impact of identity invalidation for Black Multiracial people: The importance of race of perpetrator. *Journal of Black Psychology*, *42*(6), 530–548. https://doi.org/10.1177/0095798415604796

Fries-Britt, S., & Griffin, S. (2007). The Black Box: How high-achieving Blacks resist stereotypes about Black Americans. *Journal of College Student Development*, *48*, 509–524. https://doi.org/10.1353/csd.2007.0048

Griffin, K. A., Cunningham, E. L., & Mwangi, C. A. G. (2016). Defining diversity: Ethnic differences in Black students' perceptions of racial climate. *Journal of Diversity of Higher Education*, *9*, 34–49. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0039255

Harris, P. A., Taylor, R., Thielke, R., Payne, J., Gonzalez, N., & Conde, J. G. (2009). Research electronic data capture (REDCap)—A metadata-driven methodology and workflow process for providing translational research informatics support. *Journal of Biomedical Informatics*, *42*, 377–381. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jbi.2008.08.010

Helms, J. E., Nicolas, G., & Green, C. E. (2012). Racism and ethnoviolence as trauma: Enhancing professional and research training. *Traumatology*, *18*, 65–74. https://doi.org/10.1177/1534765610396728

Hogg, M. A. (2018). Social identity theory. In P. J. Burke (Ed.), *Contemporary social psychological theories* (2nd ed., pp. 112–138). Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press.

Horvat, E. M., & O'Connor, C. (2006). *Beyond acting White: Reframing the debate on Black student achievement*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Howard, S., Kennedy, K. C., & Vine, K. T. (2021). You don't believe in God? You ain't Black": Identifying as atheist elicits identity denial from Black ingroup members. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*. Advance online publications. https://doi.org/10.1037/cdp0000397

Hu, L. T., & Bentler, P. M. (1999). Cutoff criteria for fit indexes in covariance structure analysis: Conventional criteria versus new alternatives. *Structural Equation Modeling: A Multidisciplinary Journal*, *6*(1), 1–55. https://doi.org/10.1080/10705519909540118

Hughes, D., & Chen, L. (1997). When and what parents tell children about race: An examination of race-related socialization among African American families. *Applied Developmental Science*, *1*(4), 200–214. https://doi.org/10.1207/s1532480xads0104_4

Hughes, D. L., Watford, J. A., & Del Toro, J. (2016). A transactional/ecological perspective on ethnic–racial identity, socialization, and discrimination. *Advances in Child Development and Behavior*, *51*, 1–41.

Hurd, N. M., Stoddard, S. A., & Zimmerman, M. A. (2012). Neighbor- hoods, social support, and African American adolescents' mental health outcomes: A multilevel path analysis. *Child Development*, *84*, 858–874. https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.12018

Inkelas, K. K. (2004). Does participation in ethnic cocurricular activities facilitate a sense of ethnic awareness and understanding? A study of Asian Pacific American undergraduates. *Journal of College Student Development*, *45*, 285–302. https://doi.org/10.1353/csd.2004.0037

Jerald, M. C., Cole, E. R., Ward, L. M., & Avery, L. R. (2017). Controlling images: How awareness of group stereotypes affects Black women's well-being. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, *64*(5), 487–499. https://doi.org/10.1037/cou0000233

Johnson, J. D., & Ashburn-Nardo, L. (2014). Testing the "Black Code" does having white close friends elicit identity denial and decreased empathy from Black ingroup members? *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, *5*, 369–376. https://doi.org/10.1177/1948550613499938

Keels, M., Durkee, M., & Hope, E. (2017). The psychological and academic costs of school-based racial and ethnic microaggressions. *American Educational Research Journal*, *54*, 1316–1344. https://doi.org/10.3102/0002831217722120

Lee, R. M., Keough, K. A., & Sexton, J. D. (2002). Social connectedness, social appraisal, and perceived stress in

college women and men. *Journal of Counseling & Development*, *80*, 355–361. https://doi.org/10.1002/j.1556-6678.2002.tb00200.x

Little, R. J., & Rubin, D. B. (2019). *Statistical analysis with missing data*. John Wiley & Sons.

Lodge, J., & Feldman, S. S. (2007). Avoidant coping as a mediator between appearance-related victimization and self-esteem in young Australian adolescents. *British Journal of Developmental Psychology*, *25*, 633–642. https://doi.org/10.1348/026151007X185310

Mandara, J., Gaylord-Harden, N. K., Richards, M. H., & Ragsdale, B. (2009). The effects of changes in racial identity and self-esteem on changes in African American adolescents' mental health. *Child Development*, *80*, 1660–1675. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2009.01360.x

Martinez, R. O., & Dukes, R. L. (1997). The effects of ethnic identity, ethnicity, and gender on adolescent well-being. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *26*, 503–516. https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1024525821078

Mitchell, S. L., & Dell, D. M. (1992). The relationship between Black students' racial identity attitude and participation in campus organizations. *Journal of College Student Development*, *33*(1), 39–43.

Murray, M. S., Neal-Barnett, A., Demmings, J. L., & Stadulis, R. E. (2012). The acting White accusation, racial identity, and anxiety in African American adolescents. *Journal of Anxiety Disorders*, *26*, 526–531. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.janxdis.2012.02.006

Nagda, B. A., Gregerman, S. R., Jonides, J., von Hippel, W., & Lerner, J. S. (1998). Undergraduate student-faculty research partnerships affect student retention. *The Review of Higher Education*, *22*(1), 55–72. https://doi.org/10.1353/rhe.1998.0016

Neal-Barnett, A. M. (2001). Being Black: New thoughts on the old phenomenon of acting White. In A. M. Neal-Barnett, J. M. Contreras, & K. Kerns (Eds.), *Forging links: African American children clinical developmental perspectives* (pp. 75–88). Westport, CT: Praeger.

Neal-Barnett, A., Stadulis, R., Singer, N., Murray, M., & Demmings, J. (2010). Assessing the effects of experiencing the acting White accusation. *Urban Review*, *42*, 102–122. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11256-009-0130-5

Newheiser, A. K., & Barreto, M. (2014). Hidden costs of hiding stigma: Ironic interpersonal consequences of concealing a stigmatized identity in social interactions. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *52*, 58–70. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2014.01.002

Ogbu, J. U. (2004). Collective identity and the burden of "acting White" in Black history, community, and education. *Urban Review*, *36*, 1–35. https://doi.org/10.1023/B:URRE.0000042734.83194.f6

Pidgeon, A. M., Coast, G., Coast, G., Coast, G., & Coast, G. (2014). Examining characteristics of resilience among university students: An international study. *Open Journal of Social Sciences*, *2*, 14. https://doi.org/10.4236/jss.2014.211003

Rogers, L. O., & Way, N. (2016). "I have goals to prove all those people wrong and not fit into any one of those boxes" paths of resistance to stereotypes among Black adolescent males. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, *31*(3), 263–298. https://doi.org/10.1177/0743558415600071

Rowley, S. J., Chavous, T. M., & Cooke, D. Y. (2003). A person-centered approach to African-American gender differences in racial ideology. *Self and Identity*, *2*, 287–306. https://doi.org/10.1080/714050249

Seaton, E. K., Yip, T., Morgan-Lopez, A., & Sellers, R. M. (2012). Racial discrimination and racial socialization as predictors of African American adolescents' racial identity development using latent transition analysis. *Developmental Psychology*, *48*, 448–458. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0025328

Seaton, E. K., Yip, T., & Sellers, R. M. (2009). A longitudinal examination of racial identity and racial discrimination among African American adolescents. *Child Development*, *80*, 406–417. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2009.01268.x

Sellers, R. M., Copeland-Linder, N., Martin, P. P., & L'Heureux Lewis, R. (2006). Racial identity matters: The relationship between racial discrimination and psychological functioning in African American adolescents. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, *16*, 187–216. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1532-7795.2006.00128.x.

Sellers, R. M., & Shelton, J. N. (2003). The role of racial identity in perceived racial discrimination. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *84*, 1079–1092. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.84.5.1079

Sellers, R. M., Smith, M. A., Shelton, J. N., Rowley, S. A., & Chavous, T. M. (1998). Multidimensional model of racial identity: A reconceptualization of African American racial identity. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, *2*(1), 18–39. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327957pspr0201_2

Sheu, H. B., & Sedlacek, W. H. (2004). An exploratory study of help-seeking attitudes and coping strategies among college students by race and gender. *Measurement and Evaluation in Counseling and Development*, *37*, 130–143. https://doi.org/10.1080/07481756.2004.11909755

Smith, R. E., II, & Wout, D. A. (2019). Blacks' perception of a Biracial's ingroup membership shapes attributions to discrimination following social rejection. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *25*, 483. https://doi.org/10.1037/cdp0000267

Snyder, T. D., DeBrey, C., & Dillow, S. A. (2019). *Digest of Education Statistics 2018, NCES 2020-009*. Washington, DC: National Center for Education Statistics, Institute of Education Sciences, U. S. Department of Education.

Soper, D. S. (2020). Post-hoc statistical power calculator for hierarchical multiple regression [software]. Retrieved January 7, 2021, from https://www.danielsoper.com/statcalc

Spencer, M. B. (2007). Phenomenology and ecological systems theory: Development of diverse groups. In R.

M. Lerner (Ed.), W. Damon, & R. M. Lerner (Editors-in-Chief), *Handbook of child psychology: Vol. 1. Theoretical models of Human Development* (6th ed., pp. 829–893). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.

Spencer, M. B., Dupree, D., & Hartmann, T. (1997). A phenomenological variant of ecological systems theory (PVEST): A self-organization perspective in context. *Development and Psychopathology*, 9, 817–833.

Spencer, M. B., & Harpalani, V. (2008). What does "acting White" actually mean? Racial identity, adolescent development, and academic achievement among African American youth. In J. U. Ogbu (Ed.), *Minority status, oppositional culture, & schooling* (pp. 254–271). New York, NY: Routledge.

Steele, C. M., & Aronson, J. (1995). Stereotype threat and the intellectual test performance of African Americans. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 69, 797. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.69.5.797

Sue, D., Capodilupo, M., Torino, G., Bucceri, J., Holder, A., Nadal, K., & Esquilin, M. (2007). Racial microaggressions in everyday life: Implications for clinical practice. *American Psychologist*, 62, 271–286. https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.62.4.271

Swim, J. K., Hyers, L. L., Cohen, L. L., Fitzgerald, D. C., & Bylsma, W. H. (2003). African American college students' experiences with everyday racism: Characteristics of and responses to these incidents. *Journal of Black Psychology*, 29(1), 38–67. https://doi.org/10.1177/0095798402239228

Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. (1986). The social identity theory of inter- group behavior. In S. Worchel, & L. W. Austin (Eds.), *Psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 7–24). Chicago, IL: Nelson-Hall.

Thelamour, B., & Johnson, D. J. (2017). Exploring Black immigrants' and nonimmigrants' understanding of 'acting Black' and 'acting White'. *Journal of Black Psychology*, 43, 280–304. https://doi.org/10.1177/0095798416641863

Tsai, K. M., & Fuligni, A. J. (2012). Change in ethnic identity across the college transition. *Developmental Psychology*, 48(1), 56–64. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0025678

Tyson, K. (2011). *Integration interrupted: Tracking, Black students and acting White after Brown*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Varner, F., & Mandara, J. (2013). Discrimination concerns and expectations as explanations for gendered socialization in African American families. *Child Development*, 84, 875–890. https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.12021

Varner, F., & Mandara, J. (2014). Differential parenting of African American adolescents as an explanation for gender disparities in achievement. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, 24, 667–680. https://doi.org/10.1111/jora.12063

Way, N., Hernández, M. G., Rogers, L. O., & Hughes, D. L. (2013). "I'm not going to become no rapper" stereotypes as a context of ethnic and racial identity development. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 28, 407–430. https://doi.org/10.1177/0743558413480836

Williams, J. L., Tolan, P. H., Durkee, M. I., Francois, A. G., & Anderson, R. E. (2012). Integrating racial and ethnic identity research into developmental understanding of adolescents. *Child Development Perspectives*, 6, 304–311. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1750-8606.2012.00235.x

Willis, H. A., & Neblett, E. W. (2020). Racial identity and changes in psychological distress using the multidimensional model of racial identity. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 26, 509–519. https://doi.org/10.1037/cdp0000314

Wood, A. M., Linley, P. A., Maltby, J., Baliousis, M., & Joseph, S. (2008). The authentic personality: A theoretical and empirical conceptualization and the development of the Authenticity Scale. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 55, 385. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0167.55.3.385

Wout, D. A., Murphy, M. C., & Steele, C. M. (2010). When your friends matter: The effect of White students' racial friendship networks on meta-perceptions and perceived identity contingencies. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 46, 1035–1041. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2010.06.003

Yip, T., Wang, Y., Mootoo, C., & Mirpuri, S. (2019). Moderating the association between discrimination and adjustment: A meta-analysis of ethnic/racial identity. *Developmental Psychology*, 55, 1274–1298. https://doi.org/10.1037/dev0000708

Zhou, X., Lee, R. M., & Syed, M. (2019). Ethnic identity developmental trajectories during the transition to college. *Developmental Psychology*, 55(1), 157–169. https://doi.org/10.1037/dev0000634

Zou, L. X., & Cheryan, S. (2017). Two axes of subordination: A new model of racial position. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 112, 696. https://doi.org/10.1037/pspa0000080