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Don't Let It Get to You: The Role of Internalization Racism in the Organization

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Don’t Let It Get to You: The Role of Internalized Racism in the Organization

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Biography

Carolyn T. Pham was born in Davenport, Iowa in the United States on July 3rd, 1997. She graduated from Assumption High School in 2016. She earned her bachelor's degrees in Art Studio with a drawing emphasis and Psychology with a certificate in Industrial-Organizational (I/O) Psychology from the University of Northern Iowa in 2020. She spent two years at Ohio University in its I/O doctoral program before transferring to DePaul University in 2022. She has been funded as a trainee by the National Institute of Occupational Health and Safety (NIOSH), and her research interests lie in diversity, equity, inclusion, and accessibility at work.

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Abstract

Internalized racism is seldom studied in a workplace context. Extant literature demonstrates its deleterious effects on individuals, but little is known about the mechanisms that affect it in adulthood or how it operates in an organizational context. Using a multi-wave survey design, this study examined the racial composition of one's coworkers and organizational inclusion climate as potential antecedents of internalized racism and psychological well-being and identity management behaviors as outcomes. Results suggest that organizational inclusion climate significantly affects racial/ethnic minority employees' levels of internalized racism and subsequent well-being. Additionally, internalized racism predicted engagement in identity concealment behaviors. This suggests the importance of fostering and maintaining a work environment that is inclusive of all employees. Implications for popular I-O and social psychology theories are discussed.

Keywords: internalized racism, inclusion climate, identity management behaviors

Introduction

Despite efforts to establish more inclusive workplaces, racial/ethnic minority employees continue to face unique challenges in organizations. Indeed, in nearly three decades, there has been little decline in rates of hiring bias (Quillian et al., 2017), and the number of racial harassment and discrimination claims filed with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) have remained consistent during that time. There were even periods of significant increase in the number of reports filed, such as between 2006-2011 (Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 2019a; 2019b). Notably, though these data focus on overt manifestations of discrimination (e.g., derogatory comments, physical assault; Kilvington & Price, 2013), racial/ethnic minority employees also experience more subtle and ambiguous forms of prejudice that are more difficult to track, such as everyday racism (e.g., microaggressions, including avoidance, unfriendly communication, and failure to offer help; Deitch et al., 2003) and targeted incivility (e.g., uncivil conduct or generalized harassment which disproportionately targets racial/ethnic minority employees; Cortina, 2008).

In addition to being prevalent, racism has been shown to have detrimental outcomes for racial/ethnic minority employees, including deleterious effects on their mental and physical health (e.g., depression, anxiety, psychological distress, and cortisol secretion; Paradies et al., 2015; Ong et al., 2013; Tull et al., 1999) and professional attainment (e.g., hiring and promotion decisions, wage gaps; Zschirnt & Ruedin, 2016; Quillian et al., 2017; Pager & Shepard, 2008). Further, racial/ethnic minorities are disproportionately affected by layoffs (Sheeran, 1975; Elvira & Zatzick, 2002; Dias, 2021), which can have substantive consequences for their financial well-being. They often must also navigate acculturative stress and a lack of support while at work, all of which can take a further toll on their well-being (Amason et al., 1999; Sloan et al., 2013).

Though literature on the occurrence and consequences of workplace racism has begun to flourish in recent years, a facet of racism that remains underexplored in the extant literature is internalized racism. Most racism research in the organization in the U.S. focuses on external manifestations, such as racial discrimination. This includes interpersonal and institutional racism, which are defined as inequitable, prejudicial treatment among individuals that derogate non-White individuals and a structural system that produces and maintains White Americans' privilege and status (Dulin-Keita et al., 2011), respectively. Internalized racism, also known as appropriated racial oppression, is defined as the acceptance of racist views of the dominant racial group (i.e., White individuals) by racial/ethnic minorities and the often-subconscious internalization of beliefs of one's own group's inferiority (Pyke & Dang, 2003). Like racism from external sources, internalized racism has been shown to have similar harmful effects for racial/ethnic minorities, such as being linked to lower psychological and physical well-being (David et al., 2019; Gale et al., 2020; Tull et al., 1999). Speight (2007) even posited that internalized racism may be the most psychologically damaging result of racism.

However, internalized racism has seldom been examined in an organizational context; most organizational racism research focus on external forms of racism (e.g., Snyder & Schwartz, 2019; Triana et al., 2015) while internalized racism literature largely focuses on its conception and manifestations in different racial and ethnic groups (David et al., 2019) or its effects in a school setting (e.g., Hipolito-Delgado, 2007; Huber et al., 2006; Maxwell et al., 2015). Correspondingly, the current study integrates research on internalized racism and workplace discrimination to propose and test a model of the work-related antecedents and consequences of internalized racism. Generally, I hypothesized that relationships between aspects of the work environment and employee well-being would be affected by internalized racism; this study sheds

new light on how these factors interact in a work context and how they impact different groups of racial/ethnic minority employees through a targeted sampling method.

In the following sections, key concepts will be discussed along with extant research that provides the foundation for the proposed model (see Figure 1).

Internalized Racism

Internalized racism is defined as the acceptance of racist views of the dominant racial group (White) by racial/ethnic minorities. This is often accompanied by a subconscious internalization of beliefs of one's own group's inferiority (Pyke & Dang, 2003). Internalized racism differs from other forms of racism, such as interpersonal and institutional racism, because it is internally rather than externally experienced and leads to the lowering of one's sense of value and self-worth over time (David et al., 2019). That is, although racism from external sources can also lead to a devaluation and lowered sense of self over time (Pyke & Dang, 2003; Lee & Boykins, 2022), internalized racism leads one to accept negative stereotypes about their racial/ethnic group as true and deserved (Lipsky, 1987). Indeed, those with internalized racist attitudes accept stereotypes and prejudicial beliefs that their own group is inferior, less intelligent, and less capable than the racial majority group (Williams & Williams-Morris, 2000). Moreover, the internalization of racist values and reasoning about one's own group is a subtle process that leads racial/ethnic minorities to justify racism against their own group due to sincerely, albeit perhaps subconsciously, held beliefs about their own group's relative social value (Baker, 1983). Internalized racism can even lead racial/ethnic minorities to perpetuate racism against one's own race (Pyke & Dang, 2003; Bailey, 2008). Comparable constructs, such as internalized transphobia, internalized misogyny, and internalized homophobia, have similar outcomes (Boctking et al., 2020; Han et al., 2023; Wickham et al., 2021).

There exist a few conceptualizations of internalized racism and how it may manifest. The prominent models of internalized racism focus on Black Americans (e.g., Helms, 1990; Taylor & Gundy, 1996) but are often adapted for other racial/ethnic minorities, including Black Brazilians (Bianchi et al., 2002), Latinx Americans (Hipolito-Delgado, 2010), and Asian Americans (Choi et al., 2017). Before the term "internalized racism" was widely used in the 1980's, scholars examined "Black self-hatred" as a negative component of racial identity (Milliones 1973; Fanon, 1952). Lipsky (1987) further examined this construct and described internalized racism as an agreement with one's own oppression, manifesting as internalized stereotypes, mistrust of oneself and others that share one's racial identity, and having a narrower view of one's culture. This construct evolved and is evidenced in Cross's (1991) Nigresence model, which outlines Black individuals' psychological changes in consciousness in relation to their awareness of their race and views toward their identity. Bailey et al. (2011) expanded on this by suggesting that internalized racism is multifaceted, identifying four components of internalized racism for Black Americans: 1) internalization of negative stereotypes, 2) belief in the biased representation of history, 3) alteration of physical appearance, and 4) hair change.

Other researchers have chosen similar construct labels for the dimensions of internalized racism. David and Okazaki (2006) labeled the dimensions as internalized inferiority, shame, physical characteristics, intra-race discrimination, and acceptance or minimization of oppression; Campón and Carter (2015) listed the dimensions of internalized racism as appropriation of negative stereotypes, denying racism, adoption of White cultural norms and standards, devaluing of one's own group, and emotional reactions; and similarly, Bianchi and colleagues (2002) proposed that internalized racism entails conforming to racial oppression. Thus, although

different scholars propose multiple labels for the dimensions, there is agreement on the general themes that emerge when examining internalized racism.

Scholars have also given much consideration to the process by which racial/ethnic minorities come to internalize racism. One argument is that some racial/ethnic minorities use racial schemas constructed by the dominant group to define their own identities, and many find themselves pressured to assimilate to distance themselves from the stigma of their racial minority identity (Goffman, 1963, van Veelen et al., 2020). This can be accompanied by distancing oneself from and stereotyping others with a stigmatized racial identity (e.g., Field, 1994), which can manifest as finding certain physical features more attractive (Fills & Joshi, 2015; Kawamura & Rice, 2009) and discriminating against other racial/ethnic minorities (Pyke & Dang, 2003). As a process, internalized racism may or may not be intentional; for example, intragroup marginalization or defensive othering, which is considered an adaptive reaction where individuals look to gain safety and advantages by othering those in their own group (Schwalbe et al., 2000, pp. 425), is a related concept that suggests an intentional process of internalizing racism in order to access relative benefits therefrom. Those with internalized racism are not creating a new group of "others" to discriminate against but rather they are reacting to and adopting the hierarchy set by the dominant group. Multiple models of racial identity development (e.g., Tatum, 1992; Cross, 1978) suggest that internalized racism is a natural consequence of identity formation in the U.S. That is, it should not be viewed simply as "a result as it is an expected outcome and self-perpetuating tool of oppression in [a] society [that is] embedded in White supremacy" (Blakesley, 2016, p. 43).

Consideration of the processes through which racism becomes internalized has also produced some discrepancies among scholars. Some posit internalized racism as a maladaptive

response that furthers inequality and contributes to the cyclical nature of racial oppression (Carr et al., 2014; Speight, 2007). This notion is supported by Rutter's (1987) risk and resilience framework. This framework generally suggests there are vulnerability and protective mechanisms that underlie individual differences in responding to risk factors, and scholars (e.g., Sosoo et al., 2020) have used this model to conceptualize internalized racism as a vulnerability factor that may increase susceptibility to deleterious outcomes when facing adversity. However, others have conversely suggested that internalized racism may be an adaptive response to society's racial oppression (Pyke & Dang, 2003). It has been conceptualized as a reaction to racism (Likpsky, 1987), a way to deflect the stigma faced from the dominant groups in society (Schwalbe et al., 2000), and a way to minimize the impact of experienced racism (Golden, 2004).

Despite disagreement about whether internalized racism is adaptive or maladaptive, research has converged on the finding that it is pervasive among racial/ethnic minorities in the U.S. Documenting the existence of internalized racism, Molina and James (2016) found that Black Americans in the U.S. indicated moderate levels of internalized racism with a mean score of 10.89 out of 16 in their study. Other researchers have used implicit association tests and found that Black (Chae et al., 2014), Filipino (David, 2010), and Hispanic (Uhlmann et al., 2002) participants endorsed negative stereotypes and associated negative concepts with their own groups while associating more positive connotations with White Americans. Further, Osajima (1993) found that Asian American college students relied on negative imagery of their groups formulated by the dominant group to form their self-concepts.

Additionally, past research has established the deleterious effects of internalized racism outside of a work context. Internalized racism has been linked to detrimental health outcomes such as higher blood pressure (Hatter-Fisher & Harper, 2017), psychosomatic stress (James,

2022; Sosoo, 2017), and depression (Tull et al., 1999). Alongside health outcomes, internalized racism also has implications for interpersonal (Brondolo et al., 2012; Wong-Padoongpatt et al., 2022) and academic outcomes (Brown et al., 2017). For example, research has linked internalized racism to a lower value for education and decreased academic performance (Brown et al., 2017; Johnson-Ahorlu, 2013; Morente, 2016; Robertson, 2018). Furthermore, although research on internalized racism and organizational outcomes is still in its nascency, emerging evidence has found that internalized racism is associated with lower career aspirations and professional attainment (Brown & Segrist, 2016; Brown et al., 2017).

The current study aimed to build on this budding research to propose and examine a model of internalized racism's work-related antecedents and outcomes. More specifically, the proposed model examined racial composition and organizational inclusion climate as key antecedents of internalized racism; the outcomes of interest are psychological well-being and identity management in the workplace. The subsequent section first considers the antecedents of internalized racism, which will then be followed by internalized racism's outcomes.

Racial Composition

The first antecedent considered in the proposed model is the racial composition of one's workplace, which is typically operationalized as the percentage of racial/ethnic identities of one's immediate coworkers and supervisor. I posit racial composition as a key antecedent to internalized racism because the racial/ethnic identities of one's coworkers may influence racial/ethnic minority employees' beliefs and attitudes about their own identities and the extent to which they may internalize stereotypes. It is important to note that internalized racism usually forms early on in development. Extant research has demonstrated that children and adolescents (Bailey et al., 2022; Hurst, 2015) already have observable levels of internalized racism. I propose

that individuals are not internalizing racism for the first time at work but, rather, that their internalized racism is either exacerbated or made more salient due to their context.

Stereotype threat may explain why the racial composition of an organization affects employees' internalized racism. Working in a predominately White organization may make one's racial/ethnic identity more salient and raise concerns about the negative stereotypes by which it is judged. Workers are already concerned with appearing competent and being evaluated positively at work (Roberson & Kulik, 2007; Ryan & Sacket, 2013), so an added factor of having a visible difference from one's colleagues and being in the minority may sensitive a worker to their identity and negative stereotypes related to it. Past scholars have also theorized that continually experiencing stereotype threat may lead to disidentification (Steele, 1997)—this could manifest as disengaging with the context that is inducing stereotype threat or distancing oneself from the identity that is viewed negatively.

Broadly, organizations that are not diverse or multicultural can have a negative impact on racial/ethnic minority employees in that they may not feel represented or supported if they do not have colleagues of similar racial/ethnic backgrounds who can relate to their experiences (Sloan et al., 2013; Amason et al., 1999). Racial/ethnic minority employees may find difficulty in navigating unique stressors if they are in predominately White organizations, especially if they feel that their cultures and well-being are not supported. This lack of support may be an unintentional byproduct of a more homogeneous work environment—in work environments that are predominately White, racial/ethnic minority employees' internalization of racism and the dominant culture's norms may be more salient, potentially leading to more negative views of their own practices if they are not similar to the dominant group. In this case, the dominant

norms that are internalized stem from White-defined cultural standards for the workplace, which is also informed by broader societal White standards (Blitz & Kohl, 2012).

The racial composition of a workplace can impact its group norms (Chang et al., 2019; Chatman, 2010) and racial/ethnic minorities' experiences (Cortina, 2008). Drawing from Fitzgerald and colleagues' (1995) influential model of prejudiced acts in the workplace, the context of an organization can play a role in employees' mistreatment. Although this was originally a model of sexual harassment, other scholars (e.g., Bergman et al., 2012) have adapted this model for racial/ethnic harassment and discrimination. Included in this is the examination of the demographic composition of an organization, which also involves expectations of who and what fits in with the norm (Bergman & Henning, 2008). These norms can come from formal and informal processes that value knowledge, traditions, and ways of thinking, speaking, and behaving that are more familiar to those in the majority group, in this case, White employees (Acker, 2006). However, racial/ethnic employees who do not share the same experiences or background as the White majority may be alienated or devalued as a result. If the norms and practices of an organization operate in a way that suggest Whiteness to be natural or correct, then this can be referred to as White normativity (Ferguson, 2004; Munoz 1999), and it may play a role in why the racial composition of an organization exacerbates employees' existing internalized racism. White normativity acts as an external force that suggests to racial/ethnic minority employees that they should conform to White norms to belong in the workplace (Rosette & Dumas, 2007; Cross & Strauss, 1998; McCluney et al., 2021). This signals to employees what and who are more valued, and it can lead to the (further) internalization that Whiteness is superior while devaluing other identities (Hebl et al., 2007; Helm, 1990).

Although there has been a plethora of research on relational demography at work (e.g., Fila et al., 2022; Van Ewijk & Sleegers 2010, Zatzick et al., 2003), there has been scant research regarding the role of racial composition of one's work environment on internalized racism. A 2022 review of relational demography in organizations found that much of the work in this area focuses on work-related outcomes, such as performance, turnover, and satisfaction (Kaur & Ren, 2022). There exists some research examining relational demography's impact on personal outcomes, such as perceived justice and social integration, as well (Kaur & Ren, 2022; Tsui et al., 1992). Researchers in this area often use social identity theory (e.g., Stewart & Garcia-Prieto, 2008) and self-categorization theory (e.g., Tsui et al., 1992) to guide their work; using these frameworks, the findings generally suggest that workers with salient differences from those around them possibly experience less interpersonal attraction and more incongruence with those around them depending on how they self-categorize themselves in relation to perceived similarities with the group (Tsui et al., 1992). Additionally, these two theories suggest that workers would want to be more like those around them, which can lead them to conform to the group norms (Shaw, 1981). This may be especially relevant in the workplace since organizations often have explicit norms, sometimes rooted in systematic racism, that workers are expected or feel like they are expected to follow and negative consequences, whether material or social (Hewlin et al., 2016; Durand & Kremp, 2016), if they do not conform adequately. For example, those who feel some sort of threat at work, such as job insecurity, are more likely to suppress their own personal values and pretend to conform to the organization's (Hewlin et al., 2016); this may also translate to identity threats, made more salient in homogenous groups, as a mechanism by which a worker may conform to the group's norms and eventually internalize them. Workers' previous experiences with conforming to majority-group norms and their existing internalized

racism, combined with the heightened visibility and importance of hierarchy and convention in organizations, may lead to greater salience in pressures to conform that lead to an exacerbation of their internalized racism.

Although there is little research regarding the effects of racial composition in the workplace on internalized racism, there is evidence drawn from school settings that shows support for this proposed link. Generally, researchers have suggested that predominately White institutions are linked with students' internalized racism. Sanchez (2015) found that institutions' racial composition related to their ethnic identity development such that Hispanic and Latino students felt that they had to change their identities to fit into the campus culture. Atkin et al. (2018) found that compared to Asian American adolescents attending schools with a predominantly Asian student population, Asian American adolescents who attended schools with a predominately White student population were more likely to internalize the model minority myth, which is the stereotype that Asian Americans are academically and economically more successful that other racial minority groups because of their individual efforts, values of hard work, and perseverance (Lee & Rotheram-Borus, 2009; Wu, 2002). These findings inform the first hypothesis:

> *H1: There will be a significant relationship between the racial composition and internalized racism. Specifically, racial/ethnic minorities reporting a lower percentage of racially similar others working in their organizations will have higher levels of internalized racism compared to racial/ethnic minority employees reporting a higher percentage of racially similar others working in organizations.*

Inclusion Climate

The climate of an organization refers to shared perceptions of an organization's policies, practices, and priorities, both formal and informal (Reichers & Schneider, 1990). There are many ways to characterize an organization's climate, and this study focused on inclusion climate, which Nishii (2013) has defined as employees' perceptions of the expectations and norms of their organization that let them behave in a way that is consistent with their self-concepts, including aspects of the various identities they hold, and whether they are included in decision making and supported in sharing views that may not be part of the status quo. Specifically, Nishii (2013, p. 1754) writes that inclusion climates are characterized by "a collective commitment to integrating diverse cultural identities as a source of insight and skill." To elaborate further, Nishii (2013) conceptualized inclusion climate as having three components: 1) equitable employment practices, 2) integration of differences, and 3) inclusion in decision-making. It is important to note that the racial composition of an organization and its inclusion climate are different constructs; while racial composition refers to the representation of various racial/ethnic identities, inclusion climate refers to the degree to which workers perceive that their identity-related feelings and behaviors are acknowledged and integrated into the organization.

There are multiple facets, both formal and informal, that contribute to an organization's inclusion climate, which can play a role in the internalization of racial group norms. Social group norms can affect the climate of an organization (Dipboye & Halverson, 2004); if biased behavior occurs and continues to be enabled, other employees may model this behavior to fit in better with other members of the organization (Crandall et al., 2002; Brief et al., 2000; Robinson & O'Leary-Kelly, 1998). Employees may feel that members of certain demographics are valued more or favored when they are the only ones attaining leadership positions—racial/ethnic

minorities may draw on the conclusion that they must assimilate into the favored group to advance their careers and be valued at work (Nishii, 2008).

There are parallels between the integration of differences factor in inclusion climate and previous research on gender integration in schools that inform the current study. The social integration of boys and girls in elementary school have had mixed outcomes regarding their perceptions of their own group. In some instances, gender segregation led boys and girls to demonstrate more bias against women, either by endorsing stereotypes or denying the existence of discrimination based on gender (Fabes et al., 2019). However, consistent with intergroup contact theory, gender integration sometimes increased gender bias as well. Other times, gender integration in schools had positive effects. For example, DiDonato et al. (2016) found that girls internalized fewer stereotypes and felt more positive affect in relation to school in gender-integrated groups. They further suggest that proper social integration could help in decreasing gender disparities in schools.

Similarly, an organization's inclusion climate may be a key antecedent to internalized racism due to the signals that it sends to employees. An effective climate of inclusion would signal to all employees that they are all valued and can express their authentic selves at work since it is an environment that would support them and the identities that they hold. Like previous research in school settings, better integration and inclusion of workers may decrease the reliance on and internalization of detrimental stereotypes as well. Conversely, a poor climate of inclusion sends signals to employees who are not included that they are not valued; employees can internalize these feelings of devaluation (Brons, 2015) which may lead to heightened levels of internalized racism and/or make it more salient and influential. Adamovic et al. (2023) integrated research on minority stress with the Job Demands-Resources (JDR) model (Bakker &

Demerouti, 2007), positing inclusion climate as a job resource that affects racial/ethnic minority workers' well-being. Job resources are characterized as aspects of a job or organization that enhances productivity, engagement, or well-being (Demerouti et al., 2001) and can include job autonomy, social support, and positive organizational climates. In the JDR model, resources act as buffers to the deleterious consequences of job demands, which are characterized as aspects of a job or organization that increase stress and decrease cognitive resources. Adamovic and colleagues (2022) conceptualized inclusion climate as a job resource that provides support for racial/ethnic minority employees through signals that they are welcomed, accepted, and valued.

I further posit that inclusion climate can also act as a demand depending on its nature. A poor inclusion climate may be a demand on racial/ethnic minority employees by creating more stressors and cognitive load—racial/ethnic minority employees face these additional stressors when they have to navigate organizations with poor inclusion climate, which are often characterized by practices and policies that are exclusionary to different groups of employees. This demand can impact worker well-being through internalized racism, which can further be explained by integrating minority stress theory. Minority stress is defined as a unique stressor that is rooted in prejudice and stigma (Frost & Meyer, 2023). Poor inclusion climate can be conceptualized as both a distal and proximal stressor since it is characterized by environmental and social pressures that create additional burdens for workers with minoritized identities (Adamovic et al., 2022; Frost & Meyer, 2013; Velez et al., 2013). In an environment with poor inclusion climate, racial/ethnic minority workers feel singled out, devalued, or even vigilant against potential discriminatory incidents. These experiences can lead to the internalization of racism as a coping mechanism.

Inclusive climates act as a resource for workers by integrating them more fully into the organization—when workers feel more included and valued, they are better able to perform their jobs since they are in a positive work environment and have more social support (Crawford et al., 2010; Halbesleben, 2010). Climates that are inclusive are more beneficial for employees and the organization in the long run (Nishii et al., 2010; Nishii, 2013). Organizations with stronger inclusion climates tend to have less conflict (Nishii, 2013; Dwertmann & Boehm, 2016), intergroup animosity (Hogg & Terry, 2000), and interpersonal bias (Nishii, 2013). Conversely, less inclusive climates can create a sense of scarcity of symbolic and material resources that leads to competition and negative affect (Brewer, 1999). Less inclusive organizations that create a social system where certain identities are valued over others may be creating incentives for employees to defend status in relation to identity which may come in the form of identity-based mistreatment (Berdahl, 2007).

Researchers have also suggested that inclusive climates create a space where employees feel psychologically safe to authentically express themselves and share about their identities (Ely & Thomas, 2001; Ensari & Miller, 2006). Drawing from research examining inclusion climates in school settings, when individuals feel unwelcome or unsafe in their environment, they may be less likely to engage and feel that they do not belong (Encina & Berger, 2021; Saltaga, 2017). These impacts of climate can have deep implications for well-being, the first outcome of internalized racism considered here.

Well-Being

Well-being is an extremely broad construct that scientists have struggled to reach agreement on in defining (Dodge et al., 2012). Most well-being researchers support the definition put forth by the World Health Organization (WHO, 2016)— “a state of complete physical,

mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity"—due to its emphasis on both the lack of negative factors and presence of positive factors (Henn, 2013). Within the realm of psychological well-being, there are two approaches to research: hedonia and eudaimonia. Generally, these two approaches, although related to each other, have distinguishable conceptualizations of how happiness independently impacts various outcomes (Waterman, 2008). Hedonia refers to subjective happiness and its relation to contentment, satisfaction, and positive affect (Huta & Waterman 2014; Ryff & Singer, 2008). Eudaimonia, which is the approach taken here, focuses on a person who is healthy, functions optimally, and can succeed despite life's challenges (Huta & Waterman, 2014; Ryff & Singer, 2008).

Within the organization, racial/ethnic minority workers can face unique stressors that stem from environmental factors at work that erode their well-being over time. Amason et al. (1999) examined Hispanic workers' acculturative stress, and the results of their study suggest that social support played a significant role in their well-being. Specifically, the social support that they received from White coworkers was related to their acculturative stress, which may suggest the importance of perceived inclusion and approval, especially from the White/majority group, in racial/ethnic minority workers' well-being. This may be particularly salient in those with higher levels of internalized racism. Internalized racism has also been found to have direct, detrimental effects on mental and physical health (David et al., 2019; Gale et al., 2020). This research informs the second and third hypotheses:

H2: Inclusion climate will be positively related to employee well-being.

H3: An employee's internalized racism will mediate the relationship between inclusion climate and their well-being.

Identity Management

Some individuals engage in identity management, that is, taking action to change their self-presentation by displaying or hiding characteristics that are associated with a social group or identity (Roberts et al., 2008; Clair et al., 2005). These behaviors can be deliberate, unintentional, or even a mix of both (Schlenker, 2003). I propose that those with higher levels of internalized racism engage in more identity management behaviors than those who have lower levels. If workers' levels of internalized racism are heightened, this may lead them to engage in behaviors that allow them to make their stigmatized identities less salient. For example, past researchers have found evidence suggesting a number of reasons one might engage in identity management, including fear of being discriminated against (Ellison et al., 2003), coping with discrimination (Shih et al., 2013), perceiving that their identity is devalued (Roberts et al., 2008), and wishing to fit in better with the group norms of their environment (Jetten et al., 1997).

Shih and colleagues (2013) propose that people engage in identity management strategies in order to manage the presentation of their social identities and the stereotypes associated with them so they can mitigate the negative effects of prejudicial treatment. This also falls under impression management theory, which states that people will manage others' impression of their social status through verbal and nonverbal cues (Roberts, 2005). One will feel more compelled to display or suppress their identity based on whether their identity is valued or devalued by others (Chrobot-Mason et al., 2001; Mohr et al. 2019; Santuzzi et al., 2019). The current literature on identity management focuses primarily on less visible stigmatized identities, such as sexual orientation and some disabilities. Identity management can refer to more visible stigmatized identities, such as race, as well. Although it is not always possible to fully hide one's race,

individuals can still suppress or deemphasize their stigmatized social identities (Madera et al., 2012).

One's racial identity will differ in meaning and level of significance across individuals. Helms (1990) theorized that there are different stages in how one views their racial identity and that a critical component of this is status. Racial and ethnic minorities may view White colleagues as the reference or dominant group and deny their own ethnic identity (Helms, 1990). This is a part of internalized racism as well; some may internalize the idea that White is the dominant or normative group and devalue their own group (Versey et al., 2019); this is especially relevant in a diverse workplace—if employees internalize the idea that their identities are devalued, they may engage in identity management in order to reduce the potential for negative experiences related to their stigmatized identity status (Goffman, 1963; Roberts, 2005) or assimilate into the more positively appraised group norms (Lynch & Roddell, 2018).

Identity management behaviors can be conceptualized as a proximal stressor under minority stress theory as well. The socialization process that occurs around racial/ethnic minority employees throughout their lives may have taught them, through racially biased media and policies, to internalize the stigma and either hide or make less salient cues that signal their racial identity as a protective measure against distal stressors. If an individual's racial identity is devalued, or they perceive their racial identity to be devalued and have negative feelings toward it, then they may want to suppress it in order to assimilate with the more valued and positively viewed norms or racially identity. Although race is often, but not always, a visible stigmatized identity, racial/ethnic minority employees can manage their identities in a number of ways. This can be exemplified in a workplace setting in ways such as whether or not an individual eats food

or speaks a language associated with their ethnic backgrounds or discusses their identity at work (Madera et al., 2012).

The reason why workers may hide facets of their identity that are negatively stereotyped or stigmatized could also be explained in part by self-discrepancy theory (Higgins, 1987; Higgins et al., 1986). Those who are aware of the negative stereotypes or stigma associated with their racial/ethnic identities may feel a discrepancy of who they are (i.e., focusing on their stigmatized racial/ethnic identity) and who they want to be (i.e., distanced from the stigmatized identity and more aligned with the norms of the organization). Internalizing this discrepancy and viewing it as something that should be fixed could lead to engagement in identity management behaviors to bridge this perceived gap. The awareness of this perceived discrepancy has been found to lead individuals to engagement in identity concealment behaviors, even when the stigma of a stigmatized identity is not internalized (Sedlovskaya et al., 2013).

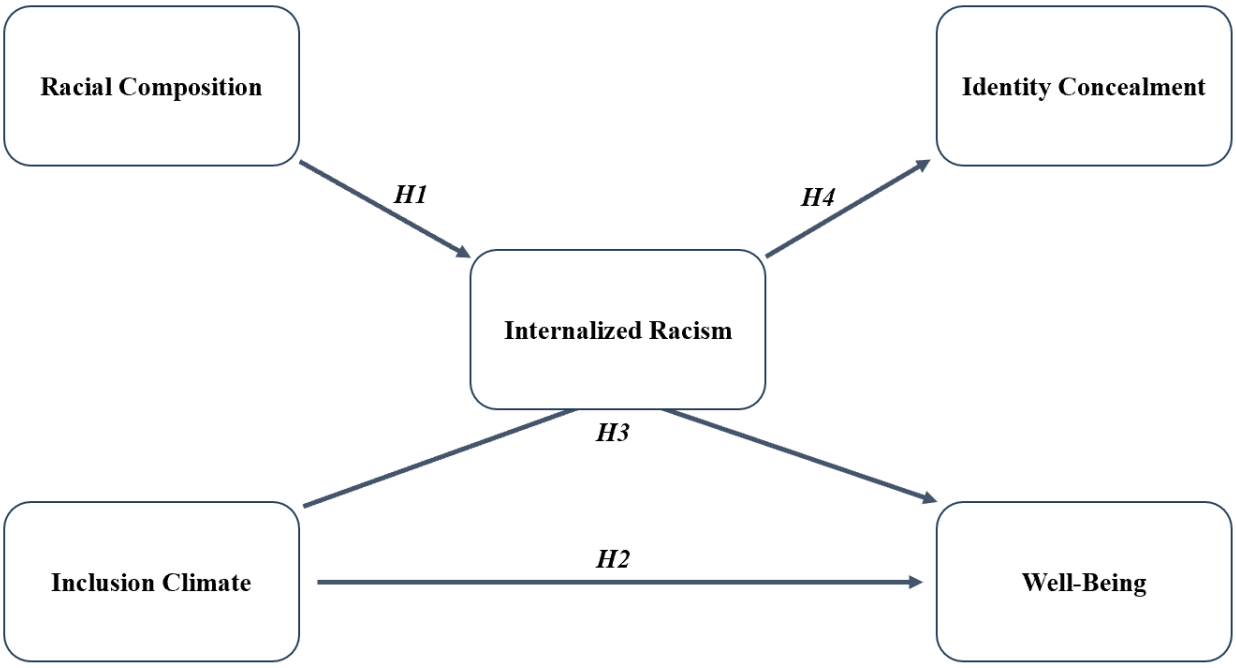
Within the context of the organization, there is a plethora of research examining identity management across various identities. In addition to concealing or revealing one's identity, Shih et al. (2013) described two broad classes of identity management strategies: identity switching and identity redefinition. Identity switching refers to the deemphasis of an identity and recategorizing it into a more valued one, while identity redefinition refers to associating with and generating different stereotypes that will paint an identity in a more value way. Engaging in identity switching may manifest as deemphasizing the stigmatized identity, for example by not talking about it or its importance, and emphasizing a shared identity, such as that of one's team or organization, or even a shared common interest in order to deflect attention away from the stigmatized identity. Identity redefinition often manifests as emphasizing the positive stereotypes about the stigmatized identity—for example, older workers may emphasize positive traits

associated with their group, such as loyalty and having more experience (Berger, 2009). The stereotype regeneration aspect of this strategy is more beneficial if used on an identity that does not already have salient stereotypes in a certain context since this entails associating new beliefs or traits with a previously negatively stereotyped identity. Drawing from the literature on internalized homophobia, Bailey (2008) identified feelings of shame as a common factor of internalized racism, which may be linked to identity concealment. Similar to those who perceive others as devaluing their identity, people who devalue their own identity may be more likely to engage in identity management and suppress markers of their racial identity. Helms' (1990) conceptual work on perceptions of value in one's racial identity informs my fourth hypothesis:

H4: Internalized racism is positively related to engaging in identity concealment.

Figure 1. Conceptual Model

Below is the conceptual model, tested in the present study, examining internalized racism's role in the organization.



Methods

Participants

Participants were recruited using Prolific, which is an online survey platform that compensates participants, DePaul's SONA system, and social media, specifically LinkedIn, Instagram, Reddit, Facebook, and X, formerly known as Twitter. Social media participants were recruited through convenience sampling with raffled gift cards as a participation incentive. Participants were eligible for the study if they self-identified as a racial/ethnic minority, were currently employed full- or part-time, over the age of 18, and currently lived in the United States.

I conducted an *a priori* power analysis based on a small effect size ($f^2 = .02$), which was based on previous meta-analyses of internalized racism (Gale et al., 2020), in G*Power, which suggested that 395 participants were needed to achieve adequate power (.80).

The final sample included 89 participants. Most of the participants were recruited through Prolific (*n* = 71; 79.77%), followed by SONA (*n* = 16; 17.98 %) and social media (*n* = 2; 2.25%). The sample included 47 (52.81%) women, 41 (46.07%) men, and 1 (1.12%) nonbinary person. Approximately 57 (64.04%) of participants were heterosexual, 22 (24.72%) bi- or pansexual, 8 (8.99%) lesbian or gay, and 2 (2.25%) were questioning. The age of participants ranged from 18 to 47 years old (*M* = 34.56, *SD* = 12.50) with 68 (76.40%) working full-time, (22.47%) working part-time, and 1 (1.12%) self-employed. Most of the sample (*n* = 77; 86.5%) had completed at least some college; specifically, 23 (25.84%) completed some college or held an associate's degree, 39 held a bachelor's degree (43.82%), 14 held advanced degrees (15.73%), and one went to technical school (1.12%). The sample included 40 (44.94%) Black, 26 (29.21%) Asian, 13 (14.61%) Latinx, 3 (3.37%) Native, 1 (1.12%) Middle Eastern, and 6 (6.74%) multiracial participants.

Procedure

DePaul University's SONA system and Prolific, both of which contain a built-in screening mechanism for participants so that only those with the relevant traits can access the study, were used to collect data. Social media participants self-selected into the study based on provided study information. They followed the same procedure as those recruited through SONA and Prolific but additionally provided their date of birth as an ID so that their T1 and T2 responses could be linked and an email, which was collected in a separate survey, so that they could be contacted to take the second survey. After participants provided their informed consent, they responded to questions regarding their levels of internalized racism, the racial composition of their coworkers, and inclusion climate of their work environment. The order that these measures were presented in was counterbalanced to mitigate order effects. Two instructed-response attention checks were included throughout the survey (e.g., "Please select "strongly agree" for this item.). Participants were then contacted one week after their initial response to complete the second survey, which asked them to respond to questions about their levels of internalized racism, well-being, and identity management behaviors.

The one-week time lag was chosen based on Dormann and van de Ven's (2014) guidance on timing methodology for studying psychosocial factors at work, specifically referencing accumulation models, which generally call for a relatively short time lag. Following their taxonomy of time lag lengths, I opted to use a time point on the lower end (i.e., one week) in their definition of a mid-term stress reaction time frame (i.e., one day to one month). This also followed convention in similar studies (e.g., Dhanani et al., 2024) and reduced concerns about common method variance. Participants then provided their demographic information at the end of the first survey.

Measures

Internalized racism. Most measures of internalized racism examine this construct in one specified racial group, but few measures examine internalized racism in general with all racial/ethnic minorities (David et al., 2019). Most of the internalized racism literature focuses on Black and African American samples. There has been a surge of studies with other racial/ethnic minority group samples in recent years. Measures of internalized racism differ by group; currently existing measures examine internalized racism in African and Black Americans (Taylor & Grundy, 1996; Bailey et al., 2011), Asian Americans (Liao, 2016; David & Okazaki, 2006), and Latinx individuals (Hiplito-Delgado, 2007). There is a generalized measure assessing internalized racism (Campón & Carter, 2015), though most researchers use race or ethnic-group specific scales, likely because these measures tap into group-specific stereotypes and experiences (e.g., the model minority myth for Asians). While these experiences and stereotypes often differ by group, Bailey (2008) identified five dimensions of internalized racial oppression that are often used as subscales in measures of internalized racism. The five dimensions are: (1) alteration of physical appearance, (2) internalization of negative stereotypes, (3) self-destructive behaviors, (4) devaluation of race's worldview and motifs, and (5) belief in biased representation of history. Due to its alignment with Bailey's dimensions of internalized racism and measurement of general internalized racism across different groups, I used the Appropriated Racial Oppression Scale (APROS; Campón & Carter, 2015), which is a 24-item Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*; 7 = *strongly agree*). This scale (see Appendix A) measured four facets of internalized racism: (1) emotional responses (e.g., "in general, I am ashamed of members of my racial group because of the way they act"), (2) American standards of beauty (e.g., "I find persons with light skin tones to be more attractive"), (3) devaluation of one's own group (e.g., "People of my race don't have

much to be proud of"), and (4) patterns of thinking [that maintain the status quo] (e.g., "People take racial jokes too seriously").

Cronbach's α for the APROS demonstrated adequate reliability in this study across both time points: α_{T1} = .91 and α_{T2} = .94. The subscales also demonstrated acceptable reliability; emotional responses α_{T1} = .78, α_{T2} = .83; American beauty standards α_{T1} = .78, α_{T2} = .81; group devaluation α_{T1} = .85, α_{T2} = .90; and status quo thinking α_{T1} = .68, α_{T2} = .76. Although the alpha for T1's status quo thinking falls just under the acceptable cutoff (i.e., $a > .70$), this is likely due to the small number of items in this subscale (i.e., three) as compared to the other subscales.

Racial composition of the work environment. Participants were asked to report the racial composition of their work environment (see Appendix B). Drawing from Stainback and Irvin's (2012) work, participants estimated the percentage of their coworkers that are White, the percentage of coworkers that were of the same racial/ethnic background as them, and the percentage of non-White but racially dissimilar coworkers to the best of their ability. This followed general convention in that researchers often use self-report measures to examine racial and gender composition (Stainback & Irvin, 2012; Elliott, 2001; Stainback, 2008; Stainback et al., 2011).

Inclusion climate. Organizational inclusion climate was examined using the Climate for Inclusion Scale (see Appendix C) developed by Nishii (2013). This measure has three dimensions: equitable employment practices, integration of differences, and inclusion in decision making. An example item from this scale is "Employees of this [work unit] are valued for who they are as people, not just for the jobs they fill." This was a 15-item measure that is rated on a five-point scale (1 = *strongly disagree*; 5 = *strongly agree*). The overall scale demonstrated good

reliability (α = .94). The three subscales' reliabilities were α = .87 for equitable practices, α = .85 for integration of differences, and α = .89 for inclusion in decision making.

Identity management. Identity manifestation and suppression were examined using Madera, King, and Hebl's (2012) Group Identity Manifestation/Suppression measure (see Appendix D). There are two subscales: identity manifestation and identity suppression. An example item on the suppression subscale is "I refrain from talking about my identity with my coworkers," and an example item on the manifestation subscale is "I consume food or drinks associated with my identity at work." This measure was composed of 20 items and rated on a seven-point scale (1 = *strongly disagree*; 7 = *strongly agree*). The subscales demonstrated good reliability, α = 0.93 for both manifestation and suppression.

Well-being. Workers' well-being was measured using the 18-item version of Ryff's Psychological Well-Being Scale (Ryff & Keyes, 1995; Ryff et al., 2010; see Appendix E). This measure has six dimensions: self-acceptance, positive relations with others, autonomy, environmental mastery, purpose in life, and personal growth. An example item is "I have confidence in my own opinions, even if they are different from the way most other people think." Responses can be rated from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). The scale demonstrated acceptable overall reliability, α = .88, with subscale alphas ranging from α = .51 - .85. However, this is in line with previous uses of the scale (e.g., van Dierendonck, 2004), and most of the poor reliability issues stem from the short scale length (i.e., each subscale only has three items) and the presence of reverse-coded items.

Results

Preparatory Analyses

There were 162 participants who completed the Time 1 survey. Of these, 109 completed the Time 2 survey. Participants who did not meet the inclusion criteria, including passing both attention checks, were removed before primary analyses, resulting in a final sample of 89 participants. Items were reverse coded as necessary and overall scores were computed for each variable. The overall score for all variables, aside from racial composition which uses percentages, were calculated using the mean. Subscale scores were calculated as well but combined to create a total score—this applied to all variables aside from racial composition and identity management, which had two subscales that measured opposing behaviors. Higher scores indicated stronger endorsement of the variable in question (e.g., higher levels of internalized racism). The fit of all unidimensional or multidimensional scales with intended measurement models were assessed using confirmatory factor analysis (Table 1); cutoff values were based Hu and Bentler's (1999) recommendations (i.e., RMSEA < 0.06; SRMR < 0.08; CFI > 0.95; and TLI > 0.95. The model fits are overall poor, but this is likely due to the small sample size (Goretzko et al., 2023), as these measures have been established in extant literature.

Table 1
CFA Model Fit for Study Measures

Measure	# of factors	#of items	RMSEA	SRMR	CFI	TLI
Inclusion Climate	3	15	.07	.06	.95	.94
IR1	4	24	.09	.10	.81	.78
IR2	4	24	.10	.08	.84	.82
ID Management	2	20	.13	.10	.80	.78
Well-Being	6	18	.11	.09	.82	.77

Note. N = 89. IR1 = internalized racism at Time 1. IR2 = internalized racism at Time 2. WB = well-being.

Preliminary analyses were conducted to ensure that the data met the assumptions of regression. To check for linearity, scatterplots were created for each of the proposed relationships (Appendix F). Generally, data points roughly fall in a linear fashion for Hypotheses 2-4; however, all measures of racial composition for Hypothesis 1 violate the linearity assumption. The independence of residuals was assessed by conducting the Durbin-Watson test; this assumption is met if the Durbin-Watson tests return non-significant results (i.e., $p > .05$), which suggests that the residuals of the variables are not significantly correlated with each other and therefore independent. Results of the Durbin-Watson tests indicated that this assumption was met for all proposed relationships (Appendix G). The assumption of homoscedasticity was tested by creating a scatterplot of the fitted values of each regression model against their residuals (Appendix H). Results suggested that this assumption was met for each model as the residuals do not vary enough over time to raise concerns about the presence of heteroscedasticity, especially considering the small sample size. Finally, normality was examined by constructing Q-Q plots to determine if the models' residuals were normally distributed (Appendix I). The assumption of normality was established for each of the models.

The stability of the mediator variable was assessed over Times 1 and 2 and separate models tested with the variable at both time points as a robustness check.

Descriptive Statistics

Means, standard deviations, and correlations for all variables are presented in Table 2. Internalized racism scores at Time 1 and Time 2 were significantly correlated, $r = .85$, $p < .01$, suggesting good stability for this variable. Of note, there were significant correlations between inclusion climate and internalized racism at both time points ($r_{T1} = -.24$, $p = .02$; $r_{T2} = -26$, $p = .01$). Additionally, there were significant correlations between identity suppression and

internalized racism at both time points (r_{T1} = .38, p < .01; r_{T2} = .53, p < .01). This suggests preliminary evidence for Hypotheses 2 and 4.

Table 2
Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations of Study Variables

Variable	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. IRT1	2.61	.90								
2. IRT2	2.63	.97	.85**							
3. IC	3.52	.71	-.24*	-.26*						
4. Manifest	3.91	1.44	-.15	-.16	.04					
5. Suppress	2.79	1.19	.38**	.53**	-.31**	-.31**				
6. WB	5.04	.94	.04	.05	-.05	-.15	-.07			
7. %White	49.42	25.59	.05	.07	-.10	.02	.21*	.05		
8. %Same	27.78	23.87	.00	-.03	.15	.10	-.22*	.02	-.73**	
9. %NWD	22.81	18.37	-.07	-.06	-.06	-.16	-.02	-.10	-.45**	-.29**

Note. N = 89. *M* and *SD* represent the means and standard deviations respectively. * indicates p <.05 and ** indicates p <.01. IRT1 = Internalized Racism at Time 1. IRT2 = Internalized Racism at Time 2. IC = Inclusion Climate. Manifest = Identity Manifestation Behaviors. Suppress = Identity Suppression Behaviors. WB = Well-Being. %White = percentage of White coworkers. %Same = percentage of coworkers with the same racial/ethnic background. %NWD = percentage of coworkers who were non-White but from a different racial/ethnic background.

Hypothesis Testing

A series of regression analyses were conducted in order to test the study hypotheses. Results for each model can be found in Table 3-6.

To test Hypothesis 1, internalized racism was regressed onto racial composition, specifically the percentage of White coworkers that one had. Separate models were tested to examine the model using internalized racism from Time 1 and Time 2 along with different measures of racial composition (i.e., the percentage coworkers who were White, non-White, or had a similar background). In the Time 1 model, results suggest that the percentage of White coworkers that one had was not significantly related to internalized racism, R^2 = -.01, F(1, 87) =

.20, $p = .67$. These results are non-significant regardless of the primary racial composition metric used (i.e., percentage of coworkers who were White, non-White, and/or had similar backgrounds). Similarly, the Time 2 model suggested a non-significant relationship as well, $R^2 = -.01$, $F(1, 87) = .45$, $p = .51$. These results fail to show support for Hypothesis 1.

Table 3
Regression Results for Hypothesis 1

	DV = IRT1		DV = IRT2	
Predictors	β	SE_β	β	SE_β
%White	.05	.004	.07	.004
%Same	.00	.000	-.03	.004
%NWD	-.07	.005	-.06	.006

Note. $N = 89$. IRT1 = Internalized Racism at Time 1. IRT2 = Internalized Racism at Time 2. %White = percentage of White coworkers. %Same = percentage of coworkers with the same racial/ethnic background. %NWD = percentage of coworkers who were non-White but from a different racial/ethnic background.

Hypothesis 2 was tested by regressing well-being onto inclusion climate and then assessing the standardized coefficient of the model. Results suggest that inclusion climate was not a significant predictor of well-being, $R^2 = .003$, $F(1, 87) = .25$, $p = .62$. This fails to support Hypothesis 2.

Table 4
Regression Results for Hypothesis 2

	DV = Well-Being	
Predictor	β	SE_β
Inclusion Climate	-.05	.14

Note: N = 89.

To test the mediation model proposed in Hypothesis 3, I took the product of coefficients approach to mediation testing. For the first model, internalized racism was regressed onto inclusion climate. For the second model, well-being was regressed onto internalized racism and

inclusion climate. The standard coefficients of these two models were then multiplied. Two sets of analyses were also run to test Hypothesis 3 in order to examine the model using internalized racism scores at Time 1 and Time 2. Inclusion climate was significantly related to internalized racism at Time 1, R^2 = -.24, $F(1, 87) = 5.33$, $p = .02$. However, internalized racism and inclusion climate together were not significantly related to well-being, R^2 = -.02, $F(2, 86) = .17$, $p = .84$. The overall Time 1 model suggested that internalized racism did not mediate the relationship between inclusion climate and well-being (b = -.01, p = .75, 95% CI [-.10, .07]).

The Time 2 model showed similar results, also suggesting that internalized racism did not mediate the relationship between inclusion climate and well-being (b = -01, p = .77, 95% CI [-.10, .08]). The first model using Time 2 responses suggested that there was a significant relationship between inclusion climate and internalized racism (R^2 = -.26, $F(1, 87) = 6.29$, p = .01). Similarly, the second model using Time 2 responses showed that internalized racism and inclusion climate together were not significantly related to well-being (R^2 = -.02, $F(2, 86) = .18$, p = .83). This fails to show support for Hypothesis 3, as there is no evidence of any mediation effects (see Table 5).

Table 5
Mediation Results for Hypothesis 3 with Well-Being as the Outcome

Mediator	IC Direct Effect CI95%	IC Indirect Effect CI95%
IRT1	-.05 [-.36, .25]	-.01 [-.100, .07]
IRT2	-.06 [-.37, .26]	-.01 [-.10, .008]

Note. N = 89. IC = Inclusion Climate. IR = Internalized Racism. IRT1 = Internalized Racism at Time 1. IRT2 = Internalized Racism at Time 2. Analyses used 5,000 Monte Carlo estimations.

Finally, Hypothesis 4 was tested by examining the model standardized coefficient of a regression model where identity management behaviors were entered into Step 1 and internalized

racism into Step 2; this hypothesis was also examined using internalized racism scores from Time 1 and Time 2. Results for the Time 1 model suggested a non-significant relationship between internalized racism and identity manifestation behaviors, $R^2 = .01$, $F(1, 87) = 2.03$, $p = .16$. However, internalized racism did significantly predict identity suppression behaviors, $R^2 = .14$, $F(1, 87) = 14.90$, $p < .01$. The Time 2 models suggested similar results. Internalized racism at Time 2 was not significantly related to identity manifestation behaviors either, $R^2 = .01$, $F(1, 87) = 2.29$, $p = .13$, but did significantly predict identity suppression behaviors as well ($R^2 = .27$, $F(1, 87) = 33.19$, $p < .01$). This partially supports Hypothesis 4, suggesting that higher levels of internalized racism are predictive of identity concealment behaviors.

Table 6
Regression Results for Hypothesis 4

	DV = Identity Manifestation		DV = Identity Suppression	
Predictors	β	SE_β	β	SE_β
IRT1	-.15	.17	.38**	.13
IRT2	-.16	.16	.53**	.11

Note. $N = 89$. ** indicates $p < .01$. IRT1 = Internalized Racism at Time 1. IRT2 = Internalized Racism at Time 2.

Discussion

This study aimed to investigate the potential role of internalized racism in a workplace context. Specifically, I wanted to examine how an organization's inclusion climate and the racial composition of one's coworkers may relate to internalized racism, identity management behaviors, and psychological well-being. Using a multi-wave survey design, I examined four relationships: (1) the degree to which the racial composition of an individual's coworkers affected their internalized racism, (2) the extent to which the inclusion climate of an organization affected racial/ethnic minority employees' well-being, (3) the mediating role of internalized racism in the relationship between racial composition and well-being, and (4) the degree to

which an individual's level of internalized racism affected their identity management behaviors. These findings and their implications are expanded upon below.

Theoretical and Practical Implications

Hypothesis 1 was not supported; results indicated that the racial composition of individuals' coworkers did not significantly affect their internalized racism. The previous study that this hypothesis was drawn from focused on the role of school racial composition on internalized racism in adolescents—the focus on this age range, particularly at a crucial point in social development, may be why there was no significant relationship when examining these constructs in working adults. There exist competing perspectives on how contextual factors affect one's racial/ethnic identity. Social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) suggests that context (i.e., the representation of different identities in one's environment) affects the salience of one's identity and, importantly, their perceptions of threat and actions taken to align or distance themselves from that identity. The other major identity theory is the identity status model (Marcia, 1966) and theory of identity (Erikson, 1968); these approaches emphasize what *opportunities* exist for one's identity to develop. That is, being around others with a similar racial/ethnic background would foster a stronger sense of that identity due to the greater representation and resources available in relation to that background. Given the age group and context studied, it could be that participants have become accustomed to the different racial compositions of their surroundings, therefore are less likely to have their racial/ethnic identity and internalized racism made more salient by the racial demography alone. Having fewer coworkers with a similar background may also suggest fewer opportunities to engage with and raise the salience of their racial identity or trigger their internalized racism in adulthood. It is also important to remember that race and ethnicity, including our own and others' perceptions of it,

can be complicated, and the presence or lack of certain racial/ethnic identities alone may be a poor predictor of internalized racism. It may be better to examine more subjective perceptions of one's coworkers (e.g., the extent to which one believes their coworkers would demonstrate ally behaviors) when considering organizational contextual factors that cue one's internalized racism.

Results indicated that there was no support for Hypothesis 2, which examined the relationship between inclusion climate and well-being. This is surprising as several studies in extant literature have indicated that multiple facets of one's work environment affect one's well-being. Many conceptualizations of well-being, especially in relation to work, overlap with definitions of inclusion climate (e.g., feeling a sense of belonging and trust and being positively impacted by policies) (Oliveira et al., 2020). Given that the relationship between well-being and constructs similar to inclusion climate have been well established (e.g., Nielsen et al., 2017), I argue that these findings are not enough to challenge the existing literature. However, these findings suggest that the conceptualization of well-being used here was not necessarily appropriate and that there may be more relevant operationalizations of well-being that could have been used to link to inclusion climate. Although Ryff's Psychological Well-Being Scale is a popular measure, its construct validity and factor structure has been debated for decades (Henn et al., 2016; Springer et al., 2006a; 2006b) with some scholars suggesting that the scale does not adequately measure well-being, as demonstrated by its failure to not only produce a six-factor solution but neither a broader unidimensional well-being measure (Kafka & Kozma, 2002).

Hypothesis 3 was not supported; however, there were still some noteworthy results. Results suggested that an organization's inclusion climate can lessen one's internalized racism, even though internalized racism itself did not act as a mediator between inclusion climate and well-being. This finding still suggests the importance of examining organizational practices to

ensure that they are equitable and inclusive. A key facet of inclusion climate is an organization's foundation of equitable employment practices, so companies should continually evaluate their policies in hiring and promotion and support avenues for workers' voice. Poor inclusion climate can have deleterious impacts on all employees, but it can serve as a unique stressor for racial/ethnic minority employees in how it affects their levels of internalized racism. Ensuring fairer practices can mitigate workers' stereotype threat (Schmader & Hall, 2014) and internalized racism, reducing some barriers at work for racial/ethnic minority employees. This similarly fits with the Job Demands-Resources model; inclusion climate acts as a job resource that improves one's well-being and protects against demands and other stressors, which can include minority stressors such as internalized racism. As organizations increase their attention toward diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) initiatives, practitioners should keep in mind that employees' perceptions of their workplace climate not only include overt mistreatment but more subtle instances of mistreatment as well, such as those suggested in Nishii's inclusion climate measure (e.g., feeling safe to be your "true" self and equal consideration for everyone's ideas). Many DEI initiatives directly address issues facing those from historically marginalized backgrounds, such as through microaggression trainings and raising awareness about certain topics and history. Although this is important, these results reaffirm the idea that supporting DEI does not always directly concern and address overt injustices but also includes ensuring that employees have positive perceptions of their workplaces, which benefits everyone.

Hypothesis 4 was partially supported. This finding is in line with existing literature and theory. If someone perceives their own race/ethnicity in a negative light, then it is logical that they would engage in efforts to hide markers of this identity. These findings are in line with the literature on stereotype threat—being more aware of negative stereotypes about one's own group

can lead to concerns about being judged based on those stereotypes and subsequent action to reduce association with the stereotype domain. In the case of racial stereotypes and internalized racism, since race is often a visible and salient identity marker, this would manifest as refraining from discussing one's identity and avoiding signals associated with it, such as speech dialects or languages and culturally significant clothing, objects, or foods. Interestingly, internalized racism was not significantly predictive of identity manifestation behaviors. It could be that engaging in identity manifestation behaviors requires a stronger motivator than simply having lower levels of internalized racism. Although there is still scant literature on racial identity management behaviors, what does exist suggests that in perceiving the devaluation of one identity, some may manifest other, more positively viewed identities that are shared with others. Another approach to coping with perceived negative evaluations of one's racial identity is to emphasize the positive aspects of it (Roberts et al., 2008). The intersection of multiple identities is important to consider as well; recent research has suggested that experiencing harassment based on multiple identities, visible and invisible, can uniquely affect the strategies that one would employ to cope (Dhanani et al., 2024). Practitioners should consider implementing policies and practices that foster "identity-safe" environments—these include cues that signal an inclusive culture and climate, such as accountability and recruitment materials that do not reinforce traditional stereotypes. These cues can signal to workers that it is safe to bring their "whole" and "true" selves to work and have been found to reduce feelings of social identity- and stereotype threat among minority employees (Hall et al., 2018). However, it is crucial that these cues are connected to actual practices as well.

Limitations and Future Directions

As with any research study, there exists some limitations. The largest limitation is the small sample size, which fell well short of the 395 suggested to achieve adequate power. Due to this, results should be interpreted with extreme caution, and this study should be replicated with an adequate sample size. Future replicators may consider administering all study measures at both time points so that study hypotheses may still be tested adequately even if there is a high attrition rate or low recruitment rate for Time 2; researchers should be wary of survey fatigue in this case, but this may be a necessary tradeoff given the difficulty of recruiting enough participants over two time points to have enough statistical power to examine these research questions.

Also, this study has classical limitations that come with self-report data. The nature of the APROS makes it difficult to mitigate these effects due to the fairly explicit language derogating aspects of one's racial/ethnic identity, which may have made the participants in this study particularly vulnerable to social desirability effects (i.e., not wanting to appear to have prejudicial attitudes about their race) (Podsakoff et al., 2003). This is a prevalent concern in this area of research in general given the nature of the topic of racial/ethnic identity and internalized racism.

Although steps were taken to try mitigating other sources of common method variance, such as using a research design with temporal separation, it's important to note that causality cannot be fully established given that the data is still nonexperimental in nature (Stone-Romero & Rosopa, 2008). Future studies could consider implementing additional time points or employing an experimental laboratory design, for example, by randomly assigning participants

to complete team tasks and manipulating the conditions of those teams, such as their racial compositions.

The complete lack of a relationship between racial composition and internalized racism and racial composition's overall poor performance across models also raise further questions. Focusing solely on individuals' perceptions of racial similarity using the methodology here may not be enough to link racial composition to internalized racism. Although the racial composition of one's surroundings is more salient in contexts where one is in the numerical minority, some existing research suggests that this salience only has stronger effects when perceptions of deep-level similarity is considered as well (Ng et al., 2016). I only considered individual workers' self-reported racial composition from a surface-level standpoint without examining other factors that may tap into more relevant constructs of perceived racial/ethnic similarity. Future researchers should consider identifying additional factors that affect workers' perceptions of racial (dis)similarity and how these relate to the salience of one's levels of internalized racism, such as agreement on values or opinions on current events with a racialized component (e.g., the Black Lives Matter movement).

Another measurement concern, as discussed earlier, was the use of Ryff's Psychological Well-Being Scale—future studies may consider using different, or at least additional, well-being measures, such as Lui's (2018) Well-Being Scale. Of course, tradeoffs must be considered; Lui's scale is longer than Ryff's, which adds additional risks of survey fatigue.

Although having higher levels of internalized racism was predictive of *concealing* one's identity more, it was not predictive of *showcasing* one's identity less. Future research could examine additional mechanisms that may explain this discrepancy. In conjunction with the lack of support for Hypothesis 1 (i.e., the relationship between racial composition and internalized

racism), future research could further examine this relationship and how workplace contextual factors affect racial/ethnic identity beliefs and salience, especially in adult workers. For example, one could examine how the racial composition of one's workplace affects their identity management behaviors such as codeswitching and how internalized racism may play a role in this relationship. It would be a worthy endeavor to explore the conditions under which one would manifest their racial/ethnic identity at work overall.

Future research should also further study other contextual factors that may affect workers' internalized racism. I did not gather data on the actual number of coworkers that a person has, only the percentage, so it could be that the size of the organization has a possible role in this relationship. Additionally, the degree to which a person's job is remote or in-person, an increasingly relevant factor that was not measured for here, could affect their perceptions of workplace climate and in turn their internalized racism as well.

Conclusion

This study added to the literature by examining a seldom-studied construct, internalized racism, in the organization. Utilizing a two-wave survey study, results suggested that the inclusion climate of one's workplace played an important role in affecting racial/ethnic minority employees' levels of internalized racism. Workers with higher levels of internalized racism were more likely to engage in behaviors that concealed markers of their racial/ethnic identity as well. This demonstrates the far-reaching effects of one's workplace and the importance of ensuring that organizational policies and practices are inclusive and equitable and the ways in which internalized racism can manifest in the workplace. With burgeoning DEI research and organizational initiatives over the past few years, it is crucial for researchers and practitioners alike to recognize the extent to which contextual factors can affect racial/ethnic minorities' well-

being and self-concepts. Such that racism and mistreatment can manifest not just in overt but also subtle ways while having far-reaching effects, so must our approach to reducing it and its deleterious effects.

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Appendix A

Compton and Carter's (2015) Appropriated Racial Oppression Scale

This questionnaire is designed to measure people's social attitudes, beliefs, feelings, and behaviors concerning race. There are no right or wrong answers---everyone's experience is different. We are interested in YOUR experiences with race. Be as honest as you can in your responses.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Disagree Somewhat	Neutral	Agree Somewhat	Agree	Strongly Agree

1. Although discrimination in America is real, it is definitely overplayed by some members of my race.
2. People of my race don't have much to be proud of.
3. "Good hair" (i.e., straight) is better.
4. I don't really identify with my racial group's values and beliefs.
5. People take racial jokes too seriously.
6. I feel that being a member of my racial group is a shortcoming.
7. I prefer my children not to have broad noses.
8. When interacting with other members of my race, I often feel like I don't fit in.
9. When I look in the mirror, sometimes I do not feel good about what I see because of my race.
10. I find people who have straight and narrow noses to be more attractive.
11. In general, I am ashamed of members of my racial group because of the way t hey act.
12. It is a compliment to be told, "You don't act like a member of your race."
13. I would like my children to have light skin.
14. Sometimes I have a negative feeling about being a member of my race.
15. People of my race shouldn't be so sensitive about race/racial matters.
16. Whites are better at a lot of things than people of my race.
17. I wish my nose were narrower.
18. I feel critical about my racial group.
19. Whenever I think a lot about being a member of my racial group, I feel depressed.
20. I find persons with light skin-tones to be more attractive.
21. I wish I could have more respect for my racial group.
22. I wish I were not a member of my race.
23. There have been times when I have been embarrassed to be a member of my race.
24. Because of my race, I feel useless at times.

Appendix B

Measure of Racial Composition

When answering the questions below, please ensure that the numbers add up to 100.

1. About what percent of your coworkers are from your racial, ethnic, or national background?
2. About what percent of your coworkers are White?
3. About what percent of your coworkers are non-White and <u>are not</u> from your racial, ethnic, or national background?

Appendix C

Nishii's (2013) Climate for Inclusion Shortened Scale

Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree

1. This [unit] has a fair promotion process.
2. The performance review process is fair in this [unit].
3. This [unit] invests in the development of all of its employees.
4. Employees in this [unit] receive "equal pay for equal work."
5. This [unit] provides safe ways for employees to voice their grievances.
6. This [unit] is characterized by a non-threatening environment in which people can reveal their "true" selves.
7. This [unit] values work-life balance.
8. This [unit] commits resources to ensuring that employees are able to resolve conflicts effectively.
9. Employees of this [unit] are valued for who they are as people, not just for the jobs that they fill.
10. In this [unit], people often share and learn about one another as people.
11. This [unit] has a culture in which employees appreciate the differences that people bring to the workplace.
12. In this [unit], employee input is actively sought.
13. In this [unit], everyone's ideas for how to do things better are given serious consideration.
14. In this [unit], employees' insights are used to rethink or redefine work practices.
15. Top management exercises the belief that problem-solving is improved when input from different roles, ranks, and functions is considered.

Appendix D

Madera, King, and Hebl's (2012) Group Identity Manifestation/Suppression Scale

Please rate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements in regard to your racial/ethnic identity.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree

Manifest Group Identity

1. I discuss this part of my identity with my coworkers.
2. I display signs of this identity in my workspace (e.g., pictures, objects).
3. I wear clothes or emblems (e.g., jewelry, pins) that reflect this identity at work.
4. I celebrate meaningful dates or holidays related to this identity at work.
5. I talk about this identity with my supervisor.
6. Everyone I work with knows how important this identity is to me.
7. I express this identity at work.
8. I use the language, vernacular, or speech style of this identity at work.
9. I listen to music associated with this identity at work.
10. I consume food or drinks associated with this identity at work.

Suppressed Group Identity

1. I refrain from talking about my identity with my coworkers.
2. I conceal or camouflage signs of this identity in my workspace (e.g., pictures, objects).
3. I hide emblems that would reflect this identity at work.
4. I try to keep meaningful dates or holidays related to this identity secret.
5. I try not to talk about this identity with my supervisor.
6. No one I work with knows how important this identity is to me.
7. I suppress this identity at work.
8. I try not to use the language, vernacular, or speech style of this identity at work.
9. I make a point of not listening to music associated with this identity at work.
10. I refrain from consuming food or drinks associated with this identity at work.

Appendix E

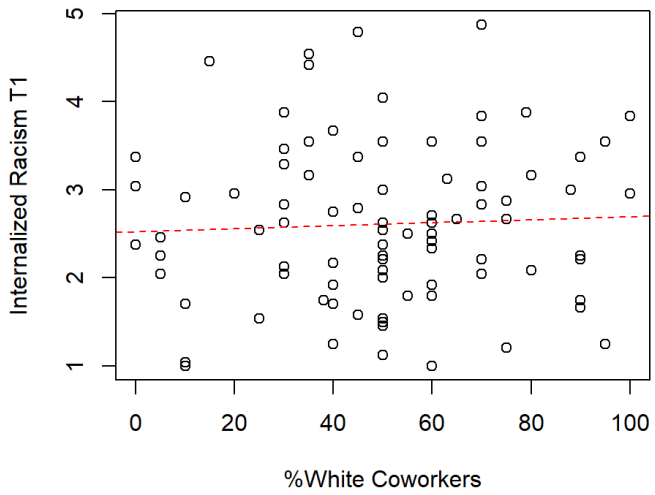
Ryff's (2010) Scale of Psychological Well-Being (18-item version)

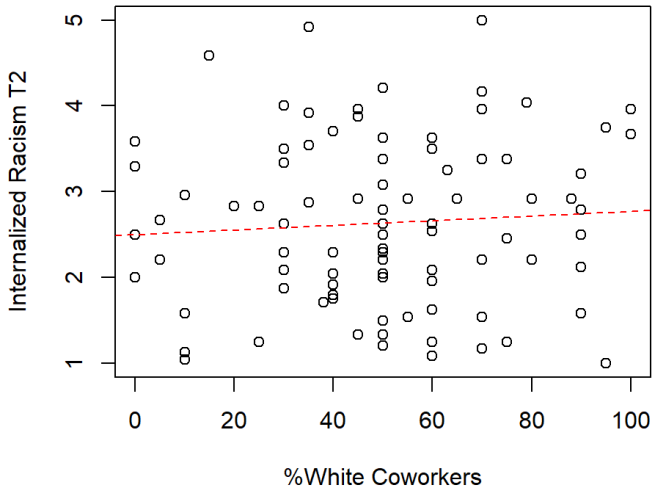
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree a Little	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree a Little	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree

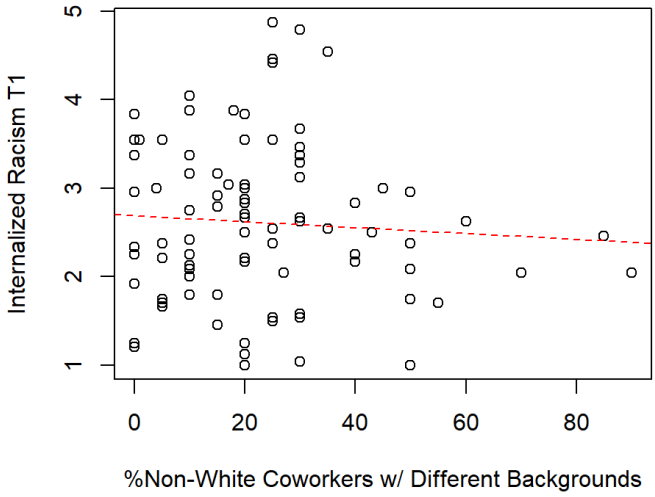
1. I like most parts of my personality.
2. When I look at the story of my life, I am pleased with how things have turned out so far.
3. Some people wander aimlessly through life, but I am not one of them.
4. The demands of everyday life often get me down.
5. In many ways I feel disappointed about my achievements in life.
6. Maintaining close relationships has been difficult and frustrating for me.
7. I live life one day at a time and don't really think about the future.
8. In general, I feel I am in charge of the situation in which I live.
9. I am good at managing the responsibilities of daily life.
10. I sometimes feel as if I've done all there is to do in life.
11. For me, life has been a continuous process of learning, changing, and growth.
12. I think it is important to have new experiences that challenge how I think about myself and the world.
13. People would describe me as a giving person, willing to share my time with others.
14. gave up trying to make big improvements or changes in my life a long time ago.
15. I tend to be influenced by people with strong opinions.
16. I have not experienced many warm and trusting relationships with others.
17. I have confidence in my own opinions, even if they are different from the way most other people think.
18. I judge myself by what I think is important, not by the values of what others think is important.

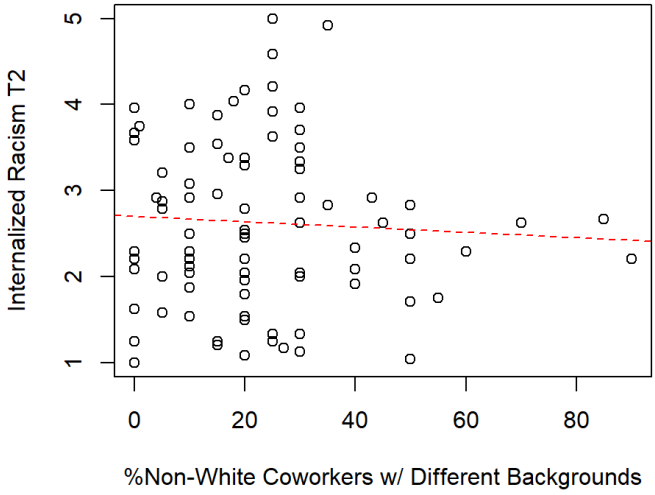
Appendix F

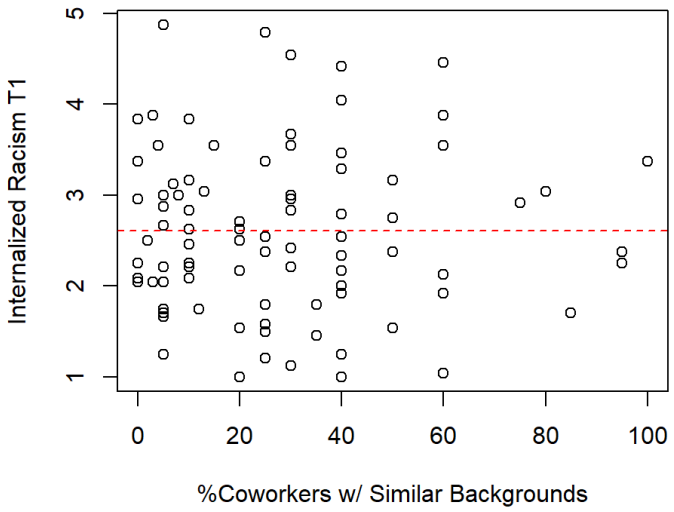
H1 Scatterplots

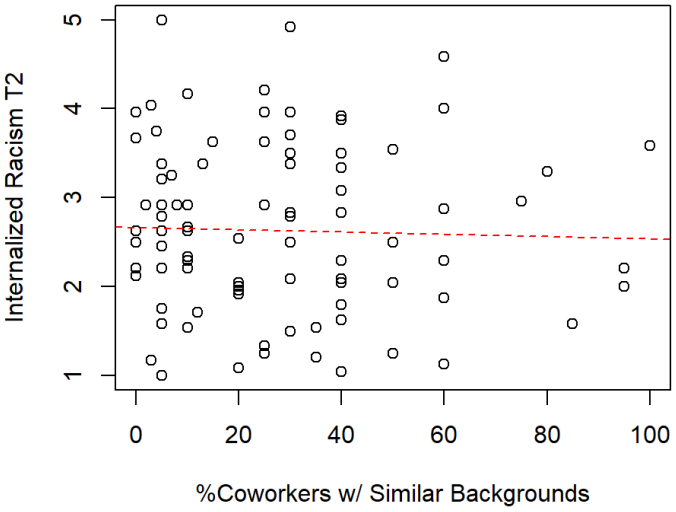





Internalized Racism T1
1
2
3
4
5
0
20
40
60
80
%Non-White Coworkers w/ Different Backgrounds


Internalized Racism T2
1
2
3
4
5
0
20
40
60
80
%Non-White Coworkers w/ Different Backgrounds


Internalized Racism T1
1
2
3
4
5
0
20
40
60
80
100
%Coworkers w/ Similar Backgrounds


Internalized Racism T2
1
2
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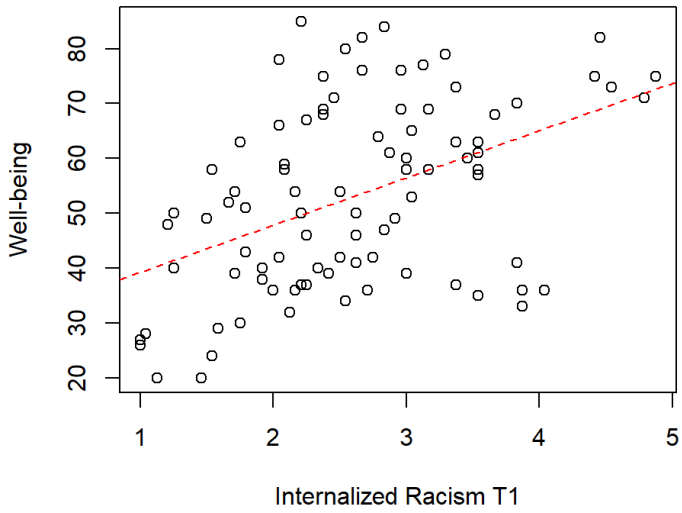
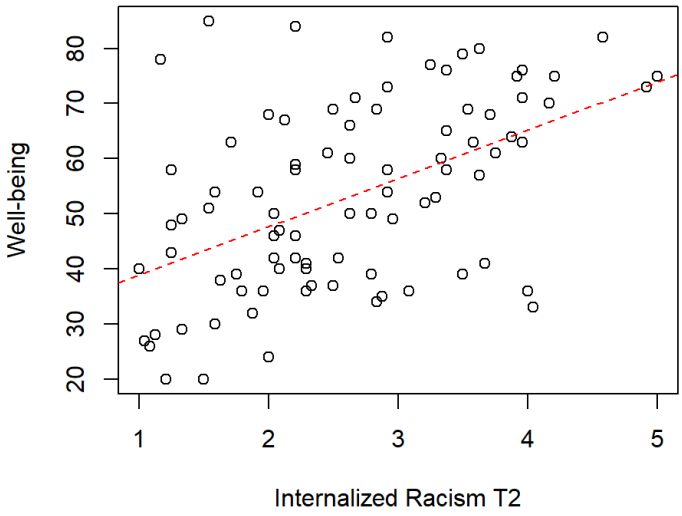
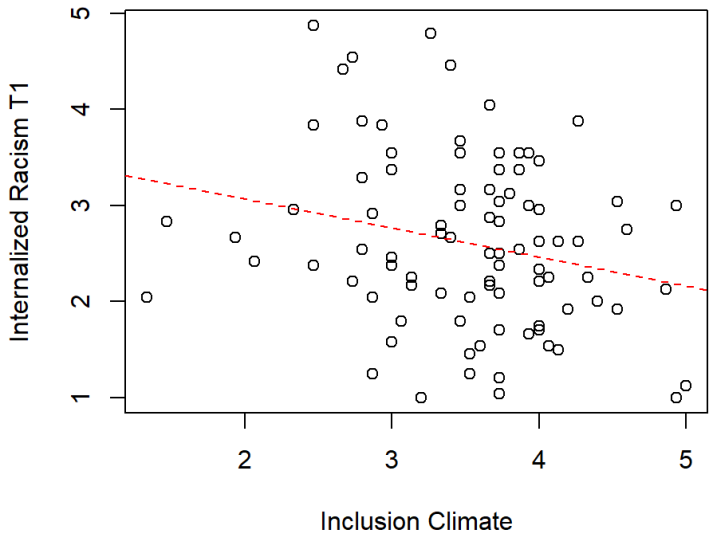
4
5
0
20
40
60
80
100
%Coworkers w/ Similar Backgrounds

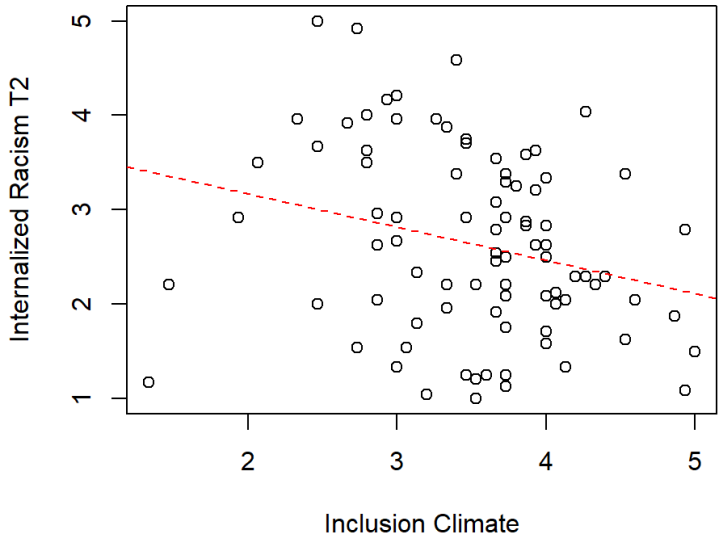
H2 Scatterplots

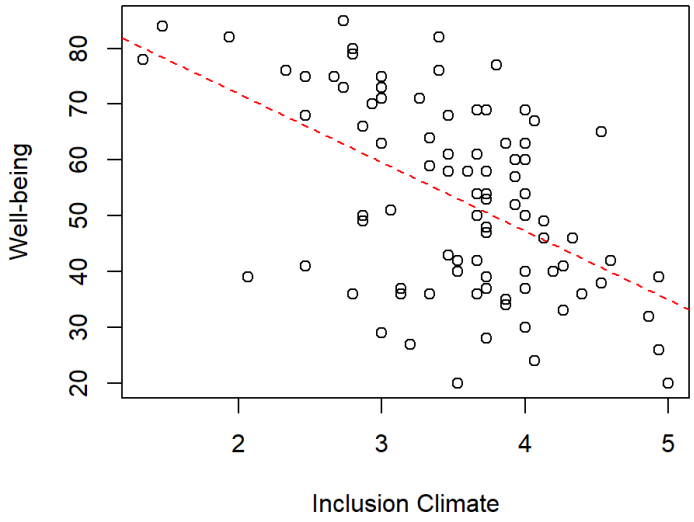




H3 Scatterplots






Well-being
20
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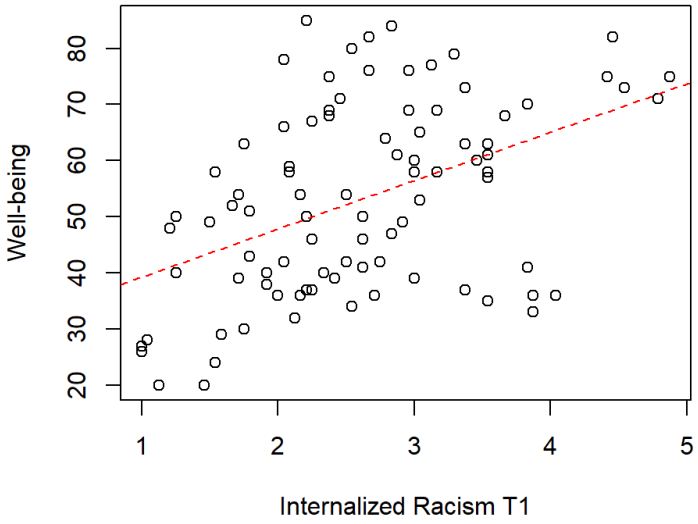
Inclusion Climate


Well-being
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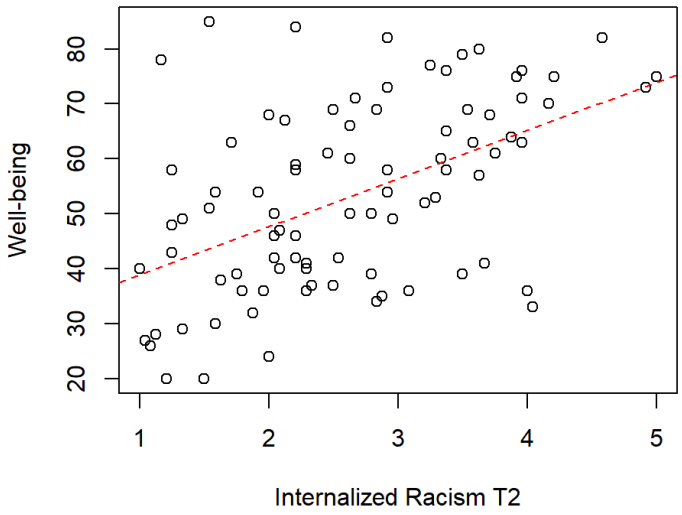
Internalized Racism T1


Well-being
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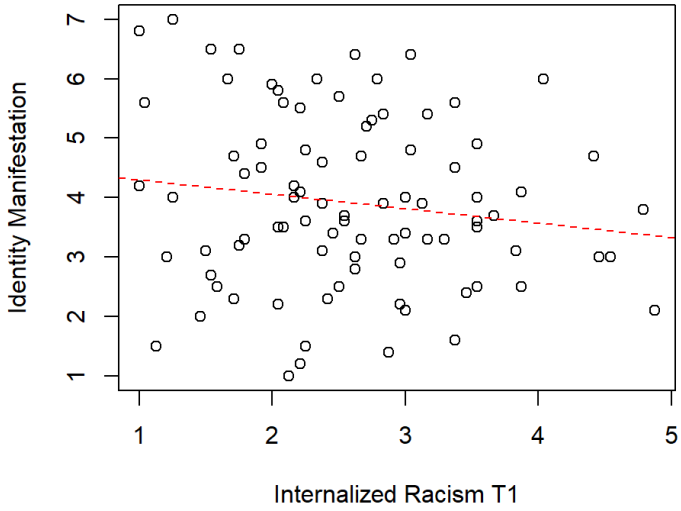
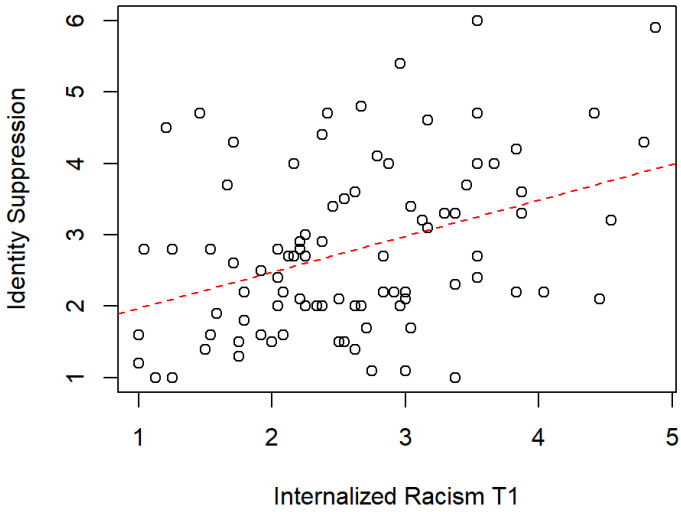
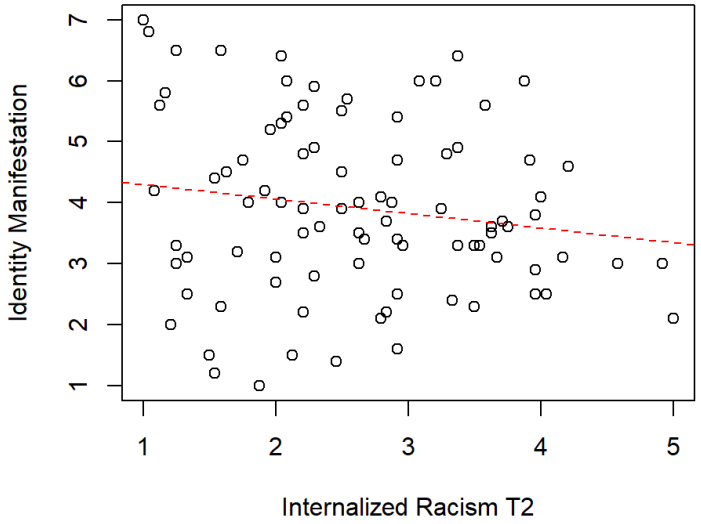
3
4
5
Internalized Racism T2

H4 Scatterplots






Identity Manifestation
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4
5
6
7
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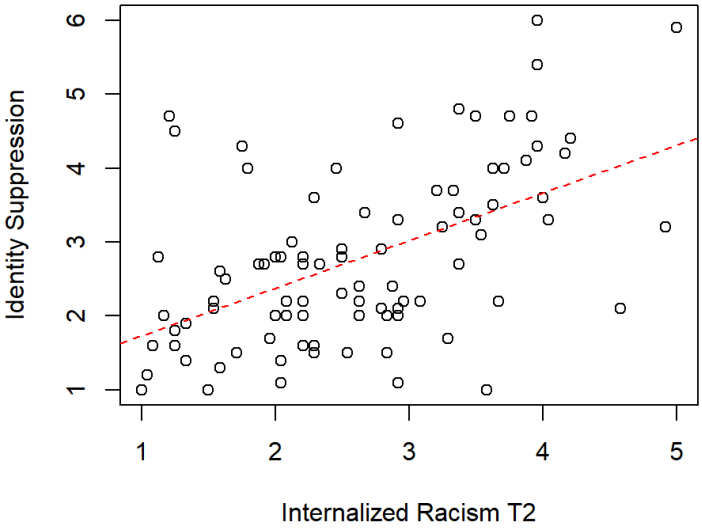
3
4
5
Internalized Racism T2


Identity Suppression
1
2
3
4
5
6
1
2
3
4
5
Internalized Racism T2

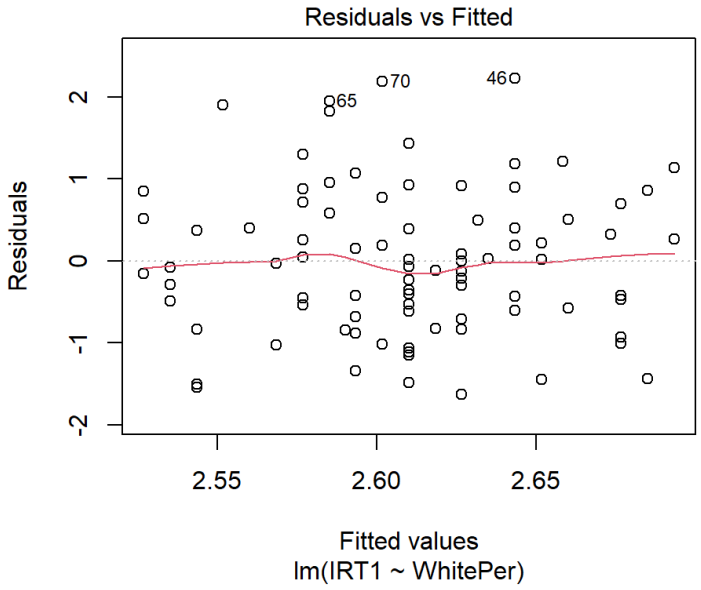
Appendix G

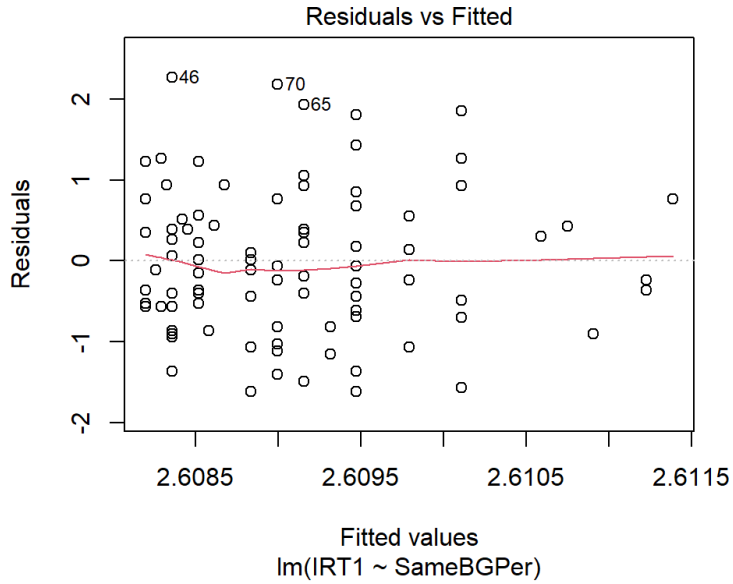
Durbin-Watson test results for hypothesis variables				
		Autocorrelation	**D-W**	***p*-value**
H1	%White & IRT1	-.05	2.07	.79
	%Same & IRT1	-.06	2.09	.69
	%NWDBG & IRT1	-.04	2.06	.73
	%White & IRT2	.02	1.93	.73
	%Same & IRT2	.01	1.95	.82
	%NWDBG & IRT2	.03	1.92	.65
H2	IC & WB	.05	1.87	.64
H3	IC & IRT1	-.04	2.04	.88
	IC + IRT1 & WB	.05	1.87	.55
	IC & IRT2	.04	1.89	.67
	IC + IRT2 & WB	.07	1.83	.48
H4	IRT1 & Manifest	-.10	2.19	.32
	IRT1 & IDSuppress	-.01	2.01	.92
	IRT2 & IDManifest	-.10	2.18	.34
	IRT2 & IDSuppress	.01	1.98	.84

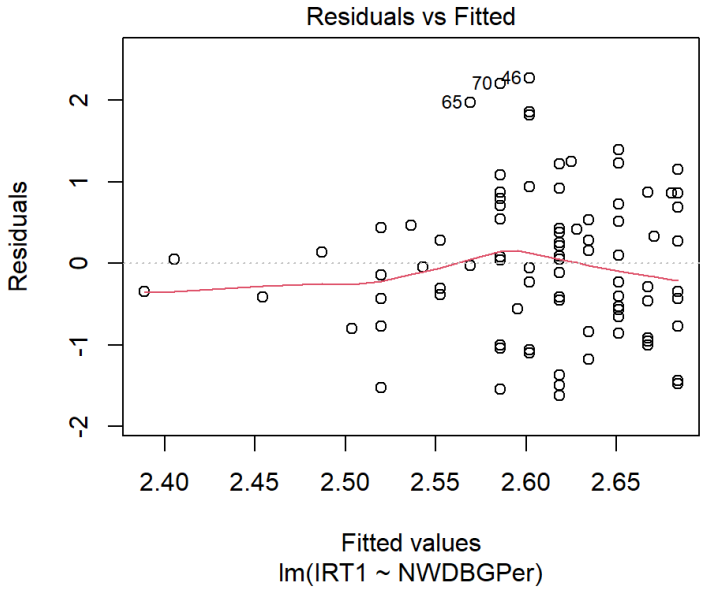
*Note: %*White = percentage of coworkers who are White; %Same = percentage of coworkers with the same racial or ethnic backgrounds; %NWDBG = percentage of non-White coworkers with different racial or ethnic backgrounds; IRT1 = internalized racism scores at Time 1; IRT2 = internalized racism scores at Time 2; IC = inclusion climate; WB = well-being; IDManifest = identity manifestation; IDSupress = identity suppression

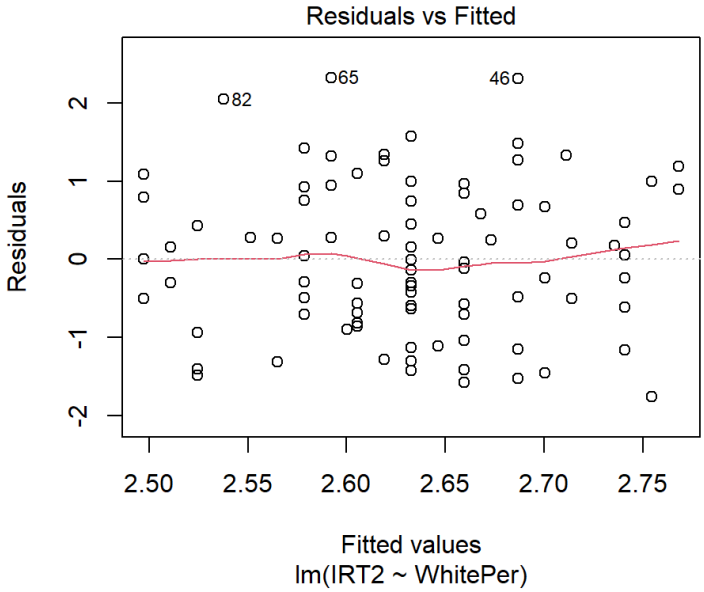
Appendix H

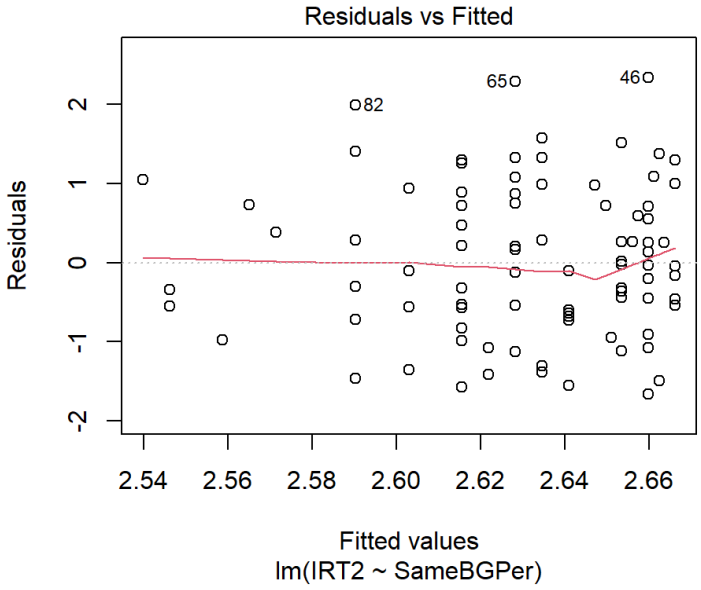
Scatterplots of H1 Models and their Residuals

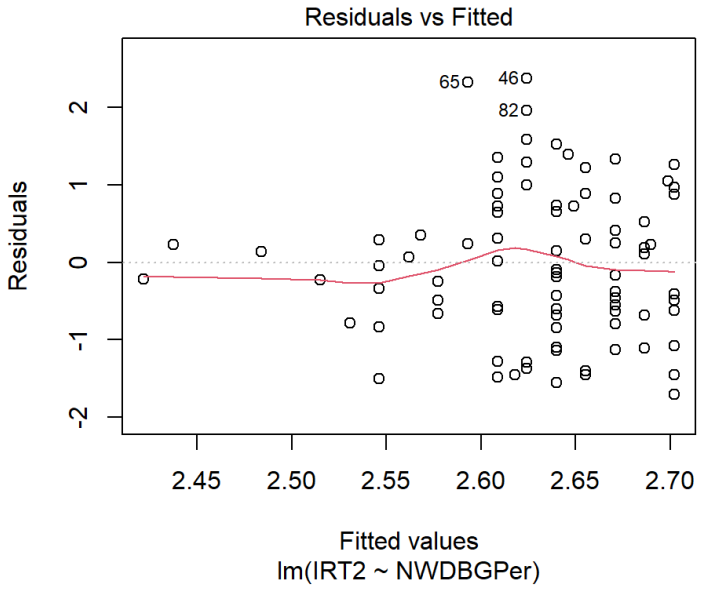




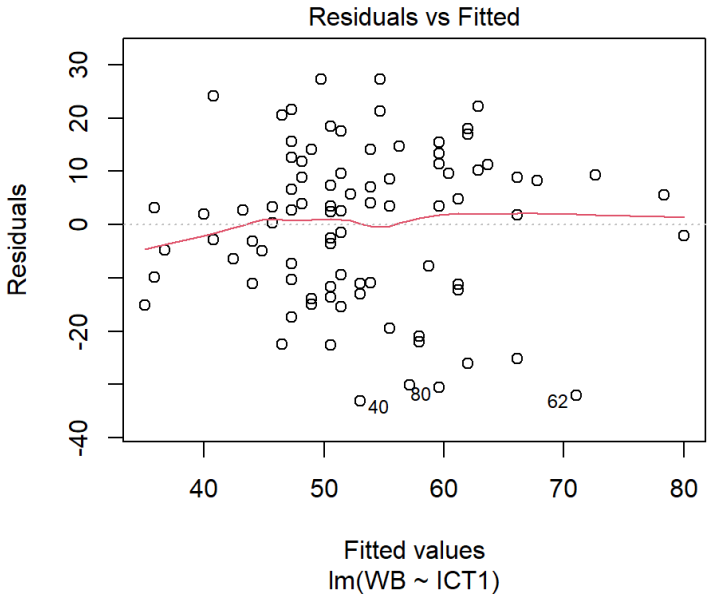

Residuals vs Fitted
70
46
65
Residuals
2
1
0
-1
-2
2.40
2.45
2.50
2.55
2.60
2.65
Fitted values
lm(IRT1 ~ NWDBGPer)


Residuals vs Fitted
65
46
82
Residuals
2
1
0
-1
-2
2.50
2.55
2.60
2.65
2.70
2.75
Fitted values
lm(IRT2 ~ WhitePer)

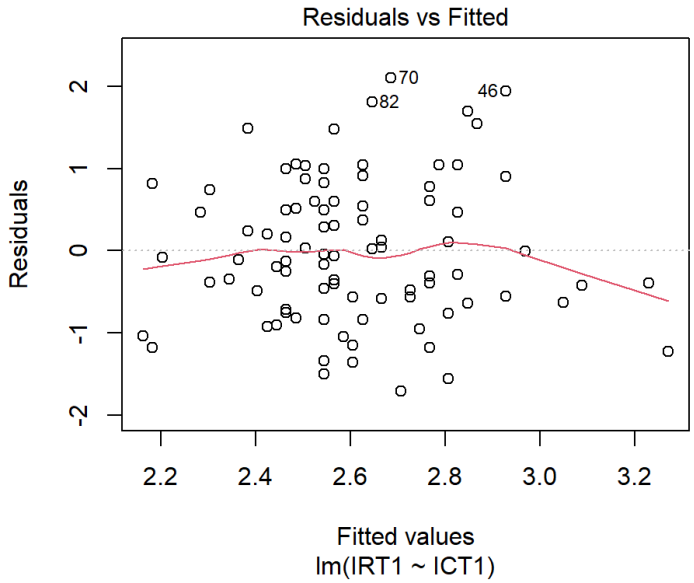

Residuals vs Fitted
65
46
82
Residuals
2
1
0
-1
-2
2.54
2.56
2.58
2.60
2.62
2.64
2.66
Fitted values
lm(IRT2 ~ SameBGPer)

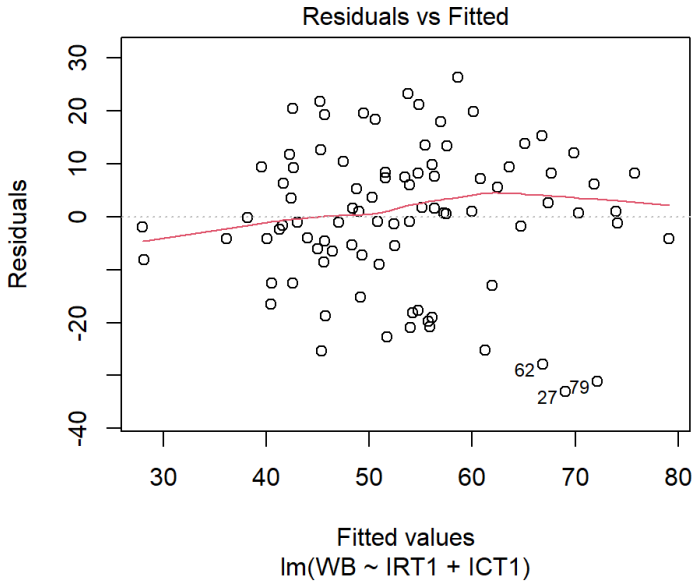

Residuals vs Fitted
65
46
82
Residuals
2
1
0
-1
-2
2.45
2.50
2.55
2.60
2.65
2.70
Fitted values
lm(IRT2 ~ NWDBGPer)

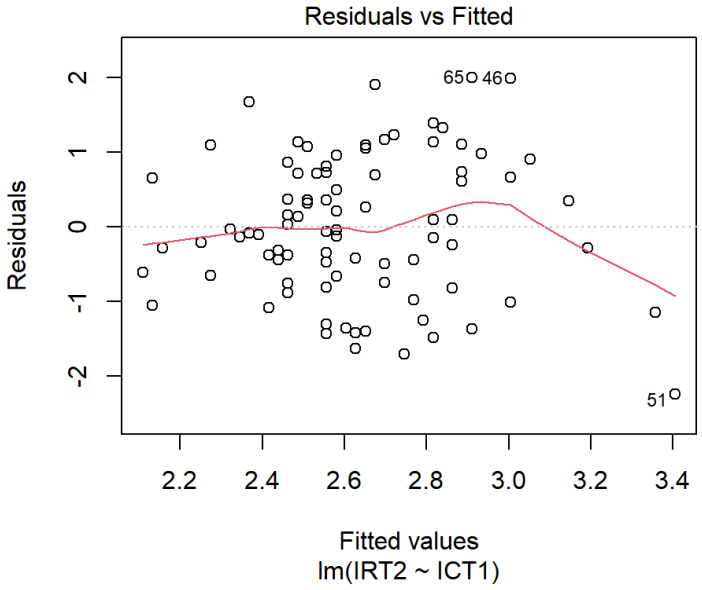
Scatterplot of H2 Model and its Residuals

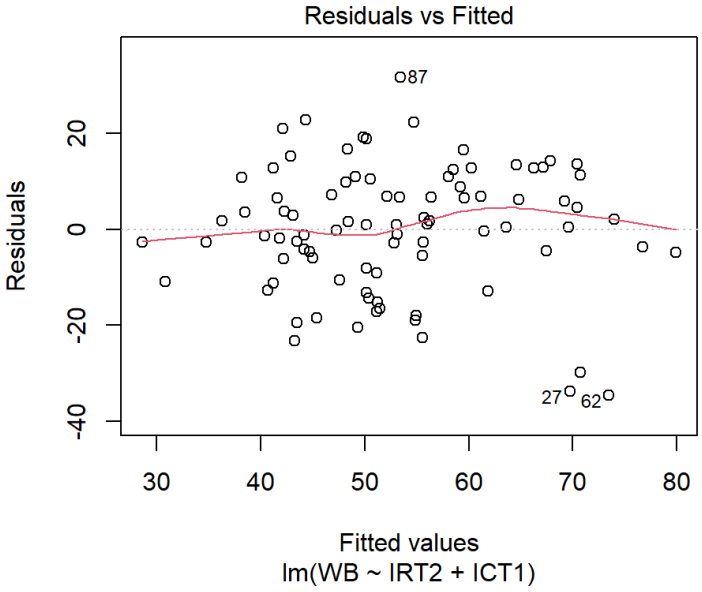


Scatterplots of H3 Models and their Residuals

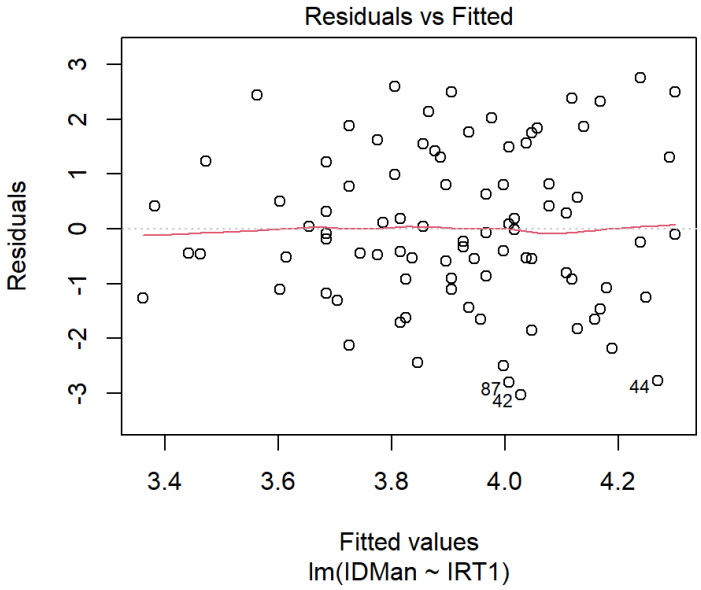


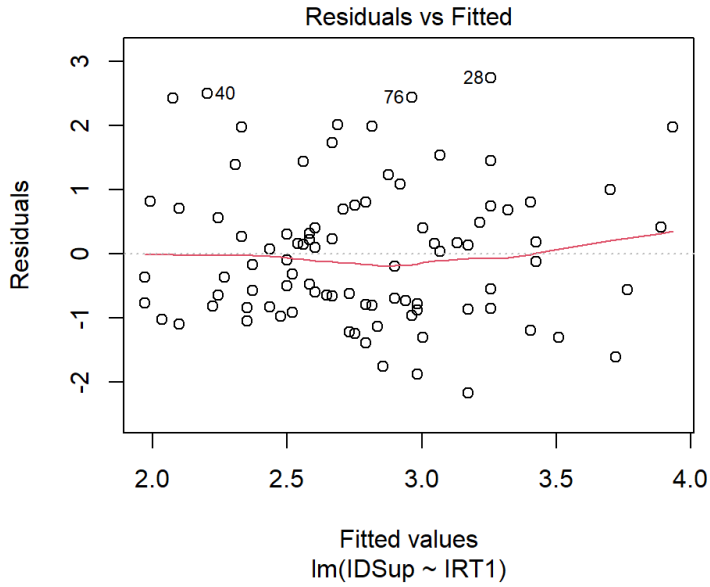


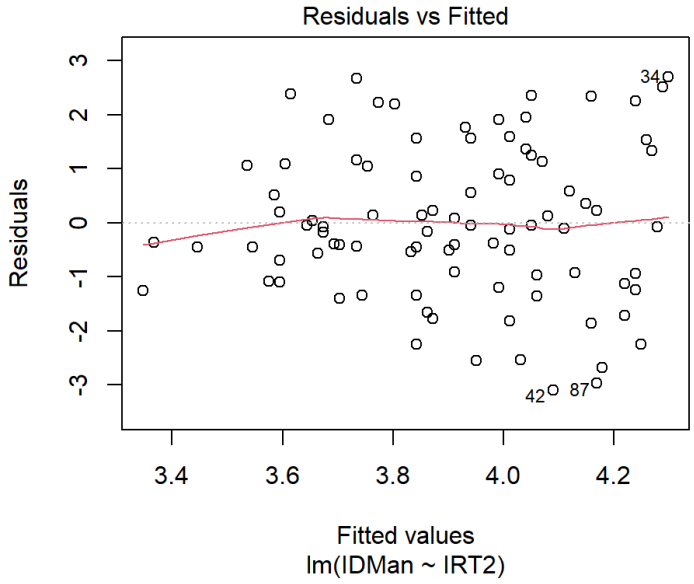

Residuals vs Fitted
65 46
51
Residuals
2
1
0
-1
-2
2.2
2.4
2.6
2.8
3.0
3.2
3.4
Fitted values
lm(IRT2 ~ ICT1)

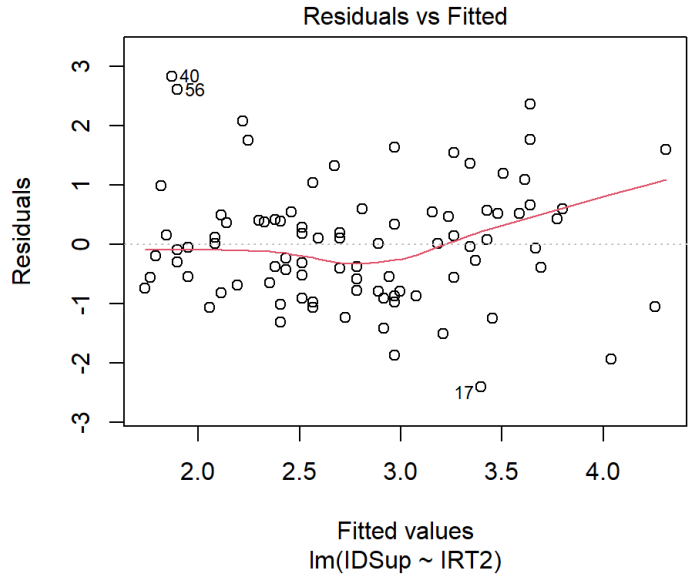

Residuals vs Fitted
87
27 62
Residuals
20
0
-20
-40
30
40
50
60
70
80
Fitted values
lm(WB ~ IRT2 + ICT1)

Scatterplots for H4 Models and their Residuals



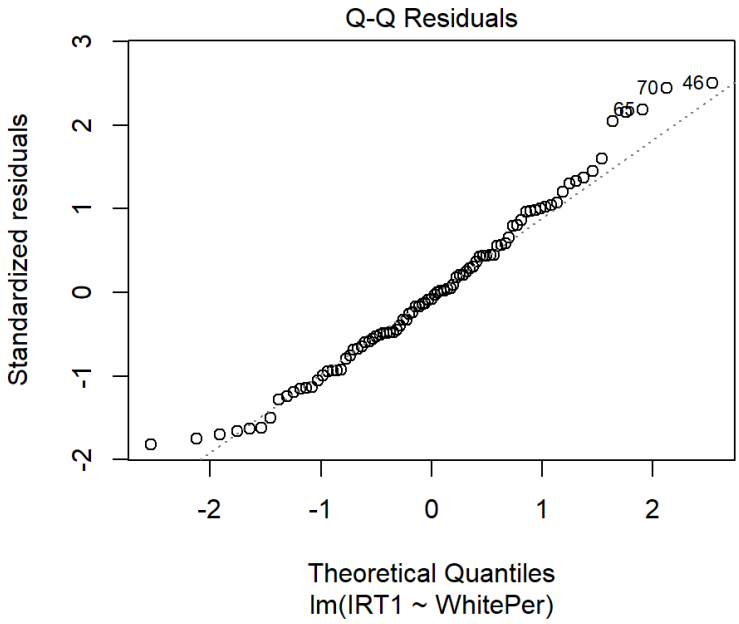


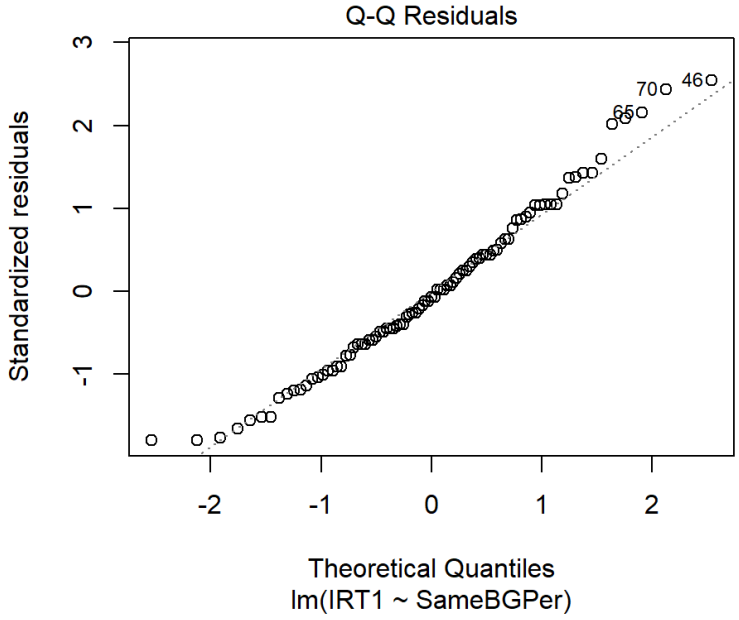

Residuals vs Fitted
Residuals
Fitted values
lm(IDMan ~ IRT2)
34
42
87
3.4
3.6
3.8
4.0
4.2
-3
-2
-1
0
1
2
3

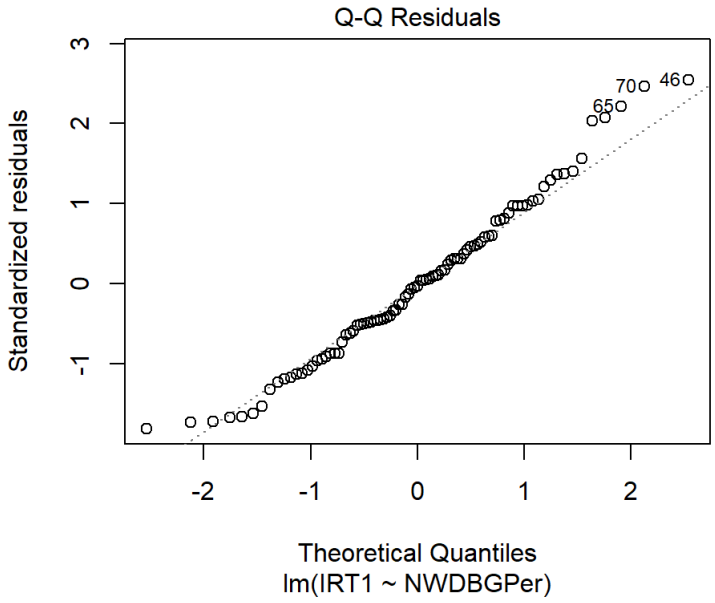

Residuals vs Fitted
Residuals
Fitted values
lm(IDSup ~ IRT2)
40
56
17
2.0
2.5
3.0
3.5
4.0
-3
-2
-1
0
1
2
3

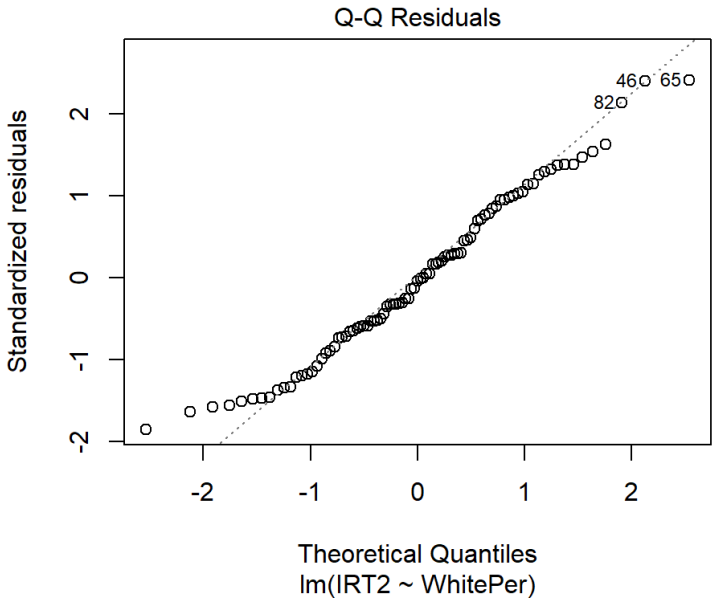
Appendix I

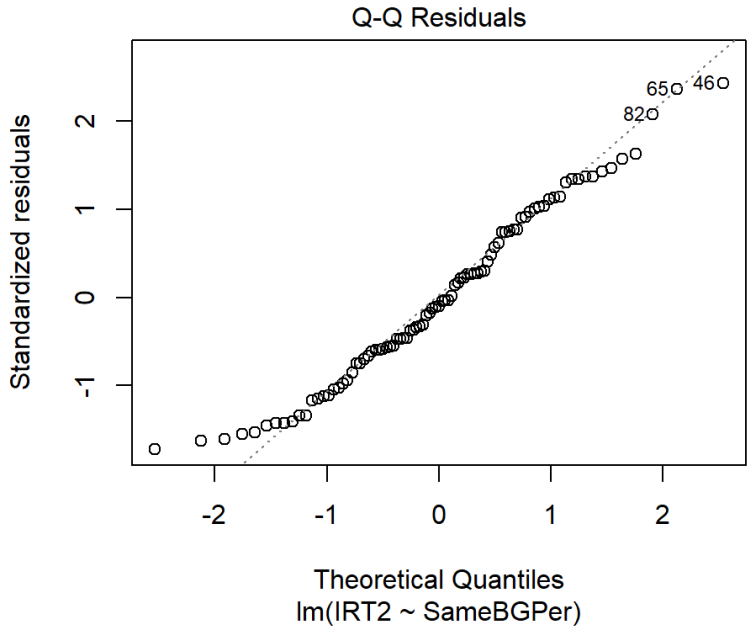
H1 Q-Q Plots

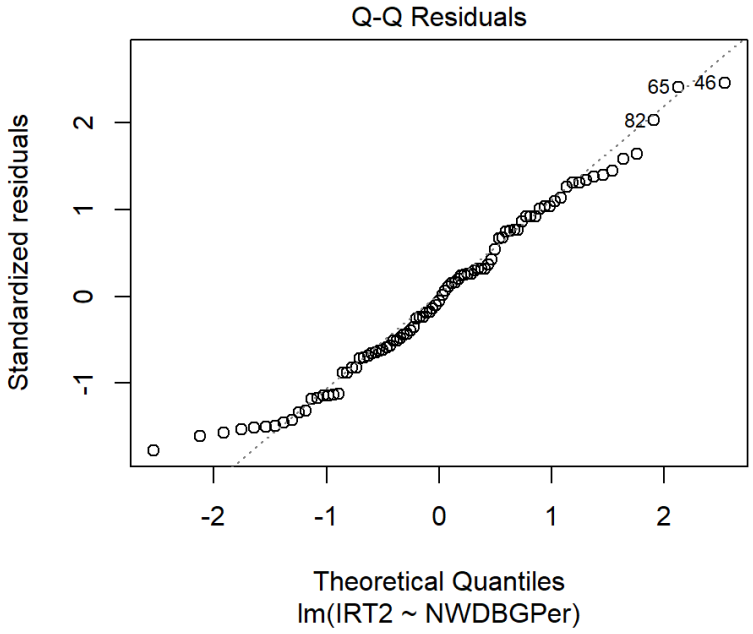




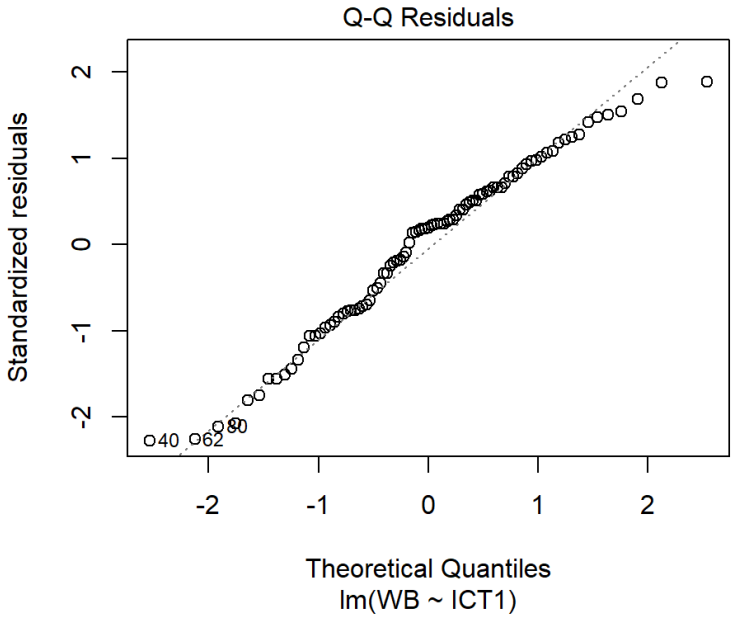

Q-Q Residuals
Standardized residuals
Theoretical Quantiles
lm(IRT1 ~ NWDBGPer)
70
46
65


Q-Q Residuals
Standardized residuals
Theoretical Quantiles
lm(IRT2 ~ WhitePer)
46
65
82

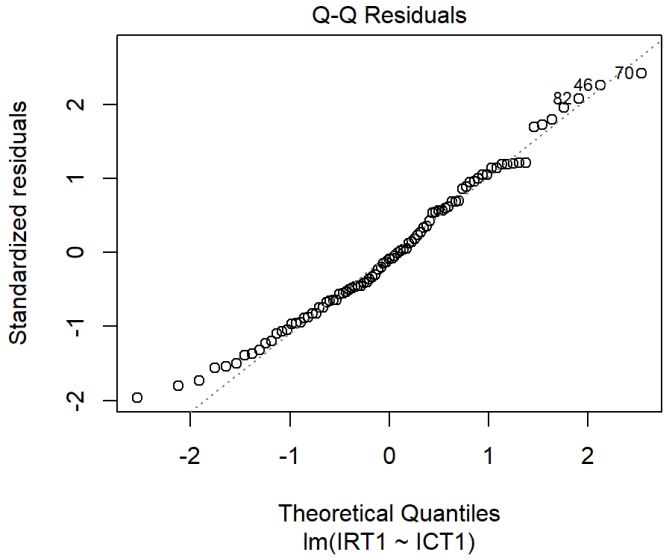

Q-Q Residuals
Standardized residuals
-1
0
1
2
-2
-1
0
1
2
65
46
82
Theoretical Quantiles
lm(IRT2 ~ SameBGPer)

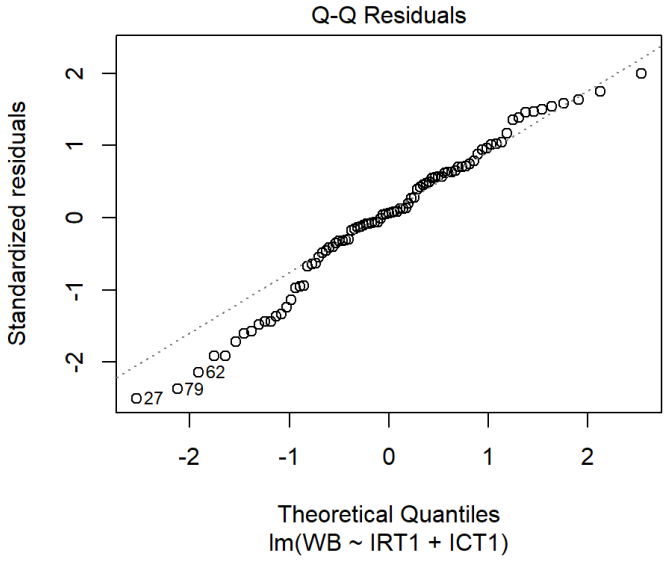

Q-Q Residuals
Standardized residuals
-1
0
1
2
-2
-1
0
1
2
65
46
82
Theoretical Quantiles
lm(IRT2 ~ NWDBGPer)

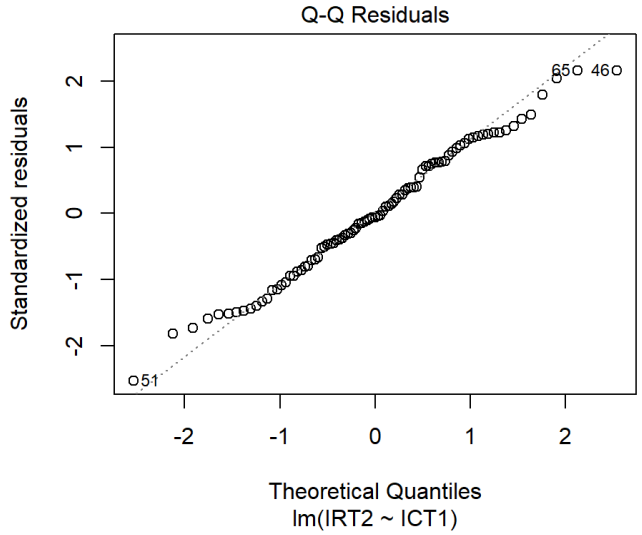
H2 Q-Q Plot

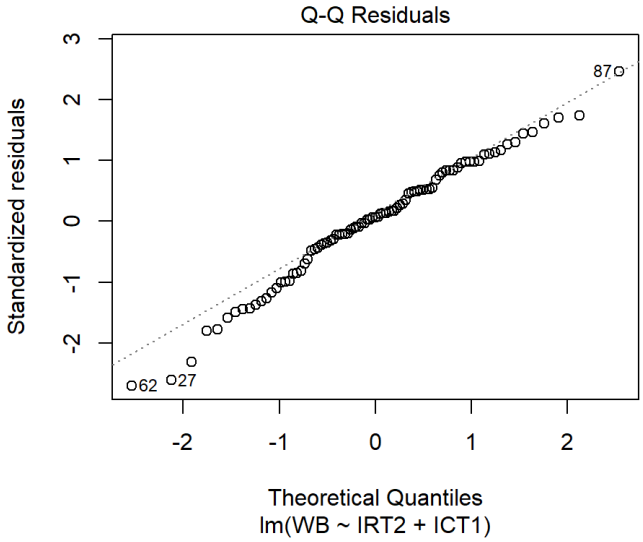

Q-Q Residuals
Standardized residuals
Theoretical Quantiles
lm(WB ~ ICT1)
40
62
80
-2
-1
0
1
2

H3 Q-Q Plots

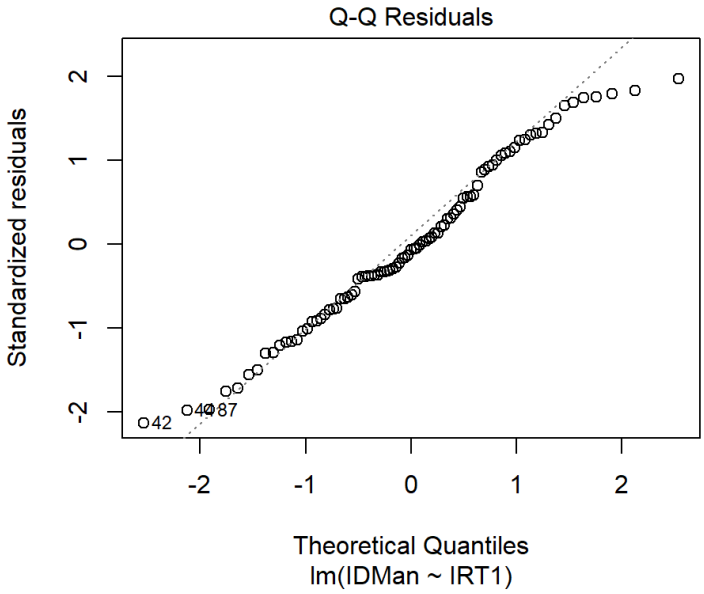

Q-Q Residuals
Standardized residuals
Theoretical Quantiles
lm(IRT1 ~ ICT1)
70
46
82

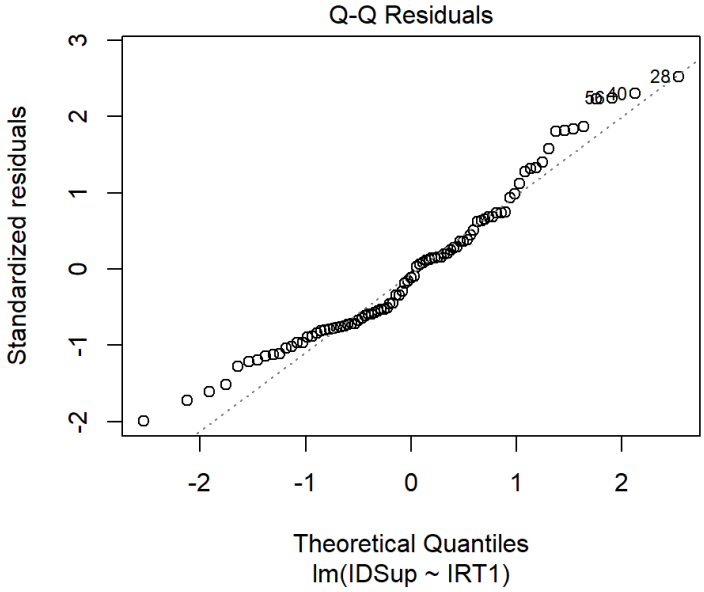

Q-Q Residuals
Standardized residuals
Theoretical Quantiles
lm(WB ~ IRT1 + ICT1)
27
79
62

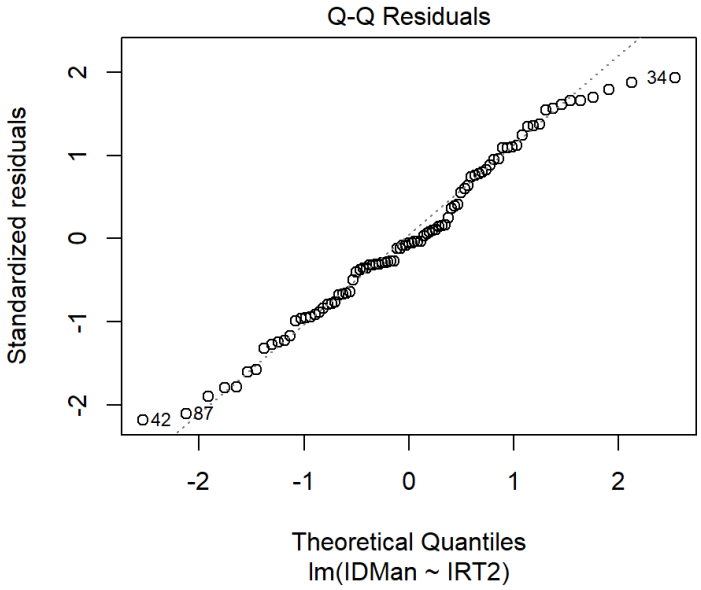

Q-Q Residuals
Standardized residuals
Theoretical Quantiles
lm(IRT2 ~ ICT1)
65
46
51
-2
-1
0
1
2

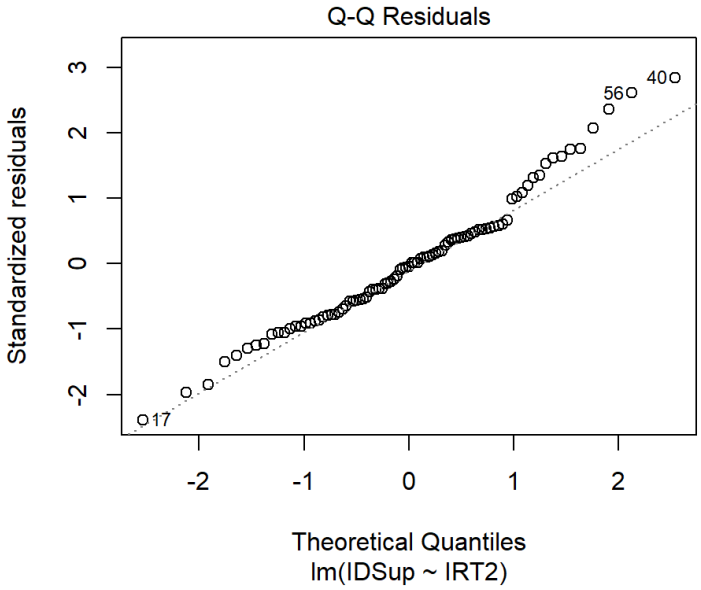

Q-Q Residuals
Standardized residuals
Theoretical Quantiles
lm(WB ~ IRT2 + ICT1)
87
62
27
-2
-1
0
1
2
3

H4 Q-Q Plots


Q-Q Residuals
Standardized residuals
Theoretical Quantiles
lm(IDMan ~ IRT1)
42
87


Q-Q Residuals
Standardized residuals
Theoretical Quantiles
lm(IDSup ~ IRT1)
28


Q-Q Residuals
Standardized residuals
Theoretical Quantiles
lm(IDMan ~ IRT2)
42
87
34


Q-Q Residuals
Standardized residuals
Theoretical Quantiles
lm(IDSup ~ IRT2)
17
56
40