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MICROAGGRESSIONS, RACIAL IDENTITY, AND COPING: AN EXAMINATION OF BLACK GRADUATES OF ELITE UNIVERSITIES

Dissertation by

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Abstract

Microaggressions, racial identity, and coping: An examination of Black graduates of elite universities

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Education is often thought of as the great equalizer that is capable of offsetting societal inequities (Holmes & Zajacova, 2014). Elite universities are characterized by the most selective admissions criteria, and attendance at these universities often provides access to the social capital necessary to pursue prestigious careers. Research shows that Black students attending elite universities experience racism while on campus (Torres & Charles, 2004; Warikoo, 2018). Scholars have also found that the experience of racism negatively impacts Black student's well-being (Neville et al., 2004). However, little is known about what happens when Black students at elite universities graduate and enter the workforce, especially the ways in which they experience racism at work. Therefore, the purpose of this study was to better understand the ways in which experiences of racism at work impact on well-being and work-fulfillment for Black graduates at elite universities and to examine potential factors that may protect against racism.

Black graduates of elite universities (N= 1,010) were invited to complete measures that assessed racial microaggressions (Racial and Ethnic Microaggressions Scale), racial identity (Black Racial Identity Attitudes Scale), racism-related coping strategies (Racism-Related Coping Scale) well-being outcomes (Mental Health Inventory and Satisfaction with Life), and work-fulfillment outcomes (Work Engagement and Job

Satisfaction). The present study used structural equation modeling and findings were mixed. However, the results revealed that particular experiences of racism at work negatively impact both well-being and work-fulfillment. The results of moderation analyses showed that racial identity may serve as a protective factor against experiences of racism at work for Black graduates of elite universities. Implications for research, practice and policy, as well as study limitations are presented.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Scholars, policy makers, and general members of society perceive education to be "the great equalizer" that is capable of offsetting societal inequities (Holmes & Zajacova, 2014). Additionally, vocational psychology has argued for the attainment of higher education as a conduit for upward mobility (Blustein et al., 2005; Fouad & Fitzpatrick, 2009). Elite universities are characterized by the most selective admissions criteria, and attendance at these universities can serve as a signal to employers that its graduates possess rarefied intellectual talent (Ge et al., 2018). Furthermore, elite university graduates often have access to social capital through alumni networks that include powerful individuals, considering that one-third to one- half of billionaires, CEOs, senators, and federal judges attended elite universities (Wai, 2013). This entrée into the society of powerful alumni frequently acts as a catalyst for intergenerational economic mobility. For example, low-income students who attend elite universities earn higher incomes on average and have a high intergenerational income mobility rate, with almost 60% of students from the bottom economic quartile reaching the top quartile of earnings, and many going on to reach the top 1% of earnings (Chetty et al., 2017). Therefore, it is useful to understand more about the experiences of students who graduate from these institutions.

Considerable research has been conducted to better understand the experiences of students attending elite institutions, including the ways in which attending an elite institution influences students' views on race, diversity, and privilege (Byrd, 2017; Howard & Gaztambide-Fernandez, 2010; Sidanius et al., 2008; Warikoo & Deckman,

2014). Studies that have focused on elite White student attitudes towards race and privilege have found that White students often espouse beliefs in meritocracy and individualism, without regard for the impact of discrimination or racism on an individual's opportunity for advancement, perpetuating the idea of color-blindness (Bonilla-Silva & Forman, 2000; Warikoo & De Novias, 2015; Worthington et al., 2008). Color-blindness is the idea that racial identity has no significance and race should not matter (Neville et al., 2013; Warikoo & De Novias, 2015). This type of ideology is particularly harmful, because it ignores the ways in which racism continues to persist and how White people continue to benefit from White privilege. Color-blind racism promotes "raceless" explanations for circumstances that are steeped in racism (Bonilla-Silva, 2015). For example, when residential segregation is attributed to personal choice instead of housing policies steeped in racism such as redlining, or the practice of refusing to offer government-insured mortgages for homes in predominately Black neighborhoods (Rothstein, 2017).

Elite students who espouse color-blindness and meritocratic values often go on to hold leadership positions as adults and enact these same values in the workplace (Warikoo, 2018). These color-blind attitudes have been shown to manifest in the form of racial microaggressions or more subtle forms of racism (Edwards, 2017). While White people who take on the notion of color-blindness may go out of their way to be friendlier to Black people than White people, these friendly and pro-Black attitudes are often paternalistic, focusing on the discrimination and barriers that Black people face in an effort for White people to strengthen their own beliefs in humanitarianism and egalitarianism (Fiske, 2018; Vanman, et al., 1997). White people today are also more

likely to accentuate positive attributes such as likeability of Black classmates and colleagues while omitting information on competence, which can imply incompetence (Fiske et al., 2009). These attitudes held by White students are often well-known to Black students and can have deleterious effects (Torres & Charles, 2004). The racism-related stress that Black college students attending primarily White institutions (PWIs) reported experiencing not only negatively impacts their psychological well-being, but also their GPA and academic adjustment (Neville et al., 2004).

Research has shown that college student attitudes and views often continue unchanged beyond graduation, which suggests that the views held by White students while they are in college could extend into the workplace (Newcomb, 1973; Warikoo, 2018). In light of the fact that elite graduates tend to seek careers in a limited number of high paying fields, it is highly plausible that elite Black and White students will be working together (Rivera, 2015). While evidence exists that Black students on elite college campuses experience racism (Byrd, Brunn-Bevel, & Sexton, 2014; Torres & Charles, 2004; Torres, 2009), there is a paucity of research on the post-graduate experiences of this population, which holds a unique position in society. As graduates of elite universities, it is possible that this population theoretically moves through the world with a position of socioeconomic privilege. They are more likely than other Black graduates to hold positions of power, whether occupationally or politically and will potentially have the opportunity to make decisions that impact the Black community and society as a whole (Charles, et al., 2015; Rivera, 2015). However, as Black people living in a racist society, they also experience racism-related marginalization. Therefore, it is imperative that we not only gain more insight into their experiences, but also identify the

mental health implications these experiences may have. A starting point would be to better understand their experiences of microaggressions in the workplace. The general literature on microaggressions has found a negative link between the experience of microaggressions and well-being (Decuir-Gunby & Gunby, 2016; Holder et al., 2015) and has also shown there may be protective factors that can ameliorate the impact of racial microaggressions on well-being (Seaton et al., 2014). These protective factors include internalized racial identity and effective racism-related coping strategies (Forsyth & Carter, 2014; Utsey et al., 2000). Therefore, it is necessary to explore and understand the possible protective factors that exist, so that psychology interventions can better help to buffer the impact of these racial microaggressions on well-being.

Research that has focused on the experiences and outcomes of graduates of elite institutions has largely been concentrated on their attainment of wealth (Rivera, 2015). For example, scholars have found that elite graduates of universities such as Harvard University and Stanford University expect to obtain high-wealth, high-status occupations, and often pursue three career industries: finance, consulting, and technology (Binder et al., 2016). Generally, graduates of elite institutions do find high-paying positions and are more likely to obtain highly compensated positions of power, status, and influence (Boli, 1994; Warikoo, 2016). In fact, a recent study showed that 60% of students who attend an Ivy-plus university (the eight universities in the Ivy League plus Stanford, MIT, University of Chicago, and Duke), whether born into low or high-income households, reached the top 20% of earners (Chetty et al., 2017). Research has explored how this applies to Black graduates and found that Black graduates of elite institutions obtain high paying positions at rates similar to their White counterparts (Bowen & Bok, 2016).

Noting the research discussed above concerning the attitudes of White students who attend elite institutions, coupled with the research arguing that these attitudes often extend beyond graduation, the present study sought to better understand not only how Black graduates experience microaggressions at work, but also the impact of these racial microaggressions on their psychological and work-related well-being. To frame the present study, psychology of working theory was used to conceptualize the work experiences of Black graduates of elite universities.

Psychology of Working Theory

Historically, vocational psychology has largely overlooked the work experiences of marginalized individuals, including people of color (Blustein, 2006; 2008). However, some social justice focused vocational psychology scholars have brought issues of marginalization, including racism, into the foreground of research, theory, practice, and advocacy (Blustein, 2006; Blustein, 2008; Byars-Winston, 2010; Duffy et al., 2016; Flores et al, 2019; Helms & Cook, 1999). Psychology of working theory (PWT), which stems from Blustein's (2006) earlier work that highlighted the pervasive influence of marginalization on career development, was used to conceptualize the ways in which the experiences of racism at work hinder individuals' access to decent work and diminish well-being.

Scholars have argued that work plays a significant role in the "development, expression, and maintenance" of psychological well-being (Blustein, 2008, p. 228; Blustein, 2013; Duffy et al., 2016). PWT details how contextual factors such as marginalization (i.e. racism) can impact individuals' access to decent work and is therefore particularly relevant to the present study. Considering the vital importance of

the impact of work on well-being, the International Labor Organization (ILO) asserts that access to decent work is a basic human right (ILO, 2008). *Decent work* is defined as a workplace where an individual feels physically and interpersonally safe, has adequate pay and healthcare, has adequate rest, and whose values are in alignment with the individual (Duffy et al., 2016; ILO, 2012). Given the assertion that decent work is a basic human right, it is essential to better understand how the experience of racism at work may be leading to a violation of human rights.

In a test of PWT with people of color, Duffy and colleagues (2018) found that greater levels of self-reported marginalization were negatively correlated with decent work. PWT also describes a positive link between social connection at work and well-being. It can be argued that social connection at work can be difficult to establish if an individual is experiencing racism. This theoretical contribution illustrates the importance of understanding more about how individuals' experience of racial microaggressions at work could impact their well-being and work-fulfillment. PWT was used as a theoretical framework to better understand the work experiences of Black graduates of elite universities.

The current study sought to explore the hypothesis that the experience of marginalization at work is related to individuals' access to decent work that is interpersonally safe. Furthermore, the present study sought to better understand how perceptions of the experience of marginalization at work affects psychological and work-related well-being. The current study explored the pathway between the PWT predictor variable, marginalization in the form of racial microaggressions, and both of the PWT

outcome variables, well-being and work fulfillment. PWT was used to conceptualize the findings of the present study.

Literature to date has found that Black students attending elite colleges report experiencing racism on campus, which has been linked to several deleterious outcomes, particularly well-being and academic performance (Charles et al., 2015; Massey et al., 2007; Torres & Charles, 2004). At the same time, White students who attend these elite institutions have been found to espouse meritocratic and color-blind ideologies without regard to the influence of White privilege or White supremacy on society (Warikoo & de Novais, 2015). Furthermore, scholars assert that attitudes and values held by college students, regardless of race often remain unchanged after graduation (Warikoo, 2018).

Given that research suggests that Black and White graduates of elite universities are likely to work together after graduation, it is crucial to better understand the post-graduate experiences of Black individuals who attended elite universities, particularly their experiences of racism at work (Rivera, 2015). Additionally, because an individual's experiences at work can have a major impact on the person's well-being, it is critical to gain insight into how Black graduates of elite universities' experiences of racism at work might be affecting their well-being. The present study sought to examine the extent to which Black graduates of elite universities endorse experiencing racism at work, and the impact it has on their well-being. The study also sought to identify potential buffers of the impact of racism on well-being. The results of this study may provide useful insight for psychologists who work with this population and can be used in both case conceptualization and interventions for clients who are Black graduates of elite

universities. Following an in-depth review of the literature, the present study's research questions, hypotheses, methodology, and analytic approach are presented.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

To frame the present study, the literature review will begin by exploring the experiences of Black graduates of elite universities both while they are in school and after graduation, to provide the reader with a better understanding of the unique position in society this population holds. The next section will introduce PWT as the primary theoretical framework of the present study and will then present empirical support for the PWT model focusing primarily on the predictor variable of marginalization and the outcome variables of work-fulfillment and well-being. The subsequent section will briefly explore the concept of racism and the evolution of the ways in which racism is enacted in contemporary U.S. culture. While a full review of the racist history of the United States is beyond the scope of this paper, Anderson (2016), Guthrie (2004), and Jones (1997) provide a more thorough history. However, the conceptualization of racism will be integrated throughout this literature review.

The following section will focus on racial identity theory as a foundation of analysis of the ways in which the experiences of Black graduates of elite universities may be better understood. In addition, the section will examine the potential ways that racial identity may act as a buffer against the internalization of racism. The next section will attend to additional ways in which Black people cope with the specific stress that racism elicits. Final sections will focus on well-being, specifically, the impact of racism on well-being, the impact of work on well-being, and work fulfillment, or work-related well-being.

Black Graduates of Elite Institutions

Like most American institutions, elite universities have a history of profiting from and exploiting slave labor. For many of the most elite universities, slavery was instrumental in the building and financing of their lush campuses. Some schools allowed White students to bring slaves onto campus to serve them personally, while other universities used slaves to serve the university as a whole. Furthermore, many racist and white supremacist ideas were promulgated from the ivy-covered walls of these elite universities (Wilder, 2013). While many things have changed for the better since then, Black students on elite university campuses are still being met with racism today.

The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education keeps a running tally of racist events that occur on campuses across the United States on its website (JBHE, 2020). There were several recent incidents reported at Ivy League universities including (a) reports of nooses found on campuses, (b) a White student harassing Black students by shouting racist White supremacist views at them, (c) racial slurs written in public spaces, (d) a racially motivated attack on a Black student, (e) racist email messages including racial slurs and invitations to "daily lynchings" that were sent to students of several Ivy-plus universities, and (f) Black women being told a fraternity party was for "White Girls Only." Additionally, many national news outlets reported on a racist incident where a White student called the police on a Black Yale student who fell asleep in her dorm's common space after staying up late to write a paper (New York Times, 2018). More recently, social media accounts have been created for Black students at elite universities to anonymously share their experiences with racism, including @blackivystories which

currently includes nearly 350 student posts. It is clear that racism is deeply embedded and perpetually persists on elite college campuses.

Although racism on elite campuses continues to persist, students worldwide, including Black students, are still attracted to gaining admission to elite universities. *Elite* as a general term is defined as those individuals, companies, or institutions that have exclusive access to or vast control over a resource that provides some value and advantage (Khan, 2012, p. 362). From the perspective of elite educational institutions, the present study defines elite as those schools that are usually listed as the top 20-25 schools in various publications (such as the US News and World Report College Rankings) and have the most selective criteria for admissions (Rivera, 2015). Some of the most selective of these elite universities are referred to as Ivy-plus universities and include the eight Ivy League universities (Brown, Columbia, Cornell, Dartmouth, Harvard, Princeton, University of Pennsylvania, Yale,) and Stanford, MIT, Duke, and the University of Chicago. These schools have acceptance rates between 4.3% and 10.6% (Cornell, 2020; Stanford, 2020). Elite universities are thought of as bastions of educational excellence and are among the most selective and exclusive institutions in the world (Ge et al., 2018). Many of the most powerful individuals in the country including the previous five United States presidents and all but one of the current United States Supreme Court justices attended Ivy League universities for undergraduate or graduate school. Elite universities provide opportunities for social mobility, with nearly 60% of elite students from the lowest economic quartile reaching the top quartile, and many going on to reach the top 1% of earnings (Chetty et al., 2017). Therefore, it is of little surprise that many high achieving Black students elect to attend elite universities (Byrd, 2017).

Considering the access to social capital a degree from an elite institution affords, it is plausible that Black graduates of elite universities will go on to hold powerful leadership positions in society. These positions of power might present them with the opportunity to make decisions that impact both the Black community and society as a whole (Charles et al., 2015). Taking all of this into account, it is clear that this population holds a unique location in society. The privileged position of being a graduate of an elite university is simultaneously held while being in the marginalized position of a Black person in a perpetually racist society. Given the seemingly dichotomous nature of their social location, it is essential to better understand this population and their experiences. First, this section will focus on Black students' experiences while attending elite universities; given that education and training are antecedents to work, it is important to understand the potential implications of their college experiences on subsequent points of their career development (Blustein, 2008). Socioeconomic demographic characteristics of Black students at elite universities will be described, and special effort will be made to highlight the heterogeneous nature of this group. This will be followed by an investigation into some of the attitudes held by both Black and White students at elite institutions. The section will end with an examination of selected career related factors that impact this population.

Demographics and Characteristics of Black Students at Elite Universities

A study of more than 700 Black students attending the top 28 universities in the United States reported that Black students at selective universities were more likely than the average U.S. Black population to come from households with higher incomes and have parents who graduated from college. However, 26% of these students were first-

generation college students and nearly 40% came from households that reported incomes less than $50,000 per year (Charles et al., 2015). The present study underlines the fact that Black students at elite universities come from socioeconomically diverse backgrounds.

Additionally, Jack's (2016) study of Black students at an elite university identified intragroup differences among students from lower-income backgrounds that affected the ways in which these students interacted with authority figures. Jack defined two groups of lower-income students at elite universities: (a) the privileged poor and (b) the doubly disadvantaged. The first group were lower-income students who graduated from elite day, boarding, and preparatory high schools and entered college ready to engage with professors and other authority figures proactively and with ease. The second group of lower-income students came from local high schools that were often distressed. These students were much less likely to engage with professors and had a tendency to avoid them.

Another source of intragroup differences were ethnicity and immigrant status. After attending a Harvard University Black alumni event, Henry Louis Gates pointed out that the majority of Black alumni at Harvard were not descendants of American chattel slavery. Instead, they were first and second-generation immigrants from the Caribbean and countries in Africa (Massey et al., 2007). His observation elicited much criticism but was followed by several studies that explored possible differences that may exist between native born multigenerational Black Americans and first and second-generation Caribbean and African immigrants who attend elite universities (Byrd et al., 2014; Charles, et al., 2015; Massey et al., 2007). The aforementioned researchers found many

similarities between native born and immigrant Black students, including academic performance in college, but also found many differences. For example, Black students who identified themselves as first and second generation African or Caribbean immigrants, were more likely than Black students whose family had been in the United States for many generations (a) to have fathers who graduated from college and held advanced degrees, (b) to attend private school, and (c) to have grown up in predominately White or integrated neighborhoods (Charles et al., 2015). These attributes have all been linked to an increased probability of graduating from college within six years (Byrd et al., 2014). Additionally, Black immigrant students were significantly more likely than Black native students to attend the most selective of the elite schools, and although Black immigrants comprised only 13% of the Black United States population, they made up over 40% of Black students enrolled in Ivy League schools (Massey et al., 2007). Massey and colleagues argued that this discrepancy between attributes of immigrant and native-born students can be partially attributed to the fact that most Black immigrant populations are highly selected from a human capital perspective, and often belong to the skilled middle or upper middle class in their respective countries of origin. Moreover, the perpetual inequalities that exist from America's pernicious history of racist educational policies and school segregation have resulted in inequitable educational opportunities for native Black students.

Of course, demographic differences are not the only observed distinctions between and within these two groups. Charles and colleagues (2015) studied the racial identity of over 700 Black students at 28 selective universities and found that Black immigrant students endorsed more assimilationist views, or ideas that Black people are

similar to general US society and should assimilate to broader US culture. These students also held less nationalistic views of Black people as unique. However, all Black ethnic groups endorsed race as a factor that is salient to their personal identity. Moreover, Black immigrants attending college in the United States may be more likely to experience and perceive racism in similar ways to native born Black people after being in the United States for multiple generations. One study found that second generation immigrants were more likely to report experiences of discrimination on campus than first generation immigrants (Griffin et al., 2016). These intragroup differences all highlight the importance of disaggregating data so as not to assume intragroup heterogeneity.

In order to better understand the experiences of Black students at elite universities, it is important to consider the attitudes held by their White student peers. This next section will briefly discuss some of the attitudes and beliefs commonly held by White students at elite universities and the impact these attitudes may have on their Black peers.

Attitudes Held by White Students at Elite Universities

White students frequently believe that they have gotten to where they are based on merit, often without any thought or consideration of how White privilege might have played a role in their opportunity to gain admittance to a prestigious university. These meritocracy beliefs often lead to White students not only questioning the legitimacy of Black student's acceptance, but also to them turning a blind eye to their privilege (Warikoo, 2018). White students are not alone in their ideas of merit. The American Dream projects an idea that education provides meritorious individuals from lower-income and working-class families with an opportunity to become socially mobile and

requires that privileged children prove their merit in order to maintain their advantages (McNamee, 2018). However, educational access and opportunities are often influenced by an individual's socioeconomic background (Owens et al., 2019).

For example, students whose parents are part of the top 1% of income distribution in the United States are 77 times more likely to enroll in an Ivy League university than students who are from the bottom 5% of income distribution (Chetty et al., 2017). There are several factors that contribute to this discrepancy, not least of which is the quality of schools available to children based on their socioeconomic status. Public schools in the United States are generally funded by local property taxes, which often results in unequal educational funding for students from less affluent backgrounds. Schools attended by more affluent students, both public and private, often are able to invest more in student learning and enrichment, and also provide access to advanced placement courses and extracurricular activities such as "country club sports" (polo, badminton, rugby, crew, etc.) that are valued by Ivy League and other elite universities (Golden, 2019; McNamee, 2018). The preference for country club sports and meritocratic values in Ivy League admissions aligns with the ideas outlined by Breakwell (1986), which state that dominant groups often manipulate the social value of its norms, ideology, intellectual and personality traits, and activities that the group engages in so as to maintain its hierarchical position and to inflate the self-esteem of group members. This inequity in access to elite education is thought to act in ways that reproduce socioeconomic inequality. Bourdieu (1973) argues that schools recognize and reward this possession of cultural capital, and in doing so, eliminate lower-income children who may not possess the middle-class vocabulary and ways of being that are perceived as meritorious to gatekeepers of these

elite institutions. It is clear that these societal ideas of merit are passed on to White students attending elite universities and greater society in general.

As part of this, White students often assume that their Black and Latinx peers have benefitted from affirmative action (Warikoo & Novais, 2015). White students often do not even consider the ways in which affirmative action is beneficial to them, particularly to White female athletes (Karabel, 2006). Title IX of the Educational Amendments Act of 1972 prohibited discrimination on the basis of sex in educational programs that receive federal funds. As part of this, existing college athletic programs were required to offer women's sports teams that corresponded with whatever teams were offered to men. Many White women were recruited for college athletics as a result of this (Golden, 2019). A recent study showed that Harvard University significantly lowers its admissions criteria for college athletes; so much so that the usual admissions rate of less than 5%, skyrockets to nearly 88% for recruited athletes (Arcidiacono, Kinsler, & Ransom, 2019). Additionally, the present study found that students who are legacies (children of alumni), children of faculty members, or on a special dean's list (a list of applicants mostly affiliated with top financial donors), are between 7 to 9 times more likely to be admitted than students who do not belong to any of those groups. Furthermore, 43% of White students admitted to Harvard were part of these favored groups (Arcidiacono, Kinsler, & Ransom, 2019). It can be argued that this illustrates that White students' view of an admissions advantage for Black and Latinx students is one-sided. White students' resentment towards Black and Latinx students is also clearly misdirected and is likely rooted in White supremacist beliefs of White superiority.

Likewise, many White students admitted that they were largely against affirmative action unless they perceived its beneficiaries to be deserving of an advantage. They believe that affirmative action should be limited to poor Black and Latinx students or those without access to opportunities such as AP classes and certain extracurricular activities and should not be extended to Black students who are middle class or wealthy (Warikoo, 2018). These students are either unaware of or indifferent to the impact of racism on all Black people in the United States regardless of socioeconomic status. As a relevant example, it has been clearly documented that biases in standardized testing exist that consistently disfavor Black test takers, yet elite universities continue to require these tests for admission (Helms, 1997; Jencks & Phillips, 2011; Jones, 1997). Moreover, White students felt that if a student of color was admitted under affirmative action and had benefitted from what they perceived as preferential treatment, then White students should receive some benefit from the Black students' acceptance, including the opportunity to learn from the student of color (Torres & Charles, 2004; Warikoo, 2018).

Changes to affirmative action have likely contributed to White student ideas that students of color are admitted to the campus community for their benefit. Initially, affirmative action was meant to be a restitutional policy and an attempt to ameliorate some of the lasting consequences of slavery and Jim Crow inequality. According to a speech given by Lyndon Johnson at Howard University, the goal of affirmative action was to make amends for past exclusion by deliberately recruiting Black students. In the speech, he states "you do not wipe away the scars of centuries by saying now you are free to go where you want and do as you desire and choose the leaders you please. You do not take a person who, for years, has been hobbled by chains and liberate him, bring him up

to the starting line of a race and then say, you are free to compete with all the others, and still justly believe that you have been completely fair" (Johnson, 1965; Massey et al., 2007). However, since the 1970s several White people who have applied and have been denied admissions to universities have sued the universities, because they felt they would have otherwise gained a spot if it were not for affirmative action.

Several of the cases have gone to the Supreme Court (Regents of the University of California v. Bakke, Gratz v. Bollinger, and Grutter v. Bollinger) (Kahn, 2018). The Bakke case upheld some of the idea of affirmative action but required that race be considered less formally without reserving spots specifically for Black people. One Supreme Court judge stated that Black students could only receive special consideration if they contributed to the diversity of the campus, thus changing the goal of affirmative action from compensatory for past wrongdoing to diversity solely for the sake of diversity (Moore & Bell, 2011). This shift completely ignored any consideration of racial inequality, White supremacy, or White privilege and is potentially a factor in White students' current idea of a diversity bargain, or that Black and Latinx students are on campus for their benefit (Warikoo, 2016).

Several studies showed that as a result of the diversity bargain, White students expected Black students to be responsible for bridging the Black-White gap by extending an invitation for interracial interactions. When no such invitation was extended, White students accused Black students of purposely self-segregating. White students then complained that Black students were not going out of their way to forge relationships with them (Aries, 2008; Jack, 2019; Torres & Charles, 2004; Warikoo, 2018). Black students are aware of White student's attitudes towards them.

In a study by Torres and Charles (2004), researchers sought to understand how racial stereotypes affect relationships between Black and White undergraduate students at the University of Pennsylvania by examining meta-stereotypes, or Black students' perception of how White students perceive them. The authors used focus groups and in-depth interviews that lasted between two and six hours, with 55 Black and White students. The study found that Black students had an accurate awareness of the stereotypes that White students held. In particular, the Torres and Charles study found that White students believed that Black students were intellectually and socially inferior to White students, viewed Black students as urban and poor, and believed that Black men especially were violent. Interviews with White students revealed that not only did they oppose affirmative action, but also believed that Black students at Penn were less qualified and received preferential treatment in the admissions process.

These attitudes do not only affect Black student's views of how they were viewed intellectually, but also how they were viewed physically. Black students at the University of Pennsylvania faced a unique situation, as the university is located next to the predominately Black neighborhood of West Philadelphia. Several Black students, especially Black men, reported modifying their behavior to ease White anxiety in an effort to avoid being mistaken for a local and having their presence on campus questioned. One Black man stated: "Considering where we are, we're right next to this large Black population, which is … a lower-class Black population, and so when I walk down ... and I don't have a backpack with me, people think that I'm, you know, from the neighborhood. And, so, people just treat you differently. Like, they might—they'll look at you cautiously. And, when you're in the buildings, they're like: Why is he in here?

Things like that. I mean, if I'm wearing a bubble jacket and wearing some boots and no backpack, you know, I guess, I look like—I dress like someone else from the neighborhood, which is understandable... Sometimes, when I didn't even need my backpack, I'd carry it with me anyway." Another Black man admitted to moving aside to let White women pass by while walking through campus at night in an effort to alleviate their fears of him (Torres & Charles, 2004).

Furthermore, as mentioned above, White students felt that Black students who opt to join Black organizations and live in DuBois College House, an on-campus dorm that is devoted to the celebration and study of Black life, are segregating themselves from White students and thus promoting anti-White attitudes. While White students endorsed a preference for living and socializing with same-race students, they chastised Black students for desiring to do the same, going as far as to blame Black students for denying them the full educational experience they sought from the opportunity to experience diversity (Torres & Charles, 2004). Their sentiments were in agreement with the racial attitudes White students expressed to other researchers (Aries, 2008; Byrd, 2017; Jack, 2019; Warikoo, 2018). It is worth noting that, while White students at elite universities accused Black students of self-segregating and obstructing their chances for intergroup friendships, they were more likely to report having a majority of same race close friends than Black students. This was especially true for White students from affluent backgrounds (Aries, 2008; Bowen & Bok, 1998; Warikoo, 2018). One study found that 96% of Black students reported that they had gotten to know two or more White students well, and while 93% of low-income White students endorsed the same thing about Black

students, only 54% of affluent White students reported getting to know any Black students (Aries, 2008).

This awareness of White student attitudes had a negative impact on Black students. Black students tended to internalize and accept the meta-stereotypes of Black people as a whole and made an effort to not only distance themselves from "those other Blacks" by insisting they are not "average" Black Americans, but they also reported a deep commitment to being positive representatives of their race in an attempt to disprove the belief that they are intellectually and socially inferior to White people. These efforts make Black students susceptible to stereotype threat (Torres & Charles, 2004).

Claude Steele defines stereotype threat as a “social-psychological threat that arises when one is in a situation or doing something for which a negative stereotype about one’s group applies” (Steele, 1997, p. 614). Steele states that the individual does not have to believe that the stereotype about one’s group is true in order for it to cause anxiety and distress that can impede academic performance. The threat exists most when the individual identifies with “the domain to which the stereotype is relevant” (Steele, 1997, p. 614). In other words, if a Black student is aware that a negative stereotype exists about Black people’s academic abilities, and they are a high achiever who strongly identifies with being a student, they will be more likely to experience negative outcomes from stereotype threat. In a series of five studies, researchers examined the impact of stereotype threat on the academic performance of high achieving Black students at Stanford University and found that even subtle mentions of race before being asked to complete an exam resulted in lower performance (Steele & Aronson, 1998). These studies clearly outline the negative impact that racism in several forms may have on

Black students while they are attending elite universities. It is important to better understand how these attitudes and behaviors might occur in additional stages of career development, such as the job search process and daily workplace environment. The next section will focus on the ways in which the on-campus recruiting process at elite universities impacts its students.

Elite Students Transition to Work

It is of little surprise that students who attend elite institutions pursue elite careers (Rivera, 2015). Researchers conducted a study of students attending Harvard and Stanford and found that their construction of prestigious jobs were influenced by their peers, the university, and firms that conducted on-campus recruiting (Binder et al., 2016). On campus recruiting refers to the competitive process whereby companies coordinate with university career services offices to come to campus and interview students. Before being interviewed, candidates are first screened by either the university career services offices or the companies themselves. Some companies spend up to millions of dollars per year on fancy recruiting events and information sessions, in order to entice students into applying to work with their firms (Rivera, 2011). The confluence of these factors generally results in elite students pursuing a small set of industries – technology, finance, and consulting (Binder, Davis, & Bloom, 2016).

Rivera (2015) investigated how elite organizations recruit elite students by interviewing 120 employers involved in campus recruiting and by conducting fieldwork, where the researcher engaged in the on-campus recruiting process as an intern. This study resulted in many interesting findings that are relevant to the current study. First, Rivera found that elite professional services firms (including finance, legal, and consulting

firms) recruited students at what was deemed super-elite universities, or the top 4-5 schools (Harvard, Princeton, Stanford, Wharton School [University of Pennsylvania's business school] and Yale) and paid them well. Citing a Wall Street salary survey from 2007, Rivera reported that entry level compensation packages for undergraduate students which include signing bonus, salary, and end of year bonus, could be up to 200k, 90k of which consisted of yearly salary, placing them in the top 10% of national earners right out of college. This is in line with the salaries received today.

Most Ivy League university career service offices publish yearly reports of the industries their students go into and some list the salaries they earn after graduating. The top three industries that 2019 Ivy League graduates pursued were finance, consulting, and technology, which is consistent with previous studies (Brown Career Services, 2019; Cornell Career Services, 2019; Dartmouth Career Services, 2019; Harvard Office of Career Services, 2019; Penn Career Services, 2019; Princeton Career Services, 2018; Wharton Career Services, 2019). While the median salaries reported varied (between $63k-85k), some students made up to $190k base salary. This is compared to the national average starting salary of around $53k (National Association of College and Employers, 2020). In addition to the high salaries, students are often attracted to the promise of working with influential and affluent individuals at these firms who they are told can open doors for them in the future (Rivera, 2011).

Rivera (2011) also reported on the qualifications most important to recruiters. The firms often valued subjective traits that favored those from elite backgrounds. Such traits included attributes such as hobbies and extracurricular activities that were similar to country club sports valued by Ivy League admissions officers. Rivera argued that as

access to elite universities has opened to a more diverse population, elite organizations use these sorts of traits to distinguish between candidates who they deem to be more "polished," thus furthering social inequalities and limiting opportunities for upward mobility.

Students often view the on-campus recruiting process as competitive, and many believe they are entitled to these elite jobs. Students at elite schools are socialized to believe that they deserve fulfilling jobs with high salaries and high status (Binder et al., 2016). Relatedly, White students reported fears of reverse racism in the recruiting process and were apt to blame Black students when they felt they might not win the competitive process of finding an elite job. A self-described privileged student reported "I've gotten to see affirmative action from, like, the point of the person who it's being – I don't want to say used against, but kind of, like who's not being favored by it. It makes you a little bitter seeing dozens of white or Asian people applying for a job and then your African-American friend gets it through a minority program that's like, half as competitive" (Warikoo, 2018). These ideas extend to the recruiters to a certain extent, who were typically graduates of the elite universities where they were recruiting.

One recruiter balked at the idea of considering diversity in hiring and stated that merely considering diversity would lower the bar. Additionally, most recruiters put the problem of not having diversity in the workplace on "the pipeline" and stated that there were not enough qualified Black candidates available, despite the fact that the number of Black candidates interviewed was not proportionate to the number of Black students on campus. Furthermore, Black candidates were judged more harshly and subjected to greater scrutiny in the interview process. Black men especially, needed to excel in case

presentations in order to be perceived as having strong analytical skills. This was also true of interpersonal skills. For example, White men whose communication skills were below average were deemed as “coachable” while Black men with similar skills were thought to be less polished and were quickly rejected (Rivera, 2015). Keeping in mind that most of the recruiters were elite graduates themselves, it can be extrapolated that the views they held from college about Black students, continued on into the recruiting process. It is also possible that these attitudes held by White graduates may spill over into day-to-day experiences at work. Since graduates of elite universities tend to work in three main industries, it is highly likely that Black and White graduates of elite universities are working together. This could have a potential impact on Black graduates’ career development.

While few studies exist on the experiences of elite Black graduates at work, research that has been conducted with Black people more generally has found that Black employees with comparable performance to their White counterparts often receive lower bonus and salary (Castilla, 2008). Black CEOs are more likely than White CEOS to be blamed personally when companies experience failures and are less likely to receive credit when companies succeed (Rosette et al., 2008). Companies run by Black executives that graduated from elite universities received significantly lower stock valuations in a mock exercise with MBA students. The impact of which in real life would have led a firm to be valued 10-18% lower (Sauer et al., 2010). All of these factors make it essential to better understand the work experiences of this population.

In sum, Black students attending elite universities have faced racism in many forms both historically and currently (Byrd et al., 2014; Massey et al., 2007). Many of

their White peers hold views of meritocracy and color-blind racism that does not take into account the role that White privilege and White supremacy has played on their opportunities to gain admission to elite universities (Warikoo & de Novais, 2015). As a result, White students question the legitimacy of Black student's admission to elite universities and often assume that admissions standards are relaxed for Black applicants (Warikoo, 2018). Black students are aware of the views that White students hold of them as intellectually inferior (Torres & Charles, 2004). Some Black students internalize these views, which leads to diminished academic performance and well-being (Fischer, 2010; Torres & Charles, 2004). Eventually, these students seek job opportunities in a limited number of industries, which can lead one to extrapolate that they will end up in the workforce together (Rivera, 2015). Given that research has shown that an individual's college views often extend beyond graduation, it can be inferred that White students who are oblivious to their White privilege and not only hold meritocratic, color-blind viewpoints, but also question the legitimacy of Black intellect, graduate and enter the workforce with these views (Warikoo, 2018). Moreover, the present study offers a unique glimpse of how racism functions within a context where many would think that it would be less prevalent. Therefore, it is crucial to understand the work-related experiences of Black graduates of elite universities.

Psychology of working theory

Researchers have argued that work plays a significant role in the "development, expression, and maintenance" of psychological well-being (Blustein, 2008, p. 228; Blustein, 2013; Duffy et al., 2016). PWT details how contextual factors such as economic

constraints and marginalization (i.e. racism) might impact an individual's access to decent work and ultimately to well-being and work fulfillment.

PWT posits that the pathway from economic constraints (limited financial and social capital) and marginalization (discrimination based on personal identities) to decent work is mediated by work volition (perceived capacity to make work related decisions) and career adaptability (ability to cope with career-related challenges). Additionally, the pathway from economic constraints and marginalization to decent work is moderated by proactive personality (proclivity to take initiative), critical consciousness (critical analysis of current circumstances and perceived ability to influence change), social support, and economic conditions (societal economic trends i.e. unemployment). The attainment of decent work is hypothesized to meet three basic human needs including survival needs, social connection needs, and self-determination needs. The fulfillment of these three needs is then linked to work fulfillment and well-being.

The current study sought to understand the unique experiences of Black graduates of elite universities who face both marginalization as a result of being Black in predominately White workspaces and socioeconomic privilege that could come with being a graduate of an elite university. Specifically, the present study explored how the intersectionality of Black graduates of elite universities' various identities might be related to their access to decent work. Additionally, the present study explored PWT hypothesized outcomes of well-being and work-fulfillment. The present study also explored hypothesized PWT pathways and sought to inform counseling psychologists and other professionals about the best ways to support Black graduates of elite universities who are experiencing racism at work.

Evidence exists that the PWT is applicable to individuals who experience marginalization, including individuals who experience marginalization on the basis of sexual orientation and gender identity (Allan et al., 2019; Douglass et al., 2017; England et al., 2020), and people of color (Duffy et al., 2018). Specifically, in a test of PWT with people of color, Duffy and colleagues (2018) found that greater levels of self-reported marginalization were negatively correlated to the attainment of decent work. PWT also describes the positive link between social connection and attachment (or engagement) at work to well-being. This theoretical contribution illustrates the importance of understanding more about how individuals' experience of racial microaggressions at work could impact their well-being and their fulfillment with work. The PWT has also recently been used to conceptualize well-being in a vocational psychology context (Allan et al., 2019) and the impact of racial microaggressions on work-volition (Marks et al., 2020). The study by Marks et al. revealed that increased experiences of racial microaggressions was related to a decrease in work volition.

PWT has received worldwide attention and has been applied to the attainment of decent work in numerous international and cultural contexts including France (Vignoli et al., 2020), Italy (Di Fabio & Kenny, 2019), Portugal (Ferreira et al,, 2019), and United Kingdom (Dodd et al., 2019). Additionally, several scales have been developed for many of the tenets of PWT including the Work Volition Scale (WVS; Duffy et al., 2012), Decent Work Scale (DWS; Duffy et al., 2017), and Work Needs Satisfaction Scale (WNSS; Autin et al., 2019). A recent study confirmed several PWT hypothesized pathways, including links between well-being, decent work and all three basic human needs including survival needs, social contribution needs, and self-determination needs.

Additionally, this study found decent work to be indirectly related to well-being through each of the basic human needs listed above (Duffy et al., 2019).

In sum, PWT is one of the first vocational psychology theories to place an individual's experiences of marginalization at the forefront of its conceptualization. PWT hypothesizes that marginalization can have a negative impact on the obtainment of work that is decent, including work that is free from interpersonal hostility (Duffy et al., 2016). Initial research that used PWT as a theoretical framework has supported this hypothesis and found a negative correlation between marginalization and decent work for people of color (Duffy et al., 2018). Similar to the current study, PWT has been used to conceptualize studies of racial microaggressions in the workplace (Marks et al., 2020). The current study sought to explore the pathway between the PWT predictor variable, marginalization in the form of racial microaggressions, and both of the PWT outcome variables, well-being and work fulfillment.

Racial Microaggressions

Anti-Black racism is an insidious and pervasive problem that has plagued the United States since the first African slaves reached the American colonies. In his 1903 book The Souls of Black Folk, W.E.B DuBois, the first Black person to earn a doctoral degree from Harvard University, declared that "the problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line" (DuBois, 1903). While much progress has been made since DuBois's work was published, the problem still exists. As blatantly hostile Jim Crow overt racism has become less socially acceptable, more covert forms of racism have sprung up in their place (Bonilla-Silva, 2002). Although it can be argued that overt forms

of racism have declined since discrimination was made illegal by the Civil Rights Act of 1964, more covert forms of racism continue to persist (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000).

Contemporary racism has taken the form of institutional inequality as well as unconscious or implicit biases, attitudes, and behaviors. This modern form of racism has been referred to as color-blind racism, which is the notion among White people that race is no longer a relevant consideration in people's everyday lives, and that discrimination is not a central factor that shapes the opportunities available to Black people (Bonilla-Silva, 2017; Neville et al., 2013). These attitudes and beliefs are often manifested in the form of what is referred to as racial microaggressions (Pierce, 1970).

Microaggressions are the "array of interracial interactions conveying disregard, ambivalence, or contempt" and are often "subtle acts or attitudes that are experienced as hostile" (Franklin & Boyd-Franklin, 2000, p. 36). Microaggressions are "subtle and stunning blows" that are delivered incessantly, and while a single event may be considered somewhat innocuous, it is the cumulative effect that is deleterious (Pierce, 1970, p. 266). While microaggressions are thought of as subtle, they can have a negative impact on an individual's self-esteem and self-concept. Microaggressions lead individuals to engage in defensive thinking, where they are forced to constantly engage in internal debates about how to react. The subtle nature of some microaggressions may lead to individuals questioning themselves and wondering if something was really a microaggression. Microaggressions force individuals who experience them to remain vigilant, just in case the aggression reoccurs. This internal process requires energy and therefore often leads individuals who experience microaggression to feel drained (Franklin, 2004). It is important to note that although the term microaggressions is now

widely used, there are some scholars who are against the use of the term. Kendi (2019) asserts that daily racial abuse is not minor, and aggression is not a strong enough word to describe the effects that racism has on people such as distress, anxiety, worry, fatigue, and even suicide.

Building on the work of Pierce (1978), Sue et al. (2007) suggest three forms of microaggressions: microassaault, microinsult, and microinvalidation. Microassaults involved explicit condemnation, usually in the form of a deliberate verbal or nonverbal attack. Examples of this include intentionally helping a White customer before a person of color or calling a Black person a "colored" person. Microinsults involve rude and insensitive comments that are demeaning to an individual's racial group. For example, if a Black employee is asked how they got their job, it can be taken as an assumption that the Black employee does not have the qualifications necessary for the job, or it can be assumed that they received preferential treatment through affirmative action. This is in effect, an assumption of inferiority. Finally, microinvalidation refers to interactions that disregard or invalidate the thoughts, feelings, or experiences of people of color. For example, when Black people are told by a White person that they don't see color, it denies their existence as racial beings (Helms, 2020; Sue et al, 2007). The current study focused on assumptions of inferiority and microinvalidations, as these types of microaggressions are more likely to occur in the workplace (Decuir-Gunby & Gunby, 2016). In addition to these three forms of microaggressions, Sue et al. (2007), list nine categories of racial microaggressions, two of which include myths of meritocracy and color blindness. Research on students at elite universities has shown that White students often endorse meritocracy and color blindness (Warikoo, 2018). Therefore, it is possible

that once these students enter the workforce, these views may be manifested in the form of racial microaggressions.

Racial microaggressions can occur in all contexts of society, including at work and school. Workplace studies have confirmed that Black employees experience racial microaggressions at work (Decuir-Gunby & Gunby, 2016; Holder et al. 2015; Pitcan et al. 2018). Decuir-Gunby and Gunby (2016) and Semel (2020) found a negative relationship between the experience of microaggressions at work and job satisfaction. Holder and colleagues (2015) explored the occurrence of racial microaggressions against Black women who held corporate leadership positions and found that they experience many forms of microaggressions including stereotypes of being aggressive, invisibility, exclusion from work and social meetings, and exclusion from career opportunities. These women reported many negative effects of these racial microaggressions, including self-blame, isolation, negative health impacts, and impeded work performance. Similarly, Pitcan and colleagues (2018) examined the experiences of Black men who worked in predominately White organizations and found that these men endorsed experiencing racial microaggressions at work that made them feel like there were different rules for them. For example, they felt they could not express anger or frustration without affirming stereotypes that exist about Black men as angry. Additionally, multiple participants reported that their co-workers assumed they were intellectually inferior to them. These racial microaggressions led to increased depression, anxiety, and social isolation. The current study examined workplace and school microaggressions.

From an educational context, several studies have examined Black college students' experiences with microaggressions, especially Black students attending elite

and predominately white universities. These studies have unanimously concluded that racial microaggressions against Black students can have a negative impact on their psychological well-being (Smith et al., 2011; Solorzano & Yosso, 2000; Torres et al., 2010; Watkins et al., 2010). However, there are no studies focused explicitly on what happens to these Black graduates of elite institutions once they enter the workforce.

In sum, as the expression of racism has changed throughout time, blatant racism has generally become less acceptable and more covert forms of racism have become more widespread. Racial microaggressions are the manifestation of color-blind racist attitudes and are daily forms of subtle racism that are sometimes unconscious and unintentional (Nadal et al., 2015). Research has shown that microaggressions occur both in predominately White educational institutions and in predominately White workplaces. In both settings, racial microaggressions have been shown to have deleterious effects on general well-being and work-related well-being respectively (Pitcan et al., 2018; Torres et al., 2010). This highlights the importance of exploring the role of racial microaggressions on both general and work-related well-being in a population of Black individuals who are likely to be working in predominately White organizations.

Racial Identity

In Helms and colleagues (2005), the authors emphasize that race is a social construction that "has no consensual theoretical or scientific meaning in psychology" and "maintains a sociopolitical hierarchy in the U.S American society," thus equating race with racial categories perpetuates racial stereotypes (Helms et al., 2005, p. 27). They argue that conceptually meaningful racial categorization theories, which "define constructs based on people's experiences of categorizing or being categorized into one

mutually exclusive group rather than another" such as racial identity theories should be used instead of socially constructed racial categories (Helms et al., 2005, p. 28). Researchers also propose that vocational psychology should study the presence of racial issues in various work environments and the ways in which people react to them, optimally by using racial identity theory (Helms & Piper, 1994). Racial identity theory refers to the attitudes and beliefs that people have about their racial group membership, and how individuals adapt to the environments in which they have been denied access to their fair share of resources (Helms, 1990; 1995).

Racial identity theory stems from Nigrescence theory, which is based on the French term nigrescence, and means the process of becoming Black (Cross, 1994). According to Cross (1991), Nigrescence theory developed in the late 1960s as Black psychologists attempted to better understand the identity transformation process that occurred as a result of participation in the Black power phase of the Black social movement. Nigrescence originally viewed the transformation as a process that went from Black self-hatred into Black self-acceptance. Cross notes that the conceptualization of Black self-hatred was misguided and had its roots in experiments such as the Clark experiments that found Black children preferred to play with both Black and White dolls. Cross argues that while Black children's fondness for both races of dolls was originally seen as problematic, it was actually a function of the fact that Black children are bicultural and navigate both Black and White worlds, and the split preference for both dolls was not a rejection of Blackness, but a highly functional acceptance of both cultures.

Racial identity theory has undergone other changes as well. First, racial identity was thought to be a linear stage-wise process, but Helms argued that an individual can display attitudes, behaviors, and emotions that are suggestive of multiple stages. Additionally, Helms stated that a stage model led researchers to downplay the cognitive and emotional processes involved in racial identity development. Therefore, Helms reformulated the model to include a more dynamic process referred to as statuses (Helms, 1995).

Helms (1995) describes racial identity development as an ongoing fluid process, where one's racial identity status shifts as a result of exposure to racial stimuli and environmental experiences. Individuals may exhibit "attitudes, behaviors, and emotions" based on more than one status (Helms, 1995, p. 183). These statuses include: Conformity (Pre-encounter) status, which involves an external self-definition that devalues one's own socioracial group and adheres to White standards of merit; Dissonance (Encounter) status, which involves ambivalence and confusion about one's own socioracial group; Immersion/Emersion status, which involves an idealization of one's own socioracial group and a rejection of things perceived as White; Internalization status, which involves an internal self-definition, with a positive commitment to one's own socioracial group and the ability to be objective in regards to things that are perceived as White; and finally, Integrative Awareness status, which involves the ability to value one's own identities while also being able to collaborate with members of other oppressed socioracial groups. The current study focused on Conformity and Internalization racial identity status attitudes. It can be hypothesized that individuals with high endorsement of Conformity and Internalization racial identity status attitudes are more likely to hold

favorable views of the workplace, albeit for differing reasons. As reflected in the following section, individuals with a high endorsement of Conformity status are more likely to be oblivious to experiences of racism and are more likely to hold more favorable views of the workplace even when racial microaggressions occur (Franklin-Jackson & Carter, 2007; Watts & Carter, 1991). Individuals with a high endorsement of Internalization status attitudes hold more flexible views toward race and racism and are less reactive to White racism (Helms, 1995). Therefore, they are more likely to find less fault with the workplace and are better able to cope with racial microaggressions (Forsyth & Carter, 2012). As such, I have elected to focus on the two aforementioned identity status attitudes given their direct relevance to the questions posed in this project.

Black individuals with a high endorsement of Conformity attitudes use White people as a primary reference group. Conformity individuals tend to idealize White culture while disparaging Black culture. Furthermore, individuals with Conformity attitudes believe that they have control over the rewards and punishments they receive and that their own personal status and the status of racial groups are based on effort and ability. Therefore, if an individual obtains a high level of achievement and success, it is thought to be due to merit and if the individual does not achieve success, it is thought to be due to a personal deficiency. When considering racial groups, individuals with Conformity racial identity attitudes believe that White people have an advantaged status in the United States due to their hard work and merit while Black people hold disadvantaged status due to lack of effort (Helms, 1990; 1995). This focus on meritocracy is aligned with the values espoused by elite universities and some of the White students that attend them (Warikoo, 2018). Black people with Conformity attitudes also embrace

the belief that they are "just a person" and are not affected by their racial group membership. The colorblind attitudes that individuals with Conformity attitudes embrace are also consistent with the values held by elite universities and some of the White students that attend (Warikoo, 2018). When success is achieved, individuals with Conformity racial identity attitudes can believe it is because they hold values and behave in ways that are different from "other" Black people and therefore have earned acceptance by White people (Helms, 1990). Individuals with high endorsement of Conformity status experience internalized racism, as well as increased levels of anxiety and depression (Helms, 1990, 1995). Furthermore, they are less likely to be able to detect racism in the workplace and are more likely to maintain favorable views of the racial climate at work, even with racial microaggressions take place (Watts & Carter, 1991).

Black individuals with a high endorsement of Internalization attitudes have an internal self-definition of racial attributes and use Black people as a primary reference group (Helms, 1995). The individual in the Internalization status is able to engage in more flexible thinking about being Black as well as White culture (Helms, 1995). Anti-White sentiments and anger towards White people decreases and the individual becomes better able to collaborate with White coworkers. Additionally, while the individual continues to hold non-racist values, they are also able to reestablish relationships with White people (Helms, 1990). Race remains more salient for individuals in the Internalization status, and they are better able to identify and acknowledge racism (Franklin-Jackson & Carter 2007). However, because they have more flexibility in their thoughts about race and racism, they are better able to cope when they experience racism.

Studies have shown that Internalization individuals experience less psychological distress after experiencing racism (Forsyth & Carter, 2012).

Parham and Helms (1981) developed the Racial Identity Attitude Scale (RIAS) to operationalize Cross's Nigrescence Theory (Cross, 1994). The RIAS has been used in over 350 publications, expanding the body of knowledge on racial identity theory (Cokley, 2007). Previous studies grouped racial identity ego-statuses into two categories, externally defined (pre-encounter, encounter) and internally defined (immersion/emersion and internalization) (Buckley & Carter, 2005; Wade, 1996). Scholars have examined the mechanisms through which racial identity may buffer the impact of racism on well-being. Additionally, many scholars have considered the impact that racial identity might have on the ways in which individuals experience racism in many different domains of life, including at school and at work.

An internally defined racial identity such as Internalization has also been shown to buffer the effects of stigma, or the devaluation of an identity and has often been shown to act as a moderator of racial stress and well-being (Bazelais & Bruce, 2012; Fiske, 2018). A study that used data from the National Survey of American Life, with over 3,500 respondents found that a more internally defined racial identity status was related to higher self-esteem and decreased depression (Hughes et al., 2015). Additionally, Neville et al. (1997) and Forsyth and Carter (2012) both found that racial identity status is a critical factor in predicting the racial coping strategies an individual will employ when confronted with racial related stress. From a school perspective, a study of 90 Black college students at a Predominately White Institution (PWI) found that immersion/emersion uniquely predicted general perceived stressors and problem solving,

and that other specific racial identity attitudes were predictors of both general and culture specific stressors (Neville et al., 1997).

Researchers assert that in order to better understand the career patterns of Black workers, researchers must examine potential ways that racism can impact career outcomes (Byars-Winston, 2010; Helms & Piper, 1994). Byars-Winston then suggests that racial identity should be studied in vocational psychology research, so that scholars may better understand how this construct may operate as a protective factor against racism, particularly in the context of work. Some research has been conducted that explores these factors. A study of nearly 800 Black women in various positions at Fortune 500 and Fortune 1000 companies examined the impact of racial identity and self-esteem on job satisfaction and found that more internally defined racial identity attitudes and higher levels of self-esteem were linked to job satisfaction, and the interaction of racial identity attitudes and self-esteem was a strong predictor of job satisfaction (Hayles, 2004). Additionally, DeCuir-Gunby and Gunby (2016) attempted to explore the potential buffering impact of racial identity status attitudes on the experience of microaggressions on job satisfaction but did not find support for this relationship. The authors hypothesized that the lack of empirical support for this relationship may have been related to the racial identity measure used in the study (DeCuir-Gunby & Gunby, 2016). Helms (1995) posits that racial identity theories may be used to explain how Black people adapt to environments they were initially denied access to, based on White people's assertion of Black inferiority. Some research has shown the potential of exploring racial identity in the work context (DeCuir-Gunby & Gunby, 2016; Hayles, 2004). Therefore, racial identity theory may provide a framework through which the experiences of Black

graduates of elite universities may be better understood, considering that they were previously and arguably still thought of as inferior in academic environments, and potentially in high-status work environments.

In addition to Black racial identity development, Helms also offers a model for understanding the racial identity development of White people and other people of color (Helms, 1995). White racial identity development theory provides a framework to better understand the ways in which White people develop a healthy racial identity (Helms, 2020). It involves the acknowledgement and abandonment of the entitlement that comes from being White in a society that extends greater privilege to White people relative to other racial groups (Helms, 1995). White racial identity development consists of a two-phase process, "internalization of racism and evolution of a nonracist White identity" (Helms, 2020, p. 25). Each of these phases consists of three schemas that begin with obliviousness, avoidance, or denial of racial issues (i.e., Contact status) and ends with a flexible nonracist view of Whiteness (see Helms, 2020 for a full review of White racial identity schemas).

The term people of color refers to people who are Black, Indigenous, Asian, or Latinx. Individuals in these groups have been subjected to discrimination, trauma, and inequitable distribution of resources based on their race. Helms' people of color racial identity theory is similar to Helms' Black racial identity theory and focuses on overcoming internalized racism. The people of color racial identity includes an additional schema, Integrative Awareness, that involves the ability to value one's identities and collaborate with other oppressed groups (Helms, 1994). Other scholars have also

developed racial identity models for specific marginalized racial groups including Asian-Americans (Kim, 1981) and Latinx Americans (Ruiz, 1990).

In sum, racial identity refers to the attitudes and beliefs that people have about their racial group membership (Helms, 1990). Internally defined racial identity, such as Internalization status is thought to act as a buffer between the experience of racism and both psychological and work-related well-being, including job satisfaction (Bazelais & Bruce, 2012; Forsyth & Carter, 2012; Hayles, 2004). The present study sought to build on the existing literature on the relationship between selected statuses of racial identity and well-being and work-fulfillment.

Racism-Related Coping

Racism has been consistently shown to be a unique and complex stressor that requires a range of different coping resources (Brondolo et al., 2009). Plummer and Slane (1996) found that Black people use different strategies to cope with racism-related stress than other types of stress. Coping has been defined as "the thoughts and behaviors used to manage the internal and external demands" of stressful situations (Folkman & Moskowitz, 2004, p. 745). Most research on coping has focused on mechanisms used for general stress, which some researchers have argued do not adequately represent the individual-level strategies that Black people use when dealing with interpersonal racism (Danoff- Burg et al., 2004; Harrell, 1979; Scott & House, 2005). Instead, researchers assert, racism-related coping should be examined when studying how Black people cope with racism. Racism-related coping is defined as the strategies Black people draw upon to resist and cope when confronted with racism (Forsyth & Carter, 2014).

While researchers have argued that the burden of coping should not be put on the victims of racism, scholars have also argued that until systemic racism is addressed on several levels, racial coping strategies are needed to act as a buffer to the stress that occurs when individuals are exposed to racism (Brondolo et al., 2009). Furthermore, research has shown that Black individuals who use effective coping strategies to deal with racism-related incidents suffer from less psychological distress related to the incidence of racism (Bryant & Ocampo, 2005; Carter et al., 2017; Forsyth & Carter, 2012). Therefore, racism-related coping may be a useful mechanism that can be used as a protective factor against racism (Driscoll et al., 2015). In order to better assist Black clients in finding ways to cope with racism, it is important to better understand the racism-related coping strategies that might be used and how effective those coping strategies might be as a buffer between racism and well-being.

Previously, scholars used the Lazarus and Folkman (1984) model of stress when attempting to understand the ways in which Black people cope with stress (Feagin, 1991; Plummer &Slane, 1996; Utsey et al., 2000). The model states that stress involves a relationship between an individual and their environment and occurs when an individual has a taxing encounter that exceeds the resources they have available to address it. Lazarus and Folkman view coping as the individual's attempt to use cognitive and behavioral means to address the situation. An individual makes an initial appraisal of the event and assesses whether or not the situation will result in potential harm and whether or not the event should be interpreted as stressful. Then, the individual makes a secondary appraisal and decides if they have the means necessary to cope with the situation.

Furthermore, once an individual decides how they will cope with an experience of racism, the process continues and can have differing results. Studies found that different coping strategies might result in different outcomes. For example, responding to racism by suppressing anger is associated with increased blood pressure and decreased cardiovascular functioning (Brondolo et al., 2009; Krieger and Sidney, 1996; Steffen et al., 2003). Another study of Black women's response to racism found that those who took some form of action against the racism were less likely to experience hypertension than those who merely accepted the experiences of racism and did not mention it to anyone (Brondolo et al., 2009; Krieger, 1990).

Additionally, according to Carter and Pieterse (2020), some scholars have also focused on approach and avoidance coping styles to racism. Approach is related to problem-solving while avoidance is related to evading the issue. The research utilizing these two styles has been largely inconclusive with some studies finding that avoidant coping strategies are related to decreased satisfaction with life, distress, concealing emotions, and exacerbated distress. However, other studies finding avoidant coping strategies to be useful (Brandolo et al., 2012). Similarly, conflicting results have also been found for approach strategies. Carter and Pieterse related these discrepancies to the use of general coping strategies instead of racism-related coping strategies. Therefore, when examining the ways in which Black people cope with racism, it is important to use specific racism-related coping strategies.

In response to the dearth of constructs that truly measure racism-related coping strategies, Forsyth and Carter (2014) developed a racism-related coping scale and identified eight different racism-related coping strategies : (1) hypervigilant strategies

which related to increased cautiousness in exchanges with people who are not Black and using avoidant behaviors to evade racially charged episodes; (2) confrontational strategies which related to candidly articulating anger or displeasure with the perpetrator of racism; (3) empowered action, which related to drawing upon legal and/or community support to hold the perpetrator of racism accountable; (4) social support, which related to advice seeking, sharing experiences of racism with support network and providing support to others who experience racism; (5) spiritual actions, which related to seeking support from religious community members and engaging in prayer, meditation, and singing; (6) constrained resistance, which related to utilizing passive (slowing work, substance use) and active (intimidation) behaviors; (7) bargaining which related to trying to make sense of the situation while keeping a positive perspective; (8) racial consciousness which related to making an effort to connect with one's culture and racial history and taking action towards fighting racism (Carter & Pieterse, 2020).

There also may be a complex interaction between racial identity and racism related coping that could provide additional insight into ways in which individuals may buffer the impact of racism (Carter & Pietrese, 2020). Forsyth and Carter (2012) found that individuals with predominately high internalization status attitudes were more likely to endorse empowered resistance racism-related coping strategies and reported the least psychological issues. Additionally, Neville et al., (1997) found some connection between coping style used and racial identity status, especially for individuals who had higher endorsement of immersion/immersion attitudes. These individuals were more likely to engage in negative problem-solving behaviors, including avoiding problems and suppressing emotions as a means of coping.

In sum, because of its complex nature, racism requires specific forms of coping strategies. Research found that Black people who use effective coping strategies to deal with racism-related stress report less psychological distress, and therefore may act as a protective buffer against the experience of racism (Forsyth & Carter, 2012). Therefore, it is vital to better understand how the utilization of racism-related coping strategies might buffer the impact of racism on well-being. The present study sought to add to the emerging literature on effective racism-related coping strategies by exploring whether or not specific racism related coping styles moderate the relationship between the experience of racial microaggressions and both well-being and work-fulfillment.

Well-Being

According to the American Psychological Association Ethical Principles of Psychologists, one of the main goals of psychology is to "improve the condition of individuals, organizations, and society" (APA, 2017). While this can be interpreted in many ways, it can be argued that one such way to make these global improvements is through a focus on well-being. The present study focused on two components of well-being including general psychological well-being and work well-being, or work fulfillment. Initially, general psychological well-being was thought of solely as the absence of mental illness, mostly a lack of anxiety and depression symptoms, but has since been expanded to include positive affect and states of enjoyment from life (Diener& Lucas, 2003; Veit & Ware, 1983). This shift in the conceptualization of mental health led to the notion of subjective well-being, which places an emphasis on an individual being able to personally evaluate their own life, and often includes satisfaction, engagement, meaning, and negative and positive affect (Diener et al., 2003; Diener &

Seligman, 2004). Consequently, subjective well-being tells us how well people believe their lives are going.

Well-being is particularly important because it can have wide ranging effects on an individual's life. High levels of well-being are associated with numerous positive outcomes across several domains. From a relationship perspective, individuals who are high in well-being are more likely to report better social relationships, are more likely to get married, and are less likely to get divorced. From a health standpoint, a meta-analysis of over 150 experimental, ambulatory, and longitudinal studies found that high levels of well-being can bolster immune functioning, increase pain tolerance, and buffer the impact of stress while another study found that high levels of well-being were associated with greater longevity (Howell et al., 2007; Pressman & Cohen, 2005). From a work perspective, individuals who report higher levels of well-being have better work performance and also are more likely to engage in organizational citizenship behaviors which refers to going above and beyond what is required to help others and the organization in general (Diener & Seligman, 2004).

There are many factors that impact an individual's well-being. Genetic and individual factors such as personality and temperament have been shown to have a strong impact on subjective well-being. For example, individuals who are more introverted, less agreeable, and more neurotic, are likely to report lower well-being (Diener & Seligman, 2004). Additionally, strong evidence exists that societal, relational, and environmental factors might also impact subjective well-being (De Neve et al., 2012; Diener & Seligman, 2002; Diener et al., 2018; Nes et al., 2006). For example, Diener et al. (2018) exert that strong social support, being treated with respect, basic need fulfillment, and

societal factors such as living in a prosperous society, are all related to increased well-being. Likewise, there are many factors that impede well-being including racism. The following section will discuss how racism negatively impacts well-being.

Racism and Well-Being

Racial disparity gaps between Black and White people exist in almost every health-related outcome. This is true, even when other factors such as socioeconomic status are accounted for (Paradies, 2006). Over the past few decades, the gap in life expectancy between Black and White individuals has gone from approximately seven years for those born in 1975 (though the difference between Black men and White women was nearly 15 years), to 5.7 years for those born in 2000 (Center for Disease Control, 2017). Although the discrepancy is shrinking, the gap is still significant. Many researchers have posited that racism is the source of this disparity (Bailey et al., 2017; Williams et al., 2019).

Recently, racial disparities have become even more apparent during the COVID-19 pandemic, where Black and Latinx individuals have experienced a higher risk of contracting and dying from COVID-19 than White people (CDC, 2020). The United States Centers for Disease Control and Prevention outlines several social determinants of health that have contributed to this increase in vulnerability to the virus, including educational, income, and wealth inequality, occupational differences (Black and Latinx individuals are more likely to be in public-facing service jobs), housing disparities (Black and Latinx individuals are more likely to live in crowded areas), healthcare access inequity, and institutional racism (CDC, 2020).

Although numerous conceptualizations of the connection between the experience of racism and well-being exist, there are two in particular that are relevant to the present study. First, Clark and colleagues (1999) generated a comprehensive and empirically testable biopsychosocial model that builds upon the stress coping model developed by Lazarus and Folkman (1984) discussed above; this model proposes that stress is a transaction between an individual and their environment that occurs when the demands of the environment exceed the coping resources available to the individual. The event is usually only perceived as stressful if it has some significant personal meaning to the individual. Clark et al. (1999) argue that individuals' perceptions of stimuli in their environment as racist can lead to amplified stress responses that may be psychological or physiological in nature. Eventually, these stress responses are thought to build up and often lead to negative health outcomes.

Clark and colleagues' model suggests that the relationships between the racist stimuli and negative health outcomes is moderated by multiple factors including skin tone, professional status, income, age, and gender. Additionally, the model proposes that coping responses and the subjective perception of environmental stimuli as racist mediates the relationship between the experience of racism and health outcomes. The perception of an event as racist may elicit numerous physiological responses including immune system, neuroendocrine, and cardiovascular functioning and psychological responses including anger, paranoia, anxiety, and frustration, which may in turn be impacted by the type of coping resources that are used. These physiological responses can be particularly damaging given that immune suppression may lead to an increased susceptibility to disease and a longer healing process (Clark et al., 1999). As mentioned

above, taking note of the disparate impact of COVID-19 on Black and Latinx individuals, it is particularly important to better understand factors that may contribute to inequality in health outcomes.

The next conceptual model is a general model of the connection between racism-related stress and well-being proposed by Harrell (2000) that also draws upon the psychological stress model developed by Lazarus and Folkman (1984) but expands the definition of stress to include racism-related stress, which Harrell defines as:

> *The race-related transactions between individuals or groups and their environment that emerge from the dynamics of racism, and that are perceived to tax or exceed existing individual and collective resources or threaten well-being (Harrell, 2000, p. 44).*

Additionally, Harrell suggests that racism can be experienced in several different ways and she reports that there are at least six different types of racism-related stress including racism-related life events, vicarious racism experiences, daily racism micro-stressors (microaggressions), chronic-contextual stress, collective experiences, and transgenerational transmission. Each can occur as a result of one of three primary sources of stress which include episodic stress (has a beginning and an end), daily hassles, and chronic strain. Harrell's descriptions of these types of racism will be discussed below.

Racism-related life events are stressors that involve significant life experiences and can transpire in multiple areas of life including work, education, finance, and healthcare. While the impact of these events may have long-lasting consequences, the actual event itself usually has a beginning and an end, making them episodic in nature.

Examples may include being denied for a bank loan, being brutalized or harassed by police, or being ignored when reporting negative symptoms when giving birth.

Vicarious racism experiences are episodic in nature and occur when an individual observes or is made aware of racism experienced by another individual, including a family member, friend, or stranger. Recent examples include the murders of George Floyd and Philando Castille by the police that were recorded and widely distributed as well as the murder by three policemen of Breonna Taylor that resulted in only one policeman being charged for bullets that mistakenly struck her neighbor's property. These vicarious racism experiences are harmful, because they may result in increased vulnerability and vigilance toward danger, anger, distress, and sorrow. One study found that after the death of Freddie Gray while he was in police custody, depressive symptoms in Black mothers in the neighborhood where his death occurred significantly increased, similarly another study found that individuals in the neighborhood where Michael Brown was shot and killed by police, reported an increase in posttraumatic stress disorder symptoms, depression, and anger (Galovski et al., 2016; Yimgang et al., 2017). This vicarious racial trauma may also have an impact on racial socialization, and for good reason. Black people are three times more likely than White people to be shot by the police. The likelihood increases to five times more likely when the individuals are unarmed (Bor et al., 2018). Black parents in one study reported that the murder of Trayvon Martin influenced the conversations they had with their children about race and the instructions they provided to their children on what to do if they find themselves in a similar situation (Thomas & Blackmon, 2015).

Daily racism micro-stressors, or microaggressions were previously described, and include daily hassles that are often indirect and subtle instances of interpersonal racism but whose effects build up over time. These slights that include being ignored in line or mistaken for someone in the service industry, are often more intuitive than objective and as a result are often minimized by others. A number of studies have found that a negative relationship exists between the experience of racial microaggressions and well-being in several domains of life including work and school (Holder et al., 2015; Nadal et al., 2014). The present study provides an exploration into how these daily microaggressions may be experienced by Black graduates of elite universities.

Chronic-contextual stress is as its name suggests, chronic in nature and includes the demands of institutional, systemic, and structural racism that are placed on an individual. These factors influence access to resources and opportunities and impact the quality of life of many people of color. Disparities occur in multiple domains including housing, employment, education, justice, and finance (Lee et al., 2019). Examples include out of date textbooks in predominately Black and Latinx schools and fresh food deserts in neighborhoods of color. Harrell notes that these chronic-contextual stressors may not always be perceived as racist by those who are most impacted by them, because those individuals are so absorbed with daily survival they may not have the resources needed to reflect on the multiple influences of racism. She also notes that chronic-contextual stress can be particularly relevant to people of color operating in predominately White spaces including schools, neighborhoods, and workplaces. Much research has been conducted on the experiences of Black students at Predominately White Institutions that provides support for this model's hypothesis that for Black people,

being in a predominately White space can affect well-being (Neville et al., 2004; Smith et al., 2016). The present study sought to contribute to the literature on the ways in which working in a predominately White workspace impacts the well-being of Black workers.

Collective experiences of racism include the ways in which individuals view the effects of racism on their own racial group as a whole, whether or not they perceive themselves to have personal experience with racism. Examples include an individual's perception and observation of the socioeconomic conditions of, opportunities available to, and barriers experienced by their racial group. Researchers found evidence that suggests individuals are more likely to acknowledge collective racism experienced by their racial group than experiences of racism that they have experienced personally, which has been attributed to the fact that it may be more difficult to cope with individual racist experiences (Crosby et al., 1993; Taylor et al., 1994).

Transgenerational transmission of racism refers to the idea that the effects of oppressive historical group traumas such as American chattel slavery followed by Jim Crow are transferred in perpetuity to future generations through socialization, stories told, and lessons taught. This long history of oppression directly influences the racism-related dynamics of American society as a whole. Goosby and Heidbrink (2013) argue that the impact of racism is passed on generationally when a mother experiences poor health stemming from racism-related stress that can result in alterations to her children's gene expression, which can in turn have negative health implications for the child.

Furthermore, the model recognizes that there are antecedent variables that may influence the ways in which an individual perceives their experiences of racism such as race/ethnicity, gender, age, language, physical characteristics, sociopolitical context,

socioeconomic status, and racial composition of contexts (i.e. school, work) in which the individual functions. Researchers have described the ways that Black men and Black women might experience racism in different ways, especially through the lens of invisibility, which refers to an experience of being viewed in a stereotypical manner and not seen as a person of worth (Franklin & Boyd-Franklin, 2000; Helms, 2016). An example provided for Black men is how some may move through the world vigilantly out of fear of being perceived as violent or dangerous (Franklin & Boyd-Franklin, 2000). Steele (2011) described a particular incident in which a young Black male began whistling a song by the Italian classical music composer Antonio Vivaldi as he was walking down the street at night near White people in order to make them feel less threatened by his presence. A study cited previously reported a Black male student having a similar experience on the campus of an elite university (Torres & Charles, 2004).

Crenshaw (1989) coined the term intersectionality to describe how the combination of an individual's identities may result in unique forms of discrimination and provides the example of how Black women are often left out of feminist policies that usually focus on White women and antiracist policies that sometimes focus on Black men, leading them to experience double discrimination. Helms (2016) builds on this point and discusses how society often forces Black women to feel invisible both literally, based on their intersectionality and the systemic racism that follows, and figuratively based on the barrage of negative stereotypes that are imposed upon them. Additionally, a recent analysis of the literature on racism and well-being found that many of the studies conducted that failed to find a strong connection between racism and well-being, have

viewed Black people in the United States in a monolithic manner, ignoring the heterogeneity and within group differences (Lewis & Van Dyke, 2018). Similar to Harrell (2000), the article urges researchers to consider the various intersectionalities an individual might hold. It is also possible that Black people of different ethnicities may experience and perceive racism in different ways. A recent study that examined the impact of internalized racism on depressive symptoms and serious psychological distress in US-born African-Americans, US-born Caribbean-Americans, and Caribbean-Americans born outside of the US, reported that while internalized racism was positively associated with an increase in depression among all three groups, it was a stronger predictor of serious psychological distress in those Black-Americans born in the United States than abroad (Mouzon & McLean, 2017).

Nevertheless, research has shown that although an individual's personal identities may impact the ways in which an individual experiences racism, most Black people regardless of age, gender, socioeconomic status, or sexual orientation still report experiencing racism at some point in their lifetimes, with one study finding over 90% of Black children and adults reporting discrimination (Helms et al., 2012). Furthermore, there are familial and socialization processes that may impact the coping strategies an individual employs including family dynamics and racial socialization, which refers to messages that a family projects to its members about the role of race in personal identity (Fisher & Shaw, 1999; Harrell, 2000). Racial socialization has been shown to be a protective factor in children, somewhat shielding against the experience of racism (Hughes et al., 2006; Rodriguez et al., 2008).

Then, Harrell's model identifies both internal and external factors that might mediate the relationship between racism-related stress and well-being. Examples of internal mediators include self-esteem, self-efficacy, racial identity, racism-related coping styles, acculturation, and affective reactions, while social support functions as an external mediator. The outcomes of the model include several facets of well-being that are hypothesized to be negatively impacted by the experience of racism-related stress including physical (hypertension), psychological (depression, anxiety), social (ability to trust others, feel connection with others), functional (job performance, academic achievement), and spiritual (meaningfulness, faith). Numerous studies have provided evidence for the effect of racism on many of the outcomes hypothesized including physical health (Din-Dzietham et al., 2004; Lewis et al., 2017; Williams et al., 2019), depression (Hudson et al., 2015; Williams & Lewis, 2019), anxiety (Graham et al., 2013; Sosoo et al., 2019), and job outcomes (Decuir-Gunby & Gunby, 2016; Holder & Vaux, 1998; Velez et al., 2018).

Harrell's model has been extensively cited in several studies that explored the effects of racism on well-being (Carter, 2007; Pieterse et al., 2012; Williams et al., 2003). The present study can be added to the body of research informed by the framework Harrell's model presents. For example, the model addresses some factors that might explain differences in how racism-related stress is understood and experienced by different people, some of which the present study examined including how the relationship between the experience of racism and well-being might be affected by racial identity and racism coping strategies. The model is also relevant to the present study, because it names multiple race-related stressors that Black graduates of elite universities

might face, both generally and in their work lives. While the focus of the present study was on racial microaggressions, it is quite possible that this population might also be experiencing several other types of racism as outlined by Harrell (2000). For example, the most recent highly publicized murders of unarmed Black people such as George Floyd and Breonna Taylor by police may be leading some Black graduates of elite universities to experience vicarious racism (Helms et al., 2012). Additionally, this group may be experiencing chronic-contextual racism based on the highly plausible assumption that many individuals in this population are working in primarily White workspaces. Furthermore, while this group is not monolithic and likely includes multiple ethnicities, it is conceivable that many have experienced transgenerational racism from oppression of some kind. Finally, the present study identifies several well-being outcomes that could be influenced by the experience of racism. The present study focused on some of the outcomes acknowledged, including functional (work fulfillment) and psychological well-being.

In sum, one of the major goals of psychology is to "improve the condition of individuals, organizations, and society" (APA, 2017). Improvements can arguably be achieved by focusing on well-being, which includes the absence of psychological distress as well as enjoyment from life. There are many factors that can have an impact on well-being, including racism. Racism is so pernicious that it is hypothesized to account for the gap in life expectancy between Black and White individuals as well as the racial disparity gap in numerous health related outcomes (Center for Disease Control, 2017; CDC, 2020). There are many forms of racism, including racism-related life events, vicarious racism experiences, daily racism micro-stressors (microaggressions), chronic-contextual stress,

collective experiences, and transgenerational transmission, yet all have been shown to have negative impacts on well-being (Harrell, 2000). The present study contributed to the literature related to the impact of racism in the form of micro aggressions on well-being. Moreover, the present study sought to shed light on potential factors that may act as a buffer in the relationship between racism and well-being, including internalized racial identity and effective racism-related coping, both of which are discussed in detail above.

Work and Well-Being

Given the fact that in the United States, employed adults spend the majority of their waking hours at work, it is important to better understand how an individual's experience at work impacts their well-being (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2020; Duffy et al., 2019). Work is an essential aspect of people's lives, and is central to people's psychological well-being (Blustein, 2008). At its best, work can not only fulfill survival needs, but can also be a source of social connection (Duffy et al., 2016). However, work is also one of the major sectors of society in which racism continues to manifest, and can be a source of oppression (Blustein, 2006; Blustein 2008; Fouad & Byars-Winston, 2004; Helms & Cook, 1999). This section will explore some of the negative and positive ways that work might impact well-being.

Several studies have considered the impact of work on well-being and mental health by exploring factors such as job demands, job autonomy, work strain, work hours, work-family conflict, and job complexity. Researchers have sought to better understand the psychological effects of work-related stress for decades. Karasek (1979) hypothesized that there are two factors that may impact work-related stress, including job demands and job decision latitude, which is often referred to as autonomy in more recent literature and

is defined as the level of control employees have over decisions related to how and when they meet the demands of their job. The interaction of high job demand and low autonomy often leads to job strain, or work-related stress (Karasek, 1979). A study of nearly 12,000 individuals found that after controlling for education, managerial level, and job sector, employees that reported their work to be psychologically or physically demanding while simultaneously reporting low job control experienced a negative change in well-being outcomes including increased emotional exhaustion, lower job satisfaction, and increased psychosomatic issues (De Jonge et al., 2000).

An additional study sought to understand how job autonomy might contribute to psychological well-being and job satisfaction for employees with complex jobs, which refers to jobs that are cognitively challenging and necessitate the utilization of complex skills including creativity, analysis, decision making, and judgment (Chung-Yan, 2010). This is especially true of employees in service-centered industries such as the three industries most elite graduates pursue: finance, consulting, and technology (Binder et al., 2016). Chung-Yan (2010) found that job complexity and autonomy interact and have a curvilinear relationship with psychological well-being and job satisfaction. When autonomy is low, job complexity is a motivator, but the most optimal outcomes exist when job autonomy is high and job complexity is high. However, when the job becomes so complex that it is mentally taxing, well-being outcomes decrease.

Advances in technology, over the last few decades have led to major changes in the ways in which many people conduct work. Email, smartphones, and laptops have made it easier for employees to take their work home with them. While this can have some advantages such as improved efficiency and decreased costs, it also has

disadvantages such as an increased pressure to respond more quickly and increased interruptions to daily life (Demerouti et al., 2014). Some of these disadvantages have been shown to have a negative impact on well-being. For example, employees who have less control over their work schedules report decreased levels of both job satisfaction and subjective well-being (Wheatley, 2017).

However, research exploring the connection between working overtime and subjective well-being has generated contradictory results, which suggests the link is not yet fully understood. Some studies have found a negative relationship between working increased hours and well-being outcomes such as depression (Major et al., 2002; Scollon and King, 2004). However, other studies have found no relationship between the two (Clark, 2010; Taris et al., 2008). In order to better understand the discrepancy, one study focused on how the relationship might be moderated by several sociodemographic factors and found that women, especially those with children, are more likely to be negatively impacted by increased work hours (Pereira & Coelho , 2012). Relatedly, additional studies have provided evidence that working longer hours is related to increased work-family conflict and decreased work-life balance (Golden & Wiens-Tuers, 2008; Ng & Feldman, 2008). Researchers found that employees who felt pressure to prioritize their professional lives over their personal lives often had difficulties with psychologically detaching from work, leading them to feel overloaded. This was also connected to increased work-life conflict and decreased well-being (Hamilton Skurak et al., 2018).

While work can have a negative impact on well-being, scholars have argued that optimal work conditions should stimulate the most favorable well-being outcomes (Blustein, 2008). Decent work as defined above is hypothesized to contribute to well-

being, potentially through its capacity to satisfy three vital human needs including the need for survival, self-determination, and social connection (Duffy et al., 2016). Previous studies have shown that these three needs are significantly related to well-being (Autin et al., 2019; Deci et al., 2017; Duffy et al., 2019). Building upon these findings, a recent study provided support for the hypothesis that decent work is related to well-being indirectly through social contribution, survival needs, and self-determination needs. In other words, decent work is connected to increased well-being when an individual's survival, social contribution, and self-determination needs are met from work (Duffy et al., 2019).

Survival needs consist of the resources needed to survive, which includes healthcare, food, and shelter (Duffy et al., 2016). It is well established that income and well-being are related, because income provides an individual with the opportunity to meet their basic needs; however, there is some debate about whether or not an increase in income contributes to increased well-being after a certain threshold (Diener et al., 2018). Some scholars contend that individuals compare themselves to others and their satisfaction with their income is based on where they stand in comparison to others in their reference group (Luttmer, 2005). Nevertheless, an individual's satisfaction with their job's ability to provide for their basic needs is directly related to mental well-being and satisfaction with life (Autin et al., 2019; Duffy et al., 2019). In the context of the current study, as previously discussed, it is important to note Black people in the United States consistently earn lower wages than White people for the same jobs, even when controlling for factors such as age, education, and location (Daly et al., 2017). In light of the fact that some research suggests that comparison to others might impact satisfaction

with income, it is important to consider how this might impact Black employee's satisfaction with work.

Self-determination needs are characterized by being involved in activities that are aligned with one's authentic and meaningful goals. Self-determination theory describes potential motivators for individuals to engage in work and focuses on being involved in activities that are aligned with one's authentic and meaningful goals and feeling as though one is responsible for the direction of one's own life. The theory emphasizes three factors: autonomy, relatedness, and competence. Similar to the definition of job autonomy outlined above, autonomy refers to the level of perceived control one has over the direction of their life. Relatedness refers to one's perception of being connected to and cared for by other people and is related to a feeling of belonging. Competence refers to one's perceived ability to interact with their environment, to navigate the multiple contexts in which they operate, and to control outcomes of their daily tasks (Deci and Ryan, 2002). Considering the relation between self-determination and the present study, one might hypothesize that Black people who experience racism at work may perceive a decreased level of control over their working environment. It can also be hypothesized that the experience of racial microaggressions in the workplace may make it more difficult for an individual to feel connected, cared, for, and a sense of belonging at work.

Social connection needs consist of social support, connection, and belonging to a community. The fulfillment of each of these needs contributes to positive well-being. However, when negativity in the work environment exists, well-being is diminished and the attainment of decent work free from harassment, including harassment in the form of racism is compromised (Blustein et al, 2019). Inequities in the workplace that stem from

systemic and institutional oppression can prohibit employees from fulfilling relational and social needs at work (Duffy et al., 2016). Racism continues to be a major issue that is manifested in the workplace (Blustein, 2008; Fouad & Byars-Winston, 2004; Helms & Cook, 1999). As mentioned previously, several studies have linked the experience of racism at work to poor psychological and physical well-being outcomes (Deitch et al., 2003; Din-Dzietham et al., 2004; Morgan et al., 2000). The present study adds to the existing literature on the ways in which the experience of racism at work affects work-related well-being.

Work Fulfillment

One of the primary purposes of vocational psychology intervention is to help clients to find fulfillment at work (Allan et al., 2019). Work fulfillment, defined as work that is personally satisfying and meaningful, represents the core experience of well-being in the work context (Allan et al., 2019; Duffy et al., 2016). Given that individuals who endorse greater work fulfillment report more satisfying lives both within and outside of work, it is essential to better understand the factors that contribute to work-fulfillment (Allan, et al., 2019).

Allan et al. (2019) argue that fulfilling work is related to a set of interacting psychological and emotional conditions that may not be steady over time. They assert that people who experience fulfilling work do not only experience hedonic well-being, or a state of contentment and positive emotions, but also eudaimonic well-being, which happens when an individual is able to engage in work they perceive as meaningful. This is referred to as work-engagement. Additionally, they emphasize that the definition of work fulfillment should be culturally adaptive and should include both cognitive and

affective aspects. The variables included from a cognitive perspective are job satisfaction (hedonic) and meaningful work (eudaimonic) and from an affective perspective are workplace positive emotions such as excitement and joy (hedonic) and work engagement (eudaimonic). Evidence exist that these factors are consistent gauges of work fulfillment. Previous studies have used many of these factors as indicators of work-related well-being (Allan et al., 2018; Duffy et al., 2018; Kozan et al., 2019). In the present study, both hedonic (job satisfaction) and eudaimonic (work engagement) factors were considered.

Allan and colleagues (2019) comprehensive model of work fulfillment, draws from the strengths based inclusive theory of work (S-BIT of Work), which aims to integrate the core values of counseling psychology including multiculturalism, social justice, and strengths-based perspectives (Owens et al., 2019). The S-BIT of work provides a framework for identifying elements that may influence aspects of an individual's ability to obtain fulfillment from work, especially for individuals who experience marginalization in the work context by concentrating on a person's strengths; an individual's intersectionality and cultural context; and the individual's personal and career development across the lifespan (Owens et al., 2019).

The S-BIT of Work Theory is comprised of several core assumptions and theoretical propositions that are hypothesized to influence the attainment of fulfilling work, a few of which are particularly relevant to the population in the present study. First, the theory stresses the need for counselors to obtain an understanding of the intersection of an individual's cultural context and how they might be related to the presence of multiple forms of oppression and marginalization in their work lives. Next, the researchers suggest that the presence of facilitative work contexts that support an

individual's ability to feel dignity at work as well as equitable access to resources and opportunities are factors that contribute positively to the attainment of fulfilling work. The availability of social capital through mentorship and well-resourced social networks also contributes positively to the acquisition of fulfilling work (Owens et al, 2019). These propositions are relevant to the current study's population, because the intersection of their social contexts, including the marginalization they experience from being Black in a White supremacist society and the privilege that their socioeconomic status hypothetically provides, may contribute to their endorsement of fulfilling work.

Fulfilling work is generally more easily attainable to those with power and privilege, including those with access to the social capital and higher education necessary to select work that complements their skills, abilities, and personality (Alan et al., 2019; Blustein, 2006; Duffy et al., 2016). Theoretically, this should be an asset for Black graduates of elite universities whose educational background ideally can provide the qualifications and social capital needed to find fulfilling work. Yet, as discussed previously, Black college seniors are judged more harshly in the on-campus recruiting process and resumes of people from elite colleges with "Black sounding" names were less likely to receive interview offers than individuals from less prestigious universities with "White sounding" names (Gaddis, 2015; Rivera, 2015). This suggests that even with credentials that should lead to fulfilling work, racism might still impede a Black person's access to it.

Moreover, studies that sought to clarify the relationship between the experience of racism at work and job satisfaction, a common measure of work-fulfillment, found a negative relationship between the two (Decuir-Gunby & Gunby, 2016; Deitch et al.,

2003; Foley & Lytle, 2015; Holder & Vaugh, 1998). In addition, another study found that Black employees reported significantly less satisfaction with work than White employees, even after controlling for income and occupation (Mukerjee, 2013). These studies support the S-BIT of work's core assumptions and the theoretical propositions outlined earlier in this section, and suggest that the intersectionality of an individual's cultural context can have an impact on their access to fulfilling work.

Given work's centrality in individuals' lives, and the opportunity for work to fulfill many human needs, it is imperative to understand the impact of work on our well-being. Work can have many negative and positive effects on an individual's psychological well-being. Work that is fulfilling will have the most positive effects on well-being (Allan et al., 2019). Work continues to be one of the many areas in our society where racism persists (Blustein, 2008; Helms & Cook, 1999). Therefore, it is important to better understand how experiences of racism at work might affect both general and work-related well-being, or work-fulfillment. The present study sought to explore the relationship between the experience of racism at work in the form of racial-microaggressions on well-being and work-fulfillment. Additionally, the present study examined potential buffers in the relationship between racial microaggressions and well-being, including racial identity and racism-related coping strategies.

Statement of the Problem

Education is often seen as the great equalizer that can be used to achieve the American dream. Elite universities are thought to be the institutions where the best and brightest prepare for the pursuit of the best possible career opportunities. Some of our nation's top leaders in business and politics have attended these elite universities. Elite

universities are schools that are usually listed as the top 20-25 schools in various publications (such as the US News and World Report College Rankings) and have the most selective criteria for admissions (Rivera, 2015). Some of the most selective of these elite universities are referred to as Ivy-plus universities and include the eight Ivy League universities (Harvard, Cornell, Columbia, Princeton, University of Pennsylvania, Yale, Brown, Dartmouth) and Stanford, MIT, Duke, and the University of Chicago.

While elite universities provide opportunities for upward mobility for all students, Black students who attend elite universities face racial microaggressions while in school (Byrd et al., 2014; Massey et al., 2007). Some White students endorse views of meritocracy and color-blind racism without considering the role of White supremacy in elite university's admissions criteria (Warikoo & de Novais, 2015). Some White students also have admitted to holding the beliefs that Black students are unqualified, intellectually inferior, and have received preferential treatment in the admissions process. These views often result in White students engaging in racial microaggressions (Nadal, 2011; Sue et al., 2008). The experience of racial microaggressions for Black students negatively impacts psychological well-being, GPA, and academic adjustment (Fischer, 2010; Neville et al., 2004; Torres & Charles, 2004; Warikoo, 2018). While research about the experiences of Black students at elite universities exists, there is a paucity of research on their post graduate experience; the absence of this research leaves a notable gap in the literature that serves to obscure some of the core assumptions of elite universities. Black graduates of elite universities hold a unique social location. While in theory they experience the privilege of the social capital that stems from holding a degree from an elite university, they also experience marginalization in the form of anti-Black racism. In

short, the present study sought to better understand the extent to which graduating from an elite university provides protections from the oppressive impact of racism when Black graduates enter the workforce.

The existing research shows that graduates of elite universities regardless of race often seek job opportunities in a limited number of industries. This can lead one to extrapolate that Black and White graduates of elite universities may become work colleagues (Rivera, 2015). Since previous research has shown that an individual's college views often extend beyond graduation, it can be inferred that White students who are oblivious to their White privilege and not only hold meritocratic, color-blind viewpoints, but also question the legitimacy of Black intellect, will graduate and enter the workforce with the same views (Warikoo, 2018).

Although there is research regarding the financial outcomes of Black graduates of elite universities, specifically that they generally obtain high paying positions at rates similar to their White counterparts (Bowen, 2016), there is a scarcity of research on their daily experiences at work or the psychological outcomes of such experiences. Therefore, it is important to study how the experience of microaggressions at work might impact psychological outcomes for Black graduates of elite universities.

Work-Related Racial Microaggressions

Racial microaggressions are the "array of interracial interactions conveying disregard, ambivalence, or contempt" (Franklin & Boyd-Franklin, 2000, p. 36). While these interactions taken individually are usually subtle, the cumulative effects can be harmful (Pierce, 1970). Three types of microaggressions that previous researchers have

identified as most likely to occur in the workplace include assumptions of inferiority, microinvalidations, and workplace specific microaggressions (Decuir-Gunby & Gunby, 2016, Nadal, 2011). Therefore, the present study includes assumptions of inferiority, microinvalidation, and workplace specific microaggressions.

Racial Identity

Racial identity refers to the attitudes and beliefs that people have about their racial group membership, and how individuals adapt to the environments in which they have been denied access to their fair share of resources (Helms, 1990; 1995). The present study focused on Conformity and Internalization racial identity status attitudes. These two racial identity status attitudes were chosen because they capture salient racial identity statuses that illustrate contrasting aspects of racial identity functioning. Conformity attitudes involve an external self-definition that devalues one's own socioracial group and while idealizing White people. Internalization attitudes involve the ability to value one's own identities while also being able to collaborate with members of other oppressed socioracial groups. The inclusion of both racial identity status attitudes allows for an exploration of the psychological consequences of two antipodal means of cognitive-affective processing of racism-related information.

Effective Racism-Related Coping Strategies

Racism is a complex stressor and a unique form of trauma that requires specific coping strategies. Forsyth and Carter (2012) identified several racism-related coping strategies that Black people use to cope with racism. Subsequent studies also identified racism-related coping strategies that are most effective at buffering the relationship

between race-based stressors and psychological distress including empowered action, constrained resistance, confrontation, and spiritual coping (Forsyth & Carter, 2014; Johnson, 2017). Therefore, the present study focuses on empowered action, constrained resistance, confrontation, and spiritual coping strategies.

Outcomes

Well-being

Initially, theorists and researchers thought of general psychological well-being as solely the absence of mental illness, mostly a lack of anxiety and depression symptoms (Veit & Ware, 1983). More recently, the conceptualization has been expanded to include positive affect and states of enjoyment with life (Diener& Lucas, 2003). The current study explored both domains of mental health including the presence of mental health symptoms (i.e., anxiety, depression, behavioral control, general distress) and positive affect (i.e., satisfaction with life).

Work-fulfillment

Duffy et al. (2016) assert that helping people to find fulfilling work, defined as work that is personally satisfying and meaningful, is a major goal of vocational psychology, because it helps people to have more satisfying lives, even outside of work. Allan and colleagues (2019) argue that fulfilling work is related to a set of interacting psychological and emotional conditions. They assert that people who experience fulfilling work not only experience hedonic well-being, or a state of contentment and positive emotions, but also eudaimonic well-being, which happens when an individual is able to engage in work they perceive as meaningful. Additionally, they assert that

cognitive and affective aspects of work-fulfillment should be examined. Assessing both eudaimonic and hegemonic and cognitive and affective aspects of work-fulfillment will provide a more complete picture of the construct of work-fulfillment. For example, cognitive aspects of work-fulfillment (i.e. job satisfaction) are retrospective and evaluative and require participants to retroactively examine how satisfying their experiences have been, while affective aspects (work engagement) examine current emotional states (Allan et al., 2019). This multifaceted method of assessing work-fulfillment reflects different experiences and captures unique information so that interventions may be tailored to meet the specific work-fulfillment needs of the current study's unique population. In the present study, job satisfaction represents both hedonic and cognitive factors and work engagement represents both eudaimonic and affective factors (Allan et al., 2019).

Conceptual Models

In the current study, I proposed both a direct pathways model (see Figure 1) and a moderation model (see Figure 2). The direct pathways model includes straightforward regression paths between predictors and outcomes that are based on previous literature. The moderation model includes some direct relationships between predictors and outcomes, but it also includes paths that are predicted to be moderated by other variables. Some of the constructs in the study, which are outlined below, are not directly measured, so latent variables were used to represent them. Measurement models are used to ensure that latent variables are properly represented. The hypothesized measurement models, direct pathway model, and moderation model will be detailed below.

Measurement Models

Work Related Racial Microaggressions

Work-related microaggressions was hypothesized to be a single-factor latent variable. This means it was hypothesized that multiple observed variables load onto one single factor, or that a relationship exists between multiple observed variables and one single latent construct. In this case, it was hypothesized that the observed variables which include individual items from subscales of the racial and ethnic microaggressions scale: work and school microaggressions (5 items), microinvalidations (9 items), and assumptions of inferiority (8 items) could be combined into a single latent variable that represents work-related microaggressions (22 items total). These 22 individual items were hypothesized to be indicators of a single latent variable, work-related microaggressions. For each of the latent variables included in the present study, individual items were used in the measurement models as opposed to scale scores. This was done in order to account for nuances at the item level which includes the variance and covariance between the items and the ways in which they interact and relate to each other. This method prevents the arbitrary inflation of fit measures that sometimes occurs as a result of item parceling or using scale scores. While much debate about item parceling exists in the literature (Little et al., 2013), the current study does not use parceling, which is consistent with the input of numerous statistical experts (DiStefano & Hess, 2005; Marsh et al., 2013). The latent variable called work-related microaggressions is designed to capture the experiences of microaggressions at work.

Assumptions of inferiority, microinvalidations, and work and school microaggressions were included for multiple reasons. First, microinvalidations microaggressions are characterized as the expression of color-blind racism. Given that

previous research found that some White students at elite universities espoused color-blind racist attitudes and assumed that Black students were intellectually inferior (Torres & Charles, 2004; Warikoo, 2018), I wanted to explore whether this particular type of racism continued to be experienced once Black graduates of elite universities entered the workforce. Additionally, a study by Decuir-Gunby and Gunby (2016) found that both microinvalidations and assumptions of inferiority were experienced by Black professionals in the workplace. The work and school microaggressions scale focuses specifically on racial microaggressions likely to occur in the context of work and was therefore also included. Conversely, other microaggressions scales were excluded from the study, because they were deemed as less relevant. For example, second-class citizen and assumptions of criminality ("I received substandard service in stores compared to customers of other racial groups") and environmental microaggressions ("I observed people of my race portrayed positively in magazines") were not included.

Effective Racism Related Coping Strategies

Racism-related coping strategies was hypothesized to be a latent variable. It was hypothesized that the latent construct racism-related coping strategies could be measured by items from subscales of the racism-related coping scale: confrontation (8 items), spiritual coping (7 items), constrained resistance (6 items), and empowered action (9 items). These 30 individual items were hypothesized to be observed variables that could be combined into a single latent construct that represents effective racism-related coping. As mentioned above, given that previous studies have identified empowered action, constrained resistance, confrontation, and spiritual coping strategies as most effective, due to their positive association with psychological well-being and internally defined

racial identity (Forsyth & Carter, 2014; Johnson, 2017), the latent variable designed to capture racism-related coping strategies was hypothesized to be a combination of those four strategies. In the model, this latent variable is referred to as effective racism-related coping strategies. The present study explored how these specific racism-related coping strategies may act as a protective factor for Black graduates of elite universities who experience racism at work.

Well-Being

A latent variable called well-being was hypothesized to be predicted by items from the observed variables Satisfaction with Life (5 items from the satisfaction with life scale) and the Mental Health Inventory-18 (18 items from the MHI-18 scale). These 23 individual items were hypothesized to be indicators of the latent variable, well-being. Over time, the ways in which researchers have defined and measured well-being has shifted. Previously, objective measures (i.e. income, educational attainment, occupational prestige) were thought of as sufficient indicators of well-being due to their ability to determine if an individual is able to meet basic needs. While many people in the world still struggle to have their basic needs met, those who are able to meet basic needs are able to expand their focus on cultivating a life that is enjoyable, meaningful, and fulfilling (Diener & Seligman, 2004). Now, more subjective measures that allow people to provide a self-evaluation of the quality of their lives are also used, which is viewed as a more humanistic approach to the measurement of well-being (Keyes, 2006).

Researchers argue that well-being is a multidimensional construct and should be measured as such (Diener, 1984; Diener, 2000; Lent, 2004). Lent (2004) discussed the need to evaluate the cognitive and affective components of subjective well-being (SWB)

in counseling psychology research, which include positive affect, negative affect, and life satisfaction. Diener (2000) suggested that SWB may be conceptualized as a latent construct with these 3 primary indicators (Gottfredson & Duffy, 2008). Furthermore, Diener (1984) reported that just as the absence of mental illness cannot be assumed to be synonymous with the presence of well-being, positive and negative affect are independent, and the absence of negative affect should not be assumed as the presence of positive affect. Therefore, the present study includes questions on mental health, negative affect, and positive affect as assessed by the MHI-18 and life satisfaction as measured by the Satisfaction with Life scale.

Positive well-being is a valuable asset to both individuals and organizations. Positive well-being has been related to better relationships, improved health, better customer satisfaction, greater work productivity, and increased organizational citizenship, which refers to individuals helping others at work beyond their job requirements (Keyes, 2006). Therefore, it is imperative to better understand factors that contribute to or detract from positive well-being.

Work-Fulfillment

A latent variable for work-fulfillment was hypothesized to be predicted by items from the observed variables job satisfaction (5 items from the job satisfaction scale) and work engagement (9 items from the Utrecht Work Engagement Scale). It is hypothesized that these items could be combined into a single latent variable that represents the latent construct, work-fulfillment (16 items total). Work fulfillment represents the core experience of well-being in the context of work and is defined as work that is satisfying and meaningful (Allan et al., 2019; Duffy et al., 2016). As previously discussed,

researchers assert that vocational psychologists should measure work fulfillment using a comprehensive approach that consists of both hedonic and eudaimonic factors and cognitive and affective dimensions. The latent variable designed to capture the construct of work-fulfillment in the present study consists of job satisfaction, which represents hedonic and cognitive factors and work-engagement, which represents eudaimonic and affective factors.

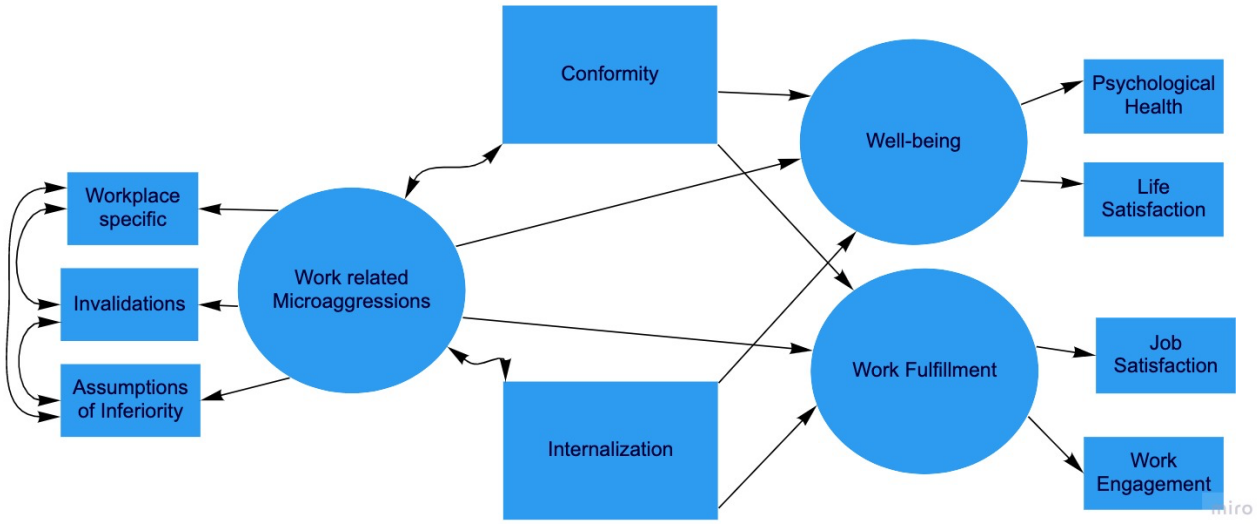


Figure 1: Direct Pathways Model

The proposed model aims to examine the relationships between racial microaggressions, racial identity, racism-related coping strategies, well-being, and work fulfillment for Black graduates of elite universities. Questions related to the direct effects of the study's predictor variables, work-related racial microaggressions, on the study's outcome variables, well-being and work-fulfillment were explored in the present study. Additionally, the direct effects of racial identity status attitudes on the endorsement of

microaggressions and the direct effects of racial identity status attitudes on well-being and work-fulfillment were examined. Figure 1 illustrates the conceptual model for the direct effects tested in this study.

First, the relationships between work related microaggressions and both well-being and work fulfillment were tested. Lazarus and Folkman (1984) posit that stress is a transaction between an individual and their environment that occurs when the demands of the environment exceed the coping resources available to the individual. An event is most likely to be perceived as stressful when it has some significant personal meaning to the individual. Furthermore, Clark et al. (1999) argue that individuals' perceptions of stimuli in their environment as racist can lead to amplified stress responses that may be psychological or physiological in nature. Building upon this research, Harrell (2000) provides a multidimensional model of the racism-related transactions between individuals and their environment that may threaten well-being, including microaggressions. Microaggressions can be particularly draining due to their subtle and stunning nature and the cognitive and emotional energy and defensive thinking required to assess how one should react (Franklin, 2004; Pierce, 1970). Previous research, including a 2001 Surgeon General report, provides extensive evidence for the deleterious impact of racism on mental and physical health (Pieterse et al., 2010; U.S Department of Health and Human services, 2001).

Research has also shown that the experience of racial microaggressions in both school and workplace settings can have deleterious effects on work-fulfillment (Decuir-Gunby & Gunby, 2016; Torres et al., 2010). Work-fulfillment is representative of work-related well-being, the attainment of which is a goal for workers across socioeconomic

statuses (Allan et al., 2014; Autin & Allan, 2019). However, social conditions and oppression influence an individual's ability to obtain fulfilling work (Allan et al., 2014). For example, Blustein and his colleagues (2002) reported that people with higher socioeconomic status were more likely to view work as a source of personal satisfaction. Given the previously noted intersectionality of Black graduates of elite universities, who could be expected to obtain high socioeconomic status, but also experience marginalization from racism, it is important to understand the impact of microaggressions on their endorsement of fulfilling work. It is likely that the marginalization experienced from racism will eclipse the advantages of socioeconomic status on their ability to obtain work that is fulfilling. Therefore, the current study predicts that work related microaggressions will be negatively associated with well-being and work-fulfillment.

Next, the relationship between work related microaggressions and racial identity status attitudes was tested. Previous research suggests that individuals who endorse Conformity racial identity attitudes are less likely to be able to detect racism in the workplace. These individuals often deny the existence of racism and espouse values of meritocracy and individualism. They believe that Black people are responsible for their own status in the world, and that White people hold positions of privilege due to their extraordinary effort and not because of racism (Helms, 1990). Therefore, it is hypothesized that individuals with high endorsement of Conformity attitudes will be less likely to endorse experiencing racial microaggressions. Conversely, Individuals who endorse Internalization attitudes are better able to identify and acknowledge racism (Franklin-Jackson & Carter 2007; Watts & Carter, 1991). They hold positive views of Black people and are better able to objectively evaluate racial stimuli. Therefore, it is

hypothesized that Internalization racial identity attitudes will be positively associated with the endorsement of experiencing work-related microaggressions.

The relationship between racial identity status attitudes and well-being was tested. Previous research suggests individuals who endorse Conformity racial identity attitudes are more likely to experience increased levels of anxiety, depression, and feelings of inferiority and decreased levels of self-esteem (Carter, 1991; Parham & Helms, 1985). Individuals with high levels of Conformity attitudes "project their anger or feelings of rejection by particular Black people or White people onto Black people in general" (Helms, 1990, p. 22). Helms goes on to state that "successful" Black people often argue their rejection of other Black people is due to a difference in values that are based on negative stereotypes about Black people (i.e. "I can't help it if I'm smarter than them"). Over time, individuals with high Conformity attitudes may come to perceive that they do not fit in with either Black or White people, which can lead to feelings of alienation (Helms, 1990). In addition, previous research has found Conformity attitudes to be associated with greater psychological distress and weakened well-being (Carter et al., 2017). Therefore, the current study predicts Conformity racial identity status attitudes will be negatively associated with well-being.

Conversely, individuals who endorse Internalization attitudes experience less psychological distress (Forsyth & Carter, 2012). Individuals with high Internalization attitudes are able to avoid internalized negative stereotypes associated with being Black and have a positive view of Black people and Black culture (Helms, 1996). For individuals with high Internalization attitudes, being Black is a valued aspect of the self. These individuals have a flexible and realistic worldview that allows for positive Black

identity without the denigration of White people. These attitudes contribute to a positive self-view that promotes psychological well-being (Carter, 1991). Therefore, the present study predicts Internalization racial identity status attitudes will be positively correlated with well-being.

The relationship between racial identity status attitudes and work fulfillment was tested. While the research on racial identity in the workplace is scarce, scholars have called for more vocational psychology research on racial identity in the context of workplace experiences of Black workers (Byars-Winston, 2010; Helms & Piper, 1994). The existing research has found evidence that suggests more internally defined racial identity attitudes such as Internalization attitudes are linked to job satisfaction (Hayles, 2004). The current study predicts Conformity racial identity status attitudes will be negatively associated with work-fulfillment while Internalization racial identity status attitudes will be positively associated with work-fulfillment.

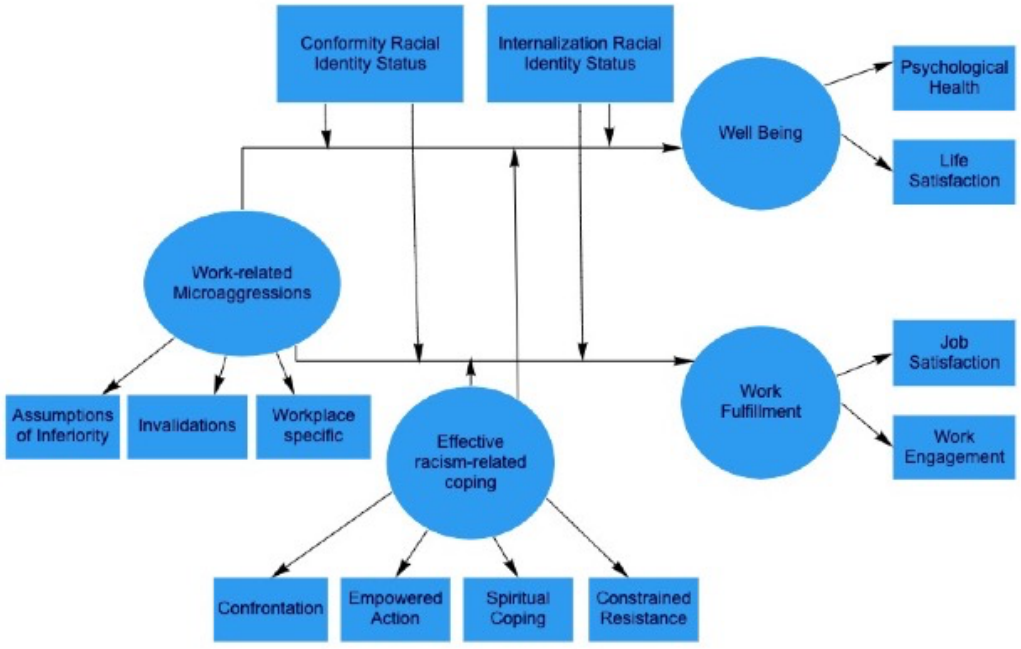


Figure 2: Moderation Model

Given that previous research has emphasized the deleterious effects of racism on psychological and work-related well-being, it is important to identify and understand potential buffers and coping mechanisms against the experience of racism at work. Scholars have hypothesized that racial identity attitudes may moderate the relationship between racism-related stress and well-being (Cross, 1991; Franklin, 1999; Helms & Piper, 1994). Previous studies that examined the moderating influence of racial identity on racism-related stress and well-being have found mixed results (Decuir-Gunby & Gunby, 2016; Pieterse & Carter, 2010). However, several researchers found that certain racial identity attitudes may act as a buffer against the impact of racism on well-being (Bazelais & Bruce, 2012; Sellers, 2003; Sellers & Shelton, 2003). Specifically, when race is more salient for an individual, such as individuals who endorse Internalization racial identity attitudes, they will be more likely to perceive racism related stressors, but the experience of these racism related stressors might lead to less psychological distress (Sellers, 2003; Sellers & Shelton, 2003). Relatedly, when race is less salient for an individual, including individuals who endorse Conformity racial identity attitudes, they will be less likely to perceive a stressful event as racism related, and even when they are able to perceive racism, they may not view it as stressful (Carter et al., 2017; Helms, 1990; Sue & Sue, 2015). Additionally, research has shown that Black individuals who use effective coping strategies to deal with racism-related incidents suffer from less psychological distress related to the incidence of racism (Bryant & Ocampo, 2005; Carter et al., 2017; Forsyth & Carter, 2012). Therefore, racism-related coping may be another

useful mechanism that can be used as a protective factor against racism (Driscoll et al., 2015).

In the present study, I hypothesize that the effects of work related racial microaggressions interact with both racial identity and racism related coping strategies via a moderation model (Hayes, 2018). The moderation model in this study included the interaction between racial microaggressions and Internalization and Conformity racial identity attitudes individually. It also included the interaction between racial microaggressions, and racism related coping strategies. The specific racism related coping strategies included in this study are empowered action, constrained resistance, confrontation, and spiritual coping. These four racism-related coping strategies have been identified in previous studies as most effective at buffering the relationship between race-based stressors and psychological distress (Forsyth & Carter, 2014; Johnson, 2017). Figure 2 above shows the conceptual model that includes the moderation effects.

In the model, two racial identity status attitudes, Internalization and Conformity are predicted to alter the relationship between the predictor variable of racial microaggressions and the outcome variables of well-being and work-fulfillment. The effect of the interaction between racial microaggressions and Internalization racial identity attitudes were tested on the outcomes of well-being and work-fulfillment. Likewise, the effect of the interaction between racial microaggressions and Conformity racial identity attitudes were tested on the outcomes of well-being and work-fulfillment. In this conceptual model, microaggressions were predicted to relate to the outcomes of psychological well-being and work-fulfillment based on the level of Conformity racial identity attitudes and Internalization racial identity attitudes endorsed. In the present

study, the interaction of racial microaggressions and Conformity racial identity status attitudes was explored using the product of racial microaggressions and Conformity racial identity attitudes to determine how differing levels of conformity impact the individual's psychological response to the experience of work related microaggressions. Likewise, the product of racial microaggressions and Internalization racial identity attitudes was used to explore how differing levels of Internalization attitudes impact the individual's psychological response to the experience of work related microaggressions.

As previously discussed, an individual's racial identity is hypothesized to influence their recognition of and reactions to experiences of racism. Individuals with high levels of Conformity attitudes are more likely to be oblivious to racism and are likely to hold unrealistically positive regard for White people while holding negative views about Black people (Helms, 1996). In order to decrease the psychological discomfort from being associated with Black people, individuals with high Conformity attitudes finds ways to separate themselves from other Black people and identify more with White people and White culture. The person believes that they are "just a person" and engage in denial by preserving the fictious belief of racial equality (Helms, 1990). Also mentioned above, an event is usually only perceived as stressful if it has some significant personal meaning to the individual (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). The interplay of the obliviousness of racial stimuli and the denial of race having any significance in their lives will buffer the impact of racism on the well-being for individuals with high Conformity attitudes.

Individuals with high Internalization attitudes are more easily able to identify racism but are able to respond objectively. They are able to avoid internalized negative

stereotypes associated with being Black and hold a positive view of Blackness. This also helps them to take a strengths-based approach to the world and helps to cultivate curative bonds with other Black people that can be called upon for social support (Helms, 1990; Helms, 1996). These individuals are able to objectively analyze, find value in, and make connections with White people and White culture. These attitudes and intrapsychic processes encourage more positive well-being outcomes. Therefore, it was hypothesized that high Internalization attitudes buffer the impact of racism on microaggressions.

The model also tests the effect of the interaction between racial microaggressions, and racism related coping strategies on the outcomes of well-being and work-fulfillment. Racial microaggressions were predicted to relate to the outcomes of psychological well-being and work fulfillment based on whether an individual endorses using effective racism-related coping strategies. In the present study, the interaction of racial microaggressions and effective racism-related coping strategies was explored using the product of racial microaggressions and racism-related coping strategies to determine how differing levels of racism-related coping strategies impact the individual's psychological response to the experience of work related microaggressions. Racism is a unique stressor that requires specific coping skills (Forsyth & Carter, 2014). Black people use a variety of racism-related coping skills that vary in their effectiveness (Forsyth & Carter, 2012). The most effective racism-related coping strategies are those that lead to the individual experiencing the least intense psychological symptoms as a result of experiencing racism (Forsyth & Carter, 2014; Johnson, 2017). Therefore, the current study hypothesized that an endorsement of using effective racism-related coping strategies buffer the experience of racism on psychological and work-related well-being.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

The present study addressed the following research questions and explored the following hypotheses:

Research Question 1: How does the experience of racial microaggressions at work impact well-being and work-fulfillment?

Work plays a central role in individual's lives and can fulfill many human needs, including survival, self-determination, and social connection needs (Duffy et al., 2016). Previous research has demonstrated that these needs are associated with well-being (Autin et al., 2019; Deci et al., 2017; Duffy et al., 2019). However, work is one of the many areas in our society where racism continues to flourish, and the experience of racism at work can have a negative impact on well-being (Blustein, 2008; Fouad & Byars-Winston, 2004; Helms & Cook, 1999). Previous research has associated the experience of microaggressions in predominately White workplaces with a decrease in general and work-related well-being (Holder et al., 2015; Nadal et al.;Pitcan et al., 2018; Torres et al., 2010). Additionally, previous studies have also found that the experience of racism at work is negatively correlated with job satisfaction, a common measure of work-fulfillment (Decuir-Gunby & Gunby, 2016; Deitch et al., 2003; Foley & Lytle, 2015; Holder & Vaugh, 1998).

Hypothesis 1: Therefore, it is predicted that work-related microaggressions will be negatively correlated with well-being and work-fulfillment.

Research Question 2: How do the Conformity and Internalization racial identity status attitudes influence an individual's report of experiencing racial microaggressions at work?

Lazarus and Folkman (1984) posit that situational and personal characteristics impact the ways in which an individual perceives an event as stressful. Similarly, Helms (1990) states that an individual's racial identity status might impact how they view a racism-related situation as stressful. Previous studies have shown that the perception of racial discrimination was influenced by the individual's racial identity (Franklin-Jackson & Carter, 2007; Sellers & Shelton, 2003). Watts and Carter (1991) found that individuals with high endorsement of Conformity attitudes were less likely to perceive themselves as being subjected to racism at work. Additionally, Shelton and Sellers (2000) reported that individuals who found race to be less salient to their identities were less likely to interpret racially ambiguous disparaging incidents as racism related. Moreover, Franklin-Jackson and Carter (2007) found that individuals with high endorsement of Conformity status attitudes are less likely to perceive discrimination. This is consistent with previous research on racial identity status attitudes which suggests that individuals who endorse Conformity racial identity attitudes are more likely to be oblivious to racial slights, expect to be treated equally, and are less likely to believe they are treated poorly due to race (Helms, 1990; Helms, 1995). Conversely, given that race is more salient for individuals who endorse Internalization racial identity status attitudes, they are more likely to recognize racial discrimination (Franklin-Jackson & Carter, 2007). Watts and Carter (1991) found that high endorsement of Internalization racial identity attitudes was significantly related to perceived racism at work.

Hypothesis 2: Therefore, it is predicted that Conformity racial identity attitudes will be negatively correlated with work-related microaggressions, while Internalization racial identity attitudes will be positively correlated with work-related microaggressions.

Research Question 3: To what extent are the Conformity and Internalization racial identity status attitudes associated with well-being and work-fulfillment?

Individuals who report greater work-fulfillment tend to endorse more satisfying lives outside of work (Allan et al., 2019). Helms and Piper (1994) suggest that racial identity may help to explain differences in how satisfied an individual may be with their job. Individuals with high endorsement of Conformity racial identity status attitudes often see themselves as "just a person" without regard to their race and seek to earn acceptance by White people (Helms, 1990). Previous studies have found that individuals with high Conformity attitudes often experience increased anxiety and depression (Forsyth & Carter, 2012). Individuals with high endorsement of Internalization racial identity status attitudes often have a more integrated worldview and while race is salient for them, they also demonstrate more flexibility in their thoughts about race and racism (Helms, 1995). While they are able to recognize racism, the racism is less novel and is not unexpected. Therefore, they are better equipped to cope, and the experience of racism becomes less stressful (Helms, 1990; Helms, 1995). Previous studies have found that individuals with high endorsement of Internalization racial identity status attitudes experience less psychological distress (Forsyth & Carter, 2012).

Hypothesis 3: Therefore, it is predicted that Conformity racial identity status attitudes will be negatively correlated with well-being and work-fulfillment while

Internalization racial identity status attitudes will be positively correlated with well-being and work-fulfillment.

Research Question 4: To what extent does the Internalization and Conformity racial identity status attitudes and racism related coping styles moderate the relationship between the experience of microaggressions and both well-being and work-fulfillment?

Previous studies that have explored the moderating effect of racial identity status attitudes on the relationship between racism and well-being have found mixed results. Individuals who highly endorsed Conformity attitudes were found to experience more psychological distress from racism while individuals who highly endorsed Internalization attitudes were found to experience less psychological distress from racism (Sellers & Shelton, 2003; Sellers et al., 2006). Additional studies have also found support for the idea that racial identity attitudes may serve as a buffer between racism and well-being (Branscombe et al., 1999; Neblett et al., 2004). However, Pieterse and Carter (2010) did not find a buffering effect of racial identity on the relationship between racism and well-being. The current study sought to add to the literature regarding the buffering impact of racial identity attitudes on the relationship between racism and well-being.

Hypothesis 4a: Racial identity status attitudes and racism-related coping styles will moderate the relationship between the experience of microaggressions and both well-being and work-fulfillment. Specifically, there will be a buffering interaction when both Internalization and Conformity racial identity attitudes attenuate the effect of the experience of racial microaggressions on well-being and work-fulfillment.

Racism is a specific stressor that requires specific coping strategies (Forsyth & Carter, 2014). Forsyth and Carter (2012) examined the impact of the interaction between racial identity status attitudes and racism related coping strategies on the relationship between racism and well-being using cluster analysis and found that individuals with high endorsement of Internalization racial identity status attitudes relied on Confrontation, Empowered Action, Spiritual, and Constrained Resistance coping strategies. Individuals in this group were found to have the least intense psychological symptoms after experiencing racism.

Hypothesis 4b: Racism-related coping styles will moderate the relationship between the experience of microaggressions and both well-being and work-fulfillment. Specifically, there will be a buffering interaction when effective racism-related coping strategies (Confrontation, Empowered Action, Spiritual, and Constrained Resistance) are used. These strategies will attenuate the effect of the experience of racial microaggressions on well-being and work-fulfillment. In addition to the above specified hypotheses, the direct pathways and moderation models were tested for fit.

Chapter 3

Methods

Design

SEM was used to test the hypothesized direct and indirect pathways outlined above as well as the overall fit of the model. SEM has been recommended for use when using complex moderation models (Baron & Kenny, 1986). The goals of SEM can be conceptualized as a hybrid between factor analysis and path analysis. Similar to factor analysis, SEM describes the interrelationships between variables. From the perspective of path analysis, SEM allows researchers to test hypothesized relationships between variables (Weston & Gore, 2006). A confirmatory approach to data analysis can be used with SEM when exploring theoretically based relationships among variables that are specified a priori. The relationships explored in the present study are based on PWT and racial identity theory and are informed by research on racial microaggressions, racism-related coping, well-being, and work-fulfillment.

Data and Participants

Pilot study to recruit participants

Before the present study was conducted, a pilot study took place in order to find out if the sample size needed to conduct the present study would be able to be obtained. An email was sent to 25 Black graduates of elite universities with a link to a two-item survey. The first question asked if the individual would be interested in participating in a future research study on Black graduates of elite universities. The second question asked for the participant's email address. IRB approval was gained to send out this initial brief

survey. The 25 initial email recipients were individuals that the investigator was connected with on the professional networking website, LinkedIn. These individuals were all Black graduates of elite universities. Snowball recruiting was used, and these email recipients were asked to share the survey with their networks. Several of the 25 email recipients posted the survey to their social media accounts. A total of 10,738 survey responses were recorded. The majority of respondents agreed to participate in a future study and provided their email address to be sent a survey in the future.

Participants

The sample consisted of 1,577 participants. Participants, who did not attend Top 25 colleges and universities as defined in the previous section (*n*=565), were removed from the current study leaving 1,012 participants. Data collected from the 565 participants who were not graduates of elite universities will be used in future studies. Two participants who identified as White were also removed from the current study, leaving 1,010 participants. Participant demographics can be found in Table 1. The mean age of participants was 34 (SD = 10.12) years, and participants' ages ranged from 19 to 79 years. Demographics questions were asked at the end of the survey, and there was some attrition at the end that accounts for the demographics totals not adding to 1,010. Participants identified their gender as woman (*n*=566, 77.7%), man (*n*=143, 19.6%), transgender (*n*=7, 1.0%), and gender non-binary (n=12, 1.6%). Participants self-identified their race as Black (n=864, 85.4%), Black and White (n=44, 4.3%), Black and Latinx (n=42, 4.2%), Black and Asian (n=14, 1.4%), Black and Native American/Indigenous (n=12, 1.2%), Multiracial (n=9, 0.9%), and Biracial (Black and additional unspecified race) (n=27, 2.7%). Participants self-identified their ethnicity as African American

descendants of U.S slaves (n=461, 62.7%), West African (n=61, 8.3%), Caribbean (n=56, 7.6%), African-American and Caribbean (n= 33, 4.5%), East African (n=17, 2.3%), and additional self-identified ethnicities (n=274, 14.6%). Participants self-identified their sexual orientation as straight (n=548, 75.8%), bisexual (n=52, 7.3%), gay (n=28, 3.9%), queer (n=25, 3.5%), straight and questioning (n=14, 1.9%), lesbian (n=13, 1.8%), and additional self-identified sexual orientation (n=34, 4.7%). Relationship status was self-identified as single (n=314, 42.8%), married (n=227, 31.0%), serious dating or committed relationship (n=145, 19.8%), divorced (n=25, 3.4%), civil union or domestic partnership (n=11, 1.5%), separated (n=6, 0.8%), widowed (n=3, 0.4%), and other (n=2, 0.3%). Political affiliation was reported as Democrat (n =571, 78.5%), Independent (n=107, 14.7%), Other (n= 46, 6.3%), and Republican (n=3, 0.4%). 281 (39.2%) participants reported their highest education as a Master's degree (M.A, MBA, MS, etc.), 223 (31.1%) reported their highest education as a doctoral or a professional degree (J.D, MD,PhD), and 212 (29.6%) reported their highest education as a college degree. 60.3% (n=430) reported attending a public high school, 27.5% (n= 196) reported attending private school, 5.3% (n=38) reported attending a charter school, 4.6% (n= 33) reported attending boarding school, and 2.2% (n=16) reported attending preparatory school. While 92.1% (n= 674) of respondents reported being born in the United States, 29.0% (n=211) reported that their father was born outside of the United and 27.3% (199) reported that their mother was born outside of the United States. Additionally, 30% of respondents reported having at least one grandparent born outside of the United States.

From an employment perspective, 71.2% (502) reported being employed full-time, 4.4% (31) reported being employed part-time, 6.7% (47) reported being self-

employed, 15.7% (111) reported being graduate students, and 2.0% (14) people reported being unemployed. Of those who were employed, 72.9% (524) reported working in a majority White workplace, 10.6% (76) reported a majority Black workplace, 11.3% (81) reported a fairly even split between White and POC, 5.3% (38) reported that their workplace was mostly POC, but not majority Black. From an income perspective, 19.3% (140) reported making less than $50,000 per year, the majority of whom are currently graduate students, 29.6% (215) reported making between $50,001 and $100,000, 27.7% (201) reported making between $100,001 and $200,000 per year, 12.1% (88) reported making between $200,001 and $300,000 per year, 11.3% reported making over (82) $300,001 per year. 1.5% (11) reported their current social class as lower class, 14.6% (106) reported as working class, 44.6% (325) reported as middle class, 34.5% (251) reported as upper middle class, 4.8% (35) reported as upper class. Respondents were also asked to reflect on their childhood social class. 13.3% (97) of respondents reported their childhood social class as lower class, 36.0% (262) reported as working class, 33.3% (242) reported as middle class, 16.6% (121) reported as upper middle class, and 0.7% (5) reported as upper class. Participants in this sample reported living in 43 different states, however, 80% of respondents reported living in New York, California, Georgia, Illinois, Maryland, Texas, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Washington, D.C, North Carolina, Virginia, Michigan, or New Jersey.

Table 1

Demographic Characteristics of the Sample

Participant Characteristics		*n*	Percentage
Gender			
	Woman	566	77.7
	Man	143	19.6
	Transgender	7	1.0

	Non-binary	12	1.6
Ethnicity			
	African-American	461	62.7
	West African	61	8.3
	Caribbean	56	7.6
	East African	17	2.3
	Multi-ethnic/self-identified	274	14.6
Country of Origin			
	U.S.	674	92.1
	Other	58	7.9
Employment Status			
	Working Full-Time	502	71.2
	Working Part-Time	31	4.4
	Self-employed	47	6.7
	Full-Time Student	111	15.7
	Unemployed	14	2.0
Highest Level of Education			
	College Degree	212	29.6
	Master's Degree	281	39.2
	Doctoral or Professional	223	31.1

Procedures

After receiving approval from the investigator's institutional review board, the study commenced. First, participants were presented with an informed consent form which indicated their voluntary participation in the study, as well as a description of the study that lists its potential risks and benefits. After providing consent to participate in the study, participants were asked to complete the online survey composed of measures of racial microaggressions, racial identity, racism coping strategies, mental well-being, and job satisfaction, and demographic data. This survey was administered online using Qualtrics, an online survey software. The data was collected anonymously.

The sample for the present study consists of Black alumni of the 2020 U.S News top 25 universities. These universities include Brown University, Columbia University, Cornell University, Dartmouth College, Harvard University, Princeton University, University of Pennsylvania, Yale University, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Stanford University, Duke University, Emory University, Northwestern University, New York University, Johns Hopkins University, California Institute of Technology, University of Notre Dame, Vanderbilt University, Rice University, University of California-Los Angeles, University of California – Berkeley, University of Southern California, Georgetown University, Carnegie Mellon University, and University of Chicago. To be eligible for the present study, participants must (1) have an undergraduate degree from one of the universities listed above; (2) identify as Black, regardless of country of origin. The present study recruited participants by emailing individuals from the pilot study discussed above who expressed interest in participating in the present study. In accordance with guidelines on utilizing structural equation modeling in data analysis, the present study sought to recruit at least 400 research participants (Comrey & Lee, 2013).

Measures

Demographic Characteristics

Participants completed a demographic section that includes questions about gender, ethnicity, age, country of origin, immigration status, childhood social class, location, marital status, educational background, parent's educational background, college grade point average, social class, past two jobs, employment status, and income.

Questions regarding the characteristics of the workplace including size, racial composition, industry, and location were also asked.

Racial and Ethnic Microaggressions Scale

The Racial and Ethnic Microaggressions Scale (REMS; Nadal, 2011) is a 45-item self-report measure, consisting of six subscales, that assess the impact of various types of microaggressions in diverse contexts. Respondents are asked to indicate the number of times during the previous three years that a microaggression occurred, using a 5-point frequency scale ranging from 1 ("I did not experience this event in the past three years") to 5 ("I experienced this event 10 or more times in the past in the past three years"). The subscales and sample items for each include:

(a) Assumptions of Inferiority ("Someone told me that I was "articulate" after she/he assumed I wouldn't be"), (b) Second-Class Citizen and Assumptions of Criminality ("Someone's body language showed they were scared of me, because of my race"), (c) Microinvalidations ("Someone told me they don't see color"), (d) Exoticization and Assumptions of Similarity ("Someone objectified one of my physical features because of my race"), (e) Environmental Microaggressions ("I observed people of my race were the CEOs of major corporations"), (f). Workplace and School Microaggressions ("An employer or co-worker treated me differently than White co-workers"). The present study used the assumptions of inferiority, microinvalidations, and workplace and school microaggressions subscales. As summarized in Chapter 2, these subscales represent microaggressions hypothesized to be most likely to occur in the workplace and therefore assess the constructs that are most central to the present study. The REMS has reported Cronbach alpha internal consistency coefficients of (α= 0.93).

The reported Cronbach alpha internal consistency coefficients of each subscale was: Assumptions of Inferiority (α= 0. 89) Second-Class Citizen and Assumptions of Criminality (α= 0.88), Microinvalidations (α= 0.88), Exoticization and Assumptions of Similarity (α= 0.85), Environmental Microaggressions (α= 0.85), and Workplace and School Microaggressions (α= 0.85). The reported Cronbach alpha internal consistency coefficients for Black/African-American respondents was (α= 0.912) for the overall scale. The present study study's Cronbach alpha coefficients were: Assumptions of Inferiority α= .85, Microinvalidations α= .861, and Workplace and School Microaggressions α= .79.

Construct validity for this scale is evidenced by the positive correlation with the Index of Race-Related Stress (IRRS) and the Racism and Life Experiences Scale, two additional measures of racism (Nadal, 2011). A previous study that focused on racial microaggressions in the workplace found the REMS scores to be significantly negatively correlated with job satisfaction and resulted in a Cronbach alpha of .91 for the REMS scale scores (Decuir-Gunby & Gunby, 2016).

Racial Identity

The Black Racial Identity Attitude Scale – Revised (BRIAS-R; Helms, 2003) is a 50-item self-report measure of Black people's racial attitudes toward their own race and toward White people. The measure includes five subscales: (a) Pre-Encounter/Conformity ("I believe that White people are more attractive than people of my race"), (b) Post- Encounter/Dissonance ("I find myself reading a lot of Black literature and thinking about being Black"), (c) Immersion ("I am increasing my involvement in Black activities because I don't feel comfortable in White

environments"), (d) Emersion ("I feel an overwhelming attachment to Black people") (e) Internalization ("I involve myself in social action groups even if no other Blacks are involved"). The current study used the Conformity and Internalization subscales, which are consistent with the research questions posed in this investigation. Respondents are asked to respond to items using a 5-point Likert-type scales ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). In a study of adult Black women, Williams (2015) found moderate to high Cronbach alpha internal consistency coefficients for the women's scores on each of the following subscales: (a) Conformity (α= 0.81), (b) Dissonance (α= 0.79), (c) Immersion (α= 0.80), (d) Emersion (α= .72) and (e) Internalization (α= 0.68). The RIAS-B has been used in many studies throughout several decades of research that have shown evidence of construct validity. Studies have found the RIAS-B to be linked to psychological variables in a manner that is congruent with racial identity theory (Carter, 1996; Forsyth, 2010). Endorsement of externally defined racial identity attitudes has been linked with lower well-being and psychological distress (Carter, 1991; Pillay, 2005). In the present study, Cronbach alpha coefficients were: Conformity α= .76 and Internalization α=.63.

Racism-Related Coping Scale

The Racism-Related Coping Scale (RRCS; Forsyth & Carter, 2014) is a 59-item measure of the specific coping strategies Black people use to deal with and resist racism. Eight domains of racism-related coping were found. Sample items for each of the eight domains include: (a) Racially Conscious Action ("I worked to educate others about racism"), (b) Empowered Action ("I made a formal complaint"), (c) Constrained Resistance ("I got revenge"), (d) Confrontation ("I talked about it with the person(s)

involved in order to express my feelings"), (e) Hypervigilance ("I became more sensitive or cautious about interacting with people who are not Black"), (f) Bargaining ("I looked for an explanation other than racism"), (g) Spiritual Coping ("I prayed about it"), (h) Anger Regulation ("I fantasized about harming the person(s) involved or damaging/destroying their property"). The current study used the Empowered Action, Constrained Resistance, Confrontation, and Spiritual Coping subscales. As summarized in Chapter 2, these subscales represent the most effective racism-related coping skills and therefore are most relevant to the present study (Forsyth & Carter, 2012). Respondents are asked to respond to items using 4-point frequency scales, which assess how much the participants used each behavior to deal with a specific racial incident they remembered experiencing over the last 3 years, ranging from 0 (did not use) to 3 (used a great deal). Internal consistency reliability coefficients were relatively strong for scores on each factor-derived scale with Cronbach alpha coefficients reported as: Racially Conscious Action (*α =.0.88),* Empowered Action *(α*= 0.90)*,* Constrained Resistance (*α*= 0.80), Confrontation (*α*= 0.87), Hypervigilance (*α*= 0.90), Bargaining (*α*= 0.78), Spiritual Coping (*α*= 0.87), and Anger Regulation (*α*= 0.70). Evidence exists for the construct validity of the RRCS, as all subscales were shown to be significantly associated with the Africultural Coping Strategies Index, the only other existing measure of coping strategies that is specific to African-Americans. Additionally, correlations also existed between the RRCS and both psychological well-being and mental health symptoms (Forsyth & Carter, 2014). In the present study, Cronbach alpha coefficients were: Empowered Action *α*= .79, Constrained Resistance *α*=.67, Confrontation *α*=.83, and Spiritual Coping *α*=.85.

Well-being

As previously stated in Chapter 2, the definition of well-being has expanded beyond the absence of mental illness to include positive affect and states of enjoyment from life (Diener& Lucas, 2003; Veit & Ware, 1983). This conceptual shift resulted in the concept of subjective well-being, or an individual's perception of how well their life is going (Diener & Seligman, 2004). In the present study, well-being is assessed using measures of mental health, positive affect, and satisfaction with life.

The Mental Health Inventory-18 (MHI; Veit & Ware, 1983) is an 18-item self-report measure that assesses mental health status and well-being. It includes four scales: Anxiety, Depression, Behavioral Control, and Positive Affect. Respondents are asked to report the frequency of symptoms for the past month using a 6-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (all of the time) to 6 (none of the time). Sample items for some of the factors include Depression "Did you feel depressed". The MHI-18 has reported Cronbach alpha internal consistency coefficients ranging from 0.83 to 0.96 for each scale. In a study focused on the impact of racial microaggressions on the mental health of people of color, this scale was found to have a significant negative relationship with racial microaggressions (Nadal et al., 2014). This measure had a reported Cronbach alpha internal consistency coefficient of .94 among an African-American sample and has been significantly negatively correlated with stressful life events and positively correlated with life satisfaction (Lewis & Neville, 2015). This scale was positively correlated with both perceived stress and race-related stress (Pieterse & Carter, 2007). In the present study the Cronbach alpha coefficient for the MHI-18 was α=.94.

The Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS; Diener et al., 1985) is a 5-item scale that uses a 7-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly

agree). Example items include, “In most ways my life is close to my ideal” and “If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing.” This scale has been used widely and had a reported Cronbach alpha internal consistency coefficient of .91 in a recent study (Duffy et al., 2019). In the present study, the Cronbach alpha coefficient for the SWLS was α=.87

Work Fulfillment

As summarized in Chapter 2, fulfilling work has been hypothesized to be related to an interacting set of fluctuating psychological and emotional conditions. Fulfilling work consists of both hedonic and eudaimonic well-being and includes both cognitive and affective aspects. Work fulfillment was measured in the current study by job satisfaction which is related to cognitive and hedonic well-being and work engagement which is related to eudaimonic and affective well-being.

The Job Satisfaction Scale (JSS; Judge et al., 1998) is a five-item scale that measured how satisfied participants were with their current jobs. A 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree) was used. Sample items included, “Most days I am enthusiastic about my work” and “I find real enjoyment in my work.” The JSS had a reported Cronbach alpha internal consistency coefficient of .92. The scale has been used widely and the scale has been associated with life satisfaction (Judge et al.,1998). In the present study, the Cronbach alpha coefficient was α=.88

The Utrecht Work Engagement Scale (UWES-9; Schaufeli & Baker, 2003) is a nine-item scale that measures the affective aspects of an individual’s view of work. It can be conceptualized as the opposite of job burnout. An individual is said to be engaged in

work when they feel invigorated by and dedicated to their job (Allan et al., 2019). The scale consists of three, three-item scales including Vigor (VI), Dedication (DE), and Absorption (AB). Item responses are given on a Likert scale ranging from 0 (never) to 6 (always). Sample items include

"At my work, I feel bursting with energy" and "When I get up in the morning, I feel like going to work." A cross national study with over 14,000 participants had a reported Cronbach alpha internal consistency coefficient of 0.92 (Schaufeli et al., 2006). In the present study, the Cronbach alpha coefficient for the UWES-9 was α=.932 Work engagement is conceptualized to be the opposite of burnout, and a study found these constructs to be negatively correlated (Maslach et al., 2001). Furthermore, the UWES-9 was found to be positively correlated with affective occupational commitment and negatively correlated with turnover intentions (Mills et al., 2012). Additionally, researchers found the UWES to be acceptable to use for multiple racial groups (Storm & Rothmann, 2003). While the present study consisted of a large number of items, other recent studies with an equal number of items have had success with participants completing the full survey (Blustein et al., 2020).

Chapter 4

Results

Analytic Approach

First, preliminary analyses were conducted. The first step of the preliminary analysis was to test for normality, including kurtosis and skewness by examining histograms and descriptive statistics for outliers. Next, descriptive statistics and correlations were run for each of the observed variables including assumptions of inferiority microaggressions, microinvalidations microaggressions, work and school microaggressions, mental health, satisfaction with life, job satisfaction, confrontation, empowered action, spiritual coping, constrained resistance, Conformity, Internalization, and work engagement.

Then, the primary analyses were conducted using Structural Equation Modeling (SEM). SEM can be used to test a hypothesized theoretical model that is based on theory and previous research. SEM is also used to establish whether a group of variables define a construct and to determine the relationship between these constructs. The constructs are referred to as latent variables and are not directly observed. The latent variables are defined by a set of observed variables. These observed variables are also referred to as indicators and are directly measured (Schumaker & Lomax, 2016). In the current study, the observed variables, items from the subscales assumptions of inferiority, microinvalidations, and work and school racial microaggressions, are hypothesized to be indicators of the latent variable *work-related microaggressions*. Items from the mental health and satisfaction with life scales are hypothesized to be indicators of the latent

variable *well-being*. Items from the job satisfaction and work engagement scales are hypothesized to be indicators of the latent variable *work-fulfillment*, and items from the confrontation, empowered action, spiritual coping, and constrained resistance scale are hypothesized to be indicators of the latent *variable effective racism-related coping*.

SEM has two primary components: the measurement model and the structural model. The measurement model tests how well the observed variables define the latent variable, and whether there is a good fit between the observed and latent variables. Confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) is used to analyze the hypothesized latent variable structure. First, the model is specified based on theory and previous research. Next, the model is identified to explore whether the factor loadings of the observed variables on the latent variables can be estimated. Overidentification of the model is desired and occurs when the degrees of freedom are positive. If the model is overidentified, then factor loadings for the hypothesized model are estimated. In this study, models generally were identified using the standard approach of constraining the first factor loading for each latent variable equal to 1. Each model was estimated using full information maximum likelihood (FIML), except for the work-related microaggressions measurement model, which was estimated using diagonally weighted least squares (DWLS). FIML is an estimation method that allows for the estimation of model parameters when there is missing data. As detailed below, DWLS was used as the estimation method for the work-related microaggressions measurement model given that the indicators are binary. CFA was used to determine the final measurement models for each latent variable. Goodness of fit for the measurement models was assessed using the comparative fit index (CFI), Tucker-Lewis index (TLI), and the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA).

The structural model describes interrelationships among constructs. When the measurement model and the structural model are considered together, the model may be called the composite or full structural model. Goodness of fit statistics are examined to determine how well the theorized model matches the data collected (Weston & Gore, 2006). The goodness of fit measures used in the current study include the comparative fit index (CFI), Tucker-Lewis index (TLI), and the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA). These measures are widely used indices of fit and each has a cutoff criterion that suggests good fit.

The CFI and TLI are incremental fit indices and compare the hypothesized model with the baseline (null) model. Values for these indices range from 0 to 1, with values closer to 1 indicating better fit. Values of 0.90 represent acceptable fit and values of 0.95 represent good fit (Weston & Gore, 2000). The RMSEA is an absolute fit index that analyzes how far the hypothesized model is from a model that perfectly describes the data. Values closer to 0 indicate a better fit. An RMSEA of .08 or lower is considered to represent an acceptable fit while an RMSEA of .05 or lower is considered to represent a good fit (McDonald & Ho, 2002). The chi-squared statistic will also be reported. The Chi-square statistic is used to quantify the difference between the covariance matrix of the hypothesized model and the actual sample covariance matrix. Smaller, nonsignificant values indicate a better fit. However, the Chi-square statistic is influenced by the sample size, and larger samples are likely to have a significant chi-square (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013). Given the current study's large sample size, the significant chi-square values were not considered as an indicator of poor model fit.

The chapter will begin by outlining the results of the preliminary analyses including a correlation matrix. The primary analyses using SEM will follow. All analyses were conducted using version 1.4.1106 of R-studio and 4.0.4 of base R (R Core Team, 2021).

To address the current study's hypotheses, a structural equation model (SEM) was constructed and then assessed for fit with the proposed theoretical models below. The first model is the direct pathways model and the second is the moderated model. In the models below, the observed variables are represented by squares and the latent variables are represented by circles. Prior to testing the proposed SEM, I tested the measurement models for each latent variable using Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA). Once the latent variables were adequately defined, the full SEM was constructed with all regression paths that tested the hypotheses outlined below. The R lavaan package was used to run the CFA and SEM analyses (Rosseel, 2012).

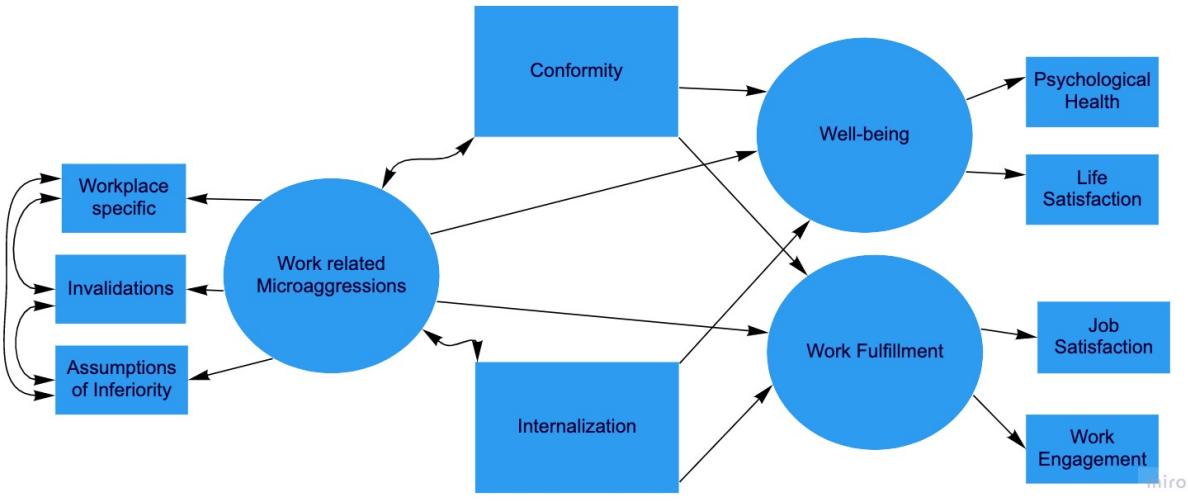


Figure 1: *Conceptual Direct Pathway Model*

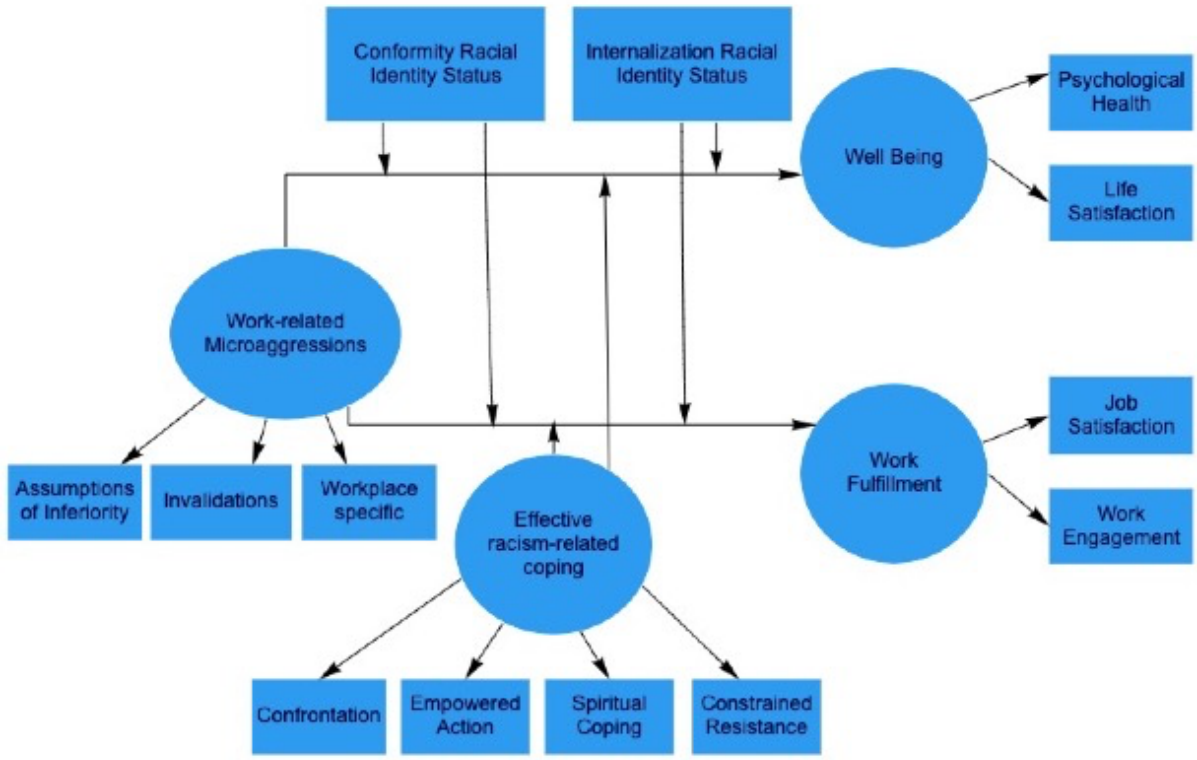


Figure 2*: *Conceptual Moderation Model

Preliminary Analyses

Before testing my hypotheses, I conducted preliminary analyses to check for missing data, explore the normality of the distribution of the data, and conduct bivariate correlations analyses of the current study's observed variables, which are represented as squares in the model above. The observed variables include assumptions of inferiority, microinvalidations, workplace specific racial microaggressions, confrontation, empowered action, spiritual coping, constrained resistance, job satisfaction, work engagement, psychological health, satisfaction with life, Conformity racial identity

attitudes, and Internalization racial identity attitudes. The psych package in R was used for the preliminary analyses and the results are presented in Table 2 (Revelle, 2019).

Missing Data

Prior to analysis, I investigated the amount and patterns of missingness in the dataset. Analyses of the data found that 18.4% of the data were missing while 81.6% of the data were present. Through a combination of novel data visualization methods and summary tables (Tierney et al., 2021), I determined that the majority of data that were missing or incomplete appeared to be due to attrition at the end of the survey. Otherwise, the data appeared to be missing at random. Missing data were addressed using full-information maximum likelihood (FIML) estimation. FIML performs best when data are missing at random but may produce reasonable estimates when data are missing due to survey fatigue, as in this study (Tierney & Cook, 2018).

Distribution of variables

Descriptive statistics including the mean and standard deviation of the current study's observed variables are presented in Table 2. A correlation matrix of each of the current study's observed variables is also presented in Table 2. The correlation matrix reports the direction (positively or negatively related) and strength of the relationship between each of the observed variables. The current study's data were assessed for normality by both visually examining the histograms of the study's observed variables and by analyzing skewness and kurtosis. Skewness measures the asymmetry of the distribution of data and helps to understand the deviation from the normal distribution. Values of skewness that are within +/-2 are considered to meet criteria for univariate

normality (George & Mallery, 2010). All observed variables were within this range. Kurtosis measures how heavily the tails of the distribution deviate from the tails of the normal distribution. Values of kurtosis that are within +/3 are considered to meet criteria for univariate normality. Most of the study's observed variables were within this range, which suggests a normal distribution for most of the study's observed variables. Variables that were outside of the normal range of kurtosis, included Constrained Resistance, Empowered Action, and Conformity. These variables were visually examined using histograms. Constrained Resistance and Empowered Action appeared to be negatively skewed, and while Conformity also appeared to be negatively skewed, it appeared to be close to normal. Given the large sample size and given that regression analyses are robust to moderate levels of non-normality and that using maximum likelihood in SEM can account for skewness and kurtosis in variables, transformations were not made to the observed variables that fell outside the normal range of kurtosis (Mertler & Vannatta, 2005). Additionally, for all regression analyses, model assumptions were tested using residual diagnostic plots that examined normality, linearity, homogeneity, and heteroscedasticity. These plots were visually examined, and it was determined that using regression analyses for the study's observed variables was appropriate.

The data was also analyzed for potential outliers. First, box plots of each observed variable were examined for potential outliers. For the variables that had potential outliers, additional statistical tests of significant outliers were run, including Grubbs test and Rosner's test. These two tests revealed that three variables including Conformity, empowered action, and constrained resistance have between 6 and 13 potential outliers.

Given the current study's large sample size as well as general concerns regarding removing outliers from the data, I decided not to remove the potential outliers.

Table 2

Correlation Matrix of Study Variables

Var.	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
1. SL	4.95	1.27													
2. JS	4.95	1.47	.46**												
3. WE	4.60	1.11	.40**	.78**											
4. MH	4.13	0.86	.53**	.48**	.43**										
5.WA	1.49	0.36	-.11**	-.13**	-.04	-.15**									
6. IV	1.52	0.33	-.00	-.04	.06	-.11**	.47**								
7.IF	1.47	0.34	-.05	-.08*	.06	-.09*	.66**	.55**							
8. EA	1.37	0.42	-.04	.05	.15**	-.01	.29**	.25**	.28**						
9. CO	1.70	0.54	.02	.10**	.18**	.01	.24**	.30**	.26**	.55**					
10. CR	1.22	0.33	-.16**	-.22**	-.13**	-.22**	.19**	.13**	.15**	.35**	.31**				
11.SP	1.73	0.68	.04	.05	.13**	.08*	.20**	.17**	.20**	.34**	.22**	.15**			
12.IN	4.10	0.34	.32**	.25**	.32**	.32**	-.01	.10**	.03	.02	.15**	-.17**	.08*		
13.CN	1.67	0.37	-.14**	-.07	-.05	-.14**	.04	.01	.06	.13**	.04	.16**	.07	-.33	

Note. M and *SD* are used to represent mean and standard deviation, respectively. SL= satisfaction with life, JS = job satisfaction, WE = work engagement, MH= mental health inventory, WA = work and school microaggressions, IV = microinvalidations microaggressions, IF = assumptions of inferiority microaggresions, EA = empowered action racism related coping, CO = confrontation racism related coping, CR= constrained resistance racism related coping, SP = spiritual racism related coping, IN = Internalization racial identity attitudes, CN = Conformity racial identity attitudes; * indicates $p < .05$. ** indicates $p < .01$.

Primary Analyses

The current study's primary analyses consisted of latent structural equation modeling (SEM). FIML estimation methods were used for most models, the exception being the measurement model for work-related microaggressions. For this model, diagonally weighted least squares (DWLS) was used as the estimation method given that

the data are binary (0= I did not experience this event; 1= I experienced this event in the past). This estimation method gives standard errors that are robust to violations of the assumptions of normality that are required for maximum likelihood, which is the standard approach to confirmatory factor analysis. Maximum likelihood assumes data are continuous and normally distributed. Since the data for the work-related microaggressions measurement model is dichotomous, DWLS was used.

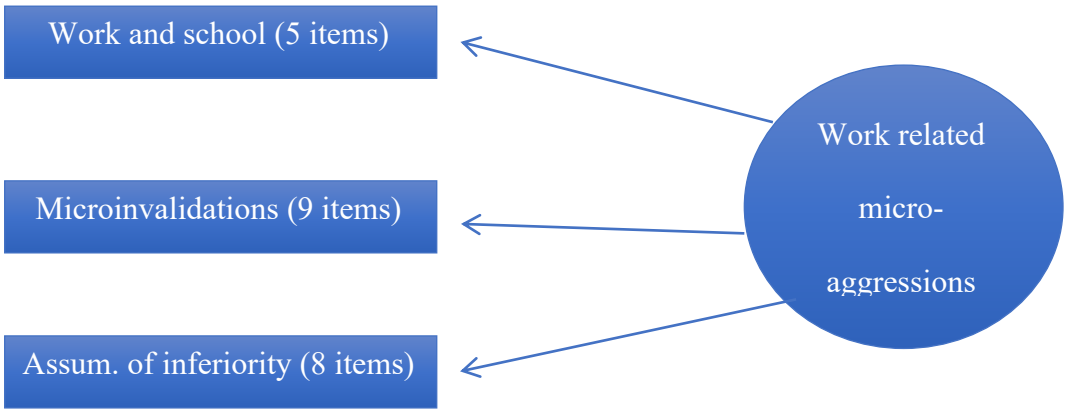
P values for tests of primary hypotheses were interpreted using the Benjamini-Hochberg (B-H) correction. The Benjamini-Hochberg Procedure decreases the false discovery rate. The false discovery rate is the "expected proportion of errors among the rejected hypotheses," or the proportion of tests that are incorrectly identified as significant (Benjamini & Hochberg, 1995, p. 290). This procedure helps to avoid Type I errors. Both the unadjusted and adjusted values will be presented.

Results of Latent Variable Measurement Models

Given that measurement models with poor fit can affect the fit of the full SEM model, measurement models for the latent constructs were estimated first. These latent constructs include *work and school microaggressions*, *well-being*, *work-fulfillment*, and *effective racism-related coping strategies*. To ensure the observed variables were appropriate and accurate measures of the latent constructs, confirmatory factor analyses (CFA) were run for each latent construct. Based on these analyses, updates were made to the latent variable structure before continuing to the structural model for hypothesis testing. The CFA results for each latent variable are as follows:

Work-related Microaggressions Measurement Model.

Figure 3. *Work Microaggressions Initial* Measurement Model



Initially, a latent variable for work-related microaggressions was hypothesized as a single factor model (see Figure 3). This means it was hypothesized that multiple observed variables load onto one single factor, or that a relationship exists between multiple observed variables and one single latent construct. In this case, it was hypothesized that the observed variables (subscales of the racial and ethnic microaggressions scale) work and school microaggressions (5 items), microinvalidations (9 items), and assumptions of inferiority (8 items) could be combined into a single latent construct that represents work-related microaggressions (22 items total). These 22 individual items were hypothesized to be indicators of a single latent variable, work-related microaggressions. This contrasts to a multi-factor model where the 22 indicators each load onto one of multiple latent variables, each representing a sub-component of work related microaggressions. For example, a three-factor model that is comprised of three components: work and school microaggressions, microinvalidations, and assumptions of inferiority. A single-factor CFA was first tested.

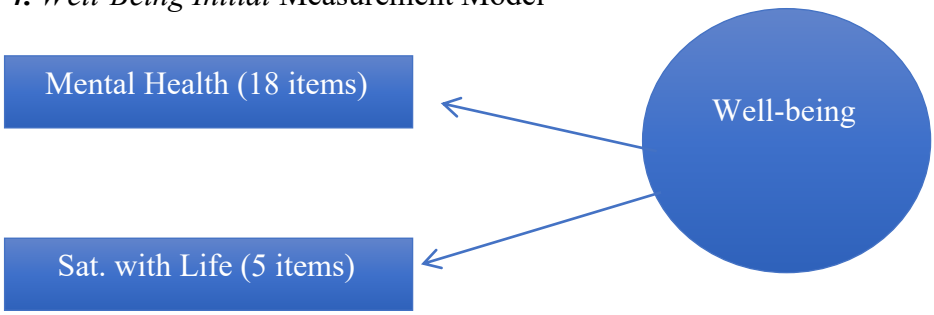
The single factor model resulted in poor fit: Chi-square = 2302.624, p = <.001, df = 209; CFI = .785; TLI = .763; and RMSEA = .108, 90% Confidence Interval [0.104, 0.112]. Given both theoretical considerations and the poor fit of the one factor model, a three-factor construct was attempted. In the three-factor model, 5 items corresponding to the work and school microaggressions subscale were allowed to load onto one factor, 9 items corresponding to the microinvalidations subscale were allowed to load onto a second factor, and 8 items corresponding to the assumptions of inferiority subscale were allowed to load onto a third factor. A multi-factor model of work-related microaggressions, specifically a three-factor model was used.

The three-factor model for work-related microaggressions produced a better fit: Chi-square = 664.276, p= <.001, df = 204; CFI = 0.953, TLI = .947, RMSEA = .05, 90% Confidence Interval [0.047, 0.056]. The factor loadings of each individual item onto each factor were all greater than .4 which is a standard acceptable value. Factor loadings are listed in Appendix B. Based on model modification indices, items REMS_INV_6 and REMS_INV_7 and items REMS_INV_2 and REMS_INV_6 were allowed to covary. Model modification indices provide an estimate of how model fit can be improved by freeing a parameter constraint or adding paths to the model. I was careful to only allow items to covary when the covariance both made sense theoretically and improved the model fit. The items that were allowed to covary were theoretically similar and included the following items: “Someone told me that they do not see color,” “Someone told me they were colorblind” and “Someone told me that they do not see race.”

The results of the analysis suggest that a three-factor model was preferred for the latent construct work-related microaggressions. The construct was therefore characterized

by three different underlying factors: Work and School Microaggressions, Assumptions of Inferiority, and Microinvalidations which are three subscales of the Racial and Ethnic Microaggressions scale that were hypothesized to occur in the workplace.

Figure 4. *Well-Being Initial* Measurement Model



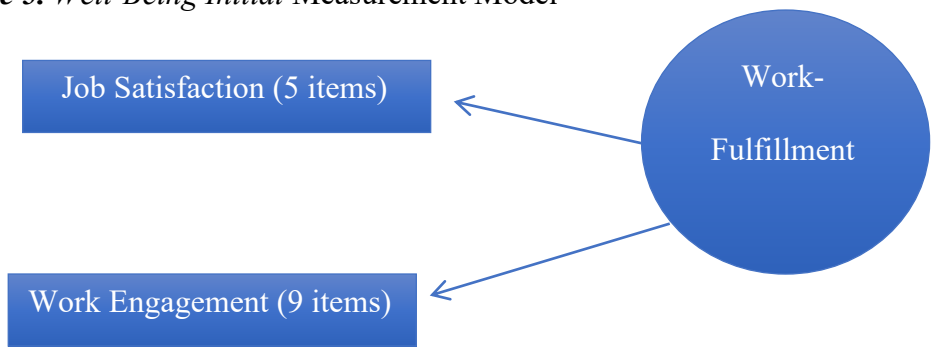
A single factor construct was initially hypothesized for well-being (see Figure 4) that included 18 items related to psychological health (MHI-18) and 5 items related to satisfaction with life (Satisfaction with Life Scale) as indicators combined into one single latent construct. These 23 individual items were hypothesized to be indicators of a single underlying variable called well-being. A single-factor CFA was first tested.

Based on the model fit indicators, the single factor structure resulted in poor fit: Chi-square = 3367.236, p = <.001, df = 230; CFI = .716; TLI = .688; RMSEA = .131, 90% Confidence Interval [.128, .135]. Given the poor fit of the model, psychological health and satisfaction with life were treated as two separate constructs. An overall computed mental health inventory sum score of the MHI-18 was used as an observed variable for psychological health. A latent variable for satisfaction with life comprised of 5 individual items as indicators was used. Factor loadings of individual items from the satisfaction with life scale were tested using a CFA and were found to be an excellent fit. Chi-square = 24.396, df = 5, p = <.001; CFI = .991; TLI = .982, RMSEA = .068, 90%

Confidence Interval [.042, .096]. The results of the factor analysis for these items are in Appendix B.

Work-Fulfillment Initial Measurement Model.

Figure 5. *Well-Being Initial* Measurement Model



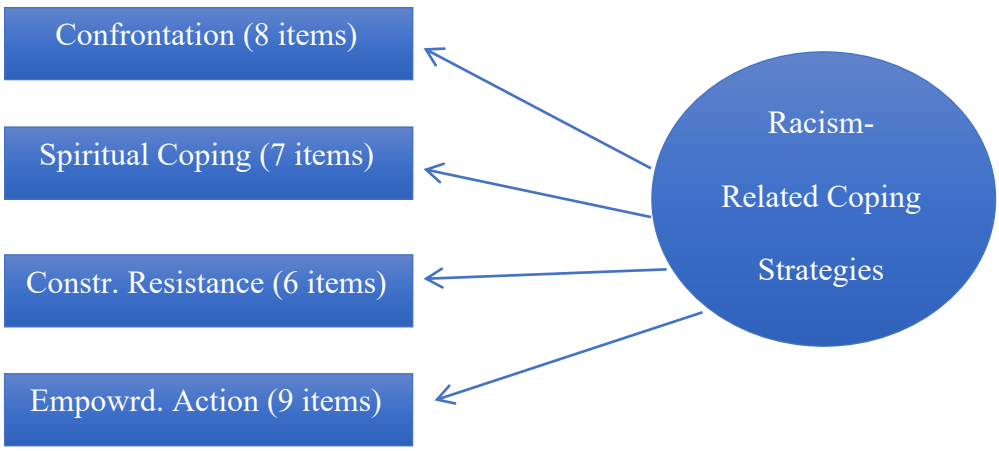
Initially, a latent variable for work-fulfillment was hypothesized as a single factor model (see Figure 5). It was hypothesized that the observed variables job satisfaction from the job satisfaction scale (5 items) and work engagement from the Utrecht Work Engagement Scale (9 items) could be combined into a single latent variable that represents the latent construct, work-fulfillment (16 items total). These 16 individual items were hypothesized to be indicators of a single latent variable, work-fulfillment. This is in contrast to a multi-factor model where the 16 indicators each load onto one of multiple latent variables, each representing a sub-component of work-fulfillment. The single factor model was tested first.

The single factor model resulted in poor fit: Chi-square = 1456.265, df= 77, p=<.001; CFI= .851; TLI = .823; RMSEA = .152, 90% Confidence Interval [.145, .159]. The poor fit of the initial CFA for this latent construct suggested that a single factor construct was not appropriate. A second CFA was run with two factors that separated job

satisfaction and work engagement into separate factors. One factor, job satisfaction consisted of 5 items and the second factor, work engagement consisted of 9 items. This model also resulted in poor fit: Chi-square = 1036.315, df= 76, p=<.001; CFI = .896; TLI= .875; RMSEA = .128, 90% Confidence Interval [.121,.135]. Therefore, a final model was run that consisted of a separate latent factor for job satisfaction with individual items from the job satisfaction scale loaded onto one factor. Additionally, consistent with the literature, work engagement was split into three separate factors that consisted of three items each, including vigor, dedication, and absorption (Schaufeli & Baker, 2003). These factors are based on the subscales of the Utrecht Work Engagement scale. The results of the factor analysis for these items are in Appendix B. This model resulted in acceptable fit: Chi-square = 554.572, df= 70, p=<.001; CFI = .948; TLI = .932; RMSEA = .095, 90% Confidence Interval [.087, .102].

Racism-Related Coping Strategies Measurement Model.

Figure 6. *Racism-Related Coping Initial* Measurement Model



Initially, a latent variable for racism-related coping strategies was hypothesized as a single factor model (see Figure 6). It was hypothesized that the latent construct racism-related coping strategies could be measured by four observed variables: confrontation (8 items), spiritual coping (7 items), constrained resistance (6 items), and empowered action (9 items) which are subscales of the racism-related coping scale. These 30 individual items were hypothesized to be observed variables that could be combined into a single latent construct that represents effective racism-related coping. This is in contrast to a multi-factor model where the 30 indicators each load onto one of multiple latent variables, each representing a sub-component of effective racism-related coping strategies. The single factor model was tested first.

The single factor model resulted in a poor fit: Chi-square = 6185.94 df = 405, p=<.001; CFI = .385; TLI = .339; RMSEA = .140, 90% Confidence Interval [.137, .143]. A second CFA was run with four factors that included confrontation, empowered action, spiritual coping, and constrained resistance. This measurement model fit better than the initial single factor model, but still revealed a poor fit: Chi-square = 2534.634, df = 398, p=<.001; CFI = .773; TLI = .752; RMSEA = .086, 90% Confidence Interval [.083, .089]. Given the poor fit of the proposed latent measurement structure, I returned to the theoretical model for guidance. Given that it was hypothesized that using effective racism related coping strategies at all would buffer the relationship between work-related microaggressions and both well-being and work-fulfillment, I decided to treat effective racism related coping as a dichotomous observed variable in the SEM model. A new variable was created based on racism-related coping mean subscale scores to signify whether on average, the respondent endorsed using effective racism related coping

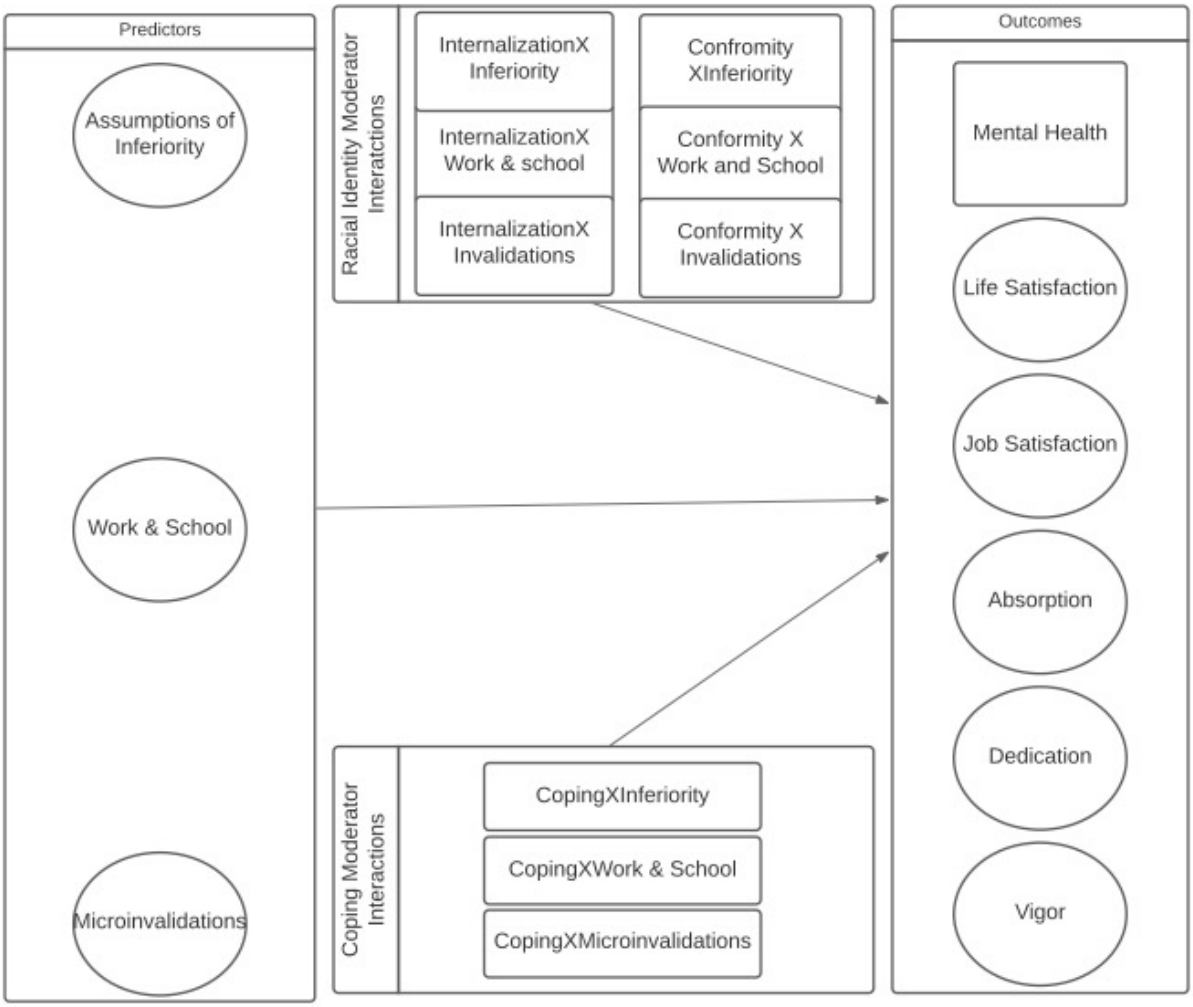
strategies at least “a little.” For the new dichotomous variable, participants with a mean subscale score of at least 2 (using the coping skill at least a little bit of the time) on one or more of the effective racism-related coping strategies were given a coping score of 1. Participants with mean subscale scores of less than 2 on each of the racism-related coping subscales were given a coping score of 0. After the binary variable was created, histograms and frequency tables revealed that there was nearly an even split between participants with coping scores of 0 and 1. This binary variable sufficiently answers the research question as it was proposed and was therefore used in the structural model.

Overall measurement model.

The last step after testing the measurement models of each latent variable was to test the fit of an overall measurement model. The overall measurement model consisted of the latent predictor and outcome variables and their covariances. The fit of the overall measurement model was good: Chi-square = 1898.349, df=733, p = <.001; CFI = .937; TLI= .929; RMSEA = .046, 90% Confidence Interval [.043, .048].

The revised conceptual moderation model, updated to better represent the multifaceted nature of several of the study’s theoretical constructs, is below in Figure 7.

Figure 7. *Revised Conceptual Moderation Model*



Results of Primary Hypotheses Tests using SEM

Two structural equation models were estimated to test the current study's hypotheses and the revised structural model. The first model estimated the direct pathways between the latent predictor variables and latent outcome variables with workplace specific microaggressions, assumptions of inferiority, and microinvalidations predicting psychological health, satisfaction with life, job satisfaction, and three measures of work engagement including vigor, dedication, and absorption. It also included the direct pathways between the moderator variables of Conformity and Internalization racial

identity attitudes and the latent predictor and outcome variables. The second model also included the two-way interaction effects of each moderator variable including Conformity racial identity attitudes, Internalization racial identity attitudes, and the dichotomous effective racism related coping strategies variable, with each predictor variable.

Direct Pathways Model

The full structural equation model that estimated the direct pathways between the latent predictor and outcome variables produced good fit: Chi-square = 2031.494, df = 847, p =<.001; CFI = .938; TLI = .931; RMSEA = .043, 90% Confidence Interval [.040, .045]. Hypothesis 1 predicted that work-related microaggressions (assumptions of inferiority, work and school, microinvalidations) will be negatively correlated with well-being (mental health and satisfaction with life) and work-fulfillment (job satisfaction and three work-engagement subscales including absorption, dedication, and vigor). This hypothesis was partially supported. Microinvalidations significantly negatively predicted mental health (p=.018). Assumptions of inferiority and work and school microaggressions were not significantly correlated with mental health. Assumptions of inferiority, microinvalidations, and work and school microaggressions did not predict satisfaction with life, job satisfaction, absorption, vigor, or dedication.

Hypothesis 2 predicted that Conformity racial identity attitudes will be negatively correlated with work-related microaggressions, while Internalization racial identity attitudes will be positively correlated with work-related microaggressions. This hypothesis was partially supported. Conformity racial identity attitudes were not significantly correlated with assumptions of inferiority, work and school, or

microinvalidations racial microaggressions. Internalization racial identity attitudes were not significantly related to assumptions of inferiority or work and school microaggressions. Internalization racial identity attitudes were significantly positively correlated with microinvalidations (p=<.001).

Hypothesis 3 predicted that Conformity racial identity status attitudes will be negatively correlated with well-being and work-fulfillment while Internalization racial identity status attitudes will be positively correlated with well-being and work-fulfillment. This hypothesis was partially supported. Conformity racial identity was not significantly related to mental health, satisfaction with life, job satisfaction, or dedication. Conformity racial identity was significantly positively correlated with absorption (p=.012) and vigor (p=.022), which was contrary to the direction of the hypothesized effect.

As hypothesized, Internalization racial identity attitudes significantly positively predicted mental health (p= <.001), satisfaction with life (p= <.001), job satisfaction (p = <.001), and all three work engagement variables - vigor, absorption, and dedication (p= <.001 for each variable). Standardized coefficients for all variables in the model are presented in Appendix B. Standardized regression coefficients for the significant direct pathways (p<.05) are presented in two figures. Figure 8 presents significant pathways that were not adjusted by the B-H correction while Figure 9 presents significant pathways that were adjusted by the B-H correction.

Moderation Model

When conducting moderation analyses, researchers can use multiple methods, including statistical interaction terms (Baron & Kenny, 1986; Kraemer et al., 2001). For the present study, multiple two-way interaction terms were created to test the moderation hypotheses. The interaction terms consist of the interaction between each pair of predictor and moderator variables and include the interaction between Conformity racial identity attitudes and each of the racial microaggression subscales (inferiority, work and school, and microinvalidations), Internalization racial identity attitudes and each of the racial microaggressions subscales and coping score and each of the racial microaggressions subscales. See Figure 7 revised conceptual model for more detail. The moderation model resulted in good fit: Chi-square = 948.39, df = 351, p = <.001; CFI = .950; TLI = .930; RMSEA = .048, 90% Confidence Interval [.045, .052].

Hypothesis 4a predicted racial identity status attitudes will moderate the relationship between the experience of microaggressions and both well-being and work-fulfillment. Specifically, there will be a buffering interaction when both Internalization and Conformity racial identity attitudes attenuate the effect of the experience of racial microaggressions on well-being and work-fulfillment. None of the hypothesized pathways were significant. Internalization racial identity attitudes did not have a buffering effect on the relationship between assumptions of inferiority, work and school, and microinvalidations microaggressions and mental health. Conformity racial identity attitudes did not have a buffering effect on the relationship between assumptions of inferiority, work and school, and microinvalidations microaggressions and mental health. The interactions between both Internalization and Conformity racial identity and

assumptions of inferiority, work and school, and microinvalidations microaggressions did not significantly predict satisfaction with life.

From the perspective of work-fulfillment, the interaction between Internalization racial identity status attitudes and assumptions of inferiority, work and school, and microinvalidations microaggressions did not significantly predict job satisfaction. The interaction between Conformity racial identity and assumptions of inferiority, work and school, and microinvalidations did not significantly predict job satisfaction. For work engagement, the interaction between Internalization and assumptions of inferiority, work and school, and microinvalidations microaggressions did not significantly predict dedication, vigor, or absorption work engagement. Similarly, the interaction between Conformity and assumptions of inferiority, work and school, and microinvalidations microaggressions did not significantly predict dedication, vigor, or absorption work engagement.

Hypothesis 4b predicted racism-related coping styles will moderate the relationship between the experience of microaggressions and both well-being and work-fulfillment. None of the hypothesized pathways were significant. The interaction between racism related coping and assumptions of inferiority, work and school, and microinvalidations microaggressions did not significantly predict mental health, satisfaction with life, job satisfaction, dedication, vigor or absorption.

Final Models

The direct pathways model and the moderation model will both be reported. For the sake of parsimony, only significant pathways are shown. The first model is the direct

pathways model that includes unadjusted significant pathways (see Figure 8). The second model is the direct pathways model that shows significant pathways based on the B-H correction (see Figure 9). The third model is the moderation model with unadjusted significant pathways (see Figure 10).

Figure 8. *Direct Pathways Model - Unadjusted*

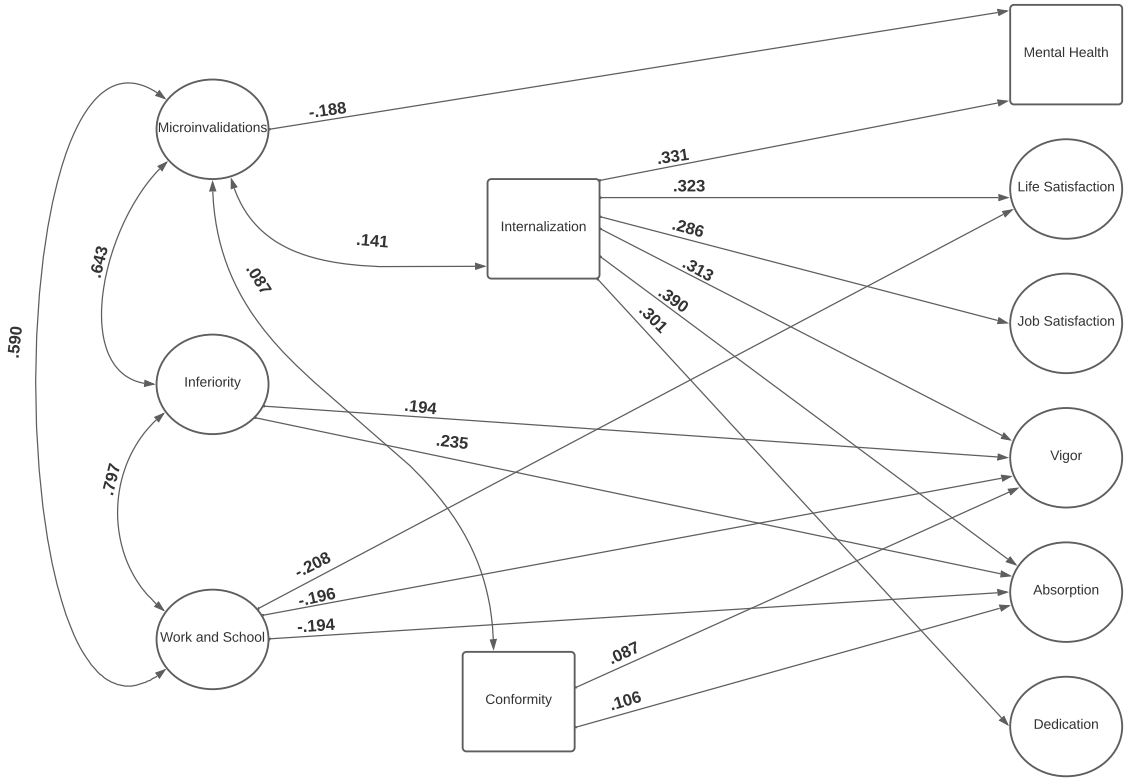


Figure 9. *Direct Pathways Model – Adjusted with B-H Correction*

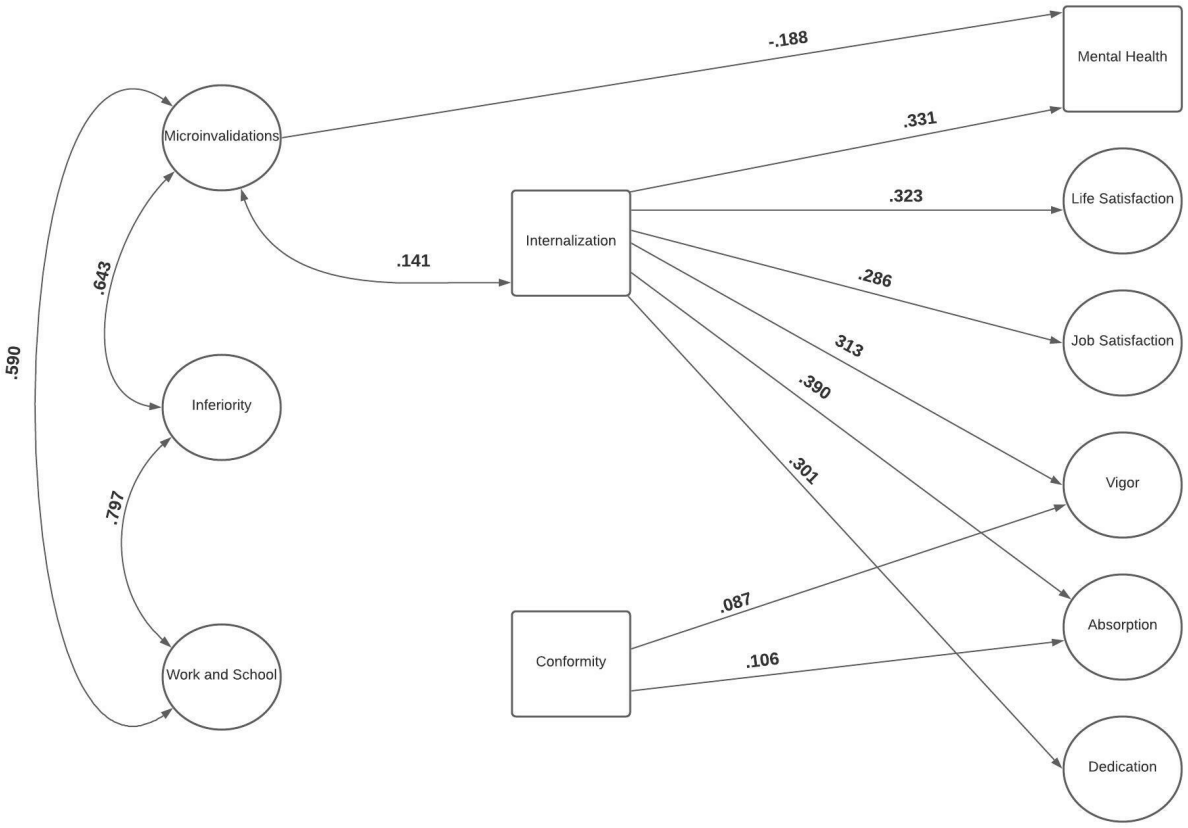
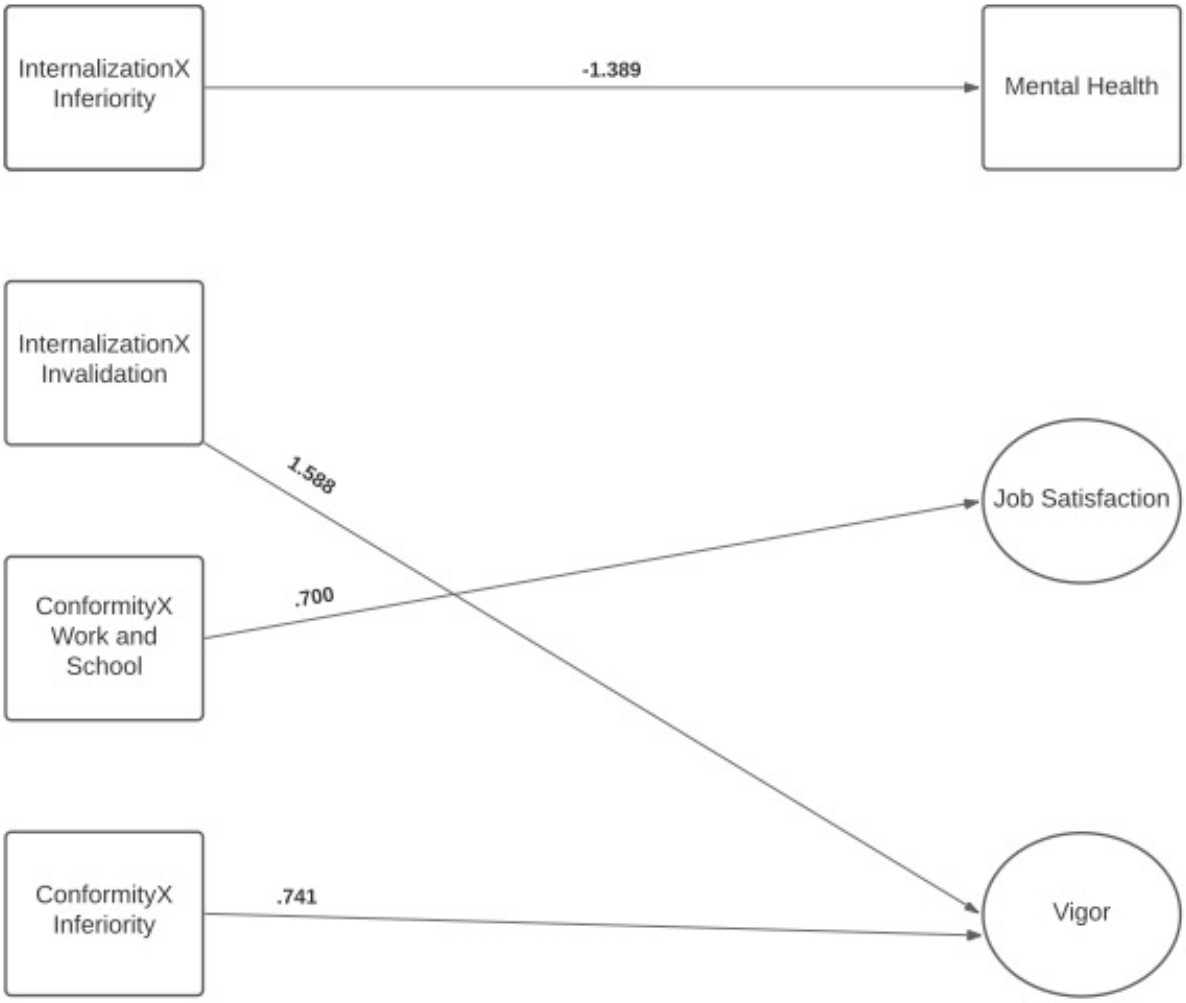


Figure 10. *Moderation Model - Unadjusted*



Summary of Main Study Findings

Hypothesis 1: It is predicted that work-related microaggressions will be negatively associated with well-being and work-fulfillment. Table 3 presents results for each of the hypothesized pathways.

Table 3

Hypothesis 1 Results

	Hypothesized Pathway and Direction	Supported?	Unadjusted *p* value	B-H Adjusted *p* value[1]
1	Inferiority with Mental Health (-)	No	.069	.155
2	Work and School with Mental Health (-)	No	.067	.155
3	Microinvalidation with Mental Health (-)	**Yes**	**.001**	**.018**
4	Inferiority with Satisfaction with Life (-)	No	.301	.451
5	Work and School with Satisfaction with Life (-)	**Yes***	**.015**	.090
6	Microinvalidations with Satisfaction with Life (-)	No	.964	.999
7	Inferiority with Job satisfaction (-)	No	.554	.767
8	Work and School with Job satisfaction (-)	No	.095	.155
9	Microinvalidations with Job satisfaction (-)	No	.934	.999
10	**Inferiority with Absorption (-)**	**Yes***	**.016**	.090
11	**Work and School with Absorption (-)**	**Yes***	**.041**	.123
12	Microinvalidations with Absorption (-)	No	.999	.999
13	Inferiority with Dedication (-)	No	.089	.155
14	Work and School with Dedication (-)	No	.080	.155
15	Microinvalidations with Dedication (-)	No	.769	.988
16	**Inferiority with Vigor (-)**	**Yes***	**.025**	.090
17	**Work and School with Vigor (-)**	**Yes***	**.021**	.090
18	Microinvalidations with Vigor (-)	No	.899	.999

[1] To control for multiple tests within hypotheses, the Benjamini-Hochberg correction was applied to the *p* values

Hypothesis 2: It is predicted that Conformity racial identity attitudes will be negatively associated with work-related microaggressions, while Internalization racial identity attitudes will be positively associated with work-related microaggressions. Table 4 presents results for each of the hypothesized pathways.

Table 4

Hypothesis 2 Results

	Hypothesized Pathway and Direction	Supported?	Unadjusted *p* value	B-H Adjusted *p* value
1	Conformity with Inferiority (-)	No	.111	.166
2	Conformity with Work and School (-)	No	.085	.166
3	**Conformity with Microinvalidations (-)**	**Yes***	**.027**	.081
4	Internalization with Inferiority (+)	No	.438	.525
5	Internalization with Work and School (+)	No	.889	.889
6	**Internalization with Microinvalidations (+)**	**Yes**	**<.001**	**<.001**

Hypothesis 3: It is predicted that Conformity racial identity status attitudes will be negatively correlated with well-being and work-fulfillment while Internalization racial identity status attitudes will be positively correlated with well-being and work-fulfillment. Table 5 presents results for each of the hypothesized pathways.

Table 5

Hypothesis 3 Results

	Hypothesized Pathway and Direction	Supported?	Unadjusted *p* value	B-H Adjusted *p* value
1	Conformity with Mental Health (-)	No	.770	.824
2	Conformity with Satisfaction with Life (-)	No	.796	.824
3	Conformity with Job Satisfaction (-)	No	.144	.192
4	Conformity with Dedication (-)	No	.824	.824

5	**Conformity with Absorption (-)**	**Yes****	**.008**	**.013**
6	**Conformity with Vigor (-)**	**Yes****	**.015**	**.022**
7	**Internalization with Mental Health (+)**	**Yes**	**<.001**	**<.001**
8	**Internalization with Satisfaction with Life (+)**	**Yes**	**<.001**	**<.001**
9	**Internalization with Job Satisfaction (+)**	**Yes**	**<.001**	**<.001**
10	**Internalization with Dedication (+)**	**Yes**	**<.001**	**<.001**
11	**Internalization with Absorption (+)**	**Yes**	**<.001**	**<.001**
12	**Internalization with Vigor (+)**	**Yes**	**<.001**	**<.001**

**Opposite of hypothesized direction

Hypothesis 4a: Racial identity status attitudes and racism-related coping styles will moderate the relationship between the experience of microaggressions and both well-being and work-fulfillment. Specifically, there will be a buffering interaction when both Internalization and Conformity racial identity attitudes attenuate the effect of the experience of racial microaggressions on well-being and work-fulfillment. Table 6 presents results for each of the hypothesized pathways. Figures 12-14 present graphs of the moderation analysis and will be discussed in further detail in the following chapter.

Table 6

Hypothesis 4a Results

	Hypothesized Pathway and direction	Supported?	Unadjusted *p* value	B-H Adjusted *p* value
1	**InternalizationXInferiority → Mental Health**	**Yes***	**.044**	.381
2	InternalizationXWork and School → Mental Health	No	.119	.453
3	InternalizationXInvalidations → Mental Health	No	.216	.546
4	ConformityXInferiority →Mental Health	No	.464	.787
5	ConformityXWork and School → Mental Health	No	.868	.977

6	ConformityXInvalidations → Mental Health	No	.980	.980
7	InternalizationXInferiority →Satisfaction with life	No	.103	.453
8	InternalizationXWork and School → Satisfaction with life	No	.481	.787
9	InternalizationXInvalidations → Satisfaction with life	No	.798	.977
10	ConformityXInferiority →Satisfaction with life	No	.214	.546
11	ConformityXWork and School → Satisfaction with life	No	.284	.601
12	ConformityXInvalidations → Satisfaction with life	No	.867	.977
13	InternalizationXInferiority →Job satisfaction	No	.690	.929
14	InternalizationXWork and School → Job satisfaction	No	.896	.977
15	InternalizationXInvalidations → Job satisfaction	No	.120	.453
16	ConformityXInferiority →Job satisfaction	No	.874	.977
17	**ConformityXWork and School → Job satisfaction**	**Yes***	**.037**	.381
18	ConformityXInvalidations → Job satisfaction	No	.651	.929
19	InternalizationXInferiority →Dedication	No	.531	.831
20	InternalizationXWork and School → Dedication	No	.697	.929
21	InternalizationXInvalidations → Dedication	No	.243	.546
22	ConformityXInferiority →Dedication	No	.179	.537
23	ConformityXWork and School → Dedication	No	.241	.546
24	ConformityXInvalidations → Dedication	No	.174	.537
25	InternalizationXInferiority →Absorption	No	.573	.859
26	InternalizationXWork and School → Absorption	No	.855	.977
27	InternalizationXInvalidations → Absorption	No	.053	.381

28	ConformityXInferiority →Absorption	No	.331	.627
29	ConformityXWork and School → Absorption	No	.126	.453
30	ConformityXInvalidations → Absorption	No	.323	.627
31	InternalizationXInferiority →Vigor	No	.078	.453
32	InternalizationXWork and School → Vigor	No	.950	.980
33	**InternalizationXInvalidations → Vigor**	**Yes***	**.011**	**.381**
34	**ConformityXInferiority →Vigor**	**Yes***	**.045**	**.381**
35	ConformityXWork and School → Vigor	No	.971	.980
36	ConformityXInvalidations → Vigor	No	.379	.682

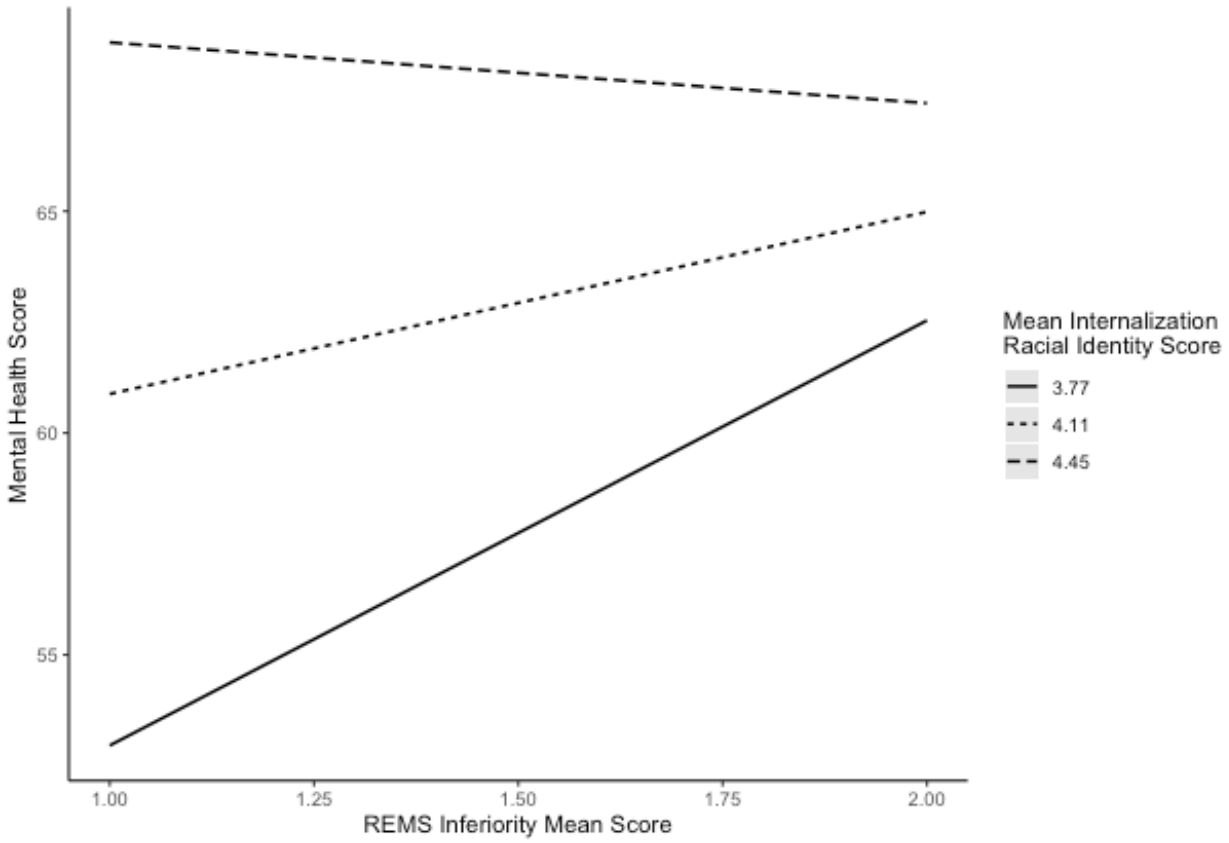


Figure 11. *InternalizationXAssumptions of Inferiority on Mental Health*

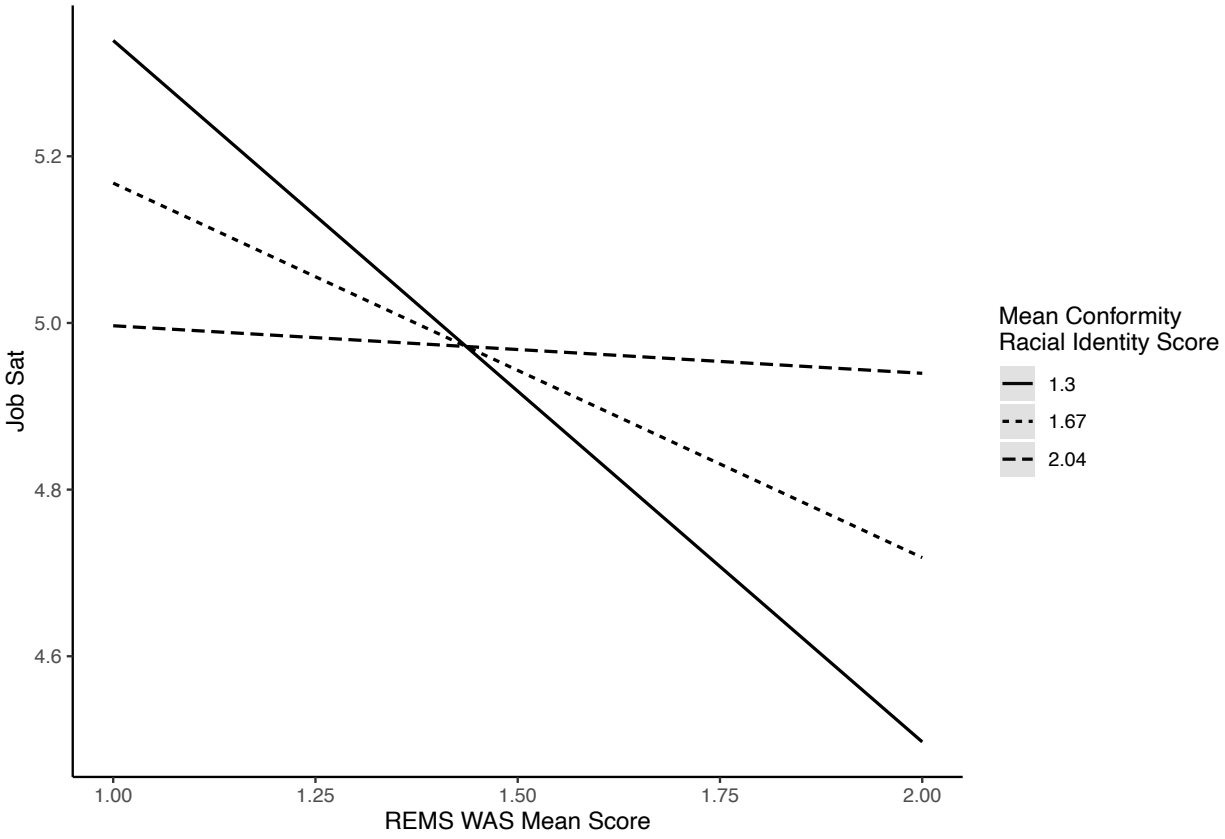


Figure 12. *ConformityXWork and School Microaggressions on Job Satisfaction*

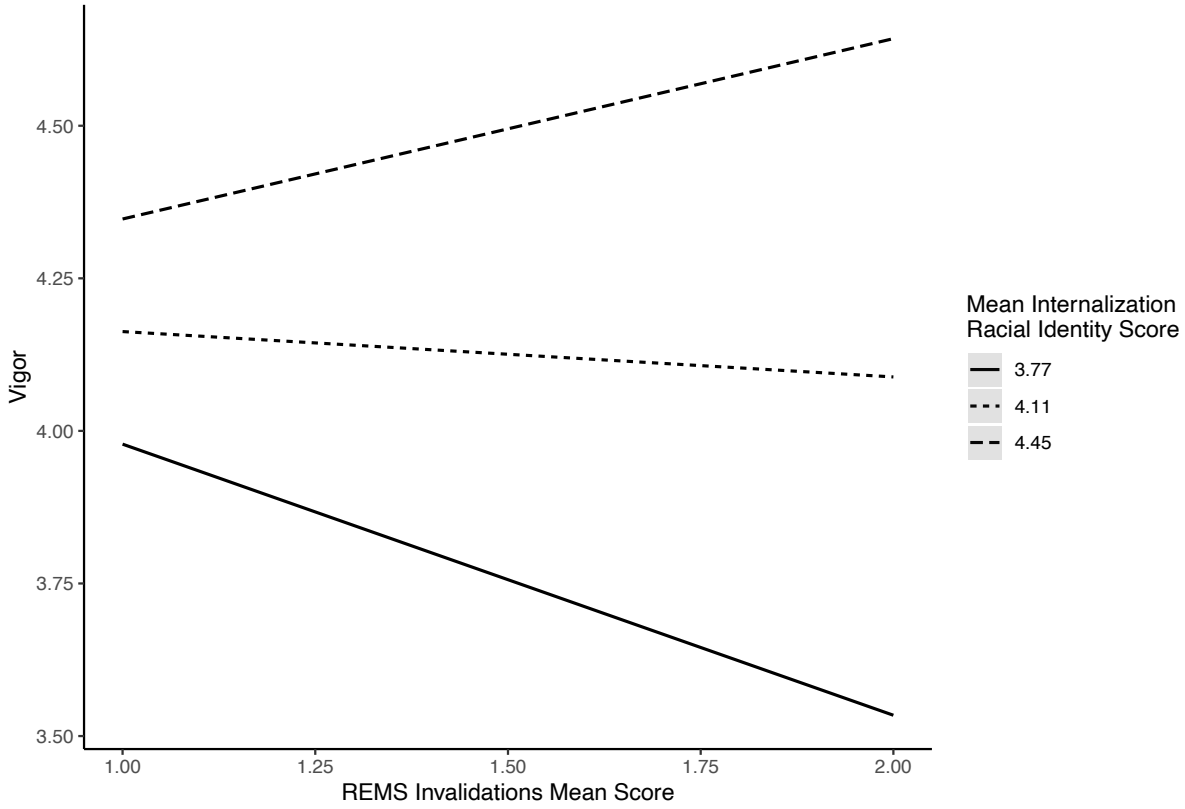


Figure 13. *InternalizationXMicroinvalidtions on Mental Health*

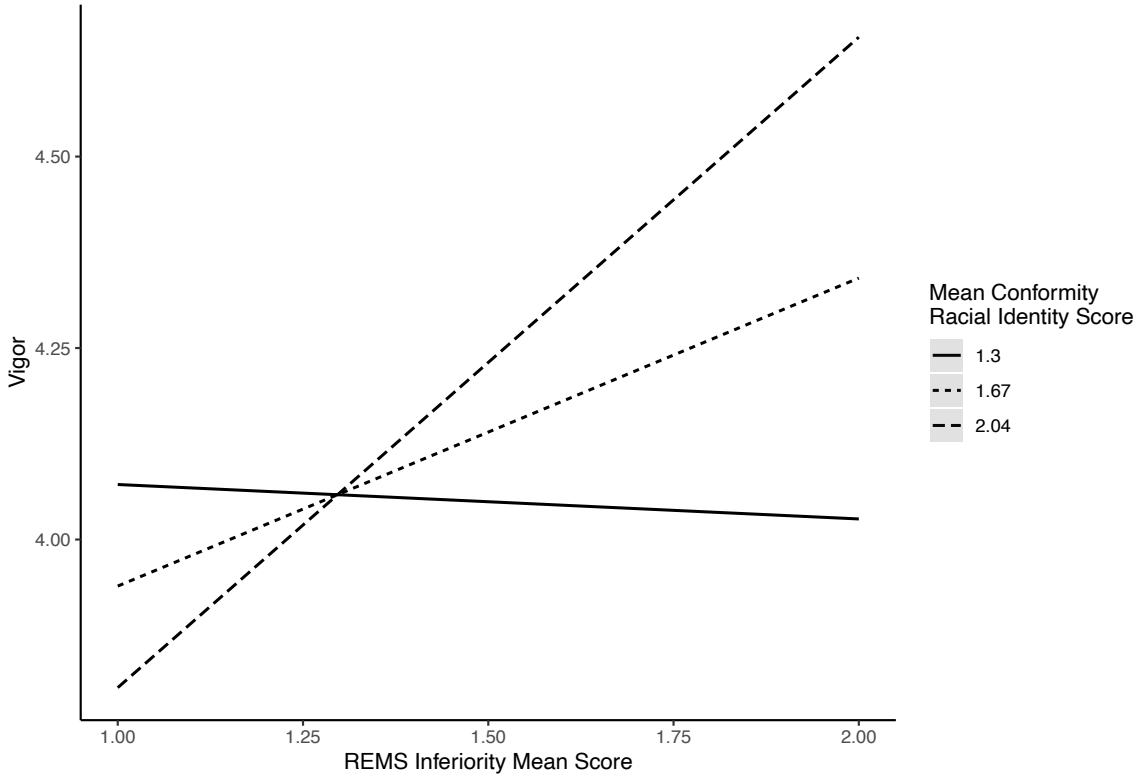


Figure 14. *Interaction of ConformityX Inferiority on Vigor*

Hypothesis 4B: Racism-related coping styles will moderate the relationship between the experience of microaggressions and both well-being and work-fulfillment. Specifically, there will be a buffering interaction when effective racism-related coping strategies (Confrontation, Empowered Action, Spiritual, and Constrained Resistance) are used. These strategies will attenuate the effect of the experience of racial microaggressions on well-being and work-fulfillment. Table 7 presents results for each of the hypothesized pathways.

Table 7

Hypothesis 4B Results

	Hypothesized pathway and direction	Supported?	Unadjusted *p* value	B-H Adjusted *p* value
1	CopeXInferiority → Mental Health	No	.641	.964
2	CopeXWork and School → Mental Health	No	.536	.964
3	CopeXMicroinvalidations → Mental Health	No	.888	.964
4	CopeXInferiority → Satisfaction with life	No	.910	.964
5	CopeXWork and School → Satisfaction with life	No	.543	.964
6	CopeXMicroinvalidations → Satisfaction with life	No	.788	.964
7	CopeXInferiority → Job satisfaction	No	.836	.964
8	CopeXWork and School → Job satisfaction	No	.718	.964
9	CopeXMicroinvalidations → Job satisfaction	No	.722	.964
10	CopeXInferiority → Dedication	No	.447	.964
11	CopeXWork and School → Dedication	No	.433	.964
12	CopeXMicroinvalidations → Dedication	No	.541	.964
13	CopeXInferiority → Absorption	No	.253	.964
14	CopeXWork and School → Absorption	No	.319	.964
15	CopeXMicroinvalidations → Absorption	No	.536	.964
16	CopeXInferiority → Vigor	No	.990	.990
17	CopeXWork and School → Vigor	No	.525	.964
18	CopeXMicroinvalidations → Vigor	No	.233	.964

Results of Hypotheses tests

The current study sought to evaluate four hypotheses and to estimate the hypothesized structural equation model. The results of the hypotheses tests were mixed.

Hypothesis 1: It is predicted that work-related microaggressions will be negatively correlated with well-being and work-fulfillment.

Some measures of work-related microaggressions were negatively correlated with measures of well-being and work-fulfillment. Microinvalidations racial microaggressions was negatively correlated with mental health as measured by a total mental health score.

Hypothesis 2: It is predicted that Conformity racial identity attitudes will be negatively correlated with work-related microaggressions, while Internalization racial identity attitudes will be positively correlated with work-related microaggressions.

Internalization racial identity attitudes were positively correlated with microinvalidations.

Hypothesis 3: It is predicted that Conformity racial identity status attitudes will be negatively correlated with well-being and work-fulfillment while Internalization racial identity status attitudes will be positively correlated with well-being and work-fulfillment.

Conformity racial identity status attitudes were positively correlated with vigor and absorption, two work-fulfillment related measures of work engagement, which is counter to the hypothesized direction of the relationship. Internalization racial identity status attitudes were positively correlated with all measures of both well-being and work-fulfillment including mental health, satisfaction with life, job satisfaction, and all three work engagement measures – vigor, absorption, and dedication.

Hypothesis 4a: Racial identity status attitudes will moderate the relationship between the experience of microaggressions and both well-being and work-fulfillment. Specifically, there will be a buffering interaction when both Internalization and

Conformity racial identity attitudes attenuate the effect of the experience of racial microaggressions on well-being and work-fulfillment.

Hypothesis 4a was partially supported. Internalization racial identity attitudes significantly moderated the relationship between assumptions of inferiority and mental health. Specifically, as higher levels of Inferiority REMS are reported, mental health remains essentially stable for those with high Internalization attitudes. Conformity racial identity status attitudes significantly moderated the relationship between work and school microaggressions and job satisfaction. For individuals with the highest level of Conformity, job satisfaction remains mostly stable as the experience of REMS Work and School increases. Internalization racial identity attitudes significantly moderated the relationship between microinvalidations and vigor. As REMS Invalidations increases, vigor appears to increase slightly for those with high levels of internalization attitudes. Conformity racial identity attitudes significantly moderated the relationship between assumptions of inferiority and vigor. Individuals with the highest level of Conformity experience a sharp increase in Vigor as REMS Inferiority increases. These results will be explored in greater depth in the discussion section.

Hypothesis 4b: Racism-related coping styles will moderate the relationship between the experience of microaggressions and both well-being and work-fulfillment. Specifically, there will be a buffering interaction when effective racism-related coping strategies (Confrontation, Empowered Action, Spiritual, and Constrained Resistance) are used. These strategies will attenuate the effect of the experience of racial microaggressions on well-being and work-fulfillment.

Hypothesis 4b was not supported. The use of effective racism-related coping strategies did not moderate the relationship between assumptions of inferiority, work and school, and microinvalidations racial microaggressions on mental health, satisfaction with life, job satisfaction, dedication, absorption, or vigor.

Chapter 5

Discussion

The current study sought to better understand the ways in which Black graduates of elite universities experience racism at work and the impact this has on well-being and work-fulfillment. Additionally, the present study sought to examine how racial identity and racism-related coping strategies may serve as protective factors against the experience of racial microaggressions at work. The current study hypothesized that the experience of racial microaggressions at work would negatively impact well-being and work-fulfillment and that effective racism-related coping strategies and racial identity attitudes would moderate the relationship. The present study found mixed support for these hypotheses. This chapter will first summarize significant study results that were both convergent and divergent from the study hypotheses. The hypotheses presented in this section were interpreted for significance using unadjusted p-values. Given the complexity of the models, only significant results ($p < .05$) will be presented in this chapter. However, discussion of the non-significant results will be explored in the limitations section. Results will be contextualized through the lens of PWT and racial identity theory. Subsequent sections will discuss implications for research, practice, and policy; a discussion of the limitations of the study will conclude this discussion.

Summary of Findings

The current study utilized latent structural equation modeling to test the present study's hypotheses. Two structural equation models were estimated, and both produced

good fit for the data. This suggests that the model may be a good conceptualization of how the constructs in the model interact in tandem.

The first model estimated the direct pathways between the latent predictor variables and latent outcome variables with workplace specific microaggressions, assumptions of inferiority, and microinvalidations predicting mental health, satisfaction with life, job satisfaction, and three measures of work engagement including vigor, dedication, and absorption. The direct pathways model produced a statistically significant good fit, which affirms that the hypothesized model fit well with the data. In this model, microinvalidations directly predicted mental health. Assumptions of inferiority directly predicted vigor and absorption, and work and school microaggressions directly predicted life satisfaction, vigor, and absorption. The first model also included the direct pathways between the moderator variables of Conformity and Internalization racial identity attitudes and the latent predictor and outcome variables. Both Internalization and Conformity were positively correlated with microinvalidations. Internalization directly predicted each of the latent outcome variables while Conformity directly predicted both vigor and absorption.

The second model also included the interaction effects of each moderator variable including Conformity racial identity attitudes, Internalization racial identity attitudes, and the dichotomous effective racism related coping strategies variable, with each predictor variable. The moderation model also produced a statistically good fit that was consistent with the data, which also supports the hypothesized conceptualization that has framed this study. The interaction between Internalization and Assumptions of Inferiority predicted Mental Health and the interaction between Internalization and

Microinvalidations predicted Vigor. The interaction between Conformity and Work and School Microaggressions predicted Job Satisfaction and the interaction between Conformity and Assumptions of Inferiority predicted Vigor. The following sections will present results from the current study that are convergent and divergent with theoretical premises and study hypotheses.

Convergent Findings

Direct Pathways Model

Previous researchers have explored the link between the experience of racial microaggressions and various well-being and work-fulfillment outcomes and have found some support for a direct negative relationship (Decuir-Gunby & Gunby, 2016; Holder et al., 2015; Nadal et al., 2014). The present study adds to the literature that suggests the experience of marginalization at work, in the form of microaggressions, negatively impacts well-being and work-fulfillment. From the perspective of well-being, previous studies have found a negative link between racial microaggressions and well-being (Holder et al., 2015; Nadal et al., 2014). Consistent with previous research, the present study found a direct negative relationship between Microinvalidations and mental health (Holder & Nadal, 2016; Nadal et al., 2015). Microinvalidations include the expression of color-blind racist views as exemplified when a Black person is told by a White person that they don't see color, because this denies their existence as racial beings (Helms, 2020; Sue et al, 2007). This finding suggests that the specific experiences of color-blind racism expressed by microinvalidations negatively impacts well-being. This is particularly salient for the current study's population, Black graduates of elite universities given that many White students at elite universities have endorsed color-blind racist

views (Torres & Charles, 2004; Warikoo & de Novais, 2015; Warikoo, 2018). This result strengthens the interpretation that once Black students graduate from elite universities and enter the workforce, they are met with the same forms of racism at work that they experienced while in school.

From the perspective of work-fulfillment, Decuir-Gunby and Gunby (2016) found a negative relationship between the experience of microaggressions at work and job satisfaction for Black workers. Consistent with previous research, the present study found that Work and School microaggressions have a direct negative relationship with vigor, and absorption. Allan et al. (2019) urge researchers to expand work-fulfillment research to reflect the multifaceted nature of the construct. The present study includes both cognitive and hedonic (job satisfaction) and affective and eudaimonic (work engagement) aspects of work-fulfillment. The results suggest that different forms of racial microaggressions may impact aspects of work-fulfillment in different ways. For example, there was a significant negative relationship between work and school microaggressions and both vigor and absorption, but the relationship between work and school microaggressions and job satisfaction was not significant. While there could be multiple statistical reasons for this difference (such as random error and measurement error), the results may suggest that the affective aspects of work-fulfillment could be more vulnerable to experiences of marginalization at work than cognitive aspects. This will be discussed further in subsequent sections.

From a theoretical perspective, the present study contributes to a growing body of PWT research that seeks to better understand the barriers to decent work among individuals from marginalized backgrounds and provides evidence in support of a link

between PWT predictors and outcomes. A common finding within PWT research is that marginalization serves as a barrier to the attainment of decent work. One study that was focused on the relation of work and school racial microaggressions on decent work found a direct negative link (Duffy et al., 2018). While the sample used by Duffy and colleagues included people of color from multiple racial backgrounds, the researchers found that Black respondents were more likely to endorse experiencing microaggressions. Additionally, England et al. (2020) found that women's experiences of marginalization directly predicted decent work and Douglas et al. (2017) found that lesbian, gay, and bisexual individuals' experiences of marginalization directly predicted decent work. While direct pathways from marginalization to well-being and work-fulfillment are not included as tenets of PWT, an indirect pathway from the predictor, marginalization to the final outcomes of work-fulfilment and well-being are implied via the model's mediating constructs, including decent work. Furthermore, although the present study does not directly measure decent work, the centerpiece of PWT, it does include work-fulfillment and well-being which PWT posits to be outcomes of the attainment of decent work. The current study provides evidence for the negative influence of experiences of marginalization on both work-fulfillment and well-being.

The direct pathways model also includes pathways between racial identity attitudes and the predictor and outcome variables. Helms (1990) states that an individual's racial identity status might impact how they view a racism-related situation as stressful and Franklin-Jackson and Carter (2007) propose that racial identity may influence an individual's perception of racial discrimination. Previous research has found that race is more salient for individuals who endorse Internalization racial identity status

attitudes and therefore, these individuals are more likely to recognize racial discrimination (Watts & Carter, 1991). The present study corroborates these findings. Internalization racial identity was positively related to microinvalidations. This suggests that individuals with higher endorsements of Internalization attitudes were more likely to be able to identify racist events and were therefore more likely to endorse experiencing microinvalidations.

Although individuals with a high endorsement of Internalization status attitudes are more likely to be able to identify racist events, they also hold more flexible views toward race and racism and are less reactive to White racism (Helms, 1995). Given that these individuals have more flexibility in their thoughts about race and racism, they are better able to cope when they experience racism (Franklin-Jackson & Carter 2007). The current study provides evidence for these claims. Internalization was positively related to each of the study's outcome variables including mental health, satisfaction with life, job satisfaction, vigor, absorption, and dedication.This suggests that Internalization may be a protective factor against experiences of racism. Subsequent sections will provide additional details on this hypothesis.

Taken together, the present study's findings are consistent with previous literature that suggests a negative link between the experience of microaggressions and both well-being and work-fulfillment. Results of the current study suggest that different forms of racial microaggressions may impact aspects of general and work-related well-being in differing ways. For example, the current study found that microinvalidations specifically, including the expression of color-blind racist views, have a negative impact on mental health, but not satisfaction with life. Additionally, the present study affirms previous

researchers' positive link between Internalization racial identity attitudes and both general and work-related well-being outcomes (Forsyth & Carter, 2012; DeCuir-Gunby & Gunby, 2016). Internalization attitudes were positively related to all of the present study's well-being outcomes. This provides evidence that the development of Internalization attitudes may be an effective intervention goal for clinicians to foster in their clients.

Moderation Model

Lazarus and Folkman (1984) assert that an individual's appraisal of a situation as stressful will influence the extent to which the situation will have a deleterious impact. Harrell (2000) posits that racism-related stress occurs when an individual perceives a situation as racist. For a situation to be perceived as racist, the individual would need to consider their race to be a salient aspect of their identity. Racial identity theory provides a means for understanding differences in how people perceive racism as a stressor (Pieterse & Carter, 2010). Previous studies on the ways in which racial identity moderates the relationship between experiences of racism and well-being have found mixed results (Forsyth & Carter, 2012; Pieterse & Carter, 2010; Sellers et al., 2006). In contrast, the current study provides strong evidence that racial identity may act as a buffer between microaggressions and both well-being and work-fulfillment.

In this section, I review findings that were consistent with hypothesized relationships, highlighting the meaning of these results in relation to existing theory and research.

InternalizationXAssumptions of Inferiority on Mental Health.

A meta-analysis of over 100 studies established that researchers have consistently found that experiences of racism negatively impact mental health (Carter et al., 2017). Results of the current study suggest that individuals with high internalization attitudes have higher mental health scores than individuals with lower internalization attitudes. This is consistent with previous studies that found that individuals with high Internalization attitudes have the lowest levels of psychological distress, and the highest levels of psychological well-being (Forsyth & Carter, 2012).

As higher levels of Inferiority REMS are reported, mental health remains essentially stable for those with high Internalization attitudes. Individuals with mean Internalization scores have higher mental health scores than individuals who have lower Internalization scores, which are defined as scores that are one standard deviation below the mean. Surprisingly, as Assumptions of Inferiority REMS scores increase, mental health scores appear to increase for each level of Internalization but remains highest for those with the highest levels of Internalization attitudes. Internalization status attitudes are characterized by an ability to face the world from a position of strength, reject racism and oppression, and analyze White culture for its strengths and weaknesses. An individual with high levels of Internalization holds a positive view towards being Black and "does not deny the merit of Blackness" (Helms, 1990, p. 29).

Internalization attitudes have been associated with higher levels of mental health (Forsyth & Carter, 2012) Therefore, is possible that for individuals high in Internalization status attitudes, views about Black merit are so positive, that when a White colleague assumes the individual is intellectually inferior, this particular experience of racism is vehemently rejected

The current study also found a negative link between experiences of racism and mental health. The findings from this moderation analysis suggest that Internalization attitudes provide a buffer against the experience of racial microaggressions. While it is unusual that as REMS assumptions of inferiority increase, mental health scores increase, it is possible that an additional variable may be contributing to this phenomenon. Perhaps, individuals who are high in Internalization attitudes also seek social support when they experience racial microaggressions, which further increases mental health outcomes. Future research could include measures of social support to further investigate this relationship. Nevertheless, the results suggest that for Black graduates of elite universities who have an internally defined racial identity (Internalization), Assumptions of Inferiority are less likely to be internalized and less likely to have a negative impact on well-being. This is consistent with previous research that identified internally defined racial identity attitudes as a moderator of racial stress and well-being (Bazelais & Bruce, 2012; Fiske, 2018).

ConformityXWork and School Microaggressions on Job Satisfaction.

While previous literature on Conformity attitudes as a buffer have been mixed, existing research has found that for Black employees of predominately White organizations, individuals with higher levels of Conformity identity attitudes were likely to perceive the workplace as affirming of diversity, even when the individual experienced microaggressions (Watts & Carter, 1991). The present study found that individuals with lower Conformity attitudes have higher job satisfaction relative to individuals with higher levels of Conformity when Work and School Racial Microaggressions (WAS REMS) is low. However, as WAS REMS increases, job satisfaction decreases sharply for

individuals lowest in Conformity. Individuals with the highest level of Conformity report lower levels of job satisfaction relative to individuals with lower levels of Conformity when WAS REMS is low, but for individuals with the highest level of Conformity, job satisfaction remains mostly stable as the experience of REMS WAS increases. Given that job satisfaction remains stable for individuals who are higher in conformity, Conformity may buffer the relationship between WAS REMS and job satisfaction. This finding parallels the previous literature discussed above that found individuals high in Conformity still perceived the workplace as affirming of diversity. In the present study, job satisfaction does not vary for individuals high in Conformity attitudes regardless of whether or not they experience racial microaggressions. Individuals with high levels of Conformity attitudes rely on denial to selectively screen out information that contradicts their beliefs in a just world where effort determines social mobility (Helms, 1990). These individuals separate themselves from their racial group to minimize their psychological discomfort, because they have an awareness of the ways in which Blackness and Black culture is devalued. Helms (1990) asserts that even if an individual with high levels of Conformity attitudes does not believe stereotypes that exist about Black people, they do not question the stereotypes out of fear of losing "actual or hoped for acceptance" from White people and the advantages that come with it (p. 23). In the present study, it appears that when individuals high in Conformity experience increased work and school microaggressions, they may be able to identify the experience of microaggressions, but they are able to deny the personal importance of the experience to the point where it has very little impact on how satisfied they are at work.

InternalizationXMicroinvalidations on Vigor.

Individuals with the highest levels of Internalization attitudes report the highest levels of vigor. As REMS Invalidations increases, vigor appears to increase slightly for those with high levels of internalization attitudes. For the lowest levels of Internalization, as REMS increases, vigor decreases. Therefore, Internalization appears to buffer the impact of REMS Microinvalidations on Vigor.

ConformityXInferiority on Vigor.

Results of the direct model discussed above indicate that Conformity is positively related to Vigor. In the moderation model, individuals with the lowest levels of conformity experience a relatively consistent level of Vigor even as REMS Assumptions of Inferiority increases. Individuals with the highest level of Conformity experience a sharp increase in Vigor as REMS Inferiority increases. For people with the highest conformity values, the positive correlation between Assumptions of Inferiority and Vigor is strongest. Therefore, Conformity racial identity attitudes appear to buffer the relationship between REMS Assumptions of Inferiority and Vigor. Although it is unusual that Vigor increases as REMS increase, individuals who endorse Conformity racial identity attitudes often espouse values of meritocracy and believe that they have control over the rewards and punishments they receive (Helms, 1995). These individuals also believe that personal effort guarantees acceptance into White culture (Helms, 1990). Therefore, it is possible that individuals with Conformity attitudes become more vigorous as an enaction of their beliefs in meritocracy. Perhaps individuals with higher levels of Conformity attitudes internalize the experience of microaggressions, and attribute it to an internal source. It is possible that these individuals believe if they are more vigorous at

work and put in more effort, they will be viewed more positively by their White co-workers.

The results of these findings suggest that both Internalization and Conformity may act as a buffer to the experience of specific forms of racial microaggressions, albeit in differing ways. Internalization attitudes are characterized by a positive racial identity that allows an individual to reject racism and face society from a position of strength (Helms, 1990). It is clear that individuals in the current study with high levels of Internalization attitudes who experience racial microaggressions are still able to maintain their mental health and vigor. Individuals high in Conformity attitudes identify with White standards of merit and deny the existence of injustice, even after experiencing racism (Helms, 1990). In the current study, individuals with high levels of Conformity attitudes maintain strong levels of job satisfaction and vigor, despite experiencing microaggressions at work. This adds to the literature on the moderating effects of racial identity on well-being when an individual experiences racism. Although previous literature has provided mixed results, the results of the current study strengthens the interpretation that racial identity attitudes may act as a buffer in dealing with the ongoing challenges of racism.

Divergent Results

The current study found that Conformity was positively correlated with microinvalidations, which is not consistent with the overall literature that suggests individuals high in Conformity attitudes are oblivious to experiences of racism (Franklin-Jackson & Carter, 2007). However, microinvalidations racial microaggressions are characterized by being told by someone that they “do not see color”, or that “there are no

differences between us." Although it can be true that an individual high in Conformity attitudes may be able to recognize that these microaggressions were being enacted in the workplace, it does not necessarily mean that the individual took this to be a negative or harmful event. Black people with Conformity attitudes embrace the belief that they are "just a person" and are not affected by their racial group membership (Helms, 1990; 1995). These attitudes are consistent with the colorblind attitudes that are embodied in the enactment of microinvalidations racial microaggressions.

Conformity attitudes were also positively related to both Vigor and Absorption. Although this is contrary to the hypothesized direction of the effect, individuals with Conformity racial identity attitudes are more likely to hold "an allegiance to White standards of merit" and are driven by opportunities to be accepted by White people (Helms, 1995, p. 186). Individuals high in Conformity attitudes believe that White people have an advantaged status in the United States due to their hard work and merit, while Black people hold disadvantaged status due to their lack of effort (Helms, 1990; 1995). This is consistent with color blind racist views that individual effort matters more than racial discrimination (Carter & Pieterse, 2020). Therefore, it is possible that individuals high in Conformity believe that if they become more absorbed and vigorous in their work, they will be rewarded. Relatedly, Assumptions of Inferiority were found to have a direct positive relationship with vigor and absorption. Examples of Assumptions of Inferiority are "someone assumed that I would not be intelligent because of my race" or "someone assumed I would not be educated because of my race." It is possible that for this particular group that is highly educated, these racial microaggressions do not negatively impact how immersed an individual becomes in their work or how vigorous an

individual feels at work. Relatedly, this provides evidence of Black graduates of elite institutions rejecting and resisting microaggressions by attempting to prove wrong the White people at work who believe that they are less intelligent. There is an adage in the African-American community that we work twice as hard to get half as far (Franklin & Boyd-Franklin, 2000). It is possible that working more vigorously and becoming more absorbed at work helps an individual to sustain a sense of self-efficacy in the face of racism.

The current study hypothesized that individuals high in conformity would be relatively oblivious to experiences of microaggressions and would be less likely to endorse them. In the present study, Conformity was positively related to Microinvalidations. Microinvalidations are characterized by statements such as I don't see color. People high in Conformity are likely to espouse color-blind attitudes themselves, so it's likely these types of microaggressions do not have much of an impact on them. Additionally, previous studies have found Conformity attitudes to be negatively related to self-esteem and self-concept, while positively related to anxiety and depression (Helms, 1990). Therefore, it was hypothesized that Conformity would be negatively related to the present study's well-being outcomes. However, Conformity was positively related to vigor and absorption, which upon further reflection is consistent with Conformity beliefs in meritocracy. Finally, assumptions of inferiority were positively related to vigor and absorption, which could also be tied to beliefs in meritocracy.

Implications

Research and theoretical implications

Psychology of Working Theory.

The current study contributes to the growing body of literature that utilizes the PWT model to better understand the influence of decent work on an individual's life, especially for those from marginalized backgrounds. PWT was used as a framework for examining how experiences of marginalization impact an individual's ability to attain decent work. PWT predictor of marginalization was hypothesized to be negatively related to the PWT outcomes of work-fulfillment and well-being. Previous research using PWT found a direct negative link between marginalization and decent work (Duffy et al., 2018; England et al., 2020). The present study builds upon this research and found a negative link between the experience of marginalization and both well-being and work-fulfillment. Decent work is conceived as work that is free from harassment, and while it can be inferred that marginalization is a threat to decent work, decent work was not directly measured in the current study (Duffy et al., 2016). Future research that examines the present study's research questions should include additional PWT constructs including decent work.

Similarly, PWT scholars have emphasized the need to include multiple measures of work-fulfillment that reflect the multi-faceted nature of the construct (Allan et al., 2019). The current study found that both the experience of microaggressions at work and racial identity differentially affected the two work-fulfillment outcomes measured, job satisfaction and work engagement. For example, work and school microaggressions had a significant negative impact on both vigor and absorption but did not have a significant effect on job satisfaction. These differences highlight the importance of studying the set

of interacting emotional and psychological experiences that comprise work-fulfillment in vocational psychology research.

In sum, PWT provides a framework through which researchers can examine how the intersectionality of privilege and oppression work to facilitate the attainment of decent work (Blustein et al., 2019). While the average salary and self-reported social class status of the current study's sample suggests that their work likely makes it possible for them to have the privilege of meeting their survival needs, it is clear that individuals in this group are also experiencing oppression. It can be argued that while Black graduates of elite universities experience privilege from the social status that comes with a degree from an elite university, this privilege does not shield them for experiencing marginalization in the workplace. The present study further enriches the PWT by centering the issue of racism in the form of microaggressions, which provides more specificity than the PWT's general concept of marginalization. The current study also expands the PWT model to include the construct of racial identity.

Racial Identity.

The present study adds to the existing literature regarding racial identity as a potential buffer between the experience of racism and well-being. Previous research results have been mixed, but the current study provides evidence that racial identity, particularly Internalization status attitudes, may act as a buffer between the experience of racism and well-being, specifically, mental health. While the current study utilized mean scale scores in the analysis of racial identity, Helms (1996) suggests that profile analysis may better reflect the multidimensional and fluid nature of racial identity. Furthermore, Carter and colleagues suggest that researchers utilize a profile analysis strategy that "uses

comparisons of contiguous racial identity sub-scales to determine whether there are significant differences in respondent's scores" which will allow distinct profiles to be generated (Carter et al., 2004, p.5). Carter and Johnson (2019) emphasize that racial identity profiles provide a better understanding of the complexities and nuances of racial identity and how it may influence an individual's psychological functioning. Future research should use profile analysis when examining the ways in which racial identity may influence the relationship between racism and well-being. Additionally, scholars have challenged the tendency of researchers to aggregate Black ethnic groups into a single population. Carter and Pieterse (2020) argue that Black people are not a monolithic group, and the pervasiveness of anti-Black racism over centuries and across multiple generations has brought about a variety of psychological responses and means of coping. This is supported by the literature that suggests that there may be significant differences in the racial identity of African-Americans who have been in the United States for multiple generations and Black people who are first- and second-generation immigrants from the Caribbean and Africa (Charles et al., 2015 & Forsyth et al., 2015). Therefore, future research should explore the ways in which ethnicity and immigrant status may influence racial identity attitudes and the endorsement of racial microaggressions.

The current study also contributes to the literature about a population that has been studied at early points in their lifespan, while as college students, but have largely been ignored post-graduation. This population holds a unique social location given the intersection of the potential privilege that comes from having an elite education, and the marginalization that comes with being Black in a White supremacist society. The current study provides evidence that Black graduates of elite universities continue to experience

the color-blind racism at work that they experienced while pursuing their undergraduate degree, despite the privileges that come from graduating from an elite institution (Torres & Charles, 2004; Warikoo, 2018). Future studies involving this population might consider the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on experiences of racism. Specifically, studies should examine if this population perceives any change in the prevalence of experiences of racism as a result of the shift to telehealth and the impact of the shift to telehealth on their well-being. Additionally, research could explore the impact of the racial reckoning that occurred as a result of George Floyd's murder on the daily experiences of microaggressions for Black graduates of elite universities, and Black employees more broadly.

Practice and Policy Implications

The following section will examine the implications of the current study for practice and policy. This section will be framed using the PWT-informed theory of change paradigm. One of the primary functions of PWT is to "provide an empirical foundation for effecting change at both the individual and systemic levels (Blustein et al., 2019, p. 240). PWT proposes multiple variables that can be targets for intervention. At the individual level, proactive personality, social support, and critical consciousness are suggested targets. The present study will focus on social support and critical consciousness in discussing practice and policy implications. At the systemic level, economic conditions, though complex, are suggested as a target of change. The PWT-informed theory of change paradigm presents two related components that can foster change at both the individual and systems levels (Blustein et al., 2019). These components include creating a needs assessment that will guide the progression of action

and focusing on agentic action as a means of fostering individual and systemic changes. Relatedly, Brewster and Molina (2021) argue that vocational psychologists should go beyond interpersonal dynamics and observe the ways in which interlocking systems of oppression act to perpetuate inequality. The authors call for researchers and practitioners to examine how systemic change can be affected; in this context, Brewster and Molina suggest interventions that build on PWT-based practices that focus efforts on targeting oppressive economic conditions such as neoliberalism and late-stage capitalism. Therefore, this section will utilize the PWT change paradigm framework to discuss the practice and policy implications of the current study at the individual and systems levels.

Needs assessment.

The general purpose of a needs assessment is to "conceptualize the nature and etiology of individual and systemic concerns" (Blustein et al., 2019, p. 241). From an individual standpoint, the assessment of an individual's capacity to fulfill their needs for survival, social connection, and self-determination can serve as a basis for determining therapeutic goals and interventions. From a systemic perspective, a needs assessment serves as a means to better understand the ways in which systems contribute to or diminish needs fulfillment and access to decent work (Blustein et al., 2019).

The present study found that the experience of microinvalidations is negatively related to mental health. Therapists should assess for experiences of racism, especially instances of color-blind racism that are exemplified by microinvalidations in this population. The subtle nature of microaggressions often leads to the individual questioning themselves and wondering if the event was racist in nature, which then forces the individual to engage in internal debates about how to react (Franklin & Boyd-

Franklin, 2000). This internal process requires energy and may lead the individual to feel drained.

The current study also found that racial identity attitudes had an impact on the endorsement of experiencing racial microaggressions. When engaging in client case conceptualization, psychologists should assess for the psychological meaning their clients ascribe to their race. This can be done by either administering a racial identity measure such as the RIAS-B or by assessing the systemic, psychosocial, psychological, and personal aspects of race for the client (Carter & Johnson, 2019). An understanding of how the client views themselves, others, and their attitudes about race can provide insight into how their racial identity may influence their perception of their experiences at work. For example, a client with predominately externally defined racial identity attitudes (Conformity) may not be cognizant of the racism they are experiencing and may be more apt to engage in self-blame. Additionally, the current study also found that racial identity attitudes may buffer the effect of racial microaggressions on well-being and work-fulfillment. An understanding of a client's racial identity could be useful in helping a psychologist to develop interventions for clients who experience racism at work by targeting racial identity development.

While the utility of assessing client's racial identity attitudes is clear, therapists should also engage in their own personal self-exploration around racial identity. Helms (1995) and Carter (1995) suggest that the interaction of the therapist and client's racial identity attitudes can impact the process and outcomes of therapy. Therefore, it is important for therapists working with Black clients to reflect on their racial identity so that they may be conscious of how their attitudes about race will influence the therapy

(Carter & Johnson, 2019). The Helms (1984, 1995) interaction model for therapy process and outcome and the Carter (1995) racially inclusive model of therapy outline the ways in which racial identity attitudes of individuals in clinical dyads (therapist and client) may interact in treatment (Carter & Johnson, 2019). For example, a crossed relationship can be expected when a therapist and a client have opposite racial identity attitudes (i.e. patient has pro-Black attitudes and therapist has anti-Black attitudes). This type of relationship would adversely impact the process and outcomes of treatment. Helms (2020) outlines the ways in which White people can better understand and develop their racial identity. When therapists have a nonracist White identity and when therapists of color have an internally defined racial identity that does not rely on White culture for self-definition, they should be better able to facilitate conversations that enhance client racial identity development. Therapists with more internally defined racial identity (such as the Internalization status) will be better equipped to recognize racism-based concerns, express empathy and acceptance, and guide the self-exploration process for their clients (Carter & Johnson, 2019).

Agentic Action.

Blustein et al. (2019) identify multiple ways in which agentic action can be facilitated by Clinicians two of which will be discussed in this section. The first is critical consciousness development. Critical consciousness development is the process through which marginalized people engage in a critical analysis of the social, political, and economic conditions that are responsible for the oppression they experience (Diemer et al., 2016; Freire, 2000). Critical consciousness is a modifiable attribute that can be developed in order to increase awareness of how oppressive systems and histories

contribute to an individual's circumstances, so that the individual may engage in activism to challenge these systems (Blustein et al., 2019; Carter & Pieterse, 2020). To increase critical consciousness as it is related to the current study, therapists can provide psychoeducation around the subtle yet pernicious nature of racial microaggressions as well as the symptoms that may develop in response. Clients may benefit from the therapist labeling these experiences as racism, so that they do not need to expend the mental energy necessary to discern whether or not they are experiencing a racist interaction. Giving clients a better understanding of the complexities of racism and how broader systems of oppression may be influencing their work experiences may prevent the client from internalizing negative self-perceptions that can lead to self-blame. Psychologists can act as agents of social justice and can help clients to develop a sense of agency when experiencing oppression at work through racial identity development (Blustein et al., 2019; Carter & Johnson, 2019).

The second way that agentic action can be facilitated by Counseling Psychologists is through social support. A strong therapeutic alliance between the client and therapist can provide a secure foundation to explore the ways in which racism and systems of oppression contribute to the client's presenting concerns (Blustein et al., 2019; Malott & Schaefle, 2014). The therapeutic alliance is especially essential for Black clients who experience racism given the hesitancy of people of color to discuss racism related trauma in treatment. Thompson et al. (2004) conducted focus groups with 201 Black participants and found that participants were reluctant to discuss their experiences of racism due to fears that the therapist would not understand and would lack sensitivity toward their experiences. A strong therapeutic alliance could increase the likelihood that a client will

be open to discussing their experiences of racism (Carter & Pieterse, 2020). Clinicians should broach the subject of racism and should take care to validate the client's experiences by naming inexplicable events as microaggressions and providing psychoeducation about the distress that emerges as a result. The symptoms a client experiences should be substantiated as a rational response to racial trauma (Brondolo et al., 2009). Furthermore, therapists should not undervalue the importance of discussions about racism or attribute these discussions to resistance to treatment (Carter & Johnson, 2019; Malot & Schaefle, 2014). Interventions should be focused on self-empowerment and the development of personal agency and should not focus on pathology (Franklin & Boyd-Franklin, 2000).

An additional means of fostering agentic action is to encourage clients to develop social support networks (Blustein et al., 2019). Group therapy could provide a viable opportunity for clients to feel supported and understood (Carter & Pieterse, 2020). Franklin and Boyd-Franklin (2000) proposed that group therapy can act as a restorative experience where individuals can reduce feelings of invisibility and gain a sense of solidarity with others who have had similar experiences of racial trauma. The authors note that sharing experiences of racism with others can provide a "sanity check," or a corroboration of similar treatment from a White supremacist society. This "microaggression repair" provides a sense of acceptance and legitimacy and "neutralizes psychic injury" (Franklin & Boyd-Franklin, 2000, p. 39). Groups can also offer insight into how others manage interpersonal conflict, take action, resist oppression, engage in adaptive coping behaviors, and develop resilience when confronted with racism (Carter & Pieterse, 2020).

Policy - Educational Institutions and Employers

The present study found a negative link between the experience of microinvalidations, which are the embodiment of color-blind racism, and well-being. Torres and Charles (2004) and Warikoo (2016) found that this type of racism occurs on elite college campuses. Rivera (2015) found evidence that this type of racism also occurs in the on-campus recruiting process described in previous sections. The current study not only suggests that Black graduates of elite universities are consistently exposed to microinvalidations even once they enter the workforce, but that it also has a negative impact on mental health. Given that this type of racism is continuously being perpetuated, it is important for elite educational institutions and the employers that hire their graduates to be aware of these occurrences so that they may intervene in order to preserve the mental health of Black students and employees.

At the undergraduate level, the meritocratic values espoused by institutions should be challenged. Students should be taught about the anti-Black racist historical roots of the United States and how it contributes to the inequalities that continue to be perpetuated in all aspects of life, but particularly in the college admissions process. Aiding students in the development of a critical understanding of the ways in which power and privilege influence access to elite education could weaken student dedication to the myth of meritocracy. Warikoo (2016) details the Diversity Bargain, or the beliefs White students hold that they should have the opportunity to learn from students of color in exchange for the "preferential treatment" in admissions that White students perceive to be given to Black and Latinx students. This type of thinking that diversity exists for the benefit of White students and that Black and Latinx students are receiving preferential

treatment can be challenged by presenting research that indicates students whose parents are in the top 1% of income are 77 times more likely to attend an Ivy League university than students whose parents are in the bottom 20% (Chetty et al., 2017).

To address these issues, some universities currently engage students in interracial dialogues. Ashby et al (2018) detail the goals of interracial dialogue programs for college students, which include providing a non-hostile forum for students to develop an understanding of the ways in which individual identities contribute to power, privilege, and oppression. The benefits of these programs differ for White students and students of color. For White students, benefits may include increasing awareness of systems of oppression, engaging in self-examination, and becoming an ally for students of color. Students of color may be able to gain social support as a result of sharing their experiences.

Ashby et al. evaluated one such program and found that while the program participants were more likely to engage in antiracism, participants also reported that they did not feel more comfortable talking about race. Therefore, the researchers assert that these intergroup discussion programs should be evaluated for effectiveness. Effectiveness can be defined as the program's ability to meet the intended goals laid out above and to provide benefits to both students of color and White students. Additionally, program facilitators should take care not to overburden students of color in these groups. Taking this a step further, universities should include DEI and antiracism experts into the development and implementation of these programs in order to maximize the likelihood of effectiveness.

The on-campus recruiting process, discussed in detail in previous chapters, provides an opportunity for universities and employers to work in tandem to collaborate on anti-racist policies that may benefit Black graduates of elite universities. Rivera (2012) points out biases in the on-campus recruiting process that led to the exclusion of Black hires, including judging Black applicants more harshly, placing excessive value on high status extracurricular activities such as country club sports that are favorited by White upper middle-class students, and evaluating applicants based on a "gut feeling" that usually resulted in the selection of candidates that were similar to the recruiter.

Rivera (2012) also found that while employers expressed a desire to hire diverse candidates, they often blamed the lack of offers of employment for diverse candidates on a narrow pipeline of qualified candidates. First, elite institutions can provide awareness to employers participating in the on-campus recruitment about these existing biases and can strongly encourage companies to assess and identify the ways in which their processes perpetuate these biases. Regarding the "pipeline problem," companies can widen their applicant pool by engaging in outreach with Black student organizations. Universities can collaborate with companies to identify on campus Black student groups so that relationships may be fostered through company sponsored events.

From an employer-focused perspective, to improve workplace conditions for Black graduates of elite universities, companies must prioritize taking a multi-level approach to anti-racism that includes individual and organizational level interventions (Stephens et al., 2020). At the individual level, anti-racism training to address anti-Black racist attitudes and behaviors should be conducted. Companies should invest resources into these programs and should seek outside consultation when expertise doesn't exist in

house (Erby et al, 2020; Moon &Sandage, 2019). Burdens should not be placed on employees of color to orchestrate these programs unless they are being directly compensated for this work. At the organizational level, employers should assess and identify biases in hiring, promotion, and performance evaluation practices (Stephens et al., 2020). In each of these processes, there should be clear evaluation criteria that are outlined beforehand, and evaluators should be held accountable for their decision-making. As an example, structured behavioral interviews have been shown to be less subject to evaluator biases than open-ended interviews and should be utilized when appropriate (Huffcutt, 2011). Structured behavioral interviews include standardized questions about past behavior in similar situations that the candidate would be involved in on the new job. The interviewer asks the same questions of each interviewee with the goal of understanding the candidate's behavior and outcomes. An example of a structed behavioral interview would be to tell me about a time when you handled a challenging situation (Alonso et al., 2017).

Public policy

From the perspective of broader public policy, psychologists can challenge structural systems of oppression by advocating for government policies that target anti-Black racism. Blustein et al. (2019) acknowledge that the first step in challenging oppressive systems is to foster awareness of issues. Psychologists should continue to generate research on anti-Black racism at work in order to assess and highlight the specific challenges faced by this population. Organizations such as the ILO have been instrumental in generating policies that advocate for improving conditions for workers worldwide. The ILO in particular has declared decent work that is free from oppression

to be a human right, and yet the current study adds to the literature that makes it clear that work remains a place where oppression is experienced for Black employees (Blustein et al., 2019; Flores, 2013; Fouad, 2007). Psychologists should partner with organizations like the ILO to create agendas that focus attention on the impact of anti-Black racism on decent work and should generate public policies that may bring about change. Psychologists should not only advocate for the creation of policies but should make it a priority to also advocate for the policies to be implemented and adequately funded.

Limitations

While the present study substantiates and contributes to an existing body of empirical support for both the PWT model and Helms racial identity theory, the study does have various limitations. First, the structural equation models included in the study are complex. Given that the initial measurement models did not produce good fit, alternative measurement models needed to be specified. While decisions on how to re-specify the models were based in theory, the decisions made resulted in a more complicated SEM model being run. The models included numerous constructs that made it more difficult to interpret.

There are also potential statistical limitations. For example, testing for interactions requires a large sample size. The moderation model included multiple interaction effects, and it can be difficult to know for certain if effects are detectable given a sample size. An insufficient sample size can lead to Type II error, where a false null hypothesis is given. Future studies with larger sample sizes may want to focus on the interaction effects hypothesized in the present study. Additionally, the moderation model included multiple moderators at once. I hypothesized that in the real world, all of these factors are working

simultaneously. While the model fit suggests that these constructs are working together as a system, I could have tested the moderators separately to get a better understanding of each of the individual interactions. An additional limitation is the present studied relied on self-report measures which are unable to holistically capture the true essence of the study's constructs.

Next, there was attrition towards the end of the survey that appears to be due to survey fatigue. The survey included 225 items, and there was a drop-off in participation at the end. Ideally, the survey questions would have been randomized using survey tools so that individual questionnaires would be randomly ordered. This would have limited missing data due to attrition, but question randomization was not used. Still, the data appeared to be largely missing at random.

Given the poor fit of the measurement models for racism-related coping structure, I decided to use a dichotomous variable for racism-related coping. A new variable was created based on racism-related coping mean subscale scores to signify whether on average, the respondent endorsed using effective racism related coping strategies at least "a little." Participants who reported using the coping skills at least a little bit of the time on average were given a coping score of 1. Individuals who did not on average use any of the skills at least a little bit of the time were given a 0. Histograms of this dichotomous variable showed that there was a relatively even split between the two groups. For the present study, I was most interested to know if the participants were primarily using effective racism-related coping skills, so I made an essentially arbitrary decision that the individual would need to be using most all of the skills in a sub-scale at least some of the time, or some of the skills either a lot or a great deal. While thought and theoretical

consideration went into my decision making, this method may not have fully captured this construct. There were alternative ways I could have measured effective racism-related coping. For example, instead of giving participants a score of 1 if they used the skills on average at least a little bit of the time, I could have given participants a score of 1 if they endorsed using any of the skills at all a little bit of the time. While the SEM model pathways that included racism-related coping were not significant, the correlation matrix showed some interesting findings that warrant additional study. For example, constrained resistance was significantly negatively correlated with mental health, while spiritual coping was positively significantly correlated with mental health.

Finally, the data for the current study was collected during a unique period. The COVID-19 pandemic disrupted the work lives of people across the globe. For those with high levels of education, possibly including Black graduates of elite universities, telework became prevalent. Additionally, the Black Lives Matter movement of the summer of 2020, spurred by the murder of George Floyd resulted in somewhat of a racial reckoning in the United States. Anti-Black racism became a hot topic and public discourse about social justice became more widespread. It is possible that this unique sociopolitical climate could have impacted the present study. For example, the effects of the pandemic could have negatively affected mental health and job satisfaction scores. Furthermore, the public focus on anti-Black racism could have made race and racism more salient for individuals who previously would have been less likely to detect racism in the workplace, or the focus on anti-Black racism could have reduced microaggressions enacted by White employees. Moreover, telework potentially could have reduced the number of interactions between colleagues. Perhaps, water cooler talk is less likely to

occur when people are not gathering in the same physical spaces. The absence of in-person exchanges could have influenced the amount of microaggressions that occur at work. For example, if employees are spending less time together, there may be less opportunity for White employees to share their views of colorblind racism, or to question the intellect or qualifications of their Black colleagues. As mentioned above, future research could examine individual's perceptions of how the experience of microaggressions have been impacted by telework.

Conclusion

The current study sought to better understand the ways in which the experience of racial microaggressions impacts the well-being and work-fulfillment of Black graduates of elite universities in an adult sample of 1,021 participants. Previous research focused on the experiences of Black students at elite universities found that Black students experience racial microaggressions on campus (Charles et al., 2015; Torres, 2009) , but little is known about their post graduate experiences at work. The present study is to my knowledge, the only study that explores the post-graduate experiences of racism at work for Black graduates of elite universities. The most important takeaways from the current study include:

- Black graduates of elite universities continue to experience similar forms of racial microaggressions that they experienced in college once they enter the workforce. Not surprisingly, an elite education does not shield Black graduates from anti-Black racism and oppression.
- The experience of microaggressions at work, especially in the form of microinvalidations does negatively impact well-being.

- Internalization racial identity attitudes are positively related to well-being and work fulfillment outcomes. The development of Internalization attitudes may improve general and work-related well-being.
- Selected racial identity statuses may serve as a protective factor against the experience of racism at work and could provide a means through which counseling psychologists can develop interventions.
- Psychologists should continue to advocate for systemic change and policy reform to address anti-Black racism.
- Elite universities and the organizations that employ them should also implement policies dedicated to anti-Black racism to improve the experiences of Black students and graduates of elite institutions.

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Appendix A: Study Measures

Demographics Questionnaire

1. Age
2. Gender identity (select all that apply)
    a. Woman
    b. Man
    c. Cisgender
    d. Transgender
    e. Gender Non-conforming
    f. Genderqueer
    g. Non-binary
    h. Self-identify____
3. Sexual orientation (select all that apply)
    a. Asexual
    b. Bisexual
    c. Gay
    d. Straight
    e. Lesbian
    f. Pansexual
    g. Queer
    h. Questioning
    i. Self-identify _____
4. Relationship status
    a. Civil union, domestic partnership, or equivalent
    b. Divorced
    c. Married
    d. Separated
    e. Serious dating or committed relationship
    f. Single
    g. Widowed
5. Did you attend:
    a. Private high school
    b. Public high school
    c. Charter/magnet school
    d. Boarding school
    e. Prep school
6. Highest degree obtained
    a. Less than high school
    b. Some high school
    c. High school graduate
    d. G.E.D
    e. Trade/Vocational School
    f. Associate's degree
    g. Some College

    h. College Degree (B.A, B.S, etc).
    i. Master's Degree (M.A, M.S, MBA, MSW)
    j. Doctoral/Professional degree (J.D, M.D, PharmD, PhD)
7. College attended for undergraduate degree – for this I will have categories and then based on the category I will allow them to choose the specific school
    a. Ivy League (Penn, Columbia, Harvard, Princeton, Cornell, Dartmouth, Brown, Yale)
    b. Ivy Plus (Stanford, Duke, UChicago, MIT)
    c. Southern Elite (Emory, Rice, Vanderbilt)
    d. Elite Public (University of Michigan-Ann Arbor, UCLA, UC Berkeley)
    e. East Coast/Midwest Elite (Northwestern, Johns Hopkins, Washington U, Notre Dame, Georgetown)
    f. West Coast Elite (Cal Tech, USC)
    g. Top Liberal Arts (Williams, Amherst, Swarthmore, Wellesley, etc.)
    h. Other_____
8. University attended for graduate degree (if graduate degree was selected)
9. Where were you born?
    a. United States
    b. Outside of the United States
        i. Where?
            1. Caribbean
            2. Africa
            3. Asia
            4. Europe
            5. Australia
            6. Canada
            7. Mexico
            8. South America
        ii. If you were born outside of the U.S, how long have you been in the US
10. Where were your parents born? (Will have a diagram with mother/father in US/ Outside US
11. Where were your grandparents born? (Will have diagram) In U.S. Outside US
12. Race (select all that apply)
    a. Black
    b. White
    c. Asian
    d. Indigenous/Native American
    e. Biracial/Multiracial
    f. Self-identify _____
13. Ethnicity (select all that apply)
    a. Black/African-American (Descendent of U.S Slaves)
    b. West African (Ghanaian, Nigerian, Senegalese, Ivorian, etc.)
    c. East African (Ethiopian, Eritrean, Somalian, Kenyan, etc.)
    d. North African (Libyan, Egyptian, Algerian, Moroccan, etc.
    e. Caribbean (Jamaican, Haitian, Trini, Barbadian, etc.)

f. East Asian (Chinese, Japanese, Korean, etc.)
g. South Asian (Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Sri Lankan, etc.)
h. Southeast Asian (Thai, Vietnamese, Cambodian, etc.)
i. Indigenous (Native American, Native Hawaiian, Pacific Islander)
j. Latinx/Hispanic (Puerto Rican, Mexican, Cuban, Etc.)
k. Self-identify _____

14. What is your religious affiliation
    a. Protestant
    b. Catholic
    c. Other Christian
    d. Muslim
    e. Jewish
    f. Buddhist
    g. Hindu
    h. Agnostic
    i. Atheist
    j. Self-identify_____
15. Employment status:
    a. Unemployed
    b. Student
    c. Self-employed
    d. Employed Part-time
    e. Employed Full-time
    f. Other_____
16. Has your employment status changed due to COVID-19?
    a. Yes
    b. No
17. If yes, to previous question
    a. Work hours reduced
    b. Pay reduced
    c. Now unemployed
    d. Now self employed
    e. Other
18. What is your average annual household income:
    a. Less than $50,000
    b. $50,001-100,00
    c. $100,001-150,000
    d. $150,001-200,000
    e. $200,001-250,000
    f. $250,001-300,000
    g. $300,001-350,000
    h. $350,001-400,000
    i. $400,001-450,000
    j. $450,001-500,000
    k. $500,001-550,000
    l. Greater than $550,001

19. What is your current job (can be job title or broader occupation i.e. reporter or journalist)?
20. What was your job before your current job? (can be job title or broader occupation i.e. reporter or journalist)?
21. What industry do you work in (Select all that apply)
    a. Finance
    b. Consulting
    c. Engineering
    d. Government
    e. Technology
    f. Legal
    g. Healthcare
    h. Real Estate
    i. Education
    j. Retail
    k. Marketing/Advertising/Public Relations
    l. Media/Journalism/Entertainment
    m. Nonprofit
    n. Other industry
22. How would you identify your childhood social class growing up?
    a. Lower Class
    b. Working Class
    c. Middle Class
    d. Upper middle class
    e. Upper class

Think of this ladder as representing where people stand in the United States. At the top of the ladder (marked "10") are the people who are the best off—those who have or who come from families that have the most money, the most education, and the most respected jobs. At the bottom of the ladder (marked "1") are the people who are the worst off—those who have or who come from families that have the least money, the least education, and the least respected jobs or no job.

Where do you think you currently stand on this ladder?

23.
    a. Rung 1
    b. Rung 2
    c. Rung 3
    d. Rung 4
    e. Rung 5

f. Rung 6
g. Rung 7
h. Rung 8
i. Rung 9
j. Rung 10

24. How would you identify your current social class?
    a. Lower class
    b. Working Class
    c. Middle Class
    d. Upper Middle Class
    e. Upper Class
25. What is the highest degree obtained by your mother?
    a. Less than high school
    b. Some high school
    c. High school graduate
    d. G.E.D
    e. Trade/Vocational School
    f. Associate's degree
    g. Some College
    h. College Degree (B.A, B.S, etc).
    i. Master's Degree (M.A, M.S, MBA, MSW)
    j. Doctoral/Professional degree (J.D, M.D, PharmD, PhD)
    k. Not sure/N.A
26. College attended by mother (if college selected)
    a. Ivy league
    b. Ivy Plus
    c. Other Top 25
    d. HBCU
    e. Other school
27. What is the highest degree obtained by your father?
    a. Less than high school
    b. Some high school
    c. High school graduate
    d. G.E.D
    e. Trade/Vocational School
    f. Associate's degree
    g. Some College
    h. College Degree (B.A, B.S, etc).
    i. Master's Degree (M.A, M.S, MBA, MSW)
    j. Doctoral/Professional degree (J.D, M.D, PharmD, PhD)
    k. Not sure/N.A
28. College attended by father (if college selected)
    a. Ivy league
    b. Ivy Plus
    c. Other Top 25
    d. HBCU

    e. Other school
29. Workplace demographics – My current workplace is:
    a. Majority White
    b. Majority Black
    c. Not majority Black, but Mostly people of color
    d. Fairly evenly split between White and people of color
30. The number of employees at my company is:
    a. 1-50 employees
    b. 51-100 employees
    c. 101-500
    d. 501-1000
    e. Over 1,001
31. What is your political affiliation
    a. Democrat
    b. Republican
    c. Independent
    d. Other_____
32. In which state do you currently reside (Fill in State abbreviation) _____
33. Since the murder of George Floyd and the Black Lives Matter Movement's protests in the summer of 2020, has your company (select all that apply):
    a. Encouraged conversations about race and/or racism
    b. Made statements in support of the Black Lives Matter movement
    c. Created Diversity and Inclusion task forces, committees, or plans that consisted of internal employees?
    d. Hired an outside consultant to address issues or racial equality within your company?
    e. Made donations to organizations that support social justice?
    f. Other_____
34. In your opinion, have these actions been meaningful and/or productive?
    a. Yes
    b. No
    c. Other _____

Job Satisfaction

Instructions: Please read each item carefully, indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the statement.

1 = Strongly Disagree

2 = Moderately Disagree

3 = Slightly Disagree

4 = Neutral

5 = Slightly Agree

6 = Moderately Agree

7 = Strongly Agree

1. I feel fairly well satisfied with my present job.
2. Most days I am enthusiastic about my work.
3. Each day of work seems like it will never end. (R)
4. I find real enjoyment in my work.
5. I consider my job rather unpleasant. (R)

Satisfaction with Life Scale

Instructions: Below are five statements that you may agree or disagree with. Using the 1 - 7 scale below, indicate your agreement with each item by placing the appropriate number on the line preceding that item. Please be open and honest in your responding.

7 = Strongly agree

6 = Agree

5 = Slightly agree

4 = Neither agree nor disagree

3 = Slightly disagree

2 = Disagree

1 = Strongly disagree

1. In most ways my life is close to my ideal.
2. The conditions of my life are excellent.
3. I am satisfied with my life.
4. So far I have gotten the important things I want in life.
5. If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing.

Utrecht Work Engagement Scale UWES-9

0= Never

1= Almost Never

2 = Rarely

3= Sometimes

4= Often

5= Very Often

6= Always

1. When I am working, I feel bursting with energy

2. At my work, I feel strong and vigorous

3. I am enthusiastic about my work

4. My work inspires me

5. When I get up in the morning, I feel like going to work

6. I feel happy when I am working intensely

7. I am proud of the work that I do

8. I am immersed in my work

9. I get carried away when I am working

Black Racial Identity Scale (BRIAS)

This questionnaire is designed to measure people's social and political attitudes. There are no right or wrong answers. Use the scale to respond to the items below by circling the number that best describes how you feel.

1= Strongly Disagree

2= Disagree

3= Uncertain

4= Agree

5= Strongly Agree

1. I believe that being Black is a positive experience.

2. I know through my personal experiences what being Black in America means.

3. I am increasing my involvement in Black activities because I don't feel comfortable in White environments.

4. I believe that large numbers of Blacks are untrustworthy.

5. I feel an overwhelming attachment to Black people.

6. I involve myself in causes that will help all oppressed people.

7. A person's race does not influence how comfortable I feel when I am with her or him.

8. I believe that White people look and express themselves better than Blacks.

9. I feel uncomfortable when I am around Black people.

10. I feel good about being Black, but do not limit myself to Black activities.

11. When I am with people I trust, I often find myself using slang words to refer to White people.

12. I believe that being Black is a negative experience.

13. I believe that certain aspects of "the Black experience" apply to me, and others do not.

14. I frequently confront the system and the (White) man.

15. I constantly involve myself in Black political and social activities (such as art shows, political meetings, Black theater, and so forth).

16. I involve myself in social action and political groups even if there are no other Blacks involved.

17. I believe that Black people should learn to think and experience life in ways that are similar to White people's ways.

18. I believe that the world should be interpreted from a Black or Afrocentric perspective.

19. I am changing my style of life to fit my new beliefs about Black people.

20. I feel excitement and joy in Black surroundings.

21. I believe that Black people came from a strange, dark, and uncivilized continent.

22. People, regardless of their race, have strengths and limitations.

23. I find myself reading a lot of Black literature and thinking about being Black.

24. I feel guilty or anxious about some of the things I believe about Black people.

25. I believe that a Black person's most effective weapon for solving problems is to become part of the White person's world.

26. I speak my mind about injustices to Black people regardless of the consequences (such as being kicked out of school, disappointing my parents, being exposed to danger).

27. I limit myself to Black activities as much as I can.

28. I am determined to find my Black identity.

29. I believe that White people are more intelligent than Blacks.

30. I believe that I have many strengths because I am Black.

31. I feel that Black people do not have as much to be proud of as White people.

32. Most Black people I know are failures.

33. I believe that most White people should feel guilty about the way they have treated Blacks in the past.

34. White people can’t be trusted.

35. In today's society if Black people don't achieve, they have only themselves to blame.

36. The most important thing about me is that I am Black.

37. Being Black just feels natural to me.

38. Other Black people have trouble accepting me because my life experiences have been so different from their experiences.

39. Black people who have any White people's blood should feel ashamed of it.

40. Sometimes, I wish I belonged to the White race.

41. The people I respect most are White.

42. A person's race usually is not important to me.

43. I feel anxious when White people compare me to other members of my race.

44. I can't feel comfortable with either Black people or White people.

45. A person's race has little to do with whether or not they are a good person.

46. When I am with Black people, I pretend to enjoy things they enjoy.

47. When a stranger who is Black does something embarrassing in public, I get embarrassed.

48. I believe that a Black person can be close friends with a White person.

49. I am satisfied with myself.

50. I have a positive attitude about myself because I am Black.

Racism-Related Coping Strategies

How often would you say you used the following strategies to deal with or resist situations where you were mistreated because of your race. Choose one of the four numbers that best corresponds to your response.

1= Did not use/Does not apply

2= Used a little

3= Used a lot

4= Used a great deal

1. I participated in organized efforts to combat racism and/or support Black people.
2. I informed external sources (media, civil rights organization, etc.).
3. I threatened the person(s), or organization involved with violence.
4. I talked about it with the person(s) involved in order to express my feelings.
5. I became more cautious around people in positions of authority.
6. I tried to understand the perspective of the perpetrator.
7. I read passages in the Bible (or other religious text) to give me strength and/or guidance.
8. I fantasized about getting revenge.
9. I worked to educate others about racism.
10. I took legal action.
11. I exaggerated my anger in order to intimidate the person(s) involved.
12. I talked about it with the person(s) involved in order to educate them.
13. I avoided anything that might bring about a similar situation (people, places, topics of conversation, etc.).
14. I looked for an explanation other than racism.
15. I relied on my faith in God or a higher power.
16. I fantasized about harming the person(s) involved or damaging or destroying their property.
17. I sought out relationships/alliances with other people of color who are not Black.
18. I sought legal advice.
19. I only did the bare minimum to get by in my job as a form of resistance.
20. I talked about it with the person(s) involved in order to understand their perspective.
21. I became more careful about what I say and do around people who are not Black.
22. I tried to make something positive out of it.
23. I prayed about it.
24. I reacted with humor or sarcasm or mocked the person(s) involved.

25. I made a conscious decision to try to patronize only Black- owned businesses and establishments.
26. I made a formal complaint.
27. I did my job much slower or at my own pace as a form of resistance.
28. I got into an angry verbal conflict with the person(s) involved.
29. I avoided contact with White people unless absolutely necessary for a period of time.
30. I gave the person(s) involved the benefit of the doubt.
31. I sought spiritual guidance in books or other media.
32. I spoke my mind about race and racism, even if others were uncomfortable.
33. I got other people involved who could help.
34. I exaggerated behaviors that are perceived to be "Black" in order to intimidate people who are not in my racial group.
35. I expressed my anger to the person(s) involved.
36. I became more sensitive or cautious about interacting with people who are not Black.
37. I tried to convince myself that it wasn't that bad.
38. I started going to church (or other religious institutions) more more often.
39. I participated in more activities that celebrated Blackness.
40. I threatened the person(s) or organization involved with legal action.
41. I got revenge.
42. I confronted the person(s) involved and told them that their actions were racist.
43. I decided that I could no longer trust White people (or people who are not Black).
44. I made a conscious decision not to assume all non-Black people are racist.
45. I meditated.
46. I supported other people in similar situations.
47. I told my story in a public forum ("testified").
48. I told the person(s) involved off.
49. I withdrew from people.
50. I tried to stay positive no matter what.
51. I surrounded myself with people who can relate to my experience.
52. I demanded to speak to someone with greater authority (manager, supervisor, etc.)
53. I tried to defend myself in some way.
54. I continue to avoid contact with White people unless absolutely necessary.
55. I started to dress or wear my hair in ways that celebrate my African heritage.
56. I organized a group response (boycott, demonstration, etc.).
57. I thought constantly about why this happened to me.
58. I blamed myself for trusting people who are not Black.
59. I was careful to never reveal my true feelings around White people.

Mental Health Inventory 18

The next set of questions are about how you feel, and how things have been for you during the past 4 weeks. If you are marking your own answers, please circle the appropriate response (0, 1, 2,...). Please answer every question. If you are not sure which answer to select, please choose the one answer that comes closest to describing you.

During the past 4 weeks, how much of the time...

1- All of the time
2- Most of the time
3- A good bit of the time
4- Some of the time
5- A little bit of the time
6- None of the time

1. Has your daily life been full of things that were interesting to you?

2. Did you feel depressed?

3. Have you felt loved and wanted?

4. Have you been a very nervous person?

5. Have you been in firm control of your behavior, thoughts, emotions, feelings?

6. Have you felt tense or high-strung?

7. Have you felt calm and peaceful?

8. Have you felt emotionally stable?

9. Have you felt downhearted and blue?

10. Were you able to relax without difficulty?

11. Have you felt restless, fidgety, or impatient?

12. Have you been moody, or brooded about things?

13. Have you felt cheerful, light-hearted?

14. Have you been in low or very low spirits?

15. Were you a happy person?

16. Did you feel you had nothing to look forward to?

17. Have you felt so down in the dumps that nothing could cheer you up?

18. Have you been anxious or worried?

Racial and Ethnic Microaggressions Scale (REMS)

Instructions: Think about your experiences with race. Please read each item and think of how many times this event has happened to you in the workplace in the past two years

0 = I did not experience this event.

1 = I experienced this event at least once in the past two years.

1. I was ignored at school or at work because of my race.

2. Someone's body language showed they were scared of me, because of my race.

3. Someone assumed that I spoke a language other than English.

4. I was told that I should not complain about race.

5. Someone assumed that I grew up in a particular neighborhood because of my race.

6. Someone avoided walking near me on the street because of my race.

7. Someone told me that she or he was colorblind.

8. Someone avoided sitting next to me in a public space (e.g., restaurants, movie theaters, subways, buses) because of my race.

9. Someone assumed that I would not be intelligent because of my race.

10. I was told that I complain about race too much.

11. I received substandard service in stores compared to customers of other racial groups.

12. I observed people of my race in prominent positions at my workplace or school.

13. Someone wanted to date me only because of my race.

14. I was told that people of all racial groups experience the same obstacles.

15. My opinion was overlooked in a group discussion because of my race.

16. Someone assumed that my work would be inferior to people of other racial groups.

17. Someone acted surprised at my scholastic or professional success because of my race.

18. I observed that people of my race were the CEOs of major corporations.

19. I observed people of my race portrayed positively on television.

20. Someone did not believe me when I told them I was born in the US.

21. Someone assumed that I would not be educated because of my race.

22. Someone told me that I was "articulate" after she/he assumed I wouldn't be.

23. Someone told me that all people in my racial group are all the same.

24. I observed people of my race portrayed positively in magazines

25. An employer or co-worker was unfriendly or unwelcoming toward me because of my race. 26. I was told that people of color do not experience racism anymore.

27. Someone told me that they “don’t see color.”

28. I read popular books or magazines in which a majority of contributions featured people from my racial group.

29. Someone asked me to teach them words in my “native language.”

30. Someone told me that they do not see race.

31. Someone clenched her/his purse or wallet upon seeing me because of my race.

32. Someone assumed that I would have a lower education because of my race.

33. Someone of a different racial group has stated that there is no difference between the two of us.

34. Someone assumed that I would physically hurt them because of my race.

35. Someone assumed that I ate foods associated with my race/culture every day.

36. Someone assumed that I held a lower paying job because of my race.

37. I observed people of my race portrayed positively in movies.

38. Someone assumed that I was poor because of my race.

39. Someone told me that people should not think about race anymore.

40. Someone avoided eye contact with me because of my race.

41. I observed that someone of my race is a government official in my state

42. Someone told me that all people in my racial group look alike.

43. Someone objectified one of my physical features because of my race.

44. An employer or co-worker treated me differently than White co-workers.

45. Someone assumed that I speak similar languages to other people in my race.

Appendix B

Tables

Table B1

Racial Microaggressions Single Factor Model

	B	*SE*	*z-value*	*P(>|z|)*	*β*
REMS_ALL =~					
REMS_WAS_1	1.00				0.53
REMS_WAS_2	1.08	0.06	17.40	0.00	0.57
REMS_WAS_3	1.21	0.07	18.09	0.00	0.64
REMS_WAS_4	0.93	0.06	14.42	0.00	0.51
REMS_WAS_5	1.00	0.06	16.87	0.00	0.54
REMS_INV_1	1.14	0.07	17.46	0.00	0.60
REMS_INV_2	0.94	0.07	14.34	0.00	0.54
REMS_INV_3	0.89	0.06	14.30	0.00	0.51
REMS_INV_4	0.90	0.07	13.41	0.00	0.48
REMS_INV_5	1.09	0.07	15.88	0.00	0.58
REMS_INV_6	0.99	0.07	15.06	0.00	0.57
REMS_INV_7	1.06	0.07	15.55	0.00	0.57
REMS_INV_8	0.97	0.07	14.47	0.00	0.51
REMS_INV_9	1.16	0.07	16.66	0.00	0.61
REMS_INFER_1	0.97	0.07	14.61	0.00	0.51
REMS_INFER_2	1.25	0.07	18.06	0.00	0.66
REMS_INFER_3	1.02	0.07	15.42	0.00	0.60
REMS_INFER_4	1.32	0.07	18.08	0.00	0.70
REMS_INFER_5	1.05	0.07	15.45	0.00	0.56
REMS_INFER_6	1.32	0.07	18.16	0.00	0.70
REMS_INFER_7	0.90	0.07	13.75	0.00	0.50
REMS_INFER_8	0.96	0.07	14.74	0.00	0.55

Table B2

Racial Microaggressions 3 Factor Model

	B	*SE*	*z-value*	*P(>|z|)*	*β*
WAS =~					
REMS_WAS_1	1.00				0.62
REMS_WAS_2	1.09	0.06	17.94	0.00	0.67
REMS_WAS_3	1.22	0.07	18.74	0.00	0.76
REMS_WAS_4	0.93	0.06	15.03	0.00	0.60

REMS_WAS_5	0.99	0.06	17.35	0.00	0.63
INV =~					
REMS_INV_1	1.00				0.69
REMS_INV_2	0.79	0.05	16.29	0.00	0.60
REMS_INV_3	0.78	0.04	18.96	0.00	0.58
REMS_INV_4	0.81	0.05	16.00	0.00	0.56
REMS_INV_5	0.97	0.05	21.26	0.00	0.67
REMS_INV_6	0.77	0.05	15.49	0.00	0.57
REMS_INV_7	0.88	0.05	17.98	0.00	0.62
REMS_INV_8	0.86	0.05	17.78	0.00	0.59
REMS_INV_9	1.04	0.05	21.67	0.00	0.72
INFER =~					
REMS_INFER_1	1.00				0.56
REMS_INFER_2	1.29	0.07	18.75	0.00	0.72
REMS_INFER_3	1.03	0.06	16.21	0.00	0.64
REMS_INFER_4	1.36	0.07	18.77	0.00	0.76
REMS_INFER_5	1.06	0.07	15.58	0.00	0.59
REMS_INFER_6	1.36	0.07	18.79	0.00	0.76
REMS_INFER_7	0.93	0.07	14.24	0.00	0.54
REMS_INFER_8	0.99	0.06	15.72	0.00	0.59

Table B3

Well-Being Single Factor Model

	B	*SE*	*z-value*	*P(>|z|)*	*β*
Well_Being =~					
WB_MH_PA1	1.00				0.53
WB_MH_D1	1.56	0.10	15.43	0.00	0.79
WB_MH_D2	0.97	0.09	11.02	0.00	0.47
WB_MH_A1	1.38	0.11	12.96	0.00	0.59
WB_MH_BC1	1.16	0.09	13.70	0.00	0.64
WB_MH_A2	1.42	0.10	13.85	0.00	0.65
WB_MH_PA2	1.28	0.09	14.53	0.00	0.71
WB_MH_BC2	1.44	0.10	14.59	0.00	0.71
WB_MH_D3	1.55	0.10	15.54	0.00	0.80
WB_MH_A3	1.32	0.10	13.44	0.00	0.62
WB_MH_A4	1.20	0.09	12.74	0.00	0.57
WB_MH_D4	1.40	0.10	14.22	0.00	0.68
WB_MH_PA3	1.24	0.09	14.19	0.00	0.68
WB_MH_D5	1.60	0.10	15.64	0.00	0.82

WB_MH_PA4	1.35	0.09	14.92	0.00	0.74
WB_MH_BC3	1.37	0.10	13.71	0.00	0.64
WB_MH_BC4	1.20	0.08	14.56	0.00	0.71
WB_MH_A5	1.63	0.11	14.51	0.00	0.71
WB_SWL_1	1.39	0.11	12.17	0.00	0.53
WB_SWL_2	1.30	0.11	12.15	0.00	0.53
WB_SWL_3	1.51	0.11	13.49	0.00	0.63
WB_SWL_4	1.11	0.10	11.46	0.00	0.49
WB_SWL_5	1.18	0.12	9.66	0.00	0.39

Table B4

Satisfaction with Life Latent Variable

	B	*SE*	*z-value*	*P(>|z|)*	*β*
sat_with_life =~					
WB_SWL_1	1.00				0.83
WB_SWL_2	0.92	0.03	27.36	0.00	0.82
WB_SWL_3	0.96	0.03	29.41	0.00	0.87
WB_SWL_4	0.78	0.03	24.49	0.00	0.76
WB_SWL_5	0.79	0.05	17.12	0.00	0.57

Table B5

Work Fulfillment Single Factor Model

	B	*SE*	*z-value*	*P(>|z|)*	*β*
Work_Ful_ALL =~					
WF_JS_1	1				0.748
WF_JS_2	1.115	0.043	26.07	0	0.877
WF_JS_3	0.592	0.046	12.877	0	0.462
WF_JS_4	1.019	0.039	26.096	0	0.878
WF_JS_5	0.797	0.041	19.313	0	0.674
WF_UT_V1	0.751	0.032	23.572	0	0.805
WF_UT_V2	0.753	0.031	24.133	0	0.821
WF_UT_V3	0.839	0.036	23.62	0	0.806
WF_UT_D1	0.839	0.031	27.182	0	0.909
WF_UT_D2	0.865	0.034	25.503	0	0.861
WF_UT_D3	0.664	0.031	21.467	0	0.741

Table B6

Work Fulfillment 4 Factor Model

	B	*SE*	*z-value*	*P(>|z|)*	*β*
Jobsat =~					
WF_JS_1	1.00				0.83
WF_JS_2	1.06	0.03	34.05	0.00	0.93
WF_JS_3	0.55	0.04	13.87	0.00	0.48
WF_JS_4	0.94	0.03	32.44	0.00	0.90
WF_JS_5	0.76	0.03	22.80	0.00	0.72
Vigor =~					
WF_UT_V1	1.00				0.91
WF_UT_V2	0.99	0.03	39.73	0.00	0.91
WF_UT_V3	0.99	0.03	30.73	0.00	0.81
Ded =~					
WF_UT_D1	1.00				0.95
WF_UT_D2	1.03	0.02	42.98	0.00	0.90
WF_UT_D3	0.77	0.03	28.38	0.00	0.75
Absorb =~					
WF_UT_A1	1.00				0.74
WF_UT_A2	0.92	0.05	19.65	0.00	0.72
WF_UT_A3	0.79	0.05	15.87	0.00	0.59

Table B7

Racism-Related Coping Single Factor Model

	B	*SE*	*z-value*	*P(>|z|)*	*β*
RRCS_ALL =~					
RRC_EA_1	1.00				0.41
RRC_EA_2	0.76	0.08	9.07	0.00	0.51
RRC_EA_3	1.01	0.11	9.21	0.00	0.52
RRC_EA_4	1.44	0.15	9.58	0.00	0.57
RRC_EA_5	1.94	0.20	9.79	0.00	0.60
RRC_EA_6	0.84	0.09	9.47	0.00	0.55
RRC_EA_7	1.32	0.14	9.11	0.00	0.51
RRC_EA_8	1.68	0.18	9.49	0.00	0.56
RRC_EA_9	0.73	0.09	8.00	0.00	0.40
RRC_CON_1	1.55	0.18	8.68	0.00	0.46
RRC_CON_2	1.26	0.16	8.06	0.00	0.41
RRC_CON_3	1.20	0.15	8.19	0.00	0.42

RRC_CON_4	0.98	0.11	9.21	0.00	0.52
RRC_CON_5	1.61	0.17	9.81	0.00	0.60
RRC_CON_6	1.65	0.17	9.80	0.00	0.60
RRC_CON_7	1.37	0.14	9.75	0.00	0.59
RRC_CON_8	1.71	0.18	9.43	0.00	0.55
RRC_CR_1	0.39	0.05	8.32	0.00	0.43
RRC_CR_2	0.69	0.08	8.39	0.00	0.44
RRC_CR_3	0.51	0.11	4.49	0.00	0.19
RRC_CR_4	0.65	0.11	5.71	0.00	0.25
RRC_CR_5	0.43	0.06	7.15	0.00	0.34
RRC_CR_6	0.71	0.08	8.90	0.00	0.49
RRC_SPC_1	1.11	0.16	7.12	0.00	0.34
RRC_SPC_2	1.26	0.18	7.07	0.00	0.33
RRC_SPC_3	1.36	0.18	7.64	0.00	0.37
RRC_SPC_4	1.24	0.15	8.08	0.00	0.41
RRC_SPC_5	0.75	0.11	6.96	0.00	0.33
RRC_SPC_6	1.15	0.16	7.41	0.00	0.36
RRC_SPC_7	0.82	0.15	5.62	0.00	0.25

Table B8

Racism-Related Coping Four Factor Model

	B	*SE*	*z-value*	*P(>|z|)*	*β*
EA =~					
RRC_EA_1	1.00				0.36
RRC_EA_2	1.40	0.15	9.18	0.00	0.81
RRC_EA_3	1.77	0.19	9.15	0.00	0.79
RRC_EA_4	1.83	0.21	8.63	0.00	0.63
RRC_EA_5	1.64	0.22	7.56	0.00	0.44
RRC_EA_6	1.28	0.14	8.99	0.00	0.73
RRC_EA_7	1.22	0.17	7.30	0.00	0.41
RRC_EA_8	1.67	0.21	7.86	0.00	0.48
RRC_EA_9	0.68	0.11	6.42	0.00	0.33
CON =~					
RRC_CON_1	1.00				0.56
RRC_CON_2	0.88	0.08	11.38	0.00	0.53
RRC_CON_3	0.73	0.07	10.46	0.00	0.48
RRC_CON_4	0.61	0.05	12.48	0.00	0.61
RRC_CON_5	1.11	0.08	14.41	0.00	0.77
RRC_CON_6	1.09	0.08	14.09	0.00	0.74

RRC_CON_7	0.87	0.06	13.72	0.00	0.71
RRC_CON_8	0.85	0.08	11.05	0.00	0.51
CR =~					
RRC_CR_1	1.00				0.60
RRC_CR_2	1.93	0.15	12.64	0.00	0.66
RRC_CR_3	0.94	0.22	4.37	0.00	0.19
RRC_CR_4	1.18	0.21	5.67	0.00	0.25
RRC_CR_5	1.23	0.11	10.85	0.00	0.53
RRC_CR_6	1.86	0.14	12.94	0.00	0.69
SPC =~					
RRC_SPC_1	1.00				0.83
RRC_SPC_2	1.26	0.04	31.91	0.00	0.91
RRC_SPC_3	1.24	0.04	33.07	0.00	0.94
RRC_SPC_4	0.76	0.04	20.75	0.00	0.69
RRC_SPC_5	0.46	0.03	15.59	0.00	0.55
RRC_SPC_6	0.36	0.04	8.18	0.00	0.31
RRC_SPC_7	0.45	0.05	10.04	0.00	0.37

Table B9

Direct Pathways Model

	B	*SE*	*z-value*	*P(>|z|)*	*β*
WAS =~					
REMS_WAS_1	1.00				0.64
REMS_WAS_2	1.05	0.07	15.03	0.00	0.67
REMS_WAS_3	1.15	0.07	16.06	0.00	0.73
REMS_WAS_4	0.92	0.07	13.90	0.00	0.61
REMS_WAS_5	0.97	0.07	14.40	0.00	0.63
INV =~					
REMS_INV_1	1.00				0.67
REMS_INV_2	0.79	0.06	13.66	0.00	0.57
REMS_INV_3	0.78	0.06	13.60	0.00	0.56
REMS_INV_4	0.85	0.06	13.68	0.00	0.57
REMS_INV_5	1.03	0.06	16.08	0.00	0.69
REMS_INV_6	0.80	0.06	13.80	0.00	0.58
REMS_INV_7	0.89	0.06	14.48	0.00	0.61
REMS_INV_8	0.88	0.06	13.92	0.00	0.58
REMS_INV_9	1.10	0.07	16.79	0.00	0.72
INFER =~					
REMS_INFER_1	1.00				0.57

REMS_INFER_2	1.25	0.08	14.91	0.00	0.71
REMS_INFER_3	0.99	0.07	13.71	0.00	0.63
REMS_INFER_4	1.37	0.09	15.82	0.00	0.79
REMS_INFER_5	0.92	0.08	12.11	0.00	0.53
REMS_INFER_6	1.38	0.09	15.89	0.00	0.79
REMS_INFER_7	0.88	0.07	12.12	0.00	0.53
REMS_INFER_8	0.94	0.07	13.01	0.00	0.58
Jobsat =~					
WF_JS_1	1.00				0.84
WF_JS_2	1.06	0.03	34.28	0.00	0.93
WF_JS_3	0.56	0.04	14.00	0.00	0.49
WF_JS_4	0.94	0.03	32.59	0.00	0.90
WF_JS_5	0.77	0.03	23.11	0.00	0.72
Vigor =~					
WF_UT_V1	1.00				0.91
WF_UT_V2	0.99	0.03	39.96	0.00	0.92
WF_UT_V3	1.00	0.03	31.16	0.00	0.82
Ded =~					
WF_UT_D1	1.00				0.94
WF_UT_D2	1.04	0.02	43.28	0.00	0.90
WF_UT_D3	0.77	0.03	28.20	0.00	0.75
Absorb =~					
WF_UT_A1	1.00				0.74
WF_UT_A2	0.92	0.05	20.17	0.00	0.73
WF_UT_A3	0.80	0.05	16.40	0.00	0.60
sat_with_life4 =~					
WB_SWL_1	1.00				0.84
WB_SWL_2	0.90	0.04	25.97	0.00	0.80
WB_SWL_3	0.97	0.03	29.29	0.00	0.87
WB_SWL_4	0.78	0.03	23.96	0.00	0.76
WB_SWL_5	0.80	0.05	16.78	0.00	0.58

Table B10

Direct Pathways Model – Regressions

	B	*SE*	*z-value*	*P(>|z|)*	*β*
Jobsat ~					
WAS	-0.71	0.42	-1.67	0.10	-0.14
Vigor ~					
WAS	-0.75	0.33	-2.32	0.02	-0.20

Ded ~ WAS	-0.58	0.33	-1.75	0.08	-0.15
Absorb ~ WAS	-0.66	0.32	-2.04	0.04	-0.19
Jobsat ~ INV	-0.02	0.28	-0.08	0.93	-0.01
Vigor ~ INV	-0.03	0.21	-0.13	0.90	-0.01
Ded ~ INV	-0.06	0.22	-0.29	0.77	-0.02
Absorb ~ INV	0.00	0.21	0.00	1.00	0.00
Jobsat ~ INFER	0.28	0.48	0.59	0.55	0.05
Vigor ~ INFER	0.83	0.37	2.25	0.03	0.19
Ded ~ INFER	0.64	0.38	1.70	0.09	0.15
Absorb ~ INFER	0.89	0.37	2.41	0.02	0.24
MHI_TOTAL ~ WAS	-7.87	4.30	-1.83	0.07	-0.15
sat_with_life4 ~ WAS	-0.88	0.36	-2.44	0.02	-0.21
MHI_TOTAL ~ INV	-9.72	2.86	-3.40	0.00	-0.19
sat_with_life4 ~ INV	0.01	0.24	0.05	0.96	0.00
MHI_TOTAL ~ INFER	8.90	4.89	1.82	0.07	0.15
sat_with_life4 ~ INFER	0.42	0.41	1.03	0.30	0.09
Jobsat ~ Mean_RIAS_CON	0.23	0.16	1.46	0.14	0.05
Vigor ~ Mean_RIAS_CON	0.29	0.12	2.43	0.02	0.09
Ded ~ Mean_RIAS_CON	0.03	0.12	0.22	0.82	0.01
Absorb ~ Mean_RIAS_CON	0.31	0.12	2.64	0.01	0.11

MHI_TOTAL ~					
Mean_RIAS_CON	-0.46	1.57	-0.29	0.77	-0.01
Jobsat ~					
Mean_RIAS_INT	1.34	0.17	7.68	0.00	0.29
Vigor ~					
Mean_RIAS_INT	1.12	0.13	8.49	0.00	0.31
Ded ~					
Mean_RIAS_INT	1.10	0.13	8.18	0.00	0.30
Absorb ~					
Mean_RIAS_INT	1.25	0.13	9.26	0.00	0.39
MHI_TOTAL ~					
Mean_RIAS_INT	16.62	1.74	9.54	0.00	0.33
sat_with_life4 ~					
Mean_RIAS_CON	-0.03	0.13	-0.26	0.80	-0.01
Mean_RIAS_INT	1.28	0.15	8.62	0.00	0.32

Table B11

Moderation Model

	B	*SE*	*z-value*	*P(>|z|)*	*β*
Jobsat =~					
WF_JS_1	1.00				0.83
WF_JS_2	1.06	0.03	33.02	0.00	0.93
WF_JS_3	0.56	0.04	13.65	0.00	0.49
WF_JS_4	0.93	0.03	31.39	0.00	0.90
WF_JS_5	0.76	0.03	22.26	0.00	0.72
Vigor =~					
WF_UT_V1	1.00				0.90
WF_UT_V2	1.00	0.03	38.74	0.00	0.92
WF_UT_V3	1.00	0.03	29.76	0.00	0.81
Ded =~					
WF_UT_D1	1.00				0.94
WF_UT_D2	1.04	0.03	40.58	0.00	0.89
WF_UT_D3	0.78	0.03	27.13	0.00	0.75
Absorb =~					
WF_UT_A1	1.00				0.73
WF_UT_A2	0.94	0.05	19.08	0.00	0.72
WF_UT_A3	0.81	0.05	15.49	0.00	0.59
sat_with_life4	=~				
WB_SWL_1	1.00				0.84

WB_SWL_2	0.88	0.04	24.96	0.00	0.80
WB_SWL_3	0.96	0.03	28.34	0.00	0.87
WB_SWL_4	0.77	0.03	22.99	0.00	0.75
WB_SWL_5	0.79	0.05	16.19	0.00	0.57

Table B12

Moderation Model – Regressions

	B	*SE*	*z-value*	*P(>|z|)*	*β*
Jobsat ~					
Men_REMS_INFER	1.08	3.76	0.29	0.78	0.23
Mean_REMS_WAS	-2.21	3.27	-0.68	0.50	-0.51
Mean_REMS_INV	-3.82	3.13	-1.22	0.22	-0.80
inf_int	-0.31	0.77	-0.40	0.69	-0.29
was_int	-0.09	0.65	-0.13	0.90	-0.08
inv_int	1.02	0.65	1.56	0.12	0.98
inf_con	0.11	0.71	0.16	0.87	0.06
was_con	1.28	0.62	2.09	0.04	0.70
inv_con	-0.27	0.61	-0.45	0.65	-0.14
inf_cope	0.10	0.48	0.21	0.84	0.05
was_cope	-0.15	0.42	-0.36	0.72	-0.08
inv_cope	0.13	0.38	0.36	0.72	0.07
Mean_RIAS_CON	-1.48	0.85	-1.75	0.08	-0.35
Mean_RIAS_INT	0.39	0.92	0.42	0.68	0.08
Vigor ~					
Men_REMS_INFER	2.82	2.80	1.00	0.32	0.80
Mean_REMS_WAS	-0.51	2.44	-0.21	0.84	-0.15
Mean_REMS_INV	-4.69	2.33	-2.01	0.05	-1.31
inf_int	-1.01	0.57	-1.76	0.08	-1.27
was_int	0.03	0.49	0.06	0.95	0.04
inv_int	1.24	0.49	2.55	0.01	1.59
inf_con	1.06	0.53	2.01	0.05	0.74
was_con	0.02	0.46	0.04	0.97	0.01
inv_con	-0.40	0.45	-0.88	0.38	-0.27
inf_cope	0.00	0.36	-0.01	0.99	0.00
was_cope	-0.20	0.31	-0.64	0.53	-0.14
inv_cope	0.34	0.28	1.19	0.23	0.23
Mean_RIAS_CON	-0.76	0.63	-1.20	0.23	-0.24
Mean_RIAS_INT	0.64	0.69	0.94	0.35	0.18
Ded ~					

Men_REMS_INFER	0.71	2.86	0.25	0.80	0.20
Mean_REMS_WAS	-0.57	2.48	-0.23	0.82	-0.17
Mean_REMS_INV	-1.49	2.38	-0.63	0.53	-0.41
inf_int	-0.37	0.58	-0.63	0.53	-0.45
was_int	-0.19	0.50	-0.39	0.70	-0.25
inv_int	0.58	0.50	1.17	0.24	0.73
inf_con	0.73	0.54	1.34	0.18	0.50
was_con	0.55	0.47	1.17	0.24	0.39
inv_con	-0.63	0.46	-1.36	0.17	-0.42
inf_cope	-0.28	0.37	-0.76	0.45	-0.19
was_cope	0.25	0.32	0.78	0.43	0.17
inv_cope	0.18	0.29	0.61	0.54	0.12
Mean_RIAS_CON	-0.96	0.64	-1.49	0.14	-0.30
Mean_RIAS_INT	1.00	0.70	1.43	0.15	0.28
Absorb ~					
Men_REMS_INFER	1.10	2.80	0.39	0.69	0.36
Mean_REMS_WAS	-2.02	2.43	-0.83	0.41	-0.71
Mean_REMS_INV	-3.16	2.33	-1.36	0.18	-1.02
inf_int	-0.32	0.57	-0.56	0.57	-0.47
was_int	0.09	0.49	0.18	0.86	0.13
inv_int	0.94	0.49	1.94	0.05	1.39
inf_con	0.51	0.53	0.97	0.33	0.41
was_con	0.70	0.46	1.53	0.13	0.58
inv_con	-0.45	0.45	-0.99	0.32	-0.35
inf_cope	-0.41	0.36	-1.14	0.25	-0.32
was_cope	0.31	0.31	1.00	0.32	0.25
inv_cope	0.17	0.28	0.62	0.54	0.14
Mean_RIAS_CON	-0.87	0.63	-1.37	0.17	-0.31
Mean_RIAS_INT	0.05	0.69	0.07	0.94	0.02
MHI_TOTAL ~					
Men_REMS_INFER	59.24	38.34	1.55	0.12	1.17
Mean_REMS_WAS	-45.53	33.32	-1.37	0.17	-0.97
Mean_REMS_INV	-40.06	31.90	-1.26	0.21	-0.78
inf_int	-15.82	7.84	-2.02	0.04	-1.39
was_int	10.41	6.67	1.56	0.12	0.96
inv_int	8.23	6.65	1.24	0.22	0.74
inf_con	5.30	7.24	0.73	0.46	0.26
was_con	-1.04	6.26	-0.17	0.87	-0.05
inv_con	-0.15	6.19	-0.03	0.98	-0.01
inf_cope	2.29	4.92	0.47	0.64	0.11

was_cope	-2.65	4.27	-0.62	0.54	-0.13
inv_cope	0.54	3.86	0.14	0.89	0.03
Mean_RIAS_CON	-7.31	8.64	-0.85	0.40	-0.16
Mean_RIAS_INT	10.96	9.39	1.17	0.24	0.22
sat_with_life4 ~					
Men_REMS_INFER	-5.53	3.22	-1.72	0.09	-1.39
Mean_REMS_WAS	2.13	2.80	0.76	0.45	0.58
Mean_REMS_INV	0.82	2.68	0.31	0.76	0.20
inf_int	1.07	0.66	1.63	0.10	1.20
was_int	-0.39	0.56	-0.71	0.48	-0.46
inv_int	-0.14	0.56	-0.26	0.80	-0.16
inf_con	0.75	0.61	1.24	0.21	0.47
was_con	-0.56	0.53	-1.07	0.28	-0.36
inv_con	-0.09	0.52	-0.17	0.87	-0.05
inf_cope	0.05	0.41	0.11	0.91	0.03
was_cope	-0.22	0.36	-0.61	0.54	-0.13
inv_cope	0.09	0.32	0.27	0.79	0.05
Mean_RIAS_CON	-0.25	0.73	-0.34	0.73	-0.07
Mean_RIAS_INT	0.44	0.79	0.56	0.58	0.11