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CONSTRUCTION AND INITIAL VALIDATION OF THE GENDERED RACIAL
MICROAGGRESSIONS SCALE: AN EXPLORATION AMONG BLACK WOMEN

BY

JIONI A. LEWIS

DISSERTATION

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Doctoral Committee:

Professor Helen A. Neville, Chair and Director of Research
Professor Carolyn J. Anderson
Assistant Professor Ruby Mendenhall
Professor James Rounds

Abstract

The purpose of this study was to develop a measure of gendered racial microaggressions (i.e., subtle and everyday verbal, behavioral, and environmental expressions of oppression based on the intersection of one's race and gender) experienced by Black women based on Essed's (1991) theory of gendered racism and Sue and colleagues' (2007) model of racial microaggressions. The Gendered Racial Microaggressions Scale – Black Women (GRMS-BW) was designed to assess the interpersonal nature of the intersection of subtle forms of racism and sexism. Data from 469 participants were collected in two interrelated studies for the purposes of scale development, initial validation, and construct validity. In Study 1, an exploratory factor analysis resulted in a 25-item scale with 4 factors as follows: (1) Assumptions of Beauty and Sexual Objectification, (2) Silenced and Marginalized, (3) Strong Black Woman, and (4) Angry Black Woman. Results of a confirmatory factor analysis suggested that the 4-factor model was a good fit of the data and the best fit compared to competing models. The GRMS-BW was positively related to a racial and ethnic microaggressions measure as well as a measure of sexist events. In addition, the GRMS-BW was significantly related to psychological distress. Implications for future research and practice are discussed.

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CHAPTER ONE:

INTRODUCTION

Despite advances in the Civil Rights and Women's Movements to ensure racial and gender equality, people of color and women continue to experience racism and sexism. The psychological research literature suggests that nearly every African American has experienced at least one racist event in his or her lifetime (Landrine & Klonoff, 1996). In addition, almost all women have reported experiencing sexist discrimination in their lifetime (Klonoff & Landrine, 1995). Scholars have long theorized that racism and sexism have a deleterious influence on the psychological and physical health of people of color (Clark, Anderson, Clark, & Williams, 1999; Krieger, 1990) and women (Landrine, Klonoff, Gibbs, Manning, & Lund, 1995). Using a stress and coping framework, many researchers have conceptualized racism and sexism as stressors that can lead to a variety of negative psychological and physical health consequences (Clark et al., 1999; Klonoff & Landrine, 1995; Landrine & Klonoff, 1996; Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009; Shorter-Gooden, 2004; Williams & Williams-Morris, 2000). For example, Pascoe and Smart Richman (2009) conducted a meta-analysis on the relations between perceived discrimination (e.g., racism and sexism) and health. They found that perceived discrimination produces a heightened stress response, which in turn is related to negative mental and physical health outcomes. In addition, research indicates that subtle forms of perceived racism and sexism have a cumulative negative effect on people of color and women (Klonoff & Landrine, 1995; Sue, 2010; Utsey & Ponterotto, 1999). Although there is ample research evidence on the influence of racism and sexism for African Americans and women, there is a dearth of research, which explores the influence of both racism and sexism for Black women.

Most of the research on racism and sexism in psychology continues to focus on race or gender and not their intersection (Cole, 2009). In addition, many psychology researchers have tried to tease apart and separate the experiences of racism and sexism (Thomas, 2004). However, some psychologists (e.g., Shorter-Gooden, 2004; Thomas, Speight, & Witherspoon, 2008) argue that racial and gender oppression is intertwined in the lives of Black women. There is a rich interdisciplinary literature that speaks to the “double jeopardy” that Black women face in dealing with both racism and sexism (e.g., Beale, 1970; Collins, 1991; hooks, 1981; Jones & Shorter-Gooden, 2003). Much of this research originated during the 1970’s Black Power and Women’s Movements when many Black feminist scholars began to shed light on the intersections of race and gender. The concept of double jeopardy has expanded to incorporate multiple social identities. Some psychologists (e.g., Cole, 2009; Moradi & Subich, 2002) have challenged the field to move from exploring racism and sexism as mutually exclusive and unidimensional constructs to exploring the simultaneous and multidimensionality of racism and sexism in the lives of Black women.

Sue’s (2010) model of microaggressions is a theoretical framework useful for exploring the intersection of both racism and sexism. According to Sue, microaggressions are defined as “brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioral, or environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial, gender, sexual-orientation, and religious slights and insults toward the target person or group” (p. 5). Based on models of subtle and covert forms of oppression, it is possible that this model will be able to capture the complexity of intersecting experiences with oppression, such as the experiences of subtle forms of racism and sexism.

Although much of the research to date on microaggressions has provided a rich exploration of microaggressions by hearing from the lived experiences of Black people and other people of color, there is a lack of research that has explored the complexity of Black women's experiences. Due to the dearth of research on the intersection of subtle forms of racism and sexism for Black women, this study seeks to fill these gaps in the literature. Although, there has been an increase in quantitative studies on microaggressions which have sought to develop new measurement tools (e.g., Nadal, 2011), there are currently no measurement tools to capture the intersectionality of race and gender. More research is needed which can both: (a) provide a richer understanding of the influence of subtle forms of racism and sexism on Black women's life experiences and (b) begin to explore the factors that add to the complexity of Black women's lived experiences.

To address the gaps in the literature, I extended Sue's (2010) theory and research on microaggressions by constructing and validating a quantitative scale to assess gendered racial microaggressions for Black women. I created a scale for the purpose of moving microaggressions research beyond exploration and description to hypothesis testing and prediction. A scale will also allow researchers to explore the relations between perceived gendered racial microaggressions and mental and physical health outcomes to measure the impact of these experiences. Based on the recommendations of Cole (2009), I used an intersectional analytic approach to explore the simultaneous experience of both racial and gender microaggressions for Black women.

The purpose of this project was to construct and validate a scale to assess gendered racial microaggressions for Black women. Gendered racial microaggressions are defined as "subtle and everyday verbal, behavioral, and environmental expressions of oppression based on the

intersection of one's race and gender" (Lewis, Mendenhall, Harwood, & Browne Hunt, 2013, p. 51). The research questions were as follows: (1) What is the underlying factor structure of the scale? (2) What is the construct validity of the scale? (3) Are gendered racial microaggressions significantly related to psychological distress? The research hypotheses were as follows: (1) The scale will have a multidimensional factor structure, (2) The scale will be positively related to measures of racial microaggressions and subtle sexist events, (3) The scale will be positively related to psychological distress. Based on the best practices for scale development research in counseling psychology (Worthington & Whittaker, 2006), in this project I conducted a three phase study: *Phase I: Scale Construction* (i.e., developed and finalized items based on findings from focus groups, obtained feedback from expert researchers' review, and pilot study); *Phase II: Initial Validation* (i.e., conducted exploratory factor analysis with 259 participants to assess the factor structure of the scale items); *Phase III: Construct Validity* (i.e., conducted confirmatory factor analysis with independent sample of 210 participants and examined associations with a range of related constructs including racial microaggressions, sexist events, and psychological distress).

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

Microaggressions represent the dynamic interplay between perpetrator and target. Sue's (2010) theory of microaggressions provides a way to classify everyday manifestations of oppression and explore the psychological consequences of these experiences for target groups. These subtle slights and putdowns are often unconsciously and unintentionally delivered by dominant groups to marginalized groups in verbal and nonverbal ways. According to Sue's review of the literature, microaggressions have a deleterious impact on a range of mental health outcomes for marginalized groups. Specifically, these experiences represent daily and chronic stressors that can lead to a number of physical and mental health issues.

In this literature review, I provide an overview of some of the key terms in the field of psychology regarding racism. As a way to contextualize microaggressions and the topic of gendered racial microaggressions, I provide theory and research on both subtle forms of racism and sexism. Because the bulk of the conceptualizations of microaggressions research centers on the racism research, I first review the literature on contemporary forms of racism and I pay particular attention to the conceptual and empirical research on racism-related stress. Next, I provide a review of the theory and research on contemporary forms of sexism as this work provides insights to understanding subtle forms of sexism in the psychology literature. More directly related to the current project, I provide a review of the theory and research on gendered racism. I end with an examination of the research literature on racial and gender microaggressions followed by the introduction of a model of gendered racial microaggressions.

Racism

Racism can be manifested on an overt and conscious level in addition to on a subtle and unconscious level (Sue, 2010). Theoretical and empirical research on racism in the field of psychology has explored three primary areas: (1) manifestations of racism in U.S. society, (2) contemporary forms of racism, and (3) the psychological influence of racism on people of color. The first area of research highlights the different definitions of racism that have been theorized in the extant literature. The second area highlights contemporary forms of racism that includes subtle manifestations of racism. The third area of research explores the psychological influence of racism on people of color, specifically, the negative effects of stress associated with racism. The following section presents a brief review of the above mentioned areas of literature on racism.

According to Jones (1972), racism is, “The transformation of race prejudice and/or ethnocentrism through the exercise of power against a racial group defined as inferior, by individuals and institutions with the intentional or unintentional support of the entire culture” (p. 172). In addition, Thomas and Neville (1999) stated that, “Racism consists of two interlocking dimensions: (a) an institutional [structural] mechanism of domination and (b) a corresponding ideological belief that justifies the oppression of people whose physical features and cultural patterns differ from those of the politically and socially dominated group--Whites (p. 163). Thus, racism consists of an ideological belief or prejudicial attitude against a racial group combined with the behavioral support of individuals, institutions, and societal structures that justify the oppression of the group with less social power (Neville, Spanierman, & Lewis, 2012). Jones (1997) conceptualized a multidimensional model of racism that includes three different types of racism: individual, institutional, and cultural. *Individual racism* is the experience of racism on a

personal level, such as being called a racial slur or being the target of a hate crime. This is also usually described as overt and conscious acts of racism. *Institutional racism* refers to the political, social, and institutional policies that discriminate against people of color and perpetuate inequality (Thompson & Neville, 1999; Utsey & Ponterotto, 1996). *Cultural racism* refers to the practice of ethnocentrism, whereby the cultural values and practices of the dominant racial group are considered to be superior and those of racial minorities are assumed to be inferior. This form of racism can be particularly difficult to address because it is often invisible to people in the dominant group.

Contemporary forms of racism. The invisible and insidious nature of racism is one area that has received increased attention in the psychology literature (Sue, 2005). According to contemporary racism scholars, (e.g., Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000; Neville, Lilly, Duran, Lee, & Browne, 2000) racism has changed from overt acts to more subtle and covert acts as a result of advances during the Civil Rights movement of the 1960's and 1970's. Pierce (1978) coined the term racial microaggressions to refer to subtle forms of racism experienced by African Americans during the post-Civil Rights era. These invisible forms of prejudice and discrimination often operate on an unconscious level for the perpetrator of these incidents (Dovidio, Gaertner, Kawakami, & Hodson, 2002; McConahay, 1986; Sue, Capodilupo, Torino, Bucceri, Holder, Nadal, & Esquilin, 2007; Thompson & Neville, 1999).

Most of the early conceptualizations of contemporary and subtle forms of racism focused on the perspective of the perpetrator. For example, symbolic racism (Sears & Henry, 2005), modern racism (McConahay, 1986), and aversive racism (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986) are three theories that have been developed to explain the thoughts, feelings, and beliefs of White people about Black people in contemporary society. According to the theories of symbolic and modern

racism, negative feelings towards Black people are often represented indirectly or symbolically through White individuals' opposition to particular programs that might benefit Black people rather than directly through support for segregation. Dovidio and Gaertner's (1986) theory of aversive racism articulates the ways in which White people in society have become more egalitarian and progressive, but still harbor negative racial feelings and sentiments towards people of color, leading them to intentionally and unintentionally discriminate and make racist remarks towards people of color (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2005). In these contemporary forms of racism, White people are often unaware of their subtle and often unconscious racist beliefs, which might negatively impact their interactions with people of color. The interpersonal nature of subtle and contemporary racist encounters can also be explored from the perspective of the target group. One area of research that has explored the psychological influence of racism for people of color has adapted Lazarus and Folkman's (1984) stress and coping model to the study of racism-related stress.

Racism-Related Stress

Over the past decade and a half, research emerged in the psychology literature focusing on the racism-related stress experiences of people of color, particularly Black Americans. Harrell (2000) defined racism-related stress 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" (p. 44). Several empirical studies in psychology have consistently found a link between perceived racism and additional life stress (e.g., Harrell, 2000; Sellers & Shelton, 2003; Utsey, 1999) for people of color. The racism-related stressors that people of color experience are subjective and may include subtle, covert forms of racism that many White Americans may not perceive and may

even unconsciously perpetuate, such as making comments about racial color-blindness (Clark et al., 1999; Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986; Harrell, 2000; McConahay, 1986).

There are a number of models describing the racism-related stress process. Two of the models that have received the most attention in the counseling psychology literature are Clark et al.'s (1999) biopsychosocial model of racism and Harrell's (2000) multidimensional conceptualization of racism-related stress. Both models are designed to explain the psychological effects of perceived racism for African Americans and both are grounded in Lazarus and Folkman's (1984) transactional theory of stress and coping. According to Clark et al., "The principal tenet of this proposed model is that the perception of an environmental stimulus as racist results in exaggerated psychological and physiological stress responses that are influenced by constitutional factors, sociodemographic factors, psychological and behavioral factors, and coping responses" (p. 806). In addition, these stress responses are expected to lead to significant health consequences over time. Harrell highlighted four contexts in which racism can manifest itself. Racism can manifest itself in an *interpersonal context* that includes direct and indirect experiences with discrimination and prejudice. Within a *collective context*, "racism is manifested through the status and functioning of large groups of people" (Harrell, 2000, p. 43). One example of this context is the racial health disparities that are the result of the interactive effects of different types of racism. A *cultural-symbolic context* refers to the way that racism is expressed in media portrayals of racial minorities and through the cultural values that are reflected in science, entertainment, and the arts. Last, racism can be manifested in a *sociopolitical context* which affects the discussions about race and racial ideology.

Psychological researchers have begun to explore the correlates of racism-related stress on psychological and behavioral health. In general, this body of research indicates that racism-

related stress is related to negative mental health (Paradies, 2006; Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009; Pieterse, Todd, Neville, & Carter, 2012) and physical health outcomes (Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009; Williams & Williams-Morris, 2000). Specifically, greater racism-related stress has been significantly correlated with a number of mental health outcomes, such as decreased psychological well-being (Williams, Yu, Jackson, & Anderson, 1997), increased depression (Landrine & Klonoff, 1996), increased psychological distress (Klonoff, Landrine, & Ullman, 1999; Landrine & Klonoff, 1996), and decreased life satisfaction (Williams et al., 1997). In addition, greater racism-related stress has been significantly correlated with a number of physical health indicators, such as cigarette smoking (Landrine & Klonoff, 1996) and high blood pressure (Brondolo, Rieppi, Kelly, & Gerin, 2003). It is important to note that the research findings documenting the relations between racism-related stress and physical and behavioral health are inconsistent and generally not as robust as they are for the link between racism-related stress and mental health (see Pieterse et al., 2012 for a review).

Racism-related stress measures. There are a number of racism-related stress, race-related stress, and racist events measures as they are alternately referred to in the literature. Most of the measures are grounded in Lazarus and Folkman's (1984) theoretical model of stress and daily hassles. According to Utsey (2008), three of the widely used measures with Black American samples in the psychology literature to assess these constructs are: Index of Race-Related Stress (IRRS; Utsey & Ponterotto, 1996), Schedule of Racist Events (SRE; Landrine & Klonoff, 1996), and Racial Life Experiences Scales (RaLES; Harrell, 1997). Below, I describe the development of each of these measures and highlight some of the strengths and limitations that are most relevant in terms of the current project with particular attention to the gender differences in the literature.

The IRRS is a 46-item measure that was developed by Utsey and Ponterotto (1996) to assess the perceived stressfulness of race-related events experienced by African Americans on a daily basis. This measure also takes into account *network events* that are events that happen to family members or other important people in one's life. It is a factor-analytically derived multidimensional measure of racism operationalized using Jones' (1997) tripartite definition of racism, Essed's (1991) qualitative work on everyday racism, and Lazarus and Folkman's (1984) theoretical framework of daily hassles. The IRRS consists of four subscales and a Global racism measure. The Cultural Racism subscale (16 items) assesses the race-related experiences of cultural denigration (e.g., "You seldom hear or read anything positive about Black people on the radio, TV, in newspapers, and history books"). The Collective Racism subscale (8 items) assesses the ways in which rights of African Americans have been restricted through organized efforts by White Americans (e.g., "You have been threatened with physical violence by an individual or group of Whites/non-Blacks"). The Individual Racism subscale (11 items) assesses the interpersonal experiences with racism (e.g., "You have been subjected to racist jokes by Whites/non-Blacks in positions of authority, and you did not protest for fear they might have held it against you"). The Institutional Racism subscale (11 items) assesses the experiences of institutional policies that perpetuate racism (e.g., "While shopping at a store or when attempting to make a purchase, you were ignored as if you were not a serious customer or didn't have any money"). Internal consistency estimates for the IRRS subscales have ranged from .79 (Collective Racism) to .87 (Cultural Racism) among a combined community and college student sample. To provide estimates of construct validity, Utsey and Ponterotto (1996) found the IRRS global scale was significantly correlated with the Perceived Stress Scale ($r = .24$) and two subscales of the RaLES ($r = .39$).

Utsey (1999) developed the 22-item IRRS-Brief version to decrease the time it takes respondents to complete the measure and also address geographical limitations with the relevancy of some of the original IRRS items. For example, there are some items that might be more commonly endorsed in New York City, such as having difficulty hailing a cab, that wouldn't be endorsed in a more suburban or rural area. In the development of the IRRS-B, Utsey re-analyzed the data from the original IRRS study using exploratory factor analysis. Based on the factor analysis and the deletion of items based on geographical limitations of the original scale, 22 items were retained yielding a three-factor solution (Cultural, Individual, and Institutional Racism subscales) and was replicated in the confirmatory factor analysis. Estimates of convergent validity indicated that the Global Racism score was significantly and positively related to two subscales of the RaLES ($r = .58$). In addition, the Black subsample scored significantly higher on the IRRS-B than White participants, which provides an estimate of criterion-related validity. Utsey (1999) reported Cronbach's alpha coefficients ranging from .69 (Institutional Racism) to .78 (Cultural and Individual Racism). The IRRS-B exhibited criterion and convergent validity with a majority Black women sample (Utsey, 1999; Woods-Griscombe & Lobel, 2008). Using the IRRS-B, Woods-Griscombe and Lobel (2008) found an internal consistency Cronbach's alpha coefficient of .95 with a sample of African American women. In a recent sample with African American college students, Hunter and Joseph (2010) found coefficient alphas of .84 (Cultural Racism) and .85 (Individual Racism).

This measure has some strengths. First, this measure has adequate psychometric support and has been shown to have good estimates of construct validity. This measure was created to assess the multidimensionality of race-related stressors and was a factor-analytically derived

scale. A benefit of the IRRS is that it captures micro-level interpersonal experiences with racism in addition to macro-level (institutional and cultural) experiences with racism.

Among the limitations of both the IRRS and the IRRS-B is that some of the items refer to overt experiences with racism (e.g., “You have been threatened with physical violence by an individual or group of Whites/non-Blacks”) that represent old-fashioned racism that might be less common. In addition, Utsey, Ponterotto, and Porter (2008) have recently argued that the Institutional racism subscale might not be relevant for college age populations because they have not had experience with institutional level race-related stress. Also, there has been a dearth of research that has examined gender differences with the IRRS/IRRS-B. Greer, Laseter, and Asiamah (2009) recently conducted a study in order to explore gender differences in race-related stress between Black men and women and found that Black men reported higher race-related stress for institutional racism than Black women. However, higher levels of race-related stress were significantly related to increased anxiety and obsessive-compulsive symptoms for women, but not for men. This finding highlights the influence of gender differences on the relations between race-related stress and psychological health outcomes. Greer and colleagues (2009) further argued that the combination of race and gender-related stress plays a role in predicting mental health outcomes for Black women. However, the IRRS-B does not have specific items that capture gendered forms of racism that may be unique for Black men and women.

The SRE is an 18-item scale created by Landrine and Klonoff (1996) to assess the frequency and stressfulness of African Americans’ experiences with perceived racist events in the last year and in their lifetime. The SRE was theoretically derived from the literature on daily hassles and life events, and these events are conceptualized as racially specific life events. Each item is scored along three dimensions (frequency of events within the last year, frequency of

events within one's lifetime, and stressfulness of the experience); thus, respondents provide three ratings for each item. Although the authors conceptualized this scale as a unidimensional measure, they describe the three dimensions as subscales, which include: Recent Racist Events (range 18 to 108), Lifetime Racist Events (range 18 to 108), and Appraised Racist Events (range 17 to 102). Internal consistency estimates have ranged from .94 (Appraisal; Landrine & Klonoff, 1996) to .97 (Recent; Klonoff & Landrine, 2000).

In terms of estimates of construct validity, Landrine and Klonoff (1996) found all three SRE scores to be significantly correlated with stress-related psychiatric and somatic symptoms, low self-esteem, and cigarette smoking in theoretically expected ways. Some studies suggest there are gender differences in reported frequency of racist events between Black men and women; however, such differences are inconsistent across samples (e.g., Fischer & Shaw, 1999; Klonoff & Landrine, 1999). For example, Klonoff and Landrine (1999) found that Black men reported more frequent perceived racist events than women. In their scale development study, Landrine and Klonoff (1996) did not assess the scale's multidimensionality using factor analysis. However, Klonoff and Landrine (1999) later found that their data supported a unidimensional factor structure for SRE Lifetime, Recent, and Appraisal. In addition, DeBlaere and Moradi (2008) explored the scale's dimensionality with a sample of Black women and replicated an unidimensional factor structure.

The SRE has several strengths that include adequate psychometric properties and utility with Black populations. In addition, the conceptualization of perceived racist events using a daily hassles and life events framework adds to the literature, and provides an assessment of common experiences with racism (Essed, 1991). A limitation of the SRE is that the scale items were created theoretically rather than empirically, which is less desirable in scale development

research (Worthington & Whittaker, 2006). The inconsistent findings related to gender differences using the SRE is also troubling. In addition, there has been a dearth of studies that have explored the structural stability of the scale. Moreover, theoretical work on racism (see Jones, 1997) indicates that experiences with racism and racism-related stress are multidimensional in nature; thus a multidimensional scale might better capture the complexity of these experiences.

The RaLES-R (Harrell, 1997) is a battery of instruments developed to measure the racism-related stress and coping behaviors of people of color. The measure was originally developed in 1995 and was later revised in 1997. This measure was created based on a multidimensional model of racism-related stress that includes five primary racism scales and six supplemental scales. The five primary scales include: Racism Experiences, Daily Life Experiences (DLE), Perceived Influences of Race, Group Impact, and Life Experiences and Stress. The six supplemental scales include: Racial Socialization Influences, Responses to Race-related Experiences, Racism-related Coping Styles, Racism-Encounter Emotions and Coping, Racial Attitudes, and Multiple Dimensions of Identity and Oppression. Each subscale can be used independently of each other or as a whole instrument. For the purposes of this review, I focus on one of the commonly used scales within the battery of instruments that is most similar to the present study. The Daily Life Experiences scale (DLE), consists of 20 items measuring one's perceptions of everyday experiences with racism within the past year. Participants are asked to assess each of the items regarding both the frequency of each experience and their appraisal about how much they were bothered by each racial experience.

Harrell (1997) reported that the DLE was significantly correlated with collective self-esteem and life stress. In addition, the RaLES has been positively correlated with psychological

symptoms and life stress, which supports the scale's criterion validity. Sellers and Shelton (2003) conducted a factor analysis on the DLE using a sample of African American college students and found support for a single factor. In addition, they found Cronbach's alpha coefficient estimates of .90 for both frequency and appraisal. This measure has support for validity on racial and ethnic samples with reliability coefficients of .89 to .94 (Liang, Alvarez, Juang, & Liang, 2007).

The primary strength of the DLE is that it assesses everyday forms of racism, and thus it captures more contemporary and subtle forms of racism. However, there is limited psychometric support for this scale. Although Sellers and Shelton (2003) found support for a unidimensional scale in their sample, there is a dearth of studies that have systematically examined the structural stability of this scale. In addition, the RaLES as a whole was theoretically derived and not created using factor analytic procedures (Utsey, 1999). In addition, there is very little research on gender differences with this scale.

Taken together, the existing racism measures in the literature show several unique strengths and some noteworthy limitations. Both the IRRS and the RaLES were developed based on a multidimensional model of racism-related stress, which is a strength because much of the extant literature suggests that racism is multidimensional in nature (Utsey, 1999). A unique strength of the IRRS is that in the early stages of development, the researchers conducted a focus group with an African American community sample to provide qualitative feedback about the scale items. This is an asset to scale development because the researchers used a combination of deductive and inductive methods to generate their items.

In terms of psychometric properties, each of the measures showed promising psychometric support. For example, strong internal consistency estimates were found for both the SRE and the IRRS. In addition, all three measures have initial support for the construct

validity of the measures. However, the SRE and the RaLES did not use any factor analytic methods to assess multidimensionality (Utsey, 1998).

Although the IRRS represents one of the stronger measures in terms of theoretical framework and psychometric support, the limitations should not be minimized. One of the major limitations of the IRRS is that although it assesses interpersonal experiences with racism, the experiences are more overt. The IRRS does not assess subtle interpersonal racism experiences, such as microaggressions that might be more prevalent in contemporary interpersonal interactions with Whites (Sue, 2010). Moreover, many of the items are gendered in ways that privilege Black men's experiences, with little attention to the ways in which Black women experience subtle forms of racism and sexism. Black women's experiences with subtle forms of racism and sexism are one area that warrants further attention in both the theoretical and empirical psychology literature.

Sexism

Similar to racism, sexism can operate on an overt and conscious level in addition to a subtle and unconscious level (Sue, 2010). Swim and Hyers (2009) defined sexism as, "Individuals' attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors, and organizational, institutional, and cultural practices that either reflect negative evaluations of individuals based on their gender or support unequal status of women and men" (p. 407). Some examples of overt manifestations of sexism include sexual harassment, domestic violence, and discriminatory hiring practices. Similar to overt forms of racism, overt sexism is often less accepted in contemporary society. Thus, many well-intentioned men may hold sexist views about women that are outside their conscious awareness. These subtle forms of sexism can often have a negative impact on women (Sue, 2010). For example, research indicates that women's experiences with subtle and everyday forms

of sexist discrimination have been positively related to psychological distress (Moradi & Subich, 2002; Moradi & Subich, 2003). Although there are several theories of sexism, for the purposes of this study, I highlight three primary areas of theory and research on contemporary sexism: (1) modern sexism, (2) ambivalent sexism, and (3) perceived sexist discrimination.

The research on contemporary sexism encompasses subtler forms of sexism that are often more difficult to uncover. Drawing on the research on modern racism, Swim, Aiken, Hall, and Hunter (1995) developed a theoretical model of modern sexism. According to the authors, there are increasing pressures in contemporary society to suppress old-fashioned sexist attitudes and beliefs about women. However, due to women's economic and political advancement in recent decades, many men may resent women's upward mobility and view sexism as a thing of the past. In addition, men might feel resentful for programs and policies that provide women greater opportunities for equality. These modern sexist attitudes might impact interpersonal interactions between men and women in the form of gender microaggressions. To test their theory, Swim et al. (1995) developed the Modern Sexism Scale (MSS) using a theoretically derived method of item generation to measure a two-factor structure representing both old-fashioned sexism and modern sexism.

Swim et al. (1995) altered items from McConahay's (1986) Modern Racism Scale to apply to sexism against women. They developed items representing traditional beliefs about women and negative stereotypes about women's competence. Using a sample of White men and women, Swim et al. conducted both an exploratory factor analysis (EFA) and confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) on the scale items, which resulted in a 13-item scale. The results indicated a two-factor solution with an Old-Fashioned Sexism subscale (OF, 5 items, e.g., "Women are generally not as smart as men") and a Modern Sexism subscale (MS, 8 items, e.g.,

“Discrimination against women is no longer a problem in the United States”), which yielded Cronbach’s alpha coefficient estimates of .66 and .84, respectively. In addition, there were significant differences between men and women, such that not surprisingly men scored significantly higher on both indicators of sexism. To establish support for construct validity, the MS was significantly correlated with individualistic and egalitarian values, which partially supports research on modern racism that modern prejudice is related to non-egalitarian beliefs. Much of the empirical literature on modern sexism is drawn from social psychology and has explored the impact of modern sexist attitudes on behavior. For example, Swim and Cohen (1997) conducted a series of vignette studies with White college students and found that participants who scored higher on modern sexism were less likely to detect incidences of sexual harassment in the workplace. There is very limited research on women’s subjective experiences with modern sexism or the relation between modern sexism and mental health outcomes.

Ambivalent sexism is another seminal theory in this area. Drawing on Allport’s (1954) conceptualization of prejudice, Glick and Fiske (1996) argued that sexism has been conceptualized with the assumption that there is hostility toward women. They also proffered that positive feelings towards women can also represent sexist attitudes. Glick and Fiske proposed a multidimensional model of sexism that incorporates both hostile and benevolent sexism. Hostile sexism is what is traditionally considered overt sexist attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors. They defined benevolent sexism as, “A set of interrelated attitudes toward women that are sexist in terms of viewing women stereotypically and in restricted roles but that are subjectively positive in feeling tone (for the perceiver) and also tend to elicit behaviors typically categorized as prosocial (e.g., helping) or intimacy seeking (e.g., self-disclosure)” (Glick & Fiske, 1996, p. 491). The authors are clear that benevolent sexism is problematic because

although these might be positive attitudes towards women, these attitudes and beliefs represent traditional gender stereotypes that position male domination and power in relationships at the center. Thus, the recipient of benevolent sexism may find these comments and actions degrading and harmful. For example, if a woman receives a compliment about her appearance from a male coworker or boss, she may feel uncomfortable even though the comment was meant to be positive. These types of comments may make a woman feel objectified in her workplace and not taken seriously (Glick & Fiske, 1996; Sue, 2010). Drawing on Dovidio and Gaertner's (1986) theory of aversive racism and McConahay's (1986) research on modern racism, Glick and Fiske theorized that sexist attitudes have changed into more subtle forms, and that sexist men hold both positive and negative views about women.

Glick and Fiske (1996) developed the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI) to capture two opposing views about women (i.e., hostility and benevolence). Glick and Fiske did not view sexism as a conflict between feelings of old-fashioned sexism and modern sexism. Thus, unlike Swim et al.'s (1995) MSS, they created the items on the ASI to capture the ambivalence of sexism related to the dynamic interplay between women and men's heterosexual relationships. The ASI is flexible in terms of assessing heterosexual men's ability to hold hostile views toward women, while also holding benevolent views towards women for the sake of romantic relationships.

The initial development of the ASI consisted of a series of six studies conducted on a predominantly White college sample of 2, 250 participants to assess hostile and benevolent components of ambivalent sexism (Paternalism, Gender Differentiation, and Heterosexuality). The EFA yielded a two factor solution and the researchers narrowed the items down to a 22-item scale with two subscales: Hostile Sexism (HS, 11 items, e.g., "The world would be a better place

if women supported men more and criticized them less”) and Benevolent Sexism (BS, 11 items, e.g., “Every woman should have a man to whom she can turn for help in times of trouble”). The results of the CFA indicated that the two factor model was a better fit than a one factor model. In addition, the full model indicated that BS can be described as having three subfactors (Protective Paternalism, Complementary Gender Differentiation, and Heterosexual Intimacy). To establish construct validity, Glick and Fiske (1996) found significant gender differences, such that men reported higher scores on both subscales of ambivalent sexism than women. The ASI total score also correlated with other measures of sexism including the Modern Sexism Scale (Swim et al., 1995), OF subscale ($r = .42$) and MS subscale ($r = .57$), the Attitudes Towards Women Scale (Spence & Helmreich, 1972) ($r = .63$), and the Rape Myth Acceptance Scale (Burt, 1980) ($r = .54$).

The ASI has been administered to thousands of men and women in 19 countries (Glick & Fiske, 2001). Much of Glick and Fiske’s work on their scale has been conducted in order to validate their findings on cross-cultural populations. Previous research indicates that benevolent and hostile sexism predict gender inequality, and women are more likely to endorse benevolent sexism and reject hostile sexism, particularly in sexist cultures. Swim, Mallet, Russo-Devosa, and Stangor (2005) compared measures of ambivalent sexism, modern sexism, and traditional gender role attitudes among a predominantly White college-age sample. They found that participants judged traditional gender role attitudes and hostile sexist beliefs as more sexist than benevolent and modern sexist beliefs. The authors argued that their findings support the notion that benevolent and modern sexist beliefs represent more subtle measures of sexism. In addition, men were less likely to judge beliefs as sexist in comparison to women. Although the existing research on ambivalent sexism adds to the literature on subtle and everyday forms of sexism,

there is limited information on the ways that these attitudes impact interpersonal relationships between men and women and the psychological impact of ambivalent sexism for women.

Although the MSS and the ASI are conceptually related to the current study, the area of empirical research that is most closely related to gender microaggressions is work on perceived sexist events as conceptualized by Klonoff and Landrine (1995). The researchers developed a theoretical model of sexist discrimination, which included sexual harassment, being called sexist names, and being treated unfairly by others. Each of these types of sexist discrimination is conceptualized as sexist events drawn from the general stress literature (e.g., Lazarus & Folkman, 1984) on life events and daily hassles. According to Klonoff and Landrine, “sexist events can be viewed as gender-specific stressors because they are negative events (stressors) that happen to women because they are women” (p. 441).

Klonoff and Landrine (1995) developed theoretically derived items that were modeled after two common measures of stressful events for their 20-item Schedule of Sexist Events (SSE) scale. The initial scale development study measured the recent and lifetime frequency of perceived sexist events. Klonoff and Landrine found a four-factor solution for the SSE-Lifetime using an EFA among a sample of predominantly White women. The factors included: Sexist Degradation and its Consequences (8 items, e.g., “Being called a sexist name”), Sexist Discrimination in Distant Relationships (6 items, e.g. “Treated unfairly by people in service jobs”), Sexism in Close Relationships (3 items, e.g., “Treated unfairly by your boyfriend, husband, or other important man), and Sexist Discrimination in the Workplace (3 items, e.g., “Denied a raise, promotion, or tenure... or other such thing at work”). The factor analysis separated by White women and women of color yielded a three-factor solution for women of color, such that the Close and Distant Relationships subscales were combined for the women of

color. A factor analysis was conducted on the SSE-Recent and yielded similar results. Cronbach's alpha coefficients ranged from .90 (Recent) to .92 (Lifetime).

To help establish construct validity, the SSE Lifetime and Recent were correlated with measures of generic life events. Both the SSE Lifetime and Recent were significantly and positively correlated with PERI-Life Events Scale (Dohrenwend, Krasnoff, Askenasy, & Dohrenwend, 1978) ($r = .27$). Klonoff and Landrine found that 99% of the sample experienced a sexist event in their lifetime. According to the authors, 95% of White women and 93% of women of color (all racial/ethnic minority groups combined) reported being forced to listen to a sexist joke in their lifetime. As far as demographic factors, younger women reported more frequent sexist events than older women and women of color reported significantly more frequent sexist discrimination than White women. Women of color reported more frequent sexism in their lifetime in their personal relationships compared to White women. In addition, women of color scored higher on the SSE-Recent than White women because they reported higher frequency of sexist degradation. However, when Klonoff and Landrine (1995) explored these findings further by ethnic group, Latina and Asian women showed significant differences between White women, but African American women did not exhibit any differences. The researchers concluded that there are ethnic group differences in perceived sexist events. However, more research is needed in order to explore these differences, particularly among Black women.

The SSE has been an important instrument in exploring the psychological influence of subtle and everyday forms of sexist discrimination. Specifically, research indicates that greater perceived sexist events have been positively correlated with psychological distress (Moradi & Subich, 2002; Moradi & Subich, 2003), depression, and somatic symptoms (Landrine et al.,

1995) among samples of racially diverse women. The SSE is one of the only scales of its kind used to explore the subjective experience of perceived sexist events.

Taken together, the existing contemporary sexism measures in the psychology literature show some promise in assessing subtle forms of sexism; however, there are some significant limitations. Both the MSS and the ASI offer theoretical conceptualizations of contemporary sexism. Both of these measures include a dimension that captures more old-fashioned sexism and another dimension that captures more subtle sexism, which are great additions to the extant literature. In addition, both of the scales are brief inventories that provide evidence for initial psychometric support. However, research using the MSS and ASI is limited in that there is a focus on sexism more broadly without an examination of the implications of sexism on women. Specifically, there is limited information about women's subjective experience of these forms of sexism in interpersonal relationships with men and the psychological toll these attitudes and beliefs cause.

The small area of research that explores the influence of modern and ambivalent sexism on women tends to focus on the ways that women internalize these modern sexist and benevolent attitudes, which then in turn negatively impacts psychological well-being rather than exploring the psychological impact of the microaggressive incidences of subtle sexism. This is problematic because an examination of internalized sexism without an examination of the role of men who perpetuate sexism can lead to a victim-blaming and pathologizing line of research. The SSE has several strengths over the MSS and the ASI. First, the SSE is a measure of the everyday experiences of sexist events that can take a psychological toll on women. In addition, there is a body of literature that has explored the relations between perceived sexist events and mental health outcomes. The SSE was also developed as a multidimensional measure of sexism and has

good psychometric support and there is evidence of good construct validity. Also, the SSE was developed with a racially diverse sample of women (e.g., Klonoff & Landrine, 1995) and it has been validated on a sample of African American women (e.g., Moradi & Subich, 2003). This measure seems to be the most promising scale to measure subtle experiences of sexism and most closely matches the construct of microaggressions. One of the limitations of this scale is that although the items reflect everyday experiences with sexism, some of the items still represent overt sexist events. In addition, although the SSE has been validated with African American women, the empirical research suggests (e.g., Moradi & Subich, 2003; Thomas et al., 2008) that Black women's experiences with oppression reflects an intersection of both racism and sexism, which is not captured with the SSE. One promising area of research that has explored the intersections of perceived racism and sexism among women of color is gendered racism.

Gendered Racism

The term *gendered racism* was originally coined by sociologist Philomena Essed (1991). Essed developed an interdisciplinary theory of *everyday racism*, which refers to the recurrent, familiar practices of racism that occur in everyday life with African American women and Black Surinamese women in the Netherlands. *Gendered racism* refers to the simultaneous experience of both racism and sexism. Gendered racism attempts to capture the complexity of oppression experienced by Black women based on racist perceptions of gender roles. According to Essed, racism and sexism “intertwine and combine under certain conditions into one hybrid phenomenon” (p. 31). Essed contended that Black women experience gendered and classed forms of racism that are based on the constructed ideologies and stereotypes of Black womanhood. For example, Black women have been stereotyped as strong, hardworking,

dominant, and sexually promiscuous, all stereotypes that are in contrast to the stereotypes of White womanhood (Collins, 1991).

Theoretical work on gendered notions of race and the focus on the intersections of race, gender, and social class have been in existence for decades. In the 1980's there was an increase in scholarship on Black women's experiences with race and gender (Cole, 2009). For example, Patricia Hill Collins (1991) aptly stated, "We need new visions of what oppression is, new categories of analysis that are inclusive of race, class, and gender, as distinctive yet interlocking structures of oppression" (p. 2). Collins highlighted the intersections of race, class, and gender as it relates to Black women's experiences with oppression. Although critical race theorist Kimberle Crenshaw (1993) has been credited for coining the term *intersectionality*, Black feminist scholars have written about multiple forms of oppression Black women faced well before the 1980s (e.g. Beale, 1970). In Crenshaw's (1993) critique of the literature on race(ism) and sex(ism) she stated that:

Black women sometimes experience discrimination in ways similar to white women's experiences; sometimes they share very similar experiences with Black men. Yet often they experience double discrimination—the combined effects of practices which discriminate on the basis of race, and on the basis of sex. And sometimes, they experience discrimination as Black women—not the sum of race and sex discrimination, but as Black women. (p. 385).

On the basis of Crenshaw's conceptualization, Black women could: (a) experience racism and sexism similarly to Black men and White women, respectively, (b) experience double oppression or *double jeopardy*, and (c) experience specific oppression that is unique to Black women (Cole, 2009). The first scenario assumes that Black women's experiences with racism,

holds their gender constant and that their experience of sexism holds their race constant. The second scenario assumes that racism and sexism have an equal effect on the individual, and that these experiences are additive. The third scenario assumes that Black women experience a unique form of oppression based on the intersection of race and gender. This critique highlights the limitations of studying race and gender separately because in reality, individuals experience these categories simultaneously. According to psychologist Elizabeth Cole (2009), each of these approaches to the study of Black women's oppression women could represent different aspects of intersectional analyses.

In the last decade there has been an increase in intersectional research on Black women in the field of psychology. There have been many ways that psychology researchers have explored the effects of both race and gender on the lives of Black women (e.g., Cole, 2009). Thomas et al. (2008) identified three approaches to studying Black women's experiences in the field of psychology that include: (1) the double jeopardy approach, (2) the interactional approach, and (3) the intersectional approach. In the double jeopardy approach, women can experience distress based on the cumulative impact of both racism and sexism. The notion that Black women have "two strikes against them" is articulated by the double jeopardy approach. According to Thomas and colleagues, empirical research using the double jeopardy approach typically tries to test racism and sexism separately by using race and gender as independent variables and seeking to hold one variable constant. Using this approach, researchers try to explore the additive effects of race and gender. For example, in Klonoff and Landrine's (1995) study of perceived sexist events, they found that Black women experienced more psychological distress from sexist events than White women. However, this approach did not consider Black women's experiences with racism. In addition, this approach treats racism and sexism as additive and equal forms of

oppression, which is problematic because racism and sexism might impact Black women in unique ways that cannot be captured using an additive approach.

Similar to the notion that race and gender represent equal forms of oppression, the interactional approach seeks to explore the multiple effects of race and gender. Researchers using this approach tend to include race, gender, and an interaction term of race and gender into their analyses in order to explore the influence of each identity group separately and together (Thomas et al., 2008). Researchers typically seek to approximate the interaction effect of race and gender through statistical analysis. For example, Moradi and Subich (2003) examined the interactional effects of racism and sexism on Black women's psychological distress. The researchers explored whether racism, sexism, or the interaction of racism and sexism better predicted psychological distress. They found that sexism was the only unique predictor of psychological distress for Black women over and above racism alone and the interaction between racism and sexism. The authors concluded that the constructs of racism and sexism might be intertwined for Black women in ways that make it difficult to separate and tease apart the effects of race and gender. This approach begins to explore the intersection of racism and sexism for Black women. However, a limitation of this approach is that it seeks to separate and tease apart the experiences of race and gender, which can be problematic (Thomas et al., 2008). Specifically, it is possible that this approach could reinforce hierarchies of oppressions that can lead to misleading findings.

The intersectional approach in psychology views race and gender as intersecting identities that simultaneously influence a person's life experiences, which is similar to the stance articulated by Crenshaw (1993). There is some debate in the literature about which approach is best to explore intersecting identities in psychology. Some argue that the intersectional approach is the only approach that explores race and gender simultaneously without trying to tease them

apart and separate them, which is very common in the field of psychology (e.g., Thomas et al., 2008).

A few studies that have used an intersectional approach to explore racism and sexism among Black women; most of these studies employed qualitative designs. Jones and Shorter-Gooden (2003) conducted a large qualitative study with a community sample of 196 Black women to explore the simultaneous experience of racism and sexism. Women reported experiencing both race and gender-related stereotypes, particularly in the workplace. However, many women reported that they could not distinguish whether discrimination was based on race, gender, or the intersection of the two. Similarly, King (2003) found that African American women's experiences with sexism were intertwined with racism and could not be teased apart.

Thomas et al. (2008) recently explored the relations between gendered racism, psychological distress, and coping styles among a sample of Black women. They modified the SSE in order to explore the perceived sexist events that Black women experience. Specifically, they revised the scale items by inserting "Black woman" in each item. For example, "How many times have people made inappropriate or unwanted sexual advances to you because you are a *Black woman*?" The Cronbach's alpha coefficient estimate (.93) for the revised scale was comparable with previous studies. Findings suggest a significant positive relationship between experiences of gendered racism and psychological distress. In addition, avoidant coping (i.e., cognitive-emotional debriefing) partially mediated this relationship, such that greater perceived gendered racism was related to greater use of cognitive-emotional debriefing, and greater psychological distress.

A majority of the research on gendered racism is theoretical and qualitative. These works have helped to describe the experiences of racism and sexism for Black women. In addition, the

scholarly work has expanded the theoretical models that are important for a phenomenological understanding of Black women's lived experiences. However, the extant literature is limited because there are very few ways to measure gendered racism. One of the next steps for this emerging area of research is to develop quantitative measures to examine the frequency and stressfulness of experiences of gendered racism and also be able to advance the literature on Black women's mental health and well-being. Previous research has modified existing measures to assess gendered racism (e.g., Thomas et al., 2008). However, this is problematic on a number of levels. First, this raises measurement questions because it is important to conduct a factor analysis on the scale items if they are altered. It is possible that the modified scale is assessing a completely different construct, which might not be scored in the same way as in the scale development study. Also of concern is a reliance on preexisting conceptualizations of racism and sexism. Several psychologists (e.g., Moradi & Subich, 2003; Thomas et al., 2008) have called for advances in measures to assess the experiences of intersecting constructs. For example, Moradi and Subich (2003) mentioned that, "Extant research can inform how researchers build on available operationalizations to assess the diversity of perceived experiences of discrimination" (p. 426). This study heeds these suggestions by building on the existing theory of gendered racism (Essed, 1991) and a new theory of microaggressions (Sue, 2010).

Microaggressions

In this section, I expand on the earlier discussion of microaggressions by focusing on three specific aspects of microaggressions. First, I highlight the theoretical and empirical research on racial microaggressions. Then, I discuss Sue's (2010) recent expansions to his model of microaggressions. Next, I bridge the gap between the literature on racial and gender microaggressions by discussing the intersection between race and gender microaggressions. Last,

I propose an intersectional model of microaggressions, with a specific focus on gendered racial microaggressions experienced by Black women.

Racial microaggressions. Racism can be expressed on an intergroup level in the form of what are known as racial microaggressions. The term *racial microaggression* was originally developed by an African American psychiatrist, Chester Pierce (Pierce, 1978), in describing the effects of Black-White interpersonal relations after the Civil Rights era. *Racial microaggressions* were defined by Pierce, Carew, Pierce-Gonzalez, and Wills (1978) as, “subtle, stunning, often automatic, and nonverbal exchanges, which are ‘put downs’ towards people of color” (p. 66). Sue, Capodilupo, et al. (2007) have expanded the theory of racial microaggressions, which they define as “brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioral, or environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights and insults toward people of color” (p. 271). According to Sue, Capodilupo, et al. (2007), many White people are unaware that they communicate these subtle biases towards people of color because they occur outside of their conscious awareness.

Microaggressions are conceptualized as an intergroup type of racism because they reflect “the dynamic interplay between perpetrator and recipient, classifying everyday manifestations, deconstructing hidden messages, and exploring internal (psychological) and external (disparities in education, employment, and health care) consequences” (Sue, Capodilupo, et al., 2007, p. 9). One common example of a racial microaggression experienced by many people of color is, “You speak so well, you are so articulate.” This comment by a White person is often intended as a compliment to the recipient. However, most people of color feel insulted by this statement. For example, President Barack Obama is often described as “articulate and well spoken” by many well-intentioned White liberals. According to Sue (2010) many people of color find this

offensive because they feel insulted by the underlying message or metacommunication expressed to them, which is that most people of color are not articulate and they do not “speak well.”

According to Sue, Capodilupo, et al.’s (2007) taxonomy, racial microaggressions can be expressed in three different forms: Microassaults, microinsults, and microinvalidations.

Microassaults are conscious acts of racism that are most similar to old-fashioned racism, such as being called a racial slur. *Microinsults* are characterized by “communications that convey rudeness and insensitivity and demean a person’s racial heritage” (Sue, 2010, p. 29).

Microinsults include insensitive comments based on an array of racial assumptions about criminality, intelligence, cultural values and aesthetics, and citizenship. *Microinvalidations* are manifested as a minimization or denial of the racialized experiences of people of color. For example, making a statement like, “I don’t see color, I treat everyone like human beings” minimizes race and denies and distorts racial issues. Comments like these often make people of color feel invalidated.

Theory and empirical research on microaggressions has received increased attention in the psychology literature in recent years. To date, there are over 45 published works on racial microaggressions, including two recent books by Derald Wing Sue. This body of research has mostly focused on the influence of racial microaggressions among African American and Asian American individuals. Solorzano, Ceja, and Yosso (2000) published one of the first empirical studies on racial microaggressions among African American college students. Using qualitative methodology, they found that African American students experienced microaggressions in academic and social contexts on campus, which negatively affected their perceptions of campus racial climate.

Sue, Bucceri, et al. (2007) conducted a focus group study among Asian American students and working professionals and found empirical evidence to support their theoretical taxonomy of racial microaggressions. Some of the themes included: feeling like an alien in one's own land, second class citizenship, and invisibility. Sue, Capodilupo, and Holder (2008) conducted a focus group study with Black individuals to explore their reactions to racial microaggression experiences. Four microaggressive themes emerged, which included: healthy paranoia, sanity check, empowering and validating oneself, and rescuing offenders. The researchers argued that racial microaggressions are stressful experiences that lead to feelings of powerlessness and invisibility.

Recently, several racial microaggressions scales have been published in the research literature. The Inventory of Microaggressions Against Black Individuals (IMABI) is a 14-item unidimensional scale that was developed by Mercer, Ziegler-Hill, Hayes, and Wallace (2011) to assess the combined frequency and appraisal of microinvalidations and microinsults experienced by Black individuals. This measure had a Cronbach's alpha of .94 and was also positively correlated with the IRRS ($r = .84$). Recently, Torris-Harding, Andrade, and Romero Diaz (2012) developed the Racial Microaggressions Scale (RMAS), which is a 32-item scale that assesses both the frequency and appraisal of racial microaggressions. The six subscales include: Invisibility, Criminality, Low-achieving/Undesirable Culture, Sexualization, Foreigner/Not Belonging, and Environmental Invalidations. Each of the subscales of the RMAS was significantly and positively related to the SRE ($r = .23 - .69, p < .01$). The Cronbach's alphas for each subscale ranged from .78 (Foreigner/Not Belonging) to .89 (Invisibility). Although this scale is a promising addition to the literature, one limitation of this scale is that it was developed based on the existing qualitative themes in the literature rather than from any qualitative data.

Nadal (2011) developed the Racial and Ethnic Microaggressions Scale (REMS), which is a 45-item scale that assesses the frequency of one's perceptions of microaggressions within the past six months. There are six subscales that include: Assumption of Inferiority, Second-Class Citizen and Assumption of Criminality, Microinvalidations, Exoticization and Assumptions of Similarity, Environmental Microaggressions, and Workplace and School Microaggressions. This measure has received psychometric support on a racially and ethnically diverse sample and yielded a Cronbach's alpha estimate of .93 for the full sample total scale score, with estimates ranging from .91 for the Asian American sample to .94 for the African American sample. The REMS has also been shown to be significantly positively correlated with the RaLES-B ($r = .43$). The REMS is a particularly promising scale because it was developed by a member of Sue's research team, and thus, was developed based on the theoretical conceptualization of Sue, Capodilupo, et al.'s (2007) original framework.

Gender microaggressions. Sue (2010) recently expanded his theory of microaggressions to include gender microaggressions, which are defined as, "brief and commonplace daily verbal or behavioral indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative gender slights and insults that potentially have a harmful impact on women" (p. 164). Gender microaggressions can be conscious or unconscious, and are often perpetuated by men who are unaware that they are communicating subtle sexist messages to women. According to Sue (2010) gender microaggressions have manifested because "it is not politically correct to hold overtly sexist attitudes or engage in obvious discriminatory actions toward women because it is at odds with beliefs of equality" (p. 169). Thus, sexism has changed into a more subtle and invisible form. Gender microaggressions can manifest in three forms similar to racial microaggressions (microassaults, microinsults, and microinvalidations).

Microassaults include: being called a sexist name, sexual harassment, and men making unwanted sexual advances toward women, just to name a few. Microinsults and microinvalidations are considered to be more invisible and insidious forms of microaggressions.

Capodilupo, Nadal, Corman, Hamit, Lyons, and Weinberg (2010) have created a taxonomy of gender microaggressions based on some of their qualitative research. Specifically, their findings highlighted nine microaggressive themes that represent both microinsults and microinvalidations. These microaggressions include: *sexual objectification* (e.g., women being reduced to their body in verbal or nonverbal ways), *second-class citizenship* (e.g., communicating that women do not deserve the benefits or privileges afforded to men), *use of sexist language* (e.g., using the generic pronoun “he”), *assumption of inferiority* (e.g., assumed to be inferior intellectually and physically), *restrictive gender roles* (e.g., messages that communicate women’s traditional gender roles and warnings not to break them), *denial of the reality of sexism* (e.g., invalidating messages that sexism is a thing of the past), *denial of individual sexism* (e.g., consciously discriminating against a woman based on sexist attitudes and beliefs, but disguising their sexism as meritocracy), *invisibility* (e.g., ignoring women in the workplace or minimizing her contributions at work), and *sexist humor/ jokes* (e.g., jokes that demean women and reinforce gender role stereotypes). Researchers have argued that sexism and gender microaggressions have a negative impact on women. According to a review of the literature, these subtle forms of sexism are related to self-esteem, self-worth, and can lead to psychological distress (Sue, 2010). In addition, objectification theory suggests that women internalize the objectification experienced by men and engage in self-objectification, which is related to increased anxiety, depression, and eating disorders (Buchanan, Fischer, Tokar, & Yoder, 2008).

Recently, Owen, Tao, and Rodolfa (2010) developed a brief measure to assess gender microaggressions experienced by women clients during the process of therapy. The researchers created a 14-item Microaggressions Against Women Scale (MAWS) based on a content analysis of the extant literature, a focus group, and an expert panel. The final measure was a 7-item scale that had a Cronbach's alpha coefficient estimate of .75. The researchers also explored the relations between the MAWS and relevant correlates. The findings suggested that clients who perceived more microaggressions had a lower working alliance with their therapist and worse mental health outcomes. In addition, the negative relationship between microaggressions and the outcome of therapy was mediated by the working alliance. Although this scale is a promising addition to the counseling psychology literature, it is specific to the gender microaggressions experienced within a therapeutic relationship and thus does not extend to other types of relationships or settings.

Intersection of race and gender microaggressions. Although Sue's (2010) model has not explicitly focused on intersecting identities, he proffers that any marginalized groups can experience microaggressions. Thus, it could be argued that microaggressions can be experienced by members of multiple marginalized groups. There have been a few qualitative studies that help shed light on the benefit of using the microaggressions model to explore intersectionality. Two qualitative studies (Constantine, Smith, Redington, & Owens, 2008; Sue, Bucceri, et al., 2007) have described the complexity of belonging to multiple oppressed groups and have found that microaggressions affect people differentially by race, ethnicity, and gender.

For example, Sue, Bucceri et al. (2007) conducted a focus group study in order to explore racial microaggressions among Asian American students and working professionals. They found that both Asian American men and women experienced the racial microaggression theme of

feeling like an “alien in one’s own land,” whereas, Asian American women reported feeling exoticized. Although this study did not specifically focus on the intersection of race and gender, Sue, Bucceri, et al.’s findings suggest that these intersecting identities may differentially impact individuals’ experiences.

In another study, Constantine et al. (2008) examined the experiences of racial microaggressions among Black faculty. They found that both Black men and women faculty members experienced the racial microaggression theme of “alternating feelings of invisibility and hypervisibility”, whereas, Black women reported having difficulty discerning whether subtle discrimination was based on race, gender, or the interaction of the two. These studies highlight the ways in which microaggressions can be experienced based on both race and gender.

Although there has been some conceptual work written about the intersections of multiple identities on experiences with racial microaggressions (Sue & Capodilupo, 2008), empirical research is lacking in exploring the unique experience for women of color. More research is needed in order to explore the intersection of racism and sexism on the psychological well-being of women of color. Taken together, these studies provide evidence that racial microaggressions do exist, that they are psychologically taxing to individuals, and that they impact people differently based on multiple social identities.

Gendered Racial Microaggressions

To bridge this gap in the theoretical and empirical literature, I propose a model of *gendered racial microaggressions*. This construct was developed based on Essed’s (1991) research on gendered racism and Sue, Capodilupo, et al.’s (2007) theory of racial microaggressions. Gendered racism refers to the notion that personal experiences of racism are intertwined with experiences of sexism for Black women, and thus cannot be separated. Building

on the conceptualizations of Essed (1991) and Sue (2010), gendered racial microaggressions have been defined as, “subtle and everyday verbal, behavioral, and environmental expressions of oppression based on the intersection of one’s race and gender (Lewis et al., 2013, p. 51).

My definition of gendered racial microaggressions was adapted from Sue et al.’s (2007) definition of racial microaggressions and Sue’s (2010) definition of gender microaggressions. Gendered racial microaggressions refer to those experiences that are subtle and are considered more contemporary forms of racism and sexism. Within this framework, there are three forms of microaggressions: microassaults, microinsults, and microinvalidations. These three forms are similar to racial microaggressions, but represent microaggressions that occur based on the intersection of subtle racism and sexism. The key difference with gendered racial microaggressions is that there is a specific focus on the intersecting aspects of subtle racism and sexism, rather than a focus on their differences.

Building on the theory and empirical work on microaggressions along with Essed’s (1991) work on everyday racism and gendered racism, my colleagues and I (2010) recently explored the influence of gendered racial microaggressions among Black women. We identified three core themes from the focus groups by coding for themes that represented unique gendered racial microaggressions. The first core theme was Projected Stereotypes, which included: *The Expectation of the Jezebel* (feeling exoticized or sexualized by men, particularly White men) and the *Expectation of the “Angry Black Woman,”* (feeling an expectation by White peers to fulfill the stereotype of an “Angry Black Woman”). The second core theme was Feeling Silenced and Marginalized, which included: *Power Struggle for Respect* (feeling authority and/or intellect questioned or challenged in the classroom as a peer and/or teaching assistant) and *Invisibility* (feeling ignored by White peers on campus and in the classroom). The third and final core theme

was Assumptions about Style and Beauty, which included: *Assumptions about Communication Styles* (assumptions made by White peers about communication styles and cultural values) and *Assumptions about Physical Appearance* (feeling like stereotypes were made about aspects of physical appearance, such as hairstyles, facial features, body size, etc.). These findings begin to shed light on the layers of complexity that are involved in gendered racial microaggressions among Black women. Specifically, it is possible that these three core themes of gendered racial microaggressions are unique to Black women's experiences and could provide the foundation of a quantitative scale to measure these experiences.

CHAPTER THREE:

PHASE I

Scale Construction

The purpose of Phase I of this project was to develop items for the Gendered Racial Microaggressions Scale. Below, I provide a description of the scale construction process, including a definition of the construct. I highlight the process of item development, which included conducting a focus group with Black women in the community to receive feedback about the items, receiving feedback from an expert panel review of the items, and a small pilot study.

Item Development

I developed the items for this scale using scale development best practices (see Dawis, 1987; Worthington & Whittaker, 2006). One of the first steps in creating items for a scale is to develop a clear operational definition of the construct under investigation. To assist in this process, I reviewed the literature on racial microaggressions, subtle forms of racism and sexism, intersectionality, and Black women's experiences with multiple forms of oppression. In addition, I used the findings of an earlier study my colleagues and I conducted on gendered racial microaggressions (Lewis, Mendenhall, Harwood, & Browne Hunt, 2010) to inform the development of the items.

On the basis of the review of the literature, I decided to build on the conceptualizations of Essed (1991) and Sue and his colleagues (Sue, 2010; Sue, Capodilupo, et al., 2007) to define gendered racial microaggressions. Gendered racial microaggressions, for the purposes of this study, are defined as "subtle and everyday verbal, behavioral, and environmental expressions of oppression based on the intersection of one's race and gender" (Lewis et al., 2013). Adopting

Sue, Capodilupo, et al.'s (2007) conceptualization of microaggressions, gendered racial microaggressions in this study can include three forms: microassaults (explicit racial and sexual derogations characterized primarily by a verbal, nonverbal, or environmental attack meant to hurt the intended victim through name-calling, avoidant behavior, or purposeful discriminatory actions), microinsults (communications that convey rudeness and insensitivity and demean a person's racial heritage and gender), and microinvalidations (a minimization or denial of racialized and gendered experiences).

Because the purpose of the current study was to develop a measure specific to Black women's experiences, I generated items that represented three central themes that emerged in the theoretical and empirical literature (Collins, 1991; Thomas et al., 2008): Projected Stereotypes (i.e., being reduced to stereotypes of Black women), Silenced and Marginalized (i.e., being ignored in the workplace, school, or other professional settings and having one's contributions minimized), and Assumptions about Style and Beauty (i.e., being reduced to one's appearance and being stereotyped based on one's body in verbal and nonverbal ways). In sum, gendered racial microaggressions among Black women consist of everyday and commonplace slights, insults, and invalidations based on stereotypes, marginalization, and aesthetics. The pilot scale was titled the Gendered Racial Microaggressions – Black Women (GRMS-BW).

Community Focus Group

The initial pool of items included 35 preliminary items, reflecting Projected Stereotypes ($n = 14$), Silenced and Marginalized ($n = 9$), and Assumptions about Style and Beauty ($n = 12$) dimensions of gendered racial microaggressions. After I generated the items, I conducted a focus group with a community sample of Black women to obtain feedback about item length and appropriateness. I used a community sample of women to make sure my items were

generalizable to a broad range of Black women in terms of age, socioeconomic background, educational background, and occupational status. Although some of the extant literature provides an analysis of intersectionality among a range of Black women, only students participated in the focus groups which informed initial item development in this study. Thus, I thought it was important to include the voices of Black women in the community.

Twelve women participated in the focus group; 12 participants is an appropriate number for an effective focus group (Seal, Bogart, & Ehrhardt, 1998). I recruited the participants through a local African American community organization. Specifically, I contacted the Executive Director of the Family Advocacy of Champaign County (FACC), which is a community-based organization that serves the needs of African American families. I recruited community women through several methods including direct email contact, flyers posted at the FACC, and purposeful recruitment through informal contacts in the local community (Appendix A). Participants received \$10 as a token of appreciation for their participation. In addition, light refreshments were served (e.g., muffins, fruit, and juice) and babysitting services were offered, but not needed. Prior to the beginning of the focus group, I reviewed the informed consent form (Appendix B) and participants had an opportunity to ask questions about participation before making a decision to participate in the study. I reminded the women that their participation was voluntary, and that there was no penalty if they chose not to participate.

Participants were asked to provide feedback about the initial pool of 35 items. Specifically, participants were asked the following questions about each item: (1) To what extent does the question reflect subtle forms of racism and sexism? (2) Do you feel the question could be worded in a different way that would make it clearer? (3) Do you think the question is an accurate description of some Black women's experiences with subtle racism and sexism? (4) Do

these set of questions describe aspects of your experiences with subtle racism and sexism? (5) Are there other “microaggressions” you have experienced as a Black woman that are not captured in the list of questions? (6) What are your thoughts about the topic of microaggressions and our conversation? (see Focus Group Script in Appendix C). I also provided a resource list to participants after the conclusion of the focus group (Appendix D).

Expert Panel Review

Next, I revised the items based on the feedback from the focus group. This resulted in a total of 41 gendered racial microaggressions items. Then, a panel of six experts on racism and sexism reviewed the GRMS-BW items to assess item quality, face validity, and content validity. On the basis of this feedback, I added, modified, and deleted weak items. This revision produced a total of 46 gendered racial microaggressions. As a final step, I conducted a small pilot study as recommended by Dawis (1987) with a convenience sample of approximately 10 individuals to assess scale length, clarity, and appropriateness. Based on the feedback from participants in the pilot study, additional items were deleted to address feedback about redundancy. The final scale included a total of 32 gendered racial microaggressions items that represented each of the three dimensions: Projected Stereotypes ($n = 13$), Silenced and Marginalized ($n = 7$), and Assumptions about Style and Beauty ($n = 12$).

CHAPTER FOUR:

PHASE II

Study 1 Initial Validation

The purpose of Study 1 was to conduct an exploratory factor analysis (EFA) to assess the underlying factor structure of and obtain initial psychometric information on the GRMS-BW scale. I used EFA to examine the underlying dimensionality of the initial set of items. On the basis of pilot data (Lewis et al., 2010) I hypothesized that the scale would have a multidimensional factor structure, and that the scale dimensions would include Projected Stereotypes, Silenced and Marginalized, and Assumptions about Style and Beauty. I investigated internal consistency estimates and examined whether the factors were correlated or uncorrelated. I also explored the relations between the GRMS-BW and demographic information (e.g., age, social class background, and geographic region).

Method

Participants

Participants for Study 1 were a diverse sample of 265 adult women who self-identified as Black. In terms of ethnicity, the open-ended responses were as follows: 82% self-identified as African American or Black, 7% self-identified as an African ethnic background (e.g., Ghanaian, Nigerian, Kenyan, Ethiopian, Liberian), 5% self-identified as Caribbean, Jamaican or Caribbean American, 2% as both African American and Caribbean American, 2% as American, and 2% as African American and some other race/ethnicity. I used a purposeful sampling method to specifically recruit Black women students and community members from various geographical locations. Participants ranged in age from 18 – 77 ($M = 39.17$, $SD = 12.49$) years. The overwhelming majority (93%) of women identified as heterosexual and the remainder of

participants identified as lesbian, bisexual, questioning, or queer. A majority of participants (55%) self-identified as middle class, 17.5% of participants had at least a bachelor's degree, and about 47.5% of participants had at least a master's degree. Participants were diverse in terms of geographical region, with 33% from the West Coast, 33% from the Midwest, 17% from the East Coast, 14% from the South, and 3% did not report their geographical region. Approximately 94% of participants were born in the United States. In addition, 80% of the sample identified as Christian and 20% of the sample identified as atheist, agnostic, a non-Christian religion, spiritual, or non-religious (see Table 1).

Measures

Gendered racial microaggressions scale-Black women (GRMS-BW). The 32 item GRMS-BW was used to assess the frequency and appraisal of nonverbal, verbal, and behavioral negative racial and gender slights experienced by Black women. Similar to several racism-related stress measures (e.g., Schedule of Racist Events, Racial Life Experiences Survey), participants responded to each item based on both frequency and appraisal using a 6-point Likert-type response format. Frequency was assessed by asking participants to rate how often they experienced each event in their lifetime ranging from 0 (*never*) to 5 (*once a week or more*). Appraisal was assessed by asking participants how stressful each event was for them, ranging from 0 (*not at all stressful*) to 5 (*extremely stressful*). Items were scored such that higher scores indicated a higher frequency and higher stressfulness of gendered racial microaggressions, whereas lower scores indicated a lower frequency and lower stressfulness of gendered racial microaggressions. The measures of both frequency and appraisal account for both the extent of exposure to the event and the appraisal/perception of the event, which is consistent with conceptualizations of stress-related events in the extant literature (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). In

addition, previous research has shown that this approach is effective for research on racism and gender-related stress with African American women (Landrine & Klonoff, 1996; Woods-Giscombe & Lobel, 2008).

Demographic questionnaire. A demographic questionnaire was used to obtain information about participants’ race, ethnicity, age, gender, sexual orientation, religious and spiritual background, occupational status, socioeconomic background, educational background, geographical region, and skin tone.

Table 1

<i>Participant Demographic Characteristics</i>		
Variable	Study 1 (<i>n</i> = 259) %	Study 2 (<i>n</i> = 210) %
Level of Education		
1 = Elementary school (6 th grade)	0	0
2 = Middle school (8 th grade)	0	0
3 = Some high school	0	0
4 = High school diploma or equivalent	3	1
5 = Some college	10	12
6 = Associate or two-year degree	6	7
7 = Bachelor’s or four-year degree	17	18
8 = Business or trade school	1	1
9 = Master’s or some graduate school	48	44
10 = Graduate or professional degree	15	17
Social Class		
1 = Poor	6	4
2 = Working Class	30	22
3 = Middle Class	55	60
4 = Upper Middle Class	9	13
5 = Upper Class/Wealthy	0	1
Born in United States		
1 = Yes	94	92
2 = No	6	8
Geographic Region		
West Coast	33	31
Midwest	33	31
East Coast	17	25
South	14	11
Did not report/out of country	3	2

Table 1 (continued)

Variable	Study 1 (<i>n</i> = 259) %	Study 2 (<i>n</i> = 210) %
Skin Complexion (make-up color)		
1 = Very Light	1	2
2 = Light	3	5
3 = Medium Beige	13	22
4 = Medium Tan	43	40
5 = Dark	37	29
6 = Very Deep/Dark	3	2

Procedure

Prior to data collection, I obtained approval from the Institutional Review Board (IRB) for human subjects' approval. Participants were students and community members; efforts were made to collect a diverse sample in terms of age, educational background, and socioeconomic status. Participants were recruited through a variety of methods including: African American student email list serves, African American Studies courses, flyers posted on Predominantly White Midwestern campus, National Black women social organizations, other local and national list serves that target Black women, and Facebook groups. Participants were contacted via email requesting their participation in an online survey. The recruitment email indicated that the study was about Black women's life experiences and well-being (see Appendix E). Participants who were interested in taking part in the study were directed to a URL in the recruitment email where they could access the online survey. If a participant chose to take part in the study, she clicked on the email link that brought forth the informed consent form, which indicated that participation was voluntary and responses will be kept confidential. Participants were reminded that there was no penalty if they chose not to participate. The consent form also provided information about the potential risks and benefits to the participant for taking part in the survey. The survey took approximately 15 minutes to complete. Participants who gave consent to participate in the study

indicated their agreement by clicking on a button after the following statement, “By clicking ‘Next’ below, I agree that I have read and understand the description of the study and I agree to participate.” Participants could also print a copy of the consent form for their own records. Given the online format of the survey, participants could complete the survey at the location of their choice, given computer and Internet access were available. If at any time a participant decided to withdraw from the study, she could do so by closing out of the survey. The only surveys that were used for data analysis were completed surveys where the participant completed the demographic questionnaire, which was at the end of the survey. If a participant did not self-report their race and/or gender, their survey form was not used in the analysis. As an incentive, after participants completed the survey, they were directed to a screen where they could enter their name into a raffle to win one of three \$50 cash prizes. In order to ensure confidentiality, the raffle information was obtained in a separate form that was not linked to participants’ survey responses. After the first email invitation was sent, there were several follow-up emails sent at one week intervals. The online survey was available for approximately 2 months.

Results

Preliminary Analyses

I used the appraisal items for the preliminary and factor analyses. Data were cleaned and checked for missing values and outliers. A total of 6 cases were omitted due to not reporting their race, age, or gender, or over 40% of missing data resulting in a final sample of 259 participants. Of those participants who were included in the study, a small amount of missing data remained. Analysis of the patterns of missing data revealed that 79.5% of cases had no missing data. In addition, no item had more than 2.2% or more of missing values. In addition, Little’s (1988) Missing Completely at Random analysis revealed an insignificant chi-square statistic, $X^2(2206)$

= 2289.36, $p = .11$, indicating that the data was missing completely at random. Despite the very small amount of missing data, I chose to use the Expectation Maximization (EM) imputation method, which uses a maximum likelihood technique for estimating missing values (Little & Rubin, 2002), which is an advantageous imputation method when data are Missing Completely At Random (MCAR). In addition, I checked that all of the necessary statistical assumptions for factor analysis were met, including: multivariate normality, linearity, and homoscedasticity (Bryant & Yarnold, 1995).

Exploratory Factor Analysis

Before conducting an exploratory factor analysis (EFA), I assessed the factorability of the correlation matrix by using Bartlett's test of sphericity, which was statistically significant ($p < .001$). In addition, I used the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) to measure sampling adequacy, which indicated a value of .91. Using the criteria of Tabachnick and Fidell (2001), values greater than .60 are required for factor analysis. Next, I conducted an EFA using a maximum-likelihood extraction method and examined a two, three, and four factor solution to determine which one showed the best fit to the data. I chose a maximum-likelihood extraction method based on Tabachnick and Fidell's (2001) assertion that this technique is more advantageous when followed by a CFA. Given that the underlying factors were correlated, I chose an oblique rotation; specifically, I chose a promax rotation. An examination of the scree plot indicated that a four factor solution was the most viable. For item deletion, items with less than a .40 loading on one factor or with cross loadings less than a .15 difference from an item's highest factor loading were omitted (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001; Worthington & Whittaker, 2006).

I also used Cohen's (1988) guidelines for interpreting correlation coefficients for the factor intercorrelations. Specifically, the factor intercorrelations ranged from .50 to .66, which

represent large correlations between each of the factors. In addition, I examined the communality statistics to explore the nature of the theoretical factors that contributed to observed inter-item correlations (Bryant & Yarnold, 1995). Items with communalities below .40 would not be correlated highly with one of the factors in the solution (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001). The communalities for each of the retained items ranged from .50 to .88, which indicates that the items retained are highly correlated and contribute to the variance of the factors. As a result of these procedures, 25 items were retained, which accounted for approximately 49% of the variance (see Table 2). In addition, I conducted a final EFA on the 25-item scale to ensure that the factor structure remained the same after deleting the items.

Naming the Factors

Factor 1, *Assumptions of Beauty and Sexual Objectification*, consisted of 10 items and accounted for 34% of the variance. This factor was named based on items that represented assumptions about style and beauty, attractiveness, and projected standards of beauty. In addition, items included feeling like stereotypes are made about aspects of physical appearance, such as hairstyles, facial features, and body size. Higher scores indicated higher stress associated with these assumptions of beauty. Factor 2, *Silenced and Marginalized*, consisted of 7 items and accounted for 6% of the variance. This factor was named based on items that included feeling silenced and marginalized in work, school, and other professional settings. Factor 3, *Strong Black Woman*, consisted of 5 items and accounted for approximately 5% of the variance. Items reflected themes such as feeling expected to be strong or being considered “too” independent and “too” assertive. Factor 4, *Angry Black Woman*, consisted of 3 items and accounted for approximately 4% of the variance, which included items such as feeling an expectation to fulfill the stereotype of an “Angry Black Woman.”

Table 2

Summary of GRMS Appraisal Subscales and Factor Loadings from Maximum Likelihood Estimation with Promax Rotation ($N = 259$)

Items	Factor loading				h^2	M	SD
	1	2	3	4			
Factor 1: Assumptions of Beauty and Sexual Objectification							
Someone made me feel unattractive	.69	.07	-.08	-.06	.68	2.24	1.78
Negative comments about size of facial features	.69	-.07	-.08	.03	.61	1.22	1.59
Imitated the way they think Black women speak	.60	.00	.00	.16	.68	2.31	1.34
Someone made me feel unattractive	.59	.07	.06	.01	.65	1.78	1.62
Negative comment about skin color	.55	-.18	.16	.05	.57	1.63	1.72
Someone assumed I speak a certain way	.55	.22	-.06	.09	.70	2.49	1.49
Objectified me based on physical features	.54	.23	.08	-.08	.70	2.08	1.63
Someone assumed I have a certain body type	.50	-.01	.16	-.06	.57	1.56	1.45
Made a sexually inappropriate comment	.41	.03	.22	.07	.60	2.17	1.44
Negative comments about my hair when natural	.41	.02	.23	-.03	.56	1.67	1.73
Factor 2: Silenced and Marginalized							
I have felt unheard	.04	.93	-.04	-.08	.88	2.94	1.60
My comments have been ignored	-.15	.81	.01	.18	.82	2.75	1.56
Someone challenged my authority	.06	.69	-.05	.03	.72	3.03	1.45
I have been disrespected in workplace	.12	.67	-.11	.06	.71	3.14	1.56
Someone has tried to “put me in my place”	.20	.61	-.16	.06	.69	2.81	1.76
Felt excluded from networking opportunities	-.01	.58	.25	-.21	.61	2.26	1.65
Assumed I did not have much to contribute to the conversation	-.22	.54	.16	.21	.60	2.37	1.44
Factor 3: Strong Black Woman							
Someone assumed I was sassy and straightforward	-.02	-.04	.59	.21	.67	1.58	1.19
I have been told that I am too independent	.02	-.07	.55	.03	.55	1.64	1.31
Someone made me feel exotic as a Black woman	.12	-.04	.54	-.06	.57	1.30	1.22
I have been told that I am too assertive	-.09	.00	.54	.26	.62	1.56	1.41
Assumed to be a strong Black woman	.06	.19	.51	-.14	.59	1.89	1.34
Factor 4: Angry Black Woman							
Someone has told me to calm down	.19	.00	-.12	.70	.74	2.33	1.41
Perceived to be “angry Black woman”	-.03	.04	.08	.69	.73	2.16	1.60
Someone accused me of being angry when speaking calm	-.13	.08	.03	.68	.70	2.43	1.30
Eigenvalue	10.76	1.92	1.66	1.34			
% of Variance	33.63	6.01	5.18	4.25			
M	1.91	2.76	1.59	2.31			
SD	1.07	1.21	0.90	1.18			
Cronbach’s alpha	.87	.88	.74	.75			
Total Variance	49.07						

Note. Numbers in boldface indicate highest factor loadings. $N = 259$. All items ranged from 0 (*not at all stressful*) to 5 (*extremely stressful*).

Descriptive Statistics and Factor Intercorrelations

See Table 3 for the descriptive statistics on the data for both appraisal and frequency scores including means, standard deviations, and Pearson product-moment correlations. I include the frequency data here only for descriptive purposes. All of the analyses were conducted using the appraisal data. The Pearson product-moment correlations indicated significant positive correlations between each of the four factors.

Table 3

Intercorrelations, Means, and Standard Deviations for GRMS Appraisal and Frequency Subscales

Variables	1	2	3	4	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	α
1. Assumptions of Beauty	--	.63**	.62**	.48**	1.92	1.07	.87
2. Silenced and Marginalized	.55**	--	.52**	.50**	2.76	1.21	.88
3. Strong Black Woman	.58**	.47**	--	.46**	1.59	.90	.74
4. Angry Black Woman	.46**	.44**	.52**	--	2.31	1.18	.75
5. GRMS-BW total score					2.13	0.91	.93
<i>M</i>	1.53	2.03	2.10	1.75	1.81		
<i>SD</i>	0.89	1.12	1.05	1.03	0.81		
<i>A</i>	.85	.88	.74	.79			

Note. Pearson product-moment correlations above the diagonal (and in bold) refer to the GRMS-BW appraisal scale; values below the diagonal refer to the GRMS-BW frequency scale. Means and standard deviations for appraisal are in the vertical columns, and those for frequency are in the horizontal rows. ** $p < .01$.

Reliability Estimates

I computed Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficients on the GRMS-BW appraisal scores. The reliability coefficients were as follows: Assumptions of Beauty and Sexual Objectification ($\alpha = .87$), Silenced and Marginalized ($\alpha = .88$), Strong Black Woman ($\alpha = .74$), and Angry Black Woman ($\alpha = .75$). In addition, the total GRMS-BW had a reliability coefficient of .93. Each of

these Cronbach's alpha coefficients demonstrates acceptable to strong reliability of the GRMS-BW subscale scores.

Relationship of GRMS-BW to Demographic Variables

I explored the Pearson product-moment correlations between the GRMS-BW subscales and demographic variables, including age, level of education, and social class background. The findings indicated a small-to-medium significant negative correlation between the Assumptions of Beauty subscale and age ($r = -.20, p < .01$), suggesting that individuals who were older tended to report less stress associated with Assumptions of Beauty microaggressions. Likewise, younger women tended to report greater levels of stress associated with these microaggressions. Findings also revealed that level of education was significantly and positively associated with the stress of Strong Black Woman ($r = .22, p < .01$) and Silenced and Marginalized ($r = .17, p < .01$) microaggressions, such that individuals with higher levels of education also reported greater stress associated with these microaggressions. To examine the relation between social class background (poor, working class, middle class, and upper middle class) and the GRMS-BW subscale scores, I performed a Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA) with social class as the independent variable and the four subscale scores as dependent variables. The analysis was significant (Wilks' $\Lambda = .90$), $F(15, 690) = 1.82, p < .05$, indicating that social class background had a significant effect on the stress of perceived gendered racial microaggressions. Follow-up ANOVA tests with a Bonferroni-corrected alpha of .0125 (.05/4 dependent variables), indicated that women who identified as poor ($M = 3.02, SD = .29$) reported higher levels of stress associated with the Angry Black woman microaggressions compared to upper middle class women ($M = 1.78, SD = .24$). This suggests that women from a lower social class background tended to report higher levels of stress associated with these types of microaggressions, and in

contrast, women from a higher social class background tended to report lower levels of stress associated with these microaggressions. To examine the relationship between geographic region (West, Midwest, East, and South) and the GRMS-BW subscale scores, I performed a Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA) with geographic region as the independent variable and the four subscale scores as dependent variables. The analysis was not significant (Wilks' $\Lambda = .95$), $F(12, 645) = 1.10$, $p > .05$, indicating that geographic region did not have a significant effect on the stress of perceived gendered racial microaggressions.

CHAPTER FIVE:

PHASE III

Study 2 Construct Validity

The purpose of Study 2 was to further explore the construct validity of the GRMS-BW. Specifically, I conducted a confirmatory factor analysis and explored estimates of reliability and validity of the revised GRMS-BW. Also, I examined the relations between participants' responses on the GRMS-BW and measures of racial and ethnic microaggressions, sexist events, and mental health outcomes to assess construct validity and social desirability to assess divergent validity. I selected the Racial and Ethnic Microaggressions Scale (REMS; Nadal, 2011) because this is one of the first measures of microaggressions available in the literature based on Sue's (2010) microaggressions framework. In addition, I selected the Schedule of Sexist Events (SSE; Klonoff & Landrine, 1995) because this is one of the only well-established measures of perceived sexism in the extant literature. I also included the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale Form C (MC-Form C; Reynolds, 1982) to assess divergent validity. I included the Womanist Consciousness Scale (WCS; King & Fujino, 1994) to include another construct that has been linked to one's awareness about the intersection of racism and sexism. In addition, previous research (e.g., Moradi & Subich, 2003) suggests that racial and gender identity may influence the perception of gendered racism. I selected the Mental Health Inventory-5 because previous research shows a significant correlation between perceived racist events and sexist events and psychological distress.

Method

Participants

I recruited an independent sample of approximately 214 participants using the same recruitment strategy outlined in Study 1 (see Chapter 3). Participants for Study 2 were a diverse sample of adult women who self-identified as Black. I used a purposeful sampling method to specifically recruit Black women students and community members from various geographical locations. Participants ranged in age from 19 – 68 ($M = 37.69$, $SD = 13.14$) years. A majority of participants (60%) self-identified as middle class. Participants were diverse in terms of geographical region, with 31% from the West Coast, 31% from the Midwest, 25% from the East Coast, 11% from the South, and 2% did not report their geographical region or lived outside the United States. Approximately 92% of participants were born in the United States (see Table 1).

Measures

I created three different versions of the online survey so that each survey version would take under 30 minutes to complete. Survey Version A included the revised GRMS-BW, the REMS, MHI-5, and the demographic questionnaire. Survey Version B included the revised GRMS-BW, MC-Form C, SSE, MHI-5, and the demographic questionnaire. Survey Version C included the revised GRMS-BW, WCS, MHI-5, and the demographic questionnaire. Each of these measures is discussed below:

Racial and ethnic microaggressions scale (REMS). The REMS (Nadal, 2011) is a 45-item scale that assesses the frequency of one's perceptions of microaggressions within the past six months. The 5-point Likert-type response scale ranges from 1 (*I did not experience this event*) to 5 (*I experienced this event 7 or more times*). Higher mean scores indicate greater frequency of perceived microaggressions. There are six subscales that include: Assumption of

Inferiority (8 items; e.g., “Someone assumed that I would not be intelligent because of my race”), Second-Class Citizen and Assumption of Criminality (7 items; e.g., “I received substandard service in stores compared to customers of other racial groups.”), Microinvalidations (9 items; e.g., “I was told that I should not complain about race”), Exoticization and Assumptions of Similarity (9 items; e.g., “Someone told me that all people in my racial group are all the same”), Environmental Microaggressions (7 items; e.g., “I observed people of my race portrayed positively in movies”, reverse scored), and Workplace and School Microaggressions (5 items; e.g., “I was ignored at school or at work because of my race.”). There is also a REMS total scale score that can be calculated by summing and averaging all of the items. This measure has been validated on a racially and ethnically diverse sample and yielded a Cronbach’s alpha estimate of .93 for the full sample total scale score; reliability estimates for the total score ranged from .91 for the Asian American sample to .92 for the African American sample. The REMS has also been shown to be significantly positively correlated with the RaLES-B ($r = .43$, Nadal, 2011) for the total sample. The Cronbach’s alpha for the total scale score for the current study was .95.

Schedule of sexist events (SSE). The SSE (Klonoff & Landrine, 1995) is a 20-item measure used to assess the lifetime and recent experiences with everyday sexism. Participants can report the Lifetime and Recent events on a 6-point scale ranging from 1 (*the event has never happened*) to 6 (*the event happened almost all [i.e., more than 70%] of the time*), and provide an Appraisal score on each item on a 6-point scale ranging from 1 (*not at all stressful*) to 6 (*extremely stressful*). For the purposes of this study, only the Lifetime frequency scores were obtained. Sample items include: “How many times have people made inappropriate or unwanted sexual advances to you because you are a woman?” and “How many times have you been treated

unfairly by your employer, boss or supervisors because you are a woman?” Higher scores indicate greater perceived frequency of sexist events. Cronbach’s alpha reliability estimates for the SSE have ranged from .88 to .94, with majority White samples. Thomas, Speight, and Witherspoon (2008) conducted a study with Black women using a revised version of the SSE. The researchers revised the SSE to read “Black woman” instead of “woman” for each item to assess gendered racism. The internal consistency estimates for this revised scale was .93, which is comparable to the range for the SSE. However, Thomas et al. did not conduct a factor analysis on these revised items to make sure the factor structure was consistent with the original measure. In terms of construct validity, Klonoff and Landrine (1995) found the SSE to be significantly correlated with measures of general stressful events (daily hassles and life events). In addition to the full score, I also calculated the three subscale scores based on a recent psychometric study by Matteson and Moradi (2005) that confirmed a three-factor model: Sexist Degradation and Its Consequences, Unfair/Sexist Events at Work/School, and Unfair Treatment in Distant and Close Relationships. This factor structure is consistent with the one found among women of color in Klonoff and Landrine’s (1995) original study. The Cronbach’s alpha for the total score in the current study was .94.

Marlowe-Crowne social desirability scale–form C (M-C Form C). The M-C Form C (Reynolds, 1982) was used to assess whether participants respond in a socially desirable manner as a measure of divergent validity. This scale consists of 13 true–false items, which measures the response tendency to make socially desirable self-presentations, especially on self-report measures. A sample item includes, “I sometimes get resentful when I don’t get my way.” Responses are summed, with higher scores reflecting higher levels of social desirability. Very high scores on the scale may indicate socially desirable responding. The Kuder–Richardson

formula reliability has ranged from .63 with a racially diverse sample (Neville et al., 2000) to .88 with a predominantly White sample (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004). The internal consistency estimate (Kuder-Richardson) for the current study was .73.

Womanist consciousness. The Womanist Consciousness Scale (WCS; King & Fujino, 1994) is a 14-item measure that was designed to assess the fusion of race and gender for women of color. Sample items include, “Sexism and racism must be addressed simultaneously in order to improve the position of African American women in society” and “It’s hard for me to think about ethnic issues without also considering women’s issues at the same time”. In a sample of African American college women, King (2003) found that WCS scores demonstrated acceptable internal consistency reliability ($r = .86$) and were positively related to attributing a negative experience to *ethgender* (i.e., fused ethnic and gender) discrimination. The Cronbach’s alpha for the current study was .90.

Mental health inventory 5 (MHI-5). The MHI-5 is a brief version of the MHI-18 (Veit & Ware, 1983) that was used to assess mental health. The original scale measures both positive and negative mental health using three scales: psychological well-being, psychological distress, and overall mental health. The brief version measures overall mental health, with higher scores indicating higher levels of psychological well-being and lower scores indicating higher levels of psychological distress. Participants reported the duration of each feeling over the past month. Responses are on a 6-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*all of the time*) to 6 (*none of the time*). Example items include: “Have you been a very nervous person?” and “Have you felt emotionally stable?” The MHI has been found to be significantly negatively correlated with stressful life events and positively correlated with social support and life satisfaction. Reliability coefficients range from .89 (McHorney & Ware, 1995) to .96 (Veit & Ware, 1983) among

predominantly White samples, .94 among a sample of African American college students (Fischer & Shaw, 1999), and .92 among a sample of racially diverse women (Fischer & Bolton Holz, 2010). The Cronbach's alpha for the current study was .85.

Procedure

The procedures were similar to those in Study 1. Specifically, participants were self-identified Black women over the age of 18. Efforts were made to collect a diverse sample in terms of age, educational background, and socioeconomic status. Participants were recruited through the same recruitment methods as Study 1 (African American student email list serves, local and national list serves that target Black women, and Facebook groups). Participants were contacted via email requesting their participation in an online survey. The recruitment email indicated that the study was about Black women's life experiences and well-being (see Appendix F).

Participants who were interested in taking part in the study were directed to a URL in the recruitment email where they could access the online survey. The online consent form provided information about the potential risks and benefits to the participant for taking part in the survey. The survey took approximately 30 minutes to complete. Participants who gave consent to participate in the study indicated their agreement by clicking on a button after the following statement, "By clicking 'Next' below, I agree that I have read and understand the description of the study and I agree to participate." Participants could also print a copy of the consent form for their own records. If a participant did not self-report their race and gender, their survey form was not used in the analysis. As an incentive, after participants completed the survey, they were directed to a screen where they could enter their name into a raffle to win one of three \$50 cash prizes. In order to ensure confidentiality, the raffle information was obtained in a separate form

that was not linked to participants' survey responses. After the first email invitation was sent, there were several follow-up emails sent at approximately one week intervals. The online survey was available for approximately 1 month.

Results

Preliminary Analyses

Data were cleaned and checked for missing values and outliers. A total of 4 cases were omitted based on having over 40% of missing data on the GRMS-BW Appraisal, resulting in a final sample of 210 participants. Given that there were three different versions of the survey, and thus, three different data sets, missing data analysis was conducted on each data set separately. After the 4 cases were omitted, a small amount of missing data remained. Little's (1988) Missing Completely at Random (MCAR) analysis was computed for each of the three data sets and were not significant, which indicated that the data was missing completely at random. Because the data were missing completely at random, I chose to use the Expectation Maximization (EM) imputation method, which uses a maximum likelihood technique for estimating missing values (Little & Rubin, 2002). This is an advantageous imputation method when data are MCAR. In addition, I checked that all of the necessary statistical assumptions for factor analysis were met, including: multivariate normality, linearity, and homoscedasticity (Bryant & Yarnold, 1995).

Confirmatory Factor Analysis

I conducted a CFA using LISREL 9.10 (Jöreskog & Sörbom, 2013) to test if the four-factor 25-item GRMS-BW found in Study 1 was a good fit of the data and the best fit compared to two competing models. I analyzed comparisons between the four-factor hypothesized model from study 1, a three-factor theoretical model, a two-factor competing model from the EFA, and a three-factor competing model from the EFA. Since I hypothesized that the GRMS-BW would

have a multidimensional factor structure, I did not use any parceling techniques (Little, Little, Cunningham, Shahar, & Widaman, 2002). Some researchers argue that the dimensionality of a measured construct can influence the validity of parceling, such that parceling should only be considered when there is a unidimensional structure.

Consistent with standard CFA practices, I assessed the following goodness-of-fit measures: (a) chi-square test with corresponding degrees of freedom and level of significance, (b) the root-mean-square error of approximation (RMSEA), (c) the comparative fit index (CFI), (d) the standardized root mean square residual (SRMR), and (e) the goodness-of-fit index (GFI). The goodness-of-fit measures can be seen in Table 4. The chi-square statistic divided by the degrees of freedom is one indicator of model fit; a value less than 2 is one indicator of adequate model fit (Newcomb, 1994). Hu and Bentler (1999) suggested that the CFI should be the index of choice, and a value greater than .90 indicates an acceptable fit to the data. Similarly, Kline (2005) suggested examining the CFI and GFI, which both should be greater than .90, to reflect that the data are a good fit for the model. The CFI should be used in conjunction with the RMSEA, which ranges from 0 to 1. Smaller RMSEA values indicate a better fit; researchers have suggested that a value smaller than .08 is an “acceptable” fit, and smaller than .06 is a “good” fit (Hu & Bentler, 1999). I also reported the 90% confidence interval as recommended by Kline (2005) and used these suggested cutoff criteria as suggested guidelines (Worthington & Whittaker, 2006).

The four different factor models were compared. In comparing the four models, it is clear that each model is similar in the goodness of fit statistics, indicating that each model would be an acceptable fit to the data. However, on the basis of the conceptual clarity of the four-factor solution and the slightly superior goodness of fit statistics, the four-factor model indicated an

acceptable-to-good model fit (see Table 4). The final four-factor model can also be seen in Figure 1.

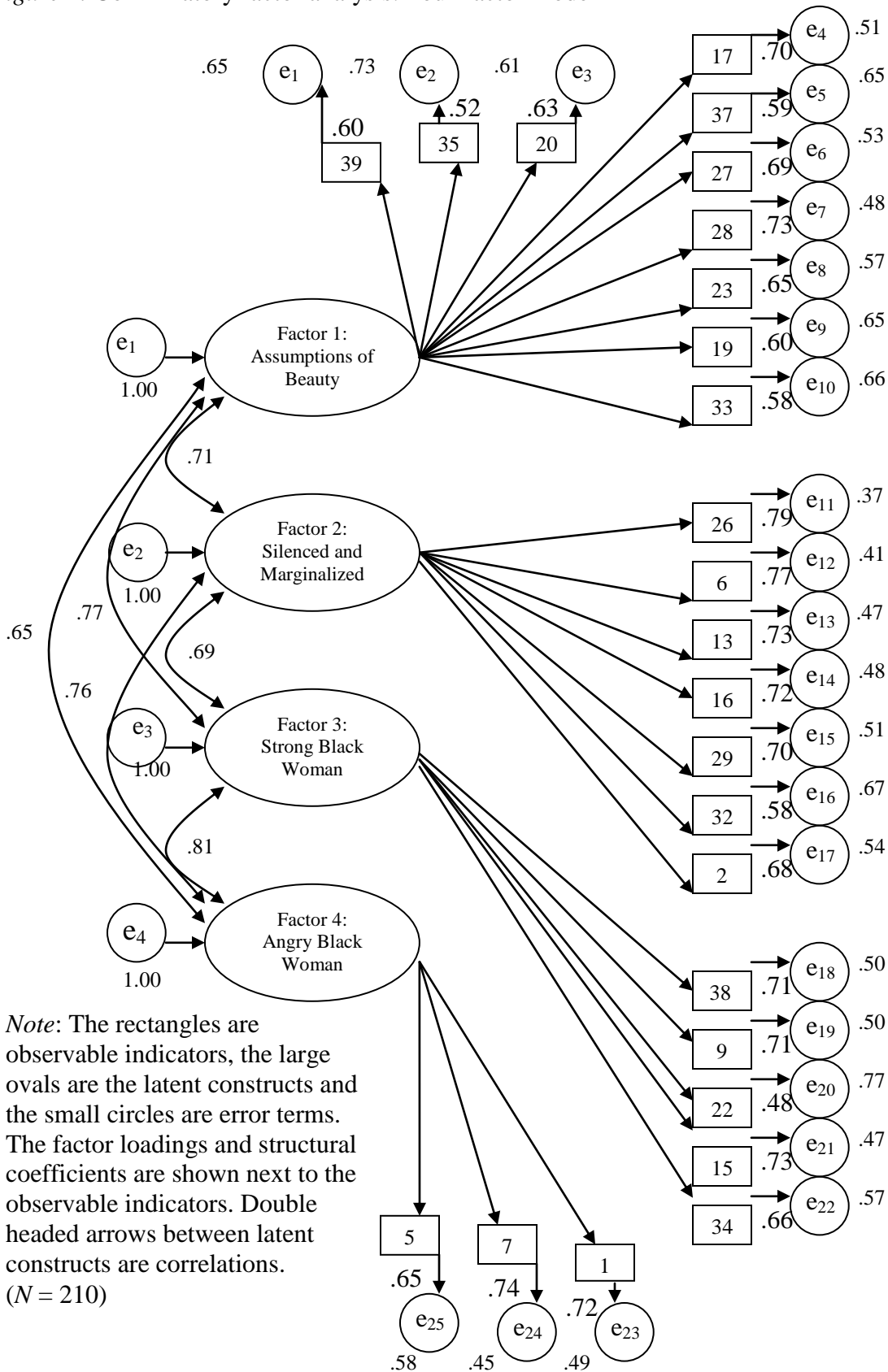
Table 4

Confirmatory Factor Analysis: Goodness-of-Fit Summary

Index	Model			
	2	3	3*	4
CFI	.969	.967	.958	.974
GFI	.839	.837	.773	.851
AGFI	.809	.806	.740	.820
SRMR	.059	.060	.066	.056
RMSEA	.064	.065	.072	.061
90% confidence interval of RMSEA	(.056, .073)	(.056, .073)	(.066, .078)	(.052, .070)
χ^2	511.230	555.056	963.205	480.188
df	274	269	461	269
χ^2/df	1.866	2.063	2.089	1.785

Note. Model 2, 3, and 4 represent the two, three, and four-factor models from Study 1, respectively. Model 3* represents the three-factor theoretical model. Parentheses indicate upper and lower bounds of the confidence interval. CFI: comparative fit index; GFI: goodness-of-fit index; AGFI: adjusted goodness-of-fit index; SRMR: standardized root-mean-square residual; RMSEA: root-mean-square error of approximation.

Figure 1. Confirmatory factor analysis: Four-factor model



Note: The rectangles are observable indicators, the large ovals are the latent constructs and the small circles are error terms. The factor loadings and structural coefficients are shown next to the observable indicators. Double headed arrows between latent constructs are correlations. (N = 210)

Descriptive Statistics and Correlations Among Factors

I also computed descriptive statistics on the full sample ($n = 210$) including means, standard deviations, and Pearson product-moment correlations (see Table 5). Specifically, the Pearson product-moment correlations indicated significant positive correlations between each of the four factors.

Table 5

Correlations, Means, and Standard Deviations among REMS, SSE, MC Form C, and MHI

Variable	1	2	3	4	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	α
6. GRMS Factor 1	--				1.85	1.08	.87
7. GRMS Factor 2	.63**	--			2.67	1.21	.87
8. GRMS Factor 3	.66**	.59**	--		1.61	0.99	.78
9. GRMS Factor 4	.51**	.62**	.61**	--	2.29	1.17	.74
10. REMS Factor 1	.22	.39**	.24	.28	2.05	1.00	.92
11. REMS Factor 2	.13	.26	.27	.31*	1.80	0.82	.87
12. REMS Factor 3	.29*	.39**	.35*	.19	2.00	0.94	.92
13. REMS Factor 4	.24	.27	.34*	.28	1.58	0.55	.73
14. REMS Factor 5	.10	.07	-.08	-.06	3.34	0.79	.76
15. REMS Factor 6	.18	.49**	.28	.16	1.86	1.19	.93
16. SSE Factor 1	.63**	.40**	.47**	.50**	2.54	1.26	.84
17. SSE Factor 2	.33**	.47**	.50**	.35**	2.68	1.24	.89
18. SSE Factor 3	.46**	.50**	.51**	.45**	2.27	0.92	.86
19. MC-Form C	-.33**	-.21	-.21	-.37**	6.60	3.06	.74
20. WC Total	.22*	.16	.25*	.17	5.68	0.98	.90
21. MHI-5 Total	.23**	.26**	.23**	.28**	2.49	0.86	.85

Note. $N = 210$ for GRMS (Gendered Racial Microaggressions Scale) and MHI-5 (Mental Health Inventory-5); $N = 49$ for REMS (Racial and Ethnic Microaggressions Scale); $N = 72$ for SSE (Schedule of Sexist Events) and MC-Form C (Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability, Form C); $N = 89$ for WC (Womanist Consciousness Scale); GRMS Factor 1 = Assumptions of Beauty and Sexual Objectification, GRMS Factor 2 = Silenced and Marginalized, GRMS Factor 3 = Strong Black Woman, GRMS Factor 4 = Angry Black Woman. REMS Factor 1 = Assumptions of Inferiority, REMS Factor 2 = Second Class Citizen and Assumptions of Criminality, REMS Factor 3 = Microinvalidations, REMS Factor 4 = Exoticization and Assumptions of Similarity, Factor 5 = Environmental Microaggressions, Factor 6 = Workplace and School Microaggressions; SSE Factor 1 = Sexist Degradation and Its Consequences, SSE Factor 2 = Unfair/Sexist Events at Work/School, SSE Factor 3 = Unfair Treatment in Distant and Close Relationships. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Reliability Estimates

I computed Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficients on the revised GRMS-BW appraisal scores. The reliability coefficients were as follows: Standards of Beauty ($\alpha = .87$), Silenced and

Marginalized ($\alpha = .87$), Strong Black Woman ($\alpha = .78$), and Angry Black Woman ($\alpha = .74$). In addition, the total GRMS-BW had a reliability coefficient of .93. Each of these Cronbach's alpha coefficients demonstrates acceptable to strong reliability, and are similar to the reliability coefficients found in Study 1.

Relationship of GRMS-BW to Demographic Variables

I examined the Pearson product-moment correlations between the GRMS-BW subscales and demographic variables, including age, level of education, social class background, and skin color. The findings indicated a small-to-medium significant negative correlation between the Assumptions of Beauty subscale and age ($r = -.25, p < .01$), suggesting that individuals who were older tended to report less stress associated with Assumptions of Beauty microaggressions. Likewise, younger women tended to report greater levels of stress associated with these microaggressions. Findings also revealed that level of education was significantly positively associated with the stress of Strong Black Woman ($r = .16, p < .05$), such that individuals with higher levels of education also reported greater stress associated with this type of microaggressions.

To examine whether some of the categorical demographic variables were significantly related to the GRMS-BW subscale scores, I performed Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA) tests with the four subscale scores as dependent variables. First, I explored whether social class (poor, working class, middle class, upper middle class, and wealthy) had a significant effect on the stress of gendered racial microaggressions and found a non-significant result (Wilks' $\Lambda = .92$), $F(16, 614) = 1.05, p > .05$. Then, I explored whether skin color (light, medium, and dark) had a significant effect on gendered racial microaggressions. These findings also were not significant (Wilks' $\Lambda = .97$), $F(8, 406) = .85, p > .05$, indicating that skin color did not have a

significant effect on the stress of perceived gendered racial microaggressions. No other demographic variables were statistically significant.

Convergent Validity

I used the REMS (Nadal, 2011) as a measure of convergent validity and hypothesized that racial and ethnic microaggressions would be positively related to gendered racial microaggressions. Results indicated that the gendered racial microaggressions total score was significantly and positively related to the racial and ethnic microaggressions total score ($r = .39, p < .01$). In addition, several of the subscales of the REMS were correlated with the GRMS-BW subscales. Specifically, Assumptions of Beauty (Factor 1) was significantly and positively related to Microinvalidations ($r = .29, p < .05$). Silenced and Marginalized (Factor 2) was positively associated with Microinvalidations ($r = .39, p < .01$) and Workplace and School Microaggressions ($r = .49, p < .01$). Strong Black Woman (Factor 3) was significantly and positively related to Microinvalidations ($r = .35, p < .05$) and Exoticization and Assumptions of Similarity ($r = .34, p < .05$). Angry Black Woman (Factor 4) was positively related to Second-Class Citizen and Assumptions of Criminality ($r = .31, p < .05$).

I used the SSE (Klonoff & Landrine, 1995) as another measure of convergent validity and hypothesized that perceived sexist events would be positively related to gendered racial microaggressions. Results indicated that the gendered racial microaggressions scale total score was significantly and positively related to the schedule of sexist events ($r = .62, p < .01$). In addition, each of the GRMS-BW subscales was also significantly and positively correlated with the schedule of sexist events in the expected directions. The significant correlations were as follows: Assumptions of Beauty ($r = .55, p < .01$), Silenced and Marginalized ($r = .50, p < .01$), Strong Black Woman ($r = .56, p < .01$), and Angry Black Woman ($r = .49, p < .01$).

Social Desirability

I used the MC-Form C (Reynolds, 1982) as a measure of divergent validity and hypothesized that social desirability would not be related to gendered racial microaggressions. Contrary to expectation, social desirability was significantly negatively related to the gendered racial microaggressions scale ($r = -.32, p < .01$), such that individuals who scored higher on socially desirable responding tended to score lower on gendered racial microaggressions, which could indicate a tendency to underreport the stress of gendered racial microaggressions.

Psychological Distress

On the basis of the research literature that suggests that perceived racism and sexism have a negative impact on mental health, I included the MHI-5 (Veit & Ware, 1983) as a measure of psychological distress as an additional assessment of construct validity. I hypothesized that perceived gendered racial microaggressions would be positively related to psychological distress. Results from the full sample ($n = 210$) indicated that the gendered racial microaggressions total score was significantly and positively related to psychological distress ($r = .29, p < .01$). In addition, each of the GRMS-BW subscales was also significantly correlated with psychological distress in the expected directions. The significant correlations were as follows: Projected Standards of Beauty ($r = .23, p < .01$), Silenced and Marginalized ($r = .26, p < .01$), Strong Black Woman ($r = .23, p < .01$), and Angry Black Woman ($r = .28, p < .01$).

Womanist Identity

I also included the WCS (King & Fujino, 1994) to assess the association between gendered racial microaggressions and a measure of womanist identity. This measure was chosen on the basis of previous research that indicates a link between perceived race-related events and identity-related variables, such as racial identity. According to the literature, individuals need to

have some level of awareness about race-related issues to be able to perceive racist events. Thus, a WCS measure the intersection between racial and gender identity. I hypothesized that womanist identity would be positively correlated with gendered racial microaggressions. Results indicated that indeed there was a small significant correlation between gendered racial microaggressions and womanist identity in the expected direction ($r = .23, p < .05$).

CHAPTER SIX:

GENERAL DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to construct and validate a new measure of microaggressions – the Gendered Racial Microaggressions Scale (GRMS) for use with Black women. In general, findings provide initial psychometric support for the GRMS. Consistent with the primary research hypothesis, the GRMS was shown to have a multidimensional factor structure. Specifically, the findings revealed four conceptually meaningful factors (Assumptions of Beauty and Sexual Objectification, Silenced and Marginalized, Strong Black Woman, and Angry Black Woman), which accounted for approximately 49% of the variance. This factor structure was shown to provide a good fit of the data and the best compared to competing models. Initial internal consistency estimates of the total and subscale scores were acceptable. Support for the second and third hypotheses were also reinforced through the significant correlations between the GRMS and conceptually related racial and gender measures and also an index of psychological distress. Specifically, increased perceived gendered racial microaggressions were related to increased perceived racial microaggressions, sexist events, and psychological distress. The strength of these associations differed by GRMS factor. Moreover, findings suggest that Black women in this study reported gendered racial microaggressions an average of a few times a year to a few times per month over their lifetime; on average, they identified these microaggressions as slightly stressful to moderately stressful.

Below I place the findings from this investigation within the larger stress and microaggressions literature. First, I summarize the GRMS factors and discuss their connection to the theoretical and empirical literature. I then review the findings supporting the convergent

validity of the scale. There were a few unexpected findings, for which I contextualize. After identifying the limitations of the study, I discuss the implications for research and practice.

Factor Structure of the GRMS

Results from two interrelated studies provided empirical support for a multidimensional model of gendered racial microaggressions. The findings revealed four aspects of Black women's experiences with gendered racial microaggressions that are rooted in projected stereotypes. First, through an EFA, the findings revealed support for a four-factor model, this included the following factors: Assumptions of Beauty and Sexual Objectification, Silenced and Marginalized, Strong Black Woman, and Angry Black Woman. The GRMS also showed adequate-to-strong internal consistency estimates for each of the factors. In addition, the CFA results confirmed that a four-factor model was the best fit of the data, and the best fit over other models tested. Although the original conceptualization of the taxonomy of gendered racial microaggressions proposed a three-factor model, with all of the projected stereotypes as one factor, the findings revealed that these stereotypes of Black women were distinct and captured unique aspects of the gendered racial microaggression experiences of Black women. Below, I further discuss the findings for each of the subscales.

Assumptions of Beauty and Sexual Objectification (GRMS Factor 1)

The first factor consisted of 10 items that reflected assumptions about Black women's beauty and sexuality. The items captured both the prevailing stereotypes about aspects of Black women's physical appearance, such as hairstyles, facial features, and body size and gendered racial forms of objectification that Black women experience. The latter focused on Black women's experiences of being objectified and sexualized based on unique aspects of their bodies as Black women. Over 90% of the women in this study reported experiencing at least one of

these types of gendered racial microaggressions. For example, 91% of women reported that “someone has imitated the way they think Black women speak in front of me.” In addition, although Black women reported experiencing these types of microaggressions on average between “less than once a year” to a “few times a year” over the course of their lifetime, they were more likely to report these experiences as at least slightly stressful.

The Assumptions of Beauty and Sexual Objectification subscale provides theoretical and empirical support for the ways that sexual objectification can be a phenomenon that is racialized as well as gendered. The findings add a nuanced understanding to the gender microaggression theme of sexual objectification as articulated in Capodilupo et al.’s (2010) previous research. In Capodilupo et al.’s work they found that women reported overt experiences of sexual objectification, such as being “cat called” or stared at by a stranger. In addition, although they had a racially diverse sample, they did not report any intersecting experiences based on race and gender. Findings from this study, suggests that for Black women, the ways that they are objectified and reduced to their bodies is inextricably linked to their bodies as racialized beings. Thus, the stereotypes of Black women as having certain physical features, such as a large butt, hips, or thighs, becomes the focus of the sexual objectification and a male’s gaze. This differs from previous gender microaggression themes by adding the unique ways that Black women are sexually objectified.

In addition to sexual objectification about body parts, Black women are also made to feel like objects when disparaging comments are made about their aesthetic (hair styles, communication styles), which are linked to race and culture. These findings also add to the research on sexual objectification theory (see Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997) by broadening our understanding of the various ways that women can be objectified. These findings also

complement the work of Black feminist scholars who have highlighted the ways that race, gender, and class intersect to objectify Black women in U.S. society (see Collins, 1991 for a review).

One aspect of this finding that was surprising was that an item associated with the gendered racial stereotype of the Jezebel (e.g., being assumed to be sexually promiscuous) did not load highly on this factor. In addition, only 54% of the women sampled had experienced this gendered racial microaggression. It is possible that the ways that Black women are sexualized and objectified is more subtle than this item was able to capture. This item also cross-loaded on the Strong Black Woman (Factor 3). Thus, although Collins (1991) and other Black feminist scholars have theorized three distinct stereotypes of Black women (Jezebel, Mammy, and Sapphire), these findings indicate that contemporary stereotypes of Black women might be more nuanced and complex. Specifically, there might be aspects of the contemporary Jezebel stereotype, such as the “video vixen” that also overlaps with “strength” and being “sassy.” These findings begin to shed some light on the ways that intersecting stereotypes of Black women become projected on to women in the form of assumptions about beauty and aesthetics, in addition to sexual objectification.

Silenced and Marginalized (GRMS Factor 2)

The second factor consisted of seven items that reflected the experience of being silenced and marginalized in work, school, and other professional settings. Almost all of the women in this study reported experiencing at least one of these types of gendered racial microaggressions in their lifetime. For example, around 99% of women reported that “As a Black woman, I have been disrespected by people in a work, school, or other professional setting.” These types of gendered racial microaggressions had the second highest frequency compared to other subscales,

with Black women experiencing these types of microaggressions on average between a “few times a year” to “a few times a month.” Being silenced and marginalized was also reported on average as moderately stressful.

The Silenced and Marginalized subscale adds to the existing research in this area. For example, both the REMS and the SSE have a work/school subscale, which highlights that this is a prevalent context for the experience of subtle forms of oppression. Although other scales have items that focus on this context, this subscale highlights the intersecting ways that Black women feel silenced and marginalized in the workplace and other professional settings. One salient aspect of these forms of gendered racial microaggressions for Black women includes the feeling of being silenced. For example, one of the highest factor loadings was for the item, “As a Black woman, I have felt unheard in a work, school, or other professional setting.” Black women in my previous qualitative study (see Lewis et al., 2010) also discussed the ways that the stereotypes of Black women about being “angry” and “loud” actually serve to silence them because they feel reluctant to speak up in professional environments to avoid being stereotyped. In addition, Black women may also feel like they can’t speak up and say something to resist the gendered racial oppression they experience.

In addition, the Silenced and Marginalized subscale adds empirical support to Sue’s (2010) taxonomy of microaggressions. Previous research (e.g., Capodilupo, 2008; Sue, Buccerri et al., 2007) indicates that African American men and women, as well as women of all racial backgrounds experience the notion of invisibility. Our findings highlight the unique ways that both race and gender operate to make Black women feel silenced and marginalized in the workplace and other professional settings.

Strong Black Woman (GRMS Factor 3)

The third factor consisted of five items that reflected projected notions of being strong, sassy, independent, and assertive. Gendered racial microaggressions of being a Strong Black woman were identified as the most frequent among Black women in this study, with women experiencing these types of microaggressions on average between a “few times a year” to “a few times a month.” A total of 94% of women reported being assumed to be a strong Black woman. Despite the frequency of these experiences, women also reported these microaggressions to be the least stressful compared to the other subscales. This finding might highlight the ways that some Black women internalize this projected stereotype, and thus, do not view being assumed to be a “strong Black woman” offensive.

There has been an increase in research on the psychological costs of this projected stereotype. Specifically, although some African American women may pride themselves on being independent and self-reliant, the other side of this stereotype is the expectation to minimize one’s own needs and put others before oneself (Beauboeuf-Lafontant, 2007; Woods-Giscombe, 2010; Woods-Giscombe & Black, 2010). This stereotype has also been described as the “myth of the Black Superwoman” (e.g., Wallace, 1990) to highlight the inherent costs associated with this notion. Although the ways in which Black women internalize the Strong Black Woman/Black Superwoman stereotype has received some support in the research literature, there is a dearth of research that has tried to explore the experiences of this stereotype in interpersonal situations with others, and the subtle slights, insults, and invalidations that can occur.

The emergence of the Strong Black Woman factor contributes to this emerging literature by capturing the expectation to be strong, self-reliant, and the subtle messages not to be “too independent” and “too assertive” – unique stereotypes of Black women. In addition, two other

items that are important distinctions in the uniqueness of this scale as it relates to gendered racial microaggressions is the assumption that along with being “strong” and “independent,” that Black women are also “sassy and straightforward.”

The Strong Black Woman factor also assesses some of the aspects of the traditional stereotype of the Sapphire (Collins, 1991), but without the anger. In addition, an item loaded onto this factor that represents the ways that Black women are exoticized, which is noteworthy. Thus, the stereotype that Black women are “sassy” has become exoticized, especially in contrast to White women. For example, scholars have argued that the idea of Black women as strong is usually in contrast to the descriptions of White women (Harris-Perry, 2011). These stereotypes serve to reduce Black women to being less feminine and lady-like in contrast to White women (Collins, 1991). However, this might also make Black women vulnerable to assumptions and expectations in interpersonal relationships to be very direct, assertive, and “sassy.” This new addition to the literature highlights the unique ways that Black women are exoticized through the stereotype of the Strong Black Woman.

Angry Black Woman (GRMS Factor 4)

The fourth factor consisted of three items that reflected the expectation to fulfill the stereotype of an “Angry Black Woman.” A majority of the women in this study reported experiencing at least one of these types of gendered racial microaggressions in their lifetime. For example, almost 90% of women reported that “Based on my experience as a Black woman, someone has told me to calm down” at least once in their lifetime. These types of gendered racial microaggressions had the highest frequency, with Black women experiencing these types of microaggressions on average between “a few times a year” to “a few times a month.” Being

accused of being an angry Black woman was also reported on average as slightly stressful to moderately stressful.

GRMS and Demographic Variables

I explored the influence of demographic variables, such as age, educational level, and social class, on the frequency and appraisal of gendered racial microaggressions experienced by Black women. Previous research has indicated that there are demographic differences in the experience of subtle forms of oppression. This might be particularly relevant when exploring gendered racial microaggressions based on the subtlety and ambiguity of these experiences. In addition, because this research highlights the ways that Black women's experiences with gendered racial microaggressions are predicated on projected stereotypes of Black women, we wanted to further explore these associations as another way to explore construct validity. Demographic variables mattered in the Black women participants' expression of gendered racial microaggressions. Below, I will highlight some of the significant findings.

Age and GRMS. The findings indicated that there was an inverse relationship between age and Assumptions of Beauty and Sexual Objectification, such that as age increased the stress of perceived gendered racial microaggressions decreased, and vice versa. Thus, for younger women, it is possible that they are more likely to experience gendered racial microaggressions that are related to sexual objectification and Eurocentric standards of beauty. This finding is also consistent with some of the focus group findings from Phase I of the study. In the focus group with Black women in the community, women anecdotally reported that they have experienced fewer sexualized forms of microaggressions as they have gotten older.

Education and GRMS. Findings also revealed that level of education was significantly and positively associated with the stress of Silenced and Marginalized microaggressions, such

that individuals with higher levels of education also reported greater stress associated with these microaggressions. This finding adds to the research on the experience of women in the workplace, particularly women in professional careers. For Black women who pursue higher levels of education, they might also experience greater stressors associated with being silenced and marginalized in workplace, school, and other professional settings. In terms of frequency, we found that a higher level of education was also associated with less frequent experiences of Angry Black Woman microaggressions. On the other hand, Black women with lower levels of education reported more frequent experiences of Angry Black Woman microaggressions. These findings have implications for the influence of educational level on the projected stereotypes that Black women experience.

Findings also revealed that level of education was significantly and positively associated with the stress of the Strong Black Woman microaggressions, such that individuals with higher levels of education also reported greater stress associated with these microaggressions. More Black women are pursuing college and going on to receive advanced degrees. Some of this could be due in part to their internalization of the Strong Black Woman; however, these women are also experiencing these stereotypes, assumptions, and expectations being placed on them in interpersonal interactions, which could also have a negative effect on mental health.

Social class and GRMS. Findings indicated that the Angry Black Woman was negatively related to social class background. This suggests that women from higher socioeconomic backgrounds tended to report lower levels of stress associated with the Angry Black woman microaggressions and that women from lower social class backgrounds tended to report higher levels of stress associated with these microaggressions. In addition, there was a similar trend with the reported frequency of this type of gendered racial microaggression. Thus,

women from higher social class backgrounds also tended to report fewer Angry Black Woman microaggressions. This finding adds to the understanding of the ways that social class intersects with various types of microaggressions. Specifically, these findings highlight the potential social class differences that might exist in the types and frequency of gendered racial microaggressions that Black women experience.

GRMS Convergent Validity

To assess convergent validity, several measures were selected to explore other constructs that were associated with the GRMS. Below, I will highlight the significant findings which showed a significant association between gendered racial microaggressions and measures of racial and ethnic microaggressions, sexist events, and mental health outcomes.

GRMS and racial microaggressions. The GRMS-BW scale was found to be positively related to racial and ethnic microaggressions, which supports the convergent validity of the measure. The findings provide empirical support for the conceptual link between gendered racial microaggressions and racial microaggressions more broadly. In addition, several of the GRMS subscales were positively related to the REMS. Specifically, Black women's experiences with gendered racial microaggressions about projected standards of beauty, sexual objectification, and the strong Black woman stereotype were related to microinvalidations. The Strong Black Woman was also related to exoticization, which supports previous research on the microaggressions experienced by other women of color (e.g., Sue, Buccerri et al., 2007). In addition, gendered racial microaggressions that include being silenced and marginalized were positively related to the microinvalidations subscale, which supports Sue's (2010) theory of microaggressions. Specifically, the experience of being made to feel invisible is a type of microinvalidation according to Sue's theory and empirical work. For example, Constantine et al.

(2008) found that African American faculty members experienced invisibility in their workplace. Furthermore, the silenced and marginalized subscale was also related to workplace and school microaggressions as well as assumptions of inferiority, which highlights the ways that perpetrators' assumptions of inferiority might be related to silencing and marginalizing Black women in the workplace. The projected stereotype of the angry Black woman was also related to assumptions of criminality, which adds a nuanced understanding to the link between these stereotypes. Although several of the REMS subscales were related to the GRMS, the strength of the associations also suggests that although there is some overlap between gendered racial microaggressions and racial microaggressions, there are also some unique differences. This is helpful in providing support for the unique contribution of a gendered racial microaggressions scale to the literature.

GRMS and sexist events. The GRMS was also found to be positively related to perceived sexist events. The findings indicated a large significant positive correlation between GRMS and perceived sexism. Specifically, each of the GRMS subscales was positively correlated with each of the SSE subscales. One of the largest positive correlations was between the Assumptions of Beauty and Sexual Objectification subscale and the Sexist Degradation subscale of the SSE. The commonality between these two subscales is the perceived sexism and gendered racism that manifests as sexual objectification and inappropriate sexual advances. In addition, the Silenced and Marginalized subscale was also positively related to the Unfair/Sexist Events at Work and School subscale of the SSE. Thus, these scales share some important commonalities. Specifically, the GRMS scale and the SSE both measure aspects of sexual objectification as well as workplace/school forms of subtle discrimination.

These findings are interesting in light of the previous research on perceived sexism experienced by Black women. For example, Moradi and Subich (2003) explored the relationship between racist events and sexist events in predicting distress in a sample of African American women. They found that sexist events were a unique predictor of psychological distress over and above racist events. They concluded that Black women's experiences' with racism and sexism is intersectional in nature and their subjective experience of racist events and sexist events are intertwined. Thus, these findings support this assertion and provide further evidence for the intersections of sexist events in Black women's experiences of gendered racial microaggressions. In this study, it was not possible to examine the unique amount of variance that racial microaggressions and sexist events contributed to gendered racial microaggressions; however, it is noteworthy that perceived sexist events was highly correlated with gendered racial microaggressions. Given that many of the gendered racial microaggressions conceptualized in the GRMS scale emphasized the ways in which Black women's racialized experiences are also gendered, this finding is not surprising. Previous research on race-related stress (see Utsey, 1999) has found significant gender differences in the types of racism-related stressors that Black men and women experience. Thus, this finding supports the extant literature that highlights the uniqueness of Black women's experiences with subtle forms of oppression due to the intersections of race and gender.

GMRS and psychological distress. Findings also indicated that gendered racial microaggressions were negatively related to mental health outcomes. Specifically, GRMS was positively related to greater psychological distress, which supports previous research that perceived racism is negatively related to psychological health among African Americans (Pieterse et al., 2012). Each of the GRMS subscales was positively related to psychological

distress. These findings also support previous research focused on African American women. For example, Thomas et al. (2008) examined the relations between gendered racism and psychological distress and found a significant and positive association. In addition, Moradi and Subich (2003) also found that both perceived racism and sexism both were positively related to psychological distress when explored separately. However, when both racism and sexism were included in the model together to predict psychological distress, their findings indicated that sexism was the only unique predictor of distress. These findings highlight the benefits to using an intersectional measure of racism and sexism, such as the GRMS-BW. These results indicate that intersecting microaggressions have an impact on the mental health of Black women.

GRMS and Social Desirability

One unexpected finding was the negative association between the GRMS-BW scale and social desirability. Black women in this study who scored higher on socially desirable responding tended to score lower on gendered racial microaggressions. Although this finding is puzzling, several possible explanations exist. Measures of social desirability seek to explore the extent to which individuals present themselves in an expected way to gain social approval. Initially, Crowne and Marlowe (1960) conceptualized this phenomenon as rooted in culturally appropriate expectations. Historically, racial and cultural factors have not been examined when studying social desirability (Beretvas, Meyers, & Leite, 2002). With the increase in cross-cultural research however, researchers have found that there are cultural differences in the tendency to report information in socially desirable ways (Johnson & Van De Vijver, 2003). For example, a literature review by Johnson and Van De Vijver (2003) highlighted the research findings that most non-Hispanic Whites tend to score higher on measures of social desirability. For example, some researchers (e.g., Johnson and Van De Vijver, 2003) argue that issues of cultural mistrust

in survey research may play a role in the tendency for African Americans to respond to surveys in socially desirable ways. In addition, researchers argue that individuals from collectivistic cultures are more likely to score higher on measures of social desirability to save face (Johnson & Van De Vijver, 2003).

Another explanation could be that Black women are socialized to be strong and resilient, and thus, might be more likely to under-report their level of stress associated with microaggressions so as not to admit that subtle forms of racism and sexism are taking a toll on them. For example, Woods-Giscombe (2010) argued that Black women's internalization of the Strong Black Woman, could lead to under-reporting stress. Thus, Black women in this sample could be under-reporting the stress of gendered racial microaggressions.

Limitations

Although this study shows promising results, it is important to note some of the limitations. The online data collection method is one limitation. Collecting data online allowed for data collection from a diverse sample of participants in terms of geographical location and age; however, one drawback of online survey methodology was the oversampling of women from middle and upper social class levels. Given the social class disparities in the access to the Internet that individuals have from different socioeconomic backgrounds, the sample was highly educated, which could impact the generalizability of the findings. In addition, although it was important to use a purposeful sampling method to actively recruit a multiple minority sample, the lack of using a random sample could also affect the ability to generalize to the population. Another drawback of this study was the self-selected nature of the sample; thus, individuals were told that the study was focused on Black women's experiences, which could have resulted in a greater inclusion of women whose race and gender were more salient to them.

The initial conceptualization of the theory of gendered racial microaggressions was based on my earlier focus group study (see Lewis et al., 2010), which was with undergraduate, graduate, and professional students. Thus, it is possible that this restricted sample in terms of both age and education could have affected the types of gendered racial microaggression themes that were initially created, which were the basis of the theoretical framework for this study. Although I tried to address this issue after feedback from the community focus group, there is still a possibility of this limitation. For example, one participant in the community focus group mentioned the microaggressions she received based on the stereotype of the Mammy (e.g., asexual, caretaking, selfless woman; similar to the character from the film, *Gone with the Wind*; Collins, 1991). However, these items were not retained in the final factor model. Women in the community focus group (Phase I of the study) also shared their experiences regarding the influence of their age in the types of gendered racial microaggressions they have experienced. For example, some women shared that younger college age women might be less likely to experience the Mammy microaggression, but might be more likely to experience the projected stereotype of the Jezebel (e.g., hypersexual, promiscuous; Collins, 1991; Harris-Perry, 2011).

Another limitation of this study was the mixed finding related to social desirability. In this case, although the effect of social desirability could be partially explained by cultural aspects of saving face and gaining social approval, at least in the context of the Superwoman Schema (see Woods-Giscombe, 2010 for a review), this finding needs to be further explored. There could be a host of reasons why we found an inverse relationship between the stress of gendered racial microaggressions and social desirability. However, we could not fully account for this finding. In addition, we did not include an additional measure of divergent validity in this study. Thus,

future research should explore other personality measures to rule out any personality factors that might account for differences in self-reported microaggressions.

Implications for Future Research

The findings from this study have several important implications for future research on microaggressions. Specifically, this study extends Sue's (2010) theory of microaggressions and Essed's (1991) theory of gendered racism by developing a scale to measure the intersection of racial and gender microaggressions, conceptualized as gendered racial microaggressions.

Although there has been a boom in research on microaggressions in the psychology literature in the last 5 years, very few scales have been developed to assess microaggressions. More importantly, there is currently only one other microaggressions scale that has applied an intersectionality framework and has attempted to measure multiple marginalized groups (see Balsam, Molina, Beadnell, Simoni, & Walters, 2011). Thus, the GRMS-BW fills a much needed gap in the research literature, particularly as it relates to studying Black women's experiences with the intersections of subtle forms of racism and sexism.

Future research should continue to explore the construct validity of the GRMS-BW with diverse groups of Black women in terms of age, geographical region, social class, and other intragroup variables. For example, one group of particular interest is younger women who might be more likely to experience increased assumptions of beauty and sexual objectification.

Although this study was limited to Black women over the age of 18, future research could explore Black teenage girls who might be at an increased risk of exposure to certain microaggressions. It would also be important to move beyond correlational self-report studies and conduct a longitudinal study to explore the cumulative effect of gendered racial microaggressions of mental health outcomes over time. In addition, it would be imperative to

explore the impact of gendered racial microaggressions on physical health. Recently, there has been increased attention to racial health disparities in the research literature. The experience of gendered racial microaggressions could help explain the long-term health implications of chronic stress due to subtle forms of discrimination. It would be important to explore physiological indicators of stress, such as cortisol levels and blood pressure to examine whether the experience of gendered racial microaggressions is related to physical health outcomes.

In addition, the GRMS-BW scale can add to the existing research on sexual harassment experienced by women in the workplace. Although there has been an increase in research on Black women's unique experiences with racialized sexual harassment (e.g., Buchanan & Ormerod, 2002), there is a dearth of measures to assess the intersectional effect of these experiences. The Silenced and Marginalized factor represents a measure of intersecting gendered racial microaggressions that are specific to the experience of Black women in professional careers.

Implications for Practice

This study also has several important implications for practice. It is important to begin to define, describe, and uncover the gendered racial microaggressions that exist to be able to better understand these phenomena, which has implications for targets and perpetrators of microaggressions. For Black women, it is important for these women to be aware of the increased stress of these experiences and the ways gendered racial microaggressions can negatively impact their health. For perpetrators, it is important to be aware that gendered racial microaggressions exist and understand their harmful effects on target groups, and how an individual's unawareness about these experiences can negatively impact interpersonal interactions with Black women.

This study also has implications for clinical practice. It is important for mental health professionals to be aware of the gendered racial microaggressions that their Black woman clients might experience in their day-to-day life, particularly in the workplace, and how these experiences can negatively affect mental health. It is also very important for mental health professionals, counselors, psychologists, psychiatrists, social workers, and trainees to be aware of the ways they might unknowingly perpetrate a gendered racial microaggression against their Black female clients. Research (e.g., Sue, 2010) indicates that there are several racial microaggressions that are common in clinical work including blaming the victim, racial colorblindness, and denying clients' experiences of racism. This research can extend to the experience of gendered racial microaggressions. There might be ways that counselors silence and marginalize their Black women clients or reduce them to a stereotype such as the "Angry Black Woman." These microaggressions in the therapy room can disrupt the therapeutic alliance by making it difficult to establish rapport and could contribute to early termination (Sue, 2010).

There are also implications for higher education. It is important to educate students, educators, and administrators about the experience of gendered racial microaggressions and the ways these subtle forms of racism and sexism get communicated to Black women on college campuses. Often, the assumption of the angry Black woman serves to silence Black women because they do not want to get labeled as the angry Black woman. It is also important for campuses to be aware of the ways that gendered racial microaggressions can have a negative impact on campus racial climate and interracial interactions in various aspects of campus life. With many institutions of higher learning developing campus initiatives that boast an "inclusive" campus environment, it is important for the voices of all students to be heard and for all students to feel a sense of belonging on college campuses.

Conclusion

This project extended Sue's (2010) theory of microaggressions and Essed's (1991) theory of gendered racism by constructing and validating a quantitative scale to measure Black women's experiences with the intersection of racial and gender microaggressions. Findings revealed four meaningful aspects of gendered racial microaggressions experienced by Black women: Assumptions of Beauty and Sexual Objectification, Silenced and Marginalized, Strong Black Woman, and Angry Black Woman. This study provided psychometric support for this measure, which was positively related to racial microaggressions and perceived sexist events in theoretically expected ways. The GRMS scale can make a significant contribution to the research literature by providing a measurement tool that was created using an intersectional analytic approach to capture the unique experiences of Black women.

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APPENDIX A:

Recruitment Email for Phase I

Hello,

My name is Jioni A. Lewis and I am a doctoral candidate in the Counseling Psychology Program in the Department of Educational Psychology at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign under the guidance of Dr. Helen A. Neville. We would like to invite you to take part in a small group discussion about Black women's general life experiences.

Your participation in this project is very important to us! We would like to get your feedback about our research project in a focus group that will take approximately 90 minutes of your time. Your participation is strictly confidential. Your participation will help us develop scale that will be used to conduct more research on the specific needs of Black women.

To express our appreciation, all those who take part in this focus group will be compensated with \$10 CASH! In addition, food & drinks will be provided.

If you are interested in participating, please contact Jioni Lewis at: jalewis4@illinois.edu to **reserve a spot.**

Thank you for your time and we look forward to hearing from you.

Cordially,
Jioni A. Lewis, M.A. and Helen Neville, Ph.D.
Department of Educational Psychology
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

APPENDIX B:

Informed Consent for Phase I

You are invited to participate in a study entitled, “Black Women’s General Life Experiences” conducted by Ms. Jioni A. Lewis and Dr. Helen Neville of the Department of Educational Psychology at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. The purpose of this study is to examine Black women’s general life experiences and well-being.

Your participation involves taking part in a focus group discussion with approximately 8 – 12 individuals, and will last approximately 90 minutes.

Participation in this project is completely voluntary. There will be no negative consequences if you decide not to participate. You also have the right to discontinue your participation at any time. Participation is not expected to cause any harm outside of what is normally encountered in daily life.

Several safeguards will be taken to protect your identity. Although the interview will be audio-recorded to ensure accuracy of the content of the interview, your name will not be included in the transcription of the discussion. The audio-recordings will be downloaded onto a secure, password protected server. Only Ms. Lewis and Dr. Neville’s small research team will have access to the recordings. The recordings will be deleted after completion of the project. Although we will not disclose your identity, there is a chance that other individuals within the focus group may share with others about the content of the discussion and of your contributions to the conversation. However, we request that participants respect the privacy of the session.

Results from this study may be published in a professional journal or government grant application, but you will not be identified as an individual. Instead, results will be reported as group averages.

A potential benefit of participation is that you may learn more about Black women’s life experiences. You will receive \$10 cash as a small token of appreciation for your participation.

If you have any questions or concerns about participation in this research, you may contact Jioni A. Lewis at jalewis4@illinois.edu or Dr. Helen Neville at hneville@uiuc.edu. For additional information regarding the rights of human participants in research, you may contact the Bureau of Educational Research (217-333-3023; www.ed.uiuc.edu/BER/). You are welcome to call collect if you identify yourself as a research participant.

I have read and understand the above information and voluntarily agree to participate in the research project described above. I have been given a copy of this consent form.

Yes No I agree to have the interview audio-recorded for the purposes of transcription

Signature

Date

APPENDIX C:

Focus Group Script for Phase I

Introduction. Thank you so much for agreeing to participate in a focus group interview as part of a larger project exploring Black women's general life experiences. Your input and insights will be very useful to me as we try to understand the impact of race and gender on Black women's experiences. We are interested in understanding the intersection of race and gender and how these identities shape Black women's experiences with subtle forms of racism and sexism. Just so you know what to expect, we thought we would first outline the interview process, go over the consent form, and answer any questions you may have before we actually begin with the interview or conversation. Okay? By the way, my name is Jioni Lewis and I am a doctoral student under the guidance of Dr. Helen Neville in the department of Educational Psychology and African American Studies at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. [co-facilitator introduces self]

Outline of the interview project. The interview will last about 90 minutes. During the interview, we will ask you to provide us with feedback about a list of items that I have created for a quantitative scale.

Informed consent. Before we begin, we would like to describe your rights as a participant in this study in more detail. [Give person consent form.] We'd like to quickly go over the main points in the consent form.

- **Participation is completely voluntary** – meaning you have the right to not answer questions in the interview if you do not want or you can stop the interview at any time if you choose.
- **The interview will be audio-recorded** – to make sure that we are able to accurately capture your perspectives, I will digitally record the interview. The digital recording will not have your name on it anywhere. After the interview is completed, I will download the interview and place into a password protected file. The digital files will be destroyed five years after this project is completed.
- **Participation is confidential** – several safeguards will be taken to protect your identity. We will not talk about the details of this interview to others. We will, however, have a small group of trained graduate students and research professionals who will be working with me on various parts of the project. This will include activities such as transcribing the interviews and helping me identify themes in the interviews. We will not report any information that could potentially be damaging to you. We cannot guarantee that other participants in the focus group will not disclose information outside of this room. We ask that you respect others' confidentiality and not discuss the content of others' comments outside of this room.
- **Want more information** – if you would like to learn more about your rights as a participant in research feel free to call the IRB office at UIUC. The numbers are provided on the consent form; you can call collect.
- **Keep a copy for your records** – please read over the consent form and sign; here is a copy of the form for your records.

- Resource list – here is a resource list in case you would like to further explore the issues we discuss in these interviews
- Token of appreciation – as a token of my appreciation for your participation in the study, you will receive \$10 (US).
- Questions. We are about ready to begin the interview. Do you have any questions before we start?

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Introduction

This is a focus group to obtain feedback about the content of items that have been created to assess Black women’s experiences with subtle forms of racism and sexism. I have created an initial pool of items that I would like feedback on to construct a quantitative scale for use in psychology research. The construct is called gendered racial microaggressions, which I have defined as, “brief and commonplace verbal and behavioral indignities that communicate negative and derogatory slights and insults based on the intersection of one’s race and gender” (Lewis et al., 2010). Microaggressions refer to those experiences that are subtle and are considered more contemporary forms of racism and sexism. Within this framework, there are three forms of microaggressions: microassaults, microinsults, and microinvalidations. *Microassaults* are “explicit racial or sexual derogations characterized primarily by a violent verbal, nonverbal, or environmental attack meant to hurt the intended victim through name-calling, avoidant behavior, or purposeful discriminatory actions” (Sue, 2010, p. 29). These actions are conscious and overt, thus most similar to old-fashioned racism and sexism. *Microinsults* are characterized by “communications that convey rudeness and insensitivity and demean a person’s racial heritage and gender” (Sue, 2010, p. 29). Microinsults include insensitive comments based on an array of racial and gender assumptions about intelligence, cultural values, physical appearance, and aesthetics. *Microinvalidations* are manifested as a minimization or denial of the racialized and gendered experiences of women of color.

I would like to get feedback about whether these items are characteristic of experiences that occur in Black women’s lives. Please feel free to be open and honest about your feedback. We will go through each of the questions.

FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

- To what extent does this question reflect subtle forms of racism and sexism?
- Do you feel that this question could have been worded in a clearer or different way that would have made it easier to answer?
- Do you feel that this question was too wordy?
- Do you think that this question is an accurate description of some Black women’s experiences with subtle racism and sexism?
- Do these questions describe aspects of your experience with subtle racism and sexism?
- Do you feel there are other “microaggressions” you have experienced as a Black woman that are not captured in the list of questions?
- How was the experience of completing the questionnaire for you?

APPENDIX D:

Resource List for Phase I

Thank you for your participation in this study. Information collected from this project will help us gain a better understanding of issues of race and gender.

Some of the issues addressed in this focus group discussion may be difficult to deal with, or may bring up additional questions. If you would like to talk to someone more about these topics, here are some places you can contact:

Mental Health Resources

- **Psychological Services Center**
(217) 333-0041
 - <http://www.psc.uiuc.edu/>
 - The PSC is a community mental health agency that offers therapy, psychological assessments, and other support services to members of the Champaign/Urbana community.
- **Community Elements Crisis Line**
(217) 359-4141
- **Provena Covenant Medical Center**
(217) 337-2000

Educational Resources

Here are some educational resources that provide additional information on some of the topics covered in this research project:

Adams, M., Blumenfeld, W.J., Castaneda, C.R., Hackman, H.W., Peters, M.L., & Zuniga, X. (2010). *Readings for Diversity and Social Justice (2nd Ed.)*. New York: Routledge.

Collins, P. H. (1990). *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*. Cambridge, MA: Unwin Hyman, Inc.

Harris-Perry, M. V. (2011). *Sister Citizen: Shame, Stereotypes, and Black Women in America*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

hooks, b. (2003). *Teaching Community: A Pedagogy of Hope*. New York: Routledge.

hooks, b. (1981). *Ain't I A Woman: Black Women and Feminism*. Cambridge, MA: South End Press.

Jones, C. & Shorter-Gooden, K. (2003). *Shifting: The Double Lives of Black Women in America*. New York: HarperCollins Publishers, Inc.

Sue, D. W. (2010). *Microaggressions in Everyday Life: Race, Gender, and Sexual Orientation*. John Wiley & Sons, Inc. New Jersey.

Sue, D. W. (2010). *Microaggressions and Marginality: Manifestation, Dynamics, and Impact*. John Wiley & Sons, Inc. New Jersey.

Wellness Book List

The Value in the Valley: A Black Woman's Guide Through Life's Dilemmas by Iyanla Vanzant

- Provides descriptions of ten common life experiences that African American women face and advice on how to overcome difficulties associated with these experiences.

Sisters of the Yam: Black women and self-recovery by bell hooks

- Provides information on how African-American women can recover from systems of oppression such as racism, sexism, and consumer capitalism.

Rock my Soul: Black People and Self-Esteem by bell hooks

- hooks examines the political and social barriers that keep African-Americans from emotional well-being.

Souls of My Sisters by Dawn Marie Daniels and Candace Sandy

- Provides a series of essays describing the emotional trials of Black women and ways in which the women were able to triumph over their pain in order to appreciate the gifts life has to offer.

Souls Revealed: A Souls of My Sisters Book of Revelations and Tools for Healing Your Spirit, Soul and Life by Dawn

Daniels and Candace Sandy

- Provides coping strategies for dealing with painful experiences that may cause disruption within your life.

Matters of the Heart and my Spiritual Inheritance by Juanita Bynum

- Provides guidance for people searching for a spiritual path.

Your Inner Eve: Discovering God's Woman Within by Reverend Dr. Susan Newman

- Provides guidance on how African American women can increase their psychological well-being from a spiritual point of view.

Black Pain: It Just Looks Like We're Not Hurting by Terri Williams

- Describes what depression looks like within the African-American community and dispels the myth of stoicism among African American men and women.

Prime Time The African American Woman's Complete Guide to Midlife Health and Wellness by Gayle K. Porter, M.D. and Marilyn Gaston, Ph.D.

- Provides information and advice on of their needs and safeguard their health.

Internet Resources

- **Websites on Racism Education and Anti-Racist Action**
 - Taking Action Against Racism (TAAR); website providing resources and activities designed to address issues related to racism. Organized by the American Psychological Association's Society of Counseling Psychology
 - <http://div17.org/TAAR/>
 - National Resource Center for the Healing of Racism; website providing resources in the form of structured sharing and personal experiences around issues related to racism.
 - <http://www.nrchr.org/>

- **Crunk Feminist Collective**
 - Online blog that discusses issues relevant to Black women from a feminist perspective that intersects issues of race and gender.
 - <http://crunkfeministcollective.wordpress.com/>
- **Black Women's Health Imperative**
 - This is an online community that provides a wealth of online resources, support communities, and informative articles in order to promote physical, spiritual, and emotional health among African-American women.
 - <http://www.blackwomenshealth.org/>
- **California Black Women's Health Project**
 - Founded in 1994, the California Black Women's Health Project (CABWHP) focuses on empowering Black women to take personal responsibility for our own health and to advocate for changes in policies that adversely affect Black women's health status.
 - <http://www.cabwhp.org/>
- **National Women's Health Information Center**
 - This website provides information on special topics like mental health, pregnancy, breastfeeding, body image, HIV/AIDS, girls' health, heart health, menopause and hormone therapy, quitting smoking, and violence against women.
 - <http://www.womenshealth.gov/>
- **Journey to Wellness**
 - This is an online health magazine for African-Americans that also provides audio links to its nationally syndicated radio show.
 - <http://www.journeytowellness.com/>

APPENDIX E:

Recruitment Email for Phase II

Greetings!

My name is Jioni A. Lewis and I am a doctoral candidate in the Counseling Psychology Program in the Department of Educational Psychology at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign under the guidance of Dr. Helen A. Neville. We would like to invite you to take part in a survey about Black women's general life experiences.

Your participation in this project is very important to us! For your convenience, we have designed a questionnaire that can be directly submitted through the Internet.

Please take a few moments to fill out the questionnaire by **clicking on the following link**, <http://www.surveymzmo.com/>. If you are unable to access the survey by clicking on the previous link, you may cut and paste the link into your web browser. After reading a brief consent form, you will have the opportunity to complete the questionnaire. The survey takes approximately 10 minutes to complete. Please note that your responses are anonymous and will be kept completely confidential.

Furthermore, **you are welcome to forward this entire message to any colleagues, friends, family, or acquaintances** that you believe would be willing to complete the survey! To express our appreciation, all those who submit a completed form will be placed in a drawing to win one of three \$50 cash awards! Thank you for your time and we look forward to hearing from you.

Cordially,
Jioni A. Lewis, M.A. and Helen Neville, Ph.D.
Department of Educational Psychology
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

APPENDIX F:

Gendered Racial Microaggressions Scale – Black Women

Directions. Please think about your experiences as a Black woman. Please read each item and think of how often each event has happened to you in your lifetime. In addition, please rate how stressful each experience was for you. Stressful can include feeling upset, bothered, offended, or annoyed by the event.

Frequency

<i>0</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>
Never	Less than once a year	A few times a year	About once a month	A few times a month	Once a week or more

Appraisal

<i>0</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>
This has never happened to me	Not at all Stressful	Slightly stressful	Moderately Stressful	Very stressful	Extremely stressful

Based on my experiences as a Black woman...

1. Someone accused me of being angry when I was speaking in a calm manner.
2. Someone assumed that I did not have much to contribute to the conversation.
3. Someone has asked me about my grooming habits (for example, how I style my hair).
4. I have a difficult time finding makeup to match my skin color/tone.
5. In talking with others, someone has told me to calm down.
6. My comments have been ignored in a discussion in a work, school, or other professional setting.
7. I have been perceived to be an "angry black woman."
8. I have a difficult time finding hair products for my hair texture.
9. I have been told that I am too independent.
10. I have received positive comments about my hairstyle when I wear it relaxed or straightened.
11. I have a difficult time finding clothing to fit my body size/body type.
12. A stranger has tried to touch my hair.
13. Someone has challenged my authority in a work, school, or other professional setting.
14. I do not see women who look like me represented in the media.
15. I have been told that I am too assertive.
16. I have been disrespected by people in a work, school, or other professional setting.
17. Someone has made me feel unattractive because I am a Black woman.

18. I do not see women of my shape and size represented in the media.
19. Someone has made a sexually inappropriate comment about my butt, hips, or thighs.
20. Someone has imitated the way they think Black women speak in front of me (for example, "g-i-r-l-f-r-i-e-n-d").
21. When I go to work, school, or other professional setting, Black women are not represented in positions of authority.
22. Someone made me feel exotic as a Black woman.
23. Someone has assumed that I should have a certain body type because I am a Black woman.
24. I have seen negative images of Black women portrayed in the media (for example, music videos, magazines, movies, and television).
25. Someone perceived me to be sexually promiscuous (sexually loose).
26. I have felt unheard in a work, school, or other professional setting.
27. Someone assumed I speak a certain way because I am a Black woman.
28. Someone objectified me based on my physical features as a Black woman.
29. I have felt someone has tried to "put me in my place" in a work, school, or other professional setting.
30. Someone told me I was loud.
31. I have felt like a "token" based on my race and gender in a work, school, or other professional setting.
32. I have felt excluded from networking opportunities by White co-workers.
33. I have received negative comments about my hair when I wear it in a natural hairstyle.
34. I have been assumed to be a strong Black woman.
35. I have received negative comments about the size of my facial features.
36. Someone assumed I was on welfare or used "food stamps."
37. Someone made a negative comment to me about my skin color/skin tone.
38. I have been told that I am sassy and straightforward.
39. Someone made me feel unattractive because of the size of my butt, hips, or thighs.
40. Someone has expected me to take care of others before I take care of myself.

Please do not copy, reproduce, or circulate the Gendered Racial Microaggressions Scale – Black Women without written permission from the author.

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APPENDIX G:

Demographic Questionnaire

Directions. Please tell us about yourself by filling in or circling the following information as completely as possible.

1. Age: _____

2. Gender:

Man Woman Transgender Gender Queer

Other (please specify): _____

3. What's the highest level of education you have completed?

- a. Elementary school (8th grade)
- b. Some high school
- c. High school diploma or equivalent
- d. Some college
- e. Associate or two-year degree
- f. Bachelor's or four-year degree
- g. Some graduate or professional school
- h. Business or trade school
- i. Graduate or professional degree

4. Sexual Orientation (please circle):

Heterosexual Lesbian Bisexual Questioning

Other (please specify): _____

5. **Please circle and fill in.** In terms of racial group, I consider myself to be:

- a. Asian/Asian American
Specify the ethnicity: _____
- b. Black/ African American
Specify the ethnicity: _____
- c. Latino/Hispanic (Non-White)
Specify the ethnicity: _____
- d. White/ European American
Specify the ethnicity: _____
- e. Native American/American Indian
Specify the ethnicity: _____
- f. Bi-racial/Multiracial
Specify: _____
- h. Other
Please specify _____

6. In terms of my ethnic background, I consider myself to be:

7. Were you born in the United States? (please circle one)

YES

NO

8. If you were not born in the United States, what country were you born in?

-
- a. How many years have you lived in the U.S. _____
9. Which religion or spiritual beliefs do you identify with?
- a. Christian/Catholic
 - b. Protestant
 - c. Muslim
 - d. Hindu
 - e. Jewish
 - f. Buddhism
 - g. Agnostic or Atheist
 - h. Other: Please specify _____
 - i. Not Applicable
10. Currently, how religious or spiritual are you?
- a. Not at all religious/spiritual
 - b. A little religious/spiritual
 - c. Somewhat religious/spiritual
 - d. Very religious/spiritual

11. What is your current class background? (*Please check one*)

Poor _____

(*For example, you receive welfare/TANF/relief or are employed without benefits, etc.*)

Working Class _____

(*For example, you do manual labor or clerical/administrative jobs, etc.*)

Middle Class _____

(*For example, you have a professional or technical job such as teacher, manager, accountant, social worker, small business owner, etc.*)

Upper Middle Class _____

(*For example, you are in a high paying profession such as doctor, lawyer, engineer, etc.*)

Wealthy _____

(*For example, you are a CEO, manager/owner of a major financial institution or corporation, etc.*)

12. If you were to purchase foundation (make-up) for your face, which one of the following colors would most closely match your skin complexion?

- a. Very Deep
- b. Dark
- c. Tan
- d. Medium
- e. Beige
- f. Light
- g. Very Light

APPENDIX H:

Recruitment Email for Phase III

Greetings!

My name is Jioni A. Lewis and I am a doctoral candidate in the Counseling Psychology Program in the Department of Educational Psychology at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign under the guidance of Dr. Helen A. Neville. We would like to invite you to take part in a survey about Black women's general life experiences.

Your participation in this project is very important to us! For your convenience, we have designed a questionnaire that can be directly submitted through the Internet.

Please take a few moments to fill out the questionnaire by **clicking on the following link**, <http://www.surveymzmo.com/>. If you are unable to access the survey by clicking on the previous link, you may cut and paste the link into your web browser. After reading a brief consent form, you will have the opportunity to complete the questionnaire. The survey takes approximately 30 minutes to complete. Please note that your responses are anonymous and will be kept completely confidential.

Furthermore, **you are welcome to forward this entire message to any colleagues, friends, family, or acquaintances** that you believe would be willing to complete the survey! To express our appreciation, all those who submit a completed form will be placed in a drawing to win one of three \$50 cash awards! Thank you for your time and we look forward to hearing from you.

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