

Research

Internalized Racism, Perceived Racism, and Ethnic Identity: Exploring Their Relationship in Latina/o Undergraduates

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For Latina/o undergraduates, ethnic identity is an important construct linked to self-esteem and educational attainment. Internalized and perceived racism have been hypothesized to hinder ethnic identity development in Latina/o undergraduates. To assess if internalized and perceived racism were inversely related to ethnic identity, the author conducted a hierarchical linear regression with 373 Latina/o undergraduates. There was a significant relationship between internalized racism and ethnic identity. Findings indicate a need to challenge internalized racism in Latina/o undergraduates.

Keywords: ethnic identity, internalized racism, Latinas/os

Promoting student development, affirming diversity, and attaining multicultural competence are integral parts of college counselors' and student affairs officers' professional and ethical responsibilities (American College Personnel Association [ACPA], 2012; American Counseling Association, 2014). To provide culturally relevant services to Latinas/os, college counselors and student affairs professionals must consider these individuals' ethnic identity (Hipolito-Delgado & Diaz, 2013). *Ethnic identity* describes the degree to which an individual understands and associates with his or her ethnic heritage (Phinney, 1996). In Latinas/os, ethnic identity development describes the process of changing from a limited understanding of or a negative association with one's Latina/o heritage to a position of embracing Latina/o ethnicity as an asset (Hipolito-Delgado & Diaz, 2013). The development of ethnic identity is key to the mental health and academic achievement of U.S.-born Latina/o undergraduates. In Latina/o college students, ethnic identity development is related to higher self-esteem (Negy, Shreve, Jensen, & Uddin, 2003; Umaña-Taylor, 2004), increased coping and optimism (Roberts et al., 1999), motivation to attend college (Phinney, Dennis, & Osorio, 2006), and higher college grade point average (Onga, Phinney, & Dennis, 2006). Unfortunately, limited attention has been given to factors that promote or hinder the ethnic identity development of U.S.-born Latina/o undergraduates and how these factors may differ for first-, second-, or third-generation U.S.-born Latina/o undergraduates.

Prejudice and bias are not solely the domain of those in positions of privilege and power. Members of marginalized communities are equally prone to holding biases—even against members of their own ethnic group. When a member of a marginalized ethnic community holds biased beliefs that depict his or

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her own ethnicity as inferior, it is said that this individual is suffering from *internalized racism* (Padilla, 2001). For example, an undergraduate student feels less intellectually capable because of her Latina ethnicity.

Helms (1995) argued that the primary goal of identity development in people of color is to overcome internalized racism. Helms's (1995) People of Color Identity Model is meant to explain the identity development of all non-White people. The Helms model consists of five levels of development, known as statuses. These statuses are conformity, dissonance, immersion/emersion, internalization, and integrative awareness (Helms, 1995). As individuals progress through these statuses, they go from low awareness of their ethnic identity to a position of high awareness of and commitment to their ethnic identity.

The argument that the goal of identity development is to overcome internalized racism (Helms, 1995) is supported by the research of Cokley (2002), which found an inverse relationship between ethnic identity development and internalized racism in Black undergraduates. Specifically, Cokley found that students who had low ethnic identity manifested high levels of internalized racism. Internalized racism should be a concern for college counselors and student affairs professionals, because it is inversely correlated with mental and physical health (Butler, Tull, Chambers, & Taylor, 2002; Taylor, Henderson, & Jackson, 1991) and is thought to adversely affect educational achievement (Harper, 2006; Hipolito-Delgado, Gallegos Payan, & Baca, 2014). Although no research could be located examining the relationship between internalized racism and academic achievement, it is believed that internalized racism leads to self-deprecation and the view of self as intellectually incapable (Harper, 2006; Hipolito-Delgado et al., 2014). Unfortunately, research examining the relationship between internalized racism and ethnic identity in Latina/o college students is nonexistent, as is information on how this relationship might differ among first-, second-, or third-generation U.S.-born Latinas/os. Given Helms's (1995) model, an inverse relationship between internalized racism and ethnic identity in U.S.-born Latina/o undergraduates is hypothesized.

Perceived racism also has adverse effects for students of color. *Perceived racism* describes the subjective experience of racial or ethnic prejudice or discrimination (Clark, Anderson, Clark, & Williams, 1999). A. P. Jackson, Smith, and Hill (2003) found that perceived racism is negatively related to the college persistence of Native American undergraduates. The manifestation of psychological stress is another consequence of perceived racism. Over time, this racism-related stress can have negative effects on the psychological and physical health of people of color (Clark et al., 1999; Pole, Best, Metzler, & Marmar, 2005; Utsey, Chae, Brown, & Kelly, 2002). Given the dearth of existing research, Araújo and Borrell (2006) called for research specifically examining the effects of perceived racism on members of the Latina/o community. Araújo and Borrell called for more research on Latinas/os because of the prevalence of racism against the Latina/o community related to citizenship status, levels of acculturation, racial background, and English fluency.

In one of the few studies examining perceived racism in Latina/o undergraduates, Hipolito-Delgado (2010) found a positive relationship between perceived racism and internalized racism in 500 Latina/o undergraduates. Support for

this theory can be found in research by Cassidy, O’Conner, Howe, and Warden (2004), who observed that perceived racism was inversely related to ethnic identity in a sample of ethnic minorities in Scotland. No research exists examining the relationship between perceived racism and ethnic identity in Latinas/os. Similarly, no research exists on how this relationship might differ across first-, second-, or third-generation U.S.-born Latinas/os. To address these gaps in the literature, this study examined if internalized and perceived racism are related to ethnic identity development in U.S.-born Latina/o undergraduate students.

To encourage the healthy development of Latina/o undergraduates and to provide culturally responsive services, college counselors and student affairs professionals should be informed of the conditions that promote or hinder the ethnic identity development of Latina/o students. Researchers have found that U.S.-born generational status and Spanish language fluency affect the ethnic identity development of Latina/o undergraduates. The combination of these factors influences access to Latina/o culture, ease of identity development, and salience of ethnicity. A brief literature review is provided to familiarize college counselors with the factors that facilitate ethnic identity development in Latinas/os.

U.S.-Born Generational Status

It is believed that U.S.-born generational status influences the ethnic identity development of Latinas/os (Rivera-Santiago, 1996). Torres (2003) found that Latina/o undergraduates who were members of the first generation born in the United States did not identify strongly with their ethnic heritage. Conversely, Latina/o undergraduates from the second and third generations born in the United States identified more strongly with their ethnic heritage, indicating that ethnic identity is positively related to generational status (Torres, 2003). Similarly, Cuellar, Nyberg, Maldonado, and Roberts (1997) found a direct relationship between ethnic identity development and generational status ($\beta = .15, p < .05$) in sample of Latina/o undergraduates. Although the rationale for this relationship is unclear, the previous findings indicate that ethnic identity strengthens in each subsequent generation of U.S.-born Latinas/os.

Spanish Language Fluency

The ability to speak Spanish is thought to be related to the ethnic identity development of Latinas/os (Torres, 2003). Ontai-Grzebik and Raffaelli (2004) found that the amount of Spanish spoken by Latina/o college-age students was positively correlated with ethnic identity. The ability to speak and understand Spanish likely facilitates the development of ethnic identity because it increases an individual’s ability to access cultural resources that are Spanish language dependent, such as oral histories and certain art forms (Hipolito-Delgado & Diaz, 2013).

Although the aforementioned studies indicated that various factors influence the ethnic identity development of Latina/o undergraduates, they did not provide a

comprehensive picture of ethnic identity development because they did not give consideration to constructs that might inhibit ethnic identity development. The goal of this article is to examine whether internalized racism and perceived racism hinder the ethnic identity development of U.S.-born Latina/o undergraduates. On the basis of the theory of Helms (1995) and the research of Hipolito-Delgado (2010), it is hypothesized that internalized racism and perceived racism are inversely related to ethnic identity development in U.S.-born Latina/o undergraduates. The findings of the present study are significant for college counselors and student affairs professionals, because they will reveal factors that promote or hinder ethnic identity development in Latina/o undergraduates. Furthermore, this knowledge can be used to promote the healthy development of Latina/o undergraduates. Finally, the findings of this study will expand the counseling field by helping to identify the negative effects of internalized and perceived racism. It is important to note that there is a great deal of diversity within Latina/o undergraduates; however, an examination of all within-group differences was beyond the scope of this study.

Method

Participants

Participants for this study were recruited from the membership of various Latina/o university student organizations. Recruitment was carried out over the electronic mailing lists for the Latina/o Network of ACPA College Student Educators International, the Hispanic Research Special Interest Group of the American Educational Research Association, and the Latina/o Network of the Association for Multicultural Counseling and Development. Because of this recruitment strategy, a response rate cannot be provided. A total of 373 U.S.-born Latina/o undergraduates participated in this study. These students represented 66 different colleges and universities and 23 different states. The majority of participants came from 4-year institutions (93.6%), with a very small percentage coming from community colleges (6.4%). The majority of participants also came from public institutions (70.5%), and a smaller percentage came from private institutions (29.5%).

The participants consisted of 258 (69.2%) women, 113 (30.3%) men, one (0.3%) transgender individual, and one (0.3%) individual who declined to state his or her gender. Participants ranged in age from 18 to 45 years ($M = 20.83$, $SD = 2.83$). All participants identified as being U.S.-born; 224 (60.1%) identified as first generation, 64 (17.2%) identified as 1.5 generation, 19 (5.1%) identified as second generation, 15 (4.0%) identified as 2.5 generation, 34 (9.1%) identified as third generation or more, and 17 (4.6%) declined to state their generational status. (Percentages do not total 100 because of rounding.)

Procedure

All prospective participants received an e-mail inviting them to participate in a study on the ethnic identity development of Latina/o undergraduates. They were informed

that participation in this study was voluntary and that all their responses would remain confidential. Potential participants followed directions to an online survey tool where the survey instruments were administered and responses were collected. Information about informed consent appeared on the welcome page of the survey tool.

All potential participants received a reminder/thank-you e-mail 2 weeks after the initial invitation. This e-mail thanked those who had already participated in the survey and provided a reminder to those who had yet to complete the questionnaire. All research methods associated with this study were in compliance with the procedures set forth by the university's human participants review board.

Instruments

Demographic questionnaire. A demographic questionnaire was used to identify key characteristics of the participants. The demographic questionnaire asked participants which university they were attending, gender, age, country of origin, and U.S.-born generational status. In identifying U.S.-born generational status, participants were given the option of identifying whether they were first generation, 1.5 generation, second generation, 2.5 generation, or third generation or more. These responses were coded as 1, 1.5, 2, 2.5, or 3, respectively.

Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM). Ethnic identity was assessed using the original version of the MEIM (Phinney, 1992). The original version of the MEIM was selected because of the wealth of data indicating the reliability and validity of the MEIM in college-age populations and because of the limited data on the validity and reliability of the revised MEIM (Phinney & Ong, 2007). The MEIM consists of 12 items and uses a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*strongly agree*) to 5 (*strongly disagree*). Sample items of the MEIM include "I have a lot of pride in my ethnic group" and "I am happy that I am a member of the group I belong to." For the purposes of this study, the composite score was examined, with lower mean scores representing higher levels of ethnic identity development—the preferred method of scoring the MEIM (Phinney, 1992). In measuring the internal reliability of the MEIM with college students, Phinney (1992) reported a Cronbach's alpha of .90. The validity of the MEIM is indicated by its correlation with the theoretically related constructs of ethnic self-concept (Phinney, Chavira, & Tate, 1993) and racial identity development (Goodstein & Ponterotto, 1997). Table 1 presents the observed means, standard deviations, and Cronbach's alphas for all instruments used in this study.

Mochihua Tepehuani Scale. Internalized racism was assessed using the Mochihua Tepehuani Scale (Hipolito-Delgado, 2010). This scale consists of 25 stereotypes of Latinas/os, such as "Latinas/os are mentally unable to contribute towards the progress of the U.S." and "The high percentage of Latinas/os in jail reflects inborn tendencies toward criminality." Participants rated their level of agreement with these statements using a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*strongly agree*) to 7 (*strongly disagree*). The mean of a participant's responses was examined, which is the preferred method of scoring (Hipolito-Delgado, 2010); lower means indicated higher levels of acceptance of internalized racism. No information on the validity of this instrument is available.

TABLE 1
Descriptive Statistics for Survey Instruments Used to
Assess Study Variables

Survey Instrument	Variable Measured	PR	N	M	SD	α
MEIM	Ethnic identity	1–5	373	1.76	0.62	.89
AMAS-SLC	Spanish language competence	1–5	349	2.11	1.03	.97
Mochihua Tepehuani scale	Internalized racism	1–7	373	5.42	0.83	.91
EPRI	Perceived racism	1–7	373	4.14	1.47	.94

Note. PR = possible range; MEIM = Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure; AMAS-SLC = Abbreviated Multidimensional Acculturation Scale–Spanish Language Competence subscale; EPRI = Everyday Perceived Racial Discrimination Index.

Abbreviated Multidimensional Acculturation Scale–Spanish Language Competence subscale (AMAS-SLC). Spanish language competence was assessed using the AMAS-SLC (Zea, Asner-Self, Birman, & Buki, 2003). The AMAS-SLC was used to assess the extent to which a person feels competent in comprehending, speaking, and reading in Spanish. Sample items include “I speak Spanish well in general” and “I understand the Spanish language well in general.” Participants responded to each item using a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*strongly agree*) to 5 (*strongly disagree*). This scale was scored by taking a participant’s mean score, with lower scores representing higher competence. This is the preferred method of scoring (Zea et al., 2003).

In a study with Latina/o college students, the AMAS-SLC had a Cronbach’s alpha of .97 (Zea et al., 2003), indicating good internal reliability. Zea et al. (2003) argued that the AMAS demonstrated discriminant validity because of the correlation of AMAS subscales with measures of Americanism and Hispanicism (Zea et al., 2003).

Everyday Perceived Racial Discrimination Index (EPRI). Perceived racism was measured with a modified version of the EPRI (J. Jackson & Williams, 1995). The EPRI consists of nine items that assess daily incidences of discrimination. Sample items include “Because of your ethnicity/race people act as if they are afraid of you” and “Because of your ethnicity/race you are called names or insulted.” Typically, the EPRI is administered with a 5-point scale to measure the frequency of discriminatory incidences (with the response options of *never*, *about once a year*, *a few times a year*, *a few times a month*, and *at least once a week*). The EPRI was modified so that participants answered using their level of agreement with items on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*strongly agree*) to 7 (*strongly disagree*). The rationale for this modification was to provide a scale of measurement that is closer to an interval scale.

The EPRI was scored by taking the mean score of participants, with lower means indicating higher levels of perceived racism. In studying the reliability of the EPRI, Walters (2005) reported a Cronbach’s alpha of .92. The validity of the original EPRI was indicated through the correlation of the EPRI with the theoretically related constructs of racism-related stress and skin tone (Walters, 2005). It is unknown how the modification of the EPRI affected the validity of the instrument.

Results

Hierarchical linear regression was conducted to assess if internalized racism and perceived racism acted as predictors of ethnic identity in U.S.-born Latina/o undergraduates. This method was chosen so that the variance from known predictors (U.S.-born generational status and Spanish language competence) could be accounted for in the first step of regression and so that the unique contributions of internalized and perceived racism could be assessed in later steps. The predictor variables in this study were U.S.-born generational status, Spanish language competence, internalized racism, and perceived racism. The criterion variable for this study was ethnic identity development.

Prior to conducting data analyses, I examined all assumptions related to regression. The residual histogram and the P-P plot indicated that residuals were normally distributed. The residual scatterplot indicated the existence of homoscedasticity. Examination of the partial regression plot indicated the existence of linearity. Finally, variance inflation factors were between 1.01 and 1.16, and tolerance was between .86 and .99, thus indicating that multicollinearity did not pose a threat to this study. Given that all assumptions were met, the statistical analyses were carried out. I used IBM SPSS 20 to conduct all statistical analyses in this study.

In the first step of the regression model, U.S.-born generational status and Spanish language competence were added to the regression equation and yielded an R^2 of .14, $F(2, 329) = 27.12$, $p < .001$. These variables were added in the first step to increase the rigor of this study by ensuring that the variance of ethnic identity related to known predictors was accounted for, thereby ensuring that the variance of ethnic identity related to internalized racism and perceived racism was unique. In the second step, internalized racism was added to the regression equation and yielded an ΔR^2 of .03, $\Delta F(1, 328) = 10.79$, $p = .001$. In the final step, perceived racism was added to the regression equation and yielded an ΔR^2 of .09, $\Delta F(1, 327) = 39.98$, $p < .001$ (see Table 2).

TABLE 2

Hierarchical Regression Analysis Summary for Variables Predicting Ethnic Identity Development

Variable	R^2	ΔR^2	B	$SE\ B$	β
Step 1	.14*				
U.S.-born generational status			.03	.03	.32
Spanish language competence			.21	.03	.35*
Step 2	.17*	.03*			
U.S.-born generational status			.03	.03	.07
Spanish language competence			.20	.03	.34*
Internalized racism			-.12	.04	-.17*
Step 3	.26*	.09*			
U.S.-born generational status			.03	.03	.07
Spanish language competence			.19	.03	.32*
Internalized racism			-.14	.04	-.19*
Perceived racism			.13	.02	.30*

* $p < .001$.

The final regression equation for this study yielded an R^2 of .26, $F(4, 327) = 28.33$, $p < .001$. In the final regression equation, Spanish language competence, $\beta = .32$, $t(327) = 6.26$, $p < .001$; internalized racism, $\beta = -.19$, $t(327) = -3.89$, $p < .001$; and perceived racism, $\beta = .30$, $t(327) = 6.24$, $p < .001$, each accounted for a statistically significant portion of the variance of ethnic identity. U.S.-born generational status did not account for a statistically significant portion of the variance of ethnic identity development. It should be noted that standardized beta weights provide a method of assessing the effect of one standardized unit change of the predictor variable on the criterion variable. In this study, one standardized unit change in internalized racism or in perceived racism should respectively lead to a $-.19$ or $.30$ standardized unit change in ethnic identity of the participants sampled. Thus, internalized racism and perceived racism both acted as predictors of ethnic identity, albeit with a relatively small effect on ethnic identity. These findings affirm the first hypothesis, that internalized racism is negatively related to ethnic identity, but run contrary to the second hypothesis of this study, given that perceived racism was positively related to ethnic identity development.

Discussion

Although a moderate amount of variance of ethnic identity was accounted for in this study, the results provide some initial insight into the relationship between internalized racism, perceived racism, and ethnic identity in U.S.-born Latina/o undergraduates. The findings of this study support the theory of Helms (1995) and the hypothesis that internalized racism is inversely related to ethnic identity in U.S.-born Latina/o undergraduates. The findings provide preliminary evidence of the negative impact of internalized racism on the ethnic identity development of U.S.-born Latina/o undergraduates enrolled in 4-year institutions. Given that ethnic identity is understood as a sense of pride and belonging to one's ethnic heritage (Phinney, 1996) and internalized racism is defined as acceptance of biased beliefs that depict one's ethnicity as inferior (Padilla, 2001), it is logical that internalized racism would be inversely related to ethnic identity. Although the findings of this study may not seem novel, this is the first study to provide empirical evidence supporting the hypothesized inverse relationship between internalized racism and ethnic identity in a Latina/o population.

Although it was hypothesized that perceived racism would be inversely related to ethnic identity in U.S.-born Latina/o undergraduates, a positive relationship between these constructs was detected. On the basis of Hipolito-Delgado's (2010) research and Helms's (1995) theory, it was anticipated the perceived racism would negatively affect ethnic identity. However, the findings of this study seem to indicate that perceived racism enhances ethnic identity development. Many theories of ethnic identity development discuss that an encounter with racism or a realization about ethnic difference can cause a person of color to give consideration to the role of ethnicity in his or her life and ultimately lead to ethnic identity development (Helms, 1995; Lee, 2006). Perhaps the perception of racism led the participants in this study to more actively consider their ethnic identity.

The positive relationship between perceived racism and ethnic identity might also imply that individuals with higher ethnic identity are more likely to perceive racism. Those in the earlier stages of ethnic identity development are largely oblivious to how ethnicity affects their lives and see themselves as without ethnicity (Helms, 1995; Lee, 2006). Therefore, those with lower ethnic identity may be oblivious to incidences of racism or may not link incidences of racism to their ethnicity. Conversely, those with higher ethnic identity are more aware of issues of cultural difference and might be more likely to perceive incidences of racism.

Implications for College Counseling

Professionally responsible college counselors and student affairs professionals promote diversity and facilitate student development (ACPA, 2012; American Counseling Association, 2014). Additionally, Torres (2003) argued that the increasing number of Latinas/os in higher education has created a need for student affairs professionals to better understand the personal, social, and academic needs of Latinas/os to serve the whole student. An important area of development for U.S.-born Latina/o undergraduates is ethnic identity.

Higher education professionals who are committed to the holistic development of students would do well to challenge internalized racism in U.S.-born Latina/o undergraduates. Students who have internalized racism are likely to endorse stereotyped beliefs that paint their ethnic group as inferior (Padilla, 2001). College counselors might challenge these biases by discussing the origin of the bias and by helping the students identify evidence to disprove the bias. These methods are consistent with the findings of Chavira and Phinney (1991) and Barajas and Pierce (2001). Chavira and Phinney noted that Latinas/os with high ethnic identity deal with racism by discussing and disproving stereotypes. Barajas and Pierce noted that successful Latina undergraduates counteracted negative stereotypes by finding positive Latina/o role models.

Additionally, the findings of this study suggest that students with higher ethnic identity perceive more racism. In fact, Rankin and Reason (2005) found that undergraduates of color encounter racism at higher rates than do their White counterparts. To help Latina/o students deal with incidences of perceived racism in a productive manner, college counselors might heed the call of Torres and Hernandez (2007) and develop skills to recognize incidents of racism and help students process these incidents. It is recommended that college counselors and student affairs professionals who work with Latina/o undergraduates openly discuss incidences of perceived racism (Hipolito-Delgado, 2010). Having open discussions about discrimination gives college counselors the opportunity to refute hurtful messages and to remind students that racism is based on limited information—indicating the ignorance of the perpetrator—and that racism is the product of a racist sociopolitical system (Hipolito-Delgado, 2010; Tatum, 1997).

The results of this research also suggest that socioecological models of Latina/o ethnic identity development should be expanded to consider factors

that could potentially hinder the process of ethnic identity development. This study suggests that it would be prudent to add the effect of internalized racism to such models. These more comprehensive models might provide an increased understanding of the ethnic identity development of Latinas/os.

Future research is needed to compare the results of this study with a sample that is more representative of community college students; it is likely that differences might exist between 2-year and 4-year undergraduate populations. Future research might also consider the relationship between ethnic identity, perceived racism, internalized racism, and academic achievement in Latina/o undergraduates. Onga et al. (2006) and Phinney et al. (2006) found that ethnic identity positively correlated with undergraduate grade point average and motivation to attend college in Latinas/os. However, there is limited research relating ethnic identity to academic performance, college persistence, and academic engagement in Latina/o undergraduates. Additionally, there is a need for research examining the effect of internalized racism and perceived racism on academic achievement and college persistence. Rankin and Reason (2005) found that undergraduates of color experience high rates of racism, and A. P. Jackson et al. (2003) detected a negative relationship between perceived racism and college persistence in Native American undergraduates. However, there is no research examining how internalized and perceived racism affect Latina/o undergraduates.

Limitations

The participant pool represents a limitation to this study. The majority of participants in this study attended 4-year institutions. Additionally, a majority of participants attended public institutions. Therefore, the findings of this study might not be representative of Latinas/os attending community colleges, vocational colleges, private institutions, or Latinas/os who do not pursue higher education. Another limitation is the inability to provide a response rate. Because the recruitment of participants depended on third-party members to distribute the letter of invitation, I am unable to determine how many students received the invitation and, therefore, am unable to provide a response rate. There is also the possibility of selection bias by those who did participate in this study. Monomethod bias also represents a limitation to this study; future research would do well to consider a multivariate design or data collection that does not rely solely on self-report surveys. Additionally, the failure to account for within-groups differences poses a limitation to this study.

The use of the Mochihua Tepehuani Scale to assess internalized racism and the modification of the EPRI to assess perceived racism are limitations of this study. These instruments were selected because of a lack of available measures of internalized racism and perceived racism. Additional research is necessary to assess the validity of both these instruments. The use of the AMAS-SLC to assess Spanish language competence is also a limitation of this study. The AMAS-SLC is dependent on self-reported competence and does not provide an objective measure of participants' ability to speak, read, and write in Spanish.

Conclusion

Although additional research is needed to validate the findings presented here, this study is an important first step in demonstrating how internalized racism is negatively related to ethnic identity development in U.S.-born Latina/o undergraduates. Because ethnic identity development is of such importance to the mental health and academic performance of Latina/o undergraduates, college counselors and student affairs professionals should take pause to consider the implications of this study.

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