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The Significance and Meaning of Racial Identity in Consumer Research: A Review and Call for Research

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Abstract

This article uses the Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (MMRI) as a framework to broaden the current understanding of racial identity, structure our review of consumer psychological research on racial identity, and identify future research opportunities, thereby answering calls for efforts to foreground the perspectives of Black consumers and present frameworks that advance understanding of Black consumers. Building on the conceptualization of racial identity involving both the significance and meaning that individuals attribute to their membership within the Black racial group, we note that prior consumer psychological research has focused on the former while ignoring the latter. We identify opportunities to leverage aspects of the MMRI in future research on marketplace discrimination, marketplace stigma, and support for minority-owned businesses. We also highlight opportunities to better understand the impact of the meaning of racial identity.

Keywords: Racial Identity, Racial Discrimination, Racial Stigma

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1 INTRODUCTION

Racial identity, defined as the significance and meaning that individuals place on race as a self-defining characteristic (Sellers et al., 1998), is a fundamental aspect of African Americans' lived experiences if not their belief systems (DeBerry-Spence et al., 2020). Oyserman and Yoon (2009) argue that the significance of racial identities stems from the potential for racial group membership to influence how people see themselves and others, shape people's beliefs about their shared experiences, and impact their beliefs about their future possibilities. According to Oyserman and Oliver (2009), knowledge of one's membership in a particular racial group, beliefs about the group's place in society and the behavior of its members, and readiness to act in accordance with beliefs about group membership are three components of racial identities.

Like other types of identity, defined as "any category label to which a consumer self-associates either by choice or endowment" (Reed et al., 2012, p. 312), racial identity can influence the choices consumers make (Oyserman, 2009a) or impact the choices they face (Bennett et al., 2013; Bone et al., 2014; Crockett, 2017; Mirabito et al., 2016; Rocha et al., 2020). Despite its potential to influence how a substantial segment of consumers experience the marketplace, racial identity remains an understudied and insufficiently theorized predictor of consumer behavior.

Williams et al. (2008) underscore the dearth of research on the topic of race, in general, by reporting the "abysmally low" number of articles that have appeared in leading outlets for consumer research. DeBerry-Spence et al. (2020) echo this sentiment in their recent call for

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scholarship dealing with racial dynamics in the marketplace, especially contributions that foreground the perspectives of those affected by racism. The limited attention paid to marketplace diversity, in general (Henderson & Rank-Christman, 2016), and race, in particular (Williams et al., 2008), limits the potential for consumer psychology to make meaningful contributions to conversations about the consequences of a contemporary societal problem that companies struggle to address through trial and error (Henderson & Williams, 2013).

In addition to the limited volume of research on the broader topic of race, conceptualizations of racial identity have been limited as well. The marketing and consumer psychology literature has evolved from treating race as a categorical predictor of intergroup differences in consumption (e.g., Sexton, 1972) to viewing racial or ethnic identity as a continuous predictor of intragroup (e.g., Ferguson et al., 2020; Williams & Qualls, 1989) or situational (e.g., Grier & Deshpande, 2001; Wooten, 1995, Wooten & Galvin, 1993) variability in consumption. This evolution aligns with theorizing that the centrality and salience of identities can vary across individuals and situations, respectively (Oyserman, 2009a; Reed et al., 2012). It's also important to note that in the consumer identity literature, identity salience and centrality (sometimes referred to as identity strength) are often used interchangeably when examining various consumer identities (e.g., Bolton & Reed, 2004). In this article, we focus on African American (or Black) racial identities.

Although consumer psychologists have occasionally considered *how much* their racial identity means to African American consumers, they have rarely considered *what* their racial

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identity means to these consumers. Racial identity theorists, on the other hand, argue that both the *significance* and *meaning* African Americans place on race as a self-defining characteristic influence how they perceive and respond to racialized experiences (Sellers et al., 1998). Similarly, Oyserman (2009a, p. 253) identifies meaning as a driver of identity-motivated behaviors, in general, when she asserts that one's "readiness to act and make sense of the world in identity-congruent terms … is dependent on what the cued identity comes to mean in the particular context in which it is cued." Thus, consumer psychology may be missing the meaning of racial identity.

In this article, we use Sellers et al.'s (1998) Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (MMRI) as a framework to broaden understanding of racial identity, structure our review of consumer psychological research on racial identity, and identify future research opportunities. In doing so, we contribute to research on race in the marketplace by answering the call for frameworks that can advance understanding of the experiences of contemporary African American consumers (Williams et al., 2020). We also contribute to research on identity-based consumer behavior (e.g., Oyserman, 2009a; Reed et al., 2012) by highlighting meaning as an important, but overlooked aspect of consumers' identities. Before introducing the MMRI, we provide a brief review of early marketing and consumer psychological research on race and racial identity.

2 HISTORICAL OVERVIEW: FROM RACE TO RACIAL IDENTITY

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Early research at the intersection of race and marketing focused on two broad questions, one of segment viability and the other of segment vulnerability. Maggard's (1971) article titled "Negro Market - Fact or Fiction?" exemplifies the viable segment question which considers whether or not Black consumers are a distinct and viable segment worthy of special attention from marketers (Bauer et al., 1965; Portis, 1966; Stafford et al., 1968). Sexton's (1971b) article titled, "Do Blacks Pay More?" raises the vulnerable segment question which considers the extent to which Black consumers fall prey to predatory marketing practices (e.g., Andreasen, 1978; Caplovitz, 1963). Both streams of research relied on racial comparisons to determine whether Black consumers behaved differently or were treated less favorably than the White mainstream.

2.1 The Viable Segment Stream

Early efforts to assess the viability of the African American market focused on the segment's spending power and its differences from the White mainstream to determine whether it is sufficiently lucrative and different to warrant special attention from marketers. For example, Sullivan (1945) reported population and income statistics to answer the question, "Is there such a thing as a Negro market and to what extent is its substance?" In addition to population and income, Steele (1947) sought behavioral evidence of the African American market's viability by surveying over 3,000 African American households in Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington, D.C. about their purchases across various products categories. Based on the percentages of households preferring certain brands within specified product categories (e.g., 64.4% of African

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American households in Philadelphia used pancake or waffle mix and 70.6% of those households preferred Aunt Jemima), Steele (1947, p. 401) concluded that African Americans are "very brand conscious" and "unusually brand loyal."

After establishing the segment's economic significance, scholars turned their attention to racial differences in consumption motives (Bullock, 1961a, 1961b), purchase behaviors (e.g., Alexis, 1962) and responses to racially diverse advertisements (e.g., Barban, 1969; Block, 1972; Gould et al., 1970; Schlinger & Plummer, 1972; Whittler, 1991). Regarding motives, Bauer et al. (1965, p.2) argued that Black consumers may be "even more concerned with the symbolic value of goods that are Whites" because they may perceive the acquisition of material goods as symbolic of their achievement as full members of society. Akers (1968) examined racial differences in automobile purchases in search of behavioral evidence that Black consumers prioritize symbolic value. The author found that Black consumers "tended to own higher price class automobiles, higher priced models regardless of make, and automobiles with more cylinders than comparable income white families" (p. 288). Solomon et al. (1976) conducted a field experiment designed to assess racial differences in consumers' responses to promotional materials featuring models of different races. They found that White consumers in the Deep South responded no differently than Black consumers in response to promotional materials that used Black, White, or integrated models. Their findings were consistent with previous studies that did not show evidence of White backlash to Black models (e.g., Barban, 1969; Schlinger &

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Plummer, 1972), yet these results were inconsistent with previous findings that Black consumers respond more favorably to Black models than to White models (e.g., Barban, 1969).

The differentiable criterion, the notion that useful segmentation schemes produce segments that "are conceptually distinguishable and respond differently to different marketing mix elements and programs" (Kotler & Armstrong, 2018, p. 197), necessitated the focus on racial comparisons that characterize research in what we refer to as the viable segment stream. As Stafford et al. (1968, p. 620) assert, "To marketers, however, such a segment exists only to the extent that Negroes *behave differently* than Whites *as consumers*."

2.2 The Vulnerable Segment Stream

The vulnerable segment stream examined the extent to which Black consumers fell prey to a predatory marketing system (e.g., Andreasen, 1978; Caplovitz, 1963). Building on Caplovitz's influential book, "The Poor Pay More," marketing scholars focused on Black people as poor consumers and sought evidence of racial disparities, mostly in prices paid for goods, to determine whether Black consumers were victimized by unethical marketing practices. For example, Sexton (1971a) reviewed findings from 15 food price comparison studies and concluded that there was insufficient evidence that Black consumers pay more than White consumers.

Scholars who found evidence of racial disparities, offered various explanations for why they exist. For instance, after examining purchases of various brands of three food products,

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Sexton (1971b) concluded that Black consumers paid higher prices than White consumers due to the stores they frequent and the package sizes they buy. However, he found no evidence of price discrimination (i.e., that Black consumers paid higher prices for identical goods at similar stores). Caplovitz (1963) identified two sets of factors that contribute to unfavorable market outcomes for poor (Black) consumers - consumer deficiencies and merchant exploitation. Andreasen (1978, p. 23), argued that adding a third set of causal factors, market structure variables, to Caplovitz's original model is "Probably the single most important contribution of the marketing profession to the literature in this field."

As with the viable segment stream, the vulnerable segment stream depended heavily on racial comparisons. However, with the vulnerable segment stream, racial comparisons were necessitated by an emphasis on if and why Black consumers encountered higher prices, lower quality, or more limited product assortments than mainstream (i.e., White) consumers.

2.3 The Racial Identity Turn

With few exceptions, the early focus on racial comparisons led to an overemphasis on interracial differences and intraracial similarities. For example, Andreasen (1978) treated middle- and low-income African Americans as a homogeneous "ghetto" market based on their shared disadvantages of race and place of residence. However, recognition of this limitation led scholars to consider such factors as income (Hills et al., 1973; Sexton, 1972), fashion-consciousness

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(Portis, 1966), and ambition (Bauer et al., 1965) as sources of heterogeneity among African American consumers and drivers of their adoption of White middle-class values and behaviors.

Concerns that embracing mainstream values threatens racial identity, especially among the African American middle-class (e.g., Frazier, 1957; Sampson & Milam, 1975), sparked interest in racial identification as a source of heterogeneity among African American consumers and a potential predictor of assimilation into the White mainstream. For example, Williams and Qualls (1989) examined racial identification and socioeconomic status as sources of heterogeneity within the African American community. Following Williams and Qualls (1989) and other examinations of ethnic identification (e.g., Deshpandé et al., 1986; Deshpandé & Stayman, 1994; Stayman & Deshpandé, 1989), scholars began to consider how racial identity influences intragroup (e.g., Ferguson et al., 2020) as well as situational (e.g., Grier & Deshpandé, 2001; Wooten, 1995, Wooten & Galvin, 1993) variability in consumption. These approaches align with theorizing that the centrality and salience of identities can vary across individuals and situations, respectively (Oyserman, 2009a; Reed et al., 2012). Importantly, these and other efforts to explore the complexities within the Black population need not involve racial comparisons that often obscure important intragroup comparisons (Jackson, 1989).

In this article, we use Sellers et al.'s (1998) Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (MMRI) as a framework to broaden our understanding of racial identity, structure our review of consumer psychological research on racial identity, and identify future research opportunities with a focus on the meaning dimensions of racial identity. In doing so, we contribute to research

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on race in the marketplace by answering the call for frameworks that can advance understanding of the experiences of contemporary African American consumers (Williams et al., 2020). We also contribute to research on identity-based consumer behavior (e.g., Oyserman, 2009a; Reed et al., 2012) by highlighting meaning as an important, but overlooked aspect of consumers' identities. In the section that follows, we briefly summarize the MMRI by describing its focus, assumptions, dimensions, and measurement.

3. MULTIDIMENSIONAL MODEL OF RACIAL IDENTITY

Sellers et al. (1998) developed the MMRI to integrate two distinct, but complementary approaches to studying racial identity, the mainstream approach, and the underground approach (Gaines & Reed, 1994). Briefly, the mainstream approach stems from the work of Gordon Allport (1954), presumes that self-hatred is a significant aspect of the African American self-concept, emphasizes universal properties of group identities (e.g., Phinney, 1992), focuses on the significance of race or ethnicity in individual lives, and prioritizes questions regarding the internal validity of identity processes (Sellers et al., 1998). By contrast, the underground approach derives from the work of W. E. B. Du Bois (1903), recognizes that African-Americans can have a positive self-concept despite the stigma associated with blackness, focuses on the specificity of African-American racial identity, considers the qualitative meaning associated with being Black, and emphasizes the predictive validity of models (Sellers et al., 1998). The MMRI integrates the mainstream and underground approaches by providing "a conceptual framework

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for understanding both the significance of race in the self-concepts of African Americans and the qualitative meanings they attribute to being members of that racial category" (p. 19). Thus, the model focuses specifically on African American racial identity as opposed to general properties that are applicable across racial/ethnic groups (Sellers et al., 1998).

Sellers et al. (1998, p.23) define racial identity in African Americans "as the significance and qualitative meaning that individuals attribute to their membership within the Black racial group within their self-concepts." The authors developed the MMRI to address the two questions that this definition implies: How important is race in the individual's perceptions of self and what does it mean to be a member of the Black racial group?

3.1 Assumptions

Prior to exploring the model in more detail, it's important to note that Sellers et al. (1998) highlight four testable assumptions that undergird the model). First, the MMRI assumes that identities can be situationally influenced or be stable properties of individuals. Second, the model assumes individuals have different identities that are hierarchically ordered. Third, although the authors recognize the role of societal forces in shaping the self, the MMRI views individuals' perceptions of their own racial identity as the most valid indicator of their identity. Fourth, the MMRI allows for the significance and meaning that individuals place on race to evolve, but the model is primarily concerned with the status of an individual's racial identity as opposed to its development.

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Each assumption, especially those regarding the salience, multiplicity, and temporality of identities, aligns with identity-based perspectives in consumer psychology (e.g., Oyserman, 2009a; Reed et al., 2012). However, Reed et al.'s (2012) identity verification principle highlights how both self and others' perceptions shape one's identity, without necessarily favoring one as a more valid indicator than the other. Next, we take a closer look at the four dimensions of the MMRI.

3.2 Dimensions

The MMRI consists of four dimensions that address the significance and meaning of race to African Americans' self-concepts (Sellers et al., 1998). Figure 1 presents a schematic diagram of the MMRI and its four dimensions.

Two dimensions, racial salience, and racial centrality, address the significance of race as a self-defining characteristic. "Racial salience refers to the extent to which one's race is a relevant part of one's self-concept at a particular moment or in a particular situation" (Sellers et al., 1998, p. 24). "Racial centrality refers to the extent to which a person normatively defines himself or herself with regard to race" (Sellers et al., 1998, p. 24). The salience dimension captures situational variations in the significance of race as a self-defining characteristic whereas centrality captures the enduring significance of race as a self-defining characteristic.

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Two dimensions, racial regard and racial ideology, attempt to capture individuals' perceptions of what it means to be Black. Racial regard, the extent to which individuals feel positively about their race, has both a private and a public component (Sellers et al., 1998). Private regard involves individuals' feelings about being African American and their feelings toward other African Americans whereas public regard involves individuals' beliefs about the extent to which other people have favorable views of African Americans. This conceptualization of racial regard draws heavily from Crocker and colleagues' work on collective self-esteem (Crocker & Luhtanen, 1990; Crocker et al., 1994; Crocker & Major, 1989; Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). The distinct components of racial regard allow for the possibility that, contrary to assumptions of the mainstream approach, some African Americans do not internalize societal messages regarding their diminished worth (Sellers et al., 1998).

The fourth dimension, racial ideology, refers to the individual's feelings and beliefs about how members of the race should act (Sellers et al., 1998). It "represents the person's philosophy about the ways in which African Americans should live and interact with other people in society" (Sellers et al., 1997, p. 806). Sellers and colleagues identified four ideologies based on their reading of the literature and exposure to African-American culture: nationalist, oppressed minority, assimilationist, and humanist. A nationalist ideology emphasizes the uniqueness of the African experience and encourages African Americans to control their own destiny with minimal input from other groups. An oppressed minority ideology emphasizes African Americans'

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similarities with other oppressed groups and encourages African Americans to build coalitions with these other groups as a means of achieving social change (Sellers et al., 1998; See also Nardini et al., 2021 and Wooten & Rank-Christman, 2019). An assimilationist ideology emphasizes similarities between African Americans and the rest of American society, encourages entry into the mainstream, and advocates working within the system to achieve social change (Sellers et al., 1998). A humanist ideology, which emphasizes commonalities among all humans regardless of race, views oppression in terms of man's inhumanity toward man (Sellers et al., 1998). According to Sellers et al. (1997, p. 806), "These ideologies are manifested across four areas of functioning: political-economic issues, cultural-social activities, intergroup relations, and interaction with the dominant group." Sellers and colleagues argue that, although an individual may favor a particular ideology, many people are likely to possess different ideologies depending on the area of functioning. For example, a person could encourage African Americans to favor African American-owned businesses (nationalist) while also encouraging them to pursue social relationships with White people (assimilationist) (Sellers et al., 1997). Unlike "underground" models of Black identity that treat racial ideology as synonymous with racial identity, conceptualizing it as a continuum from assimilationist ideology to nationalist ideology (e.g., Cross, 1971); the MMRI conceptualizes ideology as a distinct dimension of racial identity (Sellers et al., 1997).

3.3 Measurement

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Sellers et al. (1997) created the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI) as a measure of the three stable dimensions of the MMRI, opting to exclude the racial salience dimension because of its susceptibility to situational influences. Their conceptualization of the meaning dimensions as stable differs from Oyserman's (2009a) assertion that the meaning of an accessible identity is dynamically constructed as a function of both chronic and situational cues. However, Oyserman (2009a, p. 253) acknowledges that "The effect of an identity will be stable over time to the extent that individuals repeatedly encounter psychologically isomorphic situations because in each instance the situation will engender readiness to take the same actions." One can argue that repeated encounters with psychologically isomorphic situations in the form of racialized experiences stabilize the meanings and effects of racial identity for African Americans.

Sellers et al. (1998) revised the racial regard subscales of the MIBI to improve internal consistency, especially for the public regard subscale. The revised MIBI includes an eight-item racial centrality scale ($\alpha = .77$), four nine-item racial ideology subscales (nationalist $\alpha = .79$; oppressed minority $\alpha = .76$; assimilationist $\alpha = .73$; and humanist $\alpha = .70$), and two six-item racial regard subscales (public regard $\alpha = .78$; private regard $\alpha = .78$). As evidence of predictive validity, specific subscales of the MIBI demonstrated predictable relationships with the amount of self-reported contact that Black college students had within and between races. For example, the racial centrality scale ($r = .39$, $p < .01$) and the private regard ($r = .27$, $p < .01$) and nationalist ($r = .40$, $p < .01$) subscales were positively correlated with African American students' self-

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reported intraracial contact whereas the racial centrality scale ($r = -.46$, $p < .01$) and nationalist subscale ($r = -.41$, $p < .01$) were negatively correlated with self-reported interracial contact (Sellers et al., 1997). In addition, participants who reported having a Black best friend scored significantly higher on the racial centrality scale and the nationalist subscale, but significantly lower on the assimilationist, humanist, and oppressed minority subscales than did those without a Black best friend. Participants who took Black studies courses scored significantly higher on the racial centrality scale and the nationalist subscale than did their counterparts who did not take any Black studies courses.

More recently, Scottham et al. (2008) developed an abbreviated version of the MIBI for early and middle adolescents. The Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity-teen (MIBI-t) consists of a three-item racial centrality scale ($\alpha = .55$), four three-item racial ideology subscales (nationalist $\alpha = .70$; oppressed minority $\alpha = .57$; assimilation $\alpha = .70$; and humanist $\alpha = .50$), and two three-item racial regard subscales (public regard $\alpha = .66$; private regard $\alpha = .76$). As evidence of predictive validity, specific subscales of the MIBI-t had predictable relationships with African American students' self-reported intraracial interactions. For example, the racial centrality scale and the nationalist and private regard subscales were positively correlated with intraracial interactions, whereas the humanist and oppressed minority subscales were negatively correlated with intraracial contact (Scottham et al., 2008).

3.4 Summary

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The MMRI provides a conceptual framework for understanding the significance and meaning of race to African Americans. The model consists of four dimensions which we use to structure our review of previous research and to identify opportunities for future research at the intersection of racial identity and consumer behavior. We begin by discussing previous examinations of how the significance dimensions (i.e., racial salience and racial centrality) impact consumer behavior, before reviewing the limited efforts to address the meaning dimensions (i.e., racial regard and racial ideology). We will conclude with a discussion of the potential for the MMRI to contribute a greater understanding of the racialized experiences of African American consumers.

4 BLACK RACIAL IDENTITY AND CONSUMER BEHAVIOR

The emphasis of the relatively few examinations of Black racial identity as it relates to consumer behavior has primarily been on the two dimensions that reflect the significance of one's racial identity, racial centrality and racial salience. The meaning dimensions, racial regard and racial ideology, have largely been overlooked unless one considers the research on stigmatization (e.g., Chaney et al., 2019; Crockett, 2017; Mirabito et al., 2016; Pittman, 2020; Rocha et al., 2020; Wooten & Rank-Christman, 2019) as indicative of low public regard for Black consumers. In the paragraphs that follow, we review previous examinations of racial centrality and racial salience in the context of consumer behavior. Then, we turn our attention to the limited efforts to examine the impact of racial regard and racial ideology on consumer behavior.

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4.1 Racial Centrality

Sellers et al. (1998) conceptualize racial centrality as the enduring significance of race as a self-defining characteristic. Although the "centrality" label is not commonly used in the marketing or consumer psychology literature, the notion that a particular identity can be chronically accessible is widely accepted (e.g., Reed et al., 2012). Instead, scholars have most often used measures of strength or intensity of identification to assess the centrality dimension (e.g., Ferguson et al., 2020; Grier & Deshpande, 2001; Williams & Qualls, 1989). Importantly, these measures were often general measures of ethnic identification as opposed to specific measures of (Black) racial centrality.

Examinations of racial centrality as it relates to consumer behavior primarily have focused on how racial centrality impacts consumers' responses to marketing stimuli. For example, Williams and Qualls (1989) examined how race, racial identification, and socioeconomic status influence consumers' responses to ads featuring Black celebrities. To assess consumers' responses, the authors conducted a laboratory experiment for which they measured participants' attitudes toward the spokesperson, attitudes toward the product, attitudes toward the advertisement, and purchase intentions. They found that middle-class Black participants responded no differently to ads that featured Black celebrity endorsers than did their middle class white counterparts. However, middle class Black consumers had less favorable attitudes toward the spokesperson, product, and advertisement than did their lower income Black counterparts. Critically, middle and lower income Black consumers were similar in terms of the

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intensity of their ethnic identification (i.e., racial centrality). The authors interpret this finding as evidence that economic progress and the adoption of mainstream consumption values did not cause middle-class Black consumers to lose their racial identity as Frazier (1957) hypothesized.

More recently, Cuevas and O'Brien (2019) examined the relationship between racial centrality, perceived discrimination, and trust in the healthcare system, a system with a long history of extreme racial inequality (Crockett & Grier, 2021). They found that Black consumers who were higher in racial centrality had greater mistrust in healthcare institutions. Perceived discrimination mediated this effect. Ferguson et al. (2020) used the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure developed by Phinney (1992) to examine racial centrality as a moderator of the effects of race on service quality expectations. They found that, although all customers expected to be treated fairly, Black customers, especially those high in racial centrality, were more likely to expect preferential treatment from Black-owned businesses. Together, the two articles suggest that the race of the service provider may influence service expectations, especially for Black consumers who are high in racial centrality.

A notable exception to the focus on racial centrality as a predictor of consumer responses to marketing stimuli is an examination of racial identity as a predictor of service providers' responses to customer behaviors. Using a modified version of the MIBI (Sellers et al., 1997), Kern and Grandey (2009) found that the impact of customer incivility on job-related exhaustion and stress appraisal is greater for minority (i.e., Black and Hispanic) employees with stronger racial identity than for their counterparts with weaker racial identity. They also found that stress

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appraisals mediate the moderating role of racial identity on exhaustion. These findings support the Group Identity Lens perspective that the likelihood of people filtering ambiguous social information through the lens of their racial group membership increases with racial centrality (Eccleston & Major, 2006; Major et al., 2003). In doing so, these findings also contradict arguments that strong group identification can serve as a psychological buffer against perceived discrimination (Phinney, 1990).

Overall, previous examinations of racial centrality as it relates to consumer behavior suggest that race is more significant to the self-concepts of Black consumers than to White consumers and that racial centrality is more predictive of attitudes and behaviors for Black consumers than for White consumers. In addition, racial centrality shapes how people perceive their market interactions. Next, we discuss the second dimension of the MMRI model, racial salience, and its effects on consumer behavior.

4.2 Racial Salience

Sellers et al. (1998, p. 24) define racial salience as "the extent to which one's race is a relevant part of one's self-concept at a particular moment or in a particular situation." This definition is consistent with the general notion of identity salience (e.g., Reed et al., 2012). It also aligns with consumer psychological examinations of ethnic salience (e.g., Grier & Deshpande, 2001) and situational or "felt" ethnicity (e.g., Stayman & Deshpande, 1989; Wooten & Galvin, 1993).

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Previous consumer psychological examinations of (racial) identity salience have primarily used the presence of identity-relevant stimulus cues (e.g., Forehand et al., 2002; Wooten & Galvin, 1993) or the racial/ethnic composition of one's surroundings (e.g., Aaker et al., 2000; Deshpande & Stayman, 1994; Forehand et al., 2002; Grier & Deshpande, 2001; Stayman & Deshpande, 1989; Wooten, 1995) to manipulate or increase racial/ethnic salience. For example, Wooten and Galvin (1993) used the content of the article in which an advertisement was embedded to increase racial salience, whereas Forehand et al. (2002) used a targeted advertisement to prime ethnic salience.

Drawing on distinctiveness theory (McGuire et al., 1978), researchers have varied racial or ethnic salience by conducting studies in different geographic locations with different mixes of races or ethnicities (e.g., Deshpande & Stayman, 1994; Forehand et al., 2002; Grier & Deshpande, 2001). This approach is noteworthy for its effort to avoid the potential confound between race or ethnicity and distinctiveness, by including locations in which Whites are minorities (i.e., distinctive).

In addition to numeric distinctiveness, Grier and Deshpande (2001) theorized that social dimensions of distinctiveness, specifically status level and relative status, should impact racial salience. To test this prediction, the authors recruited Black and White participants from two South African cities that differed in terms of their racial mix. They assessed status level and relative status by instructing participants to place Black and White people on a rung of a ladder according to their status in society. They assessed racial salience with a three-item measure of

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racial importance. The authors found that racial salience was higher among those who perceived their group to be low in status and among those who perceived a greater status differential between racial groups. Importantly, the model that included both numeric and social distinctiveness (i.e., status level and relative status) predicted racial salience better than did the model that included only numeric distinctiveness.

Most examinations involving racial salience have examined the extent to which it influences consumers' willingness to engage in identity-relevant behaviors. For example, Wooten and Galvin (1993) found that increasing racial salience through the editorial content in which a race-related ad is embedded leads to more favorable attitudes toward the ad. Similarly, Grier and Deshpande (2001) found that racial salience moderates the impact of ad spokesperson race on attitudes toward the advertised brand such that higher racial salience leads to more favorable attitudes toward brands with targeted ads (i.e., spokespersons and viewers of the same race).

Aaker et al. (2000) found interesting targeting and non-targeting effects of racial salience. Specifically, they found that distinctive (i.e., Black) participants like ads targeted toward their group more than non-distinctive (i.e., White) viewers like ads targeted toward their group. By contrast, non-distinctive viewers dislike ads targeting others more than distinctive viewers dislike ads targeting others. The authors also found that the process by which targeting effects occur differs by audience such that identification drives targeting effects on distinctive viewers whereas internalization drives targeting effects on nondistinctive viewers. Although the authors

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found evidence that racial salience (i.e., distinctiveness) leads to more favorable responses to ads that target their group, the racial salience of Black (or White) participants did not vary in this research. Thus, it is not clear how Black (White) participants would react to ads that target them or others when their group is non-distinctive (distinctive).

Contrary to findings that racial salience increases the likelihood that Black consumers will approach identity-relevant stimuli, Wooten (1995) found that racial salience can sometimes increase the likelihood that Black consumers to avoid them. In two studies, Wooten presented Black and White participants with descriptions (Study 1) or illustrations (Study 2) of social settings that varied in terms of their racial composition, then asked them to indicate their likelihood of choosing an entrée (Study 1) or music selections (Study 2) from a set of options that included one associated with their race, one associated with the other race, and one associated with neither race. He found that as their racial distinctiveness in a social setting increased, Black consumers were less likely to choose stereotypical products, but not necessarily more likely to adopt behaviors associated with the numerically dominant group (White consumers). In fact, Black consumers in the numerically distinctive condition sometimes favored the race neutral option (Study 2 only). Wooten interpreted these findings as evidence that the behaviors of Black consumers in the numerically distinctive condition were driven less by the need for conformity than by efforts to avoid calling attention to their stigmatized identity.

Wooten's seemingly contradictory finding may be due to the fact that he examined public consumption of (arguably negative) identity-relevant products whereas others (e.g., Aaker et al.,

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2000; Grier & Deshpande, 2001; Wooten & Galvin, 1993) examined private responses to (arguably positive) identity-relevant stimuli. Thus, Wooten's finding that Black consumers avoid stereotypical products in public settings is consistent with a normative respectability approach to managing a stigmatized identity by employing self-reform tactics to avoid stigma (Crockett, 2017). His findings are also supported by the Identity-Based Motivation Model which "highlights the importance of situations in not only triggering which identities come to mind but also in dynamically constructing what an identity means and which actions are linked to the identity" (Oyserman, 2009b, p. 276).

Bone et al. (2014) also use racial salience to predict consumers' reactions to marketplace experiences. The authors conducted an online simulation experiment in which they examined the impact of racial salience on self-esteem and self-autonomy among Black and Hispanic consumers who experienced an episode of marketplace rejection. They found that racial salience reduced self-autonomy and implicit self-esteem among members of racial minority groups whose application for an educational loan was rejected. Yet, racial salience had no effect on rejected White participants. The authors interpret their findings as evidence of self-criticism, defined as sensitivity to negative self-relevant information (Kitayama et al., 1997).

To summarize, previous consumer psychological research on racial salience appears to support the identity salience principle that increased identity salience will increase the probability that the identity will have a subsequent influence on attitudes and behavior (Reed et al., 2012). The findings from this body of work also suggest that racial salience provides a lens

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through which people view the world around them. The few studies that have examined the impact of racial identity on consumer behavior have been limited to racial centrality and racial salience. Although racial regard has not explicitly been examined in consumer psychological research, we review related work that has the potential to illuminate its impact on the attitudes and behaviors of Black consumers.

4.3 Racial Regard

Racial regard, the extent to which individuals feel positively about their race (Sellers et al., 1998), has not received much attention in consumer psychological research. However, research on racial stigma, concerning how others perceive Black people (Loury, 2003), may shed light on the public component of racial regard, which involves individuals' beliefs about the extent to which others have favorable views of Black people (Sellers et al., 1998). That is, the notion that some Black consumers orient their behaviors toward elevating public perceptions of blackness (e.g., Crockett, 2017), implies that these consumers are low in public racial regard.

Previous examinations of racial stigma in the context of consumer behavior primarily have considered how Black consumers manage their stigmatized identities through their consumption practices (e.g., Crockett, 2017) or how they respond to stigmatized identity cues in the marketplace (e.g., Chaney et al., 2019; Wooten & Rank-Christman, 2019). Of note, the former typically involves public behaviors toward identity-relevant products, whereas the latter often considers private reactions to identity-relevant marketing stimuli.

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In his investigation of consumption and stigma management in the contemporary Black middle class, Crockett (2017) demonstrated how Black consumers use the politics of respectability as a strategy of action to manage their stigmatized identity and offer a counternarrative that disavows stigma through status-oriented displays. He argued for two distinct versions of respectability. Normative respectability involves managing stigma through dissociation from the trappings of one's stigmatized identity. According to Crockett, normative respectability takes existing norms that assign low status to blackness as given, though not necessarily for granted, and seeks to demonstrate normativity (in defiance of stigma). Oppositional respectability involves managing stigma by utilizing sociocultural features of blackness to directly destigmatize identities or lessen the impact of stigmatization. Crockett argues that oppositional respectability problematizes and seeks to alter existing norms that grant blackness low status. It also seeks to demonstrate high status Black normativity (in defiance of stigma).

Crockett (2017) also noted that managing stigma need not involve self-reform tactics as previous analyses imply (e.g., Goffman, 1963). Consistent with prior research (e.g., Scaraboto & Fischer, 2013), Crockett identifies and documents the use of institutional-reform tactics geared toward lessening the effects of stigmatized treatment. He asserts that the tactics specify which actors bear the onus for action, not necessarily the specific kind of action taken. Identical courses of action can be marshaled to support different approaches (Crockett, 2017). For purposes of illustration, Table 1 provides examples of the two strategies and tactics. While Crockett's work

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mostly considers public behavior, more recent work has started to explore private responses (e.g,, Chaney et al., 2019).

<Insert Table 1 about here>

Chaney et al. (2019) summarized a program of research investigating how consumers with stigmatized identities respond to organizational cues that signal the extent to which organizations welcome them and value them as customers. The authors argue that because people with minoritized identities frequently encounter identity-based discrimination, they vigilantly scan environments for cues that signal inclusion (i.e., stigmatized-identity safety cues) or exclusion (i.e., stigmatized-identity threat cues), and respond accordingly. For example, racial minorities respond favorably to companies that display such identity safety cues as racial diversity awards or diversity training programs signaling their inclusiveness (Chaney et al., 2018). Moreover, because stigmatized-identity cues invite broader inferences about organizations' attitudes and ideologies (i.e., stigmatized-identity cues transfer), stigmatized-identity cues that, on the surface, signal safety or threat for a particular group can actually impact other groups (Chaney et al., 2019). For example, men of color expected an organization that received gender diversity awards to be inclusive (Chaney et al., 2016) and they expected a sexist individual to exhibit racial bias (Sanchez et al., 2017). Notably, Chaney et al. (2019, p. 134)

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argue that "stigma solidarity, a belief that individuals from different stigmatized groups are similar and should serve as allies for others" should facilitate stigmatized-identity cue transfers.

Although previous research on racial stigma has the potential to shed light on the impact of (low) public regard, consumer researchers have paid limited attention to the impact of private regard, defined as individuals' feelings about being African American and their feelings toward other African Americans (Sellers et al., 1998). As a notable exception, Rank-Christman and Wooten (2021) leveraged self-discrepancy theory (e.g., Higgins 1989) to conceptualize private and public regard as alternative standpoints on a similar self domain. Accordingly, the authors used the difference between the public and private regard subscales of the MIBI to predict consumers' responses to stigmatized threat and safety cues. They found that those with more favorable discrepancies between private and public racial regard (i.e., Black people with a more favorable view of blackness than they believe others have) have more positive reactions to identity safety cues and more negative reactions to identity threat cues than do their counterparts with less favorable or even unfavorable discrepancies between private and public regard. Consistent with previous analyses of the importance of respectability (e.g., Crockett, 2017), the authors found that perceived respect mediates this relationship.

When it comes to racial regard, previous research speaks more to public than to private regard (e.g., Chaney et al., 2019; Crockett, 2017; Wooten & Rank-Christman, 2019). Specifically, researchers have explored how consumers with stigmatized identities (i.e., low public regard) respond to various marketing stimuli. Yet, private regard also can influence

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consumer behavior. With the exception of Rank-Christman and Wooten (2021), no work to our knowledge has explored private regard as introduced by Sellers et al. (1998). Thus, private regard is a fruitful area for future exploration, as is racial ideology, another understudied aspect of racial identity.

4.4 Racial Ideology

Racial ideology, the individual's feelings, and beliefs about how members of the race should live and interact with others in society (Sellers et al., 1998), has largely been overlooked as a driver of consumer behavior. As a notable exception, Crockett (2017) discussed the emergence of racial uplift ideology in response to anti-Black stigma. According to Crockett, "racial uplift emphasized Black people's social and cultural fitness for full citizenship, premised on the (essentialized) behavioral norms of elite Whites" (p. 5). It morally obligated Black people to counter stigma by adhering to these norms, placing greater weight on self and community reforms that align with the dominant standard than on institutional reforms that challenge it. Although Crockett's (2017) analysis focused on racial uplift, he acknowledged Black liberalism and Black nationalism as other prominent anti-racist ideologies, each offering different worldviews and prescriptions for collective action. However, consumer psychological examinations of racial identity have not considered these or other ideologies (e.g., assimilationist, humanist, and oppressed minority). Future efforts to examine the impact of racial

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ideology have potential to provide a more fulsome understanding of how racial identity influences the attitudes and behaviors of Black consumers.

5 OPPORTUNITIES FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Thus far, we used the MMRI as a framework to broaden understanding of racial identity and to structure our review of the limited consumer psychological research on racial identity. In the remainder of this article, we attempt to use components of the framework to identify opportunities for future research on the experiences of contemporary African American consumers, specifically in the areas of racial discrimination in the marketplace, racial stigma in the marketplace, and consumer support for minority-owned business.

5.1 Racial Identity and Racial Discrimination in the Marketplace

Previous examinations of marketplace discrimination have attempted to identify the forms of discrimination that Black consumers encounter and the means by which they respond. Regarding forms of discrimination, Harris et al. (2005) analyzed 81 federal court cases in which customers alleged racial or ethnic discrimination and categorized each case according to the level of service provided by the establishment (i.e., degradation or denial) and the extent of discrimination exhibited (i.e., overt or subtle). According to the authors, subtle degradation involves plaintiffs complaining about getting substandard treatment without sufficient evidence that the degraded

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service was racially motivated. With overt degradation, plaintiffs had sufficient evidence that racial minorities were clearly treated worse than Whites. Subtle denial involves allegations of outright denials of goods or services, but no evidence that the denial of service was racially motivated. With overt denial, plaintiffs allege being denied goods or services and they can provide clear evidence that Whites receive preferential treatment. See Table 2 for examples of types of discrimination by level of service and extent of discrimination.

<Insert Table 2 about here>

Previous findings that Black people who are higher in racial centrality are more likely to perceive negative events or interpret ambiguous acts (e.g., microaggressions) as discriminatory behavior (e.g., Kern & Grandey, 2009; Sellers & Shelton, 2003) highlight the potential for racial identity to shape how Black consumers interpret negative encounters in the marketplace. If one views service degradation as less egregious than service denial, and subtle discrimination as more ambiguous than overt discrimination, then one might expect consumers high in racial centrality to be more sensitive to these less egregious, more ambiguous forms of discrimination and more likely to report them. Future research is needed to better understand how racial identity impacts perceptions of marketplace discrimination.

In terms of responses to discrimination, Crockett et al. (2003) examined how Black men perceive and cope with differential treatment in the marketplace. They found evidence that these

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men view status-oriented consumption as a preventive measure to reduce the probability of discriminatory encounters. However, when they encounter negative experiences in the marketplace, they favor attributions of discrimination that serve a self-protective function (i.e., attribute negative evaluations of the self as discriminatory actions of the evaluator) and they rely on problem-focused coping strategies, such as bringing public attention to mistreatment, and emotion-focused coping strategies, such as the use of humor (Crockett et al., 2003). Due to their concerns about perpetuating negative stereotypes and apparent acceptance of the permanence of racism, their emotion-focused coping strategies tend to be non-confrontational in nature.

How does racial identity impact how Black consumers cope with marketplace discrimination? Do specific dimensions of racial identity impact the use of different coping strategies (e.g., problem-focused vs. emotion-focused strategies)? Sellers and Shelton (2003) find that the significance of ones' racial identity (i.e., racial centrality) impacts perceptions racial of discrimination, but the meaning of one's racial identity affects the impact of perceived racial discrimination. Specifically, higher levels of nationalist ideology lessen the impact of perceiving discrimination on being bothered by discrimination. Similarly, holding beliefs that other groups have negative attitudes toward Black people (i.e., low public regard) buffered the impact of perceived racial discrimination on the extent to which participants were bothered by discrimination (Sellers & Shelton, 2003). Does this suggest that those with a nationalist ideology and low public regard favor problem-focused strategies that hone in on racism or racial prejudice

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as the problem? Future research is needed to better understand how racial identity affects the impact of marketplace discrimination, including how consumers cope with it.

5.2 Racial Identity and Racial Stigma in the Marketplace

As discussed earlier, examinations of racial stigma often focus on how Black consumers use consumption to manage stigma (e.g., Crockett, 2017) or how they respond to stigmatized identity cues in the marketplace (e.g., Chaney et al., 2019). Efforts to understand how racial identity impacts how consumers manage racial stigma or respond to racial cues are needed to provide a more fulsome and nuanced understanding of the topic.

Crockett's (2017) analysis of consumption and stigma management in the contemporary Black middle class identifies two broad strategies (i.e., normative respectability and oppositional respectability) and two tactical approaches (i.e., self-reform and institutional reform) that Black consumers use to manage racial stigma and make everyday life more tolerable. Do the strategies and tactics that consumers use to manage their stigmatized identities depend on what it means for them to be Black? For example, do consumers with high private regard perceive less need for self-reform tactics and greater need for institutional-reform tactics than do their counterparts with low private regard? Similarly, does racial ideology impact the strategies and tactics used to manage stigma? One might expect those favoring an assimilationist ideology to also favor normative respectability and self-reform tactics, while expecting those who favor a Black nationalist ideology to also favor oppositional respectability and institutional reform. Future

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research is needed to examine the impact of racial regard and racial ideology on the strategies and tactics Black consumers use to manage racial stigma in the marketplace.

Chaney et al. (2019) provide evidence that racial minorities generally respond favorably to identity safety cues, even those that target other identities. How does racial identity impact this relationship? One might expect racial ideology, especially the tendency to hold assimilationist beliefs, to moderate this effect. However, it may be possible for safety cues to backfire, leading some consumers to accuse organizations of "woke washing," enacting inauthentic brand activism (Vredenburg et al., 2020). How might racial identity impact the likelihood of Black consumers questioning the authenticity of organizations' efforts to signal inclusivity?

Taking a different perspective on the potential for identity relevant cues to backfire, Rank-Christman and Henderson (2019) propose that identity cues may shift in meaning depending on the identity paired with the cue. That is, a cue can be seemingly innocuous, or even potentially welcoming when paired with one identity, while being racially insensitive when paired with another. To what extent does racial identity moderate the occurrence of this phenomenon? Do the same aspects of racial identity that impact Black consumers' tendencies to perceive ambiguous situations as discriminatory (e.g., Kern & Grandey, 2009), affect their propensities to react negatively to identity cues that have the potential for multiple interpretations? Future research is needed to understand how racial identity and each dimension shapes interpretations of ambiguous identity cues that potentially have racial identity implications.

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Chaney et al. (2019) suggest that stigma solidarity, the notion that individuals from different stigmatized groups should band together due to similar circumstances, can facilitate stigmatized-identity cue transfer, the potential for cues that appear to target one stigmatized group to convey identity-relevant information to other stigmatized groups. Indeed, Chaney et al. (2016) find that men of color expect organizations that receive gender diversity awards to also be more racially inclusive. Sanchez et al. (2017) find a similar transfer effect of sexist behavior on expectations of racial bias. Critically, Chaney et al. (2019) propose that stigma solidarity beliefs are especially likely when stigmatized group members see themselves as members of a broader disadvantaged minority group, suggesting that racial ideology can weaken stigma solidarity and inhibit stigmatized-identity cue transfer. Specifically, one might expect Black consumers who favor an oppressed minority ideology to be prone to stigma solidarity and stigmatized-identity cue transfer. Conversely, one might expect those who favor a Black nationalist ideology to reject stigma solidarity and be unaffected by stigmatized-identity cue transfer. Future research is needed to examine the impact of racial identity, in general, and racial ideology, in particular, on consumers' responses to stigmatized-identity cues that target Black and other minority consumers.

5.3 Racial Identity and Support for Minority-Owned Businesses

Ferguson et al. (2020) demonstrate that racial identity, specifically racial salience, impacts what Black consumers expect from Black-owned businesses. Most notably, they expect better service

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and preferential treatment from establishments owned by someone who shares their race. How might racial regard or racial ideology affect this relationship? Would individuals with lower private regard have less favorable expectations than their counterparts with higher private regard? Would those who favor a Black nationalist ideology be more inclined to patronize Black-owned businesses than others who favor a different ideology, especially an assimilationist ideology?

Gensch and Staelin (1972) find that appeals of convenience, location, price, quality, and service dominated the appeal of buying Black. However, these appeals of price, quality, and service were not useful in discriminating between those who used the local Black merchants and those who did not. Might racial identity be a more useful predictor of buying Black? Spratlen (1973, p. 99) alludes to the potential for stronger racial identification to drive patronage of Black-owned businesses with his assertion that "A minor, but potentially useful aspect of strategy involves fostering group and community identity with black business." Yet, future research is needed to test this assertion.

Findings of the limited effectiveness of "buy Black" appeals (e.g., Gensch & Staelin, 1972) do not bode well for appeals for Black consumers to support minority-owned businesses, more generally. Nonetheless, it is reasonable to expect such appeals to be more effective on proponents of an oppressed minority ideology than on proponents of either an assimilationist or Black nationalist ideology. Future research is needed to understand how racial identity, in

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general, and racial ideology, in particular, impact patronage of minority-owned or Black-owned businesses.

6 CONCLUSION

By using the MMRI as a framework to discuss previous marketing and consumer psychological research on racial identity and to identify opportunities for future research on the impact of racial identity on consumer behavior, we answer calls for contributions that foreground the perspectives of those affected by racism (DeBerry-Spence et al., 2020) and frameworks that advance knowledge of the experiences of contemporary Black consumers (Williams et al., 2020). The conceptualization of racial identity as having both significance and meaning dimensions has the potential to enlarge understanding not only on racial identity, but also on other identities that impact consumer behavior. Our application of the MMRI framework leads us to conclude that consumer research may be missing the meaning of identity, especially in the case of racial identity. Finally, although this article focuses specifically on Black racial identity, we encourage future research on the significance and meaning of other racial/ethnic identities, and how these identities interact with other types of identities (Forehand et al., 2021).

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TABLE 1 Examples of approaches and tactics for respectability from Crockett (2017)

	Approaches to Respectability	
Tactics	Normative Respectability	Oppositional Respectability
Self-Reform	A Detroit Urban League Pamphlet illustrates inappropriate behavior alongside its respectable counterpart. "The pamphlet at once chastises poor black women for embodying the disorderly, premodern sensibility of the rural South (left photo) and for failing to embody Victorian modesty (right photo), too often forsaking it for the flashy, suggestive styles of the big city" (Crockett 2017, p.560). This constitutes self-reform because the onus is on Black women to conform to mainstream standards.	"Consider an African American man in his mid-30s employed as an advertising creative at a medium-sized generalist firm. He is widely regarded as competent and affable by supervisors and peers. He wears a braided hairstyle to work. At a considerable expense he keeps it neat to maintain what he considers a professional appearance (though he is aware that some coworkers consider it unprofessional)" (Crockett 2017, pp. 565-566). He advocates for norms of "professionalism" to be reinterpreted to accommodate expressions of Black culture. This constitutes self-reform because the onus is on him to make his cultural expression fit the norms. He's not really asking for the norms to change.
Institutional Reform	An informant had an extension collection of Boy Scout memorabilia, including some from the 1940s and 50s, when scouting was still segregated by race. "The informant is extensively involved in the national scouting organization, and talks about his efforts to correct the erasure of black scouting from this period at national events" (Crockett, 2017, pp. 566-567). The informant advocated	An informant "seeks to destigmatize a black working-class and poor neighborhood, derisively referred to locally as 'Black Bottom.' She is managing the neighborhood's stigma by gentrifying it" (Crockett, 2017, p. 573). The institution she seeks to transform is the neighborhood.

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	to have that history become part the Boy Scouts of America, Inc. official "canon".	

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TABLE 2 Examples and types of discrimination from Harris et al. (2005)

	Level of Service	
Extent of Discrimination	Denial	Degradation
Overt	A server "forced African American customers to wait an extraordinarily long time to be seated. He then proceeded to make harassing gestures and directed racially charged, derogatory comments toward them. The waiter eventually refused to serve the table, informing managers that they could not make him serve 'n-----'" (Harris et al., 2005, p. 168).	Hispanic customers stopped to purchase gas and other items. When one presented a credit card for payment, the employee asked for identification. The woman presented a valid driver's license that the employee refused to accept. After the employee begrudgingly agreed to the transaction, he addressed the woman with profanity and ethnic epithets.
Subtle	"A white woman took her two African American grandsons and their mother on a weekend trip to the beach. The white plaintiff entered a motel's office to inquire about room availability, while the remainder of her family stayed in the car. She checked into the motel for two nights and paid the bill in advance with cash. They then deposited their bags in the room and headed for the outdoor pool. Within a few minutes, the desk clerk appeared and demanded that they leave immediately" (Harris et al., 2005, p. 168). The desk clerk claimed to be enforcing room occupancy limits which were later found to be inaccurate.	A Black shopper selected her items and paid for them at the checkout counter, where the sales associate gave her a coupon for free cologne. She attempted to redeem the coupon at the fragrance counter, but was stopped by a security officer who searched her belongings. "Although there was no direct evidence that the security officer intentionally discriminated against her because of race, he filed a two-page 'Security Report' that referred to her status as an African American 12 times" (Harris et al. 2005, p. 167).

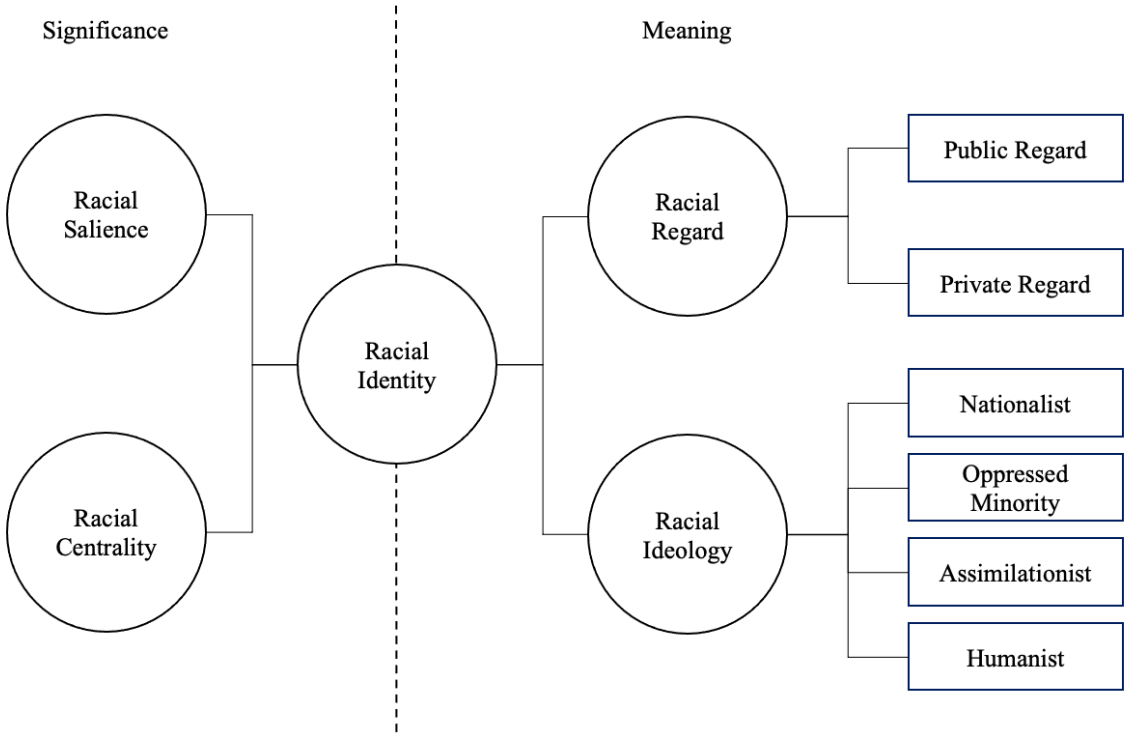
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Figure 1

Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (adapted from Sellers et al., 1998)



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