Development of Classes of Racism Measures for Frequency and Stress Reactions: Relationships to Race-Based Traumatic Symptoms

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Carter (2007) proposed that different classes of racism might be associated with race-based traumatic stress symptoms (RBTSS). The present study details the development of measures designed to assess the utility of the classes of racism proposed by Carter (2007) and whether these classes predict RBTSS. An experiences of racism item pool was tested using Exploratory and Confirmatory Factor Analyses (EFA, CFA) on racially heterogeneous adults and resulted in 2 instruments: One for frequency of racial experiences and the other for stress reactions to racial experiences. Each instrument consisted of 3 classes of racism scales: Hostile, Aversive-Hostile, and Avoidant Racism. The classes of racism scales were used to predict race-based traumatic stress symptoms, and Avoidant and Aversive-Hostile Racism for frequency and stress reactions were the strongest predictors. The findings provide support for the proposed classes of racism. Implications for counseling and future research are discussed.

Keywords: race-based traumatic stress, racial discrimination, racism, scale development

Carter and Helms (2002) observed that psychologists and social scientists have influenced the law, particularly in the areas of education and civil rights. They also noted that psychologists and other health professionals have influenced the recognition of subtle discriminatory practices in work settings and other domains that have adverse psychological and emotional effects. The focus of lawyers and psychologists efforts was on racial discrimination (the notion included both harassment and discrimination), which was believed to encompass most instances of racism. Carter and Helms (2002) pointed out that racial discrimination is a form of avoidant racism used to maintain distance between members of dominant and nondominant racial groups (Dovidio, Gaertner, Kawakami, & Hodson, 2002). Moreover they noted that racial harassment, in contrast, is a form of dominative or hostile racism, which is intended to communicate the targets inferior racial status (Jones, 1997). These distinctions are important for mental health professionals, because they might be called on to assist lawyers or targets of racism in healing from racial encounters and/or in seeking legal redress.

Carter and Helms (2002) and Carter (2007) offered a model that could be used to identify and assess the possible psychological and emotional impact of racism. Toward this aim, they contended that racism should be recognized as classes of distinct experiences (i.e., avoidant, hostile, and aversive-hostile) and that a possible outcome of racism experiences was race-based traumatic stress symptoms (RBTSS) or injury. The purpose of the current study was to empirically test their proposed model of the classes of racism and the association of classes of racism to RBTSS. Specifically, the authors were interested in determining whether experiences of racism could be measured empirically as classes of distinct experiences? And if so, would the classes of racism be predictive of race-based traumatic stress symptoms?

For the purpose of clarity, *Race* is defined as a social construction in which people are grouped and ranked based on their skin-color and physical features. *Racism* is the application of racial prejudice by the use of power, directed against those who are deemed inferior by individuals, institutional members, and leaders with the intentional, and unintentional, support and participation of the entire dominant racial-cultural group, and *racial discrimination* is the behavioral manifestation(s) of racism (Jones & Carter, 1996). Both integrative reviews and recent meta-analyses have reported that exposure to racism and racial discrimination is associated with psychological and emotional distress (e.g., Carter, 2007; Lee & Ahn, 2012; Pieterse, Todd, Neville, & Carter, 2012; Shavers et al., 2012).

For instance, Pieterse et al.'s (2012) meta-analytic investigation of 66 studies found that Black Americans had negative mental health outcomes due to exposure to racism. Additionally, Lee and Ahn's (2011, 2012) meta-analyses on Asian Americans (23 studies) and Latinos (50 studies) found evidence that racial discrimi-

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nation had adverse effects on the participants' mental health. Additionally, Shavers et al.'s (2012) review of 58 studies found adverse effects of racial discrimination. Shaver and colleagues also noted that racial discrimination measures were inadequate, and highlighted the need for an instrument that could aid health professionals in accurately assessing the impact of racial encounters.

Kressin, Raymond, and Manze (2008) located 34 instruments in a review designed to access racial-ethnic discrimination. The majority of the measures assessed general experiences of racism. Theory was employed for some studies, but most often the notion that racism was a stressor was the core concept of most studies (e.g., Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). Systematic reviews (e.g., Bastos, Celeste, Faerstein, & Barros, 2010) have examined the status of racial discrimination measures' psychometric properties as a way to better understand racial inequality in health. Bastos and colleagues found that the construct validity evidence for most racial discrimination instruments was not strong, and they noted the need for conceptual mapping beyond that of the stress-coping theories.

Most racial discrimination instruments in the psychological literature assess frequency of racial experiences, and some capture associated stress, including (to name a few): Perceived Racism Scale (PRS; McNeilly et al., 1996), the Index of Race-Related Stress (IRRS; Utsey & Ponterotto, 1996), Racism and Life Experiences Scale (RaLES; Harrell, 2000), and the Schedule of Racist Events (SRE; Landrine & Klonoff, 1996). Utsey and Ponterotto's (1996) Index of Race-Related Stress does group racial experiences into individual, institutional, and cultural scales. However the IRRS does not define the nature (e.g., hostile or avoidant) of the racial event(s), it captures the societal source.

Most of the racial discrimination instruments capture general and/or cumulative encounters in which frequency during the last year or in one's lifetime are summed and some capture stress resulting from racial experiences. Stressfulness is usually determined by asking whether the experience(s) was stressful and summing that stress score across the varied experiences. These instruments, although broadly capturing instances of racism and/or locations where racism occurred (e.g., work, school), do not classify the events by types, and thus do not provide detail that could enhance our understanding of dimensions of racism experiences that might be associated with lasting psychological effects.

Although extensive research has documented the adverse health effects of chronic exposure to racism and racial discrimination (e.g., Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009; Pieterse et al., 2012), there are still gaps in understanding the pathways by which this occurs. Furthermore, although models have been posited in the literature to understand how the frequency of racism experiences and the stress of encounters influence the target's mental health (e.g., Carter, 2007; Clark, Anderson, Clark, & Williams, 1999; Harrell, 2000; Utsey & Ponterotto, 1996), there is still uncertainty with regard to what about the frequency and stress of racial discrimination (i.e., independently or in conjunction) is associated with a person's emotional and psychological functioning.

For instance, Clark et al. (1999) proposed that racism was a stressor that adversely affects health outcomes, and Bryant-Davis and Ocampo (2005) argued that racism contributed to Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) like symptoms. Carter and colleagues (e.g., Carter, 2007; Carter, Forsyth, Mazzula, & Williams, 2005; Carter et al., 2013), suggested that exposure to racism produces traumatic stress reactions only when the experiences

were considered in terms of classes of racism which describes specific types of encounters (e.g., hostile). The classes of racism allow targets and mental health professionals to connect particular, or memorable, encounters that are more specific in terms of the category of exposure with racism to stress-based psychological and emotional symptoms (Carter, 2007; Carter & Helms, 2002, 2009).

Definitions and examples of the three classes of racism, as well as the proposed link to race-based traumatic stress symptoms are described. In brief, the distinct classes of racism as discussed by Carter (2007) are *Avoidant*, *Hostile*, and *Aversive-Hostile Racism*. The classes encompass racism's various levels (i.e., individual, institutional, cultural) and are connected to emotional and psychological responses such as race-based traumatic stress symptoms (e.g., depression, anxiety, intrusion, etc.). *Avoidant Racism* is a class intended to maintain distance between dominant and nondominant racial groups (e.g., being ignored by a sales person in a store or denied housing because of your race). *Hostile Racism* is a class of experiences characterized by actions meant to communicate the target's inferior status because of his or her membership in a nondominant racial-group (e.g., being stopped by the police because of your race). Two preliminary qualitative studies that examined the utility of classes of racism found that hostile and avoidant memorable racial encounters were associated with distinct emotional reactions (e.g., Carter et al., 2005; Carter, Forsyth, Williams, & Mazzula, 2007). It was also found that psychological reactions were, in part, similar to severe stress or possible traumatic reactions. Based on the results of the qualitative studies, and accounts of people of Color describing their experiences of racism, an additional class was added. *Aversive-Hostile Racism* is a class of experiences intended to create distance with strong hostile elements after a person of Color has gained entry into an organization or institution in which they were previously excluded (e.g., having your abilities and professional skills questioned).

Carter (2007) proposed that the classes of racism could be used to connect a person's memorable racial encounter, grouped as hostile, avoidant, or aversive-hostile racism, to his or her emotional and psychological symptoms. To facilitate the connection to mental health effects for individuals seeking relief or healing, it is more useful to have classes of racism rather than broad social definitions or systemic descriptions of racism that include a wide range of experiences over long periods of time.

Carter's (2007) conceptualization of race-based traumatic stress injury was based on the literature on the effects of racism and race-related stress, and the indirect evidence from the PTSD literature. Carter (2007) used Carlson's (1997) notion of traumatic stress and applied it to racial encounters. Furthermore, he argued that race-based traumatic stress was brought on by emotional pain from a memorable racial encounter and includes a cluster of emotional symptoms.

There has been some support for the notion of race-based traumatic stress. A scale was designed to measure a person's memorable racial encounter and its associated psychological and emotional reactions. The development of the Race-Based Traumatic Stress Symptom Scale (RBTSSS; Carter et al., 2013) provided evidence of construct validity and documented its psychometric properties. The study involved Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) of the *after* the event item pool, and resulted in 52-items and seven scales (Depression, Intrusion, Anger, Hypervigilance, Phys-

ical reactions, Low self-esteem, and Avoidance). Scale development scholars (DeVellis, 2012; Worthington & Whittaker, 2006) have noted that EFA should be followed by Confirmatory Factor Analyses (CFA) on a different sample to replicate and cross-validate the instrument.

The purpose of the current study was to determine whether the conceptual model of classes of racism as proposed by Carter and Helms (2002) and Carter (2007) could be supported with instruments. Additionally, an investigation was conducted to test whether the measures of classes of racism would be associated with race-based traumatic stress reactions. We present scale development information about the classes of racism referred to as *Avoidant*, *Hostile*, and *Aversive-Hostile Racism*. Predictive validity analyses were also conducted to explore whether the resulting classes of racism scales were related to race-based traumatic stress reactions. We conducted three studies. Study 1 involved scale development of the frequency of classes of racism experiences, Study 2 involved the scale development of the stress reactions to racial experiences and classes of racism, and Study 3 used the resulting classes of racism scales for frequency and stress to predict race-based traumatic stress reactions.

Method: Scale Development

Participants

Participants in the study included 381 adults, of which the majority identified as a person of Color, female, and middle class (participant demographics are presented in Table 1). For the Exploratory Factor Analyses (EFA) studies, the 381 participants were randomly split into two groups, an Alpha (190) and a Beta group (191). In Study 1, the alpha group was used for the EFA and the beta group for the CFA. For Study 2, the beta group was used for the EFA and alpha group for the CFA. The predictive multivariate multiple regression analyses represented in Study 3 used the full

sample. Alpha and Beta sample demographics are presented in Table 1.

Item Development and Scale Construction

Item generation occurred over several years. The literature on racial discrimination and race-based stress were consistently consulted, with particular attention paid to what instruments were used. We created a 70-item pool of racial experiences, which included 53 modified items from published instruments (a table of the scales is available upon request), and 17 items that we generated based on the classes of race-based experiences (Carter, 2007). To assess racial experiences, participants were asked two questions for each racial experience: (a) frequency, how often the event happened in the past year using a 6-point scale: 0 (*not at all*), 1 (*on occasion*), 2 (*several times a year*), 3 (*several times a month*), 4 (*several times a week*), and 5 (*several times a day*); and (b) stress reactions, participants were asked how stressful was the event using a 5-point scale: 0 (*not at all*), 1 (*slightly annoyed*), 2 (*mildly irritated*), 3 (*distracted/preoccupied*), 4 (*trouble functioning*). Respondents indicated separately the frequency of the exposure to the event and the extent to which the event was stressful, for all 70 racial events.

No scale existed before scale development that assessed the frequency and stressfulness of racial encounters using a classification system similar to what we used; therefore, there were no experts to consult for item development. The research team served the functions of assessing reading level (seventh grade), item duplication, and face validity. Because items had different response formats and inquired about distinctly different reactions, the frequency and stress responses were analyzed as separate scales. Because of the study sample's racial diversity, prior to the factor analyses we checked for significant racial group differences in frequency and stress responses, *t* tests revealed few racial group differences. We also determined that the items were not highly correlated and were for the most part normally distributed.

Procedure

Participants were recruited from various community-based organizations and 4-year private and public colleges and universities in the Northeast and Midwest regions of the United States. Once a person agreed to participate in the study they were asked to complete the questionnaire packet, which included a demographic data form, the item pool of racial experiences, and the race-based traumatic stress scale. Additionally, participants were given a debriefing form, which included information about the study and resources for those who wanted more information about ways to address their experiences.

The purpose of Study 1 and Study 2 were twofold. First, through exploratory factor analyses (EFA), determine whether classes of racism could be found in the factor loadings. Second, assuming that the factors did exist for the classes, cross-validate, replicate, and test the veracity of the constructs for the three classes using confirmatory factor analyses (CFA). In the CFA, the classes would be latent variables (unobserved), indicated by the items from the EFA, for each class of racism tested on a different participant group.

Table 1
Participant Demographics

Characteristic	Study 1 (N = 190) Frequency/ Percent	Study 2 (N = 191) Frequency/ Percent	Study 3 (N = 381) Frequency/ Percent
Gender			
Male	49 (25.8%)	53 (28%)	102 (26.6%)
Female	140 (73.7%)	138 (72%)	278 (72.4%)
Missing	1	0	1
Racial designation			
White	50 (26.3%)	40 (20.9%)	90 (23.4%)
Black	52 (27.4%)	73 (38.2%)	125 (32.6%)
Hispanic	45 (23.7%)	41 (21.5%)	86 (22.4%)
Asian/P.I.	25 (13.2%)	29 (15.2%)	54 (14.1%)
Biracial	16 (8.4%)	8 (4.2%)	24 (6.3%)
Missing	2	0	2
Socioeconomic status			
Lower class	4 (2.1%)	5 (2.7%)	9 (2.3%)
Working class	41 (21.6%)	46 (24.6%)	87 (22.7%)
Middle class	104 (54.7%)	91 (48.7%)	195 (50.8%)
Upper middle class	33 (17.4%)	138 (20.3%)	71 (18.5%)
Upper class	4 (2.1%)	7 (93.7%)	11 (2.9%)
Missing	2	4	8

Study 1: Classes of Racism for Frequency of Racial Experiences Items

Researchers have shown the importance of measuring the frequency with which an individual has had experiences of racism. The current study tests whether three classes of racism, as proposed by Carter (2007), emerged in a sample of adults when asked to report the frequency with which they have had each experience.

Participants

Participants in the frequency items EFA study included 190 adults (randomly selected from the full data set—the Alpha group; see Table 1).

Exploratory Factor Analysis

An initial EFA using principal axis factor extraction, without rotation, was conducted to determine the adequacy of the sample size and data for factor analysis (no items had high or zero correlations). We ran the EFA using 190 participants, specifying two, three, and four factors and a varimax rotation. We determined that the three-factor solution, which was consistent with theory and empirical evidence, should be used based on the scree plot, Kaiser's criterion (eigenvalues over 1.00), and parallel analysis (PA, as outlined by Hayton, Allen, & Scarpello, 2004). The analysis produced three distinct factors, and the loadings and screening indicated that 20 items were to be deleted because of either cross loadings (differences less than .15), not meeting the cut off of .30, or not loading onto any factors, thereby reducing the item pool to 50. The EFA was repeated after deleting items. Both the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy (KMO = .88; Kahn, 2006), and Bartlett's test of sphericity (Kahn, 2006; $df = 820$) $\chi^2 = 3930.75$ were found to be significant ($p < .0001$), indicating that factor analysis was appropriate. The final solution contained 38 items with $\alpha = .92$ (see Table 2). The items that comprised each factor were inspected, and it was determined that each factor's items were capturing a distinct set of racial experiences. The three factors were identified as Hostile Racism (13 items, $\alpha = .93$), Aversive-Hostile Racism (11 items, $\alpha = .74$), and Avoidant Racism (14 items, $\alpha = .74$). The EFA results were then used in the CFA analyses on a different sample.

Confirmatory Factor Analysis

We conducted CFA using structural equation modeling (SEM) to cross-validate and explore the conceptual foundation of the EFA items that comprised the three classes of racism. SEM involves testing both a measurement (observed) and structural model (unobserved constructs). In this case, the measurement variables were the indicators and the structural constructs (unobserved or latent) were the classes of racism. The Beta group (191) was employed in these analyses. In SEM, indices are used to determine a fit to the data. To account for multivariate non-normality in the EFA derived items, the maximum likelihood least squares mean-and-variance corrected (MLMV) estimation procedure was employed utilizing MPLUS 7.3. To carry out the CFA, we included the items comprising each race-based frequency scale as indicators (directly measured variables) of the latent variables, which were the constructs for the classes of racism.

For a model fit, χ^2 should be nonsignificant. However, it is often significant when large sample sizes are used. Additionally, the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) should be .06 or lower, the CFI (comparative fit index) and TLI (Tucker Lewis index) should be .90 or higher, and the standardized root mean square residual (SRMR) should be .08 or lower. Given this, at least three or more of the indices should meet the stated criteria (e.g., RMSEA, CFI/TLI, & SRMR) for data to fit the model being tested. We sought to determine whether the 38 items that comprised the three classes of racism scales could be used to indicate the latent, or unobserved, constructs (the classes of racism: Hostile, Avoidant, Aversive-Hostile Racism). The initial result was not a good fit based on the indices (e.g., $\chi^2 = 1420.46$ [$df = 591$] $p < .0001$, RMSEA = .086, CFI = .71 and TLI = .69, SRMR = .09), and we modified the model until a fit was found. The model fit resulted in item deletion and we removed 20 of the 38 items. The CFA final model fit indices for the frequency of racial experience items and latent racism classes were as follows: $\chi^2 = 222.00$ ($df = 132$), $p < .0004$, RMSEA = .06 (90% CI = .05–.07), CFI = .90 and TLI = .90, SRMR = .06. The three scales now comprised 18 items, Hostile Racism (7 items, $\alpha = .73$), Avoidant Racism (5 items, $\alpha = .75$), and Aversive-Hostile Racism (6 items, $\alpha = .65$). We concluded that we found a model fit for three of five indices, meeting the stated criteria. Figure 1 depicts the items that loaded onto each factor in the final scale. Means and standard deviations for each scale are reported in Table 4. The EFA and CFA were repeated for the stress response items to the racial experiences.

Study 2: Classes of Racism for Stress Reaction Items

The three classes of racism model (i.e., Avoidant, Hostile, and Aversive-Hostile Racism), was tested in relation to the stress reactions associated with experiences of racism. The current study was designed to investigate if the three classes were evident in the reported stress reactions to racial experiences.

Participants

Participants in study two were 191 adults (see Table 1 for details).

Exploratory Factor Analyses

EFA was conducted on 191 participants with principal axis factor extraction. An initial EFA was conducted without rotation to establish the adequacy of the sample size and data for factor analysis. Both the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy (KMO = .870) and Bartlett's test of sphericity ($df = 1830$), $\chi^2 = 6347.34$ were found to be significant ($p < .0001$), indicating that factor analysis was appropriate. In order to determine how many factors to extract, the scree plot was examined at its point of inflection, designating that three factors should be retained. However, using Kaiser's criterion (eigenvalues which exceed 1.00), 15 factors were suggested for extraction. A parallel analysis (PA) was also conducted utilizing the procedures outlined by Hayton, Allen, and Scarpello (2004). The PA for this data set indicated two factors for extraction. Overall, the factor extraction indices suggested extraction of 2 to 15 factors.

Table 2

Racism–Based Frequency of Experiences Items Factors and Item Loadings for Factor Analyses With Varimax Rotation

Item number	Item	Factor		
		1. Hostile racism	2. Aversive-hostile racism	3. Avoidant racism
1[a]	I have come across individuals who believe that "Some people of your race are so touchy about their rights that it is difficult to get along with them."	0.63		
2	I have felt unwelcomed by institutions (universities, law firms etc).	0.62		
3[a]	I have been treated suspiciously as a customer such as being followed/ watched by security guards or clerks, and/or being asked to check my bags before entering a store while others not of my race were not.	0.59		
4	I have had coworkers call me insulting names or taunt me.	0.58		
5[a]	I have been treated as if I am stupid or have been "talked down to."	0.55		
6[a]	I have received poor or compromised treatment by people in helping jobs (doctors, nurses, psychiatrists, case workers, dentists, school counselors, therapists, social workers and others).	0.52		
7[a]	I have felt the need to change my posture or speech when dealing with people outside of my race.	0.50		
8[a]	I have been followed, stopped or arrested by police more than others.	0.47		
9	I have been denied hospitalization or medical care.	0.42		
10[a]	I have known people of my race who have suffered negative consequences (such as being threatened, hurt, or killed) for dating (or socializing) outside of our racial group.	0.40		
11	I have been left out of conversations or activities.	0.40		
12[a]	I have been given more work, or the most undesirable jobs at my place of employment while others of equal or less seniority and credentials are given less work, and more desirable tasks		0.69	
13	Others have expected my work to be inferior.		0.67	
14[a]	At work, when different opinions would be helpful, my opinion has not been asked for.		0.61	
15[a]	I have been passed over for an important project although I was more qualified and competent than those who received the project.		0.59	
16[a]	I've been assigned the jobs that no one else wants to do.		0.55	
17[a]	My grade assignments have been judged more critically.		0.54	
18[a]	I have been treated in an "overly" friendly or superficial way.		0.53	
19	I've been watched more closely than other workers.		0.51	
20	I have been considered fascinating or exotic by others.		0.41	
21	I have been refused an apartment or other housing.		0.39	
22	I have been left out of conversations or activities		0.36	
23	I have been accused by teachers and professors of cheating.		0.35	
24	I have been mistaken for someone else of my race (who may not look like you at all)		0.34	
25	I have been made to feel uncomfortable or invisible in a classroom of students who were a different race than me.		0.33	
26	I have noticed that the media plays up those stories that cast people of my race in negative ways.			0.83
27[a]	I have observed that the police treat others with more respect and dignity than they do people of my race.			0.81
28	I have observed that kids outside of my race who commit violent crimes are portrayed as "being boys," while kids of my race who commit similar crimes are wild animals.			0.80
29	I have noticed that crimes committed by people outside of my race tend to be romanticized,whereas the same crime committed by a person of my race is portrayed as savagery, and the person who committed it, as an animal.			0.78
30	I have noticed that when a person of my race is killed by a mob or policeman no one is sent to jail.			0.78
31	I have observed situations where people of my race were treated harshly or unfairly by others due to their race.			0.77
32	I have heard reports of others who have committed crimes, and in an effort to cover up their deeds falsely reported that a person of my race was responsible for the crime.			0.73
33[a]	I have heard others express the idea that people of my race are "on welfare because they are too lazy to get a job."			0.68
34[a]	I have heard racist remarks or comments about people of my race spoken with impunity by public officials or other influential people.			0.65
35[a]	I have encountered the belief that "Men of your race have an 'animal-like' passion in bed."			0.59
36	I have heard others express the idea that people of my race are "generally not smart."			0.56
37	I have seldom heard or read anything positive about people of my race on radio, TV, newspaper or in history books.			0.56
38[a]	I have been asked to speak for or represent my entire racial/ethnic group (e.g., "What do ____ people think"?			0.30

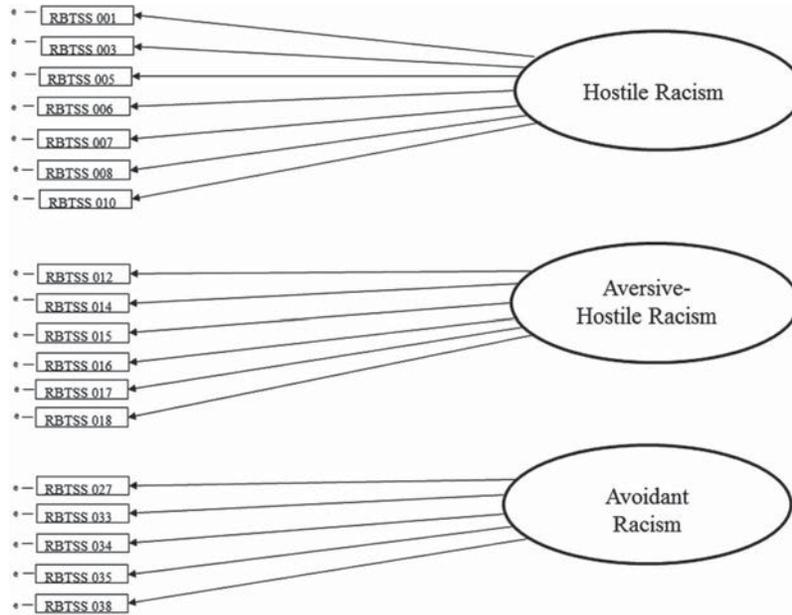[a] Denotes item retained following the confirmatory factor analysis.

Figure 1. Classes of racism frequency of racial experiences scale confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) on frequency items ($N = 191$). Figures reflect scales that result from the CFA.

An EFA was conducted employing a varimax rotation. We examined multiple factor solutions and determined that the three-factor solution was the best fit. The loadings and screening indicated that 17 items were to be deleted due to either cross loadings (differences less than .15), not meeting the cut off of .30, or not loading on to any factors, reducing the item pool to 53. The EFA was repeated after deleting items. The items that constituted each factor were inspected, and it was determined that each factor's items were capturing a distinct set of racial experiences. The final three-factor solution had 49-items ($\alpha = .95$), with a KMO = .83 and Bartlett's test of sphericity's $\chi^2(df = 1176) = 4960.78$, $p < .001$.

To determine the meaning of the each of the factors, the items that loaded onto each factor were analyzed. Inspection of Table 3 shows the numbers of items and loadings for each of the three factors. The first factor, with 22 items, was labeled "Hostile Racism" ($\alpha = .95$). The second factor was labeled "Aversive-Hostile Racism," and it comprised 19 items ($\alpha = .91$). The last factor was labeled "Avoidant Racism" with 8 items ($\alpha = .74$). After deriving the scales from the EFA, the CFA was conducted.

Confirmatory Factor Analysis

In the CFA, the Alpha group ($n = 190$) was used. We tested the measurement model that resulted from the preceding exploratory factor analysis, leading to a three-factor model in which the stress items would act as indicators of the presumed latent, or unobserved, variables: Hostile, Avoidant, and Aversive-Hostile Racism.

The initial fit indices were not strong: $\chi^2 = 2464.4$ ($df = 1124$), $p = 0001$, RMSEA = .08, CFI = .67 and TLI = .66, SRMR = .09. As a result, 26 items were removed and 23 items ($\alpha = .90$) were retained. The final model fit indices for the CFA with the 23 stress reaction items were as follows: $\chi^2 = 346.85$ ($df = 227$), $p = .001$,

RMSEA = .05 (90% CI = .04–.06), CFI = .91 and TLI = .90, and SRMR = .07. Thus, all five indices met fit criteria and a good model fit was obtained. Figure 2 depicts the items that loaded onto each factor in the final CFA for Hostile Racism (11 items), Avoidant Racism (5 items), and Aversive-Hostile Racism (7 items). Means and standard deviations for each scale are reported in Table 4.

Study 3: Classes of Racism and Race-Based Traumatic Stress

The purpose of study three was to explore the hypothesis offered by Carter (2007) that classes of racism would predict race-based traumatic stress symptoms. Based on study one and two, there were two measures of classes of racism: frequency of racial experiences and stress reactions to racial experiences. The two measures, with scales for avoidant, hostile, and aversive-hostile racism, were used to predict race-based traumatic stress symptoms as measured by RBTSSS (Carter et al., 2013). We used two multivariate multiple regressions in which the three classes of racism scales (avoidant, hostile, aversive-hostile) were the predictor variables and the seven RBTSS scales were the dependent variables. Missing data were not extensive and comprised less than 5% of the overall data for each class of racism scale. Based on the missing value analysis, we employed the nearest point data replacement strategy, which did not significantly change the alphas, means, or standard deviations of the classes of racism scales.

Participants

Participants in the study included 381 adults as described (see Table 1).

Table 3

Racism-Based Stress Reactions Items Factors and Item Loadings for Factor Analyses With Orthogonal Rotation

Item number	Item	1. Hostile racism	2. Aversive-hostile racism	3. Avoidant racism
1[a]	I have noticed that the media plays up those stories that cast people of my race in negative ways.	.82		
2	I have noticed that crimes committed by people outside of my race tend to be romanticized, whereas the same crime committed by a person of my race is portrayed as savagery, and the person who committed it, as an animal.	.82		
3[a]	I have observed that the police treat others with more respect and dignity than they do people of my race.	.79		
4[a]	I have heard reports of others who have committed crimes, and in an effort to cover up their deeds falsely reported that a person of my race was responsible for the crime.	.78		
5[a]	I have observed situations where people of my race were treated harshly or unfairly by others due to their race.	.78		
6	I have observed that kids outside of my race who commit violent crimes are portrayed as "being boys," while kids of my race who commit similar crimes are wild animals.	.78		
7[a]	I have noticed that when a person of my race is killed by a mob or policeman no one is sent to jail.	.77		
8[a]	I have heard racist remarks or comments about people of my race spoken with impunity by public officials or other influential people.	.71		
9[a]	I have seldom heard or read anything positive about people of my race on radio, TV, newspaper or in history books.	.70		
10	I have heard others express the idea that people of my race are "generally not smart."	.61		
11	I have been ignored, overlooked, or not given service by employees when I enter business establishments (restaurant, recreational centers etc.).	.61		
12	I have not been shown forms of courtesy and respect when I enter business establishments (restaurant, recreational centers etc.).	.59		
13[a]	I have been treated suspiciously as a customer such as being followed/watched by security guards or clerks, and/or being asked to check my bags before entering a store while others not of my race were not.	.58		
14[a]	I have been overlooked or made to feel invisible (e.g. others talking over you, walking into you etc.) or been avoided (others physically move away from me) in public settings.	.57		
15	Store clerks or managers have reacted to me as if they were afraid or intimidated.	.56		
16	I have come across individuals who believe that "Some people of your race are so touchy about their rights that it is difficult to get along with them."	.54		
17	I have heard others express the idea that people of my race are "on welfare because they are too lazy to get a job."	.53		
18[a]	I have encountered the belief that "Men of your race have an 'animal-like' passion in bed."	.51		
19	I have been accused of something or treated suspiciously.	.46		
20	I have been asked to speak for or represent my entire racial/ethnic group (e.g., "What do ____ people think"?).	.42		
21	I have known of people who have gotten into trouble (gotten hurt, beaten up, shot) simply because of their race.	.42		
22[a]	I have been taught in school that Europeans are civilized and Africans are primitive.	.31		
23	I have been given more work, or the most undesirable jobs at my place of employment while others of equal or less seniority and credentials are given less work, and more desirable tasks.		.77	
24	At work, when different opinions would be helpful, my opinion has not been asked for.		.71	
25[a]	Others have expected my work to be inferior.		.63	
26[a]	I have been ignored or not taken seriously by my boss.		.67	
27[a]	I've been assigned the jobs that no one else wants to do.		.64	
28	I feel as if I have to work twice as hard.		.64	
29[a]	Although I'm equally prepared and responsive, I have been called on less than other students in the class.		.57	
30	I have been passed over for an important project although I was more qualified and competent than those who received the project.		.56	
31[a]	I have been refused an apartment or other housing.		.53	
32	My ideas or opinions have been minimized, ignored, or devalued.		.49	
33	I have been left out of conversations or activities.		.49	
34	I find it difficult to trust teachers and/or students who are of a different race than me.		.49	
35[a]	I have been asked to change my appearance (e.g. dress, hair) by my employers, bosses and supervisors in order to keep my job.		.46	
36	I have been treated in an "overly" friendly or superficial way.		.44	

(*table continues*)

Table 3 (*continued*)

Item number	Item	Factor		
		1. Hostile racism	2. Aversive-hostile racism	3. Avoidant racism
37[a]	Others often don't include me in study groups.		.42	
38	I have felt unwelcomed by institutions (universities, law firms etc.).		.41	
39	I've been watched more closely than other workers.		.41	
40	I have been treated as if I am stupid or have been "talked down to."		.35	
41	I have been mistaken for someone else of my race (who may not look like you at all).		.35	
42[a]	I have not been allowed into certain establishments, such as restaurants or other types of businesses.			.63
43	I have been threatened with physical violence by an individual or group of individuals who were of a different race than myself.			.57
44	I been made fun of, picked on, pushed, shoved, hit, or threatened with harm.			.53
45	I have had coworkers call me insulting names or taunt me.			.52
46[a]	My house has been defaced or vandalized.			.38
47[a]	I have been denied hospitalization or medical care.			.37
48[a]	I have been accused by teachers and professors of cheating.			.33
49[a]	I have heard people make comments such as, "People of your race should not push themselves into places where they are not wanted."			.32

[a] Denotes item retained following the confirmatory factor analysis.

Instrument

RBTSSS is a 52-item questionnaire (Carter et al., 2013). The respondent starts with an open-ended section to describe, in their own words, three of the most memorable events of racism they have experienced in their lives. Participants are then instructed to select the most memorable event. Using the most memorable event of racism, the respondent answers, yes/no, if the most memorable incident was negative (i.e., emotionally painful), out of their control, and sudden in its occurrence. Using their memorable event, participants complete a section of emotional symptoms. The instructions are as follows:

> Below is a list of reactions that people sometimes have after an upsetting event. Read each reaction carefully and circle the number that best describes your feelings *immediately after the event* (within one month) and *more recently* when thinking about the event.

Each item is preceded by, "As a consequence of the memorable encounter I had with racism. . . ." Examples of reaction items include "I felt sad" or "I experienced tiredness and lack of energy." Respondents indicate a particular reaction using a 5-point scale: 0

(*does not describe my reaction*), 1 (*infrequent*), 2 (*sometimes*), 3 (*frequently*), and 4 (*this reaction would not go away*). Lastly, the participant is asked whether anyone noticed a change in the their behavior (yes/no).

Scores are obtained by summing the items for each of the seven scales. High scores indicate greater presence of the reaction. The scales' summed scores are transformed into standardized t scores ($M = 50$, $SD = 10$; see Carter & Sant-Barket, 2015). As reported by Carter et al. (2013), the original scales and Cronbach's Alphas are Depression ($\alpha = .90$), Intrusion ($\alpha = .90$), Anger ($\alpha = .90$), Hypervigilance ($\alpha = .90$), Physical reactions, ($\alpha = .86$), Self-esteem ($\alpha = .85$), and Avoidance ($\alpha = .66$). For the *Recent* reactions and *Others Noticing* scales, Cronbach's Alphas will be provided on request.

Classes of Racism for Frequency of Racial Experiences

In the multivariate multiple regression the frequency of the three classes of racism scales from Study 1 were the predictor variables, while the seven after the event RBTSS scales were dependent variables. The omnibus test revealed that the full model was

Table 4
Scale Descriptives and Interscale Correlation: Classes of Racism-Frequency and Classes of Racism-Stress

	Descriptives			Scale inter-correlations				
						Classes of racism-stress		
Measure	Subscale	Mean	SD			Hostile racism	Avoidant racism	Aversive hostile racism
Classes of racism-frequency	Hostile racism	4.22	3.86	Classes of racism-frequency	Hostile racism	.59* (.35)	.54* (.29)	.51* (.26)
	Avoidant racism	5.69	4.27		Avoidant racism	.66* (.44)	.37* (.14)	.43* (.18)
	Aversive hostile racism	3.68	3.42		Aversive hostile racism	.28* (.08)	.39* (.15)	.71* (.50)
Classes of racism-stress	Hostile racism	12.1	8.92					
	Avoidant racism	1.51	2.27					
	Aversive hostile racism	3.6	3.96					

Note. Numbers in parentheses denote effect sizes.
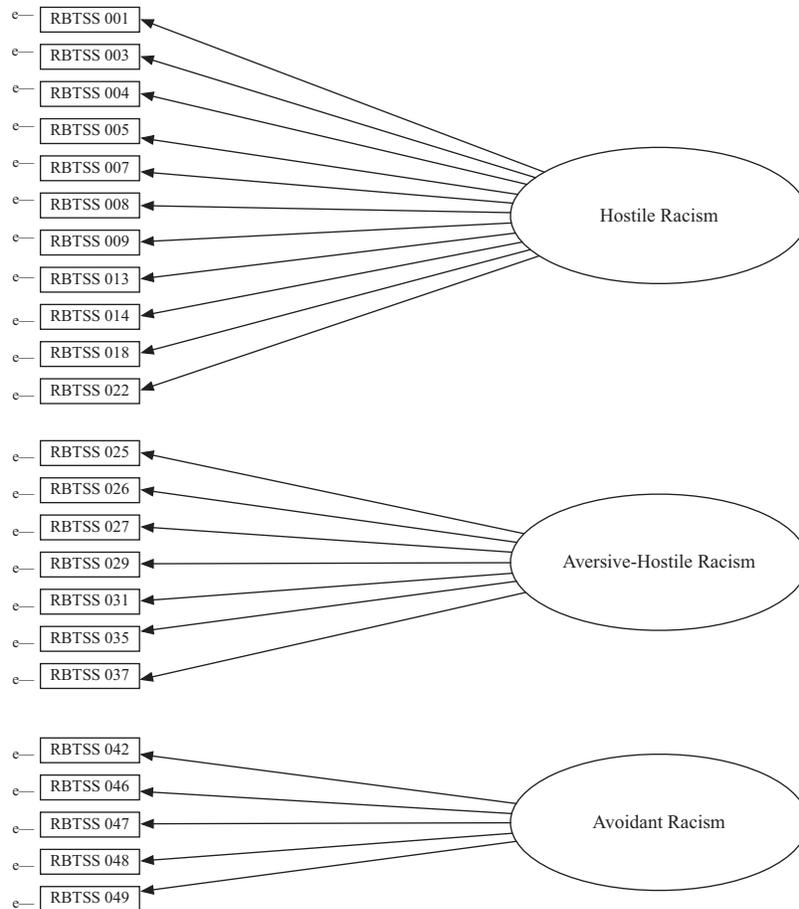* Pearson correlations that are significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).

Figure 2. Classes of racism stress of racial experiences scale confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) on stress items ($N = 190$). Figures reflect scales that result from the CFA.

significant, $F(7, 342) = 7.09$, $p = .001$, Wilk's $\lambda = .67$, $\eta^2 = .33$, and that the overall model accounted for a significant amount of the variance among the scores on the criterion variables.

Given that the full model was significant, we examined results from individual tests on each of the three classes of racism scales. Results showed that after accounting for the effects of the other classes of racism predictor variables (including any interactions), *Hostile Racism*, $F(7, 340) = 4.75$, $p < .05$, Wilk's $\lambda = .91$, $\eta^2 = .09$, *Avoidant Racism*, $F(7, 340) = 3.11$, $p < .05$, Wilk's $\lambda = .94$, $\eta^2 = .09$, and *Aversive-Hostile Racism*, $F(7, 340) = 3.72$, $p < .05$, Wilk's $\lambda = .93$, $\eta^2 = .07$, were significantly related to the RBTSS scales.

To identify the specific nature of the relationships between the frequency of the classes of racism and the RBTSSS predictor variables, univariate F tests were examined. Frequency of *Hostile Racism* was found to be significantly and positively associated with *Anger*, $F(1, 346) = 11.65$, $p < .05$ and *Intrusion*, $F(1, 346) = 21.09$, $p < .05$. *Avoidant Racism* was found to be significantly associated with *Depression*, $F(1, 346) = 9.75$, $p < .05$, *Anger*, $F(1, 346) = 8.84$, $p < .05$, *Physical symptoms*, $F(1, 346) = 6.11$, $p < .05$, *Hypervigilance*, $F(1, 346) = 4.82$, $p < .05$, and *Low Self-Esteem*, $F(1, 346) = 11.73$, $p < .05$. Lastly, *Aversive-Hostile Racism* was found to be significantly associated with *Depression*,

$F(1, 346) = 7.25$, $p < .05$, *Anger*, $F(1, 346) = 4.18$, $p < .05$, *Avoidance*, $F(1, 346) = 13.44$, $p < .05$, and *Hypervigilance* reactions, $F(1, 346) = 4.17$, $p < .05$.

Classes of Racism for Stress Reactions

In this Multivariate Multiple Regression, the stress for the three classes of racism scales that emerged from Study 2 were entered as predictor variables, while the RBTSS scales were entered as dependent variables. The overall test of significance (omnibus test) revealed that the full model was significant, $F(7, 305) = 7.23$, $p = .01$; Wilk's $\lambda = .63$, $\eta^2 = .37$, and that the overall model accounted for a significant amount of the variance among the scores of the criterion variables.

Given that the full model was significant, we examined follow-up analyses of individual tests on each of the three classes of racism for stress reactions scales and RBTSS scale scores. Results showed that after accounting for the effects of the other classes of racism predictor variables (including any interactions), *Hostile Racism*, $F(7, 303) = 5.65$, $p < .05$, Wilk's $\lambda = .88$ $\eta^2 = .12$, *Avoidant Racism*, $F(7, 303) = 5.86$, $p < .05$, Wilk's $\lambda = .88$, $\eta^2 = .12$, and *Aversive-Hostile Racism*, $F(7, 303) =$

3.11, $p < .05$, Wilk's $\lambda = .93$, $\eta^2 = .07$, were significantly related to the RBTSS scale scores.

To identify the specific nature of the relationships between the stress of racial experiences (i.e., three classes of racism stress reactions) and RBTSS scale scores, univariate F tests were examined. Findings showed that *Stress from Hostile Racism* was associated with *Anger*, $F(1, 309) = 6.20$, $p < .05$, *Avoidance*, $F(1, 309) = 5.55$, $p < .05$, and *Intrusion*, $F(1, 309) = 16.61$, $p < .05$. Additionally, the *Stress from Avoidant Racism* was associated with *Depression*, $F(1, 309) = 12.41$, $p < .05$, *Anger*, $F(1, 309) = 8.57$, $p < .05$, *Physical Symptoms*, $F(1, 309) = 6.45$, $p < .05$, *Avoidance*, $F(1, 309) = 27.04$, $p < .05$, *Hypervigilance*, $F(1, 309) = 19.79$, $p < .05$, and *Low Self-Esteem*, $F(1, 309) = 10.51$, $p < .05$. Lastly, the *Stress from Aversive-Hostile Racism* was found to be associated with *Depression*, $F(1, 309) = 8.32$, $p < .05$, *Anger*, $F(1, 309) = 6.31$, $p < .05$, *Physical Symptoms*, $F(1, 309) = 4.83$, $p < .05$, and *Low Self-Esteem*, $F(1, 309) = 8.09$, $p < .05$.

Discussion

In the present study, we tested the theoretical model proposed by Carter (2007) and Carter and Helms (2002, 2009), who suggested that racism should be deconstructed into distinct classes of racism. Carter (2007) argued that by classifying racism into distinct groups, it would be possible to understand the ways in which targets of racism were harmed psychologically from exposure to the stress and/or potential trauma associated with racial encounters. Two instruments were developed for each of the three hypothesized classes of racism, one that measured the frequency of exposure to racism, and the other that assessed stress reactions to racial experiences.

Seventy items of racial experiences were initially designed to capture the classes of racism (Carter, 2007) in terms of frequency of exposure and stress reactions. As such, scale development analytic strategies were used to examine the overall factor structure of the classes of racism for frequency of racial experiences and stress reactions. The goal was to determine whether an instrument could capture different classes of racism, and subsequently, whether the measure could be confirmed as valid.

The EFA analyses found similar dimensions for frequency of racial experiences and stress reaction items; however, the underlying factor structures were different (see Tables 2 and 3 for items and corresponding factor loadings). As a result, the investigation was divided into three phases: Study 1 examined the frequency of racial experiences, Study 2 examined the stress reactions, and Study 3 conducted predictive validity analyses using multivariate multiple regression with the two classes of racism scales (frequency of racial experiences and stress reactions) as predictors of race-based traumatic stress symptom scales.

Results from the EFAs in Study 1 and Study 2 indicated that the racial experience items grouped into three factors for both frequency of racial experience and stress reactions. This provides evidence in support of the three classes of racism theorized by Carter (2007): Hostile (i.e., acts intended to communicate the target's inferior status), Avoidant (i.e., actions to maintain distance or minimize contact), and Aversive-Hostile Racism (i.e., actions intended to create distance after a person of Color has gained access to an organization).

The EFAs in both studies were followed by CFAs, using structural equation modeling (SEM) procedures, to verify whether the items would indicate the latent constructs of the three classes of racism with a new sample of participants. The CFAs used item indicators for latent variables (not directly measured), which were the three types of racism to be confirmed in terms of measurement and theory (Worthington & Whittaker, 2006).

Results of the analyses in Study 1 and Study 2 found that fewer items were identified in the CFAs for the classes of racism as compared to the EFAs. However, for both frequency of racial experiences and stress reaction scales, the CFAs reduced the number of items within each measure (18 frequency of racial experiences items; 23 stress reaction items). The model fits from the CFAs provided evidence that racism can be conceptualized as comprising three distinct classes of race-related experiences, and that the frequency and stress of these events vary across event type.

Study 3 explored the predictive validity of the frequency of racial experiences and stress reaction classes of racism scales. In both multivariate multiple regression analyses, the three classes of racism from Study 1 and Study 2 were the predictor variables, while the seven RBTSS scales were dependent variables. The multivariate multiple regression's omnibus test for the frequency of racial experiences classes of racism model was significant, indicating a moderate effect size and several significant dependent variables related to the classes of racism scales. The follow-up analyses showed that for frequency of classes of racism, *Hostile, Aversive-Hostile*, and *Avoidant Racism* were related to RBTSS scales, in that order.

Hostile Racism was associated with *Anger* and *Intrusion* RBTSS scales. *Aversive-Hostile Racism* was related to *Depression, Anger, Avoidance*, and *Hypervigilance* symptoms, while *Avoidant Racism* was related to *Depression*, *Anger*, *Physical symptoms*, *Hypervigilance*, and *Low Self-Esteem*. Overall, *Hostile Racism* had the strongest effect size but not the greatest number of symptoms. *Aversive-Hostile* and *Avoidant Racism* for frequency of racial events were associated with numerous symptoms. This phenomenon could potentially be explained by the settings in which *Aversive-Hostile* forms of racism are most likely to occur (i.e., work and school), resulting in a greater frequency and intensity of reactions. Such visceral reactions are likely to cause psychological distress and could be conceptualized to include core reactions for race-based traumatic stress. *Hostile* and *Avoidant Racism* were found to be less impactful, perhaps because the frequency of racial experiences occurred less often and may not be central to one's daily life.

In the multivariate multiple regression for the three classes of racism that reflect the stress of racial experiences from Study 2, the effect size of the overall test was larger, suggesting that the relationships found were more numerous and robust. In the univariate analyses, the classes of racism had a different order than was the case for the frequency of racial experiences. *Hostile* and *Avoidant Racism* had the same effect sizes and *Aversive-Hostile Racism* had a smaller effect size than the other two. *Hostile Racism* was associated with three RBTSS symptoms: *Anger*, *Avoidance*, and *Intrusion.* And *Avoidant Racism* stress was associated with six of the seven RBTSS symptoms: *Depression*, *Anger*, *Physical Symptoms*, *Avoidance*, *Hypervigilance*, and *Low Self-Esteem.* The stress related to *Aversive-Hostile Racism* was associated with four of the seven RBTSS symptoms: *Depression*, *Anger*, *Physical*

Symptoms, and *Low Self-Esteem*. Stress from racial experiences was connected to 13 symptoms, while frequency was related to seven symptoms. Additionally, there were more symptoms for *Avoidant* and *Aversive-Hostile Racism* than for *Hostile Racism*. The three race-based traumatic stress symptoms for *Hostile Racism* stress included two core symptoms (i.e., *Avoidance* and *Intrusion*) and *Anger*. This suggests that although there were fewer emotional and psychological reactions, the impact was still quite powerful. The stress reactions to *Avoidant Racism* seem to be the most impactful, with six of the seven symptoms scales represented. It is noteworthy that no core symptoms emerged from the *Aversive-Hostile Racism*. All four RBTSS symptoms involved noncore symptoms. The variation of RBTSS symptoms suggests that the classes of racism were emotionally and psychologically harmful, and supports the predictive validity of the two measures. It is not clear, however, what accounts for the pattern of relationships. Yet, regardless of the class or type of racism one encounters, stress and frequency were associated with psychological harm.

Our findings contribute to the body of literature that has shown that psychological distress is an outcome of exposure to racism and racial discrimination as forms of oppression and violence (e.g., Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009; Pieterse et al., 2012). The model fits from the CFAs support the theoretical soundness of the conceptual framework proposed by Carter (2007) and Carter and Helms (2002, 2009). These findings further highlight the need for specific classes of racism that capture micro level experiences and nonglobal measures of racial discrimination. Notions consistent with Kressin et al.'s (2008) and Bastos et al.'s (2010) observation that racial discrimination and racism measures presently fail to conceptually map racial experiences or link particular types of events to emotion or psychological reactions. Given the limitations of existing measures of racism and racial discrimination, the Classes of Racism Frequency of Racial Experiences and Classes of Racism Stress Reactions measures designed and tested in this study have the potential to offer researchers novel data regarding the frequency and stress of race-based experiences, the classes of racism encountered, as well as their corresponding psychological impact. As noted by Carter (2007), the reason for unpacking racism was to reduce some of the ambiguity associated with the different kinds of racial experiences. Therefore, understanding the distinctions between the different classes of racism is valuable as each class of experience is unique (Carter & Helms, 2002; Carter, 2007).

For researchers, this study provides entry into the examination of race-based experiences that have historically gone untapped, and allows for direct connection between event type, frequency, and stress. With preliminary evidence supporting the different classes of racism related experiences, future researchers should build on our work and examine the relationships between the three classes of experiences and specific stress reactions. As noted by Carter (2007), understanding the nuances in one's emotional and psychological reactions to race-related experiences can lead to improved assessment and treatment approaches for those who have been adversely affected by racism.

As with all research, these findings should be interpreted with caution given several limitations present in the study. First, our sample characteristics limit the generalizability of our findings. As a result, testing the replicability of these findings with other demographic groups is important. Second, the relationship be-

tween frequency (race-based experience) and stress (emotional and psychological reaction) should be further explored. Despite these limitations, the present results suggest that racism and racial discrimination should not be measured as a single dimension, but assessed in a way that captures the unique responses to and experiences of racism. As our understanding of race-based experiences continues to evolve, so will our need for valid instruments that deconstruct racism into not only classes of experiences, but also by their frequency and level of stress. These two measures offer one way to assess race-based experiences using Carter and Helms (2002) and Carter's (2007) model that organizes racism and racial discrimination into distinct classes of experiences.

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